SUPERVISING DRUG-INVOLVED OFFENDERS IN THE COMMUNITY: AN INTEGRATED APPROACH

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San Diego

ASSOCIATION OF GOVERNMENTS

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ABSTRACT

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ABSTRACT: Crime and drug abuse: societal problems you hear about on a daily basis. Elected officials, criminal justice practitioners, and concerned citizens continually grapple with these questions: How much does rehabilitation cost? What types of programs work? and Where should funding be placed? "Probationers in Recovery" (PIR) is an intensive supervision program in San Diego county conceived in an effort to combat drug abuse and related crime among the growing population of probationers.

The Criminal Justice Research Division of the San Diego Association of Governments conducted an evaluation of this intensive supervision and recovery program for drug-abusing probationers in San Diego, funded by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ). The study used a quasi-experimental design, which compared matched groups of probationers assigned to PIR and regular high-risk probation. This report presents the results of this process and impact evaluation, including a review of the relevant literature, an overview of PIR, a description of how PIR was delivered to probationers, an outline of the methodology and comparability of study groups, and an analysis of program performance, recidivism measures, and program costs.

The more intensive level of supervision in PIR resulted in higher violation detection. PIR was successful in identifying violators and increasing the level of accountability, which is one objective of intensive probation programs. However, the ability of PIR to divert offenders away from drug use and criminality was not realized. The inability of PIR to rehabilitate offenders may be an indication that the problems of drug-abusing probationers require more long-term interventions. The results of this study led to several recommendations for improving the effectiveness of PIR and similar intensive community supervision programs designed to rehabilitate drug-involved offenders.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

To cope with the demands of increasing custody and community supervision populations, a majority of which are under the influence of drugs upon arrest, criminal justice officials in San Diego County have been searching for innovative and effective approaches to assessing, managing, controlling, and treating offenders, similar to other communities across the nation. Specifically, the Probationers in Recovery (PIR) program, developed by the San Diego County Probation Department, targets high-risk, drug-abusing offenders through intensive supervision and a drug treatment recovery program with the goal to control offender behavior without increasing risks to communities.

The Probationers in Recovery (PIR) program differs from regular probation for high-risk offenders with respect to the partnership between surveillance and treatment and the degree of both accountability and treatment for the offender. While regular high-risk caseloads are subject to surveillance and control procedures that exceed those in regular probation, the intensity of supervision is not as high as PIR, and regular high-risk supervision does not integrate the treatment and other support services provided through PIR. Regular high-risk probation supervision is not consistently able to balance risk control and rehabilitation due to limited resources, and frequently must opt for the control function. Research has suggested that inclusion of drug treatment as a component of intensive probation, and reductions in substance abuse among probationers in these programs, have positive effects upon future behavior (Petersilia and Turner, 1993; Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989). The purpose of this study is to test this assertion by assessing the effectiveness of PIR. This assessment includes a process evaluation to discover if PIR was implemented as designed, as well as an impact evaluation to determine if PIR is a cost-effective method of rehabilitating chemically-dependent offenders.

This summary of the research project begins with a description of PIR and the research methodology. The synopsis of study results is divided into four sections: a review of how the program was delivered, an examination of probationer performance in the program, an analysis of recidivism measures, and a cost assessment. Finally, the major findings and recommendations resulting from the project are discussed. The results of this comprehensive evaluation of PIR are of particular import to criminal justice policymakers and practitioners as they attempt to manage in the community high-risk offender populations requiring both punishment and rehabilitation.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

The primary purpose of Probationers in Recovery (PIR) is to identify seriously chemically-dependent probationers and provide appropriate intensive case action planning, surveillance, and drug-treatment programs. The program provides assessment of the offender's needs and motivation to change. The intensity of supervision is based upon this needs assessment to provide an appropriate combination of supervision and treatment designed to address the multi-faceted problems of drug-involved offenders.

Increased accountability is attempted through limited caseloads, intensive supervision (i.e., high levels of probation officer-offender contacts and drug use monitoring), mandatory drug treatment, and graduated punishments. Graduated sanctions, including, but not limited to, increased urinalysis testing for drug use, curfew, additional recovery group meetings, detoxification, residential treatment, house arrest, work projects, and return to custody, are used to enforce the conditions of probation and drug treatment. Probationers who continue to use illegal drugs and/or participate in criminal activity are removed from the community so PIR staff can concentrate on supervising and treating those who remain in the community. Through a balanced use of surveillance and treatment, it is expected that the offender will address the problems of substance abuse and associated social dysfunction and criminal activity.

Probation and drug treatment staff work cooperatively in a shared office space to assess the needs of PIR participants and enforce probation conditions and participation in the treatment program. The San Diego County Probation Department enforces the conditions of the probation sentence, the requirements of drug testing, and participation in drug treatment, while Mental Health Systems, Inc., a community-based organization, provides the drug treatment component. The focus for all staff is for the probationer to achieve the goals of the program. This emphasis is consistent with the literature which argues for cooperation among agencies in addressing the needs of drug abusers in the criminal justice system (Prendergast, Anglin, and Wellisch, 1994).

Participants in the PIR program are drawn from existing probation caseloads; placement is not a sentencing option or an alternative to incarceration, but a means to provide more effective supervision. Participation is mandatory rather than voluntary. Those who fail to participate are issued a warrant, prosecuted for absconding, and incarcerated. The PIR eligibility criteria are designed to identify those most in need of the program. The target population is probationers with a primary drug problem who are at risk of continued criminal activity related to the use of drugs. To carry out the program as it is designed, the probationer must also have drug testing as a condition of probation. In addition, screening criteria are used to exclude probationers who would not be able to participate in the program (e.g., transients, illegal aliens, those with mental health problems, and individuals participating in other programs). The criteria also exclude those who pose the greatest threat to public safety (e.g., offenders involved in violence or sex-related crimes).

Drug treatment is provided by two full-time counselors and one full-time supervisor for both sites. The role of treatment staff, according to interviews with PIR personnel, is to

enable probationers to begin the recovery process through a team effort with probation, facilitate drug-treatment sessions, provide support for PIR participants, assess the needs of each participant, monitor progress of participants and intervene as needed, and act as role models for recovering addicts. Counselors are primarily responsible for providing emotional support for probationers and facilitating PIR classes.

Probationers are required to attend three PIR group meetings per week. Each meeting lasts from one and one-half to three hours. Any other program related to drug treatment deemed appropriate by program staff will also be required. In addition to the group sessions, probationers are required to attend two outside recovery group meetings based upon the 12 Step Program (e.g., Narcotics Anonymous) per week, as well as two individual sessions per month with their primary treatment counselor. Referrals by treatment staff to outside agencies are made as needed. Each client is required to pay $360 ($60 per month for six months) prior to completion of the program to offset the costs of providing the drug treatment service. If a participant is unable to pay, a work program can be designed in lieu of financial compensation (e.g., cleaning or painting PIR offices).

Each probationer assigned to the PIR program is expected to participate for a minimum of six months, followed by relapse prevention attendance for six more months. To successfully complete the PIR program, a client must:

- be drug and alcohol free for a reasonable amount of time
- be actively involved in a recovery group program in the community (i.e., attend at least two meetings per week)
- have a sponsor in a recovery group
- be employed
- be crime free
- have a "home" group as part of recovery group involvement (for women this must be a women's group)
- complete Step One through Step Three of the 12 Step Program
- attend a step study group weekly
- complete PIR homework
- begin relapse prevention classes
- pay the $360 fee for participation in the PIR program or have a payment plan acceptable to PIR treatment staff
- develop a plan with the counselor for re-entry into the community.

Based upon review of program documentation and observation of program activities, Probationers in Recovery (PIR) seems to be a program designed to prevent future criminality through deterrence, and discourage drug use by rehabilitating eligible probationers. During interviews with offenders upon assignment to community

supervision, probationers were asked about the reasons they use drugs and methods for changing their behavior. The reasons and methods they listed are consistent with the PIR program design. Therefore, PIR seems to address the issues offenders have regarding drug use and utilizes elements appropriate for changing the behavior of probationers. The focus of the research was to determine if PIR was successful in fulfilling these ambitious objectives.

METHODOLOGY

This evaluation of Probationers in Recovery (PIR) is based upon a quasi-experimental design comparing program activities and outcomes for two matched groups of high-risk probationers receiving different levels of service and supervision. The research describes two types of probation services, assesses if expected service levels were implemented as designed, and evaluates the effectiveness of drug treatment received within an intensive supervision program. The experimental group includes 209 PIR participants who received intensive supervision and drug treatment, and the control group consists of 151 probationers assigned to regular high-risk probation caseloads who met the PIR screening criteria. The samples were selected from February to December 1991. All new assignments to PIR were selected for the experimental group and all new regular supervision cases meeting the PIR screening criteria were included in the control group. The primary differences between the experimental and control groups are that the experimental group receives higher levels of contacts with probation officers, drug testing, intensive drug treatment, and sanctions for violations. The length of the PIR program varies but, for purposes of analysis, a set time period had to be selected to represent intervention by PIR staff. The minimum time in the program, including relapse prevention (eight months), was chosen as the intervention period, with a comparable time period used for the control group. The subsequent six-month period was used to measure the effects of PIR and regular high-risk probation after intervention.

The evaluation included collection of data from official records of probationers in the experimental and control groups (i.e., probation and PIR files, Sheriff's records, and criminal history files), observation of PIR program activities, interviews and surveys with criminal justice personnel, and interviews with a sub-sample of probationers in the experimental and control groups upon assignment to probation and after eight months of supervision.

MAJOR FINDINGS

This evaluation of Probationers in Recovery (PIR), an intensive supervision program for drug-involved offenders, demonstrates the dilemmas in developing effective sanctions and rehabilitative programs for offenders. The dual purpose of punishing offenders and rehabilitating them can be difficult to balance within program resources. The PIR evaluation used multiple measures of probationer improvement and success to determine the ability of PIR to fulfill its dual goal. A summary of the study's major findings follows.

Program Delivery

As part of the process evaluation, data were collected from official records and intake and follow-up interviews with probationers were conducted to document how PIR was delivered. In addition, probation and treatment staff were interviewed and other criminal justice professionals were surveyed to place the program within the context of the criminal justice process and goals of probation.

Based upon data collected from official records and interviews with probationers, the level of supervision for PIR participants was more intensive than for the control group. The types of contacts were similar for the PIR and control groups (phone calls and visits with probation officers), but the number of contacts reported was substantially higher for PIR probationers. Graduated sanctions were also used more extensively for PIR probationers prior to return to custody. Probationers in PIR not only had more contact with their probation officers, but drug testing was more random also. The proportion reporting that their probation officer contacted someone else about their performance on probation was also higher for the PIR group.

However, the expected levels of supervision, as outlined in the PIR program design, were not fully met. This was partially due to the lack of information regarding when probationers absconded. The Probation Department may want to consider maintaining records on the date a probationer absconds to improve analysis in future studies on probation performance. The PIR program staff may also want to incorporate more aggressive methods for working with probationers who miss meetings (e.g., home visits) and develop strategies for making the program more attractive to potential participants to lower the rate of absconding.

The PIR program was not restricted to high-risk probationers as designed. Clear mechanisms for monitoring program delivery would assist in maintaining consistency with the program design on an on-going basis and ensure that high-risk, drug-involved probationers are targeted, as well as provide opportunities to discover methods for improving the effectiveness of the program.

Overall, there was general consensus among the criminal justice personnel interviewed and surveyed that PIR included effective components for supervising offenders in the community. This feeling was echoed in interviews with probationers. The consensus among criminal justice professionals provides an opportunity to improve the PIR program. Areas in which they disagree (e.g., the value of graduated sanctions) require further discussion before PIR can be utilized to its full potential. For example, if judges do not believe that graduated sanctions are effective methods of controlling offender behavior, they may revoke probation for PIR violators and return them to custody, despite efforts by PIR staff to maintain the probationer in the program and continue working on reducing drug use and criminality.

Though all PIR staff interviewed seem motivated to continue the program, there was a need expressed for better communication between managerial and on-line staff. One identified leader, with a clear line of authority and monitoring, was needed to ensure that PIR was implemented as designed and extreme staff turnover minimized. Also, a need for more improved staff training was indicated, especially for drug-treatment counselors.

According to this information on PIR program delivery, it seems that a higher level of intervention was provided to PIR participants compared to the control group. However, PIR program elements were not delivered uniformly during the evaluation period and there was difficulty in attaining designed levels of supervision partially due to administrative issues. There was also significant staff turnover among drug-treatment personnel, with lengthy periods of short staffing, lack of resources to appropriately train new staff, and little time for team building. Struggles between probation and treatment administrative staff impacted line personnel.

The impact evaluation examines the effect of PIR as delivered during the evaluation period on program performance.

Performance in the Program

The in-depth analysis of the performance of probationers during the eight-month in-program period is based upon interviews with offenders upon assignment to probation and after eight months of supervision, as well as information collected from official records.

A relatively large proportion of the PIR sample had absconded within the eight-month period compared to the control group. Only one-third of the probationers in PIR actually graduated or were still in the program after the eight-month intervention period. Program retention is one area in which PIR may be able to improve performance by instituting more aggressive methods of ensuring that PIR is delivered to a larger percentage of those assigned to the program. PIR staff may also want to consider modifying the program design to make it more attractive to offenders or developing methods for assisting probationers in meeting the time commitment. In addition, based upon opinions about drug treatment, the PIR group seemed to take the drug treatment program more seriously as a result of PIR participation than the control group.

With respect to drug use, the proportion of PIR participants reporting drug use during the eight-month supervision period was higher than the control group. However, some positive changes were noted by probationers in employment, plans for school, support of family and friends, and satisfaction with living situation. In addition, probationers were more optimistic about their chance of succeeding on probation. Further, PIR participants were slightly more likely to say that the probation term and drug treatment program were helpful. These positive views are interesting in light of the dissatisfaction with the restrictive nature of PIR. The dislike by PIR participants of the punitive nature of PIR validates Petersilia and Turner's (1993) assertion that intensive supervision provides heavier punishments for offenders who traditionally receive little monitoring (i.e., repairing the net of social control). Many high-risk offenders targeted by PIR may have

been incarcerated prior to budgetary constraints. Therefore, by increasing the level of supervision for offenders who usually receive less restrictive punishments under current criminal justice policies, the net of punishment has recaptured high-risk offenders who pose a threat to public safety.

Almost half (46%) of the PIR probationers interviewed after eight months of supervision would choose to participate in the program if given the option, compared to 31 percent at intake. These findings suggest that probationers may need the support and structure in their lives, which is provided, in part, by PIR and probation. That is, the regular meetings with probation officers and PIR treatment staff, PIR classes, and recovery group meetings organize participants' time and provide a support system previously unavailable.

Further, interviews with probationers upon assignment to community supervision indicate that the PIR program correctly identified the needs of drug-abusing probationers, including drug treatment, education, employment assistance, and counseling. However, the needs of probationers remained the same after eight months. The continuing need for services may reflect the complex nature of the problems faced by drug-abusing offenders when released to the community, such as maintaining sobriety and employment. It may be unrealistic to expect that these problems can be solved without longer-term interventions.

Based upon bivariate analysis, attributes that seem to be associated with program completion include employment, as reported during the presentence investigation, and maturity level, as measured by age. The fact that a majority of those who completed PIR were employed prior to assignment to the program indicates the crucial need for employment among probationers to divert them from drug abuse and crime. It is important to note, however, that these measures were determined prior to probation assignment, therefore, employment status could change during the course of the probation term. Other than through follow-up interviews, there was no systematic method for obtaining employment information. Due to the relatively small number of follow-up interviews completed, follow-up data could not be entered into the bivariate analysis.

The goals of intensive probation programs, such as PIR, are not only to provide drug treatment, but also to intensively monitor probationers, providing them with less opportunity to use drugs and commit crimes. The dual purposes present a dilemma for determining who should be eligible for intensive probation: those who present the greatest risk to others or those who are amenable to treatment. It is apparent from the findings that certain probationers (i.e., older, employed) have a better chance to at least complete a program like PIR, which can be viewed as a first step in reducing drug use and crime.

Program Impact: Recidivism Measures

The effectiveness of PIR in reducing criminality relative to the control group is measured based upon a 14-month period. This period includes the eight-month "in-program" period and an additional six months following the intervention to determine the impact of the program.

The literature suggests that longer follow-up periods provide a better assessment of long-term program impacts and allow a more detailed analysis of survival rates related to new offenses (Petersilia and Turner, 1993). The study as proposed did not provide sufficient time for a follow-up period longer than six months after program intervention for all experimental and control cases.

PIR provided a more proactive approach to supervising offenders in the community with significantly higher levels of supervision and testing. As a result, PIR staff detected a higher number of technical probation violations. The response to these violations was an extensive use of graduated sanctions, which resulted in re-arrest, re-conviction, and return-to-custody rates similar to the control group. These results are not unique to PIR. As reported in a **NIJ Update**, a program in Oregon also failed to lower recidivism (Harrell, Adams, and Gouvis, 1995). As suggested by Petersilia and Turner (1993), offenders under intensive supervision may be re-offending at a rate similar to or lower than those on regular supervision, but PIR probationers also have a greater likelihood of being caught due to the intensive monitoring. Since PIR and the control group had relatively similar recidivism rates (as measured by new arrests, convictions, and custody terms), it could be argued that PIR actually improved public safety because the likelihood of catching criminality was higher.

Although the numbers are relatively small, examination of the PIR group shows that most of the probationers who graduated from PIR or were still in the program at eight months were not re-arrested for new criminal activity. These findings from the impact evaluation suggest that graduated sanctions may be able to assist in maintaining offenders in treatment programs while avoiding incarceration despite increased monitoring. The PIR program maintained the same offense rates with graduated sanctions or shorter custody commitments than the regular probation program. Policymakers may want to consider increasing the use of graduated sanctions as they make improvements in their methods for ensuring public safety while supervising offenders in the community. If the same results can be achieved without increasing custody time, the additional costs of treatment can be offset. However, the costs of imposing graduated sanctions must be considered.

The findings from data collected on the impact of PIR are consistent with other research conducted on the effectiveness of intensive supervision programs across the country. The solutions to the problems faced by drug-abusing offenders are complex and may require a longer-term intervention that exceeds the length of the PIR program. Recent research on recovery services in California found that length of stay in treatment increases the effectiveness of the treatment with respect to criminality (Gerstein, et al., 1994). Further, factors beyond the control of the program, such as the economy, may make it more difficult for these probationers to achieve all the goals established for them by the program (i.e., obtaining jobs). However, the PIR program was successful in identifying violators and increasing the level of accountability, which is one objective of intensive probation programs. However, as noted by Petersilia and Turner (1993), these traditional measures of recidivism measure the enforcement function of probation more than rehabilitation. Since PIR probationers are under increased surveillance, it is less likely that continued criminality will go undetected. Therefore, these findings may not be an indication that

PIR has failed, but that the objectives have not been realistic or were conflicting. In this manner, PIR was successful in identifying violators and increasing the level of accountability, which is one objective of intensive probation programs.

Program Costs

The analysis for this study includes the costs of providing the intervention (i.e., supervision costs incurred by the Probation Department, expenses related to conducting PIR classes, and expenditures for drug use monitoring through urinalysis), as well as the costs of continued criminality (i.e., law enforcement expenditures related to arresting offenders, court and court-related expenses, and the costs of incarceration). The cost of victimization (e.g., time missed from work, hospital bills, installation of security systems in homes or cars, self-defense training, etc.) was not estimated. Estimates are based upon FY 1991-92.

System costs were higher for PIR ($6,950 per probationer) compared to the control group ($5,574), which is not surprising based upon previously presented recidivism measures. Since the average cost for PIR is higher than for the control group, the potential for court and incarceration costs to offset treatment costs was not realized. Based upon the six-month follow-up period after intervention, the overall costs of PIR were higher, with no cost avoidance. These findings are similar to the cost analysis by Petersilia and Turner in their evaluation of intensive supervision in three California counties (1990), as well as their nationwide study of intensive supervision probation and parole (1993). Providing intensive supervision and drug treatment in the community is more costly than regular probation due to the smaller caseloads and increased violation detection resulting from frequent contacts, which requires more frequent sanctioning. A longer-term evaluation could determine if the short-term costs (i.e., an additional $1,376 per offender, or $928 per "successful" probationer) produce lower recidivism (as measured by continued criminality over time) and higher levels of rehabilitation (as measured by reduced drug use, increased employment, and other positive lifestyle changes). The cost analysis could also be reassessed after recommended programmatic changes are implemented.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The results of this study, along with a review of the relevant literature, led to the following recommendations for improving the effectiveness of PIR and similar intensive supervision programs in the community designed to rehabilitate drug-involved offenders.

- **Develop realistic expectations of the program.** Establishing intensive supervision programs to both fully rehabilitate offenders and hold them accountable for all actions presents conflicting goals because consequences for actions often remove probationers from the rehabilitative influence of the programs. Therefore, rather than expecting that PIR and similar programs will control crime and decrease recidivism, at a relatively low cost, the program should strive to provide an intermediate punishment between incarceration and regular community supervision by more closely supervising probationers through the use of graduated sanctions, resulting in improved public

safety. Further, this type of intermediate punishment could help repair the net of social control because it is viewed by offenders as more punitive than traditional community supervision. By targeting high-risk offenders who may not be incarcerated due to lack of resources, restrictive monitoring by the Probation Department is increasing the amount of punishment and social control, thereby protecting the public.

- **Cultivate support for the program throughout the criminal justice community**. In order to ensure implementation of Probation recommendations, judges must support the program. Integrating judicial input into the screening process may produce the enforcement necessary to gain higher offender compliance (i.e., similar to a drug court). Formation of an advisory board with judicial representation to review program policies and procedures may also improve program support.

- **Choose a specific person for the role of overall director and central manager of the program**. Vital commitment to program objectives and values by the director is necessary. This person should also be able to motivate others, instill ideas and values in staff, and effect change. Identification of a specific leader will result in a clear line of authority. This leader, dedicated to implementing all elements of PIR, may assist in producing a united team of personnel to deliver the program uniformly, as well as gain community support.

- **Deliver intervention as designed to all probationers placed in the program**. Though PIR was more intensive than regular supervision, intevention levels were lower than designed. Based upon study findings, intensive probation contacts (i.e., two or more per month) were significantly associated with reduced recidivism more than any other factor. Therefore, achieving program design may be the best method for improving probation success.

- **Institute proactive and aggressive methods of ensuring that the program is delivered immediately upon assignment to the program (e.g., home visits).** A relatively large proportion of the PIR sample had absconded within the eight-month period, compared to the control group. Only one-third of the probationers in PIR actually graduated or were still in the program after the eight-month intervention period. This is one area in which the program may be able to improve program performance by instituting more aggressive methods of ensuring that PIR is delivered to a larger percentage of those assigned to the program. This need to increase the immediate provision of intensive supervision programs is substantiated by other researchers. Based upon their nationwide experiment, Petersilia and Turner (1993) assert that intensive supervision programs need to make controls more stringent and begin treatment immediately upon assignment to supervision to decrease the rate of absconding. Nurco et al. (1993) suggest that no more than 48 hours should pass between release from custody and program enrollment.

- **Limit caseloads in the program significantly below regular high-risk probation.** To implement measures designed to increase program attendance will probably require reduced caseloads similar to other intensive supervision programs across the country (e.g., 25, the national average, as in Georgia and New Jersey). During the study period, the PIR caseload was the same as regular supervision (50). Caseloads should be divided into the following two categories: 1) actively participating in PIR and 2) awaiting PIR entry because currently in residential treatment or custody. Each group requires a different level of follow-up. Based upon the goals of the program, the caseload size for each group should be determined so that they will be manageable. To ensure that those in custody and residential treatment enter PIR, probation officers should contact the relevant institution to determine release date, make contact with the probationer periodically, and escort the probationer to the program upon release. This portion of the caseload could be limited to ten per officer, depending on the available slots in the program. The remainder of the caseload, the active PIR participants, could be limited to approximately 25 probationers.

- **Consider coordinating with existing drug treatment programs in local jails.** Martin, Butzin, and Inciardi (1995) found that drug treatment provided in stages provides significantly higher success rates compared to those receiving only one stage. Several local detention facilities in San Diego County have drug-treatment programs available for inmates. For example, Stepping Out is a therapeutic community operated for women in the Las Colinas Jail and in the East Mesa Detention Facility for men. If Stepping Out participants were directly referred to PIR upon release from custody, PIR could continue the process of rehabilitation in the community.

- **Structure the program design so it is attractive to offenders and develop methods of assisting offender compliance with the time commitment.** This recommendation is also related to increasing PIR participation. Anglin and McGlothlin (1985) made a similar recommendation in their examination of methadone maintenance programs. To increase program attendance, the treatment program must be viewed by probationers as more desirable than continued drug abuse. For example, focusing on clean and sober social activities and alternatives to risk-taking behavior early on in the program so participants can experience fun and exhilaration without drugs. Another idea would be to partner veteran participants (e.g., those who are within a few months of graduation) with newly admitted probationers who could travel to meetings together, which could reduce transportation difficulties while providing the participants with mentors.

- **Devise specific methods for documenting probationer status, program delivery, and impact.** Documentation of compliance methods must be thorough and, therefore, easy for program staff to use so appropriate and timely actions can occur (e.g., date absconded, exact time in residential treatment or custody).

- **Reconsider the role and purpose of the Graduation Review Panel and its association with measures of program completion (i.e., measures of success).** Two-thirds of the PIR program staff interviewed indicated that the Graduation Review Panel was not effective. This ineffectiveness was related to the subjective nature of program completion decisions. Developing measurable objectives for successful completion will provide the Graduation Review Panel with the tools necessary in making objective decisions.

- **Continue to provide a highly-structured program.** The views of probationers that PIR was restrictive as well as helpful suggest that they are not resistant to the structure as provided by PIR and similar programs (e.g., the requirements of PIR included three PIR classes and two recovery group meetings per week, as well as emotional support).

- **Set a realistic time frame in which the objectives of the program can be achieved.** Criminal justice professionals and probationers all agreed that PIR includes effective components for supervising and rehabilitating offenders in the community. Study results also indicate that the PIR program correctly identified the needs of drug-abusing probationers, including drug treatment, education, employment assistance, and counseling. However, the needs of probationers remained the same after eight months. The continuing need for services may reflect the complex nature of the problems faced by drug-abusing offenders when released to the community, such as maintaining sobriety and employment. It may be unrealistic to expect that these problems can be solved without longer-term interventions. Further, due to the limited follow-up period used in this study, the similarity in recidivism measures may be related to the fact that the solutions to the problems faced by drug-abusing offenders are complex and require a longer-term intervention that exceeds the length of the PIR program. Recent research on recovery services in California found that length of stay in treatment increased the effectiveness of the treatment with respect to criminality (Gerstein, et al, 1994).

- **Develop methods for increasing employment opportunities among program participants.** The fact that a majority of those who completed PIR were employed prior to assignment to the program indicates the crucial need for employment among probationers to divert them from drug abuse and crime. Job skill development, job training, job-search strategies, and educational opportunities should be persistent. A realistic time frame is crucial for success with respect to employment and educational attainment.

- **Continue using graduated sanctions so punishments are directly related to behavior.** For example, the response to the detection of drug use is the imposition of a curfew when drug use occurs in the evenings.

- **Use graduated sanctions to directly relate punishments to behavior while incapacitating offenders.** Since recidivism rates are not higher when graduated sanctions are used (i.e., for the PIR group compared to the control group), the use of graduated sanctions can be a good method of ensuring public safety within budgetary

constraints. For example, the response to the detection of drug use is the imposition of a curfew rather than incarceration when drug use occurs in the evenings.

- **Utilize experienced staff and provide on-going training for staff in the methods of supervising and addressing the needs of drug-involved offenders.** By ensuring that staff have the skills necessary to perform their jobs, the needs of offenders can be more fully addressed and improvements made in participant performance. In addition, since job satisfaction will most likely result from this increased support, staff turnover should be reduced.

- **Continue program monitoring with well-defined measures of success.** Choosing someone to compile and analyze the data on an on-going basis will provide the opportunity to ensure that information is recorded in a consistent manner. By documenting participants' progress, the program can review the results and respond appropriately to maximize program effectiveness.

The challenges of supervising high-risk offenders in the community will undoubtedly be present for some time. The public demand for incapacitation, as evidenced by recent legislation increasing the mandatory minimum custody terms for defendants (e.g., "Three Strikes"), will serve to aggravate already crowded detention facilities. Therefore, alternatives to incarceration for all offenders not impacted by mandatory custody terms must be developed to balance the objectives of rehabilitation and public safety.

It is important to know what features of community supervision are "successful" in improving outcomes for offenders. Rather than abandoning a program because it "does not work," it is valuable to identify potential benefits and seek ways to improve program effectiveness based upon evaluation research.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

DILEMMAS FOR CORRECTIONS

The criminal justice system is faced with increasing jail, prison, probation, and parole populations. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (1995), local jail populations increased to a record high in mid-year 1994 with 490,442 inmates. From 1993 to 1994, the seven percent rise was the third largest increase since 1983. In 1992, overall jail occupancy was 97 percent of the rated capacity of nationwide jail space (Perkins, et al., 1995). The number of adults on probation and parole increased four percent during 1994. Since 1980, the number on community supervision has almost tripled, with 3.0 million adults on probation and 690,000 on parole (Gilliard and Beck, 1995). At the end of 1990, two-thirds of all people under correctional supervision were on probation. Further, the current probation population consists of more felons (48%) than misdemeanants (31%), with the remainder including offenders convicted of driving under the influence (21%) or other infractions (1%) (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1992). This increase of serious offenders in the community presents challenges for community supervision programs.

To cope with these demands, correctional officials have been searching for innovative and effective approaches to assessing, managing, controlling, and treating the diverse offender groups. The demand for an alternative to jail, prison, probation, and parole is intensified by recent disillusionment with rehabilitation, increased public demand for punishment, limited fiscal growth, and restricted expansion of prison and jail capacity. Many propose that a solution resides in intermediate sanctions which fulfill both punishment and public safety objectives. However, recent research on intermediate sanctions suggests that intensive probation programs alone may not reduce recidivism among offenders. The association between drug use and crime has been well documented, but the use of drug treatment as a primary component of intensive supervision has not been effectively evaluated because of the unavailability of resources for drug treatment in many jurisdictions (Petersilia and Turner, 1993; Turner, et al., 1992). Targeting high-risk, drug-abusing offenders through intermediate sanctions such as enhanced intensive supervision is an idea that has gained increased acceptance by policymakers and justice administrators alike. The goals are to control offender behavior and promote rehabilitation without increasing risks to communities, a significant challenge for criminal justice policymakers.

Similar to other communities across the nation, San Diego County has realized an increase in the number of defendants on probation (from 10,418 in 1990 to 12,324 in 1994, an 18% increase). Further, the percentage of offenders testing positive by urinalysis for drug use at the time of booking has consistently been between 72 percent and 82 percent from 1989

to 1994 (Pennell, 1995), suggesting a large target population. In light of budget constraints, policymakers have reallocated resources to implement intensive supervision for criminally-involved substance abusers. This report presents the results from a formative evaluation and impact assessment of a local intensive supervision and recovery program for drug-abusing probationers, Probationers in Recovery (PIR). The program was developed by the San Diego County Probation Department based upon the view of local criminal justice practitioners that the purposes of probation are to rehabilitate offenders when possible and, when not, to remove from the community those resistant to behavioral change.

Two hypotheses are tested.

- The provision of drug treatment within the PIR program reduces subsequent drug use and criminal behavior of high-risk probationers.

- Successful outcomes of reduced drug use and criminality are also associated with characteristics of offenders and of program services.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The Probationers in Recovery (PIR) program differs from regular probation for high-risk offenders with respect to the partnership between surveillance and treatment and the degree of both accountability and treatment for the offender. While regular high-risk caseloads are subject to surveillance and control procedures that exceed those in regular probation, the intensity of supervision is not as high as PIR, and regular high-risk supervision does not integrate the treatment and other support services provided through PIR. Regular high-risk probation supervision is not consistently able to balance risk control and rehabilitation due to limited resources, and frequently must opt for the control function. Research has suggested that inclusion of drug treatment as a component of intensive probation, and reductions in substance abuse among probationers in these programs, have positive effects upon future behavior (Petersilia and Turner, 1993; Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989). The purpose of this study was to test this assertion by assessing the effectiveness of PIR. This assessment includes a process evaluation to discover if PIR was implemented as designed, as well as an impact evaluation to determine if PIR is a cost effective method of rehabilitating chemically-dependent offenders. The research is important for three reasons. First, it addresses a target population that causes grave consequences to themselves and others. Second, since there has been little research on the impact of mandatory drug treatment within a probation program, this report fills a gap in the literature. And, third, it provides policymakers needed information about how to allocate limited resources in the most cost-effective manner.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

This chapter begins the report with a review of the literature to provide a context for the research project and results. Chapter 2 is an overview of the Probationers in Recovery (PIR) program, as documented during the evaluation process. Program guidelines,

observations by research staff, surveys of criminal justice professionals, and interviews with program personnel present a comprehensive view of PIR. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology for the research project. Chapter 4 examines how PIR was delivered to the probationers in the study sample relative to a comparable group of probationers on regular supervision. Surveys of criminal justice personnel, interviews with program staff, interviews with probationers, and data collected from official records document the level of supervision delivered in PIR compared to regular supervision in San Diego County. An assessment of the comparability of the samples selected for the evaluation is presented in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 discusses the performance of PIR participants compared to regular probationers to identify effective elements in redirecting drug-involved offenders away from drug use and criminal activity. The impact of PIR on recidivism over a 14-month period is analyzed in Chapter 7. The costs of PIR compared to the control group are included in Chapter 8. Finally, conclusions and recommendations are discussed in Chapter 9.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Offenders and Drug Use

Among the offender population, serious drug use continues to be a problem that fuels further criminal behavior. There is overwhelming evidence in the literature linking drug use and crime (Lipton, 1995; National Institute of Justice, 1994; McBride and McCoy, 1993; National Task Force on Correctional Substance Abuse Strategies, 1991). Studies have documented the following.

- Many crimes are committed to support a drug habit.
- As drug use increases, criminality also rises.
- Many offenders are under the influence of drugs when committing a crime.
- There is a correlation between periods of heavy narcotic abuse and days of criminal activity.
- Drug users are more likely than non-drug users to be re-arrested (Lipton, 1995; National Criminal Justice Association, 1990).

The Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program documents the level of drug use among booked arrestees and indicates that substance abuse accelerates the level of criminal activity among individuals already involved in crime (National Institute of Justice, 1994). According to the National Task Force on Correctional Substance Abuse Strategies (1991), "drug addicts are involved in approximately three to five times the number of crime events as arrestees who do not use drugs, and they have a significantly greater number of arrests than non-drug arrestees" (p. 1). Most drug-abusing offenders pursue a continuing cycle of crime, arrest, conviction, incarceration or community service, release, and return to crime. Breaking this cycle is a goal of PIR.

Overview of Intensive Supervision Probation

Intensive supervision programs were originally based upon the assumption that increased offender supervision would enhance the rehabilitation of parolees and probationers. Early programs emphasized reduced caseloads and increased levels of supervision. Many intensive supervision programs claimed to deliver "tough" conditions, with increased supervision and enforcement ensuring community safety (Clear and Hardyman, 1990). Despite early research findings casting doubt upon the ability of intensive supervision to positively influence rehabilitation, intensive supervision became popular as an alternative to prison in the latter half of the 1980s. Between 1980 and 1990, every state adopted some form of intensive supervision for adult offenders (Petersilia and Turner, 1993). There were 55,722 offenders on intensive supervision in 1990, representing two percent of the 1990 adult probation population (Jankowski, 1991; Byrne, Lurigio, and Petersilia, 1992).

There are variations across programs in the elements of intensive supervision. Generally, specified offender populations are targeted for intensive levels of supervision and surveillance. As will be presented in Chapter 2, PIR uses specific criteria to ensure that only the targeted group of probationers are admitted. Increased supervision is usually combined with other conditions of probation or parole, such as curfews, restitution, community service work, drug and alcohol testing, substance abuse treatment, and employment or educational requirements. The PIR program includes all of these conditions either as requirements of the program or as sanctions for poor performance. Intensive supervision also limits caseloads to a maximum level considerably below that of traditional supervision, permitting an increased number of supervisor-offender contacts, "collateral contacts" with employers, alcohol and drug tests, and observation of participation in treatment. In PIR, caseloads are limited to 50 probationers per probation officer. Typically, offenders are required to complete a minimum amount of time in the program before being either released from supervision or released to a period of regular probation or parole supervision. Rather than placing time constraints on program completion, PIR requires participants to fulfill certain obligations prior to release to regular supervision, though the program design requires at least six months of participation. Intensive supervision programs often employ other intermediate sanctions such as house arrest, shock incarceration, electronic monitoring, day reporting centers, and split sentencing (U.S. General Accounting Office - Program Evaluation and Methodology Division (GAO-PEMD), 1990). Most PIR probationers served time in jail prior to intake into the program.

Offender Screening and Eligibility. Intensive supervision programs vary with respect to the entity responsible for the intake process (i.e., legislative, judicial, or administrative decision making model). There are four ways an offender may be directed to participate in an intensive supervision program. Intensive supervision may be used as a direct sentence, an alternative to incarceration after sentencing, a case management tool, or through multiple methods (Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989). Probationers were placed in PIR through the probation assignment process, independent of direct sentencing to PIR by the judge.

The eligibility for intensive supervision programs also varies from state to state due to sentencing philosophy, prison/jail offender characteristics, and level of risk to the community when certain types of offenders are released. Offender types eligible for intensive supervision may include non-violent offenders, violent offenders, drug offenders, and probation or parole violators (Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989). There is concern that the criteria for some intensive supervision programs target offenders that are neither high-risk nor serious. Clear and Hardyman (1990) believe that there are more higher-risk probationers supervised under regular probation than on intensive supervision. Of particular concern is the inflated amount of time and attention invested in relatively low-risk offenders (Clear and Hardyman, 1990). In addition, studies in the 1980s found that, although the national average number of offenders under intensive supervision per officer declined to around 25, the crucial operational issue was the accurate selection of cases suitable for increased levels of supervision (Latessa, 1987). To assess screening criteria, Inciardi, McBride, and Weinman (1993) compared the Offender Profile Index (OPI) with the local TASC (Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime) assessment instrument. Unfortunately, program constraints limited the outcome evaluation. However, the process evaluation revealed favorable impressions of OPI regarding the objectivity of the measures and efficiency of implementation. Utilization of tested and verified indices could increase the accuracy in probation assignments. PIR augments the San Diego County Probation Department risk/needs classification instrument with specific screening criteria related to drug use and appropriateness for program participation.

The traditional selection procedure for intensive supervision has involved risk and/or needs assessment instruments. Programs focusing on drug treatment should be restricted to individuals whose criminal behavior is associated with drug use (Nurco, et al., 1993). The criteria for PIR assignment include measures of risk and drug use to ensure that high-risk probationers requiring drug treatment are placed in the program.

Drug Testing. Drug testing is frequently used in conjunction with other intermediate sanctions to determine if the offender is complying with the conditions of the sentence (e.g., as evidence to support formal revocation proceedings). Urine tests may also provide information about risk of recidivism or flight. Periodic urine testing may deter drug use, which may reduce criminal activity (Visher, 1990). Since the PIR program targets drug offenders, drug testing is a key component of the program.

In Contra Costa's (California) intensive supervision program, 90 percent of participants underwent drug testing during probation, compared to 65 percent of regular probationers. A higher number of drug tests was ordered for offenders on intensive supervision (four to six tests per month) than for probationers under regular supervision (one test per month). About 85 percent of the offenders under intensive supervision and 50 percent of the regular probationers tested positive for drugs. Thus, frequent drug testing increased the chance of detecting drug use in Contra Costa (Buck, 1989). Probationers under less intensive supervision may have been using drugs just as frequently but the detection rate was much lower. The PIR evaluation revealed similar results, as will be presented in this report.

Research in the Field

Findings from evaluations of intensive supervision programs have been disappointing. Intensive supervision has been difficult to implement and high levels of supervision have not resulted from smaller caseloads. Increases in program intensity have not always promoted rehabilitation. Intensive supervision has led to increased contact and referrals, resulting in more positive adjustment, but failed to produce a significantly lower recidivism rate (Latessa and Vito, 1988). While the level of supervision, as indicated by offender contacts, was higher for intensive supervision than for regular supervision, the difference in the number of contacts did not invoke a sense of "intense" supervision, especially when the primary function of the contacts was surveillance, rather than treatment (Latessa, 1987). Therefore, researchers have expressed concern over intensive supervision's popularity. Some argue that interest in intensive supervision is not a result of careful research on community corrections, but is a response to correctional overcrowding (Clear and Hardyman, 1990).

Nationwide. RAND conducted a nationwide experiment from 1986 to 1991 which evaluated 14 intensive supervision probation/parole programs in nine states involving about 2,000 offenders. The targeted offenders had to meet two requirements: they had to be adults and currently convicted of a non-violent crime. Aside from these criteria, jurisdictions were free to tailor their program to meet their needs. The study results revealed that intensive supervision programs may not meet assumed goals to reduce prison crowding, save money, and decrease recidivism. The authors suggest that jurisdictions must define their goals carefully. With respect to drug treatment, the study found that about half of the offenders were dependent upon drugs, according to probation/parole officers. Further, about one-third of all new arrests were drug-related (Petersilia and Turner, 1993). Therefore, the researchers conclude that participation in drug treatment may produce positive results if treatment programs are supplied to all in need.

Georgia. Begun in 1982, Georgia's intensive supervision program was designed to illustrate that prison-bound offenders could be supervised safely and effectively in the community. Offenders may enter the six to 12-month program either directly or as amended-sentence cases. The program assigns a maximum of 25 probationers to a team composed of a surveillance officer and a probation officer. The program consists of three graduated stages of supervision, and mandatory conditions such as curfews, random alcohol/drug testing, 132 hours of community service, employment/education, and supervisory fees of $10 to $50 per month, as well as court-ordered fines and restitution payments (Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989). Initially, an evaluation of this program found that lower rates of recidivism resulted in costs lower than prison (Erwin and Bennett, 1987). However, the evaluation has been criticized. The primary criticisms include methodology issues (e.g., comparability of groups), validity of findings, and net widening. Specifically, Byrne, et al., assert that the Georgia evaluation demonstrates how intensive supervision fails to provide a cost effective diversion program that ensures public safety (Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989).

New Jersey. New Jersey's intensive supervision program began in 1983. Participation is limited to non-violent, prison-bound offenders. Participants must successfully complete a minimum of one year in the program, after which they may graduate to regular supervision or be discharged. An officer is assigned a maximum of 25 offenders and enforces full compliance with program conditions (Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989). An analysis conducted by Pearson showed that the program did a very good job of protecting the community, based upon recidivism rates. However, researchers argue that the evaluation of New Jersey's intensive supervision program is flawed, primarily because the treatment and control groups were not comparable, and because the program widened the net of social control to include less risky offenders (Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989).

Massachusetts. The Massachusetts intensive supervision program began in 1985 and was intended to provide improved community protection through supervision of offenders usually placed on regular probation. The program targets only high-risk probationers, and ten contacts per month are required. The program has a four step revocation process that monitors and enforces all probation conditions. The evaluation, conducted by Byrne and Kelly, used a pre-post nonequivalent control group design. Sample selection was based upon risk classification score only, resulting in samples which were comparable according to only one dimension (Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989). For the evaluation of PIR, the sample was selected based upon several dimensions relating to program screening criteria, including risk, criminal history, and level of drug involvement, to produce comparable experimental and control groups.

The results of the evaluation revealed that the program was not fully implemented as designed and no overall differences were found for the experimental and control groups regarding rehabilitation or recidivism. However, when examining level of intervention actually delivered, the researchers found that lower recidivism was associated with higher levels of supervision (Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989). This evaluation of PIR also assesses the impact of increased probation contacts on recidivism.

Oregon. In Oregon's intensive supervision program (now defunct), participants were assigned to a team of one probation officer and one surveillance officer. Program elements included frequent contacts, employment or job seeking activities, payment of fees, observance of a curfew, drug and alcohol tests, and community service. Offenders participated for a minimum of six months, and were then transferred to regular probation supervision. An evaluation revealed that after one year, none of the probationers remained in the program (half were in prison for technical violations of the conditions of supervision), and two-thirds of those assigned to prison had been released. Evaluators concluded that Oregon's experience documents several lessons regarding implementation of intensive supervision programs.

- Numerous criteria in the screening process eliminating potential participants may limit the impact on prison overcrowding.

- Strict enforcement of conditions may actually increase prison crowding.

- Offenders may consider long, intensive supervision programs more punitive than shorter prison stays (Petersilia and Turner, 1990).

Intensive Supervision and Drug Treatment. Intensive supervision for substance abusers can lead to increased contacts and services, but whether or not this increased supervision has a desired effect remains unanswered. In one study, drug-involved probationers under intensive supervision, when compared with participants under regular supervision, had more contacts with their probation officer, underwent more drug tests, received more drug counseling, and had higher levels of employment. Yet after one year, those under intensive supervision also had more technical violations and more were in jail or prison. Consequently, costs of intensive supervision per offender per year were approximately $8,000 versus about $5,500 per offender on regular supervision. Researchers concluded that, as a strict alternative to probation/parole, intensive supervision programs incur higher costs and recidivism rates than regular supervision (Turner, Petersilia, and Deschenes, 1992). The high cost and recidivism are due, in part, to the closer supervision provided in intensive programs. The ability to detect criminality and hold offenders accountable is a valuable function of intensive supervision.

Drug treatment, coupled with other sanctions, appears to be the most promising alternative for handling drug-involved offenders (Martin, Butzin, and Inciardi, 1995; Van Stelle, Mauser, and Moberg, 1994; McBride and McCoy, 1993; Visher, 1990; Leukefeld and Tims, 1988; Erwin, 1987). According to a study conducted by Visher, drug-involved offenders in drug treatment committed fewer crimes and used drugs less often than those not in treatment. Visher concludes that public safety could be improved if drug treatment programs were integrated into the sanctions imposed upon drug-involved offenders. The study emphasizes the importance of compulsory or enforced drug treatment and drug testing for drug-involved offenders under legal supervision by the criminal justice system, as well as aftercare to ensure behavioral change.

A comprehensive examination of the literature by Gendreau and Andrews (1990) through meta-analysis concludes that treatment is the most cost effective method to reduce recidivism in contrast to punishment, crime control, or deterrence. Specifically, Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime (TASC) has been "certified" by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) as a program design proven effective in reducing criminality among drug-involved offenders. Ten program elements are identified as crucial for successful implementation:

1) support within the criminal justice system
2) support within the treatment community
3) an independent TASC program
4) staff training policies and procedures
5) data collection system for management and evaluation
6) offender eligibility criteria

7) emphasis on early intervention

8) assessment and referral procedures

9) procedures used in urine testing for drug use

10) monitoring procedures, for example, frequency of contacts (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1992).

Most recently, the work of Martin, Butzin, and Inciardi (1995) has shown that a drug treatment program delivered in stages produces the most promising results regarding lowering drug use and criminality. Providing drug treatment in custody, followed by a transitional therapeutic community outside the prison, resulted in significantly lower rates of recidivism compared to those who did not participate in either program or only one of the two. Since a growing number of offenders (many of whom are drug-involved and high-risk) are being supervised in the community, probation programs with drug treatment, like PIR, have become more attractive.

However, the influence of mandatory treatment on rehabilitation has been debated in the literature (Martin and Inciardi, 1993). The advantages of compulsory treatment include facilitation of drug abusers into treatment, increasing the length of stay for drug abusers in treatment, future crime prevention, separation from post-offense criminal justice system processing, provision of clear due process procedures, and containment of the addict through treatment goals rather than punishment only. Disadvantages include delays in processing, demand for treatment beyond resources, unwilling or unsuitable addicts, high fiscal requirements (though court and incarceration costs could offset treatment costs), and administrative demands (Leukefeld and Tims, 1988).

According to Leukefeld and Tims (1988), mandatory treatment must consider the following factors.

- Compulsory treatment should be restricted to chronic drug abusers who would benefit most from treatment.

- Repeated interventions are required for effective reduction of drug abuse due to the chronic nature of drug dependence.

- Treatment success is directly related to length of time in treatment, including reintegration into the community upon treatment completion.

- Urinalysis is the best method for drug use monitoring.

Substance-abusing offenders require a broader range of treatment than substance abusers in general (i.e., intensive supervision of activities and constant monitoring for substance abuse). According to the National Task Force on Correctional Substance Abuse Strategies (1991), some common features that create an effective program include: clearly defined mission and goals, admission criteria that target appropriate participants, an assessment

strategy for those seeking treatment, and the visible support and understanding of key administrators within the agency, as well as of those line staff with whom the program must interact.

The outcomes and effectiveness of drug treatment are the two major concerns for decision makers. The following are included in recent research findings.

- Drug treatment works for some drug-dependent offenders.
- Treatment outcomes or effectiveness improve as time spent in treatment lengthens.
- Therapeutic communities within correctional institutions can reduce recidivism.
- Compulsory drug treatment for addicted offenders has been found to be a viable technique for reducing criminal activity and deterring further contact with the criminal justice system.
- Drug programs can no longer be evaluated and judged by if they work or not. The programs are complex and, consequently, demand a multivariate research approach (National Criminal Justice Association, 1990).

Evaluations of drug rehabilitation of offenders have been mixed. Incarceration alone has been found to have little impact on long-term drug use. In addition, studies show that this type of punishment does not reduce drug use, crime, or recidivism. Post-incarceration community supervision is one proposed alternative to incarceration for drug-involved offenders. It has been argued that, if drug treatment began in custody and then continued in the community, success rates would increase (Lipton, 1995). Some evaluations indicate that the benefits from treatment often outweigh program costs (National Criminal Justice Association, 1990). However, other research has found costs to be too high. Though certain aspects of treatment have been found to increase effectiveness, the economic value is questionable in the long run, according to Jaffe (1986). There are several possible reasons for the lack of consensus regarding the value of treatment programs.

- There is no broad, coherent policy dealing with drug-addicted offenders (National Criminal Justice Association, 1990).
- Many programs relieve pressure on the penal system, but fail to provide enough services to rehabilitate drug-dependent offenders (Lipton, 1995; National Criminal Justice Association, 1990).
- Policy philosophy and attitude regarding addiction have evolved from being a problem for the individual to being a problem for society. It follows that policy has focused not on the individual's suffering and addiction, but on ensuring society that public safety will not be jeopardized. Policy and programs have neglected to treat the needs of addicted individuals and to consider their environment (National Criminal Justice Association, 1990).

It has also been argued that immediate transfer from custody to drug treatment is key in the rehabilitation process. Nurco, et al. (1993), suggest that no more than 48 hours should pass between release from custody and entrance into drug treatment. Escorts to treatment are recommended to ensure participation.

Drug treatment evaluations have raised additional issues for future research. Factors contributing to retention have not been associated with relapse prevention post-release (Jaffe, 1986). In addition, attempting to measure programs based upon the "cure" rate is unrealistic, according to experts. As asserted by Anglin and McGlothlin (1986), the medical definition of "cure" cannot be expected when dealing with a complex problem such as drug addiction. Therefore, it is more appropriate to focus on behavioral change and overall benefits to society rather than complete abstinence (Lipton and Appel, 1986). Finally, the relationship between time in treatment and level of rehabilitation is still unclear (Tims and Holland, 1986).

Female Drug-Abusing Offenders. Although females often share similar experiences as males, unplanned pregnancy and adolescent motherhood are unique to women. Current drug treatment programs do not address the special needs of female offenders such as their susceptibility to addiction, criminal behavior, high risk of AIDS, and difficulty in finding treatment. Female arrestees are often more likely than male arrestees to test positive for drugs, especially cocaine and heroin, and are also more likely to develop an addiction. Most of the women studied are either single, separated, or divorced; are unemployed; and have children. These women also have several needs aside from substance abuse treatment such as education, job training, and child care. Females are more inclined to live with an addicted partner, are twice as likely as men to share needles with other users, and tend to have more sex partners (National Consortium of TASC Programs, 1991). Based upon these facts, researchers recommend that the unique experience of women shape correctional programming to address the "special problems" they face in a society revolving around gender (Chesney-Lind and Shelden, 1990; Visher, 1990). For example, Passages, a program for women in the Wisconsin state prison, focuses on important women's issues, such as dependency, assertiveness, and sexual assault (Wellisch, Anglin, and Prendergast, 1993). PIR includes a weekly group meeting in which men and women are separated so the women can focus on their unique needs.

Research Issues

Cost Effectiveness. Morris and Tonry (1990) discuss the criteria for evaluating the success or failure of a particular type of intermediate punishment. Cost and crime prevention seem to be two measures used most often. Correctional costs for intensive supervision must be explicitly relevant to policy through a comparison of traditional probation and incarceration programs. The factors included in the cost calculation must also be clear. Evaluations must have some specific estimate of crime commission and employ a comparison group in the study (U.S. GAO-PEMD, 1990). In the evaluation of PIR, program costs include arrest, incarceration, court-related, community supervision, drug treatment (e.g., PIR, detoxification, and residential treatment), and drug testing expenses for both the experimental and control groups.

A U.S. GAO-PEMD study (1990) found that current intensive supervision programs have had limited effects upon prison populations, attributable to the limited capacity of most alternative sanction programs. These programs require an expansion in size or number in order to significantly reduce prison crowding and costs. The costs of intensive supervision fall between regular probation and prison. This finding poses a dilemma for probation programs like PIR, which are ***not*** designed as prison diversion programs. To address this issue, this study of PIR evaluated the costs of PIR as a community supervision alternative rather than custody avoidance.

Alternative sanctions may lead to an increase in costs. If alternative sanctions are used as add-ons to prison and jail sentences, as community service sentences frequently are, then they simply add to the costs of the total system for handling these offenders. Also, if intensive supervision programs, through more pervasive monitoring, increase arrests, court appearances, and subsequent jail time, the system must assume the reprocessing costs (Petersilia, 1987; Greenwood, Petersilia, Rydell, and Turner, 1989). Contributing to the expense is the fact that many cost comparisons fail to include a number of elements such as capital costs, fringe benefits, pensions, and other expenditures incurred while operating a prison (McDonald, 1989). The cost analysis for this evaluation of PIR addresses these issues by accounting in the total estimate for the costs of reprocessing, including salaries and benefits, operating costs, and costs associated with treatment provided by outside agencies.

Net Widening. Net widening occurs when alternative sanctions are used to extend control over groups that might not have been controlled before. A specific example is when intensive supervision programs admit low-risk offenders who would otherwise be supervised less closely.

> When such a person fails under the terms of intensive probation, the temptation is to respond with an even harsher term than was originally intended. After all, the offender is a double failure, having not only committed the original offense, but also having been blatantly uncooperative in response to the "break" the system offered (Petersilia, 1987, p. 87).

Frequently, the system responds by imposing much more severe punishments than the original sentence dictated. The PIR evaluation measures possible net widening. The risk level, as determined by probation personnel, was determined for the sample upon assignment to probation ***and*** eight months later.

Recidivism. The indicators for measuring the effectiveness of community corrections programs are frequently debated, particularly with respect to recidivism. There is little agreement on how to measure failure and success (Geerken and Hayes, 1993). Petersilia (1993) presents a method for measuring probation performance by linking performance indicators to each goal of the program. For example, to measure the goal of assisting in behavioral change, researchers should analyze data on treatment attendance, employment, arrests, technical violations, sobriety, and changes in attitudes. The PIR evaluation attempts to match performance measures to the goals and objectives of PIR.

Evaluation Limitations. The ability to assess the effectiveness of intensive supervision is confounded by problems in measuring diversionary impact, unclear divisions between diversion and crowding, problems in cost computation, and a static view of offender populations and program costs. There are also several potential problems in interpreting evaluation results. These include the fact that it is difficult to determine what program factors contribute to the outcomes observed and if program effectiveness is due to the program as a whole or only one component (U.S. GAO-PEMD, 1990). Other interpretive issues include: the relatively short follow-up periods used in the studies; the lack of perfectly matched comparison groups (Latessa and Travis, 1988); and the lack of a clearly defined standard for measuring program success. Finally, cross-program generalizations can be misleading because intensive supervision programs in different locations have differing goals, organizational structures, program operations, and evaluation designs (U.S. GAO-PEMD, 1990).

In this evaluation of PIR, to address these research issues resulting from the limitations inherent in prior studies, experimental and control groups were matched using the PIR screening criteria to ensure comparability between groups; extensive and detailed information was analyzed to determine which aspects of the program are effective; the definition of "program success" has been based upon issues raised in the literature and on information obtained through lengthy discussions with program personnel; and the program goals, organizational structure, program operation, and evaluation design have been clearly defined to make informed cross-program generalizations. Unfortunately, the limitations of the funding period did not allow for a follow-up period longer than 14 months.

Before examining the results of the evaluation, the Probationers in Recovery (PIR) program will be described.

CHAPTER 2
PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the Probationers in Recovery (PIR) program as observed during the process evaluation portion of the evaluation. Program documentation, observations by research staff, interviews with probation and treatment staff, and surveys with other criminal justice professionals (i.e., judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys) were used in compiling this information. Responses by probationers during intake interviews are also provided to examine the match between offender needs and the program services. Total respondents on measures vary due to the exclusion of unknown or missing data. A detailed discussion of each research method is presented in Chapter 3.

OVERVIEW OF PROBATION IN SAN DIEGO

As of December 1992 (the end of intake for this study), there were 16,661 individuals on active probation supervision in San Diego County. Traditionally, management of this large and growing population requires placing probationers on a level of supervision appropriate to their needs and potential risk for re-offending. The San Diego County Probation Department classifies offenders as high, medium, and low risk, based upon a modified version of the Wisconsin Risk/Needs Assessment, with an emphasis on risks. The point system was revised on April 2, 1991; however, since the focus continued to be on risks, the impact on the sample selection process for this study was minimal. Based upon data from December 1992, of the total number of people on supervision in San Diego County, 4,431 were on high-risk supervision (Levels I and II). Probationers on high-risk supervision in San Diego County receive one or two face-to-face contacts with their probation officer per month and are randomly tested for drugs once a month or every other month. The Probationers in Recovery (PIR) program was initiated to augment resources for intensive supervision of high-risk drug-involved offenders through a grant from the San Diego County Alcohol and Drug Services Department. Table 1 compares minimum service expectations for each level of supervision.

ELEMENTS OF PROBATIONERS IN RECOVERY

According to the Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) developed by the San Diego County Probation Department in December 1991, **the primary purpose of Probationers in Recovery (PIR) is to identify seriously chemically-dependent probationers and provide appropriate intensive case action planning, surveillance, and drug treatment programs.** The program provides assessment of the offender's needs and motivation. The intensity of supervision is based upon this needs assessment to provide an appropriate combination of supervision and treatment designed to address the multi-faceted problems of drug-involved offenders.

Table 1

SUPERVISION LEVELS FOR FELONY PROBATIONERS SAN DIEGO COUNTY, 1991

	PIR		High-Risk		Regular Supervision	
	Phase I[1]	Phase II	Level I	Level II	Level III	Level IV
Face-to-Face Contacts	1 per week	2 per month	2 per month	1 per month	As needed	As needed
Drug Testing	6 per month[2]	2 per month	1 per month	1 @ 2 months	As needed	As needed
Collateral Contacts	As needed	As needed	2 per month	1 per month	1 @ 6 months	As needed
Case Reviews	90 days	90 days	6 months	6 months	12 months	Mid-term
Caseload/Officer	50	50	50	100	500	500

[1] *At least first four months of program.*
[2] *Due to financial constraints, this was changed in May 1991 from two per week to six per month.*

Increased accountability is attempted through limited caseloads, intensive supervision, frequent drug testing, compulsory drug treatment, and graduated punishments. Graduated sanctions, including increased drug use monitoring, curfew, and return to custody, are used to enforce the conditions of probation and drug treatment. Probationers who continue to use illegal drugs and/or participate in criminal activity are removed from the community so PIR staff can concentrate on supervising and treating those who remain in the community. Through a balanced use of surveillance and treatment, it is expected that the offender will address the problems of substance abuse and the associated social dysfunction and criminal activity.

Interviews with criminal justice personnel show agreement with the rehabilitation emphasis of PIR (Table 2). Respondents were asked to indicate the primary purpose of probation programs. Over half (55%) of the judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys surveyed listed rehabilitation as a primary purpose of probation. Responses by regular probation staff, as well as PIR probation and treatment staff, focused more on deterrence (57%), followed by rehabilitation (38%). Only 14 percent of all respondents suggested that the purpose of probation is punishment. The large proportion of probation officers and PIR probation and drug treatment personnel viewing probation as punitive is consistent with the restrictive nature of PIR which was also reflected in interviews with probationers.

Table 2

PRIMARY PURPOSE OF PROBATION
Criminal Justice Personnel Responses, 1992

Responses	Probation[1] & Treatment Staff (Interviews)	Other Criminal Justice Personnel (Surveys)	Total
Rehabilitation	38%	55%	50%
Deterrence	57%	42%	47%
Punishment	7%	17%	14%
Public Safety	24%	1%	9%
Enforce Court Order	7%	0%	2%
Relieve Jail Overcrowding	0%	1%	1%
New Lifestyle	0%	2%	2%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**42**	**83**	**125**

[1]Includes regular and PIR probation officers, regardless of familiarity with PIR.

NOTE: Percentages are based upon multiple responses. Does not include "unknown."

In interviews with PIR probation officers and drug treatment counselors, the following were identified as goals of PIR: increase sober living; reduce criminal recidivism; raise the employment rate among probationers; protect the community from dangerous criminals; empower clients; hold probationers accountable for their behavior; and save taxpayers money. Further, all staff members interviewed indicated that there are aspects of PIR which are effective in reducing crime and drug use. These included the close working relationship of counselors and probation officers, level of supervision, accountability, mandatory nature of the program, graduated sanctions for immediate response to violations and lack of participation in the treatment program, and frequency of drug testing.

The primary objectives of the program, according to the SOP, are as follows.

- Provide concentrated probation supervision for drug-involved offenders to decrease further substance abuse and related criminality.

- Provide in-depth assessment to assure that appropriate sanctions and treatment are provided.

- Promote public safety by providing surveillance and risk-control strategies as indicated by the assessed risk and needs of the participating probationer.

- Identify and remove from the community those offenders who continue their substance abuse and criminality.

- Satisfy participant needs through increased availability of service and treatment resources.

- Promote a crime and drug-free, productive lifestyle.

- Develop procedures and supervision strategies which can be used to enhance the effectiveness of conventional probation operations.

- Provide a variety of sanctions to effect control, including but not limited to, curfew, additional recovery group meetings, detoxification, residential treatment, urinalysis testing for drug use, house arrest, work projects, and local custody.

PIR probation caseloads are limited, enabling probation officers to provide increased contacts with clients and more frequent drug testing. Probation and drug treatment staff work cooperatively in a shared office space to assess the needs of PIR participants and enforce probation conditions and participation in the treatment program. The San Diego County Probation Department enforces the conditions of the probation sentence, the requirements of drug testing, and participation in drug treatment, while Mental Health Systems, Inc., a community-based organization, provides the drug treatment component. The relationship between probation and treatment personnel is clearly defined in the SOP compiled by the Probation Department. "The PIR team consists of both Probation and

Clinical staff... representatives of both agencies are to be involved in treatment interventions." The focus for all staff is for the probationer to achieve the goals of the program. This emphasis is consistent with the literature which argues for cooperation among agencies in addressing the needs of drug abusers in the criminal justice system (Prendergast, Anglin, and Wellisch, 1994).

PIR offices are located in the northern and southern areas of San Diego County. The program was originally implemented in the city of Vista in November 1989, and was expanded to National City in April 1991.

Target Population

Most intensive supervision programs target specified offender populations and establish certain criteria for exclusion. Reasons for exclusion often include a violent current offense, a long criminal record, or an otherwise unusual risk to the community (Clear and Hardyman, 1990). Recent research has suggested that the purpose of the program must be clearly specified so an accurate measure of success can be achieved (Petersilia and Turner, 1993). The target population must also reflect the purpose of the program. Since intensive supervision programs often have competing goals of surveillance and community protection versus treatment and rehabilitation, the identification of a target population is somewhat problematic. For example, when focusing on surveillance as the primary objective, the most serious offenders who present the greatest risk to the community would be chosen for intensive supervision. However, this population may not represent those most likely to respond to treatment and education programs designed to reduce drug use and crime.

Participants in the PIR program are drawn from existing probation caseloads; placement is not a sentencing option or an alternative to incarceration, but a means to provide more effective supervision. Participation is mandatory rather than voluntary. Those who fail to participate are issued a warrant, prosecuted for absconding, and incarcerated. A primary purpose of the eligibility criteria is to identify those most in need of the program. In the case of PIR, the target population is probationers with a primary drug problem who are at risk of continued criminal activity related to the use of drugs. To carry out the program as it is designed, the probationer must also have drug testing as a condition of probation. In addition, screening criteria are used to exclude probationers who would not be able to participate in the program (e.g., transients, illegal aliens, those with mental health problems, and individuals participating in other programs). The criteria also exclude those who pose the greatest threat to public safety (e.g., offenders involved in violence or sex-related crimes).

According to the SOP, offenders are selected for PIR according to the following screening criteria:

- high-risk offenders with a primary presenting problem of drug abuse
- drug testing/alcohol conditions assigned by the court

- not participating in a state-mandated intensive program for alcohol offenders
- not an illegal alien
- not on state parole or federal probation
- not a transient
- not a known psychotic/chronic schizophrenic
- no excessive criminal/violent history (including documented gang membership).

The probationer's ability to get to the program (i.e., either has own transportation or lives in an area accessible to public transportation) is also a consideration.

According to interviews with PIR and regular probation staff, drug treatment personnel, judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys, probationers with substance abuse histories should be eligible for PIR. This is consistent with the purpose of PIR and the screening criteria as outlined in the SOP. Views about who should be excluded from the program were not as consistent (Table 3). Though history of violence was the most frequently stated reason for program exclusion by all staff interviewed, judges and attorneys also included probationers in denial (24%) and drug dealers (24%) as ineligible. The consensus regarding violence illustrates the concern with protecting the community. The belief that PIR should focus on drug abusers "ready" for treatment rather than those in denial suggests the need to educate judges and attorneys regarding the effectiveness of compulsory treatment. The PIR staff (probation officers and counselors directly involved with the program) interviewed viewed the level of restrictiveness in the screening criteria as about right (not shown).

A supervising probation officer at each site screens all Level I and Level II cases for PIR eligibility according to the aforementioned guidelines. Table 4 presents the opinions of criminal justice personnel about who should determine PIR eligibility. According to the regular probation officers familiar with PIR, PIR probation officers, and PIR counselors interviewed, a member of the probation staff was mentioned as the most appropriate person to identify candidates for PIR (71%). However, the judges and attorneys surveyed believed that a judge should be more involved in the decision. Forty-seven percent (47%) stated that a judge and probation officer should jointly make the decision of placement in PIR, and 35 percent thought the judge should decide. Soliciting judicial input in the screening process may improve offender compliance (similar to a drug court).

Table 3

INELIGIBLE PIR PARTICIPANTS
Criminal Justice Personnel Responses, 1992

Probationer Characteristics	Probation[1] & Treatment Staff (Interviews)	Other Criminal Justice Personnel[2] (Surveys)	Total
History of Violence	39%	41%	40%
History of Psychosis	32%	0%	22%
Career Criminals/Felons	32%	0%	22%
Denial of Drug Problem	12%	24%	16%
Those With No Drug Dependency	12%	18%	14%
Need In-Patient Care	12%	0%	9%
Non-Compliant/Unreliable	10%	0%	7%
Drug Dealers	0%	24%	7%
Transient or Illegal	7%	0%	5%
Older Offenders	5%	0%	3%
Other	5%	29%	12%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**41**	**17**	**58**

[1]*Includes regular and PIR probation officers familiar with PIR.*
[2]*Includes only those familiar with PIR.*

NOTE: Percentages are based upon multiple responses. Does not include "unknown."

Table 4

PLACEMENT DECISIONS FOR PIR
Criminal Justice Personnel Responses, 1992

Responses	Probation[1] & Treatment Staff (Interviews)	Other Criminal Justice Personnel[2] (Surveys)	Total
Probation Officer	71%	18%	55%
Judge	12%	35%	19%
Counselor/Clinician	20%	0%	14%
Judge and Probation	0%	47%	14%
Probation Supervisor	7%	0%	5%
PIR Panel	5%	0%	3%
Third Party Screener	2%	0%	2%
Other	2%	0%	2%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**41**	**17**	**58**

[1]*Includes regular and PIR probation officers familiar with PIR.*
[2]*Includes only those familiar with PIR.*

NOTE: Percentages are based upon multiple responses for interviews only. Does not include "unknown." Since the entire population of other criminal justice personnel was surveyed, statistical tests are not appropriate.

Probation Supervision Component

As mentioned previously, the primary objective of PIR is to balance the treatment needs for the chemically-dependent criminal population with the goals of the Probation Department to enforce probation conditions and protect the public. Initially, there is a greater need for an emphasis on law enforcement and surveillance. As the client becomes involved in the treatment process, the balance shifts more toward treatment. The program was originally designed to be completed within six months.

The probation component of PIR focuses on providing public protection and preventing probation violations related to substance abuse. Probation supervision includes more frequent drug testing than regular probation supervision for high-risk offenders, additional contacts with probation officers, and graduated sanctions prior to return to custody. To accomplish this increased supervision, caseloads have been limited to 50 clients per probation officer (the same number as Level I for regular high-risk probation officers) (Table 1). Most PIR probation officers and counselors interviewed indicated that this is the most appropriate caseload for PIR. Three full-time probation officers and one supervisor (30% time) are assigned to PIR at each location. Based upon caseload size, a total of 300 probationers can participate in the program at any one time.

Probation officers and treatment staff develop a case action plan for each PIR participant. The case action plan is based upon individual case factors and focuses on providing public protection through the prevention of substance abuse related to probation violations. The plan includes activities undertaken by the probationer to prevent drug use and criminal activity, and ensure employment, fulfillment of court orders (e.g., community service), and payment of PIR fees ($360) to offset PIR costs and any other payments ordered by the court. The case action plan can be tailored to meet the needs of each individual by including the following components:

- drug treatment (e.g., residential treatment, detoxification)
- law enforcement
- home confinement
- pre-employment training
- referral to social service agencies and outpatient clinics
- family counseling
- transportation
- recreation
- education
- curfews
- telephone contacts
- written reports

- participation in self-help organizations (recovery groups)
- restriction of criminal associations
- liaison with family and employer
- referral to Department of Rehabilitation and Employment Development
- AIDS training.

Initially, there is a greater emphasis on law enforcement and surveillance to maintain probationers in the treatment program. There are two phases of supervision within the PIR program to accommodate the initial need for intensive monitoring. The first phase includes random drug testing at least six times per month and meetings with the probation officer once a week. During this phase, probation officers contact probationers at home or work once per quarter as necessary, the PIR counselor at least once per month, and other collateral contacts when needed (e.g., telephone calls to employers regarding the probationer's performance at work). Law enforcement Fourth Amendment Waiver searches are also ordered on an as-needed basis. According to program documentation, searches did not happen often during the study period. PIR participants are classified as Phase I for the first four months in PIR. After four months, the probation officer evaluates the level of supervision required, based upon patterns of meeting attendance and drug test results. The classification is adjusted accordingly on a monthly basis. During the second phase of PIR, urinalysis is reduced to two random drug tests per month, and meetings with the probation officer reduced to one every other week. The PIR probation officer continues to contact the probationer at home or work once per quarter as needed, the PIR counselor at least once per month, and other collateral contacts as necessary.

Urinalysis Testing. Since all probationers assigned to PIR have drug testing as a condition of their probation term, urinalysis testing is used to monitor participants for drug and alcohol use, as well as a sanction for probation violations. According to the PIR probation and treatment staff interviewed, urinalysis is used for the following reasons:

- to determine if participants are complying with the requirements of remaining substance free
- as an incentive to remain substance free
- to collect data on program performance
- to prevent probationers from continuing denial of drug use
- as a leverage to impose further requirements
- as a guide for further treatment.

Level of Supervision. During interviews, PIR probation officers were asked to describe the level of supervision in PIR and contrast it to regular probation supervision. They noted that it is more intense and structured. According to both PIR probation and treatment staff interviewed, the roles of probation staff within the PIR program are to monitor compliance of PIR participants and provide interventions as needed, to be a part

of the team effort giving the opportunity for recovery for drug-involved offenders, to encourage probationers to remain in the program, and to uphold the safety of the community. The PIR probation officers were also asked "what are your primary/personal responsibilities with the PIR program?" Of the seven probation officers interviewed, six stated that monitoring compliance with probation conditions and program requirements was their primary responsibility.

Graduated Sanctions. Graduated sanctions are used to maintain probationers in PIR, particularly during the initial phase of the program. Interpretations of the purposes of graduated sanctions by the PIR probation and treatment staff interviewed included:

- to hold probationers immediately accountable
- to show that staff are willing to work with participants
- to save taxpayers money by keeping violators out of the court and custody system
- to punish
- to structure the recovery program
- to take the process of recovery into account when supervising probationers
- to get the attention of PIR participants
- to give participants incentives and rewards
- to demonstrate the level of drug use
- to establish consequences for behavior which are appropriate to individual circumstance.

The following graduated sanctions are available to PIR staff:

- additional Narcotics/Alcoholics Anonymous meetings (i.e., recovery group meetings)
- additional PIR drug-treatment classes
- additional drug testing
- curfew with telephone check-in
- work projects
- detoxification
- residential treatment
- counseling through community agencies
- home confinement
- probation revocation hearings
- local custody, often including substance abuse programs.

According to the program design, positive drug/alcohol tests and missed meetings during the first two months of the program are handled according to the following plan.

- **One positive test, two meetings missed with drug treatment staff or probation officer, two missed job club meetings, or four missed recovery group meetings** (e.g., Narcotics Anonymous) result in an 8:00 p.m. curfew with telephone check-in, allowing the probationer to leave home only for PIR participation or work for three weeks.

- **Two positive tests, three meetings missed with drug treatment staff or probation officer, three missed job club meetings, or six missed recovery group meetings** result in one or more of the following: curfew as outlined above, public work service, 14 days in detoxification, residential treatment for 120 days, seven recovery group meetings in seven days for four to twelve weeks, and/or 90 days in custody with a substance abuse program, followed by residential treatment or return to PIR.

- **Four or more positive tests, four or more meetings missed with drug treatment staff or probation officer, or eight or more missed recovery group meetings** result in probation revocation and maximum local time or state prison.

The most frequently used sanctions, according to PIR staff interviewed, are curfew, additional recovery group meetings, and detoxification. The sanctions used least often are work projects, return to court, additional PIR meetings, and long-term residential treatment.

Most Probation and PIR personnel interviewed thought that graduated sanctions were an effective alternative to custody (88%) (not shown). Probation and PIR staff mentioned the following reasons for effectiveness: cost savings, ability to modify behavior, includes rehabilitation rather than just punishment, allows for treatment, promotes offender accountability (i.e., a consequence for every action), and can be determined on a case-by-case basis. Nearly half (47%) of the judges and attorneys surveyed did not believe that graduated sanctions are effective (not shown).

Treatment Component

Drug treatment is provided by two full-time counselors and one full-time supervisor for both sites. (NOTE: Since the end of the evaluation period, there is a full-time supervisor at each site.) The role of treatment staff, according to interviews with PIR personnel, is to enable probationers to begin the recovery process through a team effort with probation, facilitate drug treatment sessions, provide support for PIR participants, assess the needs of each participant, monitor progress of participants and intervene as needed, and act as role models for recovering addicts. Counselors are primarily responsible for providing emotional support for probationers and facilitating PIR classes.

According to the SOP developed by the San Diego County Probation Department, probationers are required to attend three group meetings per week. Each meeting lasts from one and one-half to three hours. Any other program related to drug treatment deemed appropriate by program staff will also be required. In addition to the group sessions, probationers are required to attend two outside recovery group meetings (based upon the 12 Step Program) per week, as well as two individual sessions per month with their primary treatment counselor. Referrals by treatment staff to outside agencies are made as needed. Each client is required to pay $360 ($60 per month for six months) prior to completion of the program to offset the costs of providing the drug treatment service. If a participant is unable to pay, a work program can be designed in lieu of financial compensation (e.g., cleaning or painting PIR offices).

The treatment program begins with "orientation." During this one-hour meeting, probationers are introduced to the requirements of the program and drug testing procedures (including alcohol). The fee for PIR is explained. They complete a series of forms and sign up for one of several drug treatment classes available during daytime, evenings, and on weekends. Each probationer is directed to begin attending recovery group meetings. Schedules for the meetings are distributed to assist them in completing this requirement.

PIR Classes. The three PIR meetings each week focus on a variety of areas, ranging from aggression control to sober living skills. All types of PIR classes are conducted on an on-going basis. There are no specific requirements for the number of each type of session attended. Completion of PIR sessions is determined through attendance and follow-up during individual drug treatment sessions and group process meetings. There is no specific proof of completion for each topic. The following discussion of each type of treatment session is based upon interviews with PIR drug treatment staff and observations by research staff.

Structured Learning: The "structured learning" class each week is the educational component of the PIR program. Participants discover options for dealing with life and learn about relationships. The psychological and physiological effects of drugs and the symptoms of addiction are also presented. For most participants, attending these classes adds structure to their lives. As stated by one staff member, "structure is what has been missing in their life. To provide structure is probably the only way they'll learn." During the duration of this research, the program became more formalized and structured. Lesson plans and a calendar, with the sequence of topics to be covered, were developed in April 1992. The complete educational program includes stress management, drug and alcohol education, victim awareness, interpersonal relations, health and nutrition, risk-taking behavior, clean and sober activities, AIDS education, and peer effectiveness training. For detailed descriptions of each aspect of the structured learning classes, see Appendix A.

Research staff observed these classes during the course of the evaluation. Each class focused on one of the topics previously mentioned. The format of structured learning sessions was informal. Group discussions centered on the topic of the class (e.g., addictive behavior, recovery of the addict and family, stress management, pharmacology).

A drug treatment counselor led each session and encouraged group interaction by addressing various members of the class individually. Attendance ranged from 18 to 28 probationers.

Peer Effectiveness Training: The use of "peer effectiveness training" was also attempted within the PIR program to teach decision making and communication skills using a five-step positive-choice concept. However, it was either never fully implemented in some classes or deleted from others. Research staff did not have an opportunity to observe any sessions focusing on this topic.

Anger Control: Anger control classes assist in the process of recovery by giving participants new tools to control anger, enabling probationers to understand their behavior, and teaching probationers how to replace aggressive behavior with assertiveness, according to drug treatment staff. Specifically, anger management includes practice with anger reducers, moral reasoning, and assertiveness training. Until December 1991, this class was based upon the aggression replacement training (ART) model. This model was deemed inappropriate for the population and replaced with "anger control." ART is designed for juveniles in small group settings. Each step of the program must be done in order. PIR accepts new adult participants into the program on a weekly basis, therefore, ART could not be implemented as designed. The debate over the best anger program for PIR participants was reflected in the interviews with program staff: two individuals indicated that the anger control class was not effective.

During research staff observation, the format of anger control classes required significant facilitation by the drug treatment counselor. For example, the counselor would present scenarios and the group discussed their reactions if they were in a similar situation. Participation ranged from 5 to 14 probationers.

Parenting and Living Skills: A brief attempt to obtain funding through MediCal for female participants led PIR to incorporate parenting and living skills into the program in December 1991. The classes were designed to develop communication skills, discuss roadblocks to communication, teach how children develop and change, and define the role of a parent. This endeavor did not prove fruitful because only ten percent of the clientele were eligible. This portion of the program was dropped from PIR in May 1992.

When these classes were part of PIR, the format, as observed by research staff, ranged from informal discussions to board games. The living skills portion was more structured (i.e., followed a manual) than parenting, which operated more like an open forum. During research staff observation, four to six probationers of both sexes attended this type of class.

Group Process: According to the drug treatment counselors, group process meetings are the heart of the recovery process in PIR. It is a safe environment, complete with positive feedback. Participants are able to get in touch with their feelings, share experiences, and practice new skills with their peers. The following quotes illustrate the feelings of the drug treatment staff about the group process.

"That's where the magic happens. Here they have a forum to talk about what's happening in ***their*** lives."

"...where clients get in touch with feelings, interact on group level. Clients share what they feel... give positive feedback... build alliances... experience feelings they have been avoiding."

"It gives them a chance to talk about who they are. And get the support and confrontation of peers."

"People find out they are not alone."

These feelings were also reflected in observations by research staff. The format was informal group discussion designed to promote self exploration by participants through introspection and personal sharing with the group. The topic of the class was often determined by the attendees. Class attendance ranged from seven to 20 probationers.

Job Club: Job club is required if the probationer is not working within two weeks after assignment to PIR. Those attending school or job training full-time, primary caretakers of children under four, and the disabled who legitimately cannot work are exempt from this requirement. If the probationer is still unemployed after six weeks of job club, San Diego County work projects may be ordered by the court. According to program staff interviewed, job club assists in the recovery process by motivating participants to become employed, increasing self-confidence, providing an arena for practicing job-seeking skills, and sharing information. In December 1991, job club was expanded in the South Bay location because over half of the participants did not have the basic skills required to find a job. In South Bay, the first phase, job readiness, is designed to improve self-esteem and educate probationers. The second phase, job club, is similar to the North County program. According to interviews with program personnel, the content of vocational training is job-search strategies, how to get an education, choices available, and the importance of planning. This is the only component which has completion criteria: employment or enrollment in school.

Research staff observations revealed a very structured format to job club. Each session focused on a specific task (e.g., identifying skills, completing a cover letter, writing a resume, developing interviewing skills, contacting potential employers). One session leader gave each participant a homework assignment to be completed by the next meeting. Unlike most of the other sessions, vocational counselors from an outside agency helped facilitate these classes. Attendance varies according to the number of PIR participants who are unemployed and not students. During research staff observations, attendance ranged from two to eight probationers. Due to the small class size, the subject matter was tailored to each participant.

Relapse Prevention: Upon completion of the formal PIR classes, the probationer is required to attend one relapse prevention class per week in place of one regular PIR meeting. These meetings focus on how to avoid relapse and the importance of outside

support. Relapse prevention attendance continues weekly for six months to facilitate the transition from PIR into the community. Continued involvement in a recovery group program (e.g., Narcotics Anonymous, Alcoholics Anonymous) also assists in the move away from the PIR program. Generally, probationers take more than six months to fulfill program requirements and begin relapse prevention.

Observation by research staff revealed that relapse prevention had a similar format to group process. Informal group discussions were directed by the comments of group members. For example, one session discussed how to identify the symptoms of relapse, while another examined challenges to recovery at work, at home, and with friends. Though the classes were unstructured, they operated within specific rules about how to participate in the group. These rules focused on honesty and respect for others. Session attendance ranged from eight to eleven probationers.

Treatment Plans. The course of drug treatment provided to probationers in PIR is managed through the use of a treatment plan. Each treatment plan is tailored to the individual needs of each participant. These drug treatment plans set goals to be achieved in a specific time frame. Probationers are held accountable to the goals contained within the plan during case reviews (individual meetings of PIR treatment counselor and probationer). Accounting for the individual circumstances of each probationer in this manner is intended to ensure maximum benefit received during program participation. The counselor, probation officer, and probationer are all involved in designing the plan under the supervision of the PIR coordinator. Each case is assessed based upon needs unique to the probationer. Specific objectives designed to meet individual goals are established through the input of the probation officer, drug treatment counselor, and probationer.

Individual Counseling. One hour per month is allocated by counselors for individual meetings with each participant. During these sessions, personal issues are discussed which are uncomfortable or inappropriate to raise during group sessions and trust is cultivated between the counselor and probationer.

Program Completion

Each probationer assigned to the PIR program is expected to participate for a minimum of six months. To successfully complete the PIR program, a client must:

**The SOP mentions only the items marked with an asterisk. All other criteria were specified during interviews with program staff.*

- be drug and alcohol free for a reasonable amount of time*
- be actively involved in a recovery group program in the community (i.e., attend at least two meetings per week)*
- have a sponsor in a recovery group*
- be employed

- be crime free
- have a "home" group as part of recovery group involvement (for women this must be a women's group)
- complete Step One through Step Three of the 12 Step Program
- attend a step study group weekly
- complete PIR homework*
- begin relapse prevention classes
- pay the $360 fee for participation in the PIR program or have a payment plan acceptable to PIR treatment staff*
- develop a plan with the counselor for re-entry into the community.

These goals for program completion are divided into milestones, designed to give participants monthly tasks providing clear expectations of program requirements. Since each participant is required to agree in writing to complete these steps, it is also a method for obtaining commitment to the program. These milestones were designed for use by counselors in measuring the progress of each probationer. According to some program staff, participants were not held accountable to these monthly commitments.

Month I: Have a temporary sponsor, attend recovery group meetings twice weekly, be employed and drug, alcohol, and crime free.

Month II: Have a Home Group (i.e., a recovery group with whom the probationer meets at least weekly) and a permanent sponsor, attend a Step Study group weekly, have completed Step 1 in writing, attend recovery group meetings twice weekly, be employed and drug, alcohol, and crime free.

Month III: Complete Step 2 in writing, attend recovery group meetings twice weekly, be employed and drug, alcohol, and crime free.

Month IV: Complete Step 3 in writing, attend recovery group meetings twice weekly, be employed and drug, alcohol, and crime free.

Month V: Begin attending weekly relapse prevention or other sobriety maintenance group as directed by program staff, begin PIR homework, attend recovery group meetings twice weekly, be employed and drug, alcohol, and crime free.

Month VI: Complete and turn in PIR homework, develop a re-entry plan with counselor, attend recovery group meetings twice weekly, be employed and drug, alcohol, and crime free.

Completion and/or graduation status is granted by the Graduation Review Panel. This panel is comprised of at least two probation officers, two treatment staff members, and one PIR alumnus. Each probationer presents a plan for continued sobriety to the panel. The panel evaluates homework and verbal presentation to determine if the probationer is ready to continue recovery without the guidance of PIR staff. Ideally, all PIR staff attend the meeting, so the most appropriate staff members (based upon level of involvement with the participant) are available to vote on the candidate. If there is more than one dissenting vote, the probationer can either complete the program without formally graduating or be required to address the panel again after completing specified steps. Observations by research staff confirmed the graduation review panel operated in this manner.

There are three possible outcomes from the Graduation Review Panel meeting:

- graduation and transfer to a regular Level I probation supervision caseload for four months

- graduation contingent upon completion of certain conditions (e.g., find a sponsor, pay PIR fee, etc.) and transfer to a regular Level I probation supervision caseload for four months

- completion without a graduation certificate and transfer to a regular Level I probation supervision caseload for six months.

Diplomas are awarded only to those participants who have convinced the Graduation Review Panel that they are vested in recovery. The purpose of these diplomas is to give graduates a tangible symbol of their accomplishments in the program regarding their recovery. Two-thirds of the program staff interviewed indicated that the Graduation Review Panel was not effective. The reasons cited for the lack of effectiveness were the inconsistency in assessing probationer progress, the fact that recovery is difficult to measure, decisions based upon oral presentations are unfair to those with poor verbal skills, the review panel was not intended as a determinant of graduation, and panel members were too subjective in determining ability to continue recovery in the community. The following suggestions for improvements were revealed through the interviews with PIR personnel: make the criteria more objective and clear, screen prior to Review Panel, include the probation officer, treatment counselor, and probationer only, and require probationer to develop specific methods for continuing recovery in the community.

When a probationer maintains consistent participation in PIR classes and a recovery group (e.g., Narcotics Anonymous or Alcoholics Anonymous), and provides drug-free urinalysis results for one month after completion of PIR requirements, probation supervision will be transferred to a regular Level I caseload with added guidelines for monitoring substance abuse. As mentioned previously, substance abuse monitoring beyond traditional Level I guidelines includes relapse prevention and continued participation in a recovery group. If substance abuse problems occur after placement on a general caseload, transfer back into PIR is a one time option at the discretion of the current probation officer, former PIR probation officer and counselor, and supervising probation officer.

Referrals to Outside Agencies

Probationers who have difficulties complying with the requirements of PIR can be referred to community agencies for additional assistance in the process of recovery (e.g., detoxification, residential treatment, counseling, and recovery groups). According to the PIR staff interviewed, detoxification is the most frequently used referral. PIR is designed to assist drug-dependent probationers while they are sober (i.e., they are not allowed to attend PIR classes while under the influence of drugs). Detoxification programs support participants as their bodies adjust to a state without drugs. Collection of data from program files revealed that referrals were used in PIR as sanctions rather than suggestions or recommendations under the probation officer's discretion to implement.

Staffing

Research staff observations of the PIR program during the evaluation period revealed that consistency in staffing for PIR was not maintained. While the Probation staffing remained relatively stable, assignments among drug treatment staff changed, and differences in individual style impacted the program. For example, the orientation was led by different counselors over time. PIR staff indicated that each orientation leader emphasized different aspects of the program, which affected the retention rate. In addition to assignment fluctuations, the personnel changed during the evaluation period, including management positions. For example, interns and volunteers were utilized periodically; PIR counseling staff experienced tremendous turnover, particularly at the South Bay site; and the Project Manager for PIR was replaced. Change in management introduced new ideas for referrals and staff training. Programmatic changes are reflected in the descriptions of each PIR class. Clearly, these changes made it difficult to evaluate the program because a uniform program was not provided to all participants.

Staff Training. There are no stated requirements in the SOP for staff training. During interviews, only four program personnel indicated that they had received training specifically for their work in PIR. Of these, three participated in training sessions on dual diagnosis. Though mentally ill probationers are excluded from the program, sometimes the diagnosis is not made prior to screening by Probation and assignment to PIR. Therefore, this training gives PIR staff the knowledge necessary to identify those whose mental illness prohibits PIR participation.

Coordination Between Probation and Treatment Staffs. One of the unique aspects of PIR is that probation and drug treatment personnel are located within the same office space. This feature of the program is designed to produce a cooperative environment where both groups focus on the recovery of each participant. According to the staff members interviewed, coordination occurs through daily communication in general, when specific problems with particular probationers arise, and during staff meetings and case reviews. The majority of staff interviewed stated that they were successful in coordinating the efforts of probation and drug treatment staff because staff members work well together, sharing information informally. The overall belief is that appropriate information is shared.

CONGRUENCY OF PROGRAM SERVICES WITH OFFENDER NEEDS

During intake interviews conducted upon assignment to community supervision, as part of the research, probationers were asked a series of questions regarding the impact of drugs on their personal lives. These questions were designed to determine the needs of offenders regarding drug treatment. Respondents from both the PIR and regular probation caseloads offered a number of reasons for using drugs. The results presented here are for both groups combined because there were no significant differences between the two groups. The most frequently mentioned reasons were the feeling they got from drugs (35%), the ability to escape by using drugs (32%), and the role of drugs in gaining social acceptance (25%). PIR is designed to address these issues during group sessions by focusing on the elimination of risk-taking behaviors (i.e., how to experience exhilaration without drugs). PIR treatment classes and individual counseling sessions attempt to address the problems of each participant and thereby reduce the need for escape. The group process and clean-and-sober activities are used to facilitate social acceptance without drugs.

Probationers were also asked about the best and worst things about using drugs. Over one-third of the respondents indicated that there are no good things about using drugs (39%). Other categories mentioned most often included the feeling received from drugs (32%), the ability to escape from problems (15%), and the energy level, which may be associated with use of stimulants (13%). The worst things about using drugs included the effects on health (56%), legal problems (43%), emotional instability (26%), poor relationships with family (21%) and friends (15%), and financial strains (19%). The responses to these latter questions point to the need for self-esteem and support systems in the provision of drug treatment, as well as opportunities for employment.

Probationers were also asked what would make them stop using drugs. Over one-third (38%) listed self-motivation as the key to sobriety. Another third (34%) cited incarceration as the catalyst to terminating drug use. This finding may be related to the probationer's unwillingness to take responsibility for personal drug use. While incarcerated, there is no personal control over drug use and, thus, no responsibility. On the other hand, they may not have experienced alternative solutions to their drug problem. Other frequently mentioned factors included family support (26%) and a drug program (15%).

A majority of the respondents (55%) indicated that drug use caused problems, including difficulties in relationships with family (61%) and friends (20%), conflicts at work (26%), financial strain (22%), and emotional instability (20%).

Based upon these responses provided during intake interviews, it seems that the program provides services to address problems encountered by high-risk drug-involved offenders. That is, PIR seeks to assist probationers in addressing issues regarding recovery from substance abuse, reducing drug use and associated criminality, and changing their attitudes and lifestyles.

COMPARISON OF PIR AND REGULAR HIGH-RISK PROBATION SUPERVISION

The PIR program differs from current probation for high-risk offenders with respect to the systematic partnership between surveillance and treatment, and the degree of intensity of both accountability and treatment for the offender. While regular high-risk caseloads are subject to surveillance and control procedures that exceed those for lower-risk probation (Levels III and IV), they do not integrate the treatment and other support services provided through PIR. The regular high-risk probation program is not consistently able to balance risk control and rehabilitation due to limited resources, and frequently must opt for the control function.

By design, the level of supervision in the PIR program is higher than the other high-risk levels of supervision in San Diego County (Levels I and II). Accountability to probation officers is greater and drug testing is more frequent (up to six times per month). Since the treatment program is located at the same site, drug treatment is more readily available. The PIR staff interviewed confirmed this assertion by stating that the level of supervision for PIR is more intense and structured than regular probation due to the focus on monitoring of a relatively small caseload with extremely frequent contacts. All but one respondent cited benefits and advantages of PIR. The most frequently listed benefits perceived by program staff were the intensity of supervision, availability of treatment, supportive environment, and accountability.

During intake interviews, probationers were also asked about the perceived differences between PIR and regular supervision (Table 5). PIR participants believed that PIR would be more strict (38%), require more frequent meetings (31%), include drug treatment (28%), be more time consuming (19%), and be more personalized (19%). These answers to the open-ended question indicated that PIR probationers understood the general design of the program.

Table 5

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PIR AND REGULAR PROBATION
PIR Probation Group
Intake Interviews with Probationers

Top Five Differences	Percent
PIR is more strict	38%
PIR requires more frequent meetings	31%
PIR includes a drug use program	28%
PIR is more time consuming	19%
PIR is more personalized	13%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**89**

NOTE: Percentages are based upon multiple responses. Does not include "unknown."

PROGRAMMATIC CHANGES WHICH COULD IMPACT EVALUATION RESULTS

There were several changes in the design of the program over the course of the evaluation. The policies and procedures of the Probation Department changed during the evaluation period. Due to the increased probation caseload and limited resources, the point system for the Risk/Needs scores was modified in April 1991, which narrowed the "high-risk" category.

Though the Probation staff primarily remained the same over the course of the evaluation, there were significant changes among drug treatment personnel. The supervisor of all drug treatment staff at both sites left in Fall 1991 and the program focus changed somewhat as a result. The Aggression Replacement Training was replaced by Anger Management in December 1991. An attempt to obtain MediCal funding required the incorporation of parenting and living skills classes into PIR from December 1991 through May 1992. Peer Effectiveness Training was attempted in the evening session at the North County location, but was never fully implemented.

There were differences between the South Bay and North County offices. In December 1991, Job Club was expanded to two phases at the South Bay site to account for low levels of education among participants. Phase one, Job Readiness, was designed to educate and improve self-esteem. Phase two encompassed the same elements as Job Club at the North County site. The drug of choice also varied by site, resulting in a need to direct the focus of treatment sessions differently. The level of judicial support was different between North County and South Bay. The recommendations by PIR probation officers in North County were almost always followed by the judge, while this was not the case in South Bay.

There was significant staff turnover among drug treatment personnel, particularly at the South Bay site, with lengthy periods of short staffing, lack of resources to appropriately train new treatment staff, and little time for team building among all staff. Interviews with program staff revealed struggles between administrative staff which impacted the line personnel. These difficulties are not unique to PIR. Wellisch, Prendergast, and Anglin's (1993) review of programs in the 1970s reveals similar constraints. It was also suggested that management of the program by three agencies (i.e., the San Diego County Alcohol and Drug Services, San Diego County Probation Department, and Mental Health Systems) resulted in ambiguity regarding ultimate authority in policy decisions. Further, without a specific person in the role of overall director, support for developing and implementing the program was not cultivated throughout the criminal justice community. As argued by Petersilia (1987), these are critical issues in delivering an effective community supervision program.

The analysis included comparisons of performance and outcome measures between the two PIR sites, and no significant differences between the two sites were found. However, these programmatic changes could have had an effect on the results of the evaluation revealed through the comparison of the PIR and control groups regarding program performance and overall impact. These issues will be discussed further in subsequent chapters.

CONCLUSIONS

According to this description of the Probationers in Recovery (PIR) program based upon interviews with regular probation staff and PIR probation and drug treatment staff, surveys of judges and attorneys, observation by research staff, and program documentation, PIR is a program designed to prevent future criminality through deterrence, and deter drug use by rehabilitating eligible probationers. Based upon responses obtained during interviews conducted upon assignment to community supervision, it seems that PIR is designed to address the issues offenders have regarding drug use, that PIR participants understand the intensive nature of PIR (e.g., three PIR meetings, two recovery group meetings, and one meeting with their probation officer every week), and that the elements of PIR are effective in rehabilitating offenders according to probationers. The research focus is to determine if PIR was successful in fulfilling these ambitious objectives.

Prior to presenting evaluation results, the methodology for the process and impact evaluation are outlined.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This evaluation of Probationers in Recovery (PIR) is based upon a quasi-experimental design comparing program activities and outcomes for two matched groups of high-risk probationers receiving different levels of service and supervision. The research describes two types of probation services, assesses if expected service levels were implemented as designed, and evaluates the effectiveness of drug treatment received within an intensive supervision program. The experimental group includes 209 PIR participants who received intensive supervision and drug treatment, and the control group consists of 151 probationers assigned to regular high-risk probation caseloads who met the PIR screening criteria. The samples were selected from February to December 1991.

Two hypotheses are tested.

- Provision of drug treatment within the PIR program reduces subsequent drug use and criminal behavior for high-risk probationers.

- Successful outcomes of reduced drug use and criminality are also associated with characteristics of offenders and of program services.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The following research objectives address expected results and outcomes of the PIR program.

- Determine if the PIR program was implemented as designed, including screening criteria, level of drug testing, graduated sanctions for violations, and treatment program delivery.

- Assess the violation and return-to-custody rates for high-risk offenders in two groups receiving different levels of supervision and treatment.

- Determine the relative effectiveness of two types of probation for high-risk offenders in reducing drug use and criminal behavior and improving life skills and employment or educational opportunities.

- Assess the characteristics of high-risk probationers who successfully complete probation without becoming involved in the criminal justice system during probation.

- Compare the relative costs of both types of intensive probation for high-risk offenders, in terms of program costs and the costs associated with subsequent criminal behavior.

In addition to meeting these objectives, the research addresses the following questions regarding intensive supervision for high-risk drug-involved offenders.

- What types of interventions, including drug testing and treatment, lead to better results for high-risk probationers?
- What are the characteristics of probationers who remain drug-free after intervention?
- Is there an association between reduced drug use and criminal behavior after intervention?
- How does intervention affect daily life patterns of offenders?
- What specific intervention strategies are effective with particular types or classifications of offenders?
- Which graduated sanctions are effective alternatives to revocation for probation violators?
- What are the appropriate measures of improvement during and after intervention?
- What are the financial costs and public safety benefits of providing drug treatment to high-risk probationers?
- What is the most cost effective approach to drug treatment for high-risk probationers?

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research focused primarily on rehabilitation effects of two probation intervention programs for specific types of offenders (PIR and regular high-risk supervision). The evaluation documents the implementation of the program delivered to both the control and experimental groups, including a program description, a review of procedures, policies, and activities during the study period which could affect results, and measures of the extent to which expected service levels were met.

A quasi-experimental design is used to measure the similarities and differences between alternative probation programs and the effects of the programs upon probationers. Research projects may not be suitable for randomized field experiments because random assignment can be too rigid to fit within political and programmatic systems. The processes of randomization can also change the program being evaluated (Inciardi, McBride, and Weinman, 1993; Lempert and Visher, 1988). Random assignment of subjects was not possible because all eligible probationers in the areas served by PIR were placed in the program during the study period. To randomly assign some PIR-eligible

probationers to an alternative program would have reduced the viability of the program and increased the cost per probationer. Although the value of a true experimental design is not to be underestimated, a carefully controlled quasi-experimental design can effectively address the research question of "what works with high-risk, drug-involved offenders?" (Lempert and Visher, 1988). This information is vital to justice administrators faced with crowded jails and limited resources.

The research approach for assessing the impact of PIR on probationers is a non-equivalent control group design. Experimental and control groups were matched using the PIR screening criteria. The two groups differ in terms of the level of probation supervision and the services delivered. Clients in the PIR program receive one face-to-face contact with a probation officer every week, frequent drug tests, and collateral contacts as needed. The control group was selected from the two supervision levels for high-risk probationers which are the source for PIR cases (Level I and Level II). Level I caseloads include up to 50 probationers and require two face-to-face contacts with the probation officer, one drug test, and two collateral contacts per month. Level II caseloads have up to 100 probationers who are subject to one face-to-face contact with their probation officer per month, one drug test every two months, and one collateral contact per month.

In summary, the primary differences between the experimental and control groups are that the experimental group receives higher levels of contacts with probation officers, drug testing, intensive drug treatment, and sanctions for violations. Both groups attend recovery group meetings (e.g., Narcotics Anonymous, Alcoholics Anonymous) and are referred to appropriate community service agencies. However, the level of supervision for the control and experimental groups can change during the probation period as a result of reclassification to higher or lower levels.

Sample Selection

This evaluation uses the multi-dimensional set of PIR screening criteria as the basis for selecting the experimental and control groups. The two groups were selected from probationers entering community supervision from February through December 1991. To increase the comparability of the groups, only probationers with new grants from the court and those just released from local custody were included. The PIR program also accepts probationers who have failed in other programs by testing positive for drugs and probationers who have previously been in PIR and failed to comply with program conditions. These individuals were excluded from the sample because there is no comparable process for those on regular high-risk probation. All ***new*** assignments to PIR during this period were selected for the experimental group. The control group was selected from the Levels I and II caseloads at the San Diego County Probation Department's Central Office. Researchers reviewed files of probationers assigned to Levels I and II community supervision during the same period and used the PIR screening criteria to select a matched group of probationers for the control sample. All control cases meeting the screening criteria during this time frame were included. Sample selection yielded 209 experimental cases and 151 control cases. Chapter 5 assesses the comparability of the experimental (PIR) and control groups and discusses reasons for differences between the two groups.

Data Collection

The evaluation included collection of data from official records of probationers in the experimental and control groups, observation of PIR program activities, interviews and surveys with criminal justice personnel, and interviews with a sub-sample of probationers in the experimental and control groups. Data elements for the case tracking study and the probationer interviews are listed in Appendix B.

The case tracking study involved the review of probation, treatment, and state and local criminal history files for the 209 experimental and 151 control cases to collect the following data: sociodemographic characteristics; the current offense and sentence imposed; probation conditions ordered; drug use history; offenses and probation violations occurring before, during, and after an eight-month probation period; custody time; changes in level of probation supervision; and program interventions such as drug tests, services delivered, and sanctions imposed. Data on technical violations and arrests for new crimes were compiled for the following time periods:

- six months prior to the instant offense (the baseline)
- the first eight months of community supervision (the in-program period)
- the following six months after intervention
- the combined 14-month period.

The length of the PIR program varies but, for purposes of analysis, a set time period had to be selected to represent intervention by PIR staff. The minimum time in the program, including relapse prevention (eight months), was chosen as the intervention period, with a comparable time period used for the control group. The subsequent six-month period was used to measure the effects of PIR and regular high-risk probation after intervention.

Intake interviews were conducted with sub-samples of 96 probationers in PIR and 80 in the control group, for a total of 176 interviews. A sub-sample was taken because interviewing all individuals in both groups was cost prohibitive. The samples were selected from the first probationers available from new assignments to PIR and regular high-risk probation at the Probation Department's Central Office during the 11-month sample selection period. The interviews were conducted within the first two weeks after intake. The interviewers explained that the probationer's cooperation was voluntary and that responses were confidential. An informed consent form was signed by each probationer prior to the intake interview. The refusal rate was less than one percent; only one probationer refused to be interviewed. The interviews included questions regarding sociodemographic characteristics, current offense, awareness of probation conditions ordered, perceived consequences for violations of conditions, drug use and drug history, prior drug treatment and treatment needs, criminal history, expectations regarding their probation term, opinions regarding probation and treatment, daily activities prior to the current offense, current life satisfaction, and prospects for the future.

Follow-up interviews were conducted with these probationers after they had completed eight months of PIR or regular high-risk probation to measure experiences on probation and changes in behavior and attitudes. A total of 82 follow-up interviews were completed; 47 for the experimental group in the PIR program and 35 for the control group. During the intake interview, researchers obtained the respondent's address and telephone number, as well as a secondary contact in the hope of securing a high response rate for the follow-up interview. Reasons for the low response rate for both groups include: probationers absconding or not showing up for appointments with interviewer; incarceration outside San Diego County; relocation with probation permission (e.g., witness relocation, transfer to supervision in another county due to employment); delays in gaining access to those incarcerated in the Metropolitan Correctional Center facility; releases from probation supervision; and participation in residential treatment programs to which interviewers were denied access. Unfortunately, the exact number of interviewees in each category was not documented. The questions on the follow-up interviews focused on changes in probationers' personal lives (e.g., employment, income, education, marital status, living situation, and relationships with family and friends), technical probation violations and new offenses committed during the eight-month period, sanctions imposed by probation staff, contacts with probation and treatment staff, changes in drug use and daily activities, expectations regarding remaining crime and drug free in the future, attitudes regarding probation and treatment, treatment needs, and significant changes in their lives over the eight-month period.

Interviews were also conducted once during the course of the evaluation with 43 probation and treatment staff, supervisors, and administrators responsible for the PIR program and the Central Office Levels I and II caseloads. In addition, surveys were mailed to all San Diego County Superior Court judges handling criminal cases for the PIR and control area (15), the 86 prosecutors handling these types of cases, and all public defenders handling felony cases (93). Our response rate was 44%, with 84 surveys returned. All these individuals are referred to as criminal justice professionals throughout the report. The questions for the criminal justice professionals addressed the purpose of probation, graduated sanctions, and drug testing; the PIR program as a sentencing option; PIR program operations; eligibility criteria for PIR; the effectiveness of specific programs and sanctions for drug-involved offenders; and suggestions for improving PIR.

Measuring Success

For purposes of the research, successful completion of the PIR program means that a probationer remains crime and drug free, completes the program, and is classified to regular high-risk probation. An unsuccessful client is one who commits a new offense, continues drug use, does not complete the requirements of the program, and/or returns to custody. This stringent definition established by PIR program staff is highly ambitious. The results discussed in the following chapters lead to the conclusion that success/ improvement may need to be redefined with more realistic and manageable goals.

Program Description and Implementation

Prior to assessing the results and outcomes of the PIR program, it is important to document the implementation of the program delivered to both the control and experimental groups. The purpose of this research component is to describe the PIR program, contrast it with regular supervision of high-risk offenders, and determine if expected PIR service levels were met during the study period. Studies of intensive supervision programs have found that services provided were not often consistent with program goals, or were not intensive in nature (Latessa, 1987; Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989; Clear and Hardyman, 1990). Also, changes in the implementation process for the experimental group could affect study results.

The time frame for the assessment of program implementation is the eight-month probation period after study cases were assigned to supervision in the community. Data from probation and PIR records on services delivered, contacts with probation staff, drug tests, and sanctions imposed for the experimental and control cases are compared to the Probation Department's standards for service delivery for the different levels of supervision. Also, the levels of service delivery for the experimental and control cases are compared to determine if PIR supervision was more intensive than the regular high-risk probation supervision for probationers in the sample.

Issues addressed in the interviews with probation officers and treatment staff which relate to program implementation include the implementation process and problems encountered, types of contacts with probationers and services provided, coordination between probation and treatment staffs, effectiveness of supervision and treatment for drug offenders, and benefits and limitations of PIR and regular high-risk probation.

In-Program Performance

Most high-risk probationers have probation grants of three or five years. For the experimental group, approximately the first eight months included participation in the PIR program, while the control group received the regular probation service for high-risk Levels I and II probationers during the comparable eight-month period. This eight-month time frame is the study period for the analysis of program implementation and in-program performance of probationers. The analysis of in-program performance is based upon post-test non-equivalent control group design with measures taken at the end of the eight-month period. Data on characteristics of probationers collected from case records and offender interviews are used to assess differences in program completion rates for specific categories of offenders (for example, type of offense, type of drug used). Also, case tracking data and interviews with probationers provide detailed information on participation in the program, changes in daily activities, drug use, technical probation violations, new offenses, treatment delivered, sanctions imposed, and probationers' opinions regarding the probation and treatment programs and their effects.

Traditional measures of the effectiveness of rehabilitation have been related to recidivism, or commission of new offenses. In this study, additional measures are included to address drug-use patterns as well as positive lifestyle changes, such as employment and school attendance. Results on recidivism and other outcome measures are compared for the experimental and control groups for the initial eight-month supervision period.

A central issue in assessing differences related to in-program performance is the effects of differing levels of supervision and control. Research has shown that, generally, a higher proportion of probationers in intensive probation programs have technical violations or new arrests compared to other probationers because of the more intensive monitoring from greater frequency of drug testing and more contacts with probation and treatment staff. This result could be interpreted as "successful" implementation of the program because a greater percentage of the violations were detected, assuming that ***actual*** violation rates are the same for both groups. This issue is addressed in the analysis of in-program performance measures.

Post-Release Behavior

After probationers complete or graduate from PIR, they are placed on regular probation. For this research project, a follow-up period of six months is used to evaluate the effectiveness of PIR in reducing future drug offenses and criminality for the experimental and control groups. The literature suggests that longer follow-up periods provide a better assessment of long-term program impacts and allow a more detailed analysis of survival rates for offenders with no new offenses or instances of drug use. However, the 24-month funding period did not provide sufficient time for a follow-up period longer than six months for all experimental and control cases.

The follow-up period for this study represents the six months following the first eight months of probation supervision in the community. The research design includes pre-post-test and post-test only measures for the experimental and control groups for the baseline (six months prior to the initial arrest or probation revocation) and the six-month follow-up periods. Changes in the proportion of probationers with new offenses, the mean number of arrests, and the highest arrest charge are compared for both groups.

Also, a survival analysis measures the length of time to first arrest during the entire 14-month period, including the initial eight-month period of supervision and the follow-up period. The survival analysis shows any delays in re-offending as a result of the level of intervention for the experimental and control groups. In addition, a logit regression analysis is used to determine the characteristics of probationers who successfully completed probation during the study periods.

Costs

The costs associated with the PIR program and the probation program for the control group were computed including salaries and benefits, operating costs, and costs associated with treatment provided by outside agencies. The costs include the expenses associated

with court processing for new offenses and sanctions imposed, such as drug treatment and jail. Total program costs were divided by the number of probationers successfully completing each program. The total cost and the cost per successful probationer are compared for the experimental and control groups.

As suggested by Clear, saving money may be a goal that is contradictory to the goal of rehabilitation. A more important issue may be determining the appropriate level of intervention needed to attain positive results for specific types of drug users or offenders (Clear and Hardyman, 1990). Therefore, the analysis of program costs includes a discussion of the relative effects of the two levels of supervision upon outcome measures such as recidivism and positive lifestyle changes.

SUMMARY

The research design outlined includes a process and impact evaluation of Probationers in Recovery (PIR). Several methodologies have been used (i.e., interviews with probationers upon assignment to probation, interviews with probationers after eight months of intervention, case tracking of offenders for a total of fourteen months, interviews with probation and drug treatment staff, and surveys with other criminal justice personnel). The following chapter begins the presentation of research findings, with a discussion of how the intervention was delivered to the PIR and control groups.

CHAPTER 4
PROGRAM DELIVERY

PROGRAM DELIVERY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the results of the process evaluation that determined if the PIR program was implemented as designed. Specifically, the following research objective is addressed:

- Determine if the PIR program was implemented as designed, including level of drug testing, graduated sanctions for violations, and treatment program delivery. (NOTE: Implementation of screening criteria is presented during the discussion of sample comparability in Chapter 5.)

The process evaluation is based upon a comparison of services provided to PIR participants entering the program during a ten-month intake period (February through December 1991) and a comparable sample of probationers placed on regular, high-risk probation during the same time frame. Data are presented for both groups on services and probation interventions during the first eight months of community supervision, including referrals to outside agencies. Data collected from official records and through intake and follow-up face-to-face interviews with probationers document how PIR was delivered. A description of the status of each group after the intervention (e.g., still on probation, incarcerated, absconded) is provided in Chapter 6. To place the program within the context of the criminal justice process and goals of probation, results are presented of personal interviews with staff, supervisors, and administrators involved with probationers in the PIR program and the control group of high-risk probationers. Also, included is an analysis of responses to a mailed survey with other criminal justice personnel (i.e., judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys). The total sample for measures may vary due to the exclusion of unknown cases. A more detailed description of all methods used was provided in Chapter 3.

The chapter begins with a comparison of the PIR design to the actual delivery of services. The chapter closes with the general perceptions of criminal justice personnel regarding the effectiveness of the elements of probation and PIR components, as well as their opinions about ways to improve program delivery.

COMPARISON OF PROGRAM STANDARDS TO ACTUAL DELIVERY OF SERVICE

According to the PIR program design (described in detail in Chapter 2), participants should receive six drug tests, four face-to-face contacts with their probation officer, twelve drug treatment classes, and eight recovery group meetings per month. Actual probation

supervision (i.e., face-to-face contacts and drug testing) for PIR was less than designed, but still significantly more than for the control group (Table 6). The samples include absconders who, in part, account for the slightly lower level of program delivery than designed. Unfortunately, the exact date on which an individual absconded from probation supervision was unknown. Therefore, removal of absconders from the analysis was not possible based upon available data. In addition, availability of probationers to meet with probation officers and attend treatment sessions is impacted by time spent in residential treatment or custody. Average home and/or employment contacts were consistent with the program design.

The PIR group had a high number of missed recovery group meetings (an average of 4.0 attended and 8 required). Actual numbers could have been higher since information was dependent upon the consistency of probation officers in accurately documenting meeting attendance. Attendance at PIR treatment sessions was on target. More graduated sanctions were ordered for the PIR group, consistent with the program design, which utilizes graduated sanctions rather than immediate incarceration for violations.

Overall, the PIR program was more intensive than regular supervision, in terms of the number of face-to-face contacts with probation officers, number of drug tests, and number of sanctions imposed. Table 6 shows that, during the eight-month period, the PIR group had an average of 1.7 face-to-face contacts with a probation officer per month, compared to .7 for the control group. Also, the mean number of drug tests for PIR was 2.1 per month, compared to .5 for the control group. PIR participants were also more likely to receive sanctions for probation violations, with .2 sanctions imposed monthly per probationer on the average, compared to .1 per probationer for the control group. The sanctions used most often in PIR were imposition of curfew, placement in detoxification programs, additional recovery group meetings, and placement in residential treatment. These options were seldom used for the control group. These findings are consistent with Petersilia and Turner's evaluation of 14 intensive supervision programs across the county (1993).

During the intake interviews, researchers asked probationers questions regarding their perceptions of supervision during the upcoming probation term. Differences are significant between the PIR and control groups regarding perceived level of supervision (Table 7). More PIR probationers than the control group believed that they would have frequent contact with their probation officer. Seventy-one percent (71%) of the PIR group stated that they would see their probation officer more than once a week, compared to only one percent of the control group. For those respondents with prior experience on probation, the control group was more likely to state that the level of supervision would be about the same as the past (29%). The majority of PIR participants indicated that they would be under more supervision (93%) compared to 71 percent of the control group. Interestingly, the proportion of the control group reporting that they had prior probation terms was higher than the PIR group (83% and 71%, respectively).

Table 6

MONTHLY PROGRAM DELIVERY RATES DURING EIGHT MONTHS OF SUPERVISION
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data

Level of Delivery Per Month	Actual		Program Design		Ratio of Actual/Design	
	PIR	Control	PIR	Control	PIR	Control
Mean # of Face-to-Face Contacts[3]	1.7	.7	3	1.5	0.57	0.47
Mean # of Home/ Employment Contacts	.3	.1	.3	n/a	1.00	n/a
Mean # of Drug Tests[3]	2.1	.5	4	.75	0.53	0.67
Mean # of Recovery Group Meetings Attended	4.0	unknown	8	n/a	0.50	n/a
Mean # of PIR Treatment Sessions Attended	11.4	n/a	12	n/a	0.95	n/a
Mean # of Sanctions Imposed[3]	.2	.1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
TOTAL SAMPLE	**131-209**	**101-151**				

[1] *Based upon average of Phase I and Phase II for PIR, and based upon average of Level I and Level II for the control group.*
[2] *Significant at .05 level for "Actual" difference.*

NOTE: Does not include "unknown." Therefore, the total sample for each measure varies.

Table 7

EXPECTATIONS REGARDING LEVEL OF SUPERVISION
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Intake Interviews with Probationers

	PIR	Control
Expected Contacts With Probation Officer in a Typical Month[1]		
Up to Once Per Week (1-4)	29%	99%
Up to Twice Per Week (5-8)	15%	1%
Up to Three Times Per Week (9-12)	30%	0%
Up to Daily (13-30)	26%	0%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**91**	**79**
Chances that Probation Officer Will Discover New Crimes		
Very Good	17%	23%
Good	10%	11%
Fair	21%	8%
Poor	18%	22%
Very Poor	34%	37%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**96**	**79**
Expected Level of Supervision Compared to Past[1, 2]		
Less Supervision or About the Same	7%	29%
More Supervision	93%	71%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**67**	**66**

[1]Significant at .05 level.
[2]Based upon those with prior probation terms.

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding. Does not include "unknown."

Despite the apparent understanding by PIR probationers at intake that the level of supervision in PIR would be high, they were slightly less likely than controls to believe that they would get caught for new criminality (27% of the PIR group stated a very good or good chance of being caught, compared to 34% of the controls). However, this difference was not statistically significant. The potential of PIR's intensive level of supervision to deter criminal activity does not seem to have been realized, based upon offender perception of risk.

Interviews with probationers after eight months of supervision included questions about the level of supervision experienced during the eight-month period (Table 8). Questions focused on the number, type, and length of contacts with probation officers, as well as number and timing of drug testing.

During the first month of supervision, PIR participants experienced a higher level of supervision than the control group, according to self-report. PIR probationers met with their probation officer in person 3.5 times more frequently than the control group (an average of 6.0 and 1.7 times, respectively). Number of times PIR participants were contacted by their probation officer by phone at home or at work also exceeded levels for the control group (not shown). PIR probationers had 6.5 drug tests during the first month of supervision (3.4 times more frequently than the control group). During the same period, controls were tested for drugs 1.9 times.

When asked about the month previous to the follow-up interview, the level of contacts for PIR participants was closer to the level for the control group. This is partially due to the fact that many probationers in both groups had absconded or been re-arrested and incarcerated, leaving them unavailable for supervision. In addition, some probationers in both groups were transferred to lower levels of supervision, which require less frequent meetings with probation officers and drug testing. However, PIR participants still met with their probation officers 2.2 times and were tested for drug use 3.0 times more often than the control group, though these differences are not significant due to the small sample size.

Probationers were also asked about the timing of drug testing throughout the eight-month period. All PIR respondents indicated that they were tested for drug use on different days of the week. Variation in the time of day was not experienced uniformly for either the PIR or control group. In enabling probationers to comply with probation conditions (i.e., get a job, visit probation officer as directed, and participate in random drug testing), the ability to control drug test timing by hour of day is probably unrealistic.

A majority of the PIR participants stated that they had no warning prior to drug testing (81%), compared to 11 percent of the controls. This finding illustrates the level of supervision delivered to high-risk probationers who are not assigned to PIR. Since probationers in the control group met with their probation officer relatively infrequently (once or twice per month) and half of these meetings include drug testing, they expect to be tested during these visits.

Table 8

LEVEL OF SUPERVISION EXPERIENCED
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Follow-up Interviews with Probationers

Level of Delivery	PIR	Control	Ratio of PIR/Control
Mean # of Face-to-Face Contacts in First Month of Supervision[1]	6.0	1.7	3.53
Mean # of Face-to-Face Contacts in Eighth Month of Supervision[1]	3.8	1.7	2.24
Mean # of Drug Tests in First Month of Supervision[1]	6.5	1.9	3.42
Mean # of Drug Tests in Eighth Month of Supervision[1]	4.2	1.4	3.00
Percent Tested on Different Days of the Week	100%	76%	n/a
Percent Who Were Tested at Different Times During the Day	39%	52%	n/a
Percent with No Warning of Drug Testing[1]	81%	11%	n/a
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**44-47**	**33-35**	

[1]*Significant at .05 level.*

NOTE: Does not include "unknown."

Visits by probation officers to the probationer's home, as documented in PIR and Probation files, were very infrequent for both groups (not shown). The PIR program design includes home visits once per quarter as necessary. The lack of documentation in case files of home visits could indicate that they were not needed. However, based upon recidivism measures (to be discussed in Chapter 7), the contrary may be true. This type of aggressive follow-up by probation may be a method to improve the retention rate in PIR.

Both the intake and follow-up interviews with probationers included questions regarding collateral contacts (Table 9). Initially, a higher percentage of PIR probationers thought that their probation officers would contact others, particularly employers and family members, about their progress on probation than at follow-up. After eight months under supervision, probationers indicated some contact with others, though a lower percentage mentioned it than on the intake interview. The majority of PIR participants believed that their probation officer had discussed their case with PIR staff (91%). This is not surprising since PIR drug treatment and probation staff share office space expressly for this purpose.

Table 9

PERCEPTIONS OF COLLATERAL CONTACTS
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Intake and Follow-Up Interviews With Probationers

	Intake		Follow-Up	
Individuals Probation Officer Would/Did Contact	**PIR**	**Control**	**PIR**	**Control**
Employer	89%	81%	23%	43%
Teacher	61%	55%	0%	7%
Friend(s)	28%	26%	9%	29%
Family	64%	55%	37%	86%
Co-Workers	31%	29%	5%	21%
Neighbor(s)	22%	23%	2%	14%
PIR Staff	n/a	n/a	91%	n/a
PIR Classmate	n/a	n/a	16%	n/a
Other	11%	10%	14%	14%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**36**	**31**	**43**	**14**

NOTE: Percentages are based upon multiple responses. Does not include "unknown." Therefore, the number of probationers responding to each question varies.

REFERRALS

Referrals are distinguished from sanctions in that referrals are recommendations rather than required punishments due to a violation of probation. Both referrals and sanctions include residential treatment and detoxification. The PIR program design includes both referrals to outside agencies for additional treatment, and sanctions for poor program performance. Considering the emphasis in PIR on needs assessment and case-action planning, it was expected that referrals would be used extensively. However, both PIR and regular high-risk probation officers made few specific referrals to outside agencies

during the eight-month period (Table 10). This surprising finding is probably due to the strong emphasis in PIR on graduated sanctions and services provided by drug treatment staff. The presumption is that requiring participation in detoxification or residential treatment programs (i.e., a sanction) produces greater cooperation than simple suggestions (i.e., a referral). For the control group, the reason referrals were not utilized may be because financial constraints and limited resources of the Probation Department within an environment of growing probation populations have redirected the focus of regular supervision in San Diego County, similar to many areas of the country, on enforcing the conditions of probation rather than on rehabilitation.

Of the referrals given and documented in program files, a higher percentage of those in PIR were referred to detoxification and residential treatment than the control group. Recovery group participation is a condition of the PIR program. Therefore, referrals to recovery groups are only applicable for the control group. Referrals may have been utilized more frequently and not noted in program files. This is very likely since referrals are recommendations, rather than requirements, for which follow-up by the probation officer is not necessary.

Table 10

REFERRALS[1] TO OUTSIDE AGENCIES
DURING EIGHT MONTHS OF SUPERVISION
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data

	PIR	Control
No Referral Given[2]	86%	87%
Referral Made[2]	14%	13%
Detoxification	62%	25%
Residential Treatment	45%	30%
Recovery Group[3]	n/a	55%
Other	0%	5%
TOTAL SAMPLE	**209**	**151**

[1]Excludes sanctions.
[2]Not significant at .05 level.
[3]Recovery group participation is a requirement of PIR.

NOTE: Type of referral is based upon multiple responses.

During follow-up interviews, probationers were asked if they had attended any drug programs during the past eight months (Table 11). Though PIR requires participation in a recovery group, not all PIR probationers stated that they had attended such a group (87%). This is probably because interviews were attempted with all probationers who completed an intake interview regardless of status (e.g., transferred to regular supervision, incarcerated). A higher proportion of the control group indicated participation in recovery groups (95%). The small sample for controls (20) affects the comparison. However, the responses by the PIR and control groups indicate greater participation by PIR probationers in counseling, education, detoxification, residential treatment, and methadone programs.

Table 11

ATTENDANCE IN DRUG PROGRAMS AT OUTSIDE AGENCIES DURING EIGHT MONTHS OF SUPERVISION
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Follow-Up Interviews With Probationers

Program	PIR	Control
Detoxification	20%	10%
Residential Treatment	18%	10%
Recovery Group	87%	95%
Methadone	4%	0%
Education	16%	5%
Counseling	22%	10%
Other	0%	10%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**45**	**20**

NOTE: Percentages are based upon multiple responses. Does not include "unknown."

PERCEPTIONS REGARDING EFFECTIVE COMPONENTS OF PROBATION

At follow-up, probationers were asked about the effectiveness of various elements of probation in encouraging probationers to comply with the conditions of probation and remain crime and drug free (Table 12). Consistent with the PIR program design, over 80 percent of the PIR group felt that the following requirements of probation were at least somewhat effective in reducing drug use and criminality: testing for drug/alcohol use (98%), obtaining employment (96%), detoxification (93%), meeting with probation officers (93%), maintaining employment (91%), participating in mandated drug treatment (91%), counseling (87%), increasing drug test frequency (85%), and curfews (81%). A majority of the control group also agreed on the effectiveness of these methods. However, significantly more of the PIR group than the control group believed that participation in detoxification programs is an effective type of intervention with probationers. The intervention with the smallest proportion indicating effectiveness was custody for the PIR group and volunteer work for control sample.

Table 12

OPINIONS REGARDING EFFECTIVENESS OF PROBATION INTERVENTIONS
(Percent Effective/Somewhat Effective)
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Follow-Up Interviews With Probationers

Intervention	PIR	Control
Probation Officer Dropping By Unannounced	73%	80%
Curfew	81%	71%
Asking Others About Probationer	43%	66%
Reporting to P.O.	93%	80%
Drug/Alcohol Tests	98%	86%
Increasing Frequency of Drug Tests	85%	86%
Mandated Drug Treatment	91%	79%
Detoxification Programs[1]	93%	74%
Finding Employment as Condition	96%	86%
Maintain Employment as Condition	91%	80%
Probation Fees	49%	66%
Restitution	57%	60%
School Attendance	79%	71%
Volunteer Work	62%	51%
Counseling	87%	71%
Increasing Frequency of Counseling	77%	71%
Custody	47%	65%
Limit Association With Specific People	64%	71%
Counseling by Outside Agency	79%	74%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**45-47**	**34-35**

[1]*Significant at 0.5 level.*

NOTE: Does not include "unknown." Therefore, the number of probationers responding to each question varies.

Through interviews and surveys with criminal justice personnel (i.e., PIR probation officers, regular probation officers, PIR drug treatment staff, judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys), opinions were also obtained regarding effective strategies for altering the behavior of drug offenders. Almost all of the criminal justice respondents indicated that drug testing is an effective method of supervising drug offenders (Table 13). Residential treatment as an option was specified by 85 percent of all respondents. These beliefs are consistent with the PIR program design, which includes drug testing to monitor program compliance and residential treatment as a sanction for individuals who continue to use drugs while in PIR. Upon completion of residential treatment, probationers are returned to PIR to complete the program.

Table 13

EFFECTIVE ELEMENTS OF A PROBATION PROGRAM FOR DRUG OFFENDERS
Criminal Justice Personnel Responses, 1992

Component of Probation	Probation[1] & Treatment Staff (Interviews)	Other Criminal Justice Personnel (Surveys)	Total
Drug Testing	98%	88%	91%
Availability of Residential Drug Treatment Programs	95%	80%	85%
Recovery Group Attendance	93%	69%	77%
Employment Assistance Programs	86%	63%	71%
Face-to-face Contacts by Probation Officers	79%	65%	70%
Re-entry or Relapse Prevention Program	88%	59%	69%
Frequent Contacts by Probation Officers	79%	61%	67%
Small Probation Caseloads	79%	60%	67%
4th Amendment Waiver Searches	77%	60%	66%
Consistent Response to Probation Violations	77%	57%	63%
Graduated Sanctions for Probation Violations	81%	53%	63%
Alcohol Testing	77%	52%	60%
Employment, Job Training, or School as Condition	65%	55%	59%
Sponsors/Peers in the Community	81%	47%	59%
Clean and Sober Activities	77%	40%	52%
Involvement of Family Members in Treatment	58%	47%	51%
Payment of Restitution to Victims	70%	37%	48%
Social Skills Training	56%	37%	44%
Limiting Contact With Certain Individuals	42%	39%	40%
Payment of Fees for Treatment Program	54%	30%	38%
Counseling	63%	20%	35%
Other Drug Treatment Programs	58%	19%	33%
Payment of Court Costs or Fines	37%	23%	28%
Phone Contacts by Probation Officers	37%	17%	24%
Return to Court for all Probation Violations	19%	24%	22%
Community Service as a Condition of Probation	19%	13%	15%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**43**	**83**	**126**

[1]Includes regular and PIR probation officers, regardless of familiarity with PIR.

NOTE: Does not include "unknown." Since the entire population was surveyed, statistical tests are not appropriate.

Over half of the criminal justice professionals stated that the following are effective components:

- recovery group attendance
- face-to-face contacts with probation staff
- reentry or relapse prevention programs
- frequent contacts by probation officers
- small caseloads
- 4th Amendment waiver searches
- consistent response to probation violations
- graduated sanctions
- alcohol testing
- employment and education assistance
- sponsors in the community
- clean and sober activities
- involvement of family members in treatment.

When comparing the responses of PIR probation, regular probation, and treatment staff with those of other criminal justice personnel (judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys), some interesting differences are noted. Recovery group attendance was not equally valued by both groups. Most of the probation and treatment staff interviewed indicated that recovery groups are an important aspect of probation (93%), while 69 percent of the other criminal justice personnel agreed. Similarly, 86 percent of the probation and treatment staff believed that employment assistance was an effective element of probation, compared to 63 percent of the judges and attorneys surveyed. The transition from intensive supervision to independence in the community was viewed as an important element by probation and treatment staff more often than for other criminal justice personnel (88% compared to 59%, respectively). It seems as though both groups have varied levels of agreement with respect to the value of graduated sanctions, alcohol testing, community support, and social activities that exclude drugs. These differences are of particular interest because they are focal points for PIR. As asserted by Petersilia (1987), successful intensive supervision programs require a receptive environment which includes external (e.g., judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys), as well as internal, support. Probation and treatment staff were more likely to support certain surveillance, treatment, and rehabilitation components compared to the judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys surveyed. The differences between the two groups are important to consider as decisions are made regarding the future direction of PIR.

OTHER PERCEPTIONS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROFESSIONALS

Mandatory Treatment

Prior research has found that supervision which includes mandatory drug treatment has resulted in lower drug use and criminal activity compared to probationers not in treatment (National Criminal Justice Association, 1990; Visher, 1990). There are several possible reasons for this finding, including facilitating drug abusers into treatment, increasing the length of stay in drug treatment, preventing subsequent criminal activity, separating drug addicts from the criminal justice system, providing clear due process procedures, and containing the probationer in treatment rather than punishing only (Leukefeld and Tims, 1988). In the PIR evaluation, local criminal justice professionals were asked their opinions regarding compulsory treatment (Table 14).

Opinions differed when asked if drug treatment for offenders should be mandatory. Almost two-thirds of the probation, treatment, and other criminal justice personnel support mandatory treatment; however, judges and attorneys were less likely to agree (55% compared to 81% of the probation and treatment staff). Approximately half of the judges and attorneys favored mandatory treatment whether they were familiar with PIR or not. The disadvantages cited in the literature are possible reasons for the difference between the two groups. Leukefeld and Tims (1988) noted delays in processing, demand for treatment beyond resources, unwilling or unsuitable addicts, high fiscal requirements (though saved court and incarceration costs could offset treatment costs), and administrative demands as roadblocks to compulsory treatment. Most of these reasons are more directly related to the concerns of the judiciary than probation and treatment (e.g., delays in processing).

Table 14

OPINIONS REGARDING MANDATORY DRUG TREATMENT
Criminal Justice Personnel Responses, 1992

Should Drug Treatment Be Mandatory or Voluntary?	Probation[1] & Treatment Staff (Interviews)	Other Criminal Justice Personnel[2] (Surveys)	Total
Mandatory	81%	55%	64%
Voluntary	19%	26%	23%
Determine on Case-By-Case Basis	0%	13%	9%
Depends Upon Crime	0%	4%	2%
Neither, No Treatment	0%	1%	1%
Neither, Provide Incentives	0%	1%	1%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**43**	**82**	**125**

[1]Includes regular and PIR probation officers, regardless of familiarity with PIR.
[2]Includes respondents not familiar with PIR.

NOTE: Does not include "unknown." Since the entire population was surveyed, statistical tests are not appropriate.

Strengths and Weaknesses of PIR

There are benefits to PIR according to probation and drug treatment personnel, as well as other criminal justice administrators (Table 15). Of those familiar with the PIR program, almost all indicated that the program is beneficial, with over half emphasizing the intensive nature of the supervision. Probation and treatment staff were more likely than others to note the benefits of the treatment component and the supportive environment of the program. However, most of the criminal justice professionals interviewed and surveyed also stated that there are benefits to PIR. The intensive level of supervision, successful drug treatment, and offender accountability were the benefits mentioned. Intensive supervision included the ability to more closely monitor offenders regarding probation violations, particularly drug use through urinalysis. This was coupled with immediate accountability because responses to violations can be directly tied to the problem. For example, a potential response to detection of drug use could be to increase the recovery group meeting requirement. The following quotes illustrate the views of those interviewed and surveyed.

- "... to find a solution for addiction rather than jail and staying in the problem."
- "... giving clients practical tools to deal with addiction while keeping clients accountable through sanctions from probation officers."
- "... seen frequently by probation officer. As soon as they test dirty, there are consequences".
- "... they're not going to go to jail because they're dirty. Treatment is always an option."

Table 15

BENEFITS TO PIR
Criminal Justice Personnel Responses, 1992

Are There Benefits to PIR?	Probation[1] & Treatment Staff (Interviews)	Other Criminal Justice Personnel[2] (Surveys)	Total
Yes	97%	94%	96%
No	3%	6%	4%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**37**	**17**	**54**
Benefits[3]			
Intensive Supervision	53%	56%	54%
Successful Treatment	39%	19%	33%
Immediate Accountability	17%	13%	15%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**36**	**16**	**52**

[1]Includes regular and PIR probation officers familiar with PIR.
[2]Includes only those familiar with PIR.
[3]Percentages are based upon multiple responses.

NOTE: Does not include "unknown." Since the entire population was surveyed, statistical tests are not appropriate.

Despite the benefits, Table 16 shows that improvements could still be made. However, the specific types of proposed improvements differ between probation and treatment staff compared to other criminal justice professionals. About one-third of the PIR probation, regular probation, and drug treatment staff indicated that treatment counselors needed more training. Respondents from other agencies noted the need to utilize the program and to avoid overloading probation officers. Though the PIR program documentation notes that program completion can take an indefinite amount of time, the program was originally designed to be completed in six months. The desire for probationers to complete in a timely manner is reflected in the fact that three of the probation and treatment staff believed that PIR could be improved by discontinuing any pressures for individuals to finish the program within a certain period of time.

Table 16

WAYS TO IMPROVE PIR
Criminal Justice Personnel Responses, 1992

Are There Ways to Improve PIR?	Probation[1] & Treatment Staff (Interviews)	Other Criminal Justice Personnel[2] (Surveys)	Total
Yes	87%	67%	81%
No	13%	33%	19%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**31**	**12**	**43**
Ways to Improve[3]			
More Training for Counselors	30%	0%	24%
Take More Types of Cases	11%	14%	12%
More Flexibility/Opportunity for Growth	11%	0%	9%
More Training for Probation Officers	11%	14%	12%
Better Communication Between Administrators	11%	0%	9%
More Funding for Services	7%	14%	9%
Waive Time Limit of Program	11%	0%	9%
More Accountability	11%	0%	9%
Utilize It	0%	29%	6%
Don't Overload Probation Officer	0%	29%	6%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**27**	**7**	**34**

[1] *Includes regular and PIR probation officers familiar with PIR.*
[2] *Includes only those familiar with PIR.*
[3] *Percentages are based upon multiple responses of those stating that there are ways to improve PIR.*

NOTE: Does not include "unknown." Since the entire population was surveyed, statistical tests are not appropriate.

Graduated Sanctions

There was not total agreement between the probation and drug treatment group and the other criminal justice personnel group regarding the effectiveness of graduated sanctions (Table 17). The majority of regular and PIR probation officers and drug treatment counselors (88%) believed that graduated sanctions are effective for the following reasons: graduated sanctions are cheaper, change behavior rather than just punishing, allow for treatment while jail only punishes, match actions with consequences, and can be tailored to the situation and offender. Judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys were less enthusiastic about the effectiveness of graduated sanctions (only 53% responded positively). Though some of these criminal justice professionals believed that sanctions do change behavior (11%), more stated that custody provides a better deterrent (23%). However, as will be presented in Chapter 7, an examination of the two offender groups revealed no significant differences in recidivism between those who spent time in custody prior to their probation term and those who were sentenced directly to community supervision with no custody time. These differences are key in successfully implementing an intensive probation and drug treatment program like PIR. If the judiciary does not support the elements of the program, it will be more difficult to enforce with offenders.

Table 17

OPINIONS REGARDING GRADUATED SANCTIONS
Criminal Justice Personnel Responses, 1992

Are Graduated Sanctions Effective?	Probation[1] & Treatment Staff (Interviews)	Other Criminal Justice Personnel (Surveys)	Total
Yes	88%	53%	66%
No	12%	47%	34%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**43**	**76**	**119**
Why use Graduated Sanctions[2]?			
Cheaper & More Effective	21%	0%	9%
Change Behavior	19%	11%	15%
Consequence for Every Action	12%	7%	9%
Most Appropriate for First-Time Offenders	10%	7%	8%
Jail Only Punishes	19%	0%	8%
Maintain in Treatment	17%	2%	8%
Most Appropriate for Certain Individuals	12%	0%	5%
Custody Inefficient	0%	13%	8%
Why Not Use Graduated Sanctions?			
Custody Provides a Better Deterrent	14%	23%	19%
Sanctions Not Taken Seriously	0%	11%	7%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**42**	**61**	**103**

[1]Includes regular and PIR probation officers, regardless of familiarity with PIR.
[2]Percentages are based upon multiple responses.

NOTE: Does not include "unknown." Since the entire population was surveyed, statistical tests are not appropriate.

Program Fee

There is agreement among criminal justice personnel that probationers should pay for drug treatment programs (Table 18). However, there was no consensus on how much to charge. The issue of charging offenders for the costs of the criminal justice system is a controversial one. Conceptually, a fee seems like a good idea because it increases accountability and provides the program with revenue. The major issue surrounding a fee is the difficulty of maintaining a cost effective, revenue producing program without interfering with program goals. Though a fee may at first appear to be cost effective, collection costs can reduce perceived benefits, especially when offenders are unable to pay the fees (National Criminal Justice Association, 1990). Other concerns regarding fees include: widening the net of social control, or allowing probation to be given to otherwise ineligible offenders; changing an agency's goal from treatment and surveillance to fee collection; and increasing revocation for failure to comply with probation conditions (Wheeler, Hissong, Macan, and Slusher, 1989).

Though most of the respondents support fees for drug treatment programs (77% of the probation and treatment staff, and 52% of those in other agencies), it is not surprising that those responsible for holding probationers accountable for paying fees (PIR probation officers, regular probation officers, and drug treatment staff) more often indicated that a sliding scale based upon ability to pay would be more appropriate (42%), and those responsible for determining sentences suggested fees over $500 (33%).

Future of PIR

Only current and former PIR probation and treatment staff were asked if the program should be continued as it is, modified, or discontinued (not shown). All respondents believed that the program was worthwhile enough to continue. Seven staff members suggested the following modifications:

- more supervision and documentation of compliance
- more experienced counseling staff
- centralized management of program
- support from community
- more attention to the needs of probationers.

These recommendations are supported by the literature. In particular, Latessa (1987) notes that the number and quality of contacts are related to the effectiveness of an intensive supervision program.

Table 18

OPINIONS REGARDING FEES CHARGED
Criminal Justice Personnel Responses, 1992

Should Probationers Be Charged a Fee for Drug Treatment Programs?	Probation[1] & Treatment Staff[2] (Interviews)	Other Criminal Justice Personnel[3] (Surveys)	Total[2]
Yes	77%	52%	61%
No	23%	48%	39%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**43**	**82**	**125**
Reasonable Fee for Program[4]			
Less than $50	9%	3%	6%
$50 to $100	9%	9%	9%
$101 to $200	12%	9%	11%
$201 to $300	9%	6%	8%
$301 to $400	24%	9%	17%
$401 to $500	6%	15%	11%
Over $500	15%	33%	24%
Sliding Scale	42%	0%	21%
Other	0%	15%	8%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**33**	**33**	**66**

[1] *Includes regular and PIR probation officers, regardless of familiarity with PIR.*
[2] *Nine of the respondents indicated a dollar amount as well as specifying that a sliding scale would be appropriate.*
[3] *Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.*
[4] *Based upon those stating that there should be a fee.*

NOTE: Does not include "unknown." Since the entire population was surveyed, statistical tests are not appropriate.

Findings from interviews with criminal justice personnel point out administrative and organizational issues which have impeded the effectiveness of PIR. Petersilia (summarized in Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989) outlines nine conditions of success.

- **A pressing local problem must be addressed by the program.** As indicated by data collected through the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program, approximately 80 percent of both male and female arrestees have been positive for drug use upon booking into jail every quarter since 1987 when the program began (Pennell, 1995). PIR addressed the need to redirect drug users from criminality and drug abuse to sobriety.

- **Goals reflecting the needs and desires of the community must be precisely articulated.** As discussed in Chapter 2, the program staff interviewed generally agreed on the goals of the program.

- **There must be a receptive environment, both within the department and from the entire system.** The other components of the criminal justice system did not consistently support the PIR program. During interviews, PIR staff indicated that judges did not always follow the recommendations of PIR probation officers. Examination of responses by judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys compared to probation and drug treatment personnel revealed differing levels of support for graduated sanctions and non-residential drug treatment.

- **The leader of the organization must be vitally committed to the objectives, values, and implications of the project. Further, this leader must be able to devise practical strategies to motivate and effect change.** The leadership for PIR drug treatment counselors changed during the evaluation period. In addition, there was no clear leader due to the involvement of three different agencies: San Diego County Probation Department, Mental Health Systems Incorporated, and San Diego County Alcohol and Drug Services.

- **The leader's ideas and values must be shared and used by the project director throughout the implementation process and operation of the project.** Management for the PIR program came from three separate agencies.

- **There must be ownership by all project staff, rather than requiring coercion.** Participation by practitioners in the development is key in maintaining project integrity during the changing process. The staff turnover among drug treatment counselors impeded this process. Further, there were differing opinions regarding program implementation between the North County and South Bay sites. For example, the staff at the South Bay site were very strict about having probationers complete the program within six months.

- **Lines of authority must be clear so there is no ambiguity about "who is in charge."** Interviews with program personnel revealed that management by three organizations did not provide the necessary cohesion to ensure that the program was implemented as designed.

- **Innovation and implementation of change must be simple and specific.** The design implementation of PIR was manageable.

- **A stable administration, low staff turnover, and secured resources are necessary** (Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989). As previously stated, staff turnover hampered the success of PIR. The Chief of the Probation Department was appointed to another position during the evaluation period (April 1992). In addition, residential treatment and detoxification space throughout San Diego County is limited, resulting in delays in utilizing these programs as sanctions.

The difficulties in implementing PIR could have impacted program effectiveness, as will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

CONCLUSIONS

In general, the data indicate that the level of supervision for PIR probationers was more intensive than for the control group. The types of contacts were similar for the PIR and control groups (phone calls and visits with probation officers), but the number of contacts reported was substantially higher for PIR probationers. Graduated sanctions were also used more extensively for PIR probationers prior to return to custody. These findings were confirmed during intake and follow-up interviews with probationers. At intake, PIR participants believed that the level of supervision would be higher than regular supervision. Further, when asked about the level of supervision after eight months of supervision, the PIR group perceived a higher level of intervention than the control group. Probationers in PIR not only had more contact with their probation officers, but drug testing was more random also. The proportion reporting that their probation officer contacted someone else about their performance on probation was also higher for the PIR group. Chapter 6 on program performance will examine the impact of the increased level of supervision on drug use and lifestyle changes.

However, the expected levels of supervision, as outlined in the PIR program design, were not fully met. This was partially due to the lack of information regarding when probationers absconded (as will be presented in Chapter 7). To improve analysis in future studies on probation performance, the Probation Department may want to consider maintaining records on the date a probationer absconds. The PIR program staff may also want to incorporate more aggressive methods for working with probationers who miss meetings (e.g., home visits) and develop strategies for making the program more attractive to potential participants to lower the rate of absconding.

The PIR program was not restricted to high-risk probationers as designed. Clear mechanisms for monitoring program delivery would assist in maintaining consistency with the program design on an on-going basis and ensure that high-risk probationers are targeted, as well as provide opportunities to discover methods for improving the effectiveness of the program.

Overall, there was general consensus among criminal justice personnel that PIR included effective components for supervising offenders in the community. This feeling was echoed in interviews with probationers. The consensus among criminal justice professionals provides an opportunity to improve the PIR program. Areas in which they disagree (e.g., the value of graduated sanctions) require further discussion before PIR can be utilized to its full potential. For example, if judges do not believe that graduated sanctions are effective methods of controlling offender behavior, when efforts are made toward rehabilitation utilizing such sanctions, they may revoke probation for PIR violators and return them to custody, despite efforts by PIR staff to maintain the probationer in the program and continue working on reducing drug use and criminality.

Though all PIR staff interviewed seem motivated to continue the program, there was a need expressed for better communication between managerial and on-line staff. One identified leader, with a clear line of authority, was needed to ensure that PIR was implemented as designed. Also, a need for more improved staff training was indicated, especially for drug treatment counselors. The results presented in Chapters 6 and 7 on the performance of probationers in the program and the impact of the program on recidivism may have been affected by the issues raised during interviews with program staff.

CHAPTER 5
COMPARABILITY OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS AT INTAKE

COMPARABILITY OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS AT INTAKE

INTRODUCTION

Much of the research on intensive supervision in the 1980s has been criticized because the treatment and control groups have not been comparable (Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird, 1989). The sample selection process for this evaluation was designed to ensure that the two groups were similar based upon the screening criteria for PIR. This chapter examines additional dimensions of comparability. Any variation in sample size for each data collection method is accounted for by the exclusion of unknown information.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

A comparison of key characteristics of the experimental and control samples suggests that the groups are similar in terms of median age at intake, gender, marital status, dependent children, education, employment, conviction offense, and average age at first arrest (Table 19). Most of the probationers in both groups were unmarried men, and the average age was about 30. About half in each study group had dependent children, were unemployed, and had been convicted of a drug offense prior to their current probation term. The control group had a higher percentage of high school graduates (though the difference is not significant) and non-Whites. Specifically, there were significantly more Blacks among the control group than in the PIR sample. The high proportion of Blacks in the control sample is probably the result of the population served at the Ohio Street Probation Office, from which the sample was selected. The effect of this difference will be examined further in the analysis of drug use, using bivariate techniques.

According to interviews with a sub-sample of probationers in each group, the groups were also comparable with respect to mean age at first offense, regardless if they were caught, and mean age at first arrest (Table 20).

Another significant difference between the two groups was the average number of offenses committed during the baseline period (six months prior to the instant offense) (Table 48). The PIR group had a lower average offense rate than the controls. This is an indication that PIR may have accepted some offenders who were not high-risk. If PIR did accept lower-risk probationers, then better outcomes would be suspect. This issue will be discussed further.

Table 19

COMPARABILITY OF PIR AND CONTROL PROBATION GROUPS
Case Tracking Data

Characteristic	PIR	Control
Mean Age at Intake	29	30
Sex		
Male	80%	85%
Female	20%	15%
Race/Ethnicity		
White	50%	41%
Black[1]	16%	33%
Hispanic	31%	25%
Other	3%	1%
Marital Status		
Married	9%	11%
Separated	15%	6%
Not Married	71%	78%
Other	5%	5%
Dependent Children		
Yes	55%	50%
No	39%	45%
Unknown	6%	5%
Highest Grade		
High School Graduate	50%	58%
< High School	45%	37%
Unknown	4%	5%
Employment		
Employed	43%	44%
Unemployed	51%	48%
Unknown	7%	8%
Conviction Offense		
Drug-Related	53%	44%
Non-Drug Related	47%	56%
Mean Age First Arrest	23	21
TOTAL SAMPLE	**209**	**151**

[1]*Significant at .05 level.*

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Table 20

AGE AT ONSET OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Intake Interviews with Probationers

	PIR	Control
Mean Age at First Offense	14.2	14.0
Mean Age at First Arrest	19.7	18.7
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**94-96**	**79**

NOTE: Not significant at .05 level. Does not include "unknown." Therefore, the total sample for each measure varies.

DRUG USE

Interviews also included questions regarding self-reported drug use history. Tables 21, 22, and 23 show significant differences with respect to type of drug ever tried, average age first used a drug, drugs used during the six months prior to the interview, and frequency of drug use during the month prior to interview. This pattern was likely due to the populations served by each program (i.e., the racial/ethnic breakdown of each group). A significantly higher percentage of individuals assigned to PIR admitted to trying PCP, methamphetamines, and LSD (Table 21). Further, a larger percentage of PIR probationers used methamphetamines during the six months prior to the interview (Table 22). Methamphetamine use was significantly associated with Whites in the PIR group (not shown). More of the control group were cocaine/crack users. Cocaine/crack use is more common among Blacks. The previously mentioned difference in the proportion of Blacks in each of the two groups partially accounts for the differences.

The average age at first use was significantly lower for PIR probationers who reported trying cocaine/crack, marijuana, and LSD (Table 21). There were more individuals in the PIR group reporting habitual drug use during the month prior to the interview (Table 23). Habitual drug use is defined as weekly or more frequent use. These findings seem to indicate that those assigned to PIR were more likely to be regular drug users than the control group.

These differences could affect the comparison of outcome measures. Not only has the literature noted that poly-drug use is common among people in treatment (Institute for Health Policy, 1993), but differential success regarding primary drug used has also been found. For example, evaluations of therapeutic communities reveal that stays of one year or more are related to reduced heroin use, while no significant change occurred for cocaine users. The cycle of cocaine and crack use is a particular challenge because binges

are followed by lengthy periods of abstinence, during which withdrawal symptoms gradually grow, leading to another binge cycle (Gerstein and Harwood, 1990). In a more recent study, researchers found no difference by drug of choice in program performance as measured by client outcomes. The results from the California Drug and Alcohol Treatment Assessment (CALDATA) noted that the effectiveness of treatment for cocaine/crack and methamphetamine users was similar to alcohol treatment, and slightly more effective than treatment for heroin users (Gerstein, et al, 1994). Since the PIR group was more drug-involved, with earlier ages of use, differences between those receiving the intervention (PIR) and those not receiving intensive treatment (controls) may be minimized. These issues will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Table 21

DRUG USE HISTORY
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Intake Interviews with Probationers

	PIR	Control
Percent Ever Tried		
Heroin	36%	38%
Cocaine/Crack	85%	76%
PCP[1]	50%	34%
Methamphetamine[1]	88%	75%
Marijuana	96%	95%
LSD[1]	63%	45%
Alcohol	99%	96%
Average Age at First Use[2]		
Heroin	19.0	20.7
Cocaine/Crack[1]	19.3	21.3
PCP	18.5	18.9
Methamphetamine	20.8	21.1
Marijuana[1]	13.8	14.9
LSD[1]	15.8	17.4
Alcohol	13.4	14.2
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**96**	**80**

[1]Significant at .05 level.
[2]Based upon those who admitted to trying each drug.

NOTE: Percentages based upon multiple responses.

Table 22

DRUGS USED DURING BASELINE PERIOD
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Intake Interviews with Probationers

Drug Used	PIR	Control
Heroin	20%	18%
Cocaine/Crack[1]	17%	34%
PCP	1%	3%
Methamphetamine[1]	56%	31%
Marijuana	33%	26%
LSD	19%	13%
Alcohol	67%	70%
Any Use	95%	90%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**96**	**80**

[1]Significant at .05 level.

NOTE: Percentages are based upon multiple responses.

Table 23

HABITUAL DRUG USE[1] DURING MONTH PRIOR TO INSTANT OFFENSE
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Intake Interviews with Probationers

Drug Used	PIR	Control
Heroin	19%	16%
Cocaine/Crack	22%	30%
PCP	0%	1%
Methamphetamine[2]	50%	29%
Marijuana	41%	33%
LSD	4%	0%
Alcohol	49%	49%
Any Habitual Use	79%	69%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**96**	**80**

[1]Based upon respondents reporting weekly or more frequent use.
[2]Significant at .05 level.

NOTE: Percentages are based upon multiple responses.

ELIGIBILITY FOR THE PROGRAM

The intention of the PIR program design was to include probationers with risk classification scores qualifying them for Level I and Level II supervision. However, proportionately more ***lower***-risk offenders were placed in PIR than were in the control group, which was chosen from regular high-risk caseloads (Table 24). Nineteen percent (19%) of the PIR probationers were initially assigned to Level III or IV supervision before placement in PIR. This originally unintended result is probably due to pressures to fill the program. Further, 68 percent of the control group were classified for Level I supervision, compared to 49 percent of the PIR participants. This could suggest that, overall, controls are higher risk but may be mitigated by differences in drug histories. The PIR sample used drugs at earlier ages and were more likely to have tried every drug except heroin (Table 21).

Table 24

LEVEL OF SUPERVISION AT INTAKE
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data

Supervision Level	PIR	Control
I	49%	68%
II	32%	31%
III	12%	1%
IV/Banked	7%	0%
TOTAL SAMPLE	**205**	**150**

NOTE: Significant at .05 level. Does not include "unknown."

When comparing the samples using all PIR eligibility criteria, these findings were confirmed. About three of ten PIR probationers in the sample did not meet all of the screening criteria specified in the program guidelines, based upon a review of case files (not shown). Therefore, PIR took 58 ineligible probationers to fill the program. Nineteen percent (19%) were ineligible due to level of supervision (not shown). Other reasons for ineligibility included no documented drug problem and violent criminal history. However, when the outcome measures are analyzed for only PIR eligible offenders, the results of the impact evaluation are similar.

As shown in Table 25, when PIR participants were asked why they were selected for the program (an open-ended question), the most common response was that some evidence of drug use was the catalyst to PIR placement (51%). The type of crime committed, including drug offenses, was the reason given by 11 percent of the respondents. Nine percent thought that their prior failure to successfully complete the terms of probation was a selection factor, and an additional eight percent believed that drug dealing led to assignment into PIR. These interviews were conducted by researchers immediately following PIR orientation. The findings indicate that most PIR probationers understand that they were selected for the program based upon their drug history.

Table 25

REASON FOR PIR SELECTION
PIR Probation Group
Intake Interviews with Probationers

Top Five Reasons	Percent
Evidence of Drug Use	51%
Current Offense	11%
Prior Failure on Probation	9%
Evidence of Drug Dealing	8%
Limited Criminal History	8%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**91**

NOTE: Percentages are based upon multiple responses. Does not include "unknown."

PROBATION CONDITIONS ORDERED

The probation conditions ordered by the court for both groups were similar, with the exception of PIR program elements (Table 26). The PIR probationers, compared to those on regular high-risk supervision, were more likely to be ordered to follow a curfew, remain within San Diego County unless authorized to leave, and participate in counseling or therapy sessions. All PIR probationers are required to participate in drug treatment and pay $360 for the treatment portion of PIR to help offset program costs. The control group was ordered to pay restitution and fines in a higher proportion of cases than PIR participants. Both groups of probationers were subject to drug testing conditions. There were no notable differences in conditions ordered, based upon the instant offense.

Table 26

PROBATION CONDITIONS ORDERED[1]
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data

Probation Condition	PIR	Control
Drug Testing	91%	93%
Restitution	46%	62%
Probation Fee ($360 fee for PIR only)	100%	n/a
Fine	57%	68%
Other Payments	19%	9%
Employment/Training/School	80%	86%
Counseling/Therapy/Recovery Group	90%	80%
Community Service	5%	3%
Curfew	22%	1%
4th Waiver Search	89%	83%
No Association with Certain People	25%	20%
No Alcohol Use	19%	13%
No Drug Use/Possession	92%	93%
Electronic Surveillance	<1%	0%
Register with Local Police	45%	42%
Violate No Laws	94%	89%
Report Address Change	78%	89%
Report to Probation within 72 Hours of Release from Custody	89%	91%
Do Not Leave the County	57%	34%
Residential Treatment	34%	30%
AIDS Class	22%	12%
No Weapons	20%	16%
Other	19%	30%
TOTAL SAMPLE	**209**	**151**

[1] *Includes conditions specifically ordered by the court and conditions left to the probation officer's discretion.*

NOTE: Percentages are based upon multiple responses.

Upon assignment to probation, probationers were asked to assess the likelihood that they would violate their probation conditions (Table 27). During orientation, PIR participants were instructed to attend three drug treatment classes and two recovery group meetings (e.g., Narcotics Anonymous) a week. They were also told that they would be tested for alcohol in addition to other drugs during their time in PIR. The control group was also required to participate in drug testing, though not as often. Therefore, it is not surprising that, of the PIR probationers, 81 percent believed they would use drugs or violate the drug treatment condition, 80 percent viewed the recovery group requirement as easily violated, and 74 percent believed the chances were high that they would use alcohol. In contrast, the control group was much less likely to state that there was a good or very good chance of violating alcohol (46%) conditions. The two groups had similar views regarding drug use violations (over three-fourths of both groups stated that the chances of violating were good or very good.)

Table 27

PERCEIVED CHANCES OF VIOLATING PROBATION CONDITIONS
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Intake Interviews with Probationers

Percent Stating Chances of Violation as Good or Very Good

Probation Condition	PIR	Control
Drug/Alcohol Treatment	81%	79%
Restitution/Fee/Fine/Other Payment	83%	89%
Employment/Training/School	75%	71%
Counseling/Therapy/Recovery Group	80%	75%
Community Service	50%	100%
Curfew	33%	0%
Not be in Certain Places	27%	18%
No Association with Certain People	26%	20%
No Alcohol Use	74%	46%
No Drug Use/Possession	81%	76%
Do Not Leave the County	37%	39%
No Weapons	36%	38%
Other	33%	44%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**96**	**80**

NOTE: Percentages are based upon those ordered to each specific condition. A probationer can be required to comply with multiple conditions. Does not include "unknown."

CONCLUSIONS

The study samples were comparable with respect to most demographic characteristics and onset of criminality. Most differences in general characteristics were so slight that they were not statistically significant, except for ethnicity. Regarding drug use, it seems that those assigned to PIR included more regular drug users than the control group. Based upon assigned level of supervision, it seems that the control group was a higher-risk group than PIR. As would be expected, the probation conditions ordered by the court for both groups were similar, with the exception of PIR program elements. Differing perceptions of probationers regarding the chances that they would violate probation conditions are consistent with the high level of supervision in PIR. The effect of all differences upon outcome measures will be explored further in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 6
PERFORMANCE IN THE PROGRAM

PERFORMANCE IN THE PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

This section compares the PIR and control groups on their performance in PIR and the regular probation program for high-risk offenders during the eight-month evaluation period. The analysis is based upon interviews with probationers upon assignment to probation and after eight months of community supervision, as well as information collected from official records (e.g., probation and PIR files, Sheriff's records, and criminal history files). The study sample consists of 209 PIR participants who received intensive probation and a control group of 151 probationers assigned to Levels I and II supervision. The control group was selected using the screening criteria for the PIR program. When the analysis is restricted to the 148 PIR probationers who were eligible for the program, based upon the screening criteria, the program performance measures are similar relative to the control group. Variations in sample size are due to the exclusion of unknown cases.

The eight-month period is used as an estimation of "in-program" time. PIR was designed to take a minimum of six months to complete, with no maximum time limit. The relapse prevention portion of PIR, beginning two months prior to completion, extended program participation an additional four months. Based upon this design and the two-year grant period, eight months was chosen as a consistent estimate of the "in-program" period for both the PIR and control groups.

This section addresses the following research objectives for the eight-month period.

- Determine the relative effectiveness of two types of probation for high-risk offenders in reducing drug use and improving life skills and employment or educational opportunities. (NOTE: The effectiveness of the intervention in reducing criminality is presented in the following chapter on recidivism.)
- Assess the characteristics of high-risk probationers who successfully complete probation without becoming involved in the criminal justice system during probation. The comparison includes sociodemographic characteristics, drug and criminal behavior patterns, and daily life patterns.

The following hypotheses are tested to assess the extent to which the two probation programs contribute to rehabilitation of drug-involved offenders.

- Provision of drug treatment within the PIR program reduces subsequent drug use for high-risk probationers. (NOTE: Reductions in criminality are presented in Chapter 7.)

- Successful outcomes of reduced drug use and criminality are associated with specific characteristics of offenders.

This chapter presents an in-depth analysis of the performance of probationers during the eight-month "in-program" period.

STATUS AT EIGHT MONTHS

At the end of the eight-month period of supervision, 61 of the PIR participants (29%) were still in the PIR program and 18 percent were assigned to Level I or II supervision (Table 28). Those transferred to Level I or II supervision include individuals who did not meet the screening criteria, as well as those who had problems in the PIR program (e.g., those who missed PIR classes, tested positive for drug use, etc.). However, when the analysis is restricted to the 148 PIR probationers who were eligible for PIR, the proportion under each level of supervision is similar. Forty-two of those assigned to PIR had absconded (20%), with a warrant issued, compared to seven percent of those in the control group. In PIR, many of these individuals never attended the initial orientation for PIR. This loss of probationers between assignment to PIR and actual program entry (or "slippage," as defined by Inciardi, McBride, and Weinman, 1993) is particularly problematic. The partnership between probation and treatment was designed to reduce this problem, consistent with the National Institute on Drug Abuse's (NIDA) goal to promote collaboration between criminal justice and drug treatment (Wellisch, Prendergast, and Anglin, 1993). About three of ten probationers in both groups were in custody. Only five percent of the PIR group had progressed to "the bank," compared to 12 percent of the control group. Banked cases report to probation through the mail, the lowest level of supervision available in San Diego County.

Table 28

LEVEL OF SUPERVISION AFTER EIGHT MONTHS OF SUPERVISION
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data

	PIR	Control
PIR	29%	n/a
Level I/Level II	18%	52%
Banked	5%	12%
Custody	28%	30%
Warrant/Unknown[1]	20%	7%
TOTAL SAMPLE	**209**	**151**

[1] *For the PIR group, includes 19% with warrants and 1% with an unknown level of supervision. These percentages are 6% and 1% for the control group, respectively.*

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding. Significant at .05 level.

Another measure of status at eight months is the classification used by PIR staff. Only six percent of probationers assigned to PIR graduated from the program during the first eight months of community supervision (Table 29). An additional 27 percent completed the first eight months of the program, for a total of 69 completers (33%). In contrast, 78 percent of the PIR probationers interviewed at intake believed that they had a good or very good chance of successfully completing probation (Table 35). This suggests either a high level of motivation at the beginning of the program for most participants or a good ability to act willing.

Unsuccessful PIR participants left the program in several ways. Thirty-four percent (34%) were removed through probation revocation, which usually included custody time. Thirteen percent (13%) of the PIR group was transferred to regular supervision because they were deemed unfit for the program by program staff (e.g., dual diagnosis, only use alcohol, etc.). After eight months, 18 percent had absconded. These findings reflect the dual purposes of PIR, which include surveillance and public protection. Perhaps a more proactive approach to placing and maintaining offenders in the program would increase the number who at least receive the initial phases of treatment. For example, if probation officers had the ability to follow-up with defendants within 48 hours of sentencing and/or release from jail, orientation and class attendance could be expanded.

Table 29

PIR STATUS
PIR Probation Group
Case Tracking Data

Graduated	6%
Still in Program	27%
Removed from PIR Through Probation Revocation	34%
Transfer to Regular Probation	13%
Absconded	18%
Other	2%
TOTAL SAMPLE	**209**

A warrant was issued for significantly more PIR participants during the eight-month evaluation period than for the control group (not shown). The high percentage of warrants issued illustrates the need for more follow-up by probation officers with offenders assigned to PIR. Difficulties in retaining probationers in the program are not unique to PIR. As Anglin and Hser (1991) assert, the key social policy question resulting from prior evaluations of drug treatment programs is "how to increase the number of individuals who are treated." Longer retention has consistently been related to reduced drug use and criminality. For PIR, these results could also be affected by probation officers for the control group requesting warrants less frequently. Due to the lower level of supervision for the control group, probation officers may not notice missed meetings as often.

It is frequently asserted that offenders should be financially accountable for the costs of the criminal justice system. The counter argument is that the ability to pay is limited and the costs of the collection process outweigh any financial gains for criminal justice programs. The results from this study confirm that financial accountability is difficult to enforce (Table 30). Most in both groups were not paying fees after eight months of supervision.

Table 30

PAYMENT STATUS
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data

	PIR	Control[1]
Paid/Paying	8%	10%
Payment Plan Delinquent	41%	30%
No Attempt to Pay	51%	60%
TOTAL SAMPLE	**186**	**127**

[1] *Based upon those ordered to pay restitution, probation fees, fines, and/or other types of payment.*

NOTE: Not significant at .05 level. Does not include "unknown."

SUBSTANCE USE

During both the intake and follow-up interviews, probationers were asked about their drug use patterns. As was discussed in Chapter 5, both the PIR and control groups reported habitual drug use during intake interviews. The percentage of respondents admitting habitual drug use is lower in the follow-up interview. Data on urinalysis results are presented in Chapter 7.

Over the eight-month period, more than half in both groups indicated that they had used alcohol (Table 31). Over two-thirds (70%) of the PIR probationers admitted to using drugs during the eight months of supervision, down from 92 percent at intake. The control group was even less likely to report drug use at follow-up, down 46 percent. Further, participants in PIR were heavier drug users than the control group. During intake interviews, 49 percent of the PIR group habitually used methamphetamines, compared to 29 percent of the control group. Seventeen percent (17%) of the PIR group used methamphetamines at least weekly during the eight-month period, based upon self-report. None of the control group reported methamphetamine or heroin use during the "in-program" period. Part of the recovery process is acknowledging substance abuse as a problem. Therefore, differences in drug use reported during the eight-month period may be due to a greater understanding and acceptance of their drug use by PIR participants.

Table 31

DRUG USE PATTERNS DURING EIGHT MONTHS OF SUPERVISION
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Intake and Follow-Up Interviews with Probationers

	PIR			Control		
	Intake	Follow-Up	Change	Intake	Follow-Up	Change
Habitual Drug Use						
Heroin	13%	7%	-6%	9%	0%	-9%
Cocaine/Crack	19%	4%	-15%	20%	3%	-17%
PCP	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	-3%
Methamphetamine	49%	17%	-32%	29%	0%	-29%
Marijuana	40%	9%	-31%	37%	6%	-31%
LSD	0%	2%	2%	0%	0%	0%
Alcohol	45%	17%	-28%	49%	29%	-20%
Some Drug Use						
Alcohol Use	64%	57%	-7%	66%	66%	0%
Illicit Drugs Use[1]	92%	70%	-22%	83%	37%	-46%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**46-47**	**45-47**		**35**	**33-35**	

[1]*Significant at .05 level for follow-up interviews.*

NOTE: Habitual is defined as weekly or more frequent use. Percentages are based upon multiple responses. Does not include "unknown." Therefore, the number of probationers responding to each question varies.

Discussions with PIR staff revealed many ideas for measuring program success other than lower criminality and drug use. PIR staff noted that drug dependence could be transferred to other substances (e.g., cigarettes). Therefore, questions were included in the follow-up interview regarding cigarette smoking (Table 32). A significantly greater number of PIR probationers indicated that they smoked cigarettes during the eight-month period (85%) compared to the control group (57%). Though a similar proportion of the smokers in both groups tried to quit smoking, PIR smokers were more successful (53% of the PIR group who tried to quit smoking did quit, while 38% of the control "kicked the habit"). The tools presented in the PIR program for dealing with addiction and the support system available through PIR classes may be responsible for this difference.

Table 32

CIGARETTE USE DURING EIGHT MONTHS OF SUPERVISION
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Follow-Up Interviews with Probationers

	PIR	Control
Smoked cigarettes[1]	85%	57%
Tried to quit smoking[2]	38%	40%
Success at quitting[3]	53%	38%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**47**	**35**

[1]*Significant at .05 level.*
[2]*Based upon those stating that they smoked.*
[3]*Based upon those stating that they tried to quit smoking.*

CHANGES IN LIFESTYLE

Two primary objectives of PIR are to assist probationers in obtaining employment and education. A higher percentage of the control group attended educational classes during the eight-month supervision period or were in school at the time of the follow-up interview (Table 33). However, two individuals in each group received their diploma (not shown).

Relatively the same proportion of probationers were employed in each group after eight months of supervision, regardless of full- or part-time status. Compared to the case tracking data which showed less than half of each group was employed based upon the information collected during the presentence investigation (Table 7), the level of employment at follow-up is promising. The increase for PIR was from 30 percent employed at intake to 60 percent after eight months of supervision. There were no significant differences between the two groups after the intervention, and PIR provided more employment assistance. Therefore, more investigation is needed to isolate specific methods of successfully affecting significant educational attainment and employment mobility among offenders.

Most probationers were satisfied with their living situation and the way they were spending their time after eight months of supervision. The majority indicated that their family and friends had been supportive.

Table 33

CHANGES REGARDING LIFE SITUATION
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Intake and Follow-Up Interviews with Probationers

Measure	PIR Intake	PIR Follow-Up	PIR Change	Control Intake	Control Follow-Up	Control Change
Received Additional Education	n/a	15%	n/a	n/a	34%	n/a
In School	0%	9%	9%	3%	20%	17%
Plan to Continue School	64%	88%	24%	85%	78%	-7%
Employed	30%	60%	30%	34%	57%	23%
Satisfied with Living Arrangements	53%	68%	15%	74%	86%	12%
Satisfied with Way Spending Time	72%	72%	0%	77%	83%	6%
Friends Supportive	62%	66%	4%	54%	54%	0%
Family Supportive	83%	81%	-2%	80%	80%	0%
Had Child During Eight Months	n/a	9%	n/a	n/a	18%	n/a
Moved During Eight Months	n/a	51%	n/a	n/a	34%	n/a
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**42-46**	**40-47**		**33-35**	**27-35**	

NOTE: Does not include "unknown." Therefore, the number of probationers responding to each question varies. Not significant at .05 level.

SERVICES NEEDED

During the intake and follow-up interviews, respondents indicated their need for specific types of services similar to those provided by PIR (Table 34). At intake, over half of the PIR probationers indicated a need for drug treatment (56%). Almost all noted a need for additional education (93%), and almost two-thirds expressed a need for employment assistance and counseling (61% each). Findings suggest that the PIR program does address the needs identified by probationers; however, there was not a significant change in services needed after participating in the program for up to eight months, despite the more in-depth program provided. The needs of the control group went down or stayed relatively the same for all categories of services.

Compared to those in the control group, PIR participants were more likely to indicate a need for drug treatment and counseling at the end of the eight-month supervision period. This finding is an indication that drug abuse is a chronic, relapsing condition requiring long-term intervention. As asserted by Prendergast, Anglin, and Wellisch (1994), drug dependence has multiple causes for which there is no one-time "cure" and treatment and supervision are required for an extended time to reduce the possibility of relapse (i.e., 12 to 24 months to produce substantial and sustained change). A high percentage in both groups said they still needed job training, education, and employment assistance. One positive change was a decrease in PIR probationers needing employment assistance, from 61 percent at intake to 50 percent after eight months.

The continuing need for services may reflect the complex nature of the problems faced by drug-abusing offenders when released to the community, such as remaining clean and sober and maintaining employment. It may be unrealistic to expect that these problems can be solved without more intensive, longer-term interventions.

Table 34

TYPES OF SERVICES NEEDED
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Intake and Follow-Up Interviews with Probationers

	PIR			Control		
Service	Intake	Follow-Up	Change	Intake	Follow-Up	Change
Drug Treatment	56%	50%	-6%	34%	24%	-10%
Alcohol Treatment	10%	18%	8%	22%	18%	-4%
Counseling	61%	64%	3%	34%	18%	-16%
Job Training	49%	52%	3%	69%	55%	-14%
Education	93%	93%	0%	94%	85%	-9%
Employment Assistance	61%	50%	-11%	63%	61%	-2%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**41**	**44**		**32**	**33**	

NOTE: Percentages are based upon multiple responses. Does not include "unknown."

PROBATIONER OPINIONS REGARDING PROBATION AND TREATMENT

For the most part, opinions regarding probation and treatment programs after eight months of supervision were similar for the two study groups (Table 35). Most felt that their probation officer, probation term, and treatment program helped them. Views regarding their probation officer were more positive than when asked to speculate at intake. PIR participants were slightly more likely to say that the probation term and drug treatment program were helpful. The majority in both groups also stated that they would successfully complete their probation term and would not commit a new offense. The primary difference between the two groups was that a higher percentage in the PIR program felt that probation limited their activities and that it was difficult to comply with the terms of probation. These findings are consistent with evaluations of methadone maintenance programs which cite constraining program requirements as reasons for continued addiction rather than program participation (Anglin and McGlothlin, 1985). The limitations and difficulties involved in PIR compliance may be reasons for the high rate of absconding. The PIR program design does require a greater time commitment than regular high-risk supervision. In order to improve program retention, PIR staff may want to consider either modifying the program design or developing methods for assisting probationers in meeting time commitments.

Table 35

OPINIONS REGARDING PROBATION AND TREATMENT PROGRAMS
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Intake and Follow-Up Interviews with Probationers

Question/Statement	PIR Intake	PIR Follow-Up	PIR Change	Control Intake	Control Follow-Up	Control Change
Probation Officer Helpful	40%	68%	28%	40%	67%	27%
Probation Term Helped[1]	83%	74%	-9%	74%	69%	-5%
Probation Limited Activities[1, 2]	69%	57%	-12%	26%	37%	11%
Difficult to Comply with Terms[1, 3]	27%	53%	26%	17%	23%	6%
Treatment Program Helpful[1]	n/a	87%	n/a	n/a	75%	n/a
Good Chance of Completing Probation	84%	86%	2%	91%	82%	-9%
Good Chance of Committing New Crime	4%	2%	-2%	6%	3%	-3%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**45-46**	**43-47**		**34-35**	**33-35**	

[1]Based upon those responding affirmatively.
[2]Significant at .05 level for intake interviews.
[3]Significant at .05 level for follow-up interviews.

NOTE: Does not include "unknown." Therefore, the number of probationers responding to each question varies.

Probationers assigned to PIR did not like the time commitment. During follow-up interviews, of those stating that probation was not helpful, 67 percent stated that the reason was because it wasted their time (not shown). The most frequently stated activities that were limited all related to time: lack of time to seek employment, spend with family and friends, and enjoy as leisure (not shown). These findings reflect the level of supervision and program requirements, such as PIR meetings, as well as lack of interest in PIR by assigned probationers. PIR staff may want to consider modifying program content to make it more interesting and helpful for participants and, thereby, increase program retention.

When interviewed upon assignment to PIR, slightly more in the PIR group than the control group thought that they would have difficulty complying with the conditions of probation. The increased supervision in PIR was reflected in the difficulties listed by PIR respondents during follow-up interviews: loss of freedom, conflicts with employment schedule, and challenge of remaining sober (not shown). Transportation was also more of an issue for PIR participants due to the fact that they were required to attend PIR meetings three times a week and recovery group meetings twice a week. In contrast, requirements for probationers in the control group were monthly visits with their probation officer and drug testing, with few other demands.

After eight months of probation supervision (as shown in Table 35), the PIR group still viewed the terms of probation as difficult (53% compared to 23% of the controls). Difficulties included freedom constraints and strict supervision. The difference between the intake and follow-up interview results may be due to the fact that they did not fully comprehend the requirements of the program until they participated in PIR for some time.

Most probationers in both groups thought drug treatment was helpful. Of the PIR participants, 87 percent felt that the program was helpful, compared to 75 percent of the controls. The PIR program design is mirrored in the reasons PIR participants gave for why the programs helped them. The two most frequent responses were the group process (77%) and focus on sobriety (64%). The control group also cited group interaction as a beneficial component of drug treatment (not shown).

With regard to chances for completing their probation term, probationers in both groups noted little change over time, with respondents being slightly more positive during the follow-up interview. PIR probationers may have experienced initial concern regarding level of supervision in the beginning since they were interviewed after the PIR orientation, which outlined all requirements of PIR.

Proportionately higher numbers in both groups indicated at follow-up that the chances of committing a new crime were poor. These findings are interesting considering that interviews were conducted regardless of criminal justice status (e.g., incarcerated). However, the information obtained during follow-up interviews is probably slightly skewed toward positive responses. Scheduling interviews with successful probationers was much more likely to occur than for those in custody (especially prison), while absconders were impossible to locate.

Probationers were asked an open-ended question regarding their likes and dislikes about their probation term during the past eight months. It is not surprising that the most common "like" stated by both groups was "nothing" (not shown). However, approximately one-third of each group liked the structure provided by probation.

The "dislikes" revealed during the follow-up interviews illuminated unexpected consequences of PIR. Participants in PIR did not like the time commitment (41%) and loss of control over their own lives (30%). These perceived negative aspects may have contributed to low completion rates.

The conditions viewed by probationers as helpful are consistent with the elements of PIR: including sobriety (67% of PIR probationers and 41% of control group), recovery group participation (57% of PIR group and 27% of those on regular high-risk supervision), drug testing (47% for PIR participants and 23% for control group), PIR meeting attendance, and counseling/therapy (Table 36). This information is of particular interest considering the question was open-ended. That is, probationers were not asked specifically if each element of PIR was helpful. Instead, they were asked what probation conditions or programs helped them, and responses were stated without prompting by interviewers. The reason the control group viewed recovery group meeting attendance as a condition is because this condition was sometimes listed on the probation order as available based upon the probation officer's discretion.

Table 36

HELPFUL PROBATION CONDITIONS
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Follow-Up Interviews with Probationers

Probation Condition	PIR	Control
Drug/Alcohol Treatment	3%	0%
Restitution/Fee/Fine/Other Payment	3%	14%
Job Training	0%	9%
Education	0%	9%
Employment	17%	14%
Counseling/Therapy	37%	0%
Recovery Group Meetings	57%	27%
Community Service	3%	5%
Not be in Certain Places	7%	5%
No Association with Certain People	13%	9%
No Alcohol Use	17%	5%
No Drug Use/Possession	67%	41%
Drug Testing	47%	23%
Increased Testing	3%	n/a
Do Not Leave the County	3%	0%
Meeting with Probation Officer	13%	32%
PIR Meetings	43%	n/a
Relapse Prevention Program	3%	n/a
Detoxification	3%	0%
Custody	3%	5%
Nothing	3%	18%
Other	7%	0%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**30**	**22**

NOTE: Percentages are based upon multiple responses. Does not include "unknown."

Respondents were asked if they agreed or disagreed with a series of statements regarding probation and drug treatment. Tables 37 and 38 present the responses for questions asked on both the intake and follow-up interviews. The percentages represent those who agreed or strongly agreed with the statements. Only a small percentage of either group felt that there was nothing helpful about probation. This opinion increased for the control group, from 17 percent agreeing at intake and 26 percent at follow-up. When combining this finding with the results presented earlier on the fact that a high proportion of probationers reported that they like "nothing" about probation, it seems that, although the respondents did not like being supervised, they did find some aspects helpful.

From intake to follow-up, the proportion of each group agreeing with the statement, "I am not happy about being on probation," decreased. However, approximately half of both groups still agreed with the statement after eight months of supervision. The percentage stating that they would not get in trouble again due to probation increased over the eight-month period for the PIR group and decreased for the control group. For PIR probationers, the proportion who felt they would or did learn about themselves while on probation increased from 80 percent to 91 percent. In contrast, the proportion dropped from intake to follow-up for the control group. These findings are an indication that the PIR program may have had a positive impact on some probationers.

Table 37

OPINIONS REGARDING PROBATION[1]
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Intake and Follow-Up Interviews with Probationers

Statement	PIR Intake	PIR Follow-Up	PIR Change	Control Intake	Control Follow-Up	Control Change
There is nothing about probation that will help/is helping me.	15%	17%	2%	17%	26%	9%
I will learn/am learning things about myself while on probation[2].	80%	91%	11%	63%	60%	-3%
I am not happy about being on probation.	69%	51%	-18%	54%	49%	-5%
Because of my experience on probation, I will probably not get in trouble again.	63%	70%	7%	80%	69%	-11%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**45-46**	**47**		**35**	**35**	

[1]Based upon those indicating agreement or strong agreement with each statement.
[2]Significant at .05 level for follow-up interviews.

NOTE: Does not include "unknown." Therefore, the number of probationers responding to each question varies.

Next, respondents were asked their opinions regarding the drug treatment (Table 38). The proportion of PIR participants agreeing with the statement, "Participation in this drug program is a game I will play to get out of being incarcerated," decreased significantly from intake to follow-up (33% and 4%, respectively). For the control group, this proportion rose. This changed viewpoint suggests that PIR probationers took the drug treatment program more seriously as a result of participation in PIR. Changes were minimal for the other questions asked of the PIR group. At intake, 83 percent felt that the drug program would be helpful, while 78 percent stated that it actually was helpful eight months later. The proportion of the control group went down 11% on this measure. About the same percentage indicated that the drug program staff set a good example for probationers (over 80% at intake and follow-up for both groups). These high responses may be related to the fact that treatment staff admit to having had drug or alcohol-related problems and are now sober and working to help others.

Table 38

OPINIONS REGARDING DRUG TREATMENT PROGRAM[1]
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Intake and Follow-Up Interviews with Probationers

Statement	PIR Intake	PIR Follow-Up	PIR Change	Control[2] Intake	Control[2] Follow-Up	Control[2] Change
Participation in this drug program is a game I will play to get out of being incarcerated[3].	33%	4%	-29%	13%	25%	12%
This drug program will probably help me/is helping me to stay off drugs.	83%	78%	-5%	80%	69%	-11%
I would like to be a staff member in a drug program.	41%	44%	3%	53%	44%	-9%
The drug program staff sets an example for a life style without drugs.	82%	89%	7%	87%	88%	1%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**45-46**	**44-45**		**15**	**16**	

[1]Based upon those indicating agreement or strong agreement with each statement.
[2]Based upon those with drug treatment as a condition of probation.
[3]Significant at .05 level for follow-up interviews.

NOTE: Does not include "unknown." Therefore, the number of probationers responding to each question varies.

Treatment staff felt that a desire among probationers to become drug treatment counselors might indicate an investment in the recovery process; however, the proportion stating that they wanted to be a drug program staff member did not increase significantly over time (41% at intake to 44%). The control group experienced a nine percent decline in their agreement with this question.

An indication that the drug treatment provided by PIR positively influenced participants is shown through the responses to the statement regarding the ability of the program to increase sobriety. From intake to follow-up, the proportion of the PIR group agreeing that PIR helps reduce drug use remained relatively stable. However, the same comparison for the control group went from 80 percent at intake to 69 percent at follow-up. Perhaps there were unique components of PIR (e.g., the partnership between treatment and probation staff located in the same office space) that maintained the ability of the program to encourage sobriety.

At follow-up, a higher percentage of probationers assigned to PIR indicated that they would participate if given the choice, 46 percent compared to 24 percent at intake, though the difference is not significant (not shown). The most frequently stated reasons for choosing PIR included the support provided by the program (76%) and the focus on reducing drug use (52%).

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH PIR COMPLETION

Table 39 shows the characteristics of those who completed the PIR program compared to those who did not successfully complete eight months of PIR. Completers are defined as those who either graduated or were still in the program after eight months. Non-completers were those no longer in PIR due to a probation revocation, transfer to regular supervision because they were determined by program staff to be unsuitable for PIR (e.g., dual diagnosis), or issuance of a warrant because the probationer absconded. In general, those who graduated or were still in PIR after eight months of supervision were equally likely to be under or over 30 and to be methamphetamine or other drug users. The majority were single male felons. Over 50 percent were White, employed, and high school graduates. These proportions were similar to the entire group assigned to PIR during the study period.

To determine which factors, if any, were significantly associated with satisfactory completion of PIR, bivariate analyses were conducted. Unfortunately, more in-depth analysis was not possible. The small numbers, or zero expected values in some cells, would have affected the accuracy of the results of a logit regression analysis. Completion is only measurable for PIR cases. Use of this variable as the dependent factor in the logit models would have reduced the entire sample considerably. Further, logit analysis can only be applied to equivalent groups; subgroups cannot be singled out.

Table 39

CHARACTERISTICS OF PIR PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS
Case Tracking Data

Characteristic	Completers	Non-Completers
Average Age	30	29
Average Age at First Arrest[1]	24	22
Sex		
Male	78%	81%
Female	22%	19%
Race/Ethnicity		
White	59%	46%
Black	9%	19%
Hispanic	26%	33%
Other	6%	2%
Single Marital Status	94%	89%
High School Graduate	60%	49%
Employed[1]	57%	40%
Conviction Offense		
Felony	97%	98%
Misdemeanor	1%	2%
Other	2%	0%
Drug-Related Conviction Offense	55%	51%
Primary Drug Problem		
Heroin	11%	19%
Cocaine	14%	9%
Methamphetamines[1]	53%	24%
Marijuana	11%	6%
Habitual Use of Primary Drug[1,2]	16%	31%
Live with Family[3]	76%	63%
Dependent Children	58%	53%
TOTAL SAMPLE	**51-69**	**86-140**

[1]Significant at the .05 level.
[2]Based upon SCADDS form. Habitual is defined as weekly or more frequent use.
[3]Family is defined as spouse, children, or parents.

NOTE: Does not include "unknown." Therefore, the total sample varies for each characteristic. Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Table 40 presents the characteristics of the PIR group which are associated with program completion. Each relationship shown in Table 40 is statistically significant. Completers were significantly more likely to be 30 years of age or older, employed prior to arrest, have a felony charge at first arrest, state that methamphetamines are their drug of choice, and deny using drugs when asked about the frequency of use. When the analysis is restricted to those who are eligible for PIR, frequency of drug use is no longer significantly associated with completing PIR. Therefore, the data indicate that maturity, employment, serious criminal history, and drug of choice may be related to program completion.

Table 40

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH COMPLETION OF PIR
Characteristics of Probationers at Intake
PIR Probation Group
Case Tracking Data

Characteristics	Completers	Non-Completers
Age at Intake (n=209)		
29 and under	26%	74%
30 and over	42%	58%
Employed Prior to Arrest (n=195)		
Yes	40%	60%
No	25%	75%
Highest Charge First Arrest (n=209)		
Felony	40%	60%
Misdemeanor	26%	74%
Other	13%	88%
Primary Drug of Choice at Intake (n=197)		
Methamphetamines	52%	48%
Other	24%	76%
Frequency of Drug Use at Intake (n=149)		
Did Not Use	57%	43%
Less than once a week	39%	61%
Once a week or more	27%	73%

NOTE: Significant at the .05 level. Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding. Comparisons are made down each column.

These results point to a number of issues related to program selection criteria and successful completion of the program. For example, older participants may be more receptive to this type of program, or they may be more mature and willing to deal with their problems at the time they are placed in PIR. Further, those who already achieved

some of the goals of the program (e.g., employment) were more likely to complete the first eight months of probation in the community. This suggests that employment is important for probationers to succeed. Those individuals with jobs upon assignment to probation were more successful in PIR.

The data also imply that the program could be effective in retaining high-risk probationers. Though each category of highest charge at first arrest is more associated with removal from PIR, a significant proportion (40%) of those who completed eight months of the program were arrested for a felony during the first arrest of their lives, according to official records.

Methamphetamine users were more likely to complete PIR than other types of drug users. The addictive nature of certain drugs (e.g., heroin and cocaine) may affect ultimate success rates. As outlined by Lipton and Wexler (1987), heroin and cocaine users are particularly problematic because they constitute a significant proportion of our criminal justice population, their crime is highly correlated with their daily use of these drugs, and they generally have higher failure-to-appear and re-arrest rates than other segments of the crime-involved population. Lipton and Wexler argue that heroin and cocaine abusers require serious threats of arrest, conviction, and incarceration to keep them in drug treatment programs. Further, they require longer stays in the program than other types of drug-involved offenders: nine to twelve months. However, more recently one evaluation of recovery services concluded that drug of choice did not significantly impact success rates. All types of drug users significantly reduced their drug use (Gerstein, et al, 1994).

Interestingly, PIR completers were more likely than non-completers to have denied drug use upon assignment to the PIR program. A common belief is that compulsory treatment may not be effective because substance abusers must recognize their problem and want to change before treatment can be helpful. However, for substance abusers involved in the criminal justice system, research has found that enforced drug treatment has had a significant effect for those who remain in the program (Visher, 1990). This is not to say that programs like PIR should only target selected types of probationers who are most likely to complete the program, but that these factors must be taken into consideration in designing programs to meet specific needs of probationers.

The factors ***not*** associated with PIR completion, based upon the bivariate analysis, included:

- highest grade completed
- marital status
- who living with (spouse/parent/child)
- gender
- race/ethnicity
- highest charge during baseline (six months prior to instant offense)

- level of supervision at intake
- age at first arrest.

The fact that race/ethnicity is not associated with program completion is of particular significance because (as presented in Chapter 5) the PIR group had a significantly lower proportion of Blacks than the control group. If race would have been associated with PIR completion, it could have confounded the study results.

CONCLUSIONS

A relatively large proportion of the PIR sample absconded within the eight-month period compared to the control group. Only one-third of the probationers in PIR actually graduated or were still in the program after the eight-month intervention period. Program retention is one area in which PIR may be able to improve performance by instituting more aggressive methods of ensuring that PIR is delivered to a larger percentage of those assigned to the program. The next chapter will examine if the rate of absconding impacted recidivism measures.

With respect to drug use, the proportion of PIR participants reporting drug use during the eight-month supervision period was higher than the control group. However, of drug treatment participants, all probationers interviewed stated that drug treatment was helpful due to the group process and focus on sobriety, two key elements of PIR.

Some positive changes were noted by probationers in employment, plans for school, support of family and friends, and satisfaction with living situation. In addition, probationers were more optimistic about their chance of succeeding on probation. Further, PIR participants were slightly more likely to say that the probation term and drug treatment program were helpful. These positive views are interesting in light of the dissatisfaction with the restrictive nature of PIR. The dislike by PIR participants of the punitive nature of PIR validates Petersilia and Turner's (1993) assertion that intensive supervision provides heavier punishments for offenders who traditionally receive little monitoring (i.e., repairing the net of social control). Many high-risk offenders targeted by PIR may have been incarcerated prior to budgetary constraints. Therefore, by increasing the level of supervision for offenders usually receiving less restrictive punishments, under current criminal justice policies, the net of punishment has recaptured high-risk offenders who pose a threat to public safety.

Almost half (46%) of the PIR probationers interviewed after eight months of supervision would choose to participate in the program if given the option, compared to 31 percent at intake. These findings suggest that probationers may need the support and structure in their lives, which is provided, in part, by PIR and probation. That is, the regular meetings with probation officers and PIR treatment staff, PIR classes, and recovery group meetings organize participants' time and provide a support system previously unattainable.

Further, study results indicate that the PIR program correctly identified the needs of drug-abusing probationers, including drug treatment, education, employment assistance, and counseling. However, the needs of probationers remained the same after eight months. The continuing need for services may reflect the complex nature of the problems faced by drug-abusing offenders when released to the community, such as maintaining sobriety and employment. It may be unrealistic to expect that these problems can be solved without longer-term interventions.

Attributes that seem to be associated with program completion include employment, as reported during the presentence investigation, and maturity level, as measured by age. The fact that a majority of those who completed PIR were employed prior to assignment to the program indicates the crucial need for employment among probationers to divert them from drug abuse and crime. It is important to note, however, that these measures were determined prior to probation assignment, therefore, employment status could change during the course of the probation term. Other than through follow-up interviews, there was no systematic method for obtaining employment information. Due to the relatively small number of follow-up interviews completed, follow-up data could not be entered into the bivariate analysis.

PIR also seems to be more effective in providing treatment to drug offenders using methamphetamines. This finding may reflect unique characteristics of those who tend to use this drug (i.e., Whites). The data might also lead one to believe that the level of usage upon assignment to the program is lower for those who complete PIR. However, the data are based upon self-report and may be more a reflection of denial of a drug problem rather than infrequent drug use.

The goals of intensive probation programs, such as PIR, are not only to provide drug treatment, but also to intensively monitor probationers, providing them with less opportunity to use drugs and commit crimes. The dual purposes present a dilemma for determining who should be eligible for intensive probation: those who present the greatest risk to others or those who are amenable to treatment. It is apparent from the findings that certain probationers (i.e., older, employed, high-risk methamphetamine users) have a better chance to at least complete a program like PIR, which can be viewed as a first step in reducing drug use and crime.

The following chapter presents the results from the impact assessment, which measures repeat offenses over a 14-month period.

CHAPTER 7
PROGRAM IMPACT: RECIDIVISM MEASURES

PROGRAM IMPACT: RECIDIVISM MEASURES

INTRODUCTION

After probationers graduate/complete PIR, they are placed on regular formal probation with supervision levels consistent with their classification (minimum, medium, or maximum). For this project, a period of 14 months was used to evaluate the effectiveness of PIR in reducing criminality. This period includes the eight-month "in-program" period and an additional six months following the intervention to determine the impact of the program.

The literature suggests that longer follow-up periods provide a better assessment of long-term program impacts and allow a more detailed analysis of survival rates related to new offenses (Petersilia and Turner, 1993). The funding period did not provide sufficient time for a follow-up period longer than six months after program intervention for all experimental and control cases.

This section addresses the following research objectives for the follow-up period.

- Assess the violation and return to custody rates of intensive probation for high-risk offenders in two groups receiving different levels of supervision and treatment.

- Determine the relative effectiveness of two types of probation for high-risk offenders in reducing criminal behavior. (NOTE: The impact of supervision and treatment on reducing drug use and improving life skills and employment or education opportunities was presented in the previous chapter.)

The following hypothesis is tested to assess the extent to which the two probation programs contribute to rehabilitation of drug-involved offenders.

- Provision of drug treatment within the PIR program will reduce subsequent criminal behavior for high-risk probationers. (NOTE: Reductions in drug use were presented in Chapter 6.)

Restriction of the analysis to those eligible for PIR results in the same rates of recidivism. Any variations in sample size are due to the exclusion of unknown values in the analysis.

RECIDIVISM

The closer supervision of PIR participants resulted in a significantly higher percentage with technical violations during eights months of supervision (94% compared to 75% for the comparison group). This finding is similar to the results of Petersilia and Turner's nationwide evaluation of intensive supervision programs (1993). However, there were no significant differences in new arrest or conviction rates for probationers in the PIR and the control group, when comparing the proportion arrested or convicted for new crimes in the eight-month, six-month and 14-month follow-up periods (Table 41). PIR was designed to detect more violations and use graduated sanctions as punishments rather than return probationers to custody. Therefore, significantly higher proportions with technical violations may not be a good measure of recidivism. To account for this, the analysis is also presented excluding probation violations. Further, simply assessing the return to custody rates may not be the best measure of recidivism. Thus, the findings presented in this chapter include arrest and conviction rates, survival analysis, changes in nature of offending over time, and factors associated with criminality.

Table 41

TECHNICAL VIOLATIONS, NEW ARRESTS, AND NEW CONVICTIONS
Fourteen Months of Supervision
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data

Time Frame	New Offense Including Probation Violations			New Offense Excluding Probation Violations		
	PIR	Control	Difference	PIR	Control	Difference
Technical Violations						
Eight Months of Supervision[1]	94%	75%	-19%	n/a	n/a	n/a
Arrests						
First Eight Months of Supervision	52%	54%	2%	38%	45%	7%
Six Months After Intervention	31%	36%	5%	22%	30%	8%
Fourteen-Month Total	69%	72%	3%	52%	60%	8%
Convictions						
First Eight Months of Supervision	48%	49%	1%	39%	41%	2%
Six Months After Intervention	27%	32%	5%	22%	28%	6%
Fourteen-Month Total	64%	70%	6%	53%	60%	7%
TOTAL SAMPLE	**209**	**151**		**209**	**151**	

[1]*Significant at .05 level.*

Initial examination of the data reveals differences between PIR and the control group. Fewer PIR participants had arrests during the eight-month, six-month, and fourteen-month periods. However, these differences were not statistically significant. In addition, there were no differences in the proportion of probationers with convictions when probation violations were included or excluded. Ideally, the analysis could have excluded absconders to more accurately assess the impact of each intervention on probationers. Unfortunately, an accurate measure of when someone absconded was not available.

When analyzing probation violations further, regardless of whether or not the probationer was returned to court, there was a significant difference between the PIR and control groups with regard to the average number of technical violations in the eight-month "in-program" period (Table 42). PIR probationers had more positive tests during supervision than the control group, which is partially related to the level of testing. That is, PIR probation officers were able to detect a higher number of violations through increased supervision (i.e., more frequent contacts with probationer and more drug testing).

Table 42

MEAN NUMBER OF PROBATION VIOLATIONS BY TYPE
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data

	PIR	Control
Eight-Month Period		
Positive Drug Tests[1]	2.8	.6
Missed Recovery Group Meetings[1]	31.8	1.3
Missed PIR Meetings	4.5	n/a
Other Technical Violations[1]	6.5	1.7
Re-arrests	.8	.8
Convictions	.6	.6
Fourteen-Month Period		
Re-arrests	1.2	1.3
Convictions	.9	1.0
TOTAL SAMPLE	**209**	**151**

[1]*Significant at .05 level.*

The number of drug tests was positively correlated with the number of new offenses, according to Pearson's correlation coefficients (not shown), including new crimes and probation violations (i.e., the higher the number of drug tests, the higher the number of arrests). The highest charge for about one-third of the re-arrests was a drug offense (not shown). However, the bivariate and logit analyses revealed that positive drug tests were not associated with new criminality (Tables 50 and 51). This finding suggests that drug tests were effective in detecting drug use, but urinalysis alone is not significantly related to reduced drug use or criminal behavior.

PIR probationers also missed more recovery group meetings and had more technical violations due to higher levels of supervision. The increased contact between probation officers and offenders improved the opportunity for detecting violations of the conditions of probation. It is apparent from the data presented that the more proactive intensive supervision in PIR, with increased levels of drug testing and contacts, resulted in increased detection of probation violations. However, examination of new arrest and conviction rates in the eight-month, six-month and 14-month follow-up periods reveals no significant differences for the PIR and control groups.

When the opportunity for recidivism was included in the analysis by controlling for time on the street, the results were slightly different. Petersilia and Turner (September 1990) compute an annual estimated offense rate which "is the offender's expected number of arrests if he or she were free in the community during the entire year" (the adjusted rate). The estimated annual offense rate, adjusted for street time, was significantly lower for PIR participants (1.0 arrests per year) than the control group (1.7 per year) when the recidivism measure included new crimes ***without*** probation violations (Table 43). When probation violations are included, there is no significant difference. This result may be an indication that probation officers in PIR were more inclined to handle new offenses as probation violations. Increased monitoring resulted in greater detection of violations. However, when the analysis is restricted to those eligible for PIR, the estimated annual arrest rate, excluding probation violations, is no longer significantly different from the control group. Thus, the results presented in Table 43 are confounded slightly because PIR included some probationers who did not meet the selection criteria.

Table 43

ESTIMATED ANNUAL ARREST AND CONVICTION RATES
Adjusted for Street Time During Fourteen-Month Follow-Up Period
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data

Measure	PIR	Control	Difference
Average Number of Arrests	2.3	3.0	.7
Average Number of Arrests, Excluding Probation Violations[1]	1.0	1.7	.7
Average Number of Convictions	1.8	2.3	.5
Average Number of Convictions, Excluding Probation Violations	1.1	1.7	.6
TOTAL SAMPLE	**209**	**149**	

[1]*Significant at .05 level*

Further, the number of sanctions imposed and the range of sanctions for PIR participants were greater than for controls, indicating the use of graduated sanctions prior to return to custody. However, about the same percentage in both groups were returned to a local detention facility or sentenced to prison. About one quarter in each group were returned to local custody and about one in five eventually was sent to prison as a result of violations committed during the first eight months of probation (not shown). Data on technical violations were collected regardless if an arrest occurred or not. Technical violations are typically indications that behavior modification is not happening (e.g., evidence of drug use as measured by positive drug tests, missed recovery group meetings, lack of compliance with payment of fees). When probation officers have a variety of tools (i.e., a list of acceptable graduated sanctions) to use in enforcing accountability among probationers regarding the conditions of probation, the assumption is that incarceration rates will be lower. This is not the case for the study samples. Compared to the controls, the PIR group had a significantly higher proportion with technical violations and a significantly lower average number of re-arrests based upon street time, while the proportion incarcerated was statistically similar. The impact of these findings on program costs are presented in Chapter 8. These findings suggest that the graduated sanctions, as used in this model, were not effective for this sample in reducing return-to-custody rates. Program staff may want to examine the use of graduated sanctions and possible modifications to increase the effectiveness of sanctions in modifying offender behavior.

One factor that affects the ***adjusted*** rates is the amount of time spent in custody. When offenders are incarcerated, they are incapacitated from criminality. They have less opportunity to commit crimes. The probationers in the control group averaged 110 days in custody over the 14-month follow-up period, compared to 90 days for PIR participants (not shown). Therefore, based upon $59 per day, PIR saved $1,180 in custody costs on average. Since the ***actual*** arrest rates for new crimes for the two groups were the same (Table 43), it may be that custody time for the control group provided some level of incapacitation which was accomplished by PIR through other sanctions. If the same results can be achieved without increased custody time, this may help to offset some of the additional costs of PIR treatment.

To further examine recidivism, the number of days during the 14-month evaluation period in which probationers were crime free was compared for each group (Table 44). In addition, the rate of re-offending (i.e., the survival rate) was plotted over time, based upon the date of first arrest after assignment to probation and within the 14-month follow-up period. The survival rate measures the proportion of probationers who had not been re-arrested at one-month intervals over the 14 months (Figure 1 and Figure 2). The advantage of survival analysis is that arrests during the beginning of the evaluation period are treated differently than new crimes committed at the end of the follow-up period. This technique is particularly valuable in assessing the impact of drug treatment because "all-or-nothing" outcomes are inappropriate due to the chronic relapsing nature of drug abuse (Prendergast, Anglin, and Wellisch, 1994). Survival analysis measures the relative reduction in criminality. The average number of arrest free days/months and survival rates based upon new crimes were similar for the PIR and control groups, regardless if probation violations were included or not.

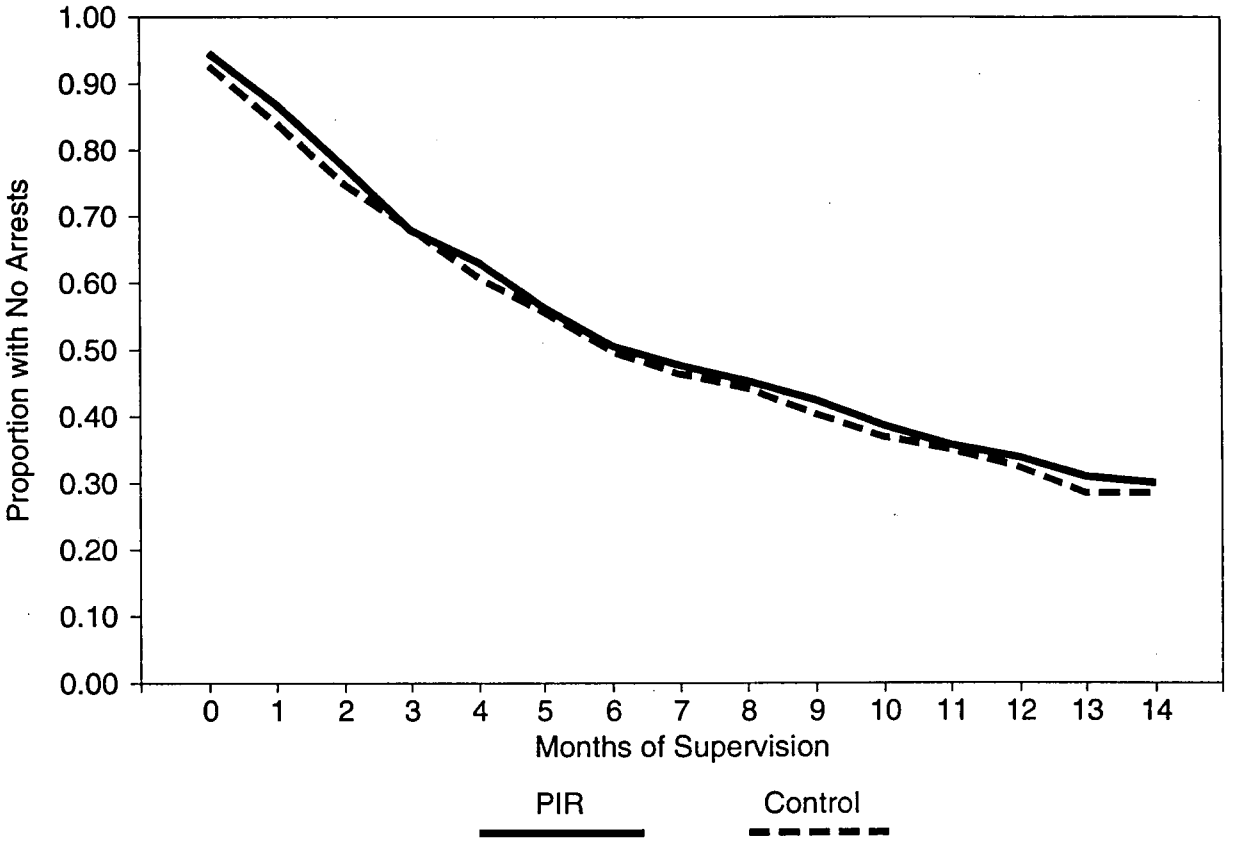
Table 44

TIME ARREST FREE DURING FOURTEEN MONTHS OF SUPERVISION PIR and Control Probation Groups Case Tracking Data

	PIR	Control
Including Probation Violations		
Average Number of Arrest Free Days	242	235
Average Number of Arrest Free Months	8.1	7.8
Excluding Probation Violations		
Average Number of Arrest Free Days	285	262
Average Number of Arrest Free Months	9.5	8.7
TOTAL SAMPLE	**209**	**151**

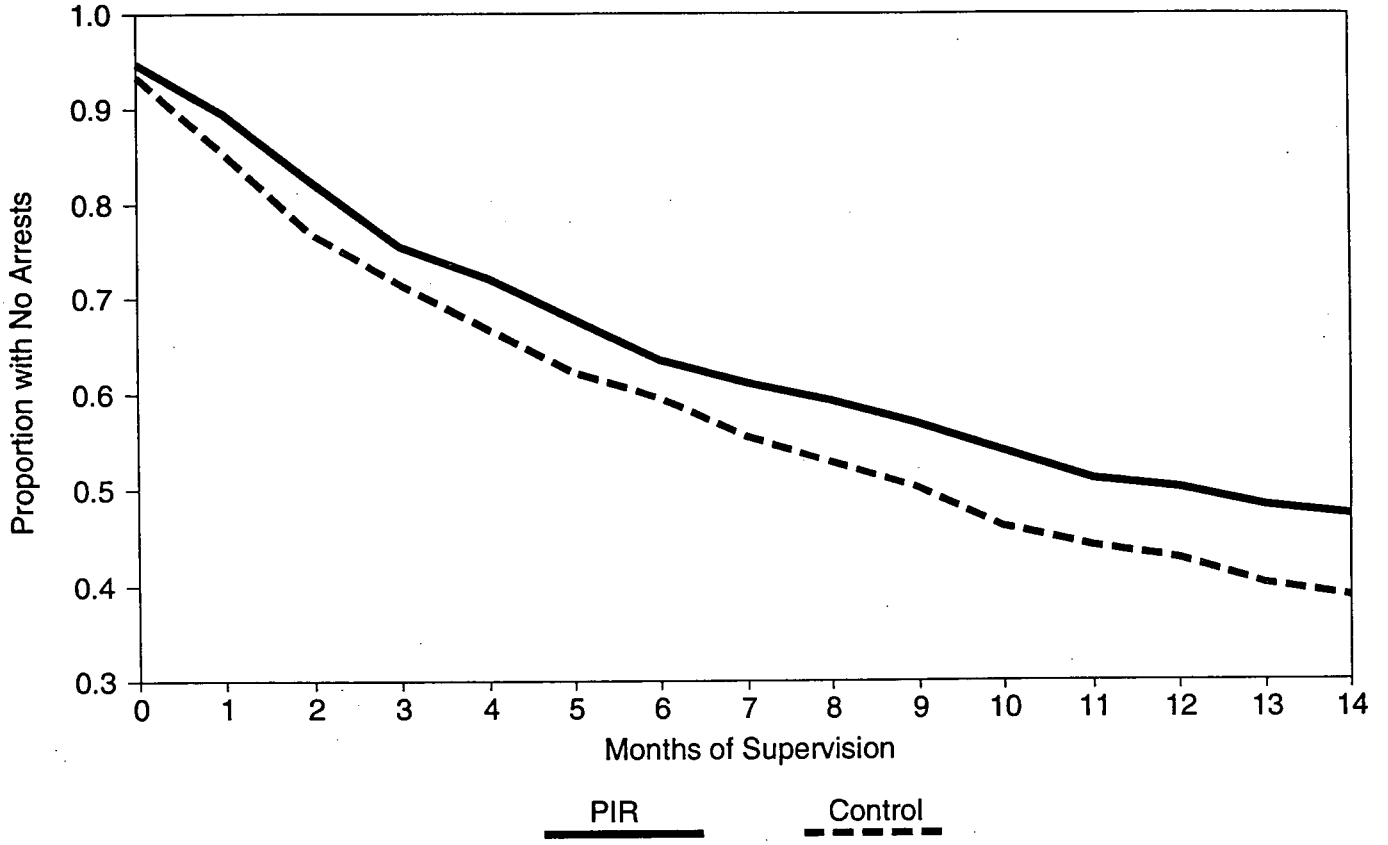
NOTE: Includes days to new arrest or completion of the 14-month period. Not significant at .05 level.

Figure 1
SURVIVAL ANALYSIS AFTER 14 MONTHS OF SUPERVISION
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data



NOTE: Not significant at .05 level based on the Lee-Desu statistic.

Figure 2
SURVIVAL ANALYSIS AFTER 14 MONTHS OF SUPERVISION
EXCLUDING PROBATION VIOLATIONS
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data



NOTE: Not significant at .05 level based on the Lee-Desu statistic.

A comparison of the baseline (six months prior to intervention) and six months after the "in-program" period shows differences in level of offense were not significant when comparing the PIR and control groups (Table 45). A significantly higher percentage of both groups had no offenses during the six-month follow-up period compared to the baseline. This finding indicates that supervision, regardless of intensity, may impact the behavior of probationers. However, when the analysis is restricted to PIR eligible probationers, the proportion of the PIR group with no offenses in the baseline and follow-up periods is no longer significantly different. For the PIR group, there were significantly fewer with new misdemeanor charges, while the control group had fewer felonies during the six-month period after intervention.

Table 45

LEVEL OF OFFENSE SIX MONTHS BEFORE AND AFTER INTERVENTION
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data

	PIR			Control		
Highest Charge	Before	After	Change	Before	After	Change
None[1]	59%	69%	10%	50%	64%	14%
Felony[2]	25%	18%	-7%	35%	24%	-11%
Misdemeanor/Other[3]	12%	4%	-8%	12%	6%	-6%
Probation Violation	4%	9%	5%	3%	6%	3%
TOTAL SAMPLE	**209**	**209**		**151**	**151**	

[1]Significant at .05 level for both groups on "before" and "after" measures.
[2]Significant at .05 level for control group on "before" and "after" measures.
[3]Significant at .05 level for PIR group on "before" and "after" measures.

NOTE: When comparing the two groups on either "before" or "after" measures, the differences are not significant at the .05 level.

The change in offenses committed over time was examined as an additional measure of recidivism (Tables 46, 47, and 48). The highest charge for each offender was tabulated for all arrests in two time periods: the baseline (i.e., before the intervention) and six months after the "in-program" period (i.e., after the intervention). The highest charge for each time period was then compared for each offender to determine if the severity of the offense changed over time (Table 46). The analysis revealed no significant difference between the PIR and control groups.

Table 46

CHANGE IN LEVEL OF ARRESTS
Six Months Before and After Intervention
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data

Comparison	PIR	Control
No Arrests Before and After Intervention	59%	50%
Same Level of Offense	1%	2%
Offense More Serious After Intervention	4%	5%
Offense Less Serious After Intervention	35%	43%
TOTAL SAMPLE	**209**	**151**

NOTE: Not significant at .05 level. Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Analysis of drug charges over time shows that there was no significant difference between PIR and the control (Table 47). Both groups were similar in the percentage with drug charges during the baseline, the eight-month "in program" period, and the entire 14-month period.

Table 47

DRUG CHARGES BEFORE AND AFTER PROBATION SUPERVISION
Fourteen Months of Supervision
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data

Time Frame	PIR	Control
Baseline	22%	31%
First Eight Months of Supervision	22%	25%
Six Months After Intervention	17%	11%
Fourteen-Month Period	33%	32%
TOTAL SAMPLE	**209**	**151**

NOTE: Not significant at .05 level.

The analysis also included examination of the average number of offenses during the baseline (i.e., the "before" period) and the six months after the intervention (Table 48). Gain scores were computed between the average number of arrests in the "before" period and the average number during the "after" period. The average difference between the two scores is the gain score and it is presented in the "change" column in Table 48. There are no significant differences in these measures except for the number of arrests in the baseline period. This is explained by the fact that PIR accepted some offenders who were not high-risk (discussed in Chapter 5). In fact, when the analysis is restricted to those who were eligible for PIR, the difference between the PIR and control groups for average arrests occurring in the baseline period is no longer significant.

Table 48

AVERAGE OFFENSE RATES
Six Months Before and After Intervention
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data

	PIR			Control		
Measure	Before	After	Change	Before	After	Change
Arrests[1]	.555	.407	-.148	.735	.483	-.252
Convictions	.340	.340	.000	.424	.391	-.033
Drug Charges	.282	.191	-.091	.384	.152	-.232
TOTAL SAMPLE	**209**	**209**	**209**	**151**	**151**	**151**

[1]*Significant at .05 level for "before" measure.*

Factors Associated with Success

This section addresses the characteristics of probationers which are associated with no new offenses committed. A "successful" probationer is defined as an individual with no arrests for a new criminal act, excluding probation violations. Since the aforementioned recidivism measures showed no difference between the PIR and control groups, the analysis of new offenses is based upon combined data for the two groups to assess factors other than probation program design which impact recidivism. First, the relationship between each variable (Table 49) and "success" was assessed through bivariate analysis. Table 50 shows those variables significantly associated with "success" for the three time periods. A logit analysis was then conducted to determine the best predictors of "success." Finally, survival analysis was applied to level of supervision to further examine the impact of "intensive" supervision on recidivism.

Table 49

VARIABLES USED IN BIVARIATE AND LOGIT ANALYSIS

Probation Supervision Data
- Probation Intervention (PIR or regular high-risk supervision)
- Number of Contacts with Probation Officer
- Number of Drug Tests
- Removal from PIR
- Level of Supervision at Intake
- Payment of PIR Fees

Demographic Information
- Age at Intake
- Gender
- Race/ethnicity
- Marital Status
- Education (highest grade completed)
- Employment
- Living Situation (i.e., who living with: spouse/parent/child)

Criminal History
- Age at First Arrest
- Highest Charge at First Arrest
- Criminal History (highest arrest charge during baseline period)

Drug History[1]
- Primary Drug of Choice (available for PIR group only)
- Frequency of Drug Use (available for PIR group only)

[1] *Based upon the San Diego County Alcohol and Drug Data System (SDCADDS) form which is only completed for individuals admitted into drug or alcohol treatment (i.e., the PIR program for this study).*

Bivariate Analysis. A comparison of the average monthly probation contacts reveals that those with less than the minimum number of contacts for Level I supervision (one contact per month with a probation officer) were significantly more likely to commit a new crime during the same time periods. These individuals, in many cases, did not receive probation intervention at all, or were only actively supervised for a short time. When the analysis is restricted to those who actually received the minimum number of contacts during the eight-months intervention period (expected levels) for the control group (one to two per month) or a higher level of intervention such as in PIR (over two per month), there was no significant difference in re-arrest rates during the eight-month or 14-month periods. Approximately three-quarters of the probationers committed no new crimes, regardless of intervention level. This indicates that, when the level of contacts by the probation officer was highest (over two contacts per month), the expected reduction in new crimes did not occur.

As would be expected, those who had been removed from PIR had a significantly higher propensity to commit new crimes during the eight-month period of community supervision and the entire 14-month follow-up. This measure is problematic because individuals could be removed from the program due to continued criminal activity, as well as for unsatisfactory program compliance, violation of probation conditions, or absconding. It is worth noting that most of the probationers who graduated from PIR or were still in the program at eight months were not re-arrested for new criminal activity (78%). Though 22 percent had been arrested for a new offense, it seems as though PIR staff utilized graduated sanctions to maintain participation in the program. However, as has been previously discussed, there were not significant differences on re-arrest measures between PIR and the control group, who received a lower level of intervention. Thus, PIR may not be justified. This issue will be discussed further in the next chapter, which examines cost issues.

Based upon the six-month period after intervention, of those 29 or under, 70 percent had no new arrests for crimes during the six-month period after intervention. This group is generally considered a more crime prone age group than those 30 and over, 80 percent of whom had no new crimes. This finding suggests that more mature, older probationers are more successful at remaining crime free in the community.

In addition to the factors associated with failure based upon activity during the eight-month period, arrests for felony crimes during the six months before the instant offense were also associated with commission of new crimes during the 14-month follow-up period. However, when the analysis is restricted to PIR eligible probationers, the relationship between criminal history and continued criminality is no longer significant.

Table 50

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH NEW CRIMES
PIR and Control Probation Groups Combined
Case Tracking Data

Factor for First Eight Months of Supervision	No New Crimes	New Crimes
PIR Status (n = 209)[1]		
Graduated/Still in Program (69)	78%	22%
Removed/terminated (140)	54%	46%
Contacts w/ Probation Officer (n = 293)[1]		
Less than one per month (Excludes 0)	48%	52%
One to two per month	73%	27%
Over two per month	77%	23%
Factor for Six-Month Follow-Up Period		
Age (n=360)[1]		
29 and Under	70%	30%
30 and Over	80%	20%
Factor for Fourteen Months of Supervision		
Average Monthly Contacts w/Probation Officer (n = 293)[1]		
Less than one per month (Excludes 0)	37%	63%
One to two per month	51%	49%
Over two per month	69%	31%
Highest Charge During Baseline Period (n = 360)[1]		
None	46%	54%
Felony	34%	66%
Misdemeanor	56%	44%
PIR Status (n = 209)[1]		
Completed/still in program (69)	68%	32%
Removed/terminated/absconded (140)	38%	62%

[1]*Significant at .05 level.*

Logit Analysis. To assess the impact of the variables significantly related to recidivism according to the bivariate analysis, a logit model was developed to measure the simultaneous influence of two factors on recidivism during the 14-month period: intensity of supervision and prior criminal history. Two independent variables were the most that the analysis could accommodate due to the relatively small sample size. According to the bivariate analysis, the status of probationers in the PIR program after eight months was associated with "success." This variable was not included in the logit analysis because it could not be measured for the control group and would skew the analysis.

As with the bivariate analysis, the dichotomous dependent variable was defined as the commission of a new crime, excluding probation violations during the 14-month tracking period (NEWCR14). The independent variables were prior criminal history (PASTCAT) and contacts with probation officers (SEEPO#). PASTCAT and SEEPO# were divided into the same three categories as they were in the bivariate analysis. Unknown values are excluded from the analysis.

A loglinear analysis was performed on the cross-classification of the dependent variable NEWCR14 and the independent variables PASTCAT and SEEPO#. Table 51 shows the values for L^2, R^2, entropy, and concentration for one and two variable main effect models. This table also presents information for the two variable saturated model.

Model 4 (PASTCAT, SEEPO#) showed the best fit of the one or two variable models, accounting for 80.5 percent more variance than the constant term (baseline model). The single variable model with PASTCAT explained only 17.7 percent of the baseline model variation. More variation was explained by SEEPO# (62.5%). Aside from the saturated model, which always has an R^2 equal to 100 percent, the two-variable model was the only specification that accounted for more than 80 percent of the baseline model variation. The size of the R^2 in model 4, coupled with small increases in the entropy and concentration values between it and the saturated model, indicated an adequate fit between the observed and expected frequencies without the inclusion of the interaction term. Therefore, the selected logit model is model 4, containing the constant term and the main effects of prior criminality and intensity of supervision. The parameters of the additive model, along with the observed odds ratios of NEWCR14, are presented in Table 52.

The data show that both prior criminal history and intensity of supervision had a significant impact on recidivism. The intensity of supervision had the greatest effect in decreasing the chances of continued criminality after assignment to probation. Prior criminality also influenced recidivism. Probationers with misdemeanors during the baseline period were significantly less likely to recidivate than those with no criminality or arrests for felonies during the same time frame.

Though the bivariate analysis did not indicate a significant relationship between intensive probation contacts and continued criminality, the logit analysis does suggest the value of frequent contacts in reducing recidivism among probationers. Probationers with few contacts with their probation officer were more likely to recidivate, and those under intensive supervision (i.e., over two contacts per month) were more likely to succeed. This variable was the most significantly associated factor related to recidivism in the model.

Table 51

MEASURES OF EXPLAINED VARIATION FOR ALL MAIN EFFECT MODELS OF NEW CRIMES DURING 14-MONTH PERIOD
Case Tracking Data

Model	L^2	Degrees of Freedom	PROB	R^2	Entropy	Concentration
1) Baseline	32.8	8	.000	--	.000	.000
2) Prior Criminal History (PASTCAT)	27.0	6	.000	17.7	.014	.020
3) Contacts with Probation Officer (SEEPO#)	12.3	6	.055	62.5	.051	.069
4) PASTCAT SEEPO#	6.41	4	.170	80.5	.065	.088
5) Saturated	0	0	1.00	100.0	.077	.103

NOTE: All models include the constant term. See Appendix C for formula to compute R^2.

Table 52

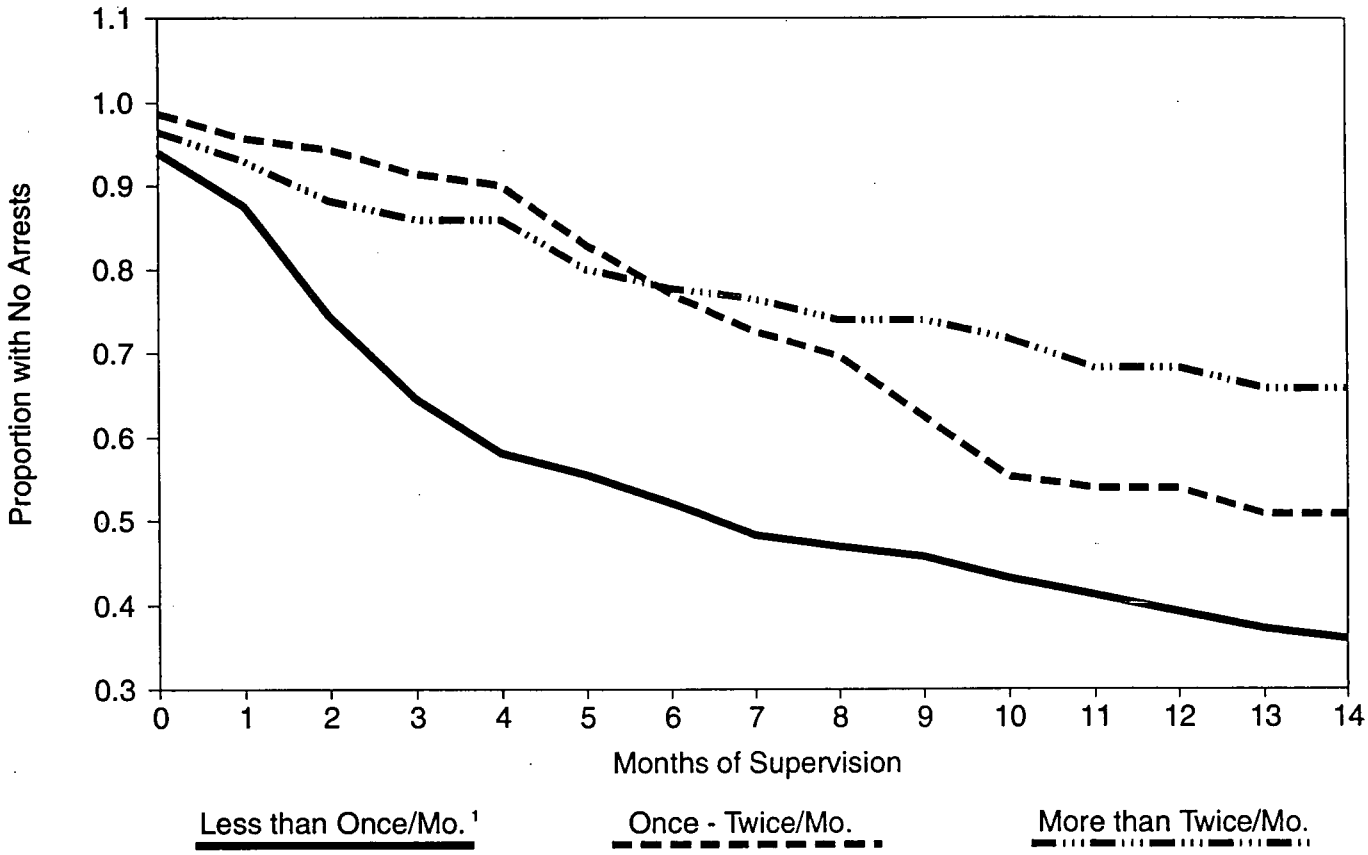
LOGIT MODEL PARAMETER ESTIMATES AND OBSERVED RATIOS
New Crimes During 14-Month Period
Case Tracking Data

Independent Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	Observed Odds Ratio[1]
Constant	-.1149	.078	1.0929
PASTCAT			
None	.1016	.087	1.1071
Felony	.1825	.102	1.5172
Misdemeanor[2]	.2841	.119	.5926
SEEPO#			
Less than one per month (Excludes 0)[2]	.3288	.083	1.7321
One to two per month	.0213	.096	.9444
Over two per month[2]	-.3500	.100	.4583

[1] *New crime committed during follow-up period, excluding probation violations versus no new crimes (the number with new crimes divided by the number with no new crimes).*
[2] *Significant at .05 level according to the Chi Square distribution.*

Survival Analysis. As mentioned previously, survival rates measure the pace of recidivism (see Chapter 7 for the justification of this type of analysis). Analysis of probation contacts, based upon survival rates (i.e., those with no new criminality), shows that probationers who had less than one contact per month with a probation officer had a consistently lower survival rate than those with more frequent contacts, with a high percentage of the new arrests for crimes occurring by the third month of the probation term. These probationers exclude individuals who never contacted their probation officer because there was never any opportunity for intervention. Probationers who had two contacts or more per month initially had lower survival rates than those with one to two contacts per month, but their re-arrest rates leveled off and ultimately a higher percentage were crime free (66% with no new crimes compared to 51% for probationers with one to two contacts a month). Based upon significance tests, the significant differences are between those probationers with less than one contact per month and between those with either one to two contacts per month or over two. There is no difference between the once to twice per month and over two times per month categories (Figure 3). Therefore, receiving some contact with a probation officer is positively related to reduced recidivism.

Figure 3
SURVIVAL ANALYSIS AFTER 14 MONTHS OF SUPERVISION BY PROBATION CONTACTS EXCLUDING PROBATION VIOLATIONS
PIR and Control Probation Groups
Case Tracking Data



[1] Excludes probationers with no contacts.

NOTE: Significant at .05 level for all differences except between "once-twice per month" and "more than twice per month" based on the Lee-Desu statistic.

CONCLUSIONS

PIR provided a more proactive approach to supervising offenders in the community with significantly higher levels of supervision and testing. As a result, PIR staff detected a higher number of technical probation violations. The response to these violations was an extensive use of graduated sanctions, which resulted in re-arrest, re-conviction, and return-to-custody rates similar to the control group. These results are not unique. As recently reported in an NIJ Update, a program in Oregon also failed to lower recidivism (Harrell, Adams, and Gouvis, 1995). As suggested by Petersilia and Turner (1993), offenders under intensive supervision may be re-offending at a rate similar to or lower than those on regular supervision, but PIR probationers also have a greater likelihood of being caught due to the intensive monitoring. Since PIR and the control group had relatively similar recidivism rates (as measured by new arrests, convictions, and custody terms), it could be argued that PIR actually improved public safety because the likelihood of catching criminality was higher.

Examination of the PIR group shows that most of the probationers who graduated from PIR or were still in the program at eight months were not re-arrested for new criminal activity. These findings from the impact evaluation suggest that graduated sanctions may be able to assist in maintaining offenders in treatment programs while avoiding incarceration despite increased monitoring. The PIR program maintained the same offense rates with graduated sanctions or shorter custody commitments than the regular probation program. Policy makers may want to consider increasing the use of graduated sanctions as they make improvements in their methods of ensuring public safety while supervising offenders in the community. If the same results can be achieved without increasing custody time, the additional costs of treatment can be offset. However, the costs of imposing graduated sanctions must be considered, as is presented in the following chapter.

The findings from data collected on the impact of the program are consistent with other research conducted on the effectiveness of intensive supervision programs. The solutions to the problems faced by drug-abusing offenders are complex and may require a longer-term intervention that exceeds the length of the PIR program. Recent research on recovery services in California found that length of stay in treatment increases the effectiveness of the treatment with respect to criminality (Gerstein, et al, 1994). Further, factors beyond the control of the program, such as the economy, may make it more difficult for these probationers to achieve all the goals established for them by the program. However, the PIR program was successful in identifying violators and increasing the level of accountability, which is one objective of intensive probation programs. As Petersilia (1993) suggests, recidivism rates measure only one function of probation, ignoring other key elements such as enforcing court-ordered conditions.

CHAPTER 8
PROGRAM COSTS

PROGRAM COSTS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyzes the costs involved in delivering the program. The issues related to measuring program costs were outlined in Chapter 1 and are summarized here.

- Factors used in cost calculation must be explicitly stated, including specific estimates of crime commission for the comparison groups.

- Cost estimates must account for any potential additional costs to the overall system (e.g., increased arrests, court appearances, and incarceration following the intervention).

This section addresses the following research objective for the follow-up period.

- Compare the relative costs of both types of intensive probation for high-risk offenders, in terms of program costs and the cost associated with subsequent criminal behavior.

The analysis for this study includes the costs of providing the intervention (i.e., supervision costs incurred by the Probation Department, expenses related to conducting PIR classes, and expenditures for drug use monitoring through urinalysis), as well as the costs of continued criminality (i.e., law enforcement expenditures related to arresting offenders, court and court-related expenses, and the costs of incarceration). Unfortunately, we were not able to estimate the cost of victimization (e.g., time missed from work, hospital bills, installation of security systems in homes or cars, self-defense training, etc.). Estimates are based upon FY 1991-92. Appendix D presents a detailed account of all costs involved in supervising offenders in the community for the two study groups.

OVERALL COST MEASURES

Not surprisingly, the cost of PIR is higher than for regular high-risk probation supervision. The costs for eight months of supervision for all PIR cases was $1,751,395, and $1,003,269 for cases in the control group (Table 53). Using the study samples, selected over a ten-month period, as an estimate of the total number of high-risk offenders served during the fiscal year, it is estimated that 252 probationers would be assigned to PIR (21 per month), and 180 to regular high-risk supervision (15 per month). Thus, the average cost per probationer per year is $6,950 for PIR, and $5,574 for the control group, an approximately $1,400 difference.

Table 53

COST ESTIMATES OF SUPERVISION
PIR and Control Probation Groups
FY 1991-92

	PIR	Control
Total Cost	$1,751,395	$1,003,269
Estimated Number of Probationers Served	252	180
Cost Per Probationer	$6,950	$5,574
Estimated Number of Successful Probationers	197	126
Cost Per Successful Probationer	$8,890	$7,962

The percent of probationers with no arrests (excluding probation violations) during the six months after intervention is used as the measure of a "successful" probationer. As presented in Chapter 7, 78 percent of the PIR group and 70 percent of the control group had no arrests during the six-month period. Applying these percentages to the estimates of total probationers served results in 197 of the PIR participants and 126 of the control group "successful" during the six months after intervention. Therefore, the cost per successful probationer per year is slightly higher for PIR ($8,890), compared to $7,962 for the control group.

CONCLUSIONS

Since the experimental group did not perform significantly better than the control group, based upon previously presented recidivism measures, system costs were higher for PIR ($6,950 per probationer) compared to the control group ($5,574). Since the average cost for PIR is higher than for the control group, the potential for court and incarceration costs to offset treatment costs was not realized. Based upon the six-month follow-up period after intervention, the overall costs of PIR were higher, with no cost avoidance. These findings are similar to the cost analysis by Petersilia and Turner in their evaluation of intensive supervision in three California counties (1990), as well as their nationwide study of intensive supervision probation and parole (1993). Providing intensive supervision in the community is more costly than regular probation due to the smaller caseloads and increased violation detection resulting from frequent contacts, which requires more frequent sanctioning. A longer-term evaluation could determine if the short-term costs (i.e., an additional $1,376 per offender, or $928 per "successful" probationer) produce lower recidivism (as measured by continued criminality over time) and higher levels of rehabilitation (as measured by reduced drug use, increased employment, and other positive lifestyle changes). The cost analysis could also be reassessed after recommended programmatic changes are implemented.

CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

MAJOR FINDINGS

This evaluation of Probationers in Recovery (PIR), an intensive supervision program for drug-involved offenders, demonstrates the dilemmas in developing effective sanctions for offenders. A summary of the study's major findings follows.

- The level of supervision delivered to PIR participants was more intensive than for the control group. The types of contacts were similar for the PIR and control groups (phone calls and visits with probation officers), but the number of contacts reported was substantially higher for PIR probationers. Also, graduated sanctions were used more extensively for PIR probationers prior to return to custody. Probationers in PIR not only had more contact with their probation officers, but drug testing was also more random according to offender perceptions.

- Despite the higher levels of supervision in PIR compared to regular supervision, the intensity was not as high as stated in the program design. Further, as a result of the intense level of supervision, PIR staff detected a higher number of technical probation violations. The response to these violations was an extensive use of graduated sanctions, which resulted in re-arrest, re-conviction, and return-to-custody rates similar to the control group. However, as noted by Petersilia and Turner (1993), these traditional measures of recidivism measure the enforcement function of probation more than rehabilitation. Since PIR probationers are under increased surveillance, it is less likely that continued criminality will go undetected. Therefore, these findings may not be an indication that PIR has failed, but that the objectives have not been realistic. In this manner, PIR was successful in identifying violators and increasing the level of accountability, which is one objective of intensive probation programs.

- A relatively large proportion of the PIR sample absconded within the eight-month period, compared to the control group. Only one-third of the probationers in PIR actually graduated or were still in the program after the eight-month intervention period.

- With respect to drug use, the proportion of PIR participants reporting drug use during the eight-month supervision period was higher than the control group. However, of drug treatment participants, all probationers interviewed stated that drug treatment was helpful due to the group process and focus on sobriety, two key elements of PIR. In addition, based upon opinions about drug treatment, the PIR group seemed to take the drug treatment program more seriously as a result of PIR participation.

- Some positive changes were noted by both groups of probationers in employment, plans for school, support of friends, and satisfaction with living situation. In addition, probationers were more optimistic about their chance of succeeding on probation after eight months of supervision, compared to their views at intake. PIR participants were slightly more likely to say that the probation term and drug treatment program were helpful. These positive views are interesting in light of the dissatisfaction with the restrictive nature of PIR. Almost half of the PIR probationers interviewed after eight months of supervision would choose to participate in the program if given the option, compared to about one-third at intake. These findings indicate that probationers may need structure in their lives, which is provided, in part, by probation.

- Attributes that seem to be associated with program completion include employment, as reported during the pre-sentence investigation, and maturity level, as measured by age. PIR completion was also significantly associated with methamphetamine use. This finding may reflect unique characteristics of those who tend to use this drug (i.e., White). Most of the probationers who graduated from PIR or were still in the program at eight months were not re-arrested for new criminal activity. These findings indicate that graduated sanctions are valuable tools in maintaining offenders in treatment programs while maintaining incarceration rates, despite increased monitoring. The PIR program maintained the same offense rates with graduated sanctions or shorter custody commitments than the regular probation program.

- PIR was not delivered uniformly during the evaluation period. There was significant staff turnover among drug treatment personnel, with lengthy periods of short staffing, lack of resources to appropriately train new staff, and little time for team building. Struggles between probation and treatment administrative staff impacted line personnel. Staff support for program elements (e.g., Graduation Review Panel) also varied.

- The high level of supervision in PIR and use of graduated sanctions drove up overall expenditures for the program, including costs related to arrests, court processing, and incarceration for continued criminality, as well as community supervision and sanction expenses. Since re-arrest, re-conviction, and incarceration rates were similar for the PIR and control groups, the increased cost of PIR supervision and treatment was not offset.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To summarize, the following actions are recommended to improve the effectiveness of PIR and similar intensive supervision programs in the community designed to rehabilitate chemically-dependent offenders.

- **Develop realistic expectations of the program.** Rather than expecting that PIR will control crime and decrease recidivism, at a relatively low cost, the program should strive to provide an intermediate punishment between incarceration and regular community supervision by more closely supervising probationers through the use of graduated sanctions, resulting in improved public safety. Further, this type of

intermediate punishment could help repair the net of social control because it is viewed by offenders as more punitive than traditional community supervision. By targeting high-risk offenders who can no longer be incarcerated due to limited jail space, probation is increasing the amount of social control with restrictive monitoring, thereby protecting the public.

- **Cultivate support for the program throughout the criminal justice community.** In order to ensure implementation of Probation recommendations, judges must support the program. Integrating judicial input into the screening process may produce the enforcement necessary to gain higher offender compliance (i.e., similar to a drug court). Formation of an advisory board with judicial representation to review program policies and procedures may also inprove program support.

- **Choose a specific person for the role of overall director and central manager of the program.** Vital commitment to program objectives and values by the director is necessary. This person should also be able to motivate others, instill ideas and values in staff, and effect change. Identification of a specific leader will result in a clear line of authority. This leader, dedicated to implementing all elements of PIR, may assist in producing a united team of personnel to deliver the program uniformly, as well as gain community support.

- **Deliver intervention as designed to all probationers placed in the program.** Though PIR was more intensive than regular supervision, intevention levels were lower than designed. Based upon study findings, intensive probation contacts (i.e., two or more per month) were significantly associated with reduced recidivism more than any other factor. Therefore, achieving program design may be the best method for improving probation success.

- **Institute proactive and aggressive methods of ensuring that the program is delivered immediately upon assignment to the program (e.g., home visits).** These measures will hopefully reduce the proportion absconding from the program. The need to increase the intensity of intensive supervision programs was also asserted by Petersilia and Turner (1993). Based upon their nationwide experiment, intensive supervision programs need to make controls more stringent and increase treatment immediately upon assignment to supervision to decrease the rate of absconding. Nurco et al., (1993) suggest that no more than 48 hours should pass between release from custody and program enrollment.

- **Limit caseloads in the program significantly below regular high-risk probation.** To implement measures designed to increase program attendance will probably require reduced caseloads similar to other intensive supervision programs across the country (e.g., 25, the national average, as in Georgia and New Jersey). During the study period, the PIR caseload was the same as regular supervision (50). Caseloads should be divided into the following two categories: 1) actively participating in PIR and 2) awaiting PIR entry because currently in residential treatment or custody. Each group requires a different level of follow-up. Based upon the goals of the program, the

caseload size for each group should be determined so that they will be manageable. For example, to ensure that those in custody and residential treatment enter PIR, probation officers should contact the relevant institution to determine release date, make contact with the probationer periodically, and escort the probationer to the program upon release. This portion of the caseload could be limited to ten per officer, depending on the available slots in the program. The remainder of the caseload, the active PIR participants, could be limited to approximately 25 probationers.

- **Consider coordinating with existing drug treatment programs in local jails.** Martin, Butzin, and Inciardi (1995) found that drug treatment provided in stages provides significantly higher success rates compared to those receiving only one stage. Several local detention facilities in San Diego County have drug-treatment programs available for inmates. For example, Stepping Out is a therapeutic community operated for women in the Las Colinas Jail and in the East Mesa Detention Facility for men. If Stepping Out participants were directly referred to PIR upon release from custody, PIR could continue the process of rehabilitation in the community.

- **Structure the program design so it is attractive to offenders and develop methods of assisting offender compliance with the time commitment.** This recommendation is also related to increasing PIR participation. Anglin and McGlothlin (1985) made a similar recommendation in their examination of methadone maintenance programs. To increase program attendance, the treatment program must be viewed by probationers as more desirable than continued drug abuse. For example, focusing on clean and sober social activities and alternatives to risk-taking behavior early on in the program so participants can experience fun and exhilaration without drugs. Another idea would be to partner veteran participants (e.g., those who are within a few months of graduation) with newly admitted probationers who could travel to meetings together, which could reduce transportation difficulties while providing the participants with mentors.

- **Devise specific methods for documenting probationer status, program delivery, and impact.** Documentation of compliance methods must be thorough and, therefore, easy for program staff to use so appropriate and timely actions can occur (e.g., date absconded, exact time in residential treatment or custody).

- **Reconsider the role and purpose of the Graduation Review Panel and its association with measures of program completion (i.e., measures of success).** Two-thirds of the PIR program staff interviewed indicated that the Graduation Review Panel was not effective. This ineffectiveness was related to the subjective nature of program completion decisions. Developing measurable objectives for successful completion will provide the Graduation Review Panel with the tools necessary in making objective decisions.

- **Continue to provide a highly structured program.** The views of probationers that PIR was restrictive as well as helpful suggest that they need structure in their lives, as

provided by PIR and similar programs (e.g., the requirements of PIR included three PIR classes and two recovery group meetings per week).

- **Set a realistic time frame in which the objectives of the program can be achieved.** Criminal justice professionals and probationers all agreed that PIR includes effective components for supervising and rehabilitating offenders in the community. Study results also indicate that the PIR program correctly identified the needs of drug-abusing probationers, including drug treatment, education, employment assistance, and counseling. However, the needs of probationers remained the same after eight months. The continuing need for services may reflect the complex nature of the problems faced by drug-abusing offenders when released to the community, such as maintaining sobriety and employment. It may be unrealistic to expect that these problems can be solved without longer-term interventions. Further, due to the limited follow-up period used in this study, the similarity in recidivism measures may be related to the fact that the solutions to the problems faced by drug-abusing offenders are complex and require a longer-term intervention that exceeds the length of the PIR program. Recent research on recovery services in California found that length of stay in treatment increased the effectiveness of the treatment with respect to criminality (Gerstein, et al, 1994).

- **Develop methods for increasing employment opportunities among program participants.** The fact that a majority of those who completed PIR were employed prior to assignment to the program indicates the crucial need for employment among probationers to divert them from drug abuse and crime. Job skill development, job training, job search strategies, and educational opportunities should be persistent. A realistic time frame is crucial for success with respect to employment and educational attainment.

- **Continue using graduated sanctions so punishments are directly related to behavior.** For example, the response to the detection of drug use is the imposition of a curfew when drug use occurs in the evenings.

- **Use graduated sanctions to incapacitate offenders.** Since recidivism rates are not higher when graduated sanctions are used, the use of graduated sanctions can be a good method of ensuring public safety within budgetary constraints (e.g., requiring regular attendance in a recovery group when drug use is detected rather than incarceration). Policymakers may want to consider increasing the use of graduated sanctions to increase incapacitation rather than incarceration as they make improvements in their methods of ensuring public safety while supervising offenders in the community.

- **Utilize experienced staff and provide on-going training for staff in methods of supervising and addressing the needs of drug-involved offenders.** By ensuring that staff have the skills necessary to perform their jobs, the needs of offenders can be more fully addressed and improvements made in participant performance. In addition, since job satisfaction will most likely result from this increased support, staff turnover should be reduced.

- **Continue program monitoring with well-defined measures of success.** Choosing someone to compile and analyze the data on an on-going basis will provide the opportunity to ensure that information is recorded in a consistent manner. By documenting participants' progress, the program can review the results and respond appropriately to maximize program effectiveness.

The challenges of supervising high-risk offenders in the community will undoubtedly be present for some time to come. The current political climate focuses on incapacitation, as evidenced by recent legislation increasing the mandatory minimum custody terms for defendants (e.g., "Three Strikes"), and will only serve to aggravate already crowded detention facilities. Therefore, alternatives to incarceration for all offenders not impacted by mandatory custody terms must be developed to balance the objectives of rehabilitation and public safety.

It is important to know what features of community supervision are "successful" in improving outcomes for offenders. Rather than abandoning a program because it "doesn't work," it is valuable to identify potential improvements, based upon evaluation research, and implement changes to lower drug use and criminality.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ASPECTS OF STRUCTURED LEARNING

Component	Focus
Stress Management	Ways to recognize and manage stress
Drug/Alcohol Education	Pharmacology of drugs, effects of drugs on self and others, stages of addiction, the disease concept, 12 step recovery process
Value Clarification	Definition of values and appropriate action, how drug use affects values, how values impact "who you are," how values affect others, how decision making is influenced by values
Victim Awareness	Attendance at MADD victim panels, discussion of personal victimization, behavior modification through role playing in which participants each have the opportunity to act as victim and perpetrator
Interpersonal Relations	How to overcome roadblocks to effective relationships, communication skills, the social aspects of addiction, positive decision making
Health and Nutrition	Definition of a good diet, importance of exercise, negative aspects of smoking, how moods are affected by food, negative effects of drugs and alcohol
Risk Taking	Alternatives to risk-taking behaviors, definitions of high and low-risk behaviors, breaking the process of denial, learning how to take risks
Clean and Sober Activities (Once or twice a month)	Potlucks and picnics, attendance at sporting events, playing sports, trips
AIDS Education	Basic facts (e.g., how to protect yourself), the importance of testing, moral decision making

APPENDIX B

DATA ELEMENTS FOR OFFENDER INTERVIEWS AND CASE TRACKING
PIR Evaluation

Offender Interviews

Program type
Probation officer (P.O.)
Name
Probation number
Age
Sex
Race
Education/training
Employment
Marital status
Dependents
Living situation
Current offense
Probation status at arrest
Probation conditions and violations
Consequences for violations
Chances of violation detection
Contacts with P.O.
Relationship with P.O.
Opinions about probation
Daily activities
Income
Interaction with others
Prospects for the future

Drug Use and Treatment History

Prior and new drug charges
Prior drug use history
In-custody treatment programs
Current drug use patterns
Drug test order and testing frequency
Drug history of family/friends
Drug patterns of family/friends
Money spent on drugs
Opinions about treatment/PIR
Treatment (prior and during supervision)
Treatment and other needs

Case Tracking

Program type
Probation officer (P.O.)
Name
Probation number
Age
Sex
Race
Education
Employment
Marital status
Dependents
Living situation
Current offense
Probation status at arrest
Probation conditions and violations
Sanctions for violations
Contacts with P.O.
Date of first contact with P.O.
Supervision level
Referrals to outside agencies
Payment of fine/restitution/court cost/fee
PIR eligibility
PIR orientation and termination dates
PIR status

Drug Use and Treatment During Supervision

Drug test order and testing frequency
Drug test results
Drug use patterns
PIR treatment received
Prior and new drug charges
Counselor

Offender Interviews (Cont'd.)

Criminal History

- Types of offenses
- Number of arrests
- Age committed first crime
- Age at first arrest
- Consequences of arrest
- Prior probation revocations
- Crime participation regardless of arrest
- Prior probation supervision experience
- Custody experience
- Criminal history of family/friends

Case Tracking (Cont'd.)

Criminal History

- Types of offenses
- Number of arrests/convictions
- Date of first arrest
- Date of prior arrests/convictions
- Date of rearrest/conviction
- Sentence type and date sentenced
- Time in custody
- Current criminal justice status
- Warrant issue

APPENDIX C

LOGIT REGRESSION ANALYSIS

ANALYSIS APPROACH

Multiple regression is a technique that explains how changes in a set of independent variables affect change in a dependent variable. Ordinary least squares (OLS) regression assumes that the dependent variable is continuous and free to take on any value from negative to positive infinity. The dependent variables in this study have only two values, being arrested or not being arrested. The problems of using OLS regression techniques with dichotomous dependent variables are well known and have been studied by many researchers (e.g., Goldberger, 1964:248-250; Hanushek and Jackson, 1977:180-187; Aldrich and Nelson, 1984).

A widely used alternative to regression with a dichotomous dependent variable assumes that the relationship between the independent and dichotomous dependent variables follows a logistic curve. This analytic technique is a special case of the general multiple contingency table or log-linear analysis, known as logit analysis. Logit model estimation techniques were selected not only because of the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable, but because most of the independent variables are measured on a nominal scale. Logit models are categorical variable parallels to OLS regression for continuous dependent variables (Goodman, 1972).

The dependent variable is measured as the odds ratio of its expected frequencies. The three-variable case of recidivism (R), prior criminality (P), and level of supervision (S) is used to illustrate the form and key parameters of the logit model. Recidivism is the dependent variable whose odds (e.g., the ratio of persons with arrests during the 14-month period to persons with no arrests) are a function of prior criminality and level of supervision. The multiplicative form of the model is:

$$(F_i/F_g) = (\tau^R)^2(\tau^{RP})^2(\tau^{RS})^2(\tau^{RPS})^2 \ , \quad \text{[Model 1]}$$

where, F = expected frequency;
i = persons with arrests; and
g = persons with no arrests.

The τ (tau) terms represent the effect each variable has on the odds ratio of the dependent variable. The τ in the first term $(\tau^R)^2$ is similar to the grand mean in analysis of variance or the intercept term in a regression equation. It is the baseline odds ratio from which all effects are measured and usually has no substantive meaning by itself. The second and third terms represent the effects of prior criminality and level of supervision on recidivism. These effects are present if the independent variables are related to the dependent variable. The interaction effect of prior criminality and level of supervision on recidivism is represented by the τ in the last term $(\tau^{RPS})^2$.

In this form of the logit model, the expected odds ratio of the dependent variable is expressed as the product of a series of terms. Aside from the intercept or constant term, the magnitude of an effect (τ) is measured as a departure from 1.00. Effects of 1.00 have no impact on the odds ratio. An effect greater than 1.00 indicates that the odds ratio, for a particular term in the model, is larger than the overall (marginal) odds ratio. Conversely, an effect less than 1.00 shows that the term has an odds ratio lower than the marginal ratio. Although not shown in the equation, a τ parameter is estimated for each category of an independent variable or interaction term. The constraints necessary to estimate τ insure that the product of the τ's across categories of an independent variable equals 1 (Knoke and Burke, 1980:13).

The usual criterion variable analyzed in the logit model is the log of the expected odds ratio (Knoke and Burke, 1980:24)[1]. This additive form of the logit model is derived by taking the natural logarithms of Model 1. This yields:

$$\text{Ln}(F_i/F_g) = \beta^R + \beta^{RP} + \beta^{RS} + \beta^{RPS}, \quad \text{[Model 2]}$$

where, $\beta = 2*\text{Ln}(\tau)$.

The β (beta) coefficients are interpreted similarly to the additive coefficients of regression analysis. A positive β shows that the independent variable or interaction term increases the log odds ratio of the dependent variable, while a negative β indicates that the log odds ratio is decreased. A zero β means that the independent variable or interaction term does not affect the log odds ratio of the dependent variable. Like the τ's in the multiplicative model, β's are estimated for each category of an independent variable or interaction term. The constraints needed to estimate β insure that the sum of the β's across categories of an independent variable equals 0.

Expected cell frequencies are generated from the Newton-Raphson iterative proportional fitting algorithm. This iterative routine generates maximum likelihood estimates (MLE) of the expected frequencies. MLE procedures yield estimates with statistical properties of consistency, asymptotic efficiency and asymptotic normality[2]. The expected frequencies, for a given model specification, determine the effect parameter estimates (τ's and β's) and their standard errors. The statistical software package used (SPSSx) also generates two measures of association (entropy and concentration) to analyze dispersion in the logit model. Both are proportionate reduction in error measures (PRE) which quantify the magnitude of association between a set of independent variables and the

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[1]*The logit, precisely defined, is 1/2 of the log of the odds ratio. Following Goodman (1972), this study will analyze the log of the odds ratio.*

[2]*So long as the sample is reasonably large and the assumptions required for MLE are met, MLE are unbiased, have the smallest sampling variation and the usual results of normal sampling theory apply (Aldrich and Nelson, 1986:142). These authors suggest at least 25 observations for each coefficient being estimated.*

predictor variable. An excellent discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of PRE measures is found in Reynolds (1977:47-58).[3]

To continue the discussion, we refer to Model 2 previously presented. This equation represents a saturated model because it not only includes the constant and two main effects on recidivism, but also the interaction effect of prior criminality and level of supervision. In other words, there would be one linearly independent parameter per cell in the contingency table[4]. The expected frequencies in a saturated model are identical to the observed frequencies; therefore, the saturated model fits the data perfectly. This, of course, does not mean that the independent variables are perfectly correlated with the dichotomous dependent variable. It just indicates that the observed frequencies, which could be representing statistical independence, exactly match the expected frequencies. The question is whether a simpler model (i.e., one having fewer parameters) will also yield a satisfactory fit. These simpler models are called unsaturated models. One such model might include the constant and two main effects, but not the interaction effect.

The general approach for determining the most parsimonious logit model which best fits the data involves comparing the expected frequencies, generated by a particular logit model, with the observed frequencies. The two measures of fit typically employed are the Pearson chi-square statistic and the likelihood-ratio statistic (L^2). L^2 is preferable because (1) the expected frequencies are generated using maximum likelihood procedures; and (2) L^2 can be partitioned into additive components, each providing an independent test for a particular model (Knoke and Burke, 1980:30).

L^2, by definition, equals zero for a saturated model. In an unsaturated model, the larger the L^2 relative to the available degrees of freedom (df) indicates a greater difference between the observed and expected frequencies. If L^2 for a hypothesized model is too large, then a model with additional parameters is needed to fit the observed data. In a hypothesis testing context, an acceptable logit model is one whose cell frequencies do not significantly differ from the observed data (Knoke and Burke, 1980:31). The statistical significance of L^2 is evaluated using the chi-square distribution with df equal to the number of cells in the table minus the number of linearly independent parameters in the model[5].

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[3]Although these two measures range from 0 to 1, like R^2 in regression, it may be misleading to interpret them in a similar manner (Haberman, 1982). Factors having little to do with the association between the independent and dependent variables, such as marginal variation, can artificially increase or decrease a measure's magnitude. To guard against erroneous conclusions, Reynolds (1977:57) recommends looking at the strength of relationships among qualitative variables using more than a single measure.

[4]An important aspect of the logit model not evident in Model 2 is that the interaction between the independent variables (prior criminality and level of supervision) is present as are all lesser marginals. Terms for these factors are not explicit in the logit equation, but these marginals must be fitted when estimating the expected frequencies (Knoke and Burke, 1980:26).

[5]The approximation of L^2 to the chi-square distribution is satisfactory if the sample size is sufficiently large. A rule of thumb is that if the sample size divided by the number of cells in the table exceeds 5, then this approximation is accurate (Reynolds, 1977:159).

L^2 is also used to test the significance of the difference between two nested models, under the assumption that the more complicated model fits the data (Zahn and Fein, 1974:24). For example, assume Model B fits the data and that Model A is nested in B. The significance of the contribution of the parameters in B which are not in A is examined by $L^2(A)-L^2(B)$. This statistic is approximately distributed as a chi-square random variable with df equal to df(A)-df(B). If the difference in L^2 is found to be statistically significant, then the parameters which are in B but not A are making an important contribution to the fit and should not be deleted.

L^2 is proportional to the sample size. When sample sizes are very large, parameters with very small effects will be judged as important to the fit of the model. Very often the only model which will be found to fit the data is the saturated model. Moreover, tests of significance are inappropriate when studying a population and not a sample. To overcome these problems, the following statistic is used:

$$R^2 = \frac{(L^2 \text{ baseline model}) - (L^2 \text{ alternative model})}{(L^2 \text{ baseline model})}$$

This measure is the ratio of two numbers, both of which are proportional to the number of observations, and its result is less sensitive to the size of the sample or population. The baseline model L^2 serves as the standard against which to judge the improvement in fit of more complex models. It indicates the variability in the observed frequencies not accounted for by factors already in the model. Following Zahn and Fein (1974:33), this study defines the baseline models as containing the constant or intercept term. If the percentage of the baseline L^2 accounted for by the alternative model is high, the alternative is judged to provide a satisfactory fit to the observed frequencies. An acceptable fit, using this criterion, requires the R^2 to indicate at least an 80% reduction of the baseline L^2.

APPENDIX D

Table D1

COST ESTIMATES BY CRIMINAL JUSTICE COMPONENT
PIR Probation Group
FY 1991-92

Level	Unit of Analysis	Unit Cost	Units	Total Cost
Arrest	Arrest	$ 59.90	157	$ 9,404.30
Court and Court-Related				
Felony	Case	887.30	73	64,772.90
Misdemeanor	Case	1,149.41	11	12,643.51
Probation Revocation	Case	351.18	23	8,077.14
Incarceration				
Prison	Person/day	60.28	2,285	137,739.80
Jail	Person/day	59.00	5,344	315,296.00
Honor Camp	Person/day	33.00	307	10,131.00
Probation Supervision	Person/day	17.71	42,963	760,874.73
PIR Treatment	Person/day	8.36	38,836	324,668.96
Drug Tests[1]	Test	See Footnote	2,640	103,840.00
Detoxification[2]				
Crash	Person	84.00	16	1,344.00
MITE	Person	69.84	8	558.72
Residential Treatment[2]				
Freedom Ranch	Person	88.00	3	264.00
House of Metamorphosis	Person	136.19	2	272.38
Crash	Person	92.48	10	924.80
KIVA	Person	125.73	1	125.73
Fellowship Center	Person	104.90	3	314.70
Serenity House	Person	142.56	1	142.56
TOTAL				**$1,751,395.23**

[1] *Costs for drug tests vary because two types of tests are administered and the cost for each is different. According to the San Diego County Probation Department, the more expensive test is administered every third test because it provides faster results. Urinalysis costs are, therefore, estimated according to the following formula: (#*$6)+((#+#/3)*$25)*

[2] *Based upon sanction orders and total days ordered. Fulfillment of order unknown.*

NOTE: All costs based upon eight-month supervision period.

Table D2

COST ESTIMATES BY CRIMINAL JUSTICE COMPONENT
Control Probation Group
FY 1991-92

Level	Unit of Analysis	Unit Cost	Units	Total Cost
Arrest	Arrest	$ 59.90	126	$ 7,547.40
Court and Court-Related				
Felony	Case	887.30	53	47,026.90
Misdemeanor	Case	1,149.41	10	11,494.10
Probation Revocation	Case	351.18	13	4,565.34
Incarceration				
Prison	Person/day	60.28	2,009	121,102.52
Jail	Person/day	59.00	4,256	251,104.00
Honor Camp	Person/day	33.00	163	5,379.00
Probation Supervision	Person/day	17.71	30,291	536,453.61
PIR Treatment	Person/day	8.36	n/a	n/a
Drug Tests[1]	Test	See Footnote	461	18,132.67
Detoxification[2]				
Crash	Person	84.00	0	0.00
MITE	Person	69.84	0	0.00
Residential Treatment[2]				
Freedom Ranch	Person	88.00	0	0.00
House of Metamorphosis	Person	136.19	1	136.19
Crash	Person	92.48	2	184.96
KIVA	Person	125.73	0	0.00
Fellowship Center	Person	$104.90	0	0.00
Serenity House	Person	$142.56	1	142.56
TOTAL				**$1,003,269.25**

[1] *Costs for drug tests vary because two types of tests are administered and the cost for each is different. According to the San Diego County Probation Department, the more expensive test is administered every third test because it provides faster results. Urinalysis costs are, therefore, estimated according to the following formula: (#*$6)+((#+#/3)*$25)*

[2] *Based upon sanction orders and total days ordered. Fulfillment of order unknown.*

NOTE: All costs based upon eight-month supervision period.

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