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Criminal justice policymakers at all levels of government are hampered by a lack of sound information on the effectiveness of various programs and approaches. To help remedy the problem, the National Institute sponsors a National Evaluation Program to provide practical information on the costs, benefits and limitations of selected criminal justice programs now in use throughout the country.

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# NATIONAL EVALUATION PROGRAM PHASE I SUMMARY REPORT

# Summary Phase I Evaluation of Intensive Special Probation Projects

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National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Law Enforcement Assistance Administration United States Department of Justice

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#### $^{/\!/}$ ABSTRACT

This report provides a summary of issues in Intensive Special Probation (ISP), a reference framework to aid in understanding ISP project operations and impacts, and a knowledge assessment which organizes existing knowledge in terms of the reference framework. ISP projects are intensive in that there is a substantial reduction in caseload or special in that unique forms of supervision are offered.

The data source for this summary includes a series of earlier reports. These earlier reports were based on a literature survey, communications with experts in the field of intensive special probation, and site visits to 20 projects throughout the United States.

This study was conducted by the Georgia Institute of Technology as part of the National Evaluation Program sponsored by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. Major findings, based upon evidence compiled in the process of conducting project activities and judgmental assessment are as follows:

- 1. The literature is inconclusive that caseload reduction results in a decrease in recidivism. In fact, many studies have shown increased recidivism which has been attributed to higher levels of surveillance.
- Several recent caseload reduction projects claim decreases in the recidivism rate, but the associated evaluation designs may not be strong enough to warrant such claims.
- 3. There is only weak evidence for success of volunteer probation projects.
- Projects specializing in serving particular client groups offer evidence of successful outcomes.
- 5. Unfortunately, relatively few projects use an evaluation design which permitsattribution of success to the project.
- 6. Not much information is available about the elements in the reference framework for ISP. This problem is caused in part by the short time span of many evaluation efforts.
- There are no standardized measures for process or outcome variables in ISP.
- 8. There is some doubt that truly intensive supervision can ever exist since client contact can only occur for such a small duration of the probationer's waking hours.
- 9. There is almost no real cost evaluation in ISP. Most cost analyses have only compared the cost of ISP to the cost of incarceration.

In summary: Almost every element of information about ISP is knowable through direct empirical study yet almost nothing is scientifically known and little will ever be known until measurement techniques are improved.

#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	Ιđ
FOREWORD	Li
PREFACE	lж
CHAPTER I	
보면 있는 이렇게 많으면 그 그는 사람들이 가는 사람들이 가득하면 가득하면 되었다. 그는 사람들이 가득하면 가득하면 하는 것이 되었다면 보고 있다면 모든 사람들이 되었다. 사람들이 없는 사람들이 사	1 1 2
CHAPTER II	
Issues in Intensive Special Probation	3 5 5 6 6
CHAPTER III	
A Reference Framework	8
CHAPTER IV ,	
Effectiveness of Caseload Reduction in Probation	11 11 13 15
CHAPTER V	•
Increased Contact	20 20 22 23 24
CHAPTER VI	
Intensity of Treatment	25 25 26 27 28

#### CHAPTER VII

Recidivism	29 29 30 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3
CHAPTER VIII	o: C*
Conclusions and Recommendations : :	
EXHIBITS	Co. The Co.
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
REFERENCES	
APPENDIX A	
APPENDIX B	6.

#### PREFACE

This report summarizes the existing state of knowledge concerning Intensive Special Probation (ISP). ISP projects achieve intensity through caseload reduction. They achieve their special nature by offering unique forms of probation. The study was conducted by the Georgia Institute of Technology between January and December, 1976, as part of the National Evaluation Program of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

The state of knowledge described in this summary report is not intended to be a definitive evaluation of ISP projects. Rather, it presents the current status of what is known regarding ISP and describes the gaps in the knowledge base. This summary report incorporates the major findings from a series of earlier reports; an issues paper, an interventions paper describing actual projects in the field, a reference frameworks paper to aid in understanding ISP project operations and impacts, and a knowledge assessment which organizes existing knowledge in terms of the reference framework and identifies major short—comings in that knowledge. Additional papers in the series include an evaluation methodology for ISP projects and an evaluation design to fill some of the gaps in knowledge. Two working papers have also been prepared. These concern the results of a telephone survey of numerous ISP projects and a description of the process used in selecting actual sites to visit.

A number of persons have been very helpful during the course of this study. Dr. Richard Barnes and Mr. Michael Mulkey of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice and Mr. Joe Nay of the Urban Institute provided useful guidance in the initial stages of the study. Ms. Jan Trueworthy of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice provided continuing guidance and encouragement. The Local Advisory Board, made up of extremely knowledgable persons in the Atlanta area, served as a resource and a sounding board. In addition, staff at individual ISP projects furnished a wealth of information and shared their experiences. Such willingness to share information was also present in the criminal justice system representatives who responded to our request for information about issues and problems in ISP.

#### INTRODUCTION

Probation can be defined (in the words of the American Bar Association's Standards Relating to Probation) as "A sentence not involving confinement which imposes conditions and retains authority in the sentencing court to modify the conditions of sentence or re-sentence the offender if he violates the conditions." [35] Thus, probation is a consequence of an offender's conviction in a criminal court, but it is one which neither confines him/her in any institution nor releases him/her entirely from court authority. Adult probation—the part of probation involving non-juvenile courts—is the largest single segment of the American correctional system. Results of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice's 1965 "National Survey of Corrections" showed that approximately half the 934,000 average daily population of adult offenders under correctional supervision were on probation. [83] It is widely believed that this proportion of offenders on probation has increased since 1965.

Some form of adult probation can be found at virtually every level of government and every geographical part of the United States. Intensive special probation (ISP) offers unusually large quantities of supervision to each probationer and/or unique forms of probation service delivery. It thus encompasses the great majority of innovations and experiments in adult probation, mainly excluding only those programs connected with pre-conviction activities of probation staffs, financing of probation, or unusually light probation supervision. Over the past two decades numerous ISP programs have been implemented with great variety as to (1) locales, (2) concepts, and (3) scales.

#### Georgia Tech Project

This report, Summary / is the last in a series produced by Georgia Tech's Phase I National Evaluation of Intensive Special Probation (LEAA Grant Number 76 NI-99-0045). This project, like the more than twenty other Phase I projects in various criminal justice program areas, is a part of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice's National Evaluation Program. The long term aim of the National Evaluation Program is to determine which types of criminal justice programs are the most productive investments of criminal justice dollars. Each Phase I study is to set the stage for evaluation of a particular program area by determining how particular programs are actually structured and implemented, defining a framework around which an evaluation can be centered and assessing the state of knowledge about the elements of the framework.

To accomplish its Phase I study of intensive special probation, the Georgia Tech research team has undertaken a variety of research activities. Initially, a careful review was made of the available literature and opinions were sought from numerous probation experts in order to produce an Issues Paper setting forth the important concepts and controversies in the design and evaluation of

The complete title for this document is <u>Summary: Phase I Evaluation of Intensive Special Probation Projects</u>. However, when references to internally generated TSP products are made here, only the main titles will be used.

probation programs. [1] A list of 126 active projects which appeared to meet the definition of Intensive Special Probation (ISP) was assembled from a variety of sources. From that list, 46 projects were determined to be viable and within the scope of ISP. The site selection process was presented in a similarly titled document, Site Visit/Selection, [2] A brief telephone survey was administered to each of these 46 projects, and the results were summarized in [3]. Drawing on the results of the telephone survey and various informal contacts, 20 project, sites were selected for actual visits by Georgia Tech ISP staff. A great deal of information about the intervention strategy, measurements and evaluations used at these sites was collected during the site visits and summarized in the report. Interventions Papers. [4] Intervention strategies found at individual sites were assimilated in Frameworks. [5] All of the foregoing findings. were presented in Knowledge Assessment. [6] This last document indicates what is known and what is knowable, what is measured, and what is measurable in Intensive Special Probation. Additional documents include Single Project Evaluation Design and Phase II Design. [7,8]

#### Contents of the Document

Chapter II of this document is a presentation of issues that were discovered during the initial stages of the Phase I study. These issues have been divided into three categories: (1) theoretical and operational, (2) measurement, and (3) evaluation.

Chapter III is a condensation of the frameworks developed for ISP. The condensation is from a very detailed display of numerous alternative paths or frameworks which have been developed to describe almost every ideal intervention that could be encountered.

Chapter IV is an examination of past findings on effectiveness and the effectiveness of sites visited by the Georgia Tech team. Effectiveness is examined for intensive supervision in one section and for special probation in a second section. Note Chapter IV also includes an examination of evaluation designs that have been used and are now being used by the projects which were visited. Pitfalls in evaluation are presented. Classes of variables for any probation project are developed.

Chapters V, VI, and VII assess the knowledge base for intensive special probation. Assumptions are derived from the reference frameworks and the known information concerning each framework is discussed. Chapter V concentrates on intensive supervision, Chapter VI considers treatment methods and client change. Finally, Chapter VII is concerned with effectiveness and cost.

Chapter VIII contains conclusions and recommendations. Based on all the preceding work, certain statements, criticisms, and suggestions are offered. Appendix A is a tabulation of issues presented in Chapter II, with comments on each issue and reference sources. Appendix B provides a list of projects visited.

#### CHAPTER II

#### ISSUES IN INTENSIVE SPECIAL PROBATION

o Many issues surround intensive special probation. These issues can be categorized in the following manner: (1) theoretical and operational, (2) measurement, and (3) evaluation. This Chapter presents an overview of these various kinds of issues. A tabular representation of the theoretical and operational, as well as the measurement issues with relevant comments and references is given in Appendix A. Full exposition of the issues can be found in [1] with supplemental information in [6].

#### Theoretical and Operational Issues

One of the primary theoretical and operational issues is the inability to guide intensive special probation projects on the basis of theoretical certainty. Lack of concrete evidence on effectiveness contributes to this uncertainty. This weakness considerably complicates effective design and operation of ISP's.

One of the areas of uncertainty concerns the choice of intervention method. Some believe that the role of the probation officer is to serve as a caseworker. Others argue that the role should be more as a referral agent. There are arguments for and against group counseling (group therapy, guided group interaction, group work). Supporters argue that since probationers must relate in groups during everyday life, it is a useful method of resolving problems. The choice between using the casework approach versus, or in conjunction with, group approaches depends upon the individual probationer's needs.

Educational upgrading and vocational training are intended to alleviate a prime source of recidivism among adult males - unemployment. The need for these services is generally recognized. The issue is that a job must be available at the completion of the training period to render the intervening linkage operational.

Some have tried team probation and acclaim its merits. However, it may be more expensive than the standard method of probation.

The use of volunteers has extended service to probationers and reduced the case load of probation officers. Lack of success is attributed more to managerial problems then to an invalid concept. The issue is in operational zing the volunteer programs to insure effectiveness. Important to success are coordination and supervision of the volunteers.

The use of financial penalties as a treatment method has the advantage of being less disruptive to the offender's life than sterner methods. However, when the cost of personnel, equipment, and overhead are much greater than the revenue generated, the use of this method is questioned. In addition, there are concerns that financial penalties do not deter later commission of crimes.

In addition to choice of method is choice of client. Some individuals have excellent potential for intensive special probation. Others, such as the violent offender, who under similar recurring circumstances will commit the same offense are clearly unlikely candidates. A question remaining is when does for work (based on age, sex, prior criminal record, criminal associations, etc.) and when should it be avoided? There are probably differential effects with different categories of offenders.

There is disagreement over what is the desired result of ISF. It is commonly agreed that a reduction in recidivism is desirable. Whether job retention, abstention from drugs and alcohol, community acceptance, and so on should be counted is debatable. Some claim that an exemplary diffe-style, the other than a short relapse into crime, or commission of less serious crimes represents success.

There are numerous debates in the literature about caseload size. There are those who believe that asking caseload questions without other considerations is a worthless venture. In favor of caseload reduction is the intervention hypothesis that says that more time will be available for the probation officer to devote to the probationer, thereby building a more personal relationship which will reduce recidivism. Contrary to this notion are many studies which have rendered the hypothesis inconclusive. One reason for increased recidivism in caseload reduction projects is the increased surveillance of the probationer. Contrary to this argument, if probationers are given intensive supervision of one hour per week, their activities for the other 167 hours are unobservable. The studies that have been conducted point to a need to determine the effects of graduated caseloads on the range of offender types and treatment methods.

In addition to caseload issues the extent to which the probationer should be included in the decision making process is relevant at several levels. For example, at the case level advantages of a probationer participating in file development include, among others, an understanding of responsibility for the offender's life in the community setting. A disadvantage is the disclosure of confidential information which the probationer may not be prepared to handle. At the project level, it is argued that the probationer should determine his or her needs rather than have services prescribed.

Another issue is the relationship between the probationer and the probation officer. The probation officer has great power since he or she can recommend revocation of probation. The probation officer has to weigh the development of a trusting relationship with the responsibility for reporting revocable acts to the courts. Thus, recidivism can largely be a function of the personality of the probation officer, and particularly the probation officer's values. These values vary with age, race, sex, education, agency policy, and so on.

Racial differences have received attention as an issue. Claims are made that probation officers of one race should not force their value system on probationers of the opposite race. Alternately, the destruction of misconceptions and stereotypes may be the result of a positive exposure.

The issue of cross-sex supervision has been raised—particularly where there is a woman probation officer. Resistance to these assignments include statements such as "women can't cope with an aggressive male offender." Research reports indicate that a competent probation officer of either sex can work with offenders of either sex.

A set of issues concerning organizational placement is of concern to ISP projects to the extent that such placement effects project management, delivery of service or outcomes. Two of these issues include (1) placement of the probation system in the judicial versus the executive branch of government, and (2) placement of probation administration at the state versus the local level. Convincing arguments are given on either side of these two issues. Another issue is geographical location of services. When asked to name the top issue in intensive special probation projects, many experts mentioned placement within a specific organization. For instance, appending an ISP project to an existing program may not generate the staff support needed for project sustenance.

45

Cost is a significant issue in intensive special probation as it influences design, operations and continuity. Cost analyses always show ISP to be cheaper than incarceration but, at best, this is a weak argument. The funding question associated with costs is forever lurking. Many ISPs have received short term funding, but their continued existence is an annual nightmare.

#### Measurement Issues

Quite a different set of issues are those related to measurement processes such as caseload or workload. Neither caseload nor workload is defined in a standard manner. The numerator in determining average caseload contains the average number of active cases. Determining this number creates problems since some elients may have absconded, some may be on mail-in report only or other status. When determining workload, credit is given for presentence investigations. The ratio of credit given varies from five active cases equals one presentence investigation all the way to 14 active cases equals one presentence investigation.

Measures of case contact also exist. Most of these measures concern quantity--number of contacts or time of contacts. Very few measure the quality of contact.

Outcome or success measures relate more to project goals than project activities. The most commonly employed outcome measure is recidivism. A major controversy, deals with the choice of negative behavior which should be counted as recidivism. For example, recidivism can occur with (1) unsuccessful probation termination (absconcion, revocation, conviction), (2) rearrest for a similar offense, (3) rearrest for a similar or lesser offense, and (4) reconviction of an additional crime. This listing could continue, but the point is that there are many variations of what constitutes recidivism.

The only other outcome measure besides recidivism which was reported in substantial numbers in the evaluations reviewed as part of this investigation was employment. However, the methods of reporting this data are unreliable as they are subject to bias and high variability.

#### Evaluation Issues

Designs used by projects that recently underwent evaluation were studied. The after-only design is the least valid form, and was only used in three. of 33 cases. A much more common design was the before-after comparison with nine of 33 cases using this approach. Unfortunately, before-after designs fail to control for a number of threats to validity (history, instrumentation, and maturation, for example).

Twelve of the 33 evaluations used a group comparison. This was the most popular design. Since comparison groups are not randomly assigned, some group differences may account for differences in outcome. However, the group comparison is superior to the before-after design. Nine of the 33 evaluation designs employed a control group. Many of the evaluations indicated problems with the control groups not achieving the randomness desired.

There were also problems reported in implementing the evaluation design.
The most common problem arose from conflicts between the service function and the research function. For example, the court ordered certain offenders to an ISP project preventing any chance to allow randomness in making assignments.

Another common implementation problem occurred when several projects operated in the same jurisdiction at the same time. However, no research design can make it possible to distinguish between the effects of the particular program elements unless they are not all applied to the same population. A final

set of recurring problems in implementing evaluation designs arises when the operation of the ISP project affects the level of service provided by normal probation. One community had so many ISPs underway that the normal probation ach eved a marked caseload reduction and also became an ISP.

#### Major Assumptions

There are certain assumptions which are more-or-less implicit in the ISP projects that were studied. Some of these are quite basic and relatively untestable, others are liable to experimental study. In any event, all appear quite generally across ISP projects yet merit consideration as issues since they have been so readily accepted without experimental verification. The major assumptions are as follows:

- (1) Most all of the projects operate under a "pro-probation" bias, assuming that it is a desirable and viable approach to corrections.
- (2) Probation is a sufficiently strong treatment to after client attitudinal and behavioral patterns developed over a lifetime.
- (3) Increased contact time between probation staff and clients favorably affects the development of more helpful relationships.
- (4) Increased contact time between probation staff and clients increases the level of client monitoring.
- (5) The helping and surveillance roles are separable.
- (6) Helping relationships promote client self-functioning, socialization, and success in attaining a crime-free lifestyle.
- (7) Increased surveillance may lead to increased revocation.
- (8) Obtaining and maintaining employment is vital to client stabilization and development of self-functioning abilities.
- (9) Intensive special probation is a cost effective alternative in comparison to incarceration.

#### Information Sources

The issues described in this Chapter were developed from the articles, books, and reports listed in the References 29 through 93. In addition, 20 sites were visited to investigate and further define the relevance of selected issues. The sites visited are listed as references 9 through 28.

To select the sites first required the identification of actual interventions in the field. Five sources of information were used, including:

- (1) LEAA's Grant Management Information Service.
- (2) LEAA report, A Compendium of Selected Criminal Justice Projects.
- (3) Preliminary telephone survey to LEAA regional offices and state planning agencies.
- (4) Other projects suggested by the respondents to the telephone survey.
- (5) Recommendations of the Local Advisory Board.

Of the 126 potential projects, 46 operational, truly ISP projects were eventually located and interviewed by telephone. The results of these interviews is presented in [3].

The projects selected for site visits were chosen from the 46 ISP projects which had been interviewed by telephone. Of these 46 projects, 20 were selected for site visits. The principal criterion for selecting projects to be visited was the existence of a "good" project evaluation, based upon the judgment of the telephone survey interviewer. Several important factors influenced this judgment. First, it was desirable that the project have an evaluation effort including a research design. Second, it was desirable that the project have a "good" data base. Of the original 46 ISP projects, 36 received a non-negative judgmental response from the interviewers with respect to this last criterion.

To further narrow the candidates for selection two secondary selection criteria were established. First, the projects should, if possible, utilize a unique approach to probation. Second, the projects selected for site visits should conform to the general characteristics of the entire population of the 46 ISP projects. Using these criteria, the final 20 projects to be visited were selected.

Uniform site visit reports were prepared including information organized as follows:

- 1.0 Project Description
  - 1.1 Project Title
  - 1.2 Project Location
  - 1.3 Project Purpose
  - 1.4 Project Funding
  - 1.5 Project Duration
- 2.0 Project History
- 3.0 Visit Summary
- 4.0 Intervention Diagram and Narrative
  - 4.1 Intervention Process Flow Diagram
  - 4.2 Intervention Diagram Narrative
    - 4.2.1 Overview of Activities and Assumed Sequence of Causation
    - 4.2.2 Block Details

These site visit reports were collected and presented in [4]. Additional supporting site visit materials including the survey instrument, evaluation and monitoring reports, and descriptive materials (flyers, news releases, procedures, etc.) have been collected and are available to a Phase II grantee.

#### CHAPTER III

#### A REFERENCE FRAMEWORK

An important element of the National Evaluation Program approach to criminal justice programs is the development of a framework or intervention theory for each class of projects. Frameworks are presented as block-flow diagrams in which blocks represent inputs, activities, and outputs of the projects and arrows indicate assumed directions of causation. By defining the underlying theory of the projects the frameworks provide a useful reference for both validating the concepts implicit in the project design and planning the measurement and evaluation of the projects.

The Frameworks report provides details of such an intervention theory for the ISP projects considered in Georgia Tech's Phase I national evaluation. [5] In that paper it was observed that no single detailed framework could serve for the many ISP projects in the United States. Moreover, when an attempt was made to solicit the outline of a framework from project personnel, the exercise was usually well received by the project, but it was clear that a systematic theory had only rarely been verbalized before Georgia Tech's contact with the projects. Thus, any single framework for intensive special probation projects must be considered both oversimplified and preliminary.

Within such limits, however, it will be useful to offer some single framework as a point of reference for the body of this assessment. Exhibit III-1 presents such a reference framework. A brief overview of the frameworks is presented in the remainder of this chapter.

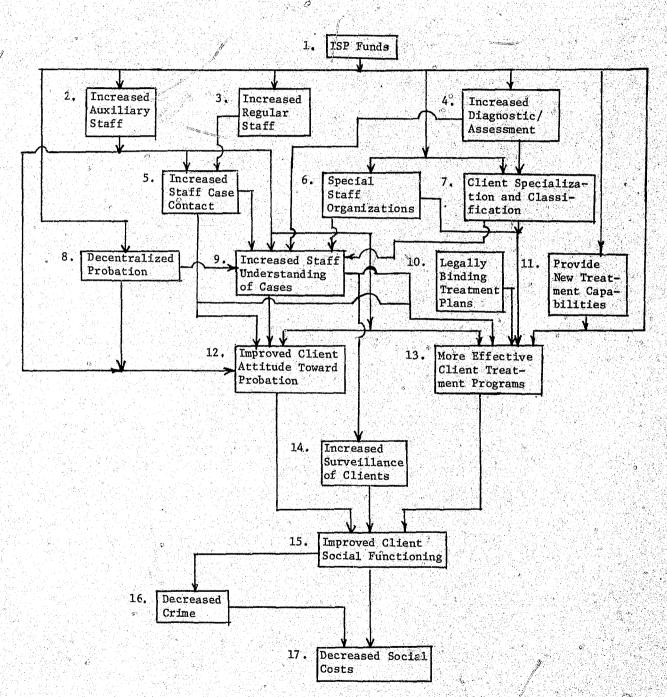
Virtually every intensive special probation project requires some input of "ISP Funds" (Block 1). When "Increased Regular Staff" (Block 3) are involved, such staff are usually the major project cost. "Increased Auxiliary Staff" (Block 2)—typically either volunteers or paraprofessionals—also require some funds, but the amount is usually less because auxiliaries are unpaid or paid less. Increases in either of these forms of staff are presumed to lead to "Increased Staff Case Contact" (Block 5). The nature of the contact may take many forms, and the contact may be with the offender or others concerned with the case, but some increase in contact is assumed in intensive probation.

ISP projects may also seek to operate by "Client Specialization and Classification" (Block 7), i.e., by offering different services to different offender groups. "Increased Diagnostic/Assessment" services (Block 4) are often required to support schemes for classifying clients or selection procedures for projects dealing with special client groups. Such special probation capabilities may operate either within or outside a structure of "Decentralized Probation" (Block 8), i.e., probation offices operated in the communities where clients live. Another form of specialization is the use of "Special Staff Organizations" (Block 6)—often probation teams—to bring multiple supervision talents to bear on each case.

A key justification for all such intensifications and specializations of probation resources is that "Increased Staff Understanding of Cases" (Block 9) will result. One assumed cause is the increased familiarity associated with increased contact. Others are the probation staff sophistication resulting from various forms of specialization and increased diagnostic/assessment services. Finally, indigenous knowledge, held by paraprofessionals or gained by locating probation in neighborhood facilities, may contribute to staff rapport with clients.

EXHIBIT III-1

#### A REFERENCE FRAMEWORK FOR INTENSIVE SPECIAL PROBATION PROJECTS



A major objective sought in ISP is "More Effective Client Treatment Programs" (Block 13). "Treatment" may involve a wide range of services offered probationers, including a spectrum from psychoanalytic treatment to employment and housing assistance.

ISP programs attempt to increase the effectiveness of treatment in many ways. Increased staff contact with cases permits more direct counseling of clients and improved use of available community resources. Other aids to use of community resources are specialized staff knowledge of programs gained through neighborhood location or client specialization, extra care in formulating "Legally Binding Treatment Plans" (Block 10) and additional funds to purchase treatment and service. In a few cases projects directly "Provide New Treatment Capabilities" (Block 11). Staff decisions in both counseling and referral are aided by increased understanding and familiarity with cases.

The general purpose of more effective treatment programs is "Improved Client Social Functioning" (Block 15). Improved functioning may take the form of positive changes in the client's attitudes and self-image, changes in family environment, changes in educational and economic standing, changes in drinking/drug use habits, or changes in many other elements of the client's relation to society.

The effectiveness of probation programs in bringing about such changes is assisted by "Improved Client Attitudes Toward Probation" (Block 12). Among the assumed causes of improved attitudes are the added convenience of decentralized probation and the apparently more supportive role of probation staff associated with increased contact, better staff understanding, more effective referrals, and the less authoritarian image of volunteers and paraprofessionals. Changes in client functioning may also be brought about by the "Increased Surveillance of Clients" (Block 14) implied by increased staff understanding of cases.

One direct and immediate outcome presumed to follow from improved client functioning is "Decreased Crime" (Block 16). Decreases are achieved mainly through reductions in clients' recidivism, i.e., return to crime. However, the improved social functioning may have many other implications for "Decreased Social Costs" (Block 17). Increased employment, decreased incarceration and decreased crime all make major contributions to social cost reduction.

#### CHAPTER IV

#### OVERALL EFFECTIVENESS RESULTS

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a critical review of overall evaluation results which have been collected as part of the background research and site visits of Georgia Tech's Phase I National Evaluation of ISP. The discussion will focus on the broad difficulties of interpreting and drawing conclusions from those results. Since virtually all the results use some concept of recidivism reduction as a measure of success, the terms "success," "effectiveness," and "recidivism reduction" will be used here interchangeably.

#### Effectiveness of Caseload Reduction in Probation

For many years, probation professionals debated the value of different caseload sizes, i.e., different numbers of clients being assigned per probation officer. Thus, it is not surprising that the overall ISP effectiven ness issue which has received the most research attention is the impact of reductions in caseload on probation success.

A number of interesting reviews of caseload research are available in the criminological literature [29,30,31,42,49,59,70]. However, these reviews have given real attention to only one adult probation project, the San Francisco project operated in the federal probation system in the late 1960's.

That project was undertaken in two phases. The first randomly selected probationers for two "ideal" caseloads of 40, two "intensive" caseloads of 20, and one "minimum" caseload of several hundred, leaving all other cases in "normal" caseloads of 70 to 130. The second phase used a selection procedure to assign probationers to caseloads. Because it involved random allocation to different caseload sizes, the first phase is the one most useful in assessing overall effectiveness. Analysis (see for example [32]) showed that, excluding technical violations, the minimum supervision caseload was not significantly less successful than other caseloads. Smaller caseloads appeared to produce more technical violations.

Though it is much referenced and discussed, the San Francisco project would appear to be an unsatisfactory basis for general conclusions about caseload size in adult probation. An obvious concern in generalizing is the fact that the study was operated within the federal correctional system where the mix of probationers' crimes is unlikely to match that in state and local probation. Also, while the "minimum" caseload was handled on a time available basis by several officers, the testing of only two "intensive" and two "ideal" caseloads certainly raises concern about interactions between results and officer supervision styles. Adams et al., in their critique of the project, observe that there was "deliberate effort to avoid identification of particular officer styles in the research..." [32] Finally, there were a host of minor methodological difficulties with the San Francisco project (discussed for example in [32]) which collectively cast some doubt on the validity of the results obtained.

Beyond the San Francisco project, most discussion in various reviews of caseload research has dealt with parole or juvenile probation projects. Most often discussed are a series of projects in California, including a four phase Special Intensive Parole Unit, a three phase Narcotic Treatment and Control Project, a Parole Work Unit Program, and the California

Youth Authority's Community Treatment and Narcotic Control Programs. Though the evaluation of nearly every one of these projects was subject to methodo-logical problems which tend to invalidate results, a general pattern can be discerned from the excellent analyses in [29], [30], [59], and [70]. The adult parole projects tended to detect no significant differences in recidivism rates among offenders in caseloads of different sizes, but some increased success was observed when juvenile offenders were placed in very small caseloads (typically 10 to 20). Typical of the conclusions about juvenile probationers is Lipton, Martinson, and Wilkes observation,

"A clear finding is that intensive probation supervision is associated with reduction in recidivism among males and females under 18 years of age. This conclusion is based on five studies in which youthful subjects were randomly assigned to various forms of intensive supervision and to supervision for varying periods of time up to a maximum of 26 months. Four of these five studies reduced caseloads to 15 (16 in one case) for the experimental group while the controls were placed in caseloads varying from 50 to 101." [70]

Since the late 1960's, the date of most reviews of caseload research, a number of large adult probationer projects have been undertaken in different parts of the United States. Certain of these projects were visited by the Georgia Tech ISP team, and information about others is available in evaluation reports supplied to the Georgia Tech staff. Many projects did not have evaluations which are sufficiently definitive to be quoted here.

One study for which a report, but not a site visit, was available for this assessment is the Intensive Supervision Project operated by the Florida Parole and Probation Commission in 1971-1972. [55] This project provided service to a sample of 9,030 probationers and parolees randomly selected from the caseloads in various districts of the State. Experimental caseloads consisted of 35 "high risk" probationers and parolees. Control group caseloads contained 70 cases, 35 "high risk" and 35 "medium" or "low risk". Comparison of revocation rates between experimentals and controls who were classified "high risk" (there were at least 1,497 such individuals) showed no significant differences for probationers. Parolees in the experimental group were statistically significantly more likely to be revoked than those in the control group. No analyses are reported on rearrests, reconvictions or other measures of recidivism.

Another significant caseload reduction project is the Oklahoma Department of Corrections' Special Community Supervision Project reported in [59]. Project caseloads of 50 were randomly selected from the probation and parole population and compared to control caseloads of 160-170. Approximately 90% of the clients were probationers. No significant differences in success rate were observed between project and control groups, but detail methodological difficulties bring into question the accuracy of this conclusion (see [59] for specifics).

The Volunteer Probation Counselor Program in Lincoln, Nebraska [68] essentially reduces caseload to one by assigning a volunteer counselor to each project client. A randomly selected control group receives standard probation supervision. All clients in both groups have been convicted of misdemeanors. Apparently valid results reported by Ku in [68] show substantially lower recidivism rates among the group supervised by volunteers, especially when traffic offenses are eliminated from recidivism calculations. However,

the sample sizes associated with the two groups are not sufficient to guarantee statistical significance of the recidivism reduction. Moreover, any reduction may be due more to the special nature of volunteer counseling than the quantity of case contact.

Only one of the 20 probation projects visited by the Georgia Tech ISP team had yet reported evaluation results based on a methodologically sound evaluation plan. That project was the Intensive Services Unit of the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Adult Probation Project. [16,87] Clients of the Intensive Services Unit are sex offenders and persons placed on "psychiatric probation." Caseloads in the project are typically near 50. A comparison of rearrest rates between a sample of project clients and a sample of similar clients in caseloads exceeding 100 showed statistically significantly lower rates for project clients. [87] However, the concept of the project calls for a much different quality as well as quantity of supervision than that experienced in normal caseloads. In particular, the Intensive Services Unit seeks to take a more psychological/psychiatric approach to probation, including a heavy emphasis on assessment. Thus, it is possible that the observed success is a consequence of the special nature of treatment rather than caseload size.

Several other caseload reduction projects encountered as part of Georgia Tech's ISP study claimed recidivism decreased but had either not prepared final analyses or had not employed a valid comparison group in drawing conclusions. Among the caseload reduction projects visited by Georgia Tech which reported preliminary findings of recidivism reductions were the High Impact Intensive Supervision Narcotics Unit [11] and the Intensive Differentiated Supervision of Impact Parolees and Probationers [12] projects in Baltimore, the Volunteers in Probation project in Evansville, Indiana [18] and the Intensive Supervision Program [16] in Denver. Only the Denver project is known to plan a more complete evaluation in the near future. Project reports were received which implied recidivism reductions associated with decreased caseloads in Utah [90] and in the cities of Dallas [51,52]. Cleveland [46], Philadelphia [81], Royal Oak, Michigan [69], and Norfolk, Virginia [72]. However, none of these studies reported recidivism analysis in relation to a satisfactory group comparison evaluation design. It should also be noted that, like the Philadelphia project mentioned above, many projects in both these incomplete and inadequate evaluation groups have special as well as caseload reduction aspects. Thus, any results which are observed could have derived from either the special or the intensive nature of the projects.

Summarizing all the caseload reduction research reviewed in this section, it appears that the weight of scientifically valid evidence is on the side of the hypothesis that caseload reduction alone does not significantly reduce recidivism in adult probationers. However, there is limited evidence to the contrary, and very small caseloads have proven to be effective with juveniles. Moreover, results on both sides of the question are so tainted by methodological problems that broad conclusions are not warranted.

#### Effectiveness of Special Forms of Probation

As might be expected because of the wide range of program possibilities, research results on the effectiveness of special forms of probation are even more sparse than that on caseload reduction. However, the results which were obtained as part of Georgia Tech's review of ISP will be briefly summarized in this section.

A widely advocated special probation scheme is the use of volunteers and paraprofessionals to assist regular probation officers in case supervision. One use of volunteers is in specialized employment counseling like that of the Monroe County (New York) Probation Employment and Guidance Program. A report by Cronin et al. [50], which is apparently based on comparisons to a validly selected control group, showed no significant differences in recidivism as a result of the project but did imply some success in obtaining employment for clients. The more standard use of volunteers and paraprofessionals is in providing direct probation counseling and supervision to clients. The only study obtained for this assessment which included a convincing evaluation of such a use of volunteers was the Lincoln, Nebraska Volunteer Probation Counselor Program. [84] Substantial recidivism reductions were measured among misdemeanant offenders but the reductions were not shown to be statistically significant. Other comparative results showing some reductions in recidivism are reported for volunteer programs in Royal Oaks, Michigan [69] and Evansville, Indiana. [18]

Another approach to special probation delivery is to specialize the type of treatment provided probationers, either by classifying the probationers and giving different treatment to different classes, or by selecting a special client group for project concentration. Because of the difficulty in arranging a suitable comparison group, no client classification projects reviewed as part of this assessment provided quantitative evidence—either pro or con—for the effectiveness of classification in reducing recidivism.

On the contrary there are several findings which are apparently based on valid evaluation designs in projects with specialized clienteles. One such project is the Philadelphia Intensive Services Unit discussed above. This Unit specializes in clients who are either sex offenders or offenders designated by judges as requiring "psychiatric probation." Evaluation results for the Intensive Services Unit [22] show a statistically significant reduction in project client recidivism, as compared to a comparable sample of other probationers.

The Utah SOCIO probation program specializes in Mexican-American clients [90]. Special bi-lingual counselors were provided by the Spanish-speaking Organization for Community, Integrity and Opportunity to Chicano clients of the Utah Division of Adult Probation and Parole. A sample of project clients was carefully matched with comparable clients experiencing the normal probation system. Sample sizes involved were too small to provide statistically significant results, but a reduction of recidivism for the project group was measured.

Another project, operating in four counties of Oregon, concentrates on burglary offenders. [24,79] Recidivism of project clients is compared to that of burglary offenders in four other counties which are reasonable well-matched to the project counties. Results to date show no significant differences between project and matched counties in recidivism.

Two projects were identified which had obtained some results on the effectiveness of probation programs specializing in drug offenders. The Baltimore High
Impact Narcotics Unit has operated a valid evaluation design but produced only
preliminary results. [11] The Philadelphia Comprehensive Drug Control Project
evaluation report makes comparisons only to similar projects in other parts of
the United States. [81] However, both projects report some recidivism reductions
in project clients.

A third class of special probation projects for which some overall effectiveness results are available includes various programs to decentralize probation delivery by locating probation supervisors in neighborhood or regional offices. One major project of this type is the Caseload Management/Addition to Supervision project in Philadelphia's Adult Probation Department. [41,86] Seven district offices are being operated in different sections of Philadelphia, with clients from other offices being supervised at downtown offices. Personnel in district offices perform all probation functions (including, for example, intake), while central offices probation supervisors are specialized into various supervision units. Preliminary, but apparently reliable, evaluation results in [41,86] show no significant differences in recidivism between the two groups.

The Philadelphia Outreach Sub-Offices and Chester District Office project is a decentralization effort of the Pennsylvania State Board of Probation and Parole, Five outreach sub-offices are operated in Philadelphia, and a separate office provides service to neighboring Chester and Delaware counties. Clients not assigned to these decentralized centers are supervised by the Philadelphia District Office in downtown Philadelphia. Caseloads in sub-offices average near 50, and those of the district offices have ranged widely from 60 up. Comparisons between recidivism rates for the central and decentralized offices show decentralized offices statistically significantly lower. However, rough analysis for probationers alone (the project includes both probation and parole) shows recidivism higher in the decentralized facilities.

Two other projects for which less complete recidivism information is presently available are the Pennsylvania Regional Offices and Sub-Offices project, which decentralized probation offices in various parts of the State of Pennsylvania [82], and the Intensive Supervision Program in Denver [16,61]. The Pennsylvania project reports some evidence of lower recidivism among probationers supervised by decentralized offices as compared to those supervised by large, regional offices, but there are numerous problems in comparing the two client groups. The Denver project has produced only preliminary results, but some differences in favor of the decentralized facilities are reported.

#### Evaluation Designs and Their Implementation

The valid effectiveness results for intensive special probation presented earlier in this chapter are extremely limited in number and in many cases negative, i.e., no effect was observed. In assessing why there are so few valid results from the numerous intensive and special probation projects which have been implemented in the past several years, it is worth reviewing the state of the art in designing and implementing ISP evaluations.

A minimal requirement for an evaluation design to be able to detect any change in effectiveness measures which might be attributed to the project is some form of comparison. An effect can only be assessed in relation to some group not experiencing the same treatment as the project group. Before-after/comparisons on service in the same probation unit provide some information, but any results obtained are tainted by the possibility that changes in the environment or long term trends, not the project, were the cause of the effect. Comparisons to adhoc groups--typically probationers receiving the normal supervision--provides more information. Historical and environmental changes are at least experienced by both groups. However, there is no guarantee that any differences observed between the groups is not a consequence of differences in the makeup of the groups rather than differences in treatments. The most valid excitation designs are ones which use a comparison group, but match or randomly assign members to project and control groups. If a difference between groups is observed in such an evaluation, it can reasonably be attributed to differences in treatment of clients.

Review of the materials and site visits assembled for this assessment reveals that a major cause of the present poor state of overall effectiveness information is the total absence of a convincing evaluation design in the majority or projects. Of the 20 projects visited by Georgia Tech teams, only half indicated any form of quantitative group comparison evaluation of overall effectiveness. Seven of the ten comparative designs were either randomized control group or matched group designs, and the remaining three were comparisons to ad hoc groups. Of the numerous project reports and evaluations assembled from projects

not visited, only the 12 mentioned in previous discussions reported any comparative results. Three used before-after comparisons, three used ad hoc comparison groups, and six used random or matched control groups,

Even where a valid evaluation plan exists there is no assurance of satisfactory implementation. One class of problems is well known in the social science literature. Internal difficulties in the operation of projects produce breakdowns in the validity of comparisons. Judges sometimes choose to specifically order clients assigned to a project group in violation of a random assignment rule. Similarly clients may be transferred from an intensive to a lower service probation unit after successfully completing a few months of probation. Comparisons between groups are thus confused by the transfers.

It is important to note that by no means all projects visited by Georgia Tech had experienced such difficulties with implementation. In fact, most of the sites with random or matched control groups had not experienced difficulty in maintaining the validity of the design. Excellent examples are High Impact Narcotics Unit and the Intensive Differentiated Supervision Unit in Baltimore, both of which apparently maintained quite sound random control group designs. [11,12]

A much more common difficulty destroying the usefulness of evaluation results is inadequate time and support for evaluation. Of the ten visited sites with evaluations only one has definitely produced a meaningful evaluation report, and only one or two others can be expected to produce such reports. To understand the reason for this absence of follow-through it is worth reviewing a hypothetical, but typical project history.

The project is designed to operate over a three year period with the hope that the local agency housing the project would assume funding after initial grant funds are exhausted. During the first year of operations a host of difficulties arise in obtaining sufficient numbers of clients and in establishing adequate data collection procedures for evaluation. Thus, results for the initial period are not representative. During the second year the project and the project data collection schemes perform quite adequately. During the third year, because grant funds are about to expire, a freeze is placed on hiring of staff. As vacancies occur they are not filled, and personnel are transferred as quickly as possible to positions which become available in the regular probation organization. Thus, the third year is also not representative. The one project group that is not transferred to regular probation operations is the evaluation staff. As soon as outside employment opportunities present themselves, evaluators leave and are not replaced, A final evaluation of the project is either never performed or performed in a very cursory manner.

Several aspects of case histories like this hypothetical one present major difficulties for adequate evaluation of intensive probation. The greatest difficulty is that the three year period is far too short for adequate evaluation (many projects have even shorter duration). As noted, operations reach a typical state only during the middle months of the project. If even one year of follow-up is allowed in assessing recidivism, it is impossible for results from the typical period to be available before the end of the project. This is especially true if reconviction, rather than rearrest is used as a measure of recidivism (as recommended by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals [74]) because of court delays in processing cases to conviction. This timing dilemma also brings about the tendency to disregard evaluation at the end of the project. If the project has already ended, then its success or failure cannot be of much interest to regular probation officials. Their continued interest and support of evaluation can be expected only if evaluation results arise early

enough to guide them in program planning, for example, in deciding whether to assume costs of the project when grant funds expire. Similarly, the support of project staff in carefully collecting evaluation data cannot be expected if it is apparent that the data will not produce results during the life of the project. If meaningful evaluation is to be obtained from probation projects, the duration of the projects must be extended long enough to permit useful results to be reported back to project management and staff well before the termination of the project.

Even if valid evaluations of sufficient duration to produce meaningful results were being implemented as part of the many intensive and special probation projects, however, it is unlikely that it would soon be possible to produce general conclusions about the usefulness of intensive special probation as a criminal justice program. The careful measurement of an effect attributable to a project in one setting provides little information about how a similar project would operate in a different setting.

Two major classes of variables are at work in any probation project which do not prohibit the identification of a project effect but do affect the generalizability of the results. One such class includes the many differences in clients, environment and probation staff which might be encountered by a particular project but are exogenous to the project. A very partial list, drawn from a review of available materials, is shown in Exhibit TV-1. Taken together these variables could significantly effect the success or failure of otherwise equal projects.

To increase the generalizability of results from a probation evaluation it is necessary to at least measure variables like those noted in Exhibit IV-1. However, only a few of the many projects reviewed during this Phase I study reported any systematic control for such effects. In fact, the only device used in more than one or two isolated cases is the California Base Expectancy instrument which seeks to predict the probability of a client recidivating. [59,77]

The second class of variables which must be considered in generalizing results from one probation project to another are those endogenous to the project. Simply because the same number of probation officers or the same number of decentralized offices are provided to a probation project, it does not follow that the same results will accrue. This observation continues to hold even when the many conditions in Exhibit TV-1 are substantially equal in the two projects. An in-depth understanding of the processes by which the project effected success must be obtained in order to assure that a similar project is following the same approach.

Unfortunately, the next several chapters will show that attempts to develop a systematic understanding of ISP interventions have at best been primitive. No project visited or otherwise reviewed during this research used more than very rough measures of project interventions. Almost none used any validated measurement instruments whatever. Thus, even in the relatively few cases where effects have been measured through valid evaluation designs, very little knowledge was obtained.

In recognizing the need for more effective control information about both project programs and exogenous variables, it is important to distinguish two different standards of validity which might be applied to procedures and instruments to measure particular variables. At one level is validity as an operational tool. In this regard, for example, a client classification scheme is useful if it reliably indicates the type of treatment to which the client should be subjected. Another example is an instrument which reliably evaluates whether a client should be granted probation. This operational validity standard is very high and quite difficult to meet. Few instruments are known which have achieved operational validity.

The control level of validity required to improve the knowledge value of probation experimentation is much less demanding. In the case of a client classification instrument, the control level of validity requires only that over a large sample, clients requiring a particular type of freatment will have a statistical tendency to group clients by their chances of successful probation. It is quite possible that instruments and instrument design approaches which are not promising in terms of operational validity could meet the standard of control validity. More attention to such instruments is needed. 18

#### EXHIBIT IV-1

#### PARTIAL LIST OF EXOGENOUS VARIABLES

#### SUGGESTED AS CAUSES OF OUTCOMES

#### Client Differences

- --Criminal history
- --Fraction of parolees included in the client set
- --Social/economic status
- --Age, sex, race
- --Education
- --Social/psychological maturity
- --Substance dependencies
- ---Family status
- -- Previous experience with probation supervision

#### Environment Differences

- --Availability of community services
- --Urban vs. rural character of the community
- -- Economic status of the community

#### Probation Staff Differences

- --Personal style of officers
- --Officer enthusiasm for the project
- --Prior officer probation experience

#### CHAPTER V

#### KNOWLEDGE ASSESSMENT: INTENSITY OF PROBATION SUPERVISION

The reference framework for intensive special probation projects in Exhibit III-1 portrays a rough theory of the sequence of causation through which probation program innovations are assumed to bring about desired social outcomes. A fundamental principle underlying many of the assumptions implied by the rrows in Exhibit III-1 is the concept of intensive probation, i.e., probation supervision involving quantitative and/or qualitative increases in the depth of supervision service. In this chapter the many dimensions and hypotheses associated with the concept of intensive probation will be reviewed and assessed as to the present state of knowledge.

#### Increased Contact

Case contact in probation supervision is the amount of interaction between probation staff (regular and auxiliary) and the case including not only direct interaction with the client, but also interaction with other persons interested in his case (family, employers, etc.). The most straightforward of the ISP projects are those which begin with the assumption:

Decreases in the average number of cases assigned individual probation officers result in increases in the average amount of officer contact with cases.

An immediate problem in assessing the validity of such an assumption is the selection of an appropriate measure of contact. The approach most often taken in probation studies is to measure contact on the basis of the total number of contacts with the case. A smaller number of studies substitute estimates of the total time officers are in contact with cases.

On the basis of these measures, some limited results are available which tend to support the assumption that decreased caseload results in increased contact. The San Francisco study, which varied caseload levels in the federal probation system, showed significantly higher numbers of contacts associated with lower caseloads. [30,32] A statistically significant increase in the number of contacts was observed in the Florida Intensive Supervision Project. [55] Significant increases were also reported in the time of contact with cases in the Florida study. Similarly, increases in number of contacts and time of contacts were reported in California's Special Intensive Parole Unit studies. [59] As part of the Georgia Tech site visits, the Philadelphia Intensive Services Unit [19] and the Baltimore High Impact Narcotics Unit [11] indicated preliminary findings in increases in contact. All these studies measured contact levels in comparison to matched or randomly selected control groups and can thus be considered reasonably convincing though each had some methodological difficulties.

Some hesitancy appears warranted, however, in concluding that increases in contact will automatically result from decreases in caseload. One concern is that results in the studies mentioned above may have been (at least partially) a consequence of differences in enthusiasm for careful reporting of contacts. Project personnel could be expected to record contacts more meticulously than over-burdened probation officers carrying large, control group caseloads.

A more significant concern is the one voiced at a number of sites visited by Georgia Tech personnel that certain types of probation officers may find it difficult to adjust to a pattern of increased contact when caseloads are reduced. [11,12,16,19,23] Probation officers accustomed to devoting most of their time to pre-sentence investigations and routine paperwork on cases may find themselves completely unequipped to undertake additional direct contact with cases.

No probation study reviewed for this assessment had employed any validated instrument which might be used to detect such prior dispositions of probation officers. A literature of correctional officer typologies does exist. [33] However, this literature has apparently not been brought to bear systematically on the issue of controlling for supervisor styles in determining whether a probation department will be receptive to increased contact.

A second broad approach to increasing the probation supervision resources available for case contact is the use of auxiliary staff—volunteer and paraprofessional probation supervisors. An important justification for the use of such programs is the assumption:

Assignment of volunteer or paraprofessional counselors to probationers results in an increase in the average amount of contact with cases.

Observe that in such cases a "reduction in caseloads" may not technically occur. Legal caseload responsibility is typically left with a professional probation officer even if the great bulk of actual contact is performed by the volunteer or paraprofessional. In fact, caseloads may technically increase because officers supervise large numbers of probationers through auxiliary staff assistants.

It is intuitively reasonable to expect that large scale use of volunteers and paraprofessionals in a probation jurisdiction would increase the average contact per case. The only reason this assumption would not follow is if the probation officer's time consumed in recruiting and supervising auxiliary staff was equivalent to the time spent by the auxiliary staff in contact with cases. There appears to be no reason why this issue could not be studied, but unfortunately, no probation project reviewed included comparison of the quantity of contact with clients in a volunteer or paraprofessional project group versus that in an appropriate comparison group. Since several visited projects did employ substantial professional staff in managing auxiliary personnel—staffs which could have been providing direct contact if auxiliary personnel were not being used—it must be concluded that the contact effect of volunteer and paraprofessional projects has not been definitively established.

One final consideration in the assumed model for probation projects seeking to increase contact can be stated as the assumption:

Increased probation contact with cases results in more effective probation treatment.

Of course, an adequate investigation of this question requires a satisfactory measure of treatment effectiveness. However, it should be noted that to the degree treatment effectiveness can be measured by recidivism in any form, the caseload reduction literature tends weakly to refute the above assumption. A majority of the projects mentioned above which measured significant increases in contact in connection with caseload reductions, also measured no decreases in recidivism rates with smaller caseloads. Thus, the studies tend to imply that increases purely in the quantity of contact (as measured by number or time of contact) do not affect treatment success.

#### More Efficient Contact

cer attention.

An alternative intensity dimension to the pure quantity of contact with probation cases is the efficient use of contact time. Many schemes for ISP can be viewed as seeking to improve the efficiency of contact through more effective management of probation staff. The most widely employed approach is the use of some form of case classification. Such projects depend strongly on the assumption:

Clients can be efficiently classified into groups for which different amounts of supervision are appropriate.

basis of the classification should result in more productive probation contact. Numerous classification systems have been proposed or used in various locales. A survey in Georgia Tech's <u>Issues Paper</u> [1] on ISP reported classifications in use in Georgia, Virginia, Maryland, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, and California, and [60] describes a British system. The classification systems address at least two rather different dimensions of client need. On the one hand are classifications which seek to determine the degree of risk associated with a particular client. Risk is usually defined in terms of potential for recidivism. Other classification approaches attempt to measure the amount of supervision service required by the client. The difference between the two dimensions is illustrated by a moderate risk offender who, because he

If the assumption is true, allocation of probation supervision resources on the

In spite of the widespread use, however, very little research is known which has successfully validated probationer classification techniques. One exception is the California Base Expectancy Score which has demonstrated the useful capability to forecast the recidivism risk associated with various client groups. [59,77] An original version was developed as part of California's Work Unit Parole Program and proved effective in assessing risk over a number of years with numerous cases. [59] A modified, probation version was developed and applied successfully in the federal probation system. [77] Both concentrate heavily on the client's prior arrest record, substance dependencies, employment history and family influences.

indicates a receptivity to counseling, may be most worthy of probation offi-

Since recidivism data and simple descriptors of the client and his environment can be obtained fairly easily, it should be possible to eventually develop satisfactory approaches to predicting the recidivism risk associated with a given client group. The matter of a scheme to evaluate the type and amount of probation supervision which should be provided a given group of clients is a much more complex task. In the general field of corrections numerous classification schemes taking such a treatment focus have been proposed and researched. A complete review of this literature is beyond the scope of this document but it can be stated that no method has achieved wide acceptance.\* Moreover, it is worth noting that only one well-researched approach, the Jesness Inventory, was found in use at any of the 20 sites visited by Georgia Tech as part of this project, and it was only used at one site. [14] Thus, it appears that a severe knowledge gap exists at least in bringing past research on client classification to the level of practical usefulness to large scale probation projects.

A good summary is provided in the report of the National Advisory Commission of Criminal Justice Standards and Goals on Corrections. [74]

#### Qualitative Differences in Contact

A third, and more nebulous dimension of the intensity of probation supervision is the quality of the interactions between the probation staff and the client or persons important to him. In some cases the quantity of contact may not be increased at all but it is hoped that special knowledge and orientation of the probation staff will lead to more effective use of contact time. A partial list of the quality-change assumptions underlying various ISP projects would include the following:

Specialization of the project in clients of a particular type will result in increased officer understanding of the subject client-type and thus in more intensive officer-case interaction.

Organization of the probation staff into teams jointly supervising the same caseload will result in a better match of officer skills and client needs in particular situations and thus in more intensive officer-case interaction.

Indigenous knowledge and less-authoritarian images of volunteer and paraprofessional probation supervisors results in a more frank and thus more intensive staff-case interaction.

Decentralization of probation facilities into client's neighborhoods results in increased officer familiarity with the social environment in which clients live and thus in more intensive officer-case interaction.

More thorough diagnostic and assessment activities at the point of probation intake leads to increased officer understanding of clients and thus to more intensive officercase interaction.

Each of the above assumptions can, in turn be seen to have two component steps. A first "knowledge" sub-assumption presumes that a particular program specialization will lead to increased staff knowledge or understanding of the client and his environment. A second "translation" sub-assumption presumes that increased knowledge will be translated into more meaningful interaction between the probation staff, the client and his environment.

Many probation staffs are intuitively quite certain that such effects do occur in ISP projects. Unfortunately, no quantitative procedure or research study was identified which dealt with either of the two dimensions in any probation project seeking to change the quality of contact. In a few cases ad hoc opinion surveys were administered to clients of probation staff, but none of these has any demonstrated validity.

It is an interesting paradox that the absence of meaningful measures of the quality of staff-case interaction does not mean the quality is not systematically recorded. In virtually every probation jurisdiction, staff keep (often voluminous) narrative notes on their contacts with each case. In many cases these notes are supplemented by monthly or quarterly progress reports. However, these narrative descriptions of case developments are almost never translated into quantitative information except in terms of counts of contacts classified by the person contacted.

One pioneering investigation of methods for obtaining better quantitative information about the quality of contact is the British Home Office Study, Social Work in the Environment, by Martin Davies, [60] Davies and Margaret

Rayfield present the useful analysis of numerous approaches to understanding the quality of probation casework. The approach taken in the Davies report cannot be considered validated or suitable for widespread application. However, it was sufficiently successful to suggest that contact quality measurement is feasible.

#### Can Probation Contact Be Intensive?

One final issue in assessing knowledge about the intensity of probation is the fundamental assumption on which all intensive probation projects are founded. Simply stated, the assumption is as follows:

It is possible, within the limits of generous, but feasible allocations of probation staff, to bring about an intensive interaction between staff and probationer.

The important question implicit in this assumption is whether even a generous allocation of staff time can lead to a degree of contact which can be fairly described as intensive. Carter, Glasser, and Nelson comment

"If the probationer or parolee is awake 16 hours a day, a oncea-month treatment of 30 minutes duration represents something in the nature of one-tenth of one percent of his total waking hours. This small amount of time is of doubtful significance in the complex social life of the offender, 99.9 percent of which is spent under the influence of many 'significant others.'" [42]

While one of the probation projects which would today be classified intensive would undoubtedly allocate more than 1/2 hour per month to each case, the question remains. Would even six or seven hours of probation contact per month have any significant impact in comparison to a total of 400 or 500 waking hours? The question is thought provoking, but no systematic answer to such a question will be possible until more careful measurements of the intensity and effects of probation contacts have been developed and implemented.

#### CHAPTER VI

#### KNOWLEDGE ASSESSMENT: TREATMENT AND CLIENT CHANGE

Most probation agencies in the United States see their function as one of bringing about changes in probationer life styles which permit clients to function more successfully in society. These changes are to be accomplished by services—collectively called treatment—which are either provided directly by the probation staff or offered through referral of the client to other community service organizations.

The literature supporting one or another treatment approach is voluminous and diverse in both the types of treatment to be offered and the ends sought. Even though it is recognized that the goal of some ISP projects is wholly to offer a new form of treatment, the problems of measuring the effectiveness of the treatments is as diverse as the treatments themselves. However, there are some widespread assumptions about how ISP programming impacts treatment which should be investigated. Such assumptions are the focus of this chapter.

#### Intensity of Treatment

In Chapter V, the various probation project assumptions leading to an increase in the intensity of probation supervision were discussed. The discussion left open the question, "What goals are sought from more intensive supervision?" One often voiced answer is "intensive treatment." The implied assumption can be stated as follows:

Intensive levels of probation contact will result in qualitative and/or quantitative increases in the intensity of treatment afforded clients.

All ISP projects visited as part of this study which made any attempt to measure quantitatively the intensity of treatment did so in one or more of three ways. Contacts were counted; time duration of contacts was recorded; referrals of clients for employment or service were counted and occasionally designated as either "successful" or "unsuccessful."

None of these measures can be presumed to have anything but the crudest connection to intensity of treatment. A tabulation of referrals provides some information about the degree of community service usage by probation officers, but offers no information about the treatment obtained by the client. Even when referrals are divided on the basis of whether the client actually obtained any service (i.e., classified "successful" and "unsuccessful") there is no measure of either the quality or the quantity of treatment ultimately obtained.

Contact measures may be even poorer indices of treatment intensities. First, many contacts are not treatment-oriented at all; the goal is surveillance. Tabulating such contacts certainly gives no information about treatment. In those cases where treatment is provided there is no reason to believe either the time or the number of contacts will measure the intensity of treatment. In fact, conversations at one visited site suggested there may be an inverse relationship between time of contact and intensity of treatment. [22] Long, rambling contacts may merely indicate that nothing was being accomplished.

As in the discussion of intensive supervision in Chapter V, the key step to improving knowledge about the intensity of contacts—including treatment—oriented contacts—appears to be quantification of the voluminous, narrative case notes maintained by practically every probation jurisdiction. Virtually every ISP site visited as part of this research indicated that information about client progress in direct counseling, in employment, and in community service programs was documented in case narratives. Informal perusal of case notes at several sites confirmed the significance of the information recorded. A systematic investigation of the intensity of treatment afforded clients of ISP projects can come only after schemes are developed for quantifying such case documentation.

#### Improved Treatment Judgments

Whether the types of treatment to be considered are in the class of assistance with physical needs or sophisticated psychiatric counseling, an assumption underlying many ISP projects is that the program structure being offered will bring about improved staff decisions on the treatment to be provided a given probationer. A partial list of specific assumptions would include the following:

Increased diagnosis and assessment effort at client intake leads to better probation staff judgments about appropriate treatment plans.

Location of probation offices in the neighborhoods where clients live assists in keeping probation officers informed about the community services available in the area.

Employment of indigenous paraprofessionals or volunteers from neighborhoods where clients live assists in keeping probation staffs informed about the community services available in the area.

Treatment-oriented client classification systems can be devised which distinguish among clients on the basis of the type of treatment needed.

Concentration of a probation project on a specialized class of clients assists probation supervisors in keeping informed about the community services suitable for that class.

Legal enforcability of treatment plans through behavioral contracting brings about more careful selection of treatment.

As with many other elements of ISP, working professionals are often convinced that one or more of the above assumptions hold, but no scientifically valid research has demonstrated the fact. Moreover, since the immediate objectives of treatment are so diverse and controversial, it may not be possible to directly assess the validity of such assumptions about probation staff decision—making.

One dimension of decision-making which can be assessed is information. It should be possible to structure projects where the knowledge of probation officers about available resources is compared between the project staff and a suitable control staff. One straightforward step in this direction is included in the Social Research Associates evaluation of Philadelphia's Intensive Services Unit. [87] A "Community Resource Inventory" was prepared listing names of numerous community service agencies, including some nonexistent ones. Agents

were asked to indicate whether they had heard of or made referrals to each agency. Scoring of the Inventory provides a rough measure of the familiarity of probation agents with available services.

Managers often comment that a good decision does not necessarily have to be associated with a good outcome. However, for aspects of treatment decision—making other than probation officer knowledge to be measured it may be necessary to accept such an assumption. If treatment programs selected by probation staff operating under one or another ISP concept lead to the desired change in client life style, it may be necessary to conclude that the treatment decision was appropriate. If outcomes are undesirable, the contrary conclusion may have to be drawn.

#### Client Receptivity to Probation Treatment

The Corrections report of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals comments: [74]

"In the process of trying to implement this [treatment] model, correctional systems turned to the social work profession for assistance and introduced the caseworker into the penal situation to diagnose and treat the offender. This attempt to incorporate casework theory into penal institutions has been warped, however, by a failure to absorb two of the most basic tenets of social work. The first of these is that, for casework to be effective, the individual must perceive that he has a problem and be motivated to seek help; this is the principal of voluntarism. The second is that the goals of the casework process must be established by the client; this is the principle of self-determination."

These remarks point out an important, but often overlooked issue in probation treatment: social work developed for settings where clients can choose whether to accept the service may not be appropriate for situations where clients are legally bound to accept the treatment.

One programmatic approach to reducing difficulties which might arise in "treatment" of unwilling clients is to seek programs which reduce client hostility toward probation. A number of programs include such an approach in their rationales. A partial list of the implied assumptions would include the following:

The less-authoritarian roles played by volunteer and paraprofessional probation counselors lead to a relationship with probationers characterized by less hostility and suspicion and more client motivation for change.

Intensive interaction of probation staff with clients leads to a sense that "somebody cares" in clients and thus to reduced hostility toward probation.

Decentralized location of probation offices leads to improved neighborhood attitudes toward probation and thus to improved client attitudes toward probation.

Decentralized location of probation offices provides a more convenient and less imposing setting for probation and thus leads to improved client attitudes toward probation.

Once again, many probation professionals working with TSP projects are certain one or more of the above assumptions holds. However, the efforts to scientifically check assumptions have been minimal. It is not uncommon for TSP projects, to administer some form of attitude questionnaire to probationers during or at the end of supervision. Visits to TSP projects as part of this study found such questionnaires had been used at a majority of sites.

Unfortunately, there appears to have been no consistency or provable validity to the client attitude surveys which have been administered. A common phenomenomis for each site to create its own ad hoc survey instrument with very little

regard for previous experience with such instruments.

Because so many sites have experimented with attitude surveys, it appears feasible to develop a scheme which would validly assess attitudes toward probation, and thus permit meaningful investigation of the assumptions presented above. However, an accepted instrument has not yet been produced.

#### Client Change

The presumed object of all the treatment programs mentioned above, as well as non-treatment surveillance of clients, is to bring about some degree of improved client social functioning. Some such improvements have direct, observable social impact because they are reflected in behavior. Examples are reductions in future criminal activity and increases in employment. Social outcomes of this type are discussed further in Chapter VII.

A number of the intervention theories developed as part of Georgia Tech's visits to 20 TSP sites, however, suggest that long term improvement in client functioning requires changes in client attitudes about himself and society. In a detailed analysis presented in the Frameworks report, it is noted that some theories assume client behavior must be changed first, with attitudes changing after realization of the success associated with better behavior; other theories operate in reverse, with attitude change preceding behavior change. [5] In either event client social attitudes become an important dimension of client change.

Only a few of the many projects visited and reviewed during this Phase & effort reported any systematic attempt to measure client social attitudes. The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) was used in Maryland's Out-patient Treatment Clinic for Special Offenders to measure changes in client personalities resulting from project efforts. [78] Findings were inconclusive, and some difficulty was reported in obtaining good test results from marginally literate clients. The Lincoln, Nebraska Volunteer Probation Counselor Program employed the five scales of the California Psychological Inventory to measure personality change in clients. [68] Statistically significant changes were observed on three scales: responsibility, socialization, and achievement by conformance. Psychological testing of clients is also alluded to in Leehouts' discussion of the Royal Oaks, Michigan yolunteer program. [69]

The usage of these standardized tests to measure client attitude change is far too sparse to suggest any pattern of success. However, it does not seem unreasonable that some of the hundreds of standardized tests used in various branches of psychology, social work and counseling would be useful in probation treatment evaluation. In fact, it is surprising that more investigation of this type has not already occurred.

#### CHAPTER VII

#### EFFECTIVENESS AND COST

The purpose for which probation projects reviewed in connection with this Phase I effort have been established center around three broad goals. The first is a social work goal of improving client social functioning; a second is a criminal justice goal of reducing future criminal activity in clients; the third is a cost goal of increasing the use of probation as an alternative to incarceration. The three can be related as indicated in Exhibit III-1 by three sets of assumptions:

Improved client social functioning leads to decreased future criminal activity.

Improved client social functioning leads to decreased social costs through increased employment and decreased dependence of the client on society.

Decreased recidivism in clients lead to immediate reductions in costs of crimes and indirect savings made possible by increased use of probation without decreased public safety.

That these assumptions are at least partially valid is almost self-evident. However, there are many complex problems in quantifying relationships. These quantification problems are the focus of this chapter.

## Recidivism

By far the most commonly employed measures of probation outcomes are those which deal with recidivism, i.e., negative behavior on the part of clients which results in their being rearrested, reconvicted, revoked, etc. For many years, such measures have been widespread (though not entirely accepted) in the field of corrections. However, many issues concerned with the measurement and use of recidivism information are still unresolved.

The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals definition of recidivism [74] includes several critical points as follows:

- (1) Recidivism should be measured by reconviction rather than rearrest or reconviction
- (ii) Crimes in all jurisdictions should be included in recidivism calculations
- (iii) Measurement should include the period under supervision and three years after
- (iv) Incidents other than reconvictions which lead to revocation should be separately tabulated as "technical violations."

None of these points is very new, yet practically no ISP project reviewed or visited in this research effort used a standard like the one above in calculating recidivism. Most considered only rearrests; most considered only the period when the client was under correctional supervision; most included only offenses from the city or state in which the probation project was housed.

One important reason for this widespread deviation from the recommended standard is time. Most ISP studies are required to produce evaluation results within one or two years after service begins. In such a short project evaluation period there is no opportunity for use of reconviction data, which generally follows rearrest by many months. There is also no opportunity for follow-up after release from probation.

The more perplexing problem is inadequacy of information. State and national criminal justice officials have promised for more than a decade that information systems would be developed which permitted systematic tracking of offenders, in terms of both rearrest and reconviction (see for example Appendix C of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice Task Force Report: Crime and Its Impact-An Assessment. [84]). However, none of the twenty probation sites visited as part of Georgia Tech's study of ISP had available such an information system. In some cases systems existed or were "under development," but they could not reliably identify cearrests and reconvictions of probation clients. Thus, ISP projects were forced to rely on informal and arduous efforts by evaluators to obtain rec/idivism data. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that calculations were limited to the most available information -- rearrests in the immediately surrounding jurisdiction of clients still under supervision. Until adequate, national offender information systems are available, it is unlikely that this standard of practice, and thus the quality of ISP knowledge, will improve.

One other recidivism measure in fairly widespread use in the United States circumvents the information system problem. Recidivism is measured in terms of the proportion of cases terminated by revocation or absconding. This so called "violation index" is inherently easy for probation personnel to calculate because it draws on immediately available administrative documentation. However, its validity as a measure of ISP performance is subject to several serious limitations.

One difficulty is inherent in any scheme which considers only the period of supervision in calculating recidivism: calculated rates are a consequence of the average time probationers are under supervision. Any program which includes an element of early release from probation can be expected to appear relatively more successful in terms of recidivism during supervision.

A second severe limitation of the violation index is shared only by recidivism measures which focus on revocation rather than rearrest or reconviction. The nature of an ISP program may have the effect of encouraging or discouraging revocation and thus artificially affecting "recidivism." Nearly a decade ago the San Francisco experiment measured a significant increase in revocations from technical violations when caseloads were reduced in a federal probation office. [32] Earlier findings in careful studies of the California parole system observed similar phenomena. [59] Thus, many criminal justice professionals have come to expect higher rates of technical violation as a consequence of ISP.

An interesting result of consultation with many probation officers in ISP projects during Georgia Tech site visits is that the well-known overloading of prisons is bringing new and severe pressure to limit revocations. This pressure not only causes severe reductions in technical violations but often means that reconviction will not automatically lead to revocation. Thus, there may be a tendency for revocations to underestimate recidivism, especially in ISP projects where probation officers have enough detailed knowledge of cases to discriminate between "minor" and "severe" reconvictions.

## Cost and Cost-Benefits

Costs can provide a unifying basis on which to assess all the standard goals of TSP projects. Savings in crimes reduce processing costs and social costs. Improvements in client social functioning are reflected in increased revenue from his or her employment and decreased welfare receipts. Diversion of offenders from incarceration reduces direct and indirect costs at a possible price in social costs associated with increased crime.

Since costs do provide a common denominator in probation evaluation, it is rather surprising that so little real analysis has been directed toward them. In Georgia Tech's 20 visits to TSP sites, no project was encountered which made any serious attempt to deal with costs in evaluation (though the Michigan site plans to study cost in the future). [19] Each site maintained the accounting of direct project costs required for grant administration, but the cost data were rarely analyzed in evaluation. When costs were evaluated at all, the focus was always on comparison of the cost per client in different types of probation delivery (e.g., [87] on the Philadelphia Intensive Services Unit). Since not even the "overhead" costs of parent agency support for probation projects were included in these cost studies, they cannot be considered usable ISP knowledge.

Two reports from states not included in Georgia Tech site visits provide more comprehensive cost studies comparing probation and incarceration as correctional programs. One provides a detailed cost investigation in Texas and the other is a more cursory analysis in Tennessee. [47,89] Neither considered social costs, but both considered most direct costs. The Texas study also measured some indirect costs to government. In both cases there are many points in the cost calculations where controversy could be raised. However, the conclusions are quite similar: incarceration costs 8 to 10 times more than probation per client.

Without accepting the exact figures in these two studies, it can be concluded that the time has come to give more than lip service to calculation of total project costs. Estimation of the social costs of a program—cost impacts of crime on the victim, human costs of incarceration on the client, etc.—is a complex and nebulous task which is probably beyond the limitations of presently available data. But there appears to be no reasonable barrier to careful and regular analysis of all the other costs of an ISP program. Satisfactory application of cost accounting procedures long used in industrial settings would make possible the accurate estimation of direct experiment costs of probation. In a like manner, it should be rather simple for probation agencies to keep track of the indirect costs to government associated with tax loss from unemployment and welfare payments. Both employment and welfare data are routinely solicited from clients in many jurisdictions.

. If adequate measures of direct and indirect government costs were obtained, the unestimated social costs could be accounted for satisfactorily through crime-cost ratios. In particular, a project could be evaluated in terms of the estimated number of future client crimes prevented, divided by the net governmental cost of the program. Since most social costs are consequences of crime, such a measure would tend to encourage social costs savings through crime reduction. At the same time it would provide a pasis for directly comparing criminal justice programs with different governmental costs.

One assumption which prevades the thinking of many devoted advocates of intensive special probation is that it cannot be justified on a cost-effectiveness basis. The large direct cost increases which occur when regular probation service is replaced by some form of ISP are automatically assumed to far exceed the economic benefit. For such persons, ISP is justified only in the sense that it provides badly needed social service to socially disadvantaged clients.

If the Texas and Tennessee results outlined above prove to be accurate precursors of careful cost-effectiveness studies in ISP, it is entirely possible that this negative presumption about ISP will prove wrong. The costs of incarceration are so great that probation could be quite cost-effective if ISP programs succeed in reducing, or at least stabilizing recidivism rates. / If only for this important motivational issue, further cost effectiveness analysis of ISP is warranted. 32

#### CHAPTER VIII

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In assessing what is known and what is knowable about intensive special probation (ISP) one is struck by a sad paradox. While ISP has been in widespread use in many forms and many locales over the past two decades, very little general knowledge has been obtained. In fact the only hypothesis about which enough valid information is available to warrant the venturing of an educated guess is that the addition of regular and/or auxiliary probation staff results in an increase in the average number of contacts per case.

On the other hand, many of the crucial issues in probation are well within the range of questions which can be investigated scientifically. All but a few of the programmatic assumptions enumerated in Exhibit III-1 (the reference framework) and in the discussion of previous chapters are subject to direct empirical study.

Results in Chapter IV show that one major cause of the absence of knowledge about these knowable issues in ISP is the relative infrequency of evaluation designs which employ suitable comparison and control groups. Projects where time permitted the designs to be implemented were even more scarce. However, valid designs have been successfully implemented in a number of locales and a few have been carried to fruition. The widespread presumption that controlled experiments are impossible in a working probation environment is apparently not warranted.

The more prevalent problem is the almost total lack of adequate instrumentation with which to control and measure ISP research. Present techniques permit the adequate documentation of neither the environment in which a project operates, nor the nature of the clients and the project staff, nor the ISP service provided, nor the outcomes observed. A heavy investment in carefully designed, control group experiments in ISP will produce little new knowledge unless these instrumentation problems are dealt with first.

These broad conclusions about the state of knowledge in ISP lead to the following specific recommendations:

- 1. Any project which is expected to produce valid new knowledge about ISP should be required to implement a design providing for an adequate comparison base. Moreover, the project should be allowed to endure for at least three years, subject only to periodic monitoring to assure that the planned process is being carried out. An evaluation design should be prepared before the project commences, formative evaluation should be conducted during the course of the project, and a two year post-project evaluation period should be funded for follow-up and the preparation of the summative evaluation.
- 2. Crime-cost ratios should be adopted as a standard of probation effectiveness evaluation. Crimes included in such ratios are those prevented by control of recidivism and costs include all major direct and indirect cost (tax loss, welfare, etc.) to government of ISP programs. Such ratios provide surrogate measures of total economic cost by letting numbers of crimes function as an approximate measure of difficult-to-estimate, non-governmental costs. (Additional discussion in [6]).
- 3. To permit satisfactory implementation of Recommendation 2, standards for cost accounting in corrections should be evolved that enumerate.

- how staff overhead, buildings and equipment, shared employee and other difficult cost allocation questions are to be handled.
- To permit satisfactory implementation of Recommendation 2, standard procedures should be derived for probation officers to record client earnings/welfare payments to clients.
- Both to implement Recommendation 2 and to add precision to probation knowledge generally, development of reliable offender tracking information systems on a national basis should be pursued as rapidly as possible.
- Classification instruments should be devised and validated on a wide scale which provide adequate control information about at least the following exogenous variables in an ISP project:
  - The risk of probation associated with project clients.
  - The personal supervision style of project staff.
  - In both cases the validity for acceptance should be the ability to provide group mean information that is helpful in generalizing from single project results rather than the ability to provide specific information useful in prescribing treatment for individual clients or training individual supervisors. (Additional discussion in [6,7]).
- The concept of caseload as a standard measure of the degree of service provided probation clients should be replaced by measures of the quality and quantity of case contact. Caseload measures may still be useful for workload balancing within a project. (Additional discussion in [6,7]).
- To implement Recommendation 7, and to afford an opportunity to seriously effect research on probation treatment methods, standard instruments should be devised and validated on a wide scale which assess various dimensions of the quality of case contact on quantitative scales. As with Recommendation 6, the standard of validity required of such instruments should be the ability to produce useful group mean information about contact and treatment as opposed to specific information suitable for judging an officer's management of a particular case. (Additional discussion in [7]).
- Standardized instruments should be devised and validated on a wide scale which measure client attitudes toward probation. Again, the required standard of validity should be the provision of useful group mean information rather than judgments on particular clients. (Additional discussion in [6,7]).
- Standardized instruments should be devised and implemented on a wide 10. scale which measure changes in client social attitudes. A suitable place to start searching for such instruments is the many scales already in use in psychology, social work and counseling. As with other instruments, the standard of validation required of client social attitude scales should be the ability to provide group mean information helpful in understanding the gross effects of probation treatment as opposed to information suitable for evaluating the progress of a particular client.
- 11. Standard outcome measures should be derived to provide for between and within project comparison. (Additional discussion in [6,7]).
- Only ISP projects which are marked for research purposes should participate in such endeavors. These research projects should employ the experimental and quasi-experimental designs from which definitive statements can be made.
- Revocation rates are discouraged as an index of decreased criminal activity. There is ambiguity as to whether an increase or a decrease in revocation rate is desirable. (Additional discussion in [1,6]).

14. LEAA grant applications should require intervention process flow diagrams as a prerequisite to funding. (Additional discussion in [4]).

7.

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- 88. Dennis C. Sullivan, <u>Team Management in Probation--Some Models for Imple-mentation</u>, Paramus, New Jersey: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1972.
- 89. Tennessee Law Enforcement Planning Commission. <u>Probation and Parole</u>, by Pamela Collins, Ron Fryar, Linda Myers, Romon Sanchez-Villas. Joint Report of the Tennessee Department of Correction and the Tennessee Law Enforcement Planning Commission, Nashville, Tennessee: Tennessee Law Enforcement Planning Commission, 1975.
- 90. Utah Law Enforcement Planning Agency, The Mexican-American Community

  Corrections Support Program: A Description of Services Provided
  and Assessment of Effects on Recidivism During its First Year,
  by Michael R. Fenn, Lynn S. Simons, Cathleen L. Smith, Charles
  N. Turner and B. Jack White, Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Law
  Enforcement Planning Agency, 1974.
- 91. Virginia Department of Corrections, Division of Probation and Partie
  Services, Evaluation Forms, Correspondence and Descriptive Materials.
  Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Department of Corrections, 1976.

- 92. John A. Wallace, Letter on Issues in Effective Probation Supervision, National Institute of Corrections, Washington, D. C., March 3, 1976.
- 93. Leslie Wilkins, Evaluation of Penal Measures, New York; Random House, 1969.

#### APPENDIX A

#### ISSUES IN INTENSIVE SPECIAL PROBATION

The issues reported in this Appendix are divided into two classes:
(1) theoretical and operational issues, and (2) measurement issues. Most theoretical and operational issues in intensive special probation projects center around the question: What method(s) should be used for whom to produce what results under what conditions? In a project context, the question becomes: On what basis are specific project elements assumed to interact with what aspects of the offender or his environment, under what conditions, to achieve what results? Once these decisions are reached, the focus switches to the question of how to deliver the services or implement the project. The primary theoretical and operational issues which emerged from this investigation relate to (1) uncertainty resulting from lack of concrete evidence on effectiveness, and (2) implementation difficulties.

The theoretical and operational issues have been further subdivided into areas as follows:

- 1.1 Intervention Methods
  - 1.1.1 Social Casework
  - 1.1.2 Group Counseling
  - 1.1.3 Educational Upgrading and/or Vocational Training
  - 1.1.4 Team Probation
  - 1.1.5 Use of Volunteers
  - 1.1.6 Use of Financial Penalties as Treatment
- 1.2 Participants
- 1.3 Results
- 1.4 Conditions
  - 1.4.1 Caseload Size
  - 1.4.2 Probation Inclusion in the Decision-Making Process
  - 1.4.3 Probationer/Probation Officer Relationship
  - 1.4.4 Disparity of Sentencing
  - 1.4.5 Placement Issues
- 1.5 Cost

These issues, comments on the issues, and information sources are shown in Exhibit A-1. It should be noted that Exhibit A-1 is only an abbreviation of a thorough and voluminous presentation appearing in [1].

# EXHIBIT A-1

## THEORETICAL AND OPERATIONAL ISSUES

irea	Issues	Comment	Information Source
.1 Intervention Methods 1.1.1 Social Casework	Casework versus community referral	"I feel that the greatest problem in probation supervision at the moment is the fact that many probation officers try to be 'all things to all people' and do not mobilize the community and use the supporting agencies that are available and more knowledgeable than the probation staff in modifying, controlling or changing behavior. The probation officer should be a broker of services in addition to his one-to-one counseling and supervision role."	66
	Extent to which proba- tion officers should become advocates for probationers in the community.	Usually settled by administrative policy, but the existence of policy does not prevent the questioning of that policy.	88
, 1.1.2 Group Counseling	Who should lead the group, and who should be members of the group?  What should be the group problem (common or individual)?  Whether group work is worth the time and energy required.	Dressler says a common problem is a prerequisite. Keve says this is not essential. Group work may be even more demanding than individual casework.	54 <b>,</b> 65

## EXHIPIT A-1

èa		Issues	Comment	Information Source
			Probationers will be resistant. Staff must be trained. Success has been reported by the Inner London Probation Service	53
1.1.3	Educational Upgrading and/or Vocational Training	What are the best methods to assure effective implementa- tion so that individual needs are met?	Assumption: Providing educational and/or vocational training services eventually will enable the individual to function more effectively, and will contribute to less recidivism.	
			The National Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals and the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice both recommended providing such opportunities.	74
			"Unemployment may be among the princi- pal causal factors in recidivism in adult male offenders."	83
		Who should provide this service?	54.8% of probation administrators participating in the 1967-69 Probation Management Institutes felt special methodsshould be handled by referral agencies	48
1.1.4	Team Probation	Whether the advantages outweigh the dis- advantages.	Advantages include increased motivation and morale leading to greater productivity. Disadvantages include cost of operation.  Team probation is said to provide decentralized decision-making affording the officers in the team greater flexibility, control and management of their respective caseloads within established policy and procedural guidelines.	73

	Issues . \	Comment	Information Source
1.1.5 Use of Volunteers	Can an indigenous non- professional from the same social class as the probationer serve effectively as a volunteer?	Arguments for include the rationale that the use of such persons minimizes social distance, and, thus, encourages client identification and rapport.  Another viewpoint challenges this approach on such grounds as the probationer will be dealing with other than his/her peers in everyday life, no probationer/probation officer relationship will be built.	B9
		Groups like Alcoholics Anonymous and Synanon suggest that those who have personally encountered and overcome a problem have a unique capacity to help others with a similar problem.	
	How to operationalize such programs effectively.	Coordination between judges, the Department of Corrections, the Bureau of Probation and Parole and the volunteers can be a severe problem. Time lags between a probation officer's request for a volunteer and the assignment of a volunteer can be extreme.	71
	Trade-offs between flexibility and control.	Flexibility is considered essential to accomodate the individual personalities of the volunteer and probationer.	67
		Horejsi describes a conceptual base from which the volunteer can plan his own interventions.	62
		Adequate controls are necessary for organized functioning and as protective measures.	6
			o ``.

EXHIBIT A-1 = .

rea	Issues	Comment "	Information Source
	Manægement Issues	Includes issues related to recruiting, screening, selection, volunteer incentive and support, leadership, training, guidelines or suggestions for effective implementation.	67,65,83
	Relationship between the probation officer and the volunteer.	Some professional probation officers feel threatened by volunteers. Volunteers have not resulted in lost jobs for professionals. They have helped create leadership positions where none existed before.	67
		Resistance has also been based on the image that volunteers get to do all the "fun" things while the probation officers must act as the enforcers.	<b>71</b> .
		One way which these objections can be lessened is to allow the probation officer to determine which of the probationers on his caseload need more intensive supervision by a professional.	67
	<b>`</b> ≥ °	Volunteer programs should be structured and operationalized in such a manner that supervision of the volunteer doesn't become just another added duty for the probation officer without reducing his caseload in some other manner.	71
1.1.6 Use of Financial Penalties as Treatment	Should fines alone be used as a method of treatment?	When fines are combined with a probation order, the accusation is made that mixing a punitive measure with supervision has a negative effect on the "helping process" that probation officers consider essential to the probation process.	60

Area	Issues	Comment	Information Source
r v		There is no evidence that using fines . reduces the likelihood of recenviction.	60
		Unless the offender's financial and environmental difficulties are taken into account, insufficient payment could automatically destine the offender to jail or prevent successful reestablishment in the community.	60
1.2 Participants	Who should be treated?	Can treat the offender only, include the offender's family, peer associations, the community at large. The family and peer group are able to exert considerable influence on an individual.	
	What type of offender should get probation?	Selection for probation should be individualized. Generally agreed that violent offenders who commit their crime under circumstances which are likely to reoccur should not receive probation and thus not participate in ISP.	54
		Factors which should be included because of their relationship to recidivism are age, prior criminal record, whether or not the crime was economic and non-violent, criminal associations, and prior work regularity.	58,57
1.3 Results	What results should constitute "success"?	There is no standard definition of recidivism.  Outcomes, other than recidivism, which are frequently suggested as evidence of success include job placement and retention, job type,	70

EXHIBIT A-1

Area	Issues	Comment	Information Source
		work regularity, educational advances, drug or alcohol rehabilitation, satisfactory probation performance in terms of criteria other than commitment for a new crime, and community acceptance and perceptions.	
	Should recidivism be tolerated?	Some suggest that leading an exemplary life, except for some relapse into recidivism is a success. It is argued that this is better for society than a parasitic existence.	43,93
	9	Opponents argue that the function of ISP projects is a correctional one with recidivism the prime consideration.	
1.4 Conditions			
1.4.1 Caseload Size	What is the correct caseload size?	In the 1920's, Chute said, "Fifty cases is as many as any probation officer ought to carry."	42
	,	In 1967, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice advocated 35 cases as the appropriate number,	42
	5	Neithercutt and Gottfredson suggest that asking such a question is committing a reductio ad absurdum.	59
1.4.2 Probation Inclusion in the Decision- Making, Process	To what extent should the probationer be in- cluded in the d@cision- making process?		

	Issues	Comment	Information Source
	At the case level the question is discussed most often in terms of whether or not the probationer should participate in the development of his file.	Arcaya cites disadvantages. Confidential information with which the probationer may or may not be equipped to deal with may be disclosed. He also says that mutual participation in file development may break down traditional hierarchial roles.	37
		James E, Bartelt attributes non- inclusion of the offender in treatment planning as one reason for failure of previous programs and methods.	38
•	The issue also arises at the project level.	Support for identification of service needs by the probationer is listed as a primary issue by John A. Wallace. He substantiates his position with research by Elliot Studt and Vincent O'Leary.	92
1.4.3 Probationer/ Probation Officer Relationship	The fact that courts tend to follow the probation officer's recommendations intensifies the issue of discretion of the probation officer to initiate revocation.	"In my opinion, one of the key issues is the discretion of the probation officer to initiate revocation. Whatever specific procedures are later used to effect or deny probation are, of course, important but these are issues that have been addressed by the Supreme Court in Gagnon v. Scarpelli with references to Morrissey v. Brewer. What has remained largely unaddressed by courts, legislatures and for that matter by researchers is the initial exercise of discretion by the field agent. Presumably probation officers can and do discover violations and on their own initiative decide not to initiate revocation; in some cases this initial decision may be reviewed by a supervisor who may convince the P. O. to change his stance or may overrule him However, the nature, range and frequency	

Area	Issues	Comment	Information Source
		violations are discovered (whether these violations are technical or new offenses) remains undescribed and unanalyzed."	
	What should be the educational requirements of a probation officer?	The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, in 1967, recommended the Master's of Social Work degree as the preferred educational qualification. Six years later, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals recommended an undergraduate degree for entrylevel work in probation.	74
		Walter Reckles, sociologist, holds that curricula for probation officers should not be in casework, but rather, in probation and parole. A contrary view is held by David Dressler, who perceives probation work, essentially as social work.	54
	Can only black probation officers help black probationers?	William Brees, Probation Officer, San Bernadina County, California, contends that the proposition (only blacks can help blacks) breaks down on both theoretical and political grounds.	40
•	Is a probationer more likely to succeed with a probation officer of the same or different sex?	Fears expressed about sexual difficulties are by no means entirely fantasies, although officers said such situations occurred less frequently than they had feared. It should be pointed out that "similar situations presumably arise between male officers and their female clients, but because of cultural attitudes towards sexual relationships they get discussed rather	80

Area	Issues	Comment	Information Source
		differently." It would appear that feelings officers attribute to clients, which may be accurate, are, frequently, also a reflection of the officers' feelings.	
1.4.4 Disparity of Sentencing	What is the effect of disparity in sentencing on the success of probationers?	"An offender who believes he has been sentenced unfairly in relation to other offenders will not be receptive to reformative efforts on his behalf."	74
1.4.5 Placement Issues	Placement of the probation system in the judicial versus the executive branch of government.  Placement of probation administration at the state or local level.	These issues have been argued thoroughly by several commissions. Since the resolution affects probation in general, no further concern is given here.	74
	Placement within a	Placement can affect communications.	34
	specific organizational structure.	Placement is also of concern when project goals or implementation procedures clash with unstated organizational goals.	63
		"In the planning stage and on the drawing board and in the selection of team cities there were no observable problems: however, when top administrators first learned that each team would be an autonomous body we had immediate problems"	85
	o	If organizational placement of an ISP results in the project merely being an appendage to an existing program, several negatives follow.	75
		, in the second	
			[24] [24] [25] [25] [25] [25] [25] [25] [25] [25

## EXHIBIT A-1

Area	Is sues	Connient	Information	Source
1.5 Cost >	Cost is a significant	Several of the experts whose opinions	56	
	issue in ISP's from the	[일도 최근 생님은 점점 중요한다. 2015년 전기가 되고 있는 후 남아그랑테라고 있는 그들이 말하는 수휴가 그렇게 나를 가지다.		
	standpoint of its	substantive data with which to sup-		
	ability to influence	pert positions with funding bodies		
(1) 12 등 1일 등	design, operations,	as an issue for ISP's.		
통하는 경기를 받는 것을 하는 것이 되었다. 이 경기를 하는 것으로 되었다. 발생하는 것들이 있는 것이 되었다. 그렇게 되었다면 하는 것을 하는 것이 것을 받는데	ard continuity of			
	the project.	수는 것들이 가는 사람이 자꾸 들어 온 기존하는 것을 하는 것을 모임하는 것이 되었다. 생물이 생물을 보고 있습니다. 그는 것은 사람들은 것을 하는 것을 하는 것을 받았다.		

Quite a different set of issues in intensive special probation are those which focus on the question of how to measure the activities and impacts of a probation project. Such measurement questions become important after the general form of a proposed project has been defined (e.g., use of volunteers, hiring a community services coordinator, adding probation supervisors to reduce caseload, etc.). In order to maintain proper management control of the project, some scheme is usually devised to document the activities actually performed by the project, the associated successes or failures of project clients, and the degree to which successes (or failures) are a consequence of the project rather than of some extraneous influences. Numerous methodological questions arise in devising and implementing such schemes.

Measurement issues are shown in Exhibit A-2. These issues have been subdivided into areas as follows:

- 2.1 Process Measures
  - 2.1.1 Caseload/Workload Measures
  - 2.1.2 Case Contact/Supervision Measures
- 2.2 Outcome/Success Measures
  - 2.2.1 Recidivism
  - 2.2.2 Employment Success Measures
  - 2.2.3 Cost and Cost/Benefit Measures

As mentioned above, these issues are abbreviated from a thorough treatment found in [1].

## EXHIBIT A-2

## MEASUREMENT ISSUES

Area	Issues	Comment	Information Source
2.1 Process Measures			
2.1.1 Caseload/ Workload Measures	How should numerator and denominator of average caseload be defined?	Average   Average Total   Number of Active   Cases	
		* (Number of proba- tion supervisors	
		Number of probation supervisors may or may not include volunteers and/ or paraprofessionals.	44,45
		Number of active cases must account for those absconded or other wise not receiving active supervision.	
		A more sophisticated approach in Pennsylvania assumes that work-load is proportional to the number of contacts.	82
		In a project operating in Kentucky, cases were classified and work-load was measured using weighting procedures.	64
	How should non- supervisory activities of probation officers be accounted?	Presentence investigations, management of volunteers, and similar activities can consume substantial time.	36

rea	Issues	Comment	Information Source
/ 2.1.2 Case Contact/ Supervision .Measures	What measures can be used as improvements in measuring caseload or workload?	Use of the number of contacts "not only failed to deal with quality but provided a poor measure of quantity"  Overworked probation officers might be expected to skimp on the "paperwork" of logging	32
		contacts.	
.2 Gutcome/Success Measures			
2.2.1 Recidivism	What choice of nega- tive behavior should be counted as recidivism?	The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals has recommended that recidivism be measured by "(1) criminal acts that resulted in conviction by a court, when committed by individuals who are under correctional supervision or who have been released from correctional supervision within the previous three years, and by (2) technical violations of probation or parole in which a sentencing or paroling authority took action that resulted in an adverse change in the offender's legal status. Technical violations should be maintained separately from data on reconvictions."	
	How should recidivism be measured?	Common measure:  [Violation _ [Number of Cases   Index] Terminated Unsuccessfully]	
		÷ [Total Number of Cases Terminated]	
		Valid basis for comparing probation projects only if the length of time before termination is equal among the programs being compared.	

Does ISP increase the rate of recidivism?  Adams, Chandler, and Neithercutt observed in reviewing the well known San Francisco project that higher rates of technical violation among persons under intensive sequence of closer supervision may have been a consequence of closer supervision monitoring of the probationer's activities.  2.2.2 Employment Success definitions for these measures and very little discussion of the problems of implementation.  Two procedures are typically used to obtain employment data. In some projects, probationers or supervisors report employment history at termination of probation. In other projects, employment status is determined by a follow-up study in which project research staff interviews clients. Neither of these techniques appear very reliable. Any method which depends on reporting by clients or supervisors is subject to biases.  2.2.3 Cost and How should-costs and	32
Success Measures  definitions for these measures and very little discussion of the problems of implemen- tation.  to obtain employment data. In some projects, probationers or supervisors report employment history at termination of proba- tion. In other projects, em- ployment status is determined by a follow-up study in which pro- ject research staff interviews clients. Neither of these techniques appear very reliable. Any method which depends on report- ing by clients or supervisors is subject to biases.  2.2.3 Cost and  How should-costs and  In a Pennsylvania project, costs	
2.2.3 Cost and How should-costs and In a Pennsylvania project, costs	
Cost/Benefit benefits be measured?  Measures  Direct and indirect costs of operating the project  Costs of detention of arrested clients  Welfare support costs of unemployed clients  Minus tax revenue paid by employ clients	82 2

Some experts in the field of correctional evaluation have advocated the use of even more complete measures of costs and benefits. For example, Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks commented that,  "There are at least three types of costs that should be included in a determination of economic benefits of treatment program of the first type is direct program costs. Such costs include staff salaries, physical facilities, court costs, police processing costs, and detention costs. The second type is indirect costs to government. Such costs include loss of revenue derived from state income and sales tax paid by offenders, and welfare costs paid to offenders, and welfare costs paid to offenders' dependents. The third type includes social costs. Social costs include wages lost by the victim, the loss of money by a robbery or a burglary victim, and the human damage done by an opiate addict to himself."  A study comparing costs of incarceration with a model probation program for Texas covered the first type in some depth, the second in part,	rea I	ssues	Comment	Information Source
of costs that should be included in a determination of economic benefits of treatment programs. The first type is direct program costs. Such costs include staff salaries, physical facilities, court costs, police processing costs, and detention costs. The second type is indirect costs to government. Such costs include loss of revenue derived from state income and sales tax paid by offenders, and welfare costs paid to offenders' dependents. The third type includes social costs. Social costs include wages lost by the victim, the loss of money by a robbery or a burglary victim, and the human damage done by an opiate addict to himself."  A study comparing costs of incarceration with a model probation program for Texas covered the first type			correctional evaluation have advocated the use of even more complete measures of costs and benefits. For example, Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks commented	70
second type is indirect costs to government. Such costs include loss of revenue derived from state income and sales tax paid by offenders, and welfare costs paid to offenders' dependents. The third type includes social costs. Social costs include wages lost by the victim, the loss of money by a robbery or a burglary victim, and the human damage done by an opiate addict to himself."  A study comparing costs of incarcera- tion with a model probation program for Texas covered the first type			of costs that should be included in a determination of economic benefits of treatment programs. The first type is direct program costs. Such costs include staff salaries, physical facilities, court costs, police process-	
victim, and the human damage done by an opiate addict to himself."  A study comparing costs of incarcera- tion with a model probation program for Texas covered the first type			second type is indirect costs to government. Such costs include loss of revenue derived from state income and sales tax paid by offenders, and welfare costs paid to offenders' dependents. The third type includes social costs. Social costs include wages lost by the victim, the loss	
			victim, and the human damage done by an opiate addict to himself."  A study comparing costs of incarcera- tion with a model probation program for Texas covered the first type	47
	e de			

# APPENDIX B

# PROJECTS VISITED

Pro	oject Name	Location	Dates Visited	
1.	Anne Arundel County Impact Probation	Anne Arundel County, Maryland	6/7/76	
2.	Georgia Citizens Action Program for Corrections	Atlanta, Georgia	4/28/76; 4/29/76	
3.	High Impact Intensive Super- vision, Narcotics Unit	Baltimore, Maryland	5/10/76; 5/11/76	
•	Intensive Differentiated Supervision of Impact Parolees and Probationers	Baltimore, Maryland	6/8/76	
5.	Model Probation/C.A.S.E.	Brockton, Massachusetts	5/12/76	
5.	Model Adult Probation	Cambridge, Massachusetts	5/10/76	
<b>'</b> .	Volunteers in Probation: One-to-One Adult Program	Columbus, Ohio	5/19/76	
3.	Intensive Supervision Program	Denver, Colorado	5/24/76; 5/25/76	
).	Comprehensive Community Corrections Program	Des Moines, Iowa	6/9/76; 6/10/76	
).	Volunteers in Probation	Evansville, Indiana	6/7/76; 6/8/76	
	Mutual Objectives Program	Lansing, Michigan	5/12/76; 5/13/76	
2.	Volunteer Probation Counselor Program	Lincoln, Nebraska	Site visit not made, but literat review performed.	
<b>}</b> .	Harlem Probation Project	New York City, New York	6/14/7 <b>6;</b> 6/15/76	
	Office of Court Alternatives Misdemeanant Probation	Orlando, Florida	4/26/76; 4/27/76	
5.	Intensive Services Unit	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	6/16/76; 6/17/76	

Project Name	Location	Dates Visited
16. Intensive Supervision Services	s St. Louis, Missouri	5/26/76; 5/27/76
17. Adult Community Services, Burglary Offender Project	Salem, Oregon	5/10/76
18. Differential Diagnosis and Treatment Program	San Jose, California	5/12/76; 5/13/76
19. Adult Probation Aides	Tucson, Arizona	6/15/76 °
20. Special Services for Mentally Deficient Offenders	Tucson, Arizona	6/14/76
21. Ohio Governor's Region 10 Probation Rehabilitation Activities	Wooster, Ohio	5/17/ <u>7</u> 6; 5/18/76