1978

Resocialization of ex-convicts in a halfway house setting.

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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS RECEUE
RESOCIALIZATION OF EX-CONVICTS IN
A HALFWAY HOUSE SETTING

BY
Sheck Woo Eng

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of
Sociology and Anthropology in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts at
The University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1978
ABSTRACT

The study attempted to assess the role of a halfway house such as St. Leonard's House of Windsor in affecting changes in the individual respondent's attitude and behavior. The purpose was to obtain information on the conditions and processes under which the process of resocialization occurred. An attempt was made to investigate the respondent's employment experiences, his social activities, the general impression of the house and counselling, in order to find conditions pertinent to the process of resocialization. The scarcity of comprehensive and empirical research on the effectiveness of halfway houses in part prompted the necessity of the present research.

The data were obtained by means of personal interviews with 22 residents, who had lived at least 3 weeks in the house. The interview was the method used to gather data on employment, social activities, impression of the house and counselling, and the effects of imprisonment, in order to assess the resocialization process. Besides formal interviews, informal interviews and participant observation were also used to examine the process under study. The method of participant observation allowed the research to note things which might not be detected in a formal interview.

A majority of the respondents had not finished high school and had served relatively long years in the prison.
Only 2 respondents said that they knew a trade or a skill. About two-thirds of the respondents came from the Windsor-Chatham area.

The findings showed that a majority of the respondents had favorable impressions about the house. They appreciated the material and emotional support from the house. While getting employment was a requisite for settling down, a large number of respondents always drifted from one job to another. A majority of the respondents expressed their appreciation of the staff's assistance in their readjustment to society. A number of respondents seemed to have undergone the process of resocialization. Some of these men's attitudes and behavior had been influenced by the staff. It seemed that extensive interactions between staff and respondents was a major factor in affecting the men's attitudes and behavior. The findings also showed that the experience of confinement tended to affect the men's mentality in dealing with the public. Many men didn't feel comfortable in mingling with civilians.

To conclude the study, it seemed that many men had not been benefited from the house. Many of them displayed incongruity of attitudes and behaviors in and out of the house. In order to help the men, the researcher thinks that the house can improve its administration in many ways such as follow-up study, group therapy, "modelling", stricter control, and more qualified
staff. On the other hand, the researcher thinks that the men need to become more mature, develop a sense of responsibility and motivation, and determination to change. All outside helps are useless unless the men want to change themselves.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank all the people who helped me at various stages of this study. Dr. Dietz first drew my attention to the halfway house development in early 1976 when I wrote a research paper about St. Leonard's House. This study is the further expansion of that research paper. Dr. Dietz has been very helpful throughout the course of the research. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Dr. Dietz for her constructive comments and advice on all aspects of this study. I am thankful to Dr. Vincent and Dr. Balance for their consultation as members of the committee. I am also grateful to Mr. Skip Stenowski, executive director of the St. Leonard's House, his staff and the residents for their help and co-operation in completing this study. I am also thankful to Fr. Bob Seguin, Ms. Connie Shaw and Ms. Evelyne Tsang for their help in correcting my English. I would like to dedicate this thesis to my brother Sheck Ho, whose brotherly love and sacrifice have made everything possible for me to this day, to whom I express my most sincere gratitude.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The St. Leonard's House of Windsor was the first halfway house opened in Canada. It was initiated by the Reverend T. Neil Libby of All Saints Anglican Church in 1962. It was established to help ex-convicts who had been released on parole. Currently, the house still caters primarily to men who have been paroled, but in addition provides services to men who are out on bail or are on probation. It also offers accommodations and assistance to those who, for various reasons, may find living in the house improves their daily living and encounters with people. The house's primary role is providing material and emotional support to the men. Its principal functions are to help the men to secure employment, to provide counselling, and to help the men go through the painful experience of transition from the institutional environment (closed society) to that of the free community (open society).

The house is located in two adjacent homes in the downtown area. Its central downtown location gives the residents easy access to schools, employment and a variety of other places by means of the very convenient public transportation, which is readily available. The house can accommodate a maximum of twenty residents at any given time and it employs a staff of nine to deal with them. Those who are either working or attending school are charged a rent of $12
per week. Facilities of the house include an office, a television room, a living room, a dining room, a weight lifting room, a game room, a pool table, a piano, and a laundry room.

The house is financed through two main sources. About one-half of the fund is donated by the United Community Services and the rest is channelled from the National Parole Service. Though almost half of the fund is provided by the National Parole Service, the administration of the house is entirely in the hands of the executive director and his staff. The house is considered to be a private organization which is independent of any government policy changes and influences.

The purposes of the house are threefold. Initially it tries to assist the ex-convict to reestablish himself in the community and, ultimately, to reintegrate himself on a self-sufficient basis. It provides immediate accommodation and services that will give him a gradual release into an open society. Finally, it provides guidance and emotional support so that ultimately he can look at himself as a whole person again.

An essential aspect of the work at St. Leonard's House is concerned with the autonomy and self-sufficiency of the men living there. The purpose and the ultimate goal of the house, as stated in its 1975 annual report, is as follows:
the critical period, as far as keeping men out of prison not just getting them out, is during the first month or two following release. From experience, it seems that during those weeks that our men are with us that they will most likely succeed or fail. With both the staff and guests of St. Leonard's House assisting, many of our guests do begin to succeed at finding work, at keeping a job, and at solving the problems of self-support and independence. The obstacles our men face are far more imposing than the terms of mere physical survival. Our work is directed toward the whole person at a variety of levels - physical, psychological, and spiritual and in a variety of circumstances (St. Leonard's House, Windsor, Annual Report, 1975:1).

As stated by Deehy (1969:1), a halfway house offers men an environment which gives material and emotional support during the abrupt transition from conditions of complete dependency to complete autonomy. The house, therefore, offers a set of alternatives between regular parole supervision and incarceration. It provides more guidance than parole services usually offer, without the various disruptive effects of total confinement.

There is no doubt that the renewed advent of halfway houses as a means of assisting the men released from institutions and their recent growth in numbers and prominence, is perhaps the most promising development in the field of corrections today. They provide a small community-oriented centre for the rehabilitation of ex-convicts (Deehy, 1969: 2-3; Keller and Alper, 1970:7-8; McCartt and Mangogna, 1973: 4-5; Task Force Report: Corrections, 1967:38-44). As Deehy.
(1969:3) points out, the growth of halfway houses as a means of treating offenders has been generally well received, both by the public and by specialists in the field of corrections. They make a useful addition to the many already existing types of treatment centers.

The renewed development of halfway houses results from two main factors. The first is the recognition that crime is a symptom of failure and disfunctioning of both the community and the individual offender (Task Force Report: Corrections, 1967:7). The community, therefore, has a responsibility to deal with the results of those conditions which contribute to crime. Secondly, there is a recognition that imprisonment as a form of punishment has failed to rehabilitate prisoners. Students of criminology have come to realize the necessity of treating offenders outside prison walls. As Grunhut puts it:

> after more than 150 years of prison reform the outstanding feature of the movement is its skepticism concerning imprisonment altogether, and its search for new and more adequate methods of treatment outside prison walls (Grunhut, 1948:449).

Halfway houses are an alternative to institutionalization. They are designed to (1) divert the offenders entirely from the criminal justice system and incarceration; (2) to provide temporary relief from incarceration and; (3) to shorten the length of incarceration (Task Force on Community-Based Residential Centres, 1972:ix). They bridge the
gap between the prison and the community. As Deehy (1969:3) points out, the halfway house, combines a certain freedom of action with the retention of some of the dependence of a prison inmate, can be viewed as a suitable vehicle for the enhancement of post-release adjustment.

McCar'tt and Mangogna (1973:33) also indicate that the halfway house can help men cope with stressful situations under real life circumstances, as opposed to the isolated and insulated atmosphere of closed institutions. The day-to-day relationship among the men can also allow the staff to respond promptly to problem situations. For example, if the individual resident does not get up for work or study in the morning, the halfway house staff knows it immediately. If the individual resident is having a drug or alcohol problem, the halfway house staff will know and be able to deal with the problem promptly. A probation or parole officer might not become aware of a particular problem until after the individual has been arrested again. Therefore, the halfway house has the distinct advantage of close supervision and intensive treatment which other forms of community-based treatment such as probation and parole do not have. Likewise, there has been a report (Task Force Report: Corrections, 1967 :4) which criticizes the treatment men receive under supervision in probation and parole as more of an illusion than a reality. Another factor that contributes to the intimate
relationship between staff and residents in the halfway house is its small population, with about 20 men an informal and closer interaction develops between staff and residents. McCourt and Mangogna (1973:33) contend that:

> If the client is reverting to criminal behavior, the halfway house staff is in the same position of knowing and acting with great speed. No matter what the situation, there does not seem to be any other form of supervision and treatment currently in existence which is as responsive to the clients' needs.

The halfway house has the advantage of knowing and dealing with problem situations almost immediately. This diminishes the growing seriousness of the problem involved.

With the fast growing development of halfway houses in the field of corrections, students of criminology and deviant behavior can study the effectiveness of these houses in helping ex-convicts in the transition from the institution to normal street life. I have undertaken the present study because the renewed halfway house movement has not been adequately researched and evaluated. This present research attempts to describe in some detail the transition of a group of men from the prison to the free community via the medium of a halfway house setting. I have attempted to deal with men's problems in trying to reintegrate themselves into society. Hopefully, we will be able to see and to determine the importance of a halfway house such as the St. Leonard's House in affecting the men's gradual reintegration into society.
CHAPTER II

THE HALFWAY HOUSE IDEA

HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT

Though the revived development of halfway house is a relatively new phenomena nowadays, hostels and shelters for released prisoners had long been in existence throughout history. In discussing the history of the halfway house movement, James (1968:563) states that early Christians were always exhorted by the Church to practice hospitality one to another without complaining. In the early sixth century, St. Benedict included in his rules: "let every guest be received as Christ". Later in the middle of the same century, St. Leonard began to apply this same principle specifically to ex-prisoners. He founded a monastery near Limoges in France and took in convicts whose releases were secured through his influence with the King of the Franks. St. Leonard has ever since been venerated as the patron saint of prisoners and has been the historic inspiration for many modern day Christians who have revived his method of after-care to assist ex-convicts.

In early times halfway houses were run by religious and private volunteer groups who were interested in the post-release adjustment of ex-prisoners. Their purpose was to provide such services as a temporary place of shelter, food, clothing, and friendly advice. Sometimes, they helped
the men to secure employment. Houses were established where the men lived in a more congenial setting than they were likely to find elsewhere in the non-institutional world. Though both these religious and private groups were composed of idealistic, hard-working, humane and highly dedicated people, they usually lacked the requisite skills to administer the agency or to provide a treatment program (McCarrt and Mangogna, 1973:1). Vasoli and Fahey (1970:293-294) think that although hard evidence is lacking, it seems reasonable to assume that these early halfway houses, if only because of their sponsor’s humanitarianism, helped cushion the impact of release from the institution to society. Hence, the houses had a generally beneficial effect on their residents.

As Vasoli and Fahey (1970:294) further point out, the early halfway houses were usually self-contained and relatively isolated from the correctional staff and facilities which provided them with the men. This factor was the prime reason for their eventual failure to survive as a permanent part of the correctional system. It was not until the 1850s that someone tried to integrate halfway house facilities into the correctional system. The man who tried this was Sir Walter Crofton. He developed what he called the "intermediate system" which later came to be known as the "Irish system". The system was developed on the principal that criminals could be reformed through employment in a free
community where they were subjected to ordinary temptations. The system worked in such a way that prisoners could be transferred from a maximum prison and confinement to an intermediate prison where they were sent to work for employers in the community. If the prisoner’s conduct continued to be good after four months of employment, and an employer could be found willing to employ him, he was then returned to the community on a conditional “ticket of leave” (Allen and Simonsen, 1963:51; Barnes and Teeters, 1959:423).

The modern halfway house-movement got its start in the post World War II period with the founding of such facilities as St. Leonard’s House and Dismas House. As Keller and Alper (1970:8) point out, the acute awareness of the multitude of problems which face the men after release from the institution, as well as growing dissatisfaction with the high recidivism rate, helped to spark the renewed development of halfway houses. This also marked the beginnings of a national halfway house movement. The first notable contemporary halfway house established after the post war period was the St. Leonard’s House of Chicago which was found by the Reverend Jones Jr. in 1954 after his experience as chaplain at Chicago’s Cook County Jail. The establishment of this house spearheaded the widespread development of halfway houses in North America. As James (1968:263) points out, unlike their predecessors, modern halfway houses are usually closely coordianted with
the correctional system and with community welfare and social agencies. There also seems to be greater reliance on professionally trained personnel for staff. Private halfway houses opened by individual volunteers such as the Harold King Farm and the Mel Mark Farm also appeared on the scene (Benson, 1967:198-225). The Canadian Penitentiary Services also began to move into the field of providing pre-release accommodation for federal offenders in the late 1960s. The development of these government-run community correction centres was partly due to the acclaimed success of halfway houses to help ex-convicts, and partly due to the awareness of the failure of imprisonment (Task Force on Community-Based Residential Centres, 1972:x). The momentum of the development of halfway houses was highlighted by the establishment of the International Halfway House Association in 1964 (James, 1968:264).

THE STRUCTURE OF HALFWAY HOUSES

There is no single definition of the term "halfway house" and almost all halfway houses operate separately and individually with specific programs and facilities. Halfway houses indeed reflect the personal approach and philosophy of the founders or directors (Keller and Alper, 1970:123). According to Benson (1967:198), there are three criteria which are considered basic to any halfway house idea and they are
(1) the house must be a "home" for the residents and it must always be open; (2) the maximum number of residents who can live there must not exceed twenty and; (3) the majority of the residents must have received court sentences. The men who live there enjoy considerable personal freedom and they are expected to undergo a group experience of limited duration. The halfway house stands, literally, halfway between the community and the institution, and may serve those who are released from the institution, as well as those received directly from the court (Keller and Alper, 1970:10).

Though halfway houses may serve a wide variety of offenders, according to Keller and Alper (1970:11), halfway houses are basically of two distinct types: the "halfway-in", and the "halfway-out". The "halfway-in" house usually takes in younger offenders - those who are under a court order of probation, or those who may have failed on probation and are considered worthy of another opportunity to remain in the community - still under supervision. Some of these houses are nonresidential and permit their participants to continue to live at home while they are required to attend programs in the house for the major part of each weekday.

The better known is the "halfway-out" house which is designed to help prisoners who are ready to leave the institution and who are deemed to be in need of further help in readjusting to society. As Keller and Alper describes (1970:11),
an apt parallel may be drawn between this process in the life of a convicted offender and the decompression chamber through which the deep-sea diver passes in order to adjust gradually to sea level pressures before being permitted to surface completely.

Placement in the halfway-out house can be a condition of parole or a comparatively brief, community-based experience prior to release on parole. Halfway-out houses can also serve as places where persons who may be doing poorly on parole can receive some help without returning to the traditionally secure custodial institution.

According to Deesby (1969:9-13), there are generally three principal uses of the term "halfway house" and they are: (1) "Halfway" in the sense of half-custodial; (2) "Halfway" along the process of commitment to the penal institution and; (3) "Halfway" between confinement in a total institution and the resumption of freedom in the community.

(1) "Halfway" in the sense of half-custodial. This refers to residences located in the community which allow an offender to interact between himself and the free community through the medium of outside employment in the community. This type of halfway house sometimes functions as a penal institution and its programs permit regular outside employment while the sentence is being served. Though the house may look non-institutional in appearance and allow almost complete freedom to come and go, it exerts full powers over
the men that the institution has and the individual resident is actually serving a mandatory prison term there.

(2) "Halfway" along the process of commitment to the penal institution. This type of halfway house is usually for men who are on probation or given a "last chance" by the court. Commitment to the house represents the final alternative to imprisonment.

(3) "Halfway" between confinement in a total institution and the resumption of freedom in the community. This type of house is designed specifically for the period of release and adjustment after serving a prison sentence in an institution. It is a stage between complete confinement and complete freedom. The house is partly designed to deal with the effects of confinement on the men. Blacker (1960:18-23) defines this type of halfway house as:

...a facility which bridges the gap between penal and other large institutions and the community. It makes the assumption that certain individuals can best be rehabilitated if their return to the community is gradual rather than abrupt.

Individuals who come to this type of house usually have served a sentence in an institution for a substantial period of time. The purpose of the house, as Carpenter (1963:224-229) puts it: "is to bridge the gap between a completely institutional life and a completely free life in the community".

Halfway houses may have different programs to suit the need of the types of offenders they receive, but
resocialization of the men is the common goal of all halfway houses. The staff in each type of house is concerned that the residents will be able to readjust themselves into civilian life after a certain period of residency.

According to Alper (1960:19-25), halfway houses usually provide at least some of the following services to the residents:

(1) Assistance; advisory or otherwise, in locating employment,
(2) Material assistance until employment has been obtained,
(3) Counselling services of various kinds, ranging from informal advice to formally structured individual or group therapy and,
(4) Programs designed to establish ties between house residents and the local community, and supervision of the residents.

The manner in which the halfway house should be administered and should function is dependent upon the individual directors. Empey and Rabow (1961:681) state in their report on the halfway house concept that:

it became apparent that each particular program is practically an entity in itself, arrived at by people willing to experiment in a field where total confusion and ambiguity reign regarding concept and theory.

Halfway houses generally have a relatively small population and usually accommodate no more than 25 men. In his study of halfway houses and similar organizations, Alper (1960:18) notes that:

in the matter of size we find perhaps greater agreement than in any other. Most residents
set the optimum number of released persons who should be in care of at any one time at between 10 and 25 with the latter figure as the maximum. Given the turnover which may be expected in this type of facility the chances are that the total number of persons at any one time will tend to fall below 25.

The small size of population permits close interaction between residents and staff.

Halfway houses are found in rural settings as well as in small towns and metropolitan areas. They may be located in slum and skid row areas, in commercial or transitional areas, in working class neighborhoods, or in middle class suburbs. Interior decorations of the houses vary among individual houses. While some resemble middle class, private homes, others may have the appearance of a casual fraternity house (Benson, 1967:198-226; Keller and Alper, 1970:7-11; McNeil, 1967:538-544; Nica, 1964:8-14). Halfway house is generally located in an area where public transportation is within walking distance, so that residents may be able to travel to work, school, clinics, and recreation, etc. Commercial services such as a barber shop, a restaurant, and cleaners are also usually located nearby.

SPONSORSHIP OF HALFWAY HOUSES

As stated by James (1968:264), there are three types of sponsors of modern halfway houses nowadays and they are: (1) religious; (2) government and; (3) community.
(1) Religious. The involvement of churches in assisting prisoners can be traced back to the first century. It caters to the need of all men regardless of religious belief. Residents are seldom required to participate in observances as part of the rehabilitation program. The Salvation Army and the Anglican Church are among the religious groups active in rehabilitative work.

(2) Government. Facilities are provided for the benefit of men from a given prison system or a specific institution. Pre-release facilities are sometimes contained in a wing of the prison, in a separate hostel building on the grounds, or in a separate parole camp. They are usually staffed by institutional personnel. These after-care centres are usually run with stricter regulations.

(3) Community. The establishment of residential programs is usually an extension of the work of after-care agencies. Civic organizations become involved in the halfway house movement either by operating houses themselves or by providing physical facilities. The facilities would then be used by an organization specializing in rehabilitation work of this sort.

These three kinds of sponsors usually cooperate with each other in working toward a common goal of helping ex-convicts to reintegrate themselves into society.

Financial assistance of these houses is generally
received from churches, business, organizations and government. While operating a halfway house is usually less expensive in per capita cost than institutions are, some halfway houses have been reported to operate at a higher per capita cost (James, 1968:266; Keller and Alper, 1970:13). On the other hand, residents are also expected to partake in the financial responsibility of the house. Since learning to support oneself is a responsibility in society, James (1968:267) points out that most houses charge residents "at a rate commensurate with the cost of comparable boarding facilities in the community -- usually $2 to $3 per day". Residents without assistance from social agents, or income from employment are usually permitted to stay free of charge until such assistance or employment can be secured. Generally speaking, operating budgets for houses accommodating between 12 and 21 men range from a low of $16,500 to a high of $85,000 per annum (James, 1968:267).

STAFF REQUIREMENT AND ADMISSION POLICY

Staff requirements and qualifications are varied and they range from highly trained professionals to ex-convicts. Deehy (1969:14) states that many houses are staffed by social workers, psychologists, or other professionally-trained treatment personnel. Some, on the other hand, are operated by staff members who have no specific training other than their experience in corrections or related fields. Some
houses also train ex-convicts as counsellors or for other positions in the house.

Different halfway houses cater to the need of different types of ex-convicts; henceforth, each house has a different admission policy. Restrictions placed on the types of ex-convicts accepted, tend to reflect a knowledge and acceptance of the limitations of personnel and the setting concerned and/or an interest in specific group (Benson, 1967:221).

Length of stay varies with the purpose of the house, the activity of the individual resident, and the adjustment of the individual resident. Usually those who are attending school tend to live longer in the house than those who seek employment. Residence is generally limited to a maximum stay of three or four months so as to avoid any feeling of dependency that may be developed in the individual resident's mind (Alper, 1960:24).

Some houses, anticipating that some ex-residents may be in danger of lapsing into trouble again, encourage them to return. As well they are welcome, if through unemployment or other changed circumstances, they are no longer able to support themselves and need temporary accommodation. Some houses also reaccept those who have been reconvicted.
THE EFFECTIVENESS OF HALFWAY HOUSES

Generally speaking, the halfway house program has been well received and reported in scholarly journals and the popular press (Deehy, 1969:14; Kennedy, 1964:1-7; McNeil, 1967:538-544; Nice, 1964:8-12). However, recently the halfway house program has come under diverse attacks by the mass media, legislature, researchers, and citizens (Holden, 1975:815-817; Martinson, 1974:22-25; Sullivan, Seigel and Clear, 1974:189). It has been reported that the crime rate in the United States is at an all time known high despite the increasing use of community-based correctional programs such as halfway houses (U.S. News and World Report, 1974, Dec 16:20).

There has also been criticism that:

    in terms of recidivism, the measuring rod traditionally used for determining the effectiveness of correctional programs, halfway house programs do not appear to have produced significantly better results than many community supervision programs, and in fact, in some instances have demonstrated a rather inferior performance (Sullivan, Seigel and Clear, 1974:189).

On the other hand, in their reappraisal of the effectiveness of halfway houses, Allen and Seiter (1976: 196-199) come to a different conclusion about the halfway house's effectiveness. Their study includes eight halfway house systems in the State of Ohio and their finding suggests that halfway houses are effective in reducing the criminal behavior of residents. The results of their study suggest
evidence for the tentative acceptance of the relative effectiveness of halfway houses. However, as they also point out, it is disturbing to note the lack of proof regarding the effect of halfway houses in improving acceptable behavior. Hence they conclude that:

it (the study) does emphasize a new evaluative dimension, and perhaps in a small way contradicts the categorical acceptance of the previous negative findings regarding community programs of this type...More appropriate methods of evaluation need to be developed, and a systematic approach toward correctional policymaking should be initiated (Allen and Seiter, 1976:199).

While the most recent study tends to indicate the usefulness of halfway houses in assisting ex-offenders, broad conclusions can still not be made about its overall effectiveness. The present study strives to look at the effectiveness of a halfway house and it is hoped that new insights can thus be gained on the halfway house movement.
CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

INTRODUCTION

As it has been defined in the previous chapter, halfway houses such as the St. Leonard's House of Windsor, can be viewed as facilities which are organized and designed to assist the ex-convict in his transition from prison life to normal street life. The house is concerned with emotional and material support to its residents and tries to foster a change in the residents' behaviors and attitudes.

The Task Force Report on Corrections (1967:4) has shown that upward of 95% adult offenders sentenced to incarceration are eventually released and returned to the community. For the ex-convict, the impact of release is often dramatic. After a period of incarceration, the ex-convict leaves the well-structured, confined, routinized, and slow-paced setting of the institution and returns to society as a "rehabilitated" person. In many cases, the transition from the former deviant status signifies not only a social change, but a territorial one as well, since the occupancy of a formally-defined deviant status may entail either a physical separation or an incarceration. In such cases, it is very likely that there will be problems of readjustment upon release. A long period of incarceration may cause a temporary unawareness of daily routines of societal values and standards. The ex-convict
may have to relearn modes of conduct and behavior that were taken for granted before his incarceration. For while he was incarcerated, changes in society may have evolved (Davies, 1974; Irwin, 1970; Morris and Beverly, 1975; Studt, 1967).

Adding to the problem of readjustment is the possible impact that prison has had upon the ex-convict. The prison is a place of segregation and status reduction where prisoners enjoy a minimum of legal rights and are limited by a large number of rules and regulations. Social debasement and compulsory isolation contribute to the strongly negative attitudes toward the system. Many prisoners become hostile toward the world which they see as unfair. When they come out of prison, their minds may be filled with bitterness, hatred, and distrust (Floch, 1956:445-450; Reckless, 1973:50; Roucek, 1961:299).

After being released, the ex-convict finds himself to be proceeding along a narrow and precarious route which is beset with difficult obstacles. Though he is out in society now, he is still seen as an erratic person who is considered to be potentially dangerous and anti-societal. He faces a world of uncertainty. His incarceration has cost him friends, sometimes even family ties. He has become unfamiliar with social values and standards. He feels frightened and suspicious of people. A period of transition from prison to a free community, without proper guidance, is
painful and agonizing. Without adequate assistance and proper guidance, many ex-convicts find themselves back into prison within a short period of time. The establishment of halfway houses gives them an opportunity to readjust themselves properly under guidance. Without assistance and guidance, many ex-convicts may find the readjustment into society a pill too painful to swallow. When the ex-convict is released and lives in a halfway house, he goes through a process of resocialization - a process in which he relearns social values, standards and norms. He learns to play his role in accordance with the rules of society. The process has to be administered carefully. Too rapid a process to normalcy may lead the ex-convict to have a false conception about his success in readjustment. He might end up with many unrealistic expectations. Too slow a readjustment, on the other hand, may result in the individual's dependency on the house. With proper guidance and assistance, he learns to acquire a new status in society. The ex-convict's reentry into society is affected by factors which are to be discussed in the following pages (Irwin, 1970, Studt, 1967).

THE IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONAL LIVING

When an offender is imprisoned, he finds himself in a total institution where his activities are severely restricted. As Goffman (1961:6) describes it, a total
institution is a controlled situation where (1) all aspects of the inmate's life are conducted in the same place and under the same authority; (2) each phase of the inmate's daily activities is carried out in the immediate company of others— who are treated alike and are required to do the same things; (3) the activities of the day are tightly scheduled, and the sequence of activities is imposed from the "top"; and (4) all activities are for the sake of the institution. In addition, a total institution is a place where inmates are restricted in their leave-taking and contacts with the outside world.

Living in a total institution such as the prison tends to undermine confidence and self-esteem (Irwin, 1970). The social psychological impact of incarceration leads to the denial of dignity and self-worth (Sykes, 1958). In his discussion of total institutions, Goffman (1961:14) describes an inmate in a total institution as undergoing a process of so-called self-mortification. Self-mortification can be viewed as a loss in self-esteem and a loss in social identity. Goffman (1961:14) explains the mortification of self as follows:

upon entrance...(the individual) begins a series of abasements, degradations, humiliations, and profanations of self. His self is systematically, if often unintentionally, mortified. He begins some radical shifts in his moral career, a career composed of the progressive changes that occur in the beliefs that he has concerning himself and significant others.

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The experience of total confinement in the institution conveys a highly negative perspective, which transmits a powerful and self-shattering effect on the inmate's view of himself.

The mortification of self is not a singular event which evolves by itself. The process involves four factors which contribute to the demeaning of self in prisons and they are: (1) loss of personal identity and privacy; (2) loss of controlling information concerning oneself; (3) the constant surveillance of activities; and (4) feeling of injustice.

(1) **Loss of personal identity and privacy.** In describing the process of self-mortification, Goffman (1968: 266-270) points out that the humiliation and degradation of the man's integrity begins immediately during the admission procedure. During the process of his being admitted into the prison, his personal possessions are signed away and stored. He is photographed, fingerprinted, bathed and searched. He is then issued institutional clothing, given a set of rules, assigned to his quarters and, most humiliating of all, he is assigned a number as his sole identity in the prison. The loss of his name can be a real blow to the self. The dehumanizing details of the admission procedures convey the inmate's new, low status and lead to a low self-esteem. His privacy is also violated when he finds that he can no longer maintain and control his own territory of self. He
can no longer place a boundary between himself and the surrounding environment because he cannot control the boundary any more. Adding to his loss of privacy and humiliation of self is his forced sleeping arrangement with someone he may despise and be contemptuous of in the same cell (Irwin, 1970). A doorless toilet further symbolizes the ultimate invasion of his privacy. He is usually within sight and often within earshot of someone. During his period of confinement, the prisoner and his cell may be searched at any time, either as a routine or when trouble arises. As Goffman (1968:272) further puts it: "in all these cases it is the searcher as well as the search that penetrates the private reserve of the individual and violates the territories of his self". His case is often discussed by staff in his presence because he is regarded as non-existent and treated as a non-reactive object. The contact between staff and the inmate is highly superficial. His requests are usually ignored, denied and his assertion of self is not honored (Hawkins and Tiedeman, 1975:288). The inmate's personal and social space are often systematically violated and denied, thereby his feelings of personal autonomy and self-worth are destroyed (Goffman, 1959:69).

The loss of personal identity and privacy is an important element in the inmate's mortification of self. Suddenly in prison, he finds that he can no longer control
and maintain a territory of self. He is powerless in trying to foster any change in his surroundings and relationships with others.

(2) Loss of controlling information concerning oneself. Generally speaking, the individual frequently keeps certain information about himself from being known by others. He thinks that keeping of information secret is important in his relationships with others. If information about himself may jeopardize his position in a situation, he usually chooses to retain this information from being revealed. He maintains the information the same way he wants to keep his territory from being intruded upon. In a word, certain information is vital to the individual's preservation and presentation of self. When the man is confined in a prison, he finds that information that concerns his preservation of self is immediately violated during the admission process. During the process, information concerning every detail of his background, behavior, and discreditable facts are collected and recorded in a dossier available only to staff. He is powerless to prevent such a recording of discreditable information. During his confinement, his behavior is constantly observed and recorded by the staff (Goffman, 1968:271). Goffman (1968:271-272) further points out that the case record leads to an increase in the mortification of self because information necessary for the preservation of self is not respected by
the staff. The territory to protect the self is invaded. In his study of mental hospital patients, Goffman (1969:375) discovered that the patient's behavior is often interpreted and recorded pathologically by the staff. The patient's normal behavior is often viewed as a mark or shield for the sickness behind it. Even if his behavior is viewed as congenial on the outside world, his "normal" symptom is still judged as pathological. In a somewhat similar study conducted by Rosenhan in 1973 (250-258), he finds that normal behaviors of his pseudopatients (those who disguised themselves as mentally ill in order to gain admittance into the hospital but then act normally once admitted as patients) were readily interpreted by the staff as symptoms of pathology. The pseudopatients' behaviors, which were acceptable in society, were regarded by the staff as the result of internal pathology, and not as the normal responses to abnormal situations.

Inside a prison, information about an inmate's behavior patterns and attitudes are routinely collected and put on the dossier file. The information which is collected may contain interpretations of the inmate's behavior which might be diagnosed as pathological. Some of this "pathological" behavior might be considered as normal on the outside. As a matter of fact, institutional records of the inmate's behavior are more likely to contain rule violations than
any remarks about his imprisonment or his good behavior. His chance of being paroled is invariably affected by the recorded information held against him.

Considering the institutional setting and structure, it is understandable that an official record of the inmate is often viewed as legitimate and authoritative. The inmate has little hope of refuting it. Since the man is being incarcerated and must obey rules and regulations, he is considered to have no right or power to argue against the file's content and interpretation. He has no access to his own file, the file is considered to be a confidential official document. In fact, as Goffman (1961, 35-36) describes it, objections to and protests about the record by an inmate often leads to a "looping" effect:

an agency that creates a defensive response on the part of the inmate takes this very response as the target of its next attack. he cannot defend himself in the usual way by establishing distance between the mortifying situation and himself.

A sense of powerlessness is often felt by the inmate when he finds that he has no control over his private information. The mortification of self is likely to be increased.

(3) The constant surveillance of activities. Throughout his entire period of incarceration, the inmate's activities are constantly being observed. He is constantly in view. The fact that he is constantly in view is very stressful
because the exposure destroys his territory of self and the back region. Goffman (1959) describes the back region as the man's own territory where his behavior and attitude may be different from that of being revealed in front of others in the front region. The disappearance of back region disrupts the inmate's chance to stage his behavior in front of his audience. If his activities go against the rules, punishment is always imposed for his violations of rules. This punishment may include tranquilizing, punitive therapy such as electroshock, solitary confinement, or transfer to a more restrictive ward (Hawkins and Tiedeman, 1975:289). As a result of constant exposure and the loss of private territory, the inmate may no longer trust others or even himself. He is constantly in view and is therefore uncertain as to whether the behavior he puts on is his real "self" (Hawkins and Tiedeman, 1975:290; Messinger et al., 1970:694). Due to the constant surveillance of activities, the inmate finds it difficult to tell the difference between what is real and what is staged. He feels that he has lost his personal identity and privacy amid the constant intrusion of his territory of self. He eventually comes to realize the agony of feeling powerless in trying to change his surrounding condition that results in his mortification of self. His self-image and self-esteem are therefore likely to be reduced. The constant surveillance of activities (with demand for performance in front of audience) causes the man to severely question his
self-image and his essential self. This is likely to result in the reduction of his chances of being rehabilitated or of being prepared for confrontation with the outside world once he is released. Surveillance of activities in the institution is virtually complete when it exposes the man on all fronts and his private territory ceases to exist (Hawkins and Tiedeman, 1975:291).

(4) Feeling of injustice. The final factor which contributes to the man's mortification of self is the effect of confinement that affects virtually every prisoner in the institution. The experience of the man inside often leads to a sense of injustice (Irwin, 1970:50-60). He feels that he has been unfairly punished; this sense of injustice eventually leads to the formation of an antisocial attitude and behavior. In their study of juveniles, Maher and Stein (1968:188) find that there is a significant increase in the expression of hostility toward the law and its agents as the length of imprisonment extends. Glaser and Stratton (1961), in their study of adult offenders, also find that the length of confinement correlates with the increase of hostility toward the law. The longer the time served, the more bitter the feeling that the sentence is unfair. These two studies show that the length of confinement affects attitudes toward justice. The response on the part of the inmate towards perpetuation of the feeling of injustice is a growing resentment
and anger. The sense of injustice is also related to the result of treatment received and the feeling that he serves more time for what is generally considered a less serious crime than is normal for a more serious crime. In short, he experiences a sense of injustice from cruel and unfair punishment (Irwin, 1970:53-60).

Self-image and self-esteem can also be affected by the effect of confinement. Karmel (1970:231-235) finds that the decrease in self identity correlates with time served in the mental hospital. Apparently, the change comes from the day-to-day living experience in the institution (Maher and Stein, 1968:220). Self-esteem is also affected by the exposure to a total institution (Kaplan et al., 1964:116-126). Tittle also finds that the time served in total institution affects the level of self-esteem of the inmate. A total institution affects self-esteem in a negative way (Tittle, 1972:65-77). The mortification of self is further affected by the exposure of confinement in a total institution.

PROBLEMS OF REENTRY

Many researchers (Davies, 1974; Irwin, 1970; Morris and Beverly, 1975; Studt, 1967; Waller, 1974) have pointed out that convicts are often released from prison with minimal preparation to deal with the outside world; therefore the problems of the first few weeks of release are usually
staggering and sometimes insurmountable for the man to deal with. After being released, the ex-convicts usually face a high degree of disorientation. They experience a state of high anxiety, as well as fear and ambiguity over how to cope with or manage their proximate life situation. They are bewildered, confused, shocked, and astonished by the confrontation with problematic situations. Henceforth their sincere plan of "making it" in a relatively conventional style is never actualized because of the reentry impact on them. The problems of reentry can be further divided into four categories: (1) the problem of settling down; (2) the problem of marginality; (3) the problem of employment and; (4) the problem of stigmatization.

(1) The problem of settling down. For the ex-convict, the initial period of release from the institution is a critical occasion to be faced. During his period of confinement, the ex-convict may find that he has had no decision to make, no responsibility to carry and no outside world problems to cope with (Davies, 1974:131). Once outside of the prison wall, he finds himself to be confronted with the task of survival by his own effort. He is now living in a world that bombards him with stimuli that may require him to make immediate responses (Studt, 1967:3). The response he makes may be erratic in that situations which are viewed as routine by ordinary citizens are problematic for him. The cars, buses,
people, buildings, roads, stores, lights, noises, and animals are things he has not experienced firsthand for quite some time (Irwin, 1970:110-114). Routine matters such as riding of buses and trains, dealing with ordinary people in routine social intercourse, carrying out of money transactions, the noise of the traffic, and the task of physical survival in busy streets all become problematic for him. The uncertainty involved in all of these confrontations cultivates a semi-paranoid feeling that everybody is looking at him and sees him as an ex-convict (Irwin, 1970:114). Deehy (1969:41) also indicates that because of his deviant status, he is more prone to further police investigation and suspicion. His freedom of movement is usually restricted as a condition of release and parole from prison.

The initial confrontation with civilian life is apt to be painful and is accompanied by some disappointment, anxiety, and depression (Deehy, 1969:47; Irwin, 1970:114). As Irwin (1970:116) further describes it, in many ways, the ex-convict is disoriented by his new physical surroundings and social settings... The ex-convict often enters the outside as a stranger in that:

he is ill-prepared to function smoothly in interaction with outsiders in the outside world because he has lost the vast repertoire of taken-for-granted, automatic responses and actions... He has lost the ability to perform many ordinary civilian skills which have no use in the prison world and, therefore, are not practised. For instance, he
has not made change, boarded streetcars and buses, paid fares... He had done these things before prison, but during the prison experience he lost his ability to perform these actions in the unthinking, spontaneous manner in which citizens perform them and expect others to perform them (Irwin, 1970:116).

In fact, there are so many problems to be faced, so many fears to be brought into the open that the ex-convict may wish that he had never been given his freedom.

When the ex-convict is released from prison, he is confronted with four tasks in resettling in the community and these are (1) trying to maintain financial support of himself and his dependents; he maintains this by finding and holding regular employment, any employment; (2) trying to avoid association with bad "friends" and staying away from "trouble" areas where situations may cause "trouble" such as taverns and bars (Irwin, 1970:111); (3) reestablishing social relationships in which he seeks new friendships or reconciliation with old friends and neighbours (Morris and Beverly, 1973:97-99) and; (4) trying to shake off his drinking habit because his drinking habit is another crucial factor in his effort to maintain his new found freedom (Waller, 1974:113-116).

He also tries to obey society's laws and the special conditions of his parole. If he can reestablish himself in the community, he may then able to stay away from reconviction. The ex-convict is a person who starts from scratch, from the bottom, and begins to work toward the goal of reestablishing himself in
the community (Morris and Beverly, 1975:97-99).

(2) The problem of marginality. Another problem the ex-convict may face after release from the prison is the marginal situation he is in. He is a marginal man in society. Briefly, the marginal man is one who becomes associated with both social worlds (prison and society) and yet does not wholly belong to either. He is in an "in between" situation and is often excluded from both as a member. The marginal man often has serious doubts about his place in any social situation and he is unsure of his relationship with friends and is fearful of rejection. The marginal man also feels lonely and isolated most of the time and he is hypersensitive about his situation. He may find life to be a bad experience and he does not seem to do things right. Therefore, the man likewise is always highly critical of other people and feels that others treat him unjustly (Kerckhoff and McCormick, 1955: 48-55).

As Deehy (1969:38-39) puts it, the ex-convict may find that he is a "new" citizen who still cannot relinquish his old image nor is he able to relinquish his association with former convicts. He may be ready to give up his role as an ex-convict but ordinary people may not ready to accept him in his new citizen role. Another awkward situation is that he may neither fully relinquish the old status, nor fully acquire the new one as a citizen again.
(3) The problem of employment. In his discussion of the ex-convict's employment opportunity, Davies (1974:105) points out that the ex-convict's capacity for work is restricted by the state of the labor market, the availability of appropriate jobs, his health and social stability, and the attitudes of employers toward him. The ex-convict's employment opportunity can be limited in a number of ways. He may automatically be disqualified from certain jobs because of his deviant status. For instance, homosexuals are not employed in many federal government jobs and are likely to be excluded from the teaching vocation. Convicted felons automatically lose certain rights such as the right to enter medicine or law. In some states, they are excluded from barber colleges (by professional licensing requirements); they cannot drive a truck or cab for they are ineligible for a chauffeur's license, they cannot become messengers or delivery men because they cannot be bonded, and they may find themselves denied other occupations (Hawkins and Tiedeman, 1975:312). In short, the ex-convict is regarded as an untrustworthy person whose credibility is doubtful.

Davies (1974:111-112) indicates two factors which are part of the reasons the ex-convict finds it difficult to locate a job. First, many employers (including a large number of government departments) are officially or unofficially unwilling to consider taking on a convicted
offender, especially one straight from prison. Second, an ex-convict has certain social and psychological characteristics associated either with his offense or with his experience of imprisonment (or with both) which affects his ability to obtain and to hold suitable jobs. Adding to his many limitations in trying to find a job is his virtually empty work record. Long periods of confinement may be very damaging to employment chances because the ex-convict has to explain his whereabouts during this period of confinement. If his criminal record is known to the prospective employer, he may not be hired because of his past criminal record, even if he has been acquitted (Schwartz and Skolnick, 1962:133-142).

On the other hand, frequent interruptions in employment, even if the criminal record is not revealed, may be viewed by the prospective employer as indicators of the ex-convict's instability and inability to hold a job, any job. In such cases, the employer usually declines to consider hiring the man. Another problem which the ex-convict faces in trying to find a job is his general lack of skill or trade. Often higher paying jobs do not suit him because he does not possess the necessary skill to perform the job. Sometimes, he may have learned a skill such as welding in prison but this does not improve his employment opportunity. The reasons for this are numerous. His skill may not be recognized as such by the labor union. He may not be hired because he admitted his
criminal record. Finally, he may choose to abandon searching for a job if the prospective employer requires information concerning his skill. He may not want people to know that he is an ex-convict.

The ex-convict can generally obtain unskilled jobs with low pay because questions about his past may not be asked by the prospective employer. The ex-convict, in his eagerness to secure a job, often accepts some steady employment which pays low salary. Since this kind of job often offers no chance for advancement and therefore is a dead-end, the ex-convict usually resigns from the job and looks for a better one. However, he often ends up getting another job with low pay because of the restrictions and obstacles he may face in trying to obtain a job with higher pay. Hence, the vicious cycle of employment often repeats itself. On the other hand, often minor health problems and drinking habits prevent him from maintaining even a low paying job and force him to seek only menial jobs which he may change regularly (Irwin, 1970:143; Waller, 1974:113-116).

(4) The problem of stigmatization. Another problem that is associated with the ex-convict as a marginal man is the enigma of stigmatization. The ex-convict is seen as a discreditable person and his deviant status contaminates other aspects of his identity. As Goffman (1963:4, 41-42) indicates the ex-convict, because of his experience of incarceration,
is often perceived as a weak willed person, dominated by unnatural passions, with treacherous and rigid beliefs, and someone who is dishonest. He (1963:4-6) also points out that by definition, the individual with a stigma is not quite human, and therefore a stigma is constructed to explain his inferiority. On this assumption, people exercise varieties of discrimination through which his life chances are reduced. Stigma and employment difficulties go hand in hand. The arrest record and the ex-convict status is a major obstacle to obtain a job, even a low paying, unskilled job. In their study of legal stigma, Schwartz and Skolnick (1962:133-142) find that the employment potential of lower class unskilled workers is severely restricted. There is an almost total resistance to hiring an ex-convict and it is also difficult for those who have been acquitted. Hence, their study indicates that merely being accused of a deviating act can be seriously discrediting for a person. Philip's (1963:963-972) research on a possible consequence of seeking help for the mentally ill also indicates that the individual's effort to seek help is often rejected because of the information being disclosed. The information that is given about his mental disorder becomes a discrediting factor in his being rejected.

A newly released ex-convict who comes to face a new social environment may find himself incapable of engaging in daily social intercourse with other people. He wonders how
other people may identify and receive him. He may think that "underneath they only assess him as a criminal and nothing else" (Goffman, 1963:4). Morris and Beverly (1975:117) indicate that stigmatization largely reflects the ex-convict's own subjective interpretation of the situation, rather than any objective account of particular experiences they have undergone, or behavior they have encountered.

Another problem that is related with stigmatization is the effect of a so-called "Master Status" which is first discussed by Hughes (1945:353-357) and later expanded by Becker (1963:31-35). There is always a status that affects the individual's occupancy of a concurrent or subsequent status. Hughes (1945:353-357) distinguishes status as master and auxiliary status traits. He finds that status has one key trait which serves to distinguish those who belong from those who do not. For instance, a medical doctor is a master trait that includes a number of auxiliary traits: the person is upper middle class, white, male and Protestant. Hence, the possession of a deviant trait may have a generalized symbolic value in that people usually assume that its bearer possesses other undesirable (auxiliary) traits that are associated with it (Deehy, 1969:39-40; Hughes, 1945:353-357). Following Hughe's line of discussion, Becker (1963:31-35) indicates that an ex-convict would need only one single criminal offense to be labelled as a criminal. An offender who is convicted of
stealing a car is presumed likely to steal another car. One of the consequences of this master trait that affects the offender is that the police always operate on the same assumption for the investigation of crime. The offender is likely to be more prone to police suspicion because of his master trait of having a criminal record. Therefore, apprehension for one deviant act exposes the individual to the likelihood that he will be regarded as deviant or undesirable in other respects. The deviant trait becomes a controlling variable that overrides other positive traits. Deviant acts are therefore likely to carry putative implications that the ex-convict is untrustworthy and evil.

On the other hand, visible behaviors add another factor in labeling ex-convicts and the subsequent reactions to deviance. Highly visible behaviors include habitual gestures, tattoos, and speech mannerisms. This visibility can be defined as the probability that an event will be encountered either directly (observed by a witness) or indirectly (written or verbal reports by others). Control agencies such as the police can sometimes use this visible behavior as a cue in their decision to make an arrest or investigation (Hawkins and Tiedeman, 1975:76-80; Irwin, 1970:173).

In summary, the ex-convict’s effort of trying to re-adjust himself in society is not an easy task. The impact
of reentry, especially during the first few weeks, is particularly hard on him. The ordeal is a hard medicine not to be taken easily.

MANAGEMENT OF DEVIAN'T STATUS

When the ex-convict finds himself having a deviant status and when his status contaminates other aspects of his identities, he can deal with it in a number of ways: (1) the disavowal of deviance (Tannenbaum, 1938:477); (2) impression management (Goffman, 1963:5-9) and; (3) by putting on a performance (Deehy, 1969:44; Goffman, 1959).

(1) The disavowal of deviance. Tannenbaum (1938:477) notes that the problem with deviance disavowal lies with the fact that once the individual has been regarded as a criminal, the community expects him to live up to his reputation, and will not credit him if he does not live up to it. The individual who wants to relinquish his deviant status can try to hide his deviant traits and to sustain a definition of himself as an ordinary person. Yet, if his deviant status is known, negative reaction against him rapidly sets in. He finds it hard to persuade others that he is no longer a criminal. As Schur (1971:69-71) points out, disavowal of deviance is difficult and uncertain, and the difficulties are exacerbated by the very widespread belief that changes in character are impossible.
(2) Impression management. This involves information control aimed at the management of spoiled identity. Such an effort is designed to refute the negative imputations that produce deviant identities. Goffman (1963:5-9) identifies two types of impression management and they are (1) the management of social information about self, and (2) the management of tension in interpersonal encounters. Deehy (1969:44) also indicates that the ex-convict can conceal his deviant identity by using such devices as a change of name, or residence, thereby the ex-convict can function as if the deviant status had not been occupied.

(3) By putting on a performance. The deviant status is known and the person may claim that he has paid his debt or learned his lesson (Deehy, 1969:44). However, the individual may still be performing deviant acts secretly. In order to avoid the consequences he feels will occur if his deviant acts come out into the open, he pretends to be conforming to the standards of society which is in a position to condemn him for what he is doing secretly. He acts in such a way as to achieve a social label of conformity in society. He puts on a performance as if he were on stage. While he may presume to be conforming to societal norms and values on the "front stage" (society), he may engage in deviant acts on the "back stage" (his own territory of self) (Goffman, 1959). The management of deviant status represents the
ex-convict's effort to reintegrate himself into society,
notwithstanding the means and techniques he employs in such
a transition and reintegration.

**REENTRY INTO SOCIETY**

The reentry into society can be regarded as a series
of status passages as the ex-convict tries to readjust himself
successfully into society. The successful reentry of the ex-
convict into the community is not accomplished on the day
of his release from the institution. The process whereby the
ex-convict moves from the prisoner status to the citizen
status is regarded as a "passage of status" (Strauss, 1959;
Studt, 1967). Examples of transition from one status to
another are many. For instance, a law graduate begins his
period of articling with the goal of becoming a full-fledged
lawyer; a pregnant woman is waiting to give birth and become
a mother; and a civilian is about to enlist in the army. In
each case, the individual goes through a kind of "transfor-
mation of identity" (Strauss, 1959). As Studt (1967:1) puts
it, the individual's social world modifies its relationship
with him during the interim stage, accommodating itself for
the status expected at some future time.

The rationale of passage of status is that people can
be expected to be different during different times and periods.
No one is assigned, nor may he assume a position or status
forever. Hence, a sense of identity is never gained nor maintained once and for all. It is constantly lost and regained. In the individual's transition from one status to another, he is required to turn his back upon his past, to discount previous accomplishments, to divest himself of an earlier sense of pride, to disassociate himself with old practices, old allies, and even old loves (Strauss, 1959: 100-124). Reentry into society involves two periods and they are (1) the initial crisis of status-passage and; (2) conditions for successful status-passage.

(1) The initial crisis of status-passage. The ex-convict is often released from the institution with minimal preparation to readjust himself. There are problems for him to solve and responsibilities to bear. All the roles he must assume after release are problematic; they differ from those to which he has been accustomed for some time. They are complicated by the fact that he is now an ex-convict as well as a son, a husband, a worker, or a student. The expectations, norms, and cues appropriate to an institutional inmate, learned under threat of severe sanctions, have little to do with his behavior in the free world. This abrupt introduction to the tasks of status-passage constitutes a crisis for the ex-convict, inducing major disorientation and requiring strenuous adaptive maneuvers by the individual himself and others who play significant roles in his adjustment (Studt, 1967:3).
In his study of parolee's process of reentry, Studt (1967:3-4) also points out that the parolee faces possible loss of liberty throughout his period of status-passage. The parolee is aware that all can be lost by a single misstep, and that every decision he makes carries the possibilities of risking his liberty. In short, the parolee is attempting to make his way back from a position of social degradation to the base status from which most people start in life.

(2) Conditions for successful status-passage. Successful mastery of the transitional experience requires learning and changing in the midst of temporary insecurity, trial and error behaviors, and especially intense feelings of hope, discouragement, frustration, and accomplishment. Studt (1967:2) points out that there are certain conditions which support an individual in making a successful status-passage. The absence of these conditions make it less probable that he will achieve the desired status at the end of the passage. The conditions which he describes are as follows:

(1) The social world of the individual in transition values him highly, or supports and encourages his entrance into the desired status.

(2) Supports are provided during the initial period of disorientation, and tolerance is afforded for trial and error behavior.

(3) The roles of the transitional status are clear, unambiguous and visibly related to the roles appropriate for the status to be achieved.

(4) The individual is actively involved in making the decisions appropriate to his new roles, in accepting responsibility for increasingly
difficult tasks, and in acting on his own behalf.

(5) The individual is supported by associates who are also experiencing the transitional status, and by the role models who represent the desired status and guide the aspirant in his effort to become one of them.

Each of the above conditions is important to the individual's transition from one status to another. The conditions mentioned above help to reduce the strain and confusion inherent in a status-passage experience. These conditions contribute information to guide the individual as he discovers his own path to achievement.

Morris and Beverly (1975:93) also point out that the reentry process takes place at two levels: emotional and practical. Successful status-passage is likely to be related to the expectations a man brings to the situation, to the physical supports available in the community (accommodation, employment opportunities, financial security, etc.,) and the emotional supports provided by the social world around him. All these will be important in determining the extent to which the parolee himself is able to perform the social and familial roles required of a free citizen, roles which have been withdrawn from him while in prison.

**PROCESS OF RESOCIALIZATION**

As a prelude to the discussion of resocialization, let us first look at some of the socialization theories which may be used to indicate the necessity of resocialization.
In the previous discussion of the process of status passage, it was said that the ex-convict is requested to disassociate himself with past values and standards which had brought him into trouble with the law. In a word, the transformation of identity requires the ex-convict to put aside his old status and to step into a new one (Strauss, 1959:100-124). Notwithstanding, the ex-convict who wants to transform his identity successfully must go through a period of resocialization. Change or abandonment from deviance requires (1) desocialization of the ex-convict to the point that deviant values are dispelled and (2) resocialization to the extent that the individual internalizes positive conventional values (Frazier, 1976:175-204; McHugh, 1963:353-363). Ordinary socialization is inadequate in fostering change in the ex-convict's deviant act because the process of socialization is a relative matter. He may have gone through a process of socialization and yet his behavior may be viewed as deviant by others in society. There are three propositions which stipulate that the ex-convict needs to go through the process of resocialization if he plans to be socialized under these three types of propositions of socialization. They are (1) definition of the situation; (2) group identification and; (3) association and learning. These three propositions indicate that under conditions mentioned, the resocialization process may be considered important in the ex-convict's
acceptance of conventional values and norms.

(1) Definition of the situation. W.I. Thomas (1923), in his study of the Polish peasant in Chicago, clearly indicates the point that the individual is born into a situation composed of social definitions. These definitions are the cumulated norms and values of society and are conveyed to the individual through the family and the community. The individual may act upon his definition of the situation without knowing the values and norms of his new environment. When this happens, his action is designated as deviant by the new social setting. Therefore, a situation that is defined as real is real in its consequence. Tannenbaum (1938) also points out that there may be a divergence in behavioral definitions between the community and the individual. What to the individual is "fun", "adventure", or "mischief" may from the community's point of view by "nuisance", "evil" or "delinquent". These divergent definitions of the situation often bring the individual into conflict with the community. The individual's act may then be designated as deviant. The definitions of the situation to which the individual has been raised may be incompatible with the community. Hence, while the individual may have gone through a "normal" process of socialization, his behavior can still be regarded as deviant by the community. In order that his behavior can be compatible with that of the
community's requirement, he needs to go through a resocialization process. He needs to relinquish his old self and acquire a new self instead.

(2) **Group identification.** Many scholars (Gloward and Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955; Miller, 1958; Merton, 1938) have pointed out that the imperfect development of society induces deviant behavior patterns. The individual's legitimate opportunities to achieve societal goals may be blocked or unavailable. The individual may then develop alternate means to achieve this legitimate goal. In his process of communication with others with similar problems, support grows for developing new values favorable to deviance. A subculture is formed, based on these values, and the individual's inclinations for employing deviant means are supported in the group. A reference group is developed when individuals with similar problems or beliefs gather together and engage in deviant activities which bring rewards to the group. A kind of subculture emerges when group members develop alternate norms and conduct which they are capable of achieving. The individual who is socialized in this kind of subculture would have to be resocialized in terms of the values and norms of the dominant culture.

(3) **Association and learning.** A synthesis of the above two propositions has been developed by Shaw and McKay (1931) and Sutherland (1937). Their ideas are that deviant
behavior is learned by the individual in his social setting. Values favorable to deviance are prominent and considered normal in certain segments of the society; individuals socialized in these particular segments are believed to take on deviant behavior patterns as naturally as those who develop conventional patterns. Shaw and McKay (1931:225-229) believe that socialization of deviant values is characteristic of deteriorated and disorganized sections of cities. It is here that conventional traditions, neighborhood institutions, and public opinions which usually effect control over the behavior of individuals are lacking. In these circumstances a powerful influence "tends to create a community spirit which not only tolerates, but actually fosters, the gradual formation and crystallization of deviant behavior traits" (Shaw and McKay, 1931:225-229). Sutherland's (Sutherland and Cressey, 1966:85) theory of differential association stipulates that criminal behavior is learned. The techniques of committing crimes, as well as criminal motives, drives, attitudes, and rationalizations are learned in primary interaction wherein there is an excess of definitions favorable to violation of the law. Whether the individual internalizes these definitions, depends upon the frequency, duration, priority, and intensity of the association. Through involvement in conventional groups and isolation from deviant groups the deviant would take on new values and new behaviors
consistent with conventional standards.

In all of above propositions, one comes to realize that basic beliefs, values, and substantial parts of the personality structure must be changed in order to affect a change or disengagement from the deviant behavior pattern of the individual. This is what Kennedy and Kerber (1973:35-45) describe as the discrepancy between "ideal" and "real" behavior. When this takes place, mechanisms are then utilized to minimize this discrepancy. Since the conventional society which is dominant over its members operates according to a set of established "ideal" norms, members are expected to live without breaking the laws of the dominant society. A state of societal dissonance is said to occur when the member's "real" behavior falls short of the expectation of the dominant society - the "ideal" behavior.

Frazier (1976:177-180) and McHugh (1963:353-363) state that change of deviant behavior pattern requires first of all the desocialization of the individual in order to dispel and disengage him from deviant values and patterns, and secondly the resocialization of the individual to gain conventional norms and values. The internalization of conventional values may be accomplished through assimilation into an ongoing nondeviant group that manifests values unfavorable to deviance.
OBJECTIVE OF DESOCIALIZATION

Desocialization operates as the first step in the process of resocialization and it involves the disavowal of deviant values and attitudes. Desocialization is a necessary process because the installing or rejuvenating of conventional values cannot take place unless formal values and attitudes are dispelled. McHugh (1963:358-359) suggests that the organized relationships in the inmate social system serve as vehicles for the expression of old values. Since these continuing relationships reinforce the old values, the old values can be discontinued only by discontinuing the relationships. This discontinuing of relationships must also be carried on in society, the ex-convict needs to realize that the continuation of old relationships in society may get himself involved into deviant acts again. He may, therefore, need to establish friendships with ordinary citizens who can help him to relinquish old deviant values and attitudes. His new found friendships may be the source for the rejuvenation of conventional values and attitudes. To sum up, the ex-convict needs to be desocialized from old deviant values and attitudes before the process of resocialization can be taken place.

OBJECTIVE OF RESOCIALIZATION

Simply put, the objective of resocialization is to foster change in the individual's behavior and attitude
toward deviance. It strives to disengage the individual from deviant activities. Frazier (1976:175-176) suggests that disengagement from a pattern of deviant behavior is a necessary ingredient of resocialization. However, one has to be cautious of the fact that the individual's abandonment of a deviant behavior pattern can be defined as change only if the individual has the intention to permanently disengage from a form of deviance. He needs also to recognize that deviant behavior is erroneous and improper. He must strive to accept conventional values and norms as legitimate and standard for his own behavior. The task of resocialization is to prevent the individual's return to a pattern of deviance and to help him internalize conventional norms and values (Frazier, 1976:180-204; Kennedy and Kerber, 1973:168-170).

Utilizing Pareto's theory that society is a system in a state of equilibrium, Kennedy and Kerber (1973:36) suggests that there exist within every society certain forces which maintain the form or condition which the society has achieved or which guarantee even and uninterrupted change. They think that if the social system is subjected to pressures from outward forces of moderate intensity, inner forces will push toward the restoration of equilibrium, returning the society to its undisturbed state. These inner forces consist primarily of the sentiment of revulsion against anything which disturbs the inner equilibrium. The individual's behavior which is
considered deviant can be viewed as leading to a state of societal dissonance. The dominant society then works to restore equilibrium (consonance) by attempting to modify the individual's behavior until it conforms with conventional norms and values. The purpose of resocialization is to restore equilibrium within society where its norms have been disrupted by individual members.

**RESOCIALIZATION AS A PROCESS OF SOCIAL READJUSTMENT**

Resocialization is a process whereby the individual abandons or changes his deviant belief and attitude. Social consonance is restored when members conform to the dominant society. Resocialization leads to social readjustment when the individual has established satisfactory relationships in his domestic and economic affairs and is free from serious physical and mental handicaps. According to Rumney and Murphy (1968:85-91), the individual is considered socially unadjusted if he shows the following symptoms:

a. if he has a protracted illness,
b. if he has been in a mental hospital,
c. he shows tendencies to paranoia, phobia, excessive jealousy, or similar pathological conditions,
d. he is addicted to alcohol or drugs,
e. he obtains a livelihood by illegal or criminal means,
f. he drifts frequently from one low paying job to another.
he ekes out a marginal existence at some employment. The individual is considered socially readjusted only if the above problems are solved and improved. If the individual is unable to tackle any one of the above problems, he may sooner or later drift back to his old form.

In order that the individual can be socially readjusted, he needs to go through a process of resocialization. This process is especially difficult if the individual is an ex-convict because some of the above mentioned symptoms are a part of his life. Kennedy and Kerber (1973:39) puts forward a definition of resocialization as:

that process wherein an individual, defined as inadequate according to the norms of a dominant institution(s), is subjected to a dynamic program of behavior intervention aimed at instilling and/or rejuvenating those values, attitudes, and abilities which would allow him to function according to the norms of said dominant institution(s).

These authors describe that members of the dominant society are expected to internalize and comply with the behavioral standards set by that society. If the individual deviates from these standards, he is said to be in a state of dissonance. In order to restore society to a state of consonance, the dominant society subjects him, by force or persuasion, to dynamic programs of behavior intervention aimed at altering his values, attitudes, and abilities until he conforms to the norms of the dominant society. These dynamic programs
are regarded as a process of resocialization aimed at instilling and/or rejuvenating the individual's conventional values and standards.

**A Dynamic Model of Resocialization**

In order to clarify the process of resocialization, Kennedy and Kerber propose a dynamic model of resocialization as shown in figure 1.

Kennedy and Kerber (1973:40-41) describe that "A" represents the state before resocialization and, as the diagram indicates, there is a greater degree of societal dissonance than consonance. The reason for this dissonance is due to the gap between real and ideal behavior, as shown by the double arrow between real...
and ideal behavior.

"B" represents the state after resocialization. The increase in consonance here is due to the institution of a dynamic program which aims at bringing real behavior closer to ideal behavior. The institution of such a program is represented by the arrow marked X, and the direction of this arrow X indicates that the circle on the left is beginning to merge with the one on right. This will serve to reduce the gap between real and ideal behavior, thus increasing the degree of societal consonance. "Suffice it to say that the diagram oversimplifies the totality of processes involved in resocialization and it assumes that the circle moves in only one direction. Since many forms of collective action are composed of a variety of conflicting forces, progress is seldom continuous or direct. The diagram merely serves as a theoretical tool to illustrate the process of resocialization.

SOCIALIZATION VERSUS RESOCIALIZATION

Resocialization can be simply described as the repetition of certain parts of the original process of socialization. Kennedy and Kerber (1973:43-45) make a fine distinction between socialization and resocialization so that the concepts can be clarified. The distinction is shown in the following table:
### Table 1

**Socialization vs. Resocialization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>Agent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Who?</strong></td>
<td>Tabula Rasa</td>
<td>Accumulated Experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>What?</strong></td>
<td>Develop</td>
<td>Alter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>How?</strong></td>
<td>Dependent</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Why?</strong></td>
<td>Natural Process</td>
<td>Comply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>When?</strong></td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>Intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Where?</strong></td>
<td>Natural Setting</td>
<td>Confined Setting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above table, human behavior is dichotomized and placed under various rubrics. The table is a model categorization which is intended to show difference rather than to provide finite definition.

As Kennedy and Kerber (1973:43-45) describe it, the table contains six questions about socialization and resocialization, considered from two points of view, that of the actor himself and that of the agent. The agent is the mentor, the source of social experience and direction, the self is the recipient, the object of both socialization and resocialization.

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2The table is a modified form of one produced by Kennedy and Kerber, 1973:44.
As to the first question, "Who?" The self during the process of socialization is considered a "tabula rasa", in resocialization the self consists of accumulated experiences. The agent during the socialization period is the primary group and the agent is the secondary group during resocialization. In resocialization, the individual is often older and has acquired more experience. Therefore, resocialization agents of the criminal justice system are often charged with the responsibility of convincing a fully-grown adult that his behavioral pattern is in need of revision.

As to the second question, "What?" During socialization, the self's responsibility is to develop and to mature; the agent's primary concern is to guide the formation of the self's personality. During the process of resocialization, the self is expected to alter previously learned behavioral patterns; and the agent's function is often to redirect the individual's effort and to assist him in this redirection.

The third question concerns the process of "How?" In the period of socialization, the self is dependent and the agent relies on the strength of an affective relationship. In resocialization, the self is independent, whereas the agent provides care and understanding. By showing care and understanding, the agent hopes to gain the individual's trust. He will then be able to redirect the behavior and the attitude of the self.
The fourth part deals with the question "Why?" Here, both the self and the agent are involved in the process of socialization. This is a natural process and there is no coercion by force. In the period of resocialization, the self learns to comply with ideal normative requirements, and the agent attempts to restore equilibrium to society by getting the self to comply.

The fifth question deals with "When?" During socialization, both the self and the agent interact on a continuous basis. The self and the agent interact intensively during the period of resocialization. This intensiveness in interaction is aimed at assisting the individual in his confrontation with problematic situations. Intensive interaction allows the agent, the individual, to coordinate and cooperate in tackling the problem.

Finally, "Where?" does it take place? During socialization, both the self and the agent interact in a natural setting. They are subjected to and partake in most activities which constitute the social system. During the process of resocialization, both the self and the agent find themselves in a confined setting. Within this confined setting, both the agent and the individual realize that there are rules and regulations to be observed and complied with, however loose these rules and regulations may be. Rules and regulations are set in the resocialization process so that the individual
who goes through this process may not deviate from it.

The above explanation shows the importance of the agent in the actor's resocialization process. The actor may not be able to resocialize his behavior without the assistance of the agent. It is the agent who helps to bring about the change on the part of the actor himself.

**CRIMINAL REHABILITATION AS A FORM OF RESOCIALIZATION**

When the individual is found to have violated conventional norms, he is usually put on a form of resocialization termed "criminal rehabilitation". Supposedly, in the rehabilitative process, the individual is exposed to a set of conditions which lead him to realize that behavior conforming to conventional norms bring more emotional and material rewards than behavior opposing societal norms and standards.

The agents, who take on the role of "coaching" ex-convicts who are making the passage from the status of inmate to that of the citizen again include, personnel from halfway houses, parole agencies, and convalescent homes, to name only a few. These agencies are formally designed to help change ex-convicts whose previous behavior has been defined as unacceptable by societal standards. They also take on the responsibility to "disengage" the ex-convicts from the institution in which they have been confined and prepare them for the resumption of an autonomous existence in society. They are "buffer"
agencies whose task it is to reduce as much as possible the
gaps and discomforts in the transition from the institution
to the community. The ex-convicts are rehabilitated under
the proper guidance of these agencies.

THE ROLE OF HALFWAY HOUSE IN RESOCIALIZATION

The halfway house is one of the buffering agents whose
job it is to resocialize ex-convicts in a protective environ-
ment. It operates in a manner analogous to a "decompression
chamber", delaying the full impact of the move back to society.

Deehy (1969:56-57) shows that there are a number of functions
which the halfway house performs:

a. The cushioning of the impact of release.
b. The continuation of the resocialization process.
c. The provision of skills and resources speci-
fically required in making the transition.
d. The continuation of the control exercised by
the halfway house.
e. The overcoming of, or compensation for negatives
in the total institution experience.

The continuation of control is required for those ex-convicts
who are on day parole from the criminal justice system. The
house is responsible for their behavioral supervision as
requested by the judicial agent. The halfway house operates
under the role of significant others whose directions are
supposed to be taken seriously by the ex-convicts living there.
In a way, the house is a reference group that operates as
"significant others" (Mead, 1934) in assisting the residents
living in the house. Schmitts (1972:123) notes that "...

reference groups were regarded as a major source of attitude formation and change. Gouldner and Gouldner (1963:320) also state that "the stronger the motivation to stay in the group and the greater its attraction and its rewards, the more the individual will adapt his beliefs, values and behavior to the group's norms". The individual's desire to readjust himself affects his motivational attachment to the group. Clark (1972:17) suggests that each reference group has its own set of norms and values, which may include influences for or against criminal behavior. According to Shibutani (1955:569), the crucial concern here is that of "ascertaining how a person defines the situation, which perspectives he uses in arriving at such a definition, and who constitutes the audience whose response provide the necessary confirmation and support for his position". Sutherland's (Sutherland and Cressey, 1966:85) concept of differential association is also useful here in that the house induces favorable definitions to the conformity of societal laws. There is frequent interaction between the staff and the residents. The priority, duration, and intensity of the association in such a halfway house atmosphere help in instilling or rejuvenating conventional values and norms in the individual residents concerned.

Sherif and Sherif (1964:90) think that there is a need for people who share common or similar problems to enter into repeated interaction with each other. People usually experience
less dissonance when they identify with those whose perspectives are like their own. It is easier to interact with persons who understand us and whom we understand. Besides the importance of understanding, there is also the need for others to accept and approve of us, or at least hold out to us the expectation that acceptance will come in due time (Clark, 1972: 72-73). Because of the acceptance, the individual is given companionship and a sense of belonging (Plant, 1937: 95-96). One needs to be reminded that an ex-convict may not want to be helped in the halfway house setting. He may appear to behave "normally" inside the house because he puts on a performance to pretend that he is "following" the rules. He puts on a performance in his front stage in dealing with the house. He acts otherwise in his back region (Goffman, 1959). In their discussion of delinquent boys, Keller and Alper (1970: 42-43) note that:

...the boy's sentiments, as observed in the external system, are largely negative. His primary reason for having accepted placement here (halfway house) is because he regarded it as preferable to the reformatory...he is still opposed to adult authority...he is hostile or indifferent toward the others. Inwardly resistive to the entire program, he now engages reluctantly in the daily work and the nightly group discussions. Although harboring feelings of hopelessness, despair, and self-hatred, he feels no genuine desire to change. Accustomed to being locked up, he is either puzzled by the lack of custody or views this as evidence that the halfway house is run by "suckers" who can be easily "conned".
Hence, simply being in the group does not necessarily imply that the group can induce change in the part of the residents. The task of the halfway house to resocialize the ex-convicts is difficult. Freshly released from the institution, the ex-convict's attitude in first arriving at the house may be as follows:

...first arrive, many of them (delinquent boys) are hostile, defiant and rebellious...attempting to withdraw into themselves...don't want to look at themselves realistically. Their hostility masks the real fear inside them...distrustful of everything - of their families, friends, and authority...often reveals an extremely low self-concept...lacks the confidence to change his ways (Keller and Alper, 1970:21).

Immediately, the staff faces the task of redirecting the ex-convict's attitude upon his arrival at the house. The house needs to show care and understanding in the ex-convict's problems and tries to restore, into the ex-convict's behavior and attitude, conventional values and norms through intensive material and emotional support.

The present study is being undertaken to test and see what degree of resocialization has taken place, if any. It is now appropriate to consider the methodology and the analysis of data.
CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The present study takes the format of a case study. Understandably, this approach is considerably more limited than the other methods such as comparative study and experimental study. This kind of single case does not permit generalizations to be made with any assurance, nor, in the absence of a control group, does it permit direct evaluation of the program under study. However, as Derry (1967:71-72) argues, even under ideal conditions, the random assignment of individuals to treatment situations has some biasing effects since treatment is not normally offered on a random basis and any perception by the subjects of illogicality in their assignment to the treatment program may itself affect their performance. Moreover, case studies have proven quite useful in the past. The halfway house has not been studied extensively so far, hence, a case study method is used in the present research.

Two methods are used in gathering data. They are the interview schedule and participant observation. The interview schedule consists of mostly pre-coded questions and some open-ended questions as well. In order to assure that the questions asked in the interview can achieve optimal effect, the questionnaire was pre-tested with three residents. The questionnaire was then revised with either questions added or omitted.
Throughout the entire period of research, the researcher always stressed the point that all the interviews were confidential and could only be studied by the researcher himself. This kind of guarantee was given to ensure that the respondent would give an honest answer in the interview. In all, twenty-two residents were interviewed and the interviews varied in length from about forty-five minutes to one and one-half hours. In the interviews that were done with the staff, another set of questions was used. The questions were all open-ended with no pre-test of the questionnaire. However, this set of questions had been used in an earlier paper by the researcher and all questions were refined and reset at that time. In the present study, the questions were formulated based upon the experience of the prior research. Altogether, a total of four staff members were interviewed, this included the executive director, the assistant director, and two counsellors. Pre-coded questions were not used in the staff interview because the researcher thought that open-ended questions would best serve the purpose of the present study.

There was one major criterion used in doing the interviews with the residents. Only residents who had lived for the minimum of three weeks in the house would be interviewed. This criterion was used because the researcher thought that this length of residence was necessary if the respondent was to begin understanding the house and the people there.
In each interview with the individual residents, the researcher stated that he was carrying out a study of the halfway house, and he was eager to learn from him about his impression of the house and the people there. Besides stressing the point that the information given was confidential, the researcher also pointed out that he had no connection whatsoever with the Penitentiary Service or the National Parole Board in order to avoid any suspicion from the part of the interviewee. The researcher's student status was also revealed to the respondents. Though a total of twenty-two interviews were done, there were three cases of unsuccessful contacts with the respondents. These three respondents did not refuse to be interviewed, but they seemed to avoid the researcher whenever he was present in the house. Hence, the researcher was unable to do the interviews despite the respondent's initial willingness to be interviewed. Questions asked in the interview included information on the respondents' employment history, social activities, relationships with fellow residents and staff, impression of the house, and institutional experience.

Besides the interview schedule, a variety of informal contacts, with both staff and residents, were achieved during the period of participant observation. The researcher paid regular visits to the house on the average of once or twice a week over the six months period starting from February, 1977
to July, 1977. Altogether, a total of thirty-seven visits were made with an average of two hours in each visit. The method of participant observation was regarded as necessary because it allowed the researcher the opportunity to observe matters that could not be detected in the interview. Participant observation was an integral part of the research because, under the circumstances considered, the utilization of interview schedule as the only tool of the research was not merely inadequate but also improper in the understanding of the residents' behavior. Since the present study intends to look at any possible change in the individual resident's behavior and attitude, participant observation becomes not only necessary but also essential. It is through participant observation that any possible change in behavior and attitude can be observed. Notwithstanding, in the collection of data, many problems were considered in order to ascertain the validity and reliability of the information collected. These problems are discussed below.

1. The role of the researcher. The researcher was brought into the house by the counsellor on duty who introduced the researcher to the residents who were present. After the initial introduction into the house, the researcher was told that he could come and do his research in the house whenever he thought this was necessary. In order to gain the residents' confidence and trust, the researcher decided
to spend the first few visits there just to establish some sort of acquaintance with the residents. The researcher believed that his acceptance into the group was of primary importance because the residents' cooperation in the research was essential in carrying out the study. After the researcher had established a friendly relationship with the residents, he then proceeded to ask some of the residents for their cooperation in interview. In a way, the researcher's race identity was an asset also.

(2) The problem of communication. The researcher's English pronunciation proved to be troublesome at times when the respondent could not understand the meaning he intended to convey. Fortunately, all the respondents were patient in trying to understand the researcher's question. They knew that English was not the researcher's mother tongue and therefore showed particular tolerance in communicating with him. The researcher also found it difficult to understand

3 The researcher's ethnic identity (Chinese) was known to the residents and some of them mistook the researcher as a new counsellor at the house. After a few visits, words were spread around the house that the researcher was doing some kind of a research at the house. Many residents, knowing that the researcher was a Chinese and therefore a foreigner, showed particular interest in the research and eagerness to assist the researcher in completing the study.

4 On a couple of occasions, the questions asked by the researcher were partly misunderstood and were thus wrongly answered. Many of the residents talked very fast and the researcher sometimes missed what they said.
the residents for the same reason. The misunderstanding of the language may lead to the researcher's misinterpretation of the information received. The use of coarse language by the residents was itself problematic for the researcher. Hence, it was deemed necessary for the researcher to become familiar with the use of coarse language, the familiarity with the language was necessary both for the purpose of observation and interviewing. On the other hand, prison jargon was also frequently spoken by the residents and the researcher found it very hard to understand at the initial stage of the research. As time went by, the problem seemed to subside as the researcher became more familiar with the language. Also, prison jargon was not used as frequently as time went by because the residents knew that the researcher could not understand them.

(3) The technique of data-gathering. The research was done with the staff's full cooperation. Information such as the house structure and treatment program was provided readily by the staff. Data regarding the residents' behavior and attitude were obtained through observations and interviews. When doing the research, the interaction with the residents was informal and casual. Because of the researcher's limited time in the house, he felt that direct observation could only provide a small portion of the information needed. The major portion of the information was, therefore, gathered through
formal interviews and informal conversation.

Formal interviews were indicated to the respondents by an explicit statement that the conversation was designated as data-gathering occasion. Formal interviews were usually arranged in advance by prior appointment with the staff. It depended on each resident whether or not he wanted to be interviewed on the spot. If he did not want to be interviewed, an appointment time was made at his convenience. Interviews with staff were conducted in the office and only the interviewee was allowed in the office with the researcher. Interviews with residents were conducted in places which they preferred, such as the living room or the television room. However, if there was another resident present in the room, the researcher usually asked to move to another place where there would be no other people around.

Informal talks took place with staff members on a variety of occasions. On such occasions, no effort was made by the researcher to channel the conversation into directions that were of interest to the research and it was never made explicit whether or not the things that transpired there would be counted toward the data-gathering. The staff members apparently did not consider these situations ambiguous or important enough to inquire into the researcher's intentions. Notes were kept on all observations which were thought to be relevant to the research topic. In the case of informal
occasions, notes were made after the researcher had left the scene. In no circumstances were notes written during the period of observations and conversations. Notes were made as soon as the researcher returned home. However, important phrases about the observations and conversations were made in order to avoid any possible omission. These short notes were usually made whenever the researcher had the chance to be alone at the house or out on the front porch. No notes were written in front of the residents because, as two residents told the researcher, this reminded the residents of the constant surveillance in the prison. Considering the circumstances, the researcher decided that it was in the best interest of the research that residents not be offended by his writing notes in front of them. In formal interviews, the researcher took detail notes as much as possible. More or less extensive additions to the notes were made after the interviews. Interviews with the staff, however, were done with tape recordings in order to facilitate accuracy in the research.

(4) The validity of data and house rules. The observation of possible change in behavior and attitude is in itself problematic. Each of these two areas requires a different methodological approach. While behavior (both verbal and non-verbal) is subject to direct observation, attitude is either told to the researcher or is stated in the
course of interactions observed by the researcher, or is inferred from the observation of various behaviors.

The methods, which were employed to obtain necessary information regarding changes in behavior and attitude, were observation and interviewing. The technique of doing this has been discussed in previous pages and will not be repeated here. Nevertheless, the researcher tried to observe all sorts of behaviors, and relevant data were discerned and recorded as they were encountered.

On the other hand, the interview with the resident sometimes posed difficulties for the researcher as well. The difficulty arose because of the researcher's lack of knowledge of the methods the respondent used to formulate responses in the interview. For example, the respondent might describe that some of his fellow residents were "fucked". It was difficult to say what, if anything, the researcher had learned from such a description because of the vagueness of the word used. What did he mean when he said some of his fellow residents were "fucked"? In a case like this when the meaning of the word was unclear, the researcher would probe further into the answer by asking: What do you mean by that? The respondent might think that the word "fucked" was easy to understand because he had used it as a routine in everyday speech. However, in doing a research, even this kind of word is problematic if the researcher does not probe the exact
meaning of it.

In describing the residents' behavior and attitude, care was taken by the researcher not to confuse formal and informal house rules, as played by the respondents, with the description of house rules and structures. There was always a possibility that actual behavior of the respondents might not be following the rules and roles. This was only a minor problem though. There was a more important question which concerned the problem of correspondence between rules and behavior, even if the behavior conformed to the rules. Hence, there was the problem of deciding whether or not specific behaviors were indeed behaviors according to the rules.

The researcher did not intend to collect rules as such for data-gathering purposes. Behaviors were observed and examined whether or not they conformed to the rules. Hence, only activities which could be observed were recorded. If no behavior according to the rules occurred, the rule was considered "dormant" because it did not describe the house's function (Strauss et al., 1963:150).

(5) Bias in interviewing and observation. As far as observation was concerned, the researcher did not detect any evidence that performances were staged by either staff or respondents for his benefit. The most important question in obtaining information for the interviews was to decide whether or not the respondents were lying in their interview statements.
The problem of lying has always been discussed in the literature (Dean and Whyte, 1958:105-114). Lying is likely to have occurred when the respondent's attitude towards the researcher and the research is doubtful or unfriendly. One of the best ways to detect lying is by cross-checking the information received, either against the answers of other respondents or by rephrasing the same question several times and checking for consistency. In fact, the researcher's questionnaire contained many questions which were designed specifically and intentionally repeated throughout the interview for the purpose of cross-checking. Another technique employed was the asking of the same question during informal conversation. The rationale was that casual conversation was one of the better means to detect possible lying. The respondent was usually more relaxed during informal conversation and thus might be unaware of the question being asked and the researcher's intention of asking it.

On the other hand, checking of accurate information given in the interview could be obtained through the recording of the individual respondent's behavior displayed either through direct observation or through staff or fellow residents. This method was used because the respondent might act contrary to what he might have said in the interview. In this case, participant observation permitted the researcher to notice any possible case of dishonesty and lying in the part of the
The awareness of different behaviors showed. In checking the information, the researcher is always aware of the staging of behaviors by the respondents, either consciously or unconsciously, to show his presentation of self. As Goffman (1959) points out, an actor may act differently in the front stage region than in the back stage region. The actor is staging his behavior probably because he wants to maintain his territory of self. The purpose of his staging of behavior is not so much as to fool the researcher as to present himself as an individual in society. Thus the researcher may find that a particular respondent's behavior contradicts what he said about himself in the interview.

Throughout the whole period of research, the researcher found that many respondents did display two different kinds of behavior. While in the house, they showed compliance with the house rule and regulation. They intended to show their behavior in accordance with the rules and regulations. Once outside of the house, they behaved differently. The researcher took the difference in behaviors as an indicator that possibly they might not be going through the process of trying to readjust themselves. Resocialization might not have taken place if the respondent showed that he was staging his behavior to avoid being detected by the staff about his intention to readjust himself. The difference of
behaviors displayed inside and outside the house was taken by the researcher as a hint to possible failure of readjustment. On the other hand, the researcher was also concerned with the possibility that some respondents behaved differently in the house because they behaved according to the social expectation of the house. Their behavior was more or less dictated by the social environment they engaged in.

This chapter and the preceding one have presented the methodological and theoretical perspectives on which this study of St. Leonard's House is based. The following chapter presents the findings of this research.
CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS

The main objective of this research intends to show that halfway houses such as the St. Leonard's House of Windsor appropriately serves as a transition point between the total institution and the free community. An ex-convict, who comes to live in the house before his complete return to society, is likely to undergo behavioral modification and attitudinal changes because of his living experience in the house. An ex-convict is likely to re-adjust himself under the protective environment afforded by the house. This protective environment offers him not only food and shelter, but also moral support, counselling and assistance from a group of staff who are readily willing to help and give advice. The house, with its material and emotional support, allows the man an opportunity to try a new life again.

The analysis of the field research is divided into eight major categories in accordance with the interviewing questionnaire:

1. Background information,
2. Employment,
3. Social activities,
4. Impression of the house,
5. Relationship with people at the house,
6. Impression of counselling,
(7) Effects of imprisonment and,
(8) Opinions about the house.

Each of these categories will be analyzed separately in detail in the following pages.

(1) Background information. St. Leonard's House of Windsor is located in the downtown area of the city, in two large buildings. It can provide a maximum accommodation for twenty people at any one time. On an average year, the house usually provides accommodation and assistance to around 105 to 120 residents. The average stay of each resident is about 80 days, discounting the emergency accommodation and temporary absences. The house employs a staff of nine to deal with the residents.

The men usually applied for admission while they were still serving their sentence in the institution. Upon receipt of the application, a personal interview is then arranged in the institution with the applicant. Admission into the house is based on several criteria and they are:

a. The need of the applicant and the sincere desire upon his behalf to make a conscientious effort to make a new start in life.

b. The ultimate goal of being completely self-sufficient and working towards that on a day to day basis.

c. Agreement by the applicant that he will abide by house rules.

d. Availability of accommodation.

e. Ex-Windsorites are given preference but others are welcome if they feel a change would be beneficial to their situation (St. Leonard's House of Windsor Information Pamphlet).
In some cases, a T.A.P. (Temporary Absence Permit) to the house is set up so that both the applicant and the staff can evaluate each other, and find out whether or not the house is suited for the applicant.

In order to ascertain the nature of the population in the house, certain descriptive information was collected about the residents' background. The information is summarized below.

**Age of the respondents** The age of the respondents ranged from under 20 to over 50 as seen in table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGE OF THE RESPONDENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 or over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

66% of the respondents were under 30 years of age.

**Geographic origin** As seen from table 3, the majority of the respondents were born in the Windsor-Chatham area. This could reflect the house's purpose to cater primarily to men from the Windsor and surrounding areas.

**Level of education** Table 4 shows the respondents' level of
TABLE 3

GEOGRAPHIC ORIGIN OF THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Windsor-Chatham area</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4

EDUCATION LEVEL OF THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of education</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7-8 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some high school, but did not graduate</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>73.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college or vocational training</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

education. About 82% of the men had not finished high school. The respondents were asked why they dropped out of school. Their answers ranged from "I never liked school", "I found a job and decided to stay out of school", "Didn't learn and simply quit", "Didn't have the chance to finish school because of family problems" and, some said "I was busted and ended up in jail". Some of the respondents did
recognize the handicap of their low education and tried to upgrade their education by either going to an upgrading education program or some skill training programs at St. Claire College. Out of the total of twenty-two respondents, three were going to school on full-time basis and one was on a part-time basis by taking a correspondence course. One of the three full-time students was continuing his education at the University of Windsor. For some other men, while they recognized their low level of education, they thought that they would not return to school to upgrade their education. The reasons they gave were "I am too old for that (education) now", "a high school diploma would not get me a good job", "I have a job now and don't want to give up the job". One respondent said rather sarcastically that:

even if I do finish high school now, what can it help me in my life? To the square Johns, I was a crook and will always be one. Education? It can help me to go nowhere as soon as they (square Johns) find out about my (criminal) record.5

Length of time served in prisons Table 5 shows the number of years that the respondents had spent serving in the institution altogether. As seen from the table, we can notice that over half of the men had spent at least four years in the prisons prior to their present release.

5All quotations are taken from field notes. Except that of the staff's words, which are taped in recording, all other quotations are from phrased sentences recorded in the field notes.
TABLE 5

LENGTH OF TIME SERVED IN PRISONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of time served</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-6 years</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-9 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 10 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total                      | 22      | 100.0    |

TABLE 6

LENGTH OF STAY IN THE HOUSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of stay</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than a month</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 month or more</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 months or more</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 months or more</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 6 months</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total                      | 22      | 100.0    |

Length of stay in the house Table 6 shows the length of stay for these respondents. As seen from the table, half of the men had stayed in the house for more than two months while this research was being done. Another question the respondents were asked if they wanted to stay in the house for a longer period time. All but four of the respondents answered that they desired to stay in the house longer than
the present period of residence. Their desire to stay longer in the house may be indicative of the need of a setting like St. Leonard's House to help the ex-convicts in trying to reintegrate themselves into society. On the other hand, it may also indicate that the respondents wanted to continue a nice and secure life in which they needed not to face the challenge of the daily living problems such as food and shelter.

Looking over the respondents' background information, we can notice that over half of them are under 30 years of age, come from the Windsor-Chatham area, have had some high school education, have spent at least 4-6 years in prisons, and have stayed in the house for at least two months or more. This background information suggests to us that their reentry into society may be a difficult one, most of these men are still relatively young (under 30 years of age), but they have spent a good portion of their adult years in prisons. This lengthy period of imprisonment may hinder their effort to readjust themselves adequately into society. The fact that a majority of the respondents come from the Windsor-Chatham area also seems to indicate the need of a halfway house like St. Leonard's House in Windsor in order to provide services to those who are in need of them.

With regard to the respondents' family background, the staff told the writer that most of the men came from
low social economic status families. They lived in a neighborhood where crime was common and an environment where there was "no encouragement other than doing something wrong". Many of the men mingled "with bad guys and got themselves into troubles with the law". Many of them never had a good family life. The men were brought up in an environment where "the good values (conventional social norms and values) were not taught and crime was seem to be the right thing to do". The men had not gone through a normal process of socialization. Hence, it seems that resocialization is necessary so that conventional values and norms can be instilled and/or rejuvenated. A successful process of resocialization would allow the men to function according to the norms and values of society.

(2) Employment. One of the more important programs being pursued by the house was locating employment for the respondents. The respondents were encouraged by the staff to look for work by themselves or through assistance by the employment counsellor. The staff always expressed their concern if the individual respondent failed to find or hold employment. The staff believed that constant shifting of jobs was detrimental to the respondent's adjustment effort. Keeping steady employment was one of the prime factors in the respondent's efforts to reintegrate himself into society.

During the researcher's period of participant observation
at the house, he found that a few men did not really want to find employment. These men did not seem to be interested in work and sometimes excused themselves by saying the job was either too unpleasant for them or the job's pay was too low. They seemed to resist the staff's effort in trying to find any job - even a casual job - for them.

The position of employment counsellor was specifically created to suit the needs of the residents to locate employment. The employment counsellor did not really spend that much time in actual job finding. For the most part, the employment counsellor contacted a number of local employers who were receptive to hire residents from the house. A list of local contacts was usually made for the convenience of the men. On the other hand, the Manpower Centre was also contacted to locate employment for the men. The men themselves were also encouraged to go to Manpower Centre and to look for jobs. Employment ads from the local newspaper were frequently posted either in the house or in the office to attract the attention of the men. Besides looking for jobs for the men, the employment counsellor also taught the men how to look for jobs themselves. They were taught how to check want-ads and to discern between the various types of jobs which were advertised, and how to find jobs in the Manpower Centre and to be aware of the various training programs available to them. Since many of the men were, as one counsellor remarked,
functionally illiterate, they were also taught how to fill out application forms. The importance of employment was emphasized in the house, and the few who did not seem to be interested in work were particularly "encouraged" by the staff to obtain employment.

It was hypothesized that if the man possessed a trade or skill and he tried hard to locate a job, he is more likely to change his behavior and attitude. The rationale here is that full-time and steady employment is one of the major means of reintegrating himself back on to the street. As Rumney and Murphy (1968:85-91) contend, the individual is considered socially maladjusted if he does not have steady employment. Although possessing a trade or skill is an advantage in acquiring a good paying job, only two of the respondents claimed that they knew a trade or skill.

Counting the number of jobs that the respondents have had since their present release, the researcher found that they had a total of 46 job changes (excluding the three who went to school full-time). Hence, the remaining 19 men had an average of 2.4 job changes per man. The result is summarized in table 7 below.
TABLE 7

NUMBER AND TYPES OF JOBS THAT RESPONDENTS HAVE HAD AFTER THEIR PRESENT RELEASE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of jobs</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy industries</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales and clerical</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting and construction</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service industry</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscaping</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Frequency of job changes: The above table shows that there has been quite a frequent change of jobs for the men, because table 6 had shown that their average stay in the house was only two months or more. When the frequency of job changes was counted again, 13 of the respondents had had at least two job changes during their relative short period of residence in the house. Table 8 indicates the frequency of job changes for these men.
TABLE 8

FREQUENCY OF JOB-CHANGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of job changes</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Changed at least once</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed at least twice</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed at least three times</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed at least four times or more</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-applicable</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reasons for job changes Most of the job changes occurred because the man left the job due to poor working conditions or low pay. On the other hand, a substantial number of the respondents left the job involuntarily because they were laid off. Only a few of the men were dismissed from their jobs because of poor working attitudes such as lateness and drunkenness. Table 9 shows the men's reasons for changing jobs, either voluntarily or involuntarily. The major reason for being laid off was due to the present poor economic condition generally prevailing in Canada. However, one respondent related that:

I was probably laid off because of my (criminal) record. They (the company) didn't treat me like a worker because they called me back to work whenever they wanted to. A couple of times, the company told me that I would be on the line (full-time) again, yet, when I went back there, they told me that it was only a temporary job.
Still, a couple more times, they called me and told me that I was being called back. Yet, when I got back to the company, they just told me that it was a mistake and that I could go home. They called me this afternoon and said that I should report to work tomorrow night. Hell, I am not going to get that shit again.

On the other hand, poor working conditions or low pay were the major reasons for many of the men leaving the job voluntarily. The general comments were "the job is too tough (heavy)", "the pay is too low for this kind of heavy job" and "the job has no future."

**TABLE 9**

**REASONS FOR JOB CHANGES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for leaving job</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Move to another job</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left because of poor working condition</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left because of low pay</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagreement with employer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>63.00</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason for leaving job</td>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>Per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laid off</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence due to drinking</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence due to arrest</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateness</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subtotal: 17

Total: 46

100.00

Opinions about jobs. A number of respondents thought that their chance of getting a better job was considerably lower than ordinary people. Though some companies would hire them despite their (criminal) records, some companies would not hire them if their (criminal) records were known. There were a number of companies well known for their willingness to hire ex-convicts. These companies were usually the local contacts that the employment counsellor made for the respondents. The general sentiment of respondents was not to reveal their (criminal) records to their prospective employers, if these employers' willingness to hire ex-convicts was either unknown or negative. There was a kind of fear in the men's mind that they could be rejected if their records were known to the
prospective employer. Hence, the men sometimes chose to either conceal or withdraw the application if the application required information about their past. On the other hand, if the prospective employer was known to be willing to hire ex-convicts, the men were willing to let the employer know about the record. Generally speaking, the men preferred not to reveal anything about their (criminal) records; they were very self-conscious about their past. Many of the respondents changed jobs because, as one respondent described:

I changed jobs because I wanted to have a better paying job. If the new job sounds good, like higher pay and lighter work, why shouldn't I take it? The counsellor told me to keep the job and start from there until I could be in better shape. But I wanted more money.

Another respondent related that:

I got this job without telling the boss about my (criminal) past. I was sure that if I told him about it, he wouldn't have hired me. I am not going to tell him anything about it (the record) unless he finds it out himself. I always keep a distance between me and the other fellas so that they cannot find out anything about me.

The importance of getting a job All respondents (not counting the three who were attending school) answered that getting a job was important in their adjustment back to the street. The more prevalent feeling about getting a job was because:

getting a job is important so that that I can have money to live on. If I don't work, I won't have any money to spend then and I can't go nowhere without having any money in my pocket.
For a few respondents, having a job means:

I need money to get settled down on my own when I leave this place later. I'll end up with nothing if I don't have a job and save some money to get settled down.

Generally speaking, getting a job for a large number of respondents means nothing more than having money to spend. They seemed to be content to live on a day-to-day basis without any long range financial planning. For the few who did save money for the future, they seemed to be more cautious about getting settled down. They wanted to be more financially prepared when they were ready to leave the house.

Frequency of trying to find jobs Table 10 summarizes the frequency of the respondent's effort in trying to find a job. Though all respondents answered previously that getting a job was important in their adjustment back to the street, the table shows that 6 men only try to find jobs some of the time. Their answers seem to contradict their previous statement that finding a job was important in their adjustment back to the street. Through the writer's own participant observation and informal conversation with staff and some respondents, he found that at least two of the men didn't try to find work. As one counsellor related: "he gets angry when I tell him that he should go to find a job". The writer also found that one of the men seemed to hold an attitude that society owed him for what he was today. The society therefore had the
responsibility to support him now for the "wrongs" it (society) had done to him.

On the other hand, a few of the men seemed to be content with living on a day-to-day basis. When they had some money, they tended to stop working for a couple days and spend all the money before they would return to work. As a counsellor remarked:

they got their paychecks on Friday and spent it all during the weekend over at the Killarney (a tavern near by). They didn't seem to care about their money or what they could do with it later... Some of these guys ain't gonna work until they have spent their last penny and are completely broke. Then they are going back to work.

TABLE 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of trying</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very often</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat often</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes only</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-applicable</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 This respondent is the one who has chronic illness.
Method used in looking for jobs. The respondent were asked the method they used most of the time in looking for jobs and the result is listed in Table 11.

**Table 11**

**Methods used looking for jobs?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method used</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family contacts</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends on the job already</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leads from friends</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manpower Centre</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper ads</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House staff</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look around on your own</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look around with friends</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whether or not the man will likely readjust himself successfully into society seems to be based on his attitude toward getting a job and the importance of getting it. Simply getting a job is insignificant in his effort to reinte- grate himself into society. If the man thinks that getting a job means to have money to spend, he is probably not ready to adjust himself adequately and sufficiently into society. The management of money seems to stand as an important criteria when judging whether or not the man is ready to a respondent can use more than one method to find a job.
reintegrate himself back to the street. Living on a day-to-day basis, as some respondents do, is indicative of the man's unreadiness or inability to visualize his own future and the importance of planning it. As Rumney and Murphy (1968:85-91) contend, an individual who ekes out a marginal existence at some employment is considered socially unadjusted. Holding a job and having the foresight of saving money for the future seem to be important elements in the man's effort to reintegrate himself into society. Hence, the present hypothesis does not seem to be substantiated by the evidence presented.

Generally speaking, the man's employment opportunity is more restricted than ordinary people. The problem of stigmatization haunts the man. Many employers are not willing to hire an ex-convict who is seen as a discreditable person. The man's deviant status carries a putative implication that he is untrustworthy and evil. Although the man can obtain a job by withholding information about his (criminal) past, he is cautious about his relationship with fellow workers. While he wants to maintain the social relationship, he is fearful of rejection if his deviant status is known. Hence, the man is in a marginal situation where he is very self-conscious about the social relationship and interaction with other people.

Although employment is important to get settled down, many of the respondents are content to live on a day-to-day
basis. They do not seem to realize the importance of planning their future. On the other hand, some respondents do realize the importance of planning their future (such as home, car, and financial security), but they do not have the determination to go about doing it.

(3) Social activities. There were not that many residents around the house during the day. The men usually spent their day either going to work, to school, to visit friends, to look for jobs, or simply wandering around the downtown neighborhood area. For those who did spend some time at the house, they could generally be found in the office, either talking with the staff or just hanging around there. Conversation in the office included counselling, assistance in things such as finding jobs and applying for unemployment benefits, and simply chatting.

The men usually started coming back to the house at around five o'clock because dinner began at this time. There were usually only four or five men eating their dinner at any one time because there was not a fixed dinner hour. No dinner hour was fixed because some men might not come back until they had finished their work that day and some men might eat early in order to go to their night shift work. Conversation at the dinner table was not frequent, sometimes dinner was eaten in silence. If the men did engage themselves in conversation, the things that they talked about varied from sports, politics,
daily news, and opinions about the work on that particular day. After dinner was finished, usually the men would stay at the house for a while, and then most of them would eventually go out. Generally speaking, more men were found at the house during weekdays than weekends. More men were found around dinner time than any other time. On the weekends, some men might obtain a Pass and spend the weekends with their families. For most of the other residents, the weekend was the time to really engage themselves in various social activities because they did not have to wake up early to go to work or school.

Spend evening at the house A large number of the respondents spent their evening at the house. Table 12 indicates the amount of time that they spent at the house in the evening.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of time spent</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most of the time</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of the time</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Spend evening going to bars. Going to bars was very convenient for the men because there were two taverns just around the corner. As shown in table 13, slightly over half of the men spend their evening going to different taverns in the neighborhood area. While going to bars is considered to be a socially endorsed and acceptable spare-time activity, respondents with drinking problems may get themselves into trouble if they consume too much liquor. In fact, intoxication was a problem for many respondents. During the researcher's period of research at the house, he was aware of at least three fights or disturbances which the men got involved in while drinking in the bar. Some of the men had such a drinking problem that they tended to lose control of themselves whenever they drank too much:

Whenever I drink too much, I lose control of myself and get into fights with other guys in the bar...Yeah, I really feel sorry about it afterwards, but I can't help it when I am too drunk.

and one respondent related that:

I know I have a (drinking) problem and should stay away from bars. But my friends always invited me to go and have a few drinks...I can't refuse my friends all the time...There had been a couple of times that I went over my head and almost got into fights.

on the other hand, a few respondents had admitted that they spent almost all of their money in bars, as one of them said:

Sometimes I buy one round (of drinks) for everyone in the bar and spend my whole
week's paycheck on that...Well, money is earned to be spent.

Recognition of a drinking problem, is perhaps one of the signs that the writer can use to tell whether or not the man is ready to make himself a new man in society. The writer noted that a few of the respondents had decreased their frequency in bar patronage. They thought that going to bars was no longer "affordable", as one of them described that:

I have cut down on going to bars for two reasons: I don't want to get into trouble and I don't want to fool around with some of the guys there. Some of these guys are really "fucked up", all they want to do is to fight. Besides, I don't want to spend too much money there and "fuck" myself right up to the wall...I mean I don't want to get drunk and end up getting busted by the cops.

<p>| TABLE 13 |
| FREQUENCY OF GOING TO BARS |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of time spent</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most of the time</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of the time</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Spend spare-time visiting friends Table 14 shows the amount of time that the men spent visiting friends. As noted from the table, a large number of the men never spend any time visiting their friends. However, further questions revealed that these were the ones who said they had no families in the
Windsor-Chatham area.

TABLE 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of time spent</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most of the time</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of the time</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total                    | 22      | 100.0    |

Spend spare-time visiting families  The following table shows the amount of time that the men spent visiting their families.

TABLE 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of time spent</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most of the time</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of the time</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total                    | 22      | 100.0    |

Table 3 indicated that eight respondents had no family in the Windsor-Chatham area, and further questions revealed that they were also the ones who had not visited their families since their present release from the prisons. However, there still remained four more respondents who had families in the
area but had had no family contact other than simple phone calls. The attitude toward visiting their families, as one respondent described, was like this:

My folks live in Chatham but my father don't want to have anything to do with me. He thinks that I've disgraced the whole family and don't want me to go visit them. He is afraid that the neighbors may tease him. My mother usually calls me once or twice a week and asks how I am doing. But she wouldn't come to visit me because my father don't like it. Sometimes I really want to visit my family but I can't because my father don't want me to.

On the other hand, visiting family can be psychologically beneficial to the man:

how do I feel about visiting my family? I think that it is wonderful because it allows me to reestablish the once broken family ties. I am not rejected by my folks and I feel good about it.

Spend spare-time around neighborhood Table 16 tabulates the amount of time that the men spent around the neighborhood. As seen from the table, almost all of them spent most of the time in the neighborhood.

Spend spare-time at a party, a club, or a church Table 17 and 18 show the amount of time that the men spent either going to a party, a club or a church. As can be seen from the tables, the men did not spend that much time in these activities.
### TABLE 16

**SPEND TIME AROUND NEIGHBORHOOD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of time spent</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most of the time</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of the time</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 17

**SPEND TIME AT A PARTY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of time spent</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most of the time</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of the time</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 18

**SPEND TIME AT A CLUB OR A CHURCH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of time spent</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most of the time</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of the time</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Spend spare-time activities with friends Answers to how often they spent their spare-time activities with friends are illustrated in table 19 below.

**TABLE 19**

**SPEND SPARE-TIME ACTIVITIES WITH FRIENDS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of time spent</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most of the time</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of the time</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Spend spare-time activities with family As seen from table 20, the men did not spend that much time with their families. As seen from tables 19 and 20, the men were still relatively isolated from both their friends and families.

**TABLE 20**

**SPEND SPARE-TIME ACTIVITIES WITH FAMILY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of time spent</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most of the time</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of the time</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Through the writer's participant observation, he found that a large number of the respondents were still somewhat restricted in their spare-time social activities. They usually spent their spare-time with fellow residents or friends of other residents. Their circle of friends was restricted primarily to fellow residents. Though many of the men were working during the time of the interviews, it seemed to the writer that very few, if any, of the men spent their spare-time activities with fellow workers from the factory or company. They seemed to be reluctant about entertaining their friends in St. Leonards House and their friendship with fellow workers seemed to be restricted to the confines of the work location. When asked why he did not spend time with his fellow workers, a respondent said rather succinctly:

I don't want to expose myself to them. Can you imagine what some of them may say if they find out that I am an ex-con? Many of them are good people and very helpful, but they don't know who I am and I don't want them to know either. Why am I so cautious? Because some people still think that an ex-con is some kind of a monster. Eventually, I think I will tell some of them (of my identity), but I don't think I want to tell any one of them about this yet. I don't go out with them to parties or bars because, as I said, I don't want to expose myself. Like if I go to bars with them and I happen to meet some of the fellas (other ex-convicts) there, they (fellow workers) may think how come I know guys who talk and act wild. Besides, I still don't feel too comfortable with them yet, not until I know them better.
Overall, the men do not seem to be as outgoing as other people in society. They tend to be cautious about knowing outside friends. The main reason seems to be that they do not want some of their friends to know about their background. They know that many of their outside friends would not want to associate with them if their deviant status is revealed. Hence, the men's daily social intercourse with other people is hampered by the men's apprehension of their own past. They use impression management to deal with outside friends in order to avoid the effects of stigmatization.

(4) Impression of the house. As said before, preference to the house is given to those who are from the Windsor-Chatham area. Table 21 illustrates the men's first information heard about the house. Not surprisingly, a majority of the men first heard about the house from other inmates while they were still serving their sentence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information heard from</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other inmates</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prison officers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social agencies</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through newspaper</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 22 | 100.0
Reasons for coming to the house. The men were asked what their reasons were for coming to the house. Some of the men said that the house offered them food and shelter and it sounded good to them. Some thought that they needed some kind of protection to get started all over again, while many of them admitted that they wanted to get an early parole from the institution. If their parole was sponsored by the house, they could get out of the prisons more easily. Some answered that Windsor was a new place for them where they could start a new life without any former contacts. In a sense, they wanted to forget their past and start as a "new man" again. Some simply said that they had nowhere else to go other than St. Leonard's House. The reasons for coming to the house were summarized in Table 22.

**TABLE 22**

**REASONS FOR COMING TO THE HOUSE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason given</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House offered food and shelter</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection to start over again</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To get early parole</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Start a new life again</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowhere else to go</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Experience of being released on their own  Out of the 22 respondents, 17 said that they had the experience of being released from the prison completely on their own. They were asked to briefly describe the experience then. The feelings of these men could be summarized as follows:

...I found it tough to get a job and hard to reestablish family contact. I have no contact, no place to go, and no friends. The family didn't want to do anything with me... I was on my own and felt really lonely... I was really depressed.

Hence, the overall experience of being released on their own, for many of the men, had not been a pleasant one. Loneliness quickly began to set in as soon as the initial period of excitement died out.

First day of freedom  After a period of incarceration, the first few days out on the street was an experience that could not easily be forgotten. As one respondent described:

How did I feel? I felt great and there was nothing like it being back on the street after seven years in the joint. I felt numb and excited because I still couldn't believe that here I was out on the street. Man, it didn't seem real that I was really out on the street and saw all those beautiful chicks walking past me. I liked it and liked it all.

Another said it this way:

I came to the house at around ten o'clock at night, and the counsellor gave me a set of linen and brought me into the room. I asked if I could switch the bed around and he said O.K., I guess he was kind of nice to me. I have long expected to be out and didn't really feel excited about it because I knew I would be out pretty soon. Where did I spend my first
out on the street? I stayed in the house all day long and didn't feel like going out.

One of the men related that:

The first thing I did after coming to this house was to get drunk, I mean really drunk and came back to the house and had a really nice sleep.

For most of the respondents, coming back to society was like a new experience with a strange feeling. They seemed to come back to a former neighborhood where everything seemed familiar and yet not quite the same as before. It was also a strange feeling because they felt like a stranger or a "new born baby" who had to cope with the situation again.

It was strange because they came from this society and yet when they came out from prison, they felt there was somehow a hidden wall between them and the people in the community. Being released from prison was for many an anti-climax. They felt excited about it before they were being released, yet, when the time came for them to be released, they no longer felt excited about it and thought about it as a matter of routine that they had to go through eventually. On the other hand, being released from prison was exciting and joyous for many; they couldn't fall asleep the night before their release. For the many respondents who had their families and friends in the Windsor-Chatham area, they could call their family members or friends soon after they arrived in Windsor. One of the respondents recalled:
I phoned my folks as soon as I came to this house. They knew I was coming to this house. My mother cried when I talked to her (on the phone). She told me that she and dad would come to visit me a couple days later when they got time... I called up a couple of friends also, they sounded cool and said they wouldn't come to see me because their parents didn't like them to have anything to do with me... Sometimes, when I looked back on my experience, I kind of got mad at the people... they didn't want to have anything to do with me. They thought that I was a criminal and will always be one... Yeah, I was a bastard but I don't want to be a bastard anymore, I hate the joint and the people there... What can I do? My old friends didn't want to have anything to do with me. Some of the guys I knew from the joint were C.K., but I didn't want to get involved with them again... I had no choice but to be with them again, at least they treated me like a friend, and that was what I needed - a friend.

On the other hand, family contact was not as smooth as it might sound. One of the men was initially released on his own, but he had a quarrel with his mother the very night he went home. He decided to come to St. Leonard's the next morning because he said he couldn't stand his mother. He called the house and was admitted.

Ordinary people tend to disregard the traumatic experience that some of the respondents go through. They tend to think that these respondents are criminals and therefore undesirable elements in society. They label these men as criminals and cease to have any kind of future contact or relationship with them. In some cases, a number of respondents did not seem to like ordinary people and also
avoided contact with them:

I had to go to this place and this place was about twenty blocks away. I didn't take the bus because I didn't know which bus I should take. I didn't ask the people about the bus route because I didn't want to look dumb and be laughed by them that I didn't know how to take a bus. I ended up walking all the twenty blocks.

Perhaps institutional living has in some way affected the ability of these men to deal with such routine matters as taking a bus and asking about a bus route. Being out on the street is an unfamiliar scene to many respondents. Things that they had taken for granted before they were incarcerated now become problematic and even painful.

I got on the bus and went straight to the rear and then the driver called me back. He said that I had not paid the fare. Man, I was embarrassed when he told me this. I never paid for my ride while I was inside (the prison) and that's why I forgot to pay. (I thought) every passenger was looking at me as if I was some kind of a nut or something.

The above cases tend to correlate with the theoretical assumption that the man's confinement is costly. It has cost him friends and family ties. He is confused and bewildered by the confrontation with a simple daily routine such as riding a bus. He is no longer familiar with such a simple social expectation. The uncertainty involved in the confrontation cultivates a semi-paranoid feeling that everybody is looking at him. The man is hypersensitive about his situation. He finds himself to be proceeding along a
narrow and precarious route which is beset with difficult obstacles. The transition from prison to a free community is indeed painful and agonizing.

**Expectation of the house** Before the men came to the house, a large number of them had expected the house to be like a boarding house which provided food and shelter and might be a little bit more. Table 23 indicates the expectation that the men had before they came to the house.

**Table 23**

**EXPECTATION OF THE HOUSE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expectation</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A small institution</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An ordinary private house</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A flop house or mission</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A boarding house</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impression of the house after arrival** More than half of the men found it to be better than they had expected. Some of the men had come to expect the house like a small institution and the appearance of the house was a surprise for them. Two of the men, however, found the house to be worse than had been expected. Table 24 shows the men’s impression toward the house after they came to the house.
TABLE 24

IMPRESSION OF THE HOUSE AFTER ARRIVAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impression</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Better than expected</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worse than expected</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the same as expected</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 25

FEELING OF HOUSE AT TIME OF INTERVIEW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feeling</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Like it very much</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like it to some extent</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not like it too much</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not like it at all</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feeling of house at time of interview: As seen from Table 25, all but two of the men liked the house at least to some extent after a period of residence. The men generally found that the house had helped them to a certain extent in finding jobs, in filling out forms (such as application form for jobs and unemployment benefits), and in discussion of personal problems. It seemed that it was the function of the house
to make the men feel at home.

**Impression of the house after a period of residence** Talking about the impression of the house, the following statements can best be used to summarize the men's feeling toward the house and the staff as well:

Before I got here, I thought it was like a small institution. But then I found that it was not like an institution at all. The staff here didn't treat me like a number, a non-being. They treated me like a human being, a person, an individual. I think the house is good to me. Before, I thought that all I could get here was cheap room and board and nothing else. Now, I think that it is more than cheap room and board. I can have someone to relate to now. They listen to my problems and try to understand it. I can rely on them and I do really trust them.

**Feeling about location of the house** 68% of the men expressed that the location was pretty bad. Their feelings can be summarized by one respondent's comment about the location:

The location is a good one in terms of easy access to public transportation. It is also close to the Manpower Centre. However, the house is also close to taverns and bars and this is bad. If these bars are a little bit farther away from the house, I guess some of the guys here would not go to bars as often as they are now.

On the other hand, the executive director remarked:

I don't think the location is that bad. If the guys don't go to bars, nobody can force them to. Yeah, temptation is always there. But if the house is moved to Riverside and near the university, they can still go to the D.H. If the house is far away from these places, they can still go there by bus. It is whether or not they have the (will) power to stay away from these places.
Relationship with outside friends While establishing friendship with outside friends is important, a majority (15) of the men thought that living in the house affected their friendship with outside friends in that:

Some people back off when they found out that I was living here... They were being put off... They had the attitude that if I lived here, then I was a loser... Didn't want to associate with me because I was a con... He didn't mind to associate with me, but he was afraid that his other friends might laugh at him if they knew that he had a con as a friend.

Also the men viewed the eleven o'clock curfew as one of the many factors that affected their friendship with outside friends. They thought that their freedom was affected by the curfew.

Person with whom the respondents spend time with at the house

A lot of the men spent their spare-time at the house with other guys from the house, as indicated by Table 26 below:

| Table 26 |
|-----------------|---------|-------|
| PERSON WITH WHOM TO SPEND TIME WITH AT THE HOUSE | Numbers | Per cent |
| Other guys from the house | 14 | 64.0 |
| Outside friends | 3 | 14.0 |
| Mostly on his own | 5 | 22.0 |
| Total | 22 | 100.0 |
Throughout the period of observation at the house, the researcher found that few of the men had friends come to visit them with the exception of a couple of guys whose girlfriends always came over. For the few who had friends come to visit them, their friends didn't stay very long at the house. They usually stayed for less than 15 minutes and then either left with the men or left by themselves. A respondent perhaps answered the question most succinctly when he was asked about the time spent at the house:

I spend my time with (outside) friends outside the house. They don't belong here. If I have to spend my time at the house, I spend it with guys from the house or on my own.

When the men spent their time at the house, they usually spent it either in the T.V. room or the dining room and kitchen. Also these were the two places where most of the interactions with other guys from the house took place.

(5) Relationship with people at the house. After a period of participant observation at the house, the writer found that the residents kept a casual relationship among themselves. It was a fact that they were friends at the house, but very few of them could describe other guys from the house as close friends. Many of the men had expressed that they did not want to establish too close a relationship with guys from the house because they thought that it could be detrimental to their future life as a citizen in society.
Some of the guys here are really fucked up, they may get me into trouble if we keep on our friendship outside this house. Like A, he is a very good guy, but he can't say no to his friends. Pretty soon, he is going to get himself fucked again.

**Importance of fellow residents** All respondents answered that they considered fellow residents as friends. The result of further probing about the importance of fellow residents is shown in Table 27 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of importance</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very important</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat important</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, very little</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, not at all</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The general feeling of those who answered the above question can be described by one of the men's statement that:

*I don't want to get involved into a real tight relationship because I have to give something up then. They are my friends here and some of them are very helpful to me, but this (relationship) is only limited to this house. Association with them outside the house is another matter.*

**Help received from other guys in making readjustment** A large number of the respondents answered that fellow residents helped them in making the readjustment. The reasons they gave were:
We have gone through the same experience together and we are both outcasts of society...I fit in easier with this group and we have a common bond (in prison together)...the guys here don't let me stumble around by myself and they don't make me feel lonely...They give leads on jobs...We have mutual respect toward each other because of the same experience we have gone through...Someone to talk to, no real pressure.

Some of the men also thought that fellow residents helped them a lot in terms of readjustment in that:

They helped me to go straight again...Like this guy here, he always tries to keep me away from hotels. If I do something wrong, he would come up to me and tell me right in front of my face. I need this sometimes so that I can be reminded of the things I have done wrong.

The men's reaction toward receiving help from other guys in making a readjustment is summarized below in table 28.

**Table 28**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of help</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A great deal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To some extent</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More of a hindrance than a help</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For the three who gave negative answers, their feelings were that:

They were helpful in the beginning, but I now see it as more of a hindrance than a help because I think I can manage on my own now. Frankly, I don't want to associate with them now. Hence, at this stage, I would say it is more of a hindrance than a help now... They are no better guys than I am...I think I can make my own judgement.

Disagreement amongst the guys at the house. This was noticed by all but four of the respondents. Even though there was disagreement amongst the guys at the house, none of the respondents thought that there was any kind of serious problem. Basically, the men noticed that the main things that caused disagreement were the different opinions about the way things should be run in the house, such as the tidiness of the house, the cleaning up of dishes, and personal habits. None of the respondents reported that the disagreement led into a really heightened conflict.

Importance of support from fellow residents in making readjustment. Table 29 shows the men's opinion about the importance of the support they received from fellow residents in their adjustment back to the street. 81% of them believed that their fellow residents' support was at least somewhat important in their adjustment back to the street.
TABLE 29

IMPORTANCE OF SUPPORT FROM FELLOW RESIDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of importance</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very important</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat important</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More of a hindrance than a help</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Willingness to receive advice from other guys Table 30 illustrates whether or not the men liked to receive advice from other guys at the house.

TABLE 30

WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE ADVICE FROM OTHER GUYS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of willingness</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Like it very much</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like it to some extent</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not like it too much</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not like it at all</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of the respondents did not like to receive advice from other residents:

If I want to get any advice, I get it from the counsellors. Their (fellow residents) advice is probably as good as mine and may be worse...
Anyway getting advice from them is not to my liking at all. I think they are important in terms of friendship and assistance because we have gone through the same experience together. But, I have my own decision to make, besides, their advice is not better than mine sometimes.

Safety from fellow residents Unlike the institution where many of the inmates would not feel safe from other fellow inmates, the men at St. Leonard's House seemed to feel safe with the other guys at the house. All of the respondents believed that they felt relatively safe with the other guys at the house. They generally believed that:

We have common bonds...I trust them...Nothing bothers me...Trust them until proven otherwise...We had gone through the same experience...Nobody ever threatened me here.

Disagreement between staff and residents Besides the disagreement amongst the guys at the house, disagreement between staff and residents was also noticed. The disagreement was mainly:

About curfew hours...People not coming back on time...Personal things such as a guy may think that the house should be run this way and others may think otherwise...About cleaning up the place.

Most of the men said it was the curfew hour which caused the major disagreement between staff and residents. As said before, the men thought that the curfew restricted their freedom of movement.

Relationship with staff Almost all of the men described their
relationship with the staff as at least somewhat close. Table 31 shows the men's feeling toward the relationship with staff.

**TABLE 31**

**RELATIONSHIP WITH STAFF**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feeling of relationship</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very close</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat close</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too close</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not close at all</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The general feeling of the men was that:

They understand my problem and take patience in trying to help me solve the problem. The people (outside people) sometimes don't understand me because I can't relate what I have gone through with them. I feel close to the staff and trust them because I know they can help me to become a man again.

Overall, the relationship amongst the men at the house was friendly. Though many of them didn't like to get advice from other residents, most of them thought the guys were helpful in their readjustment back to the street.

(6) **Impression of counselling.** It is believed that the more the individual resident seeks counselling and advice from the staff, the more likely he is to change his attitude and behavior. It is also believed that if the individual resident develops a sense of responsibility for, and a sense
of belonging to the house, the more he is likely to change his behavior and attitude. Counselling is done on a voluntary basis. However, individual residents may be asked to come to a conference with either the executive director or one of the counsellors. These residents are asked to come because the staff may think that he is not doing things properly. The staff also talks to these individuals when they think that the individual needs some counselling. The purpose of counselling, as described by the executive director of the house was:

To help them so that they feel comfortable with the setting here...talk to residents and make sure that they are O.K....make them aware of the problem and point out where he is wrong...the house also helps residents in financial management, job search, reference to jobs, temporary assistance financially if they need it and provides them with work clothes and tools.

For example, to counsel a resident with a drinking problem, the advice is always given like this:

If a guy has a drinking problem, I would tell him the consequences of getting drunk and getting into trouble. For a guy who has a drinking problem, he has to learn how to say NO to his friends and consider the consequence of saying yes. Of course, he can't refuse his friends all time, so if he has to go to a bar, he should only go for an hour or so in order to avoid getting into trouble.

Counselling affects individual resident's management of his drinking problem. If he listens to the staff's advice, he can usually get himself out of trouble:

Last week, this guy (a resident) went to the corner bar with his friends. He was stoned and very drunk when this happened. His friends
got into a fight with a couple of other guys. Instead of getting himself involved in the fight, he left the scene of the fighting and came right back to the house. His friends chased right after him into the house and asked why he didn't fight with them. This guy said he didn't want to get into trouble again and told him to leave him alone. This guy shows sign of making a change because he shows that he has control over his behavior in not bowing to his friend's pressure.

Help received from staff in adjustment to the street: The men were asked about the help they received from the staff and the result is summarized in table 32. All but three of the respondents thought that the staff had helped them in some way in their readjustment back to the street.

**TABLE 32**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of help</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A great deal</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To some extent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More of a hindrance than a help</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three dissenting respondents charged that:

It is just like inside the joint, they (staff) always put an eye on what I am doing and give me shit for doing something that they think is stupid. Hell, I thought I was here to be helped and not to be bugged again...I can do it on my own.
For those who thought that the staff was helpful to them, their comments were:

I used to be impulsive, now I stop and think before I get involved. My attitude changes also, not much anti-social attitude now and also people...listen to what the staff say...gives material and emotional support...When don't know how to deal with things such as OHIP and unemployment...they help and help things that square Johns take for granted.

**Importance of staff to respondents**  The opinion that the staff was important was also shared by a large number of respondents as shown in Table 33.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of importance</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very important</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat important</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very little</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subject of the respondent's behavior Table 34 shows the frequency to which the respondent's behavior was brought up as a subject by the staff.
TABLE 34

FREQUENCY OF BRINGING UP THE SUBJECT
OF THE RESPONDENT'S BEHAVIOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per. cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very often</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quite often</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, never</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The general sentiment towards bringing up the subject of their behavior is summarized as follows:

I don't enjoy it, but it serves a purpose, it is sort of a reminder that I have to straighten out...They help me to know my mistake...They help me and tell me where to stand and what to do...I guess it is O.K....It is their concern (about my behavior). At the beginning, I didn't like it at all and I really hated it. But, when I cooled down, I could see why they did it and what they had to do (with me). Now, I can sit down and hear what they say about me (behavior).

Not every respondent, however, liked to be told by the staff on what to do with their life:

I don't like it at all, I am a grown up man now and not a child anymore. I know what I am doing.

The respondents were asked again if they did anything differently as a result of what the staff said to them. A large number (13) of them answered positively and felt that:
Yeah, mistakes would jeopardize my freedom... They make a point and I think they’re right, so I follow what they told me to do... They remind me of my purpose of being here... I am trying to make it good this time, so I always do as I am told by them... They are right and I am wrong.

The next question asked was that if the men ever did anything differently because of what they thought the staff might say about it later on. 15 of the respondents said that they didn’t do anything differently even if the staff had something to say about it. The remaining seven men said that they did so sometimes or occasionally. Their feelings can be represented by one respondent’s answer:

Not unless I get into a real tight situation such as getting into a fight. When things like this happen, I sometimes give it a thought and then may decide to stay out (of the fight). Like this time, my friends were involved in a fight and they told me to join in. But I didn’t because the counsellor told me not to get involved in any kind of trouble. So I came right back to the house.

Support from staff in readjustment Tables 35 to 37 summarize the men’s feelings towards the staff about the importance of the staff’s support in their readjustment back to the street.
### Table 35

**Support from Staff in Readjustment Back to the Street**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of support</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very important</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat important</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too much</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 36

**Willingness in Getting Advice from Staff**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of willingness</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Like it very much</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like it to some extent</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not like it too much</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not like it at all</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 37

IMPORTANCE IN GETTING ADVICE FROM STAFF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of importance</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very important</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat important</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, not too much</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, not at all</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the majority of the respondents realized that the staff's support was important. Some of the men said that:

They treat me like a man and that's why I like them...I trust them...I listen to what they say and sometimes really give it a thought...I like to have someone who can always be beside me and remind me of my wrong doings...To tell you (the researcher) the truth, no one wants to be told what to do. But, sometimes they (staff) really give me shit and fuck the hell out of me. Yet, I can see why they have to do this to me because they really care about me. I need someone to tell me where and how I am going (in this world)...Like this counsellor here, he is a good guy. We sometimes even go to movies together...When you have someone treating you like a buddy, you really feel good, man.

One of the men admitted that he went through considerable changes after he came to the house:

When I first came, I was really fucked up. I didn't like the god damn place and the people (staff) here. I thought they were suckers like those (staff) in the joint. Man, I really hated this place (and society).
My mind was all fucked up then. The one who gradually made me change was counsellor A and this guy (fellow resident) here. They helped me a lot. A always tried to talk to me and got me to play pool with him. Man, it was the first time in my life that someone was nice to me and didn't expect anything in return from me. I began to wonder, and I began to ask (in my mind) how come they were so nice to me. This guy (fellow resident) also helped me to see things straight. I guess that's why I changed a lot now. The staff? 100% good people and I am for them all the way (in terms of help received).

It was hypothesized that the more intimate the relationship between a man and the staff, the more likely he was to change his behavior and attitude. After the period of participant observation, the researcher found that there were a few respondents who always went to see and chat with the counsellors. These respondents viewed the counsellors as friends to whom they could open up their problems. They felt very close to the house and the staff because they, as one of them remarked, had finally found someone whom he could relate to and felt comfortable with. These men tended to develop some sort of "loyalty" to the house and felt they should protect the house's name:

When this guy (fellow resident) got involved in that fight (in the bar), I really gave him shit. I told him not to do that anymore and not to put heat on the house. If he put heat on the house, we (the rest of the guys) might be in trouble also. He was all fucked up, but we cared about the house and didn't want the house to be hurt by him.
With regard to this, a counsellor remarked that:

Some guys never came to me unless they had some problems (like getting a weekend pass, coming back after curfew) to deal with. These guys seldom told me about their (personal) problems. They thought they could make it on their own. They behaved O.K. here, but, when they left this house, they behaved like a different person, they went wild and got into trouble. Yeah, I talked to them and tried to make a point with them about their behavior and attitude. While they were in the office, they "looked" sorry and said that they "felt" sorry about what they did. But, as soon as they walked out of this office door, they forgot everything that was said here... Some of the guys were doing O.K. here, they came in and talked about their problems, they tried to straighten out and I did my best to help them. I think they are mentally prepared to change and they have the motivation and determination to change. They want to change and they are motivated to do just that.

Based on the writer's observation and conversation with staff members, it seems that an individual respondent does tend to change his attitude and behavior if he seeks advice and counselling from staff. Requisite in the man's change of behavior and attitude is his seriousness and sincerity in accepting counselling and advice from staff members. Another factor that contributes the change of behavior and attitude is the man's affection and respect towards the staff. The man's sentiment is resulted from the staff's showing of care and understanding towards his life and problems. A respondent may find that he can discuss his problems with the staff and be helped. Generally speaking, the individual
respondent is also likely to change his behavior and attitude if he (1) develops a sense of responsibility and a sense of belonging towards the house and, (2) has a close and intimate relationship with staff members. As seen from previous pages, it is noted that an individual respondent may develop a sense of "loyalty" towards the house. He doesn't want to jeopardize the house's reputation by getting himself into trouble. He tends to identify himself with the house and the staff. As a result of the strong affection developed towards the house, there is a strong motivation for him to stay in the group (house and staff). The group (house and staff) may therefore induce an individual respondent to adapt his beliefs, values and behavior to the group's norms. The man tends to look upon his reference group for guidance. Hence, the hypotheses can be substantiated by the evidence gathered.

**House meeting** It is designed to discuss issues that affect all the residents. Issues concerning the house and the residents were always brought up during the house meeting and an effort was made to bring the men's attention to these issues. The meeting was held on a regular basis about once a month. Self direction and self-help were the purpose. Issues such as house routine, living standards, social and recreational programs were topics in the meeting. Participation in the house meeting was voluntary and sometimes attendance was poor. However, in cases where the attendance was poor,
the executive director usually made another arrangement to have the meeting again with attendance being compulsory. As seen from table 38, participation in the house meeting was high probably because the executive director at times really stressed the importance of the meeting and "required" the men to attend.

**Table 38**

**Frequency of Participation in House Meeting**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very often</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quite often</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Importance of house meeting. A large number of the men thought that the meeting was important. Table 39 indicates the men's thoughts about the importance of the meeting.
### TABLE 39

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of importance</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very important</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat important</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too much</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Meetings as a help in adjusting to the street, 15 of the respondents answered that they did not think the house meetings had helped them in their adjustment. They said that:

> The (house) meeting is really like a family affair, we talk about things such as cleaning up the place and reminding of house rules... I think that the meeting is more of a discussion of house things than of counselling... The meeting only makes us aware of some of the problems that the house has.

The belief that the individual respondent is likely to change his behavior and attitude as a result of the house meetings cannot be substantiated by the evidence presented. Overall, the relationship between the individual respondent and the staff seems to be a very important factor in the man's effort in trying to readjust himself to society. Unless the man can develop some sense of "loyalty" to the house and feeling of closeness to the staff, changes in attitude and behavior may be occur. Frequent interaction between staff and the man seems to be important in establishing some sort
of trust between them. Since counselling is done on a voluntary basis, it also seems that the individual respondent must motivate himself to change. If living in a halfway house means the availability of assistance around the clock, then it is up to the man to make a decision to change himself than it is up to the staff to induce him to change. Yet, the staff's help is valuable and not having their help may be a factor which can affect the individual's attitude to change himself.

(7) Effects of imprisonment. It is thought that an individual's mentality can be changed by his experience of imprisonment. While the man is serving his sentence, his attitude and behavior toward society and people may be affected by the confinement he is experiencing. The respondents were asked about the things they had learned while in prison:

- I learned how to be a criminal, how to become bitter towards society...I learned about the inadequacy of the correctional system...I have to change my attitude inside and I have to conform...I became bitter towards square Johns...I learn how to be a better crook.

Generally speaking, the men thought that they learned to become bitter and hostile toward society and the people. They added that inside they learned to become a crook. Hence, it seemed that the men had learned to value nothing while in prison other than an anti-society attitude.
While in prison, the men also came to think that life inside was, as one respondent recalled,

useless, there is nothing to help a person to better himself. There is no feeling of responsibility, and don't learn social responsibility because everything is done for me inside the prison.

This kind of feeling seemed to be prevalent among the men:

Life inside is terrible and full of horror. The guards can beat you for no reason at all, and lock you up for the simple reason that they want to see you suffer. I knew this guy here who came out of the joint like a shattered man. He was really f***ed up inside and when he came out of the joint, he wanted blood (revenge). Yeah, there are some good guards inside, but it is those bad ones who really make you feel angry at the world and the people.

Table 40 shows the men's feeling towards the prison experience and its effect on their readjustment back to the street. A majority of the men thought that the prison experience affected their readjustment.

**TABLE 40**

**EFFECT OF IMPRISONMENT ON REAJUSTMENT BACK TO THE STREET**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of effect</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A great deal</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To some extent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regarding the ways in which they thought imprisonment had affected them, they related that:

I have to learn all social reactions again...
I have to learn how to take care of myself...
Learn how to respond to people...I find
that there is a gap between me and the world,
I am away from reality and there is a lack
of communication with (outside) people...
I become bitter to people and I lose my family
life...I become indifferent to people, careless
about others.

Feeling about oneself while in prison Most of the men saw
themselves becoming bitter and hostile towards society and
people. They thought that society had done them an injustice
by putting them behind bars:

I was very low and depressed and didn't know
what to do...I thought I was too stupid to
get caught...I felt sorry for what I had done
because it got me into this trouble (of confine-
ment)...I felt like a nobody inside.

On the other hand, a few of the men didn't see themselves any
differently before they were confined behind bars.

Feeling about oneself as a person now At the beginning of
their residence at the house, many of the men admitted that
they hated this society and its people very much. They were
angry at themselves because of the state of life they found
themselves in. Many of the men were not prepared to begin
a new "life" in society. They saw the house mainly as a
place which provided food and shelter. For some of the men
intention to change only began to set in after they had
stayed in the house for a period of time. For most of the
men, they saw themselves as:

A student learning to adjust to the street
...Learning to get along in society...
Steadily growing better...A guy who still
has a lot to learn in society...A broken
man who tries to make himself back to the
street.

On the other hand, the men were also asked if in their own
minds they still felt like an ex-convict. Not surprisingly,
most of them still felt this way:

Yeah, because of what I have done...I have
served a lot of time in the prison, there
is not one thing that I can forget about
life inside...Yes, because of what I have
been through can't get out of the mind...
Yes, I am more vulnerable to the police
and there is a restricted freedom...It is
like a scar in my mind, it will never be
healed.

It was hypothesized that a man with a high self-concept was
more likely to change his attitude and behavior. Though
a large number of the respondents thought themselves as
students trying to learn to adjust to the street, most of
them still felt like an ex-convict. They still were very
cautious about their relationships with other people. Hence,
it is probable to say that the present evidence is insufficient
to adequately test the hypothesis.

Overall, the majority of the men were at least some-
what affected by their prison experience. The researcher
thinks that many of them will possibly face a hard time in
trying to reintegrate themselves into society because of what
they have gone through. It is not only that most of them
still feel like a criminal, but many of them approach civilians in too cautious a way. They are afraid of rejection by outside friends and they are sensitive to the surrounding environment. As said before, some of them have almost paranoid feelings toward people in their daily interactions. The men's difficulty in trying to establish a friendship network can be attributed partly to the fact that they do not feel comfortable in the company of civilians. The experience of confinement contributes partly to the man's difficulty in trying to readjust himself as well.

(8) Opinions about the house. Most of the men seemed to hold a positive attitude about the house. Table 41 shows the men's opinion about the help which they received while living in the house. Their reactions towards the house were more favorable than disappointing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HELPFULNESS OF THE HOUSE</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amount of help</td>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>Per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A great deal</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To some extent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All but three of the respondents thought that there should be more facilities like the St. Leonard's House across Canada. These men believed that the house had provided them with things that could not easily be obtained outside the house. They said that:

The house is just like a real home to me. I can do things around the house. The house is my home. The house gives me material and emotional support. I don't feel lonely here. I can have someone to talk to and relate to. It is just like home. The guys here are helpful and they are willing to help. I feel no pressure here and I can do some planning about the future. I need this place.

Perhaps, one of the respondents stated things most adequately when he said that:

I need this place because this is my home. I can relate to the people here and they care for and understand me. If I have problems, I know I can always go to see the counsellor about it. Material support is good here, but I think emotional support has been the most important thing that can happen to me. Sometimes, I really need someone to support me or I will collapse. The people here, especially the staff, support me whenever I go wrong and get out of line. They pull me back in.

For the three who had expressed opposite opinions about the house, they thought that:

In terms of food and shelter, the house is great. I don't think there should be more houses like this across Canada because I don't really think it is that helpful in helping the guy to make it (back to the street). I think it is all up to the guy himself to decide whether or not he wants to change himself. I don't see any
difference between this house and those (community correctional centre) run by the government. If there should be more houses like this in Canada, let the government take care of it...I never liked the house, it is just another prison.

Table 42 indicates the men's opinion about material support received from the house. Once again, most of them thought they had received important material support from the house.

**TABLE 42**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of importance</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very important</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat important</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too important</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 22 100.0

Table 43 illustrates the men's opinion about the importance of receiving emotional support from the house. The result is summarized in the table. The men were asked again for the reasons for choosing the above answers. The reasons given were similar to those which had been given about the feeling towards the house and the staff.
TABLE 43

EMOTIONAL SUPPORT FROM THE HOUSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of importance</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very important</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat important</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too important</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not important at all</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents were asked if they wanted to return to the house for help and advice whenever they were in trouble again. All but 4 of the respondents answered yes to the question. Some of the reasons they gave were:

Because staff and residents help me and concern me as a human being...The staff is willing to help...I can relate to the people here...Because it has helped the first time...I feel at home here.

To sum up, the respondents had a generally favorable impression about the house. They thought that the house had served its function to assist them in their transition from prison to the street. Some of them, in fact, would really like to see more settings like the St. Leonard's House of Windsor to be established across Canada.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

The research was undertaken to examine the effectiveness of halfway houses such as the St. Leonard's House of Windsor which tried to assist the ex-convicts in their readjustment to normal life. The overall impression of the respondents towards the house in general was positive. With regard to the emotional and material supports which the respondents received from the house, the responses were also mostly positive. As the analysis showed, almost all of the respondents thought that halfway houses such as the St. Leonard's House were helpful to them. Ostensibly, the outcome of the analysis tended to favor the Allen and Seiter research that halfway houses were effective in helping to reduce the criminal behavior of the house residents (page 20).

However, cautious measurement must be considered before any claim of successful resocialization can be made. The process of resocialization is a delicate issue which needs to be carefully evaluated. Though the researcher thinks that the result of the present research is generally positive, he is reluctant to ascertain that resocialization is taking place among majority of the respondents (utilizing the respondents' answers as a measuring rod). While the researcher is not hesitant to point out that a number of respondents do show their willingness to change their attitudes and behavior in readjusting to society, it is also likely that many of the
men will ultimately return to prison.

The objective of the research is to explore and resolve the process of resocialization, if it indeed exists. From the outset, the researcher was reminded that it would be tedious to ascertain the tenability of such a process, if any. Indeed, the task of attempting to substantiate the evidence of resocialization has proved to be difficult. Many of the study's shortcomings must be considered before the process of resocialization can be properly evaluated.

The major drawback of the study is the lack of a control group. The absence of a control group prevents the researcher from properly assessing the intended role of the halfway house in affecting change in the individual respondent's attitude and behavior. On the other hand, the presence of a control group does not necessarily mean that the researcher can adequately evaluate the role of the halfway house in affecting the process of resocialization. The question concerned is whether the man's change is permanent or temporary. Changes that are being observed in the control group may only be situational and temporary. In such a case, the change as observed cannot be considered valid. Therefore, the absence of a control group does not necessarily discredit the findings of the present research.

The more serious drawback is the difficulty involved in trying to detect the "actual" change in behavior and attitude.
The awareness here is that:

the fact that existing attitudes relate to overt behavior does not tell us whether or not an attitude change brought about by exposure to a persuasive communication will be reflected in a change in subsequent behavior (Kiesler et al, 1969:37).

Behavior and attitude do not always correlate with each other. There is a discrepancy between what an individual says and what he actually does. In the present study, the entire study may be viewed as impractical because of the discrepancy between behavior and attitude. The role of the halfway house in bringing about the process of resocialization cannot be acclaimed. How can one assure that resocialization is occurring when the man's behavior and attitude are incongruous? The incongruity between behavior and attitude has been reported in many studies (La Piere, 1934; Minard, 1952; DeFleur and Westie, 1958). The researcher thinks that there are many factors which affect differences between behavior and attitude.

Most probably, behavior and attitude are determined by the social situation. The surrounding environment almost invariably affects the man's behavior in that particular situation. Hence, a respondent may behave respectably and abide by house rules and regulations while on the premises, yet, once he leaves the vicinity of the house, he displays different behavior. During the research, the researcher
found that three respondents showed to have the above symptoms. While in the house, they said fighting and causing disturbance in public place were misbehaviors that would be detrimental to their welfare. Later, they were found to be involved in incidents which they had earlier disapproved. What is the cause for the difference between attitudes and action? One of the possible explanations is that the individual presents himself according to the situation. Goffman (1959) describes the presentation of one's self in everyday life as dramaturgical. The public behavior and attitude as presented in the so-called front region are different from those presented in the so-called back region. The change in attitude and behavior may be normal human reaction to the situation.

The respondent compromises with the rules and regulations of the house probably because he thinks that it is proper to behave in that way. His compliance with house rules and regulations may be due to the reasons such as that (1) he regards the house as a miniature institution and therefore he needs to observe all the rules and regulations, (2) it is man's ability to adapt to the environment in order to survive, obeying rules means adaptation to the house setting, (4) he is playing the rules of the game and, (4) he believes that the rules and regulations are part of the scheme and effort of the house to redirect his life, therefore he obeys them.

The researcher, after the period of research, thinks
that the respondents in the study say and act differently probably because they try to present their best when under observation. The reasons for the general positive answers given in the interview may due to the fact that (1) the individual respondent gives positive answers in order to achieve favorable reaction or approval from the researcher. He may think that the answers given in the interview do not mean much once out of the situation (formal interview), (2) the respondents, being aware of the fact that the writer is an outsider, may not want to tell the truth. They may think that giving negative answers is impolite. Hence, they tell the researcher what they assume the researcher want to know and, (3) the respondents' opinions expressed privately in the interview are not necessarily the same as those expressed in public. In fact, the opinion expressed in one public may not be the same as that expressed in a different public.

On the other hand, public behaviors which contrast with the private attitudes serve as a social adjustment function. The respondents display positive attitude in order to gain favorable reaction from others and thus avoid disapproval. They use deception to achieve respectability in the situation.

Before the researcher can properly assess the role of St. Leonard's House in affecting resocialization in the
part of respondents, he wishes to distinguish the many types of residents and their behaviors in the house.

Coming to live in St. Leonard's House is a new experience for many respondents, and their expectation at the beginning may be ambivalent. Generally, the respondents' expectation of themselves and the house can be put into three different categories when they arrive at the house: (1) those who are prepared to get their new plan (to have a fresh start) going when they leave the institution. They have the motivation to change. They are self-motivated to start a new life again, (2) those who are not sure of what they want while staying in the house; they tend to take the "wait and see" attitude towards the house. They have reservations and doubts about the house and they want to search around before they can decide on what to do and, (3) those who use St. Leonard's House as a sponsor to obtain early parole and do not really want to change. They are either hardcore criminals who do not want to change their former life style or men who do not know why they were in prison and they drift around without any goal. They are apathetic about the whole situation.

The role of the halfway house seems to be important in trying to help the ex-convicts listed under the first two categories. For many of the men in the first category, they may initially think that they can manage affairs on their own and do not see the need of St. Leonard's House.
However, eventually they rely on the house which assists them in solving their problems. The researcher has known of a couple of respondents who belong to this category. At the beginning, they did not want to be bored by the staff. They came to the house because they were on parole. Yet, one of them later said:

It is a whole new world out there and I cannot cope with it. I did not want to discuss the problems with the counsellors because I thought they were just suckers. I was having this problem (with his girlfriend) and the guy said: "Why not go to talk to X (the counsellor), he may help you". So, I went to talk to X and he helped me solve the problem. I think I can rely on them (counsellors) for help.

On the other hand, there are also those who are not sure of their own effort to readjust to society and feel that the house is a help. To those respondents in the second category, the role of the halfway house is particularly important because it is usually the house which redirects them to a new way of living.

There are generally two types of behaviors which the researcher thinks the respondents display. There are respondents whose attitude and behavior are congruent in and out of the house. That is, what they say is what they do. For instance, the researcher has found a few respondents who think that heavy drinking may lead them into trouble and they try to avoid going to bars. They realize the consequence
of getting trouble again and they always avoid potenti trouble-

making occasions. Generally, these respondents are the ones
who appear to be most promising in their effort to readjust
themselves.

The second type of behavior is the so-called St.
Leonard's House behavior. Simply, it means that the respondents
do not say and act the same in and out of the house. What
they say is not what they do. The so-called St. Leonard's
behavior can be further divided into two sub-types: (a) those
whose behaviors are deceptive and, (b) those who behave
according to the situation and deceptive means is not neces-
sarily used to trick the staff. Of both sub-types, the
respondents try to act in a congenial way while in the house.
The first sub-type stages his behavior and puts on a perfor-
mance in the house and acts according to house rules and
regulations. When he talks with the staff, he presents
himself as an individual who is trying to readjust himself
with sincere effort. The researcher has found a respondent
who said that he was not going to steal again and he wanted
to "make it" this time. Yet, he was later arrested for
stealing again. Another man was advised by the staff about
his drinking habit after he was involved in trouble. When
he talked with the researcher and the staff, he expressed his
regret and said that he was not going to do it (heavy drinking)
again. He was later found to be drinking and almost drunk
(the very next night). These two instances illustrate that the staff has been unable to put influence on the respondents. Taking the respondents' subsequent behaviors into consideration, their early responses seem unreliable. In cases like this, the method of participant observation proves to be more accurate in understanding the respondent's motive in trying to readjust to society. To illustrate the respondents of the second sub-type, the researcher was told by two respondents that drinking was a bad habit and that causing public disturbance was improper. They, however, did not tell the researcher that they were NOT going to drink again. They told the researcher that they would try not to go too often and not to cause trouble. These two respondents were later found to have caused disturbance in the bar. Hence, their behavior contradicted with what they had said earlier. The major difference between these two types of respondents is that the first sub-type uses deception and even counsellors admit that they sometimes are fooled by this kind of respondents. Generally, when the respondents show inconsistency in their attitude and action, the researcher usually probed further in their behaviors outside the house in order to determine if any one of the interviews should be counted as unreliable. As to the second sub-type of respondents, their behavior is generally more predictable because they admit to have problems.
In trying to assess the role of the halfway house in affecting resocialization, the respondents' behavior is an important factor to be considered. Usually, it is the man's behavior that leads to confrontation with laws and result in imprisonment. However, the respondent's attitude is not to be neglected. The congruence of attitude and behavior is essential in determining the man's effort to readjust himself. The man is not considered to be undergoing the process of resocialization if either his attitude or behavior is contrary to the conventional standards. A man may have contempt against the conventional values, but outwardly he may appear to be conforming to the societal values and norms. Indeed, the process of resocialization is difficult to be judged and evaluated. How can one know if it is really a process of resocialization and not a deception? In order to determine the process, the researcher thinks that recognition of and conformity with conventional values and norms are the two most important factors. Unless the man acknowledges that he intends to conform to the conventional values and norms and that he makes every possible effort to disengage himself from his former deviant behavior, resocialization as such is not considered to be taking place.

The researcher thinks that there are many clues that can be employed to determine the process of resocialization. Clues showing failure in resocialization usually include
symptoms of ill-adjustment in the part of the respondents. The man is not considered to be undergoing resocialization if he uses deceptive means to present himself as socially adjusted. Deceptive means include putting on a performance to gain favorable reception from the staff. While in the house, he shows every effort to readjust himself. He follows rules and regulations, listens to the staff and tells the staff things that he thinks the staff may like to hear. The researcher has found two cases, while he was doing the researcher, in which the respondents tried to "con" the staff out. The man is not considered to be helped by the house when he openly express anti-social attitude. The man in this case is more open in the interview in that he tells the researcher his dislike of the house, the staff and society. The man is also not considered to have undergone resocialization if he shows having problems. Overall, the technique of participant observation allows the researcher to properly evaluate the reliability and validity of the interviews. Any difference that is found between what the respondents say in the interview or casual chatting and their actual behavior is viewed as a sign of ill-adjustment and a possible failure of resocialization. In such a case, the halfway house is regarded to have failed to affect any change in the part of the man.
In assessing the man's change of behavior and attitude, the following factors must be considered before any claim of resocialization could be made. To an ex-convict, the process of trying to readjust himself is probably a painful experience because he has to undergo many modifications in his way of living. Trying to be a new man again is difficult, it not impossible. The most important factors in the man's effort to readjust himself are his ultimate self determination and self-reliance in changing himself. The following factors are also essential in his effort of readjustment. If the man fails in any of the following parts, he faces the possible result that he may return to prison.

(1) Even though the man usually finds his peer group among the ex-convicts, it is necessary for him to dissociate himself from those ex-convicts who may lead him into trouble again. The researcher has observed a man who usually gathers around with other ex-convicts and that he has gone to do things such as getting drunk and getting involved in fights. His peers, instead of discouraging him from future troubles, have encouraged him. Association with this kind of ex-convicts may gradually induce the breeding ground for future criminal criminals.

(2) The man needs to stay away from bars. Most of the respondents have drinking problems and they need to overcome this if they ever want to readjust themselves successfully
into society. Even if he goes to bars, he needs to learn to be a social drinker.

(3) Many of the respondents are not able to manage their financial matters properly. Some of these men usually spend their whole week's pay in a couple of days. Though some the men's finance is being managed by the house, he needs to learn to manage it on his own. Many of the respondents were not able to keep their jobs. They usually drift from one job to another. Marginal employment is not the proper way to get settled down. Hence, the man has to try to keep a job in order to develop a good working attitude.

(4) Probably because of their experiences inside the institution, many of the men lack the feeling of responsibility and motivation to do work, whatever kind of work it may be. In order to readjust themselves, they need to develop a sense of responsibility and motivation.

(5) Many of the respondents, when they are just released from the institution, usually have an unrealistic view towards life in society. They think that they can do many things easily. They think that things are set in order as it is in the institution. Once outside of the prison, they tend to be annoyed by the "chaos" on the street and find themselves unable to cope with it. Since the institution is highly structured and everything is planned for the men,
many of the men are unable to plan their life once outside of the prison. In order to readjust themselves, the men must take a realistic approach towards life and plan for the future.

(6) Though all the respondents are adults, many of them still display immature behaviors. Emotional immaturity is a serious drawback for the men because they are unable to act and think with discretion. Many of the men are impulsive in doing things and do not usually think of the consequence. For instance, fighting and causing public disturbance may endanger his welfare but few of the men seem to realize that.

Does resocialization really take place? After the period research, the researcher thinks that resocialization does take place. The researcher thinks that as many as seven (32%) of the respondents show indications that they are changing their attitude and behavior or are on the verge of changing it. The man is considered to have undergone resocialization if he does not show any symptom of ill-adjustment. The researcher believes that the man's behavior is more important than his attitude in the process of resocialization. It is usually the man's behavior that leads him to trouble.

After careful evaluation of the research, the researcher believes that the halfway house as a social service agent is important to many of the respondents who are undergoing a new living experience in the St. Leonard's House. An ex-convict
who has just been released from the institution is usually a disoriented individual whose traumatic prison experience may affect his return to society as a "rehabilitated" person. Though he is out on the street now, he finds himself incapable to manage or cope with the proximate life situation. His effort in trying to reestablish satisfactory relationships without proper guidance is always painful and agonizing. The lack of adequate assistance and proper guidance contribute to his failure to reintegrate successfully into society.

The establishment of the halfway house gives the ex-convicts an opportunity to readjust themselves properly under guidance. The St. Leonard's House, by offering material and emotional support to the residents, assists the men to go through the readjustment process. Individual residents can find the help beneficial. There is a case of one respondent who was benefited by the house, and was undergoing changes in his life style. This man was a frequent bar patron and he had involved in causing public disturbance. The staff had advised him not to involve into fighting and the advice seemed to have gone wasted until one night. The respondent was drinking in a bar and was almost involved in a fight. However, he backed off and came back to the house despite his friends urging him to join in the fight. He did not get involved in the fight. He remembered that the staff had told him not to get involved in any tight situation like
fighting. He later told the researcher that the staff's advice flashed into his mind and therefore he decided not to get involved. As he said, "I didn't want to get into trouble for me and for the house". In this case, the staff has apparently succeeded in changing the man's attitude and behavior.

St. Leonard's House, the researcher believes, has done a fairly competent job in trying to help ex-convicts to re-adjust themselves. Nevertheless, the researcher thinks that improvements can still be made to help the men in the house.

Follow-up study of ex-residents should be considered and carried out. For those who stay to live in the Windsor area after leaving the house, the house should make contact with the men at least once a week during the first few months. The purpose of the contact would be to help the men in need. The men should also be asked to visit the house once a week during this initial two-months period, so that they could discuss any problem with the staff. Frequency of contacts with the men can decrease after the two months period and perhaps can be reduced to once a month. In order to maximize the effect of the contact, it is better that the contact with the men be made by a staff member to whom the men mostly trust.

If it is at all possible, former house residents who have readjusted themselves successfully into society should be brought into the house and act as "models" for the residents.
It is hoped that the "modelling" effect would bring about change in some residents. The presence of a successful former resident gives the men some encouragement to follow suit.

Many of the respondents have expressed their uneasiness when mingling with ordinary law-abiding people. They think that the general public usually hold a negative attitude against them because of their past criminal activities. Due to this feeling of uneasiness, many respondents have preferred interaction among their own peer group, that is, the ex-convicts. Association with other ex-convicts, as the researcher mentioned previously, could lead to future criminal activities. Hence, the house should try to recruit qualified volunteers to establish friendly relationships with the residents. It is hoped that through friendship, the residents may gain new insight in life. Interactions between the volunteers and the residents, however, must be carefully planned in order to achieve better results.

Since many of the respondents are unable to manage their own finance, the house can make it mandatory to manage the resident's finance as part of the admission policy. Conceivably, many of the men may object to this kind of mandatory management because they think that they are "mature" enough to do it themselves. In order to carry out this policy of mandatory financial management, the house must explain
and show the men the advantage and disadvantage of such a policy. Former residents can also act as models to show the benefit of this kind of policy.

Many of the respondents have serious drinking problems. In order to help the men tackle this problem, the house may try to restrict the men's social activities for a period of time after they have failed to get rid of their problem. The men should be told in advance that if they were involved in fighting or causing public disturbance, their freedom would be limited, as a form of punishment. Perhaps, representatives from the Alcoholic Anonymous could be invited to help the men tackle the problem.

Group therapy is not presently used in the house, and perhaps this kind of therapy should be considered. There should be guided group interaction in order to emphasize the non-deviant perspectives. The atmosphere of the group, however, must be open. Residents should be given or assigned responsibility to help set up any necessary rules, and a chance to participate and offer suggestions (in order to establish their feeling of responsibility and emotional maturity). Feelings of acceptance and belonging must be created within the group to allow individual residents re-evaluate themselves. The residents should be encouraged to help one another to "kick" the former deviant acts. By interacting and helping one another, they might then
realize that their problem is not unique, and by helping someone else they also gain insight into the nature of their own problems. In order to maximize the effect of group therapy, there should be a small group discussion session. There should be no leaders within the group, and everyone would have equal right to speak up.

Interaction between staff and residents and among residents must be encouraged. To some residents, interaction with fellow residents might be more comfortable than with the staff. In a case like this, a staff member, whom the individual resident trusts should be chosen to establish friendly relationship with the man to affect his attitude and behavior.

If it is possible, the house should try to improve the qualification of the present staff. More qualified staff would be in a better position to help the residents. Perhaps, each staff member should also be assigned to take care of a certain number of residents (like casework), and there should be frequent pre-arranged conferences between individual residents and the staff member. In order to develop the men's sense of responsibility, perhaps the house should require them to share household chores such as cooking, cleaning and making beds.
To conclude the present study, the writer thinks that St. Leonard's House does serve a function to assist the man in trying to make his transition from prison life to normal street life. The role of the halfway house to affect the resocialization also seems to be promising. The writer did notice that many respondents' attitudes and behaviors made considerable progress and change after receiving advice from the staff. Nevertheless, the ultimate desire in the changing of attitude and behavior rests upon the individual resident. He needs to have the motivation and determination to change his way of living. Nobody can help him if he does not want to help himself first. The halfway house can only act as a medium to assist the man in trying to reintegrate himself.
APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Introduction: I am from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the University of Windsor. I am doing some research on Halfway House. I would like to talk to you about some of your experiences. Your answers will be treated with the strictest confidence.

BACKGROUND

1. Which of the following age groups are you in?
   ___1. Under 20  ___3. 31-40
   ___2. 21-30      ___4. 41 or over

2. How far did you go in school?
   ___1. 0-6 years  ___4. High school graduate
   ___2. 7-8 years  ___5. Some college, or
   ___3. Some high school, but did not graduate ___6. College graduate or over

3. What kind of work does (did) your father do?

4. What kind of work does (did) your mother do?

5. Where is your home town?
   ___1. Windsor-Chatham area ___2. Other

6. How long did you stay in prison prior to your present coming to this house?
   ___1. Never did time   ___4. 4-6 years
   ___2. Less than one year ___5. 7-9 years
   ___3. 1-3 years       ___6. Over 10 years

7. Altogether, how long did you stay in prison?
   ___1. Never did time   ___4. 4-6 years
   ___2. Less than one year ___5. 7-9 years
   ___3. 1-3 years       ___6. Over 10 years

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8. How long have you been staying in this house?
   ___1. Less than one month   ___3. 2 months or more
   ___2. 1 month or more      ___4. 3 months or more
   ___5. Over 6 months

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

9. I would like to get a rough picture of the jobs you have
had since you left school. You may not be able to
remember them all, but if you could start with the main
ones, you can fill in the details afterwards.

   Employment prior to confinement
   Job       Length of stay       Reason for leaving       Comment
   ___________  ________________  ________________________
   ___________  ________________  ________________________
   ___________  ________________  ________________________
   ___________  ________________  ________________________

   Employment following release
   Job       Length of stay       Reason for leaving       Comment
   ___________  ________________  ________________________
   ___________  ________________  ________________________
   ___________  ________________  ________________________

10. Do you know of any trade or skill?

11. When you are looking for a job, how do you usually go
about it? Which of the following methods, for example,
did you use?
   ___1. Family contacts        ___5. Newspaper ads
   ___2. Friends on the job    ___6. House staff
       already                   ___7. Look around on your own
   ___3. Leads from friends    ___8. Look around with friends
   ___4. Manpower Centre       ___9. Other, specify

12. Do you have a job now?
   ___1. Yes
   ___2. No
13. If yes, how do you like the job?
   ___1. Like it very much
   ___2. Like it to some extent
   ___3. Do not like it too much
   ___4. Do not like it at all

14. Do you intend to keep the job? If yes, why? If no, why?

15. If you do not have a job now, do you intend to find one?
   ___1. Yes
   ___2. No
If yes, why? If no, why?

16. How do you think about getting a job in your adjustment back to the street?
   ___1. Very important
   ___2. Somewhat important
   ___3. Not at all
   ___4. More of a hindrance than a help

17. How often do you try to find a job?
   ___1. Very often
   ___2. Somewhat often
   ___3. Sometimes
   ___4. Not at all

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

18. I'd like to take a look at this list of spare-time activities, I wonder if you could tell me how often you did any of the following:
   a. Spend day at house
      ___1. Most of the time
      ___2. Some of the time
      ___3. Not at all
   b. Spend evening at house
      ___1. Most of the time
      ___2. Some of the time
      ___3. Not at all
   c. Go to bars
      ___1. Most of the time
      ___2. Some of the time
      ___3. Not at all
   d. Stay around the neighborhood
      ___1. Most of the time
      ___2. Some of the time
      ___3. Not at all
e. Visit friends
   _1. Most of the time _3. Not at all
   _2. Some of the time

f. Visit family
   _1. Most of the time _3. Not at all
   _2. Some of the time

g. Go to a party
   _1. Most of the time _3. Not at all
   _2. Some of the time

h. Go to a club, a church or other
   _1. Most of the time _3. Not at all
   _2. Some of the time

SOCIAL RELATIONS

19. How often do you spend your time in above activities with your friends?
   _1. Most of the time _3. Not at all
   _2. Some of the time

20. How often do you spend your time in above activities with your family?
   _1. Most of the time _3. Not at all
   _2. Some of the time

21. How important is your friends to you?
   _1. Yes, very important _3. No, very little
   _2. Yes, somewhat _4. No, not at all important

22. Do you think your fellow residents are your friends?
   _1. Yes _2. No

If yes, do you think they are important to you?
   _1. Yes, very important _3. No, very little
   _2. Yes, some _4. No, not at all important

If no, why no?
IMPRESSION OF THE HOUSE

23. What made you join the house?
   ___1. Condition of parole/probation
   ___2. Condition of bail
   ___3. Recommended by social agencies
   ___4. Recommended by friends in prison
   ___5. Your own decision

24. Before being released this time, had you ever had the experience of being released from a prison completely on your own?
   ___1. Yes ___2. No
   If yes, could you briefly describe the experience then?

25. How did you first hear about the house?

25. What is your reason for coming to the house?

26. What did you expect this house was going to be like before you came?
   ___1. A small institution ___4. A boarding house
   ___2. An ordinary private ___5. Other, specify house
   ___3. A flop house or mission

27. When you got here, how did it turn out?
   ___1. Better than expected ___3. About the same as expected
   ___2. Worse than expected

28. How do you like the house now?
   ___1. Like it very much ___3. Do not like it too much
   ___2. Like it to some extent ___4. Do not like it at all

29. How do you feel about the location of the house?
30. Do you think living in this house affect your friendship with outside friends?
   ___1. Yes       ___2. No
   If yes, why? If no, why?

31. Who do you spend your spare-time with during your time at the house?
   ___1. Other guys from the ___3. Mostly on your own house
       ___2. Outside friends

32. Where do you spend most of your time at the house?
   ___1. Own bedroom       ___5. Basement
       ___2. TV room        ___6. Poolroom
       ___3. Office         ___7. Room of other guys
       ___4. Lining room and kitchen ___8. Living room

33. Where in the house do you talk with the other guys most of the time?
   ___1. Own bedroom       ___6. Poolroom
       ___2. TV room        ___7. Room of other guys
       ___3. Office         ___8. Outside the house
       ___4. Dinning room and kitchen ___9. House meetings
       ___5. Basement

34. Are there any guys in the house that you respect?
   ___1. Yes       ___2. No
   If yes, why? If no, why?

35. How much help do you feel the other guys are to you in adjusting to the outside?
   ___1. A great deal       ___3. Not at all
       ___2. To some extent    ___4. More of a hindrance than a help
   What is the reason for you to give the above answer?
36. Do you notice any disagreement between the guys at the house?
   _1. Yes  _2. No

37. What are the main things that cause disagreement?

38. How do you think about the support of the residents in your adjustment back to the street?
   _1. Yes, very important  _3. No, not at all
   _2. Yes, somewhat important  _4. More of a hindrance than a help

39. How do you like getting advice from other guys?
   _1. Like it very much  _3. Do not like it too much
   _2. Like it to some extent  _4. Do not like it at all extent

40. Do you feel safe from the other guys here?
   _1. Yes  _2. No
If yes, why? If no, why?

41. Have your room ever been broken into?
   _1. Yes  _2. No
If yes, what did you do with the incident?

42. Is there any disagreement between staff and residents?

**IMPRESSION OF COUNSELLING**

43. How much help do you feel the staff give you in adjusting to the outside?
   _1. A great deal  _3. Not at all
   _2. To some extent  _4. More of a hindrance than a help

44. If yes, in what ways do you think the staff have helped you?
45. How important do you think the staff is to you?
   ___1. Yes, very important
   ___2. Yes, somewhat important
   ___3. No, very little
   ___4. No, not at all

46. Does the staff ever bring up the subject of your behavior, how are you making out?
   ___1. Yes, very often
   ___2. Yes, quite often
   ___3. Yes, occasionally
   ___4. No, never

47. How do you feel about them doing this?

48. Do you ever do anything differently as a result of what the staff say to you?

49. Do you do anything differently because of what you think the staff may say about it later?

50. How do you think about the support of the staff in your adjustment back to the street?
   ___1. Yes, very important
   ___2. Yes, somewhat important
   ___3. No, not too much
   ___4. No, not at all

51. How do you like getting advice from the staff?
   ___1. Like it very much
   ___2. Like it to some extent
   ___3. Do not like it too much
   ___4. Do not like it at all

52. How do you describe your relationship with the staff?
   ___1. Very close
   ___2. Somewhat close
   ___3. Not too close
   ___4. Not close at all

53. How important do you think is advice from the staff?
   ___1. Yes, very important
   ___2. Yes, somewhat important
   ___3. No, not too much
   ___4. No, not at all
54. How do you describe your feeling toward the house as a whole?
   ___1. Very close       ___3. Not too close
   ___2. Somewhat close    ___4. Not close at all

55. How often do you take part in house meeting?
   ___1. Very often    ___3. Occasionally
   ___2. Quite often    ___4. Never

56. How do you think the house meeting is to you?
   ___1. Very important ___3. Not too much
   ___2. Somewhat important    ___4. Not at all

57. Do you think the house meeting has helped you in adjusting to the outside?
   ___1. Yes       ___2. No
   (If yes, why? If no, why?)

58. What do you usually talk about in the house meeting?

EFFECTS OF IMPRISONMENT

59. What do you think you had learned while in prison?

60. Do you think your prison experience has affected you in adjusting to the street?
   ___1. Yes, a great deal ___3. No, not at all
   ___2. Yes, to some extent

61. In what ways do you think it has affected you?

62. What was your feeling about yourself while in prison?

63. What is your feeling about yourself as a person now?

64. How did you feel about society and people when you were in prison?
65. How do you feel about them now?

66. Do you have the feeling of having been a convict in your mind?

OPINIONS ABOUT THE HOUSE

67. Looking back over your experience at the house as a whole, how helpful is it in helping you adjust to the outside?
   ___1. A great deal ___3. No at all
   ___2. To some extent

68. How do you think about recommending this house to your friends?
   ___1. Highly recommended ___3. Do not recommend at all
   ___2. Somewhat recommend

69. Do you think there should be more facilities like St. Leonard’s House in Canada?
   ___1. Yes ___2. No
If yes, why? If no, why?

70. If you ever come into trouble again, would you consider coming back to this house again for help and advice?
   ___1. Yes ___2. No
If yes, why? If no, why?

71. How do you think is the material support from the house?
   ___1. Very important ___3. Not too important
   ___2. Somewhat important ___4. Not important at all

72. How do you think is the emotional support from the house?
   ___1. Very important ___3. Not too important
   ___2. Somewhat important ___4. Not important at all

73. Do you have any questions and comments that you like to talk about?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION. THAT IS ALL FOR THIS INTERVIEW.
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I was born in China and came to Canada on January 1968. I received my B.A. degree from the University of Alberta in 1973. I started my M.A. degree program at the University of Windsor in 1975. My future plan is to become a Maryknoll lay missioner.