

**PAROLE IN CALIFORNIA:
A THREE-YEAR EVALUATION
AND DEVELOPMENT OF A
NEW MODEL**

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DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS

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For the past three years the California Department of Corrections, Parole and Community Services Division, conducted a critical assessment of its system of parole. Under the best of circumstances, a full planning and evaluation effort would be a difficult assignment. In the face of major changes brought about by new court decisions, fiscal constraints, and the changeover from an Indeterminate to a Determinate Sentence Law, the challenge was increased tenfold. It is to the credit of all parole personnel that our task objectives were met.

This report of "Parole in California: A Three-Year Evaluation and Development of a New Model" is rightfully a divisional product. However, particular credit must go to my regional administrators who provided much of the executive direction and operational support, to Ron Chun who directed the planning effort, and to the planning section's personnel who did the staff work. To single out everyone who impacted on this assessment of paroles would be impossible. However, special recognition must be given to that working band of planning task force members who laid much of the foundation that eventuated in the building of this new parole model. Planning task force members:

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SUMMARY

For the past three years the Parole and Community Services Division of the California Department of Corrections has been engaged in a rigorous examination of the entire parole process.

Following an intensive review of the literature related to parole concepts and operations, the division solicited input from parole staff, parolees, community groups and concerned citizens.

The body of information and suggested directions produced by these efforts provided the bases for a number of experimental projects. These projects, covering a wide range of concepts, were undertaken to help determine what kinds of actions would favorably affect adult offender readjustment following release from prison. A major concern was to attempt to discover whether differing methods of supervision and intervention would reduce, deter, or interrupt adult offender reinvolvement in criminal behavior and other activities detrimental to the public safety.

In addition to implementation of these pilot projects, the parole division undertook a series of managerial changes designed to improve the efficiency, equity, and cost effectiveness of the overall parole process.

The findings of this three-year evaluation support a number of recommendations which form the basis for a new model of parole:

1. A valid and comprehensive assessment of the risk each adult offender represents to the community should be completed prior to the individual's release from prison to determine the type of supervision required.
2. High levels of supervision and control should be targeted on those offenders who present the most serious risks to the community.
3. Rapid and certain intervention (including return to prison for good cause for high risk offenders) should be emphasized.
4. The use of measures designed to detect and control substance abuse should be expanded.

5. Legislation should be supported that lengthens the period of parole for certain high risk offenders.
6. Placement in a minimum supervision status should be undertaken for selected low risk adult offenders.
7. The activities of field staff should be re-oriented from a generalist approach to that of a series of functional specialties; related changes in organization also need to be made.

The major policy recommendations listed above are based on a series of findings generated during the three-year study which indicate that Paroles is effective at:

1. Deciding (both before release and while on parole) who presents the greatest risk to the community.
2. Quickly assessing and targeting maximum resources on highest risk cases.
3. Determining the appropriate supervision approach for each case. This is accomplished through initial and continuing assessments of the offender's changing circumstances and needs for controls and services.
4. Controlling, reducing and quickly acting to interrupt narcotic usage.
5. Deterring, rapidly interrupting, or significantly delaying unacceptable behavior.
6. Ensuring that the other criminal justice and social action agencies intervene more effectively and/or assist offenders under parole jurisdiction.
7. Quickly, justly, and certainly retaking cases temporarily into custody or returning them to an institution.

The proposed new model of parole which has emerged as a result of this comprehensive review and evaluation represents a considerable redirection of resources and a significant change from traditional modes of operation. This reorganization can be accomplished without additional cost to the state and the taxpayer.

More importantly, this model also presents an improved method of parole supervision which the Department of Corrections believes will result in decreased risks to the community and, accordingly, an enhancement of the public safety.

I. BACKGROUND

In May of 1975 the Director of Corrections charged the newly appointed Deputy Director for Parole and Community Services with the responsibility for an intensive and critical evaluation of the parole process in California.

Objectives of this evaluation were 1) to discover "what works, for whom, and how well" with respect to adult offenders under parole supervision, and 2) by what measures the overall efficiency, cost-effectiveness and equity of California's parole process could be improved.

The parole division outlined a series of activities which would be undertaken to accomplish this mission. These activities included:

- A. a thorough examination of the current system;
- B. an identification and synthesis of existing information about parole operations;
- C. implementation of pilot projects based on informed opinions as to what types of experimental programs might yield useful results;
- D. elimination of programs which have not proved cost-effective;
- E. implementation of managerial innovations to improve efficiency; and
- F. a major planning effort incorporating the findings of the above into a blueprint for future directions in parole programs.

During the past three years the above activities have been carried out. The entire effort was accomplished within the existing budget and has been characterized throughout by a high level of concern for the public safety.

This report represents the findings and conclusions of the three-year study and includes recommendations for a new model of parole in California.

II. INITIAL ASSESSMENTS

As an initial step in the parole evaluation and planning effort the division sought to locate and review all available information concerning the effectiveness and respective costs of existing parole programs both in California and throughout the nation. An exhaustive survey of the literature was conducted and recommendations were made concerning programs which warranted further examination.

As a second information-gathering method the division solicited ideas and suggestions from field staff and contacted parolees, community groups and concerned citizens to garner input from differing perspectives.

When the above steps had been completed the division embarked upon the implementation of a series of pilot projects designed to test the impact of a range of approaches in dealing with adult offenders. In most instances these demonstration projects were undertaken only after the completion of detailed implementation plans which included in-depth evaluation components.

Throughout this period the division was simultaneously scrutinizing its own organization and methods of controlling operations. Managerial and organizational principles emphasizing clear policy directives, improved flow of communications, conscientious monitoring and evaluation, and allocation of resources for maximum cost-effectiveness were the guidelines for developing management innovations.



III. PILOT PROJECTS

Following is a brief description of the pilot programs implemented by the parole division during the past three years. Some of these projects were undertaken by the division out of existing funds; others were funded by grants from the Office of Criminal Justice Planning.

- A. Summary Parole -- prescribed lowered levels of supervision and assistance to selected felon parolees.
- B. High Control -- provided intensive supervision or special investigation of high risk adult offenders referred by regular caseload-carrying agents.
- C. Accelerated Social Development (ASD) -- an intensive assistance project designed to develop those types of social behavior among adult offenders acceptable to society and rewarding to the offender.
- D. Enzyme Multiplying Immunossay Technique (EMIT) testing -- provided a rapid-response and reliable system at the field level to test for recent substance abuse.
- E. Vocational Rehabilitation -- provided a broad array of job-related assistance, including contracting for on-the-job training, providing needed tools, securing placement counseling and assistance, ensuring adequate transportation to jobs, and relocating offenders closer to their jobs.
- F. San Jose Parole Outpatient Clinic (San Jose POC) -- a field level parole psychiatric/psychologic outpatient clinic that employed a full-time mental health professional to treat selected adult offenders, or make referrals to other providers, for serious mental, emotional, and social-orientation problems.
- G. Team Supervision/Community Resources Management Team (CRMT) -- used a team of agents to jointly supervise and assist all paroled felons assigned to a given unit. CRMT provided specialized supportive services with each agent acting as a resource broker within her or his own specialty area.

- H. Restitution -- established a controlled process for having offenders reimburse or otherwise compensate their victims, depending on the nature and severity of the crime.
- I. Transportation Project -- provided loans to adult offenders to purchase second-hand automobiles and auto insurance to enhance their employment opportunities.
- J. Work Furlough -- re-examined the efficacy of state-run work furlough centers -- such as Vinewood and Crittenden Center -- in comparison with programs offered by private vendors -- such as the newly-created Volunteers of America (VOA) center in Oakland.
- K. Employment Placement -- aided in the establishment of employment programs specifically catering to adult offender's training and job maintenance problems.

IV. MANAGEMENT INNOVATIONS

During the same period of time that the series of pilot projects was being implemented, the parole division also undertook a series of management innovations. These innovations have strengthened management, brought greater cost-effectiveness, and have improved the overall efficiency of parole operations. The major innovations are summarized here according to several general areas.

Executive decision-making

- A. Development of a program budgeting system emphasizing the basic objectives of the division and measures indicating achievement of those objectives.
- B. Establishment of an integrated process linking planning and program development to budgeting, operations, monitoring, and evaluation.
- C. Implementation of an executive decision-making capability providing timely response to changing demands, resolving issues of resource allocation, and establishing policy and program direction.
- D. Completion of analytic studies focusing on the effectiveness and costs of various experimental projects as well as ongoing programs.

Implementing decisions and policies

- A. Improvement of the capability to supervise highly disturbed offenders and offenders posing a high degree of risk to the public.
- B. Enhancement of capability to control serious substance abuse.
- C. Achievement of closer cooperation of community resources for the provision of controls and services.

- D. Placement of greater reliance on field staff input concerning policy changes.
- E. Assignment of increased responsibility and accountability to field supervisors for monitoring, auditing, reporting, and for developing new resources within their jurisdictions.
- F. Implementation of monitoring systems to ensure the equitable administration of the law, policies, and procedures under which the parole division operates.
- G. Improvement of procedures for supervising felons and non-felons.

Reallocation of resources

- A. Streamlining of the structure of the division by eliminating Region V, reduced administrative overhead and allowed for the redirection of resources to other critical needs.
- B. Elimination of ineffective, costly, state-operated work furlough programs for men at Oakland, the Deuel Vocational Institution at Tracy, and the women's work furlough program at Vinewood Center in Los Angeles. The savings were reallocated in the following manner:
 - 1. Establishment of a pilot private work furlough program (Volunteers of America-Oakland).
 - 2. Assistance in increasing the number of privately-operated programs available to women adult offenders.
 - 3. Placement of greater reliance on community agencies by contracting for needed services.
 - 4. Alteration of the over-emphasis in community contracts from providing residential services to aiding employment and providing psychiatric board and care placement.

Monitoring and control of internal operations

- A. Improvement in the Quarterly Management Review (QMR) system for parole operations to allow uniform tracking of arrests, holds, employment, etc., across regions, districts, and units.
- B. Improvement in the flow and quality of information on operations through periodic on-site visits to field offices and to community providers of services.

Monitoring and control of contracts with the community

- A. Improvement of supervision and tracking of adult offenders referred to community agencies.
- B. Establishment of a system of accountability for contracts and cash assistance within each region and incorporated the system into the Quarterly Management Review.
- C. Establishment of a procedure for competitive bidding among community agencies for the limited resources available.
- D. Delegation of responsibility for overseeing community contacts to district administrators with requirement that field staff conduct periodic on-site reviews.



V. MAJOR FINDINGS

Major findings of the three-year evaluation of parole are detailed below in appropriate sub-sections. These findings were based in part on evaluations of the pilot projects undertaken by the parole division during the period covered by this report and, in part, on research efforts conducted outside the division. Substantial contributions to these findings were also gleaned from the review of the literature conducted at the onset of the parole evaluation.

Parole usefulness

- A. The results of studies attempting to assess the usefulness of parole supervision are mixed. Many of these attempts to accumulate findings which demonstrate the utility of parole have been plagued by contrary conclusions which stem, partially at least, from problems of using recidivism rates as a measure. Recent efforts have attempted a broader range of measures based on an array of community adjustment factors to take into account the vast number of variables which influence criminal behavior (9).
- B. Two recent studies indicate a high probability that parole supervision is useful in reducing criminal behavior. A survey of recidivism rates from a total pool of 5,804 cases determined that the abolition of parole supervision would result in substantial increase in arrests, convictions and new prison sentences (26). Another study based on 173 cases released from Connecticut prisons revealed that it is highly probable that the absence of parole supervision for a portion of these cases was the factor which caused them to do so much worse in the community (10).
- C. Other analyses and data sources suggest that parole agents detect a greater amount of criminal involvement than had been previously thought (18, 23, 17). The weight of current findings suggests that a cautious approach be taken regarding any assumptions that parole supervision makes no difference regarding an effective public protection role.

Pre-release assessment

- A. A comprehensive assessment of each adult offender should be made prior to that individual's release to the community. This assessment should speak to the offender's propensity for reinvolvement in criminal activity and the accompanying risk to the community (5, 31). It should address itself as well to the offender's prognosis for successful readjustment to community life and his or her need for services (9).
- B. Pre-release assessments should be based on both information yielded by available instruments and by the judgment of trained staff (29).
- C. Assessments other than those currently in use are available to help determine differing levels of risk for groups of adult offenders (34).

Release plans

- A. Insufficient emphasis is currently placed on developing and validating comprehensive release plans for adult offenders (9).
- B. Current release plans are not sufficiently directed toward specific objectives and the process for achieving these objectives (9).
- C. Realistic planning can be achieved only with the full cooperation of the adult offender. Parole field staff who are familiar with the results of the pre-release assessment and appropriate community resources must also be involved (15).
- D. Increased use of temporary community release may be warranted (21).
- E. For some offenders the initial period following release appears to be crucial in determining eventual parole outcome (30, 25, 20). The three most important factors during this initial period appear to be: fulfilling material needs, re-establishing beneficial family and social relationships, and developing self-esteem (21).

Targeting high risk offenders

- A. Severity of an offender's juvenile record or prior adult record is associated with the frequency with which he commits crimes (16).
- B. Statistical tests confirm greater overall criminal activity and involvement in more types of crime if the offender has prior felony conviction(s) (16).
- C. Prison commitment coupled with serious and frequent juvenile criminal activity increases the likelihood of high rate criminality (2, 28).
- D. Offenders who commit crimes primarily for hedonistic reasons are unlikely to benefit from rehabilitative programs and are likely to commit more crimes than offenders who commit crimes due to economic hardship (16).
- E. Drug users commit a variety of crimes and are likely to commit more crimes than non-drug users (16).
- F. The probability of arrest is higher for offenders who commit crimes on a sporadic basis than it is for career criminals who commit crimes on a more regular basis (16).
- G. Chances of being arrested, convicted and incarcerated are higher for less active, older offenders than they are for active, youthful offenders (16, 2).

Periodic updating of release plans

- A. Stable and supportive residential and employment situations appear to be strongly correlated with favorable parole outcome (16, 9, 13). Programs designed to improve residential and employment situations of adult offenders therefore appear to be warranted.
- B. Release plans should be updated and followed throughout the entire period of parole or outpatient status.

- C. Criteria developed to identify high risk cases can probably be refined to include evidence of community adjustment so as to increase the likelihood of intervention with adult offenders about to return to certain types of criminal behavior (18, 9, 28).
- D. Projects emphasizing high services to adult offenders appear to be able to delay criminal reinvolvement and/or improve community adjustment for some offenders (9).
- E. Predictions of the need for controls and/or services during the period of re-adjustment to community life can be based on staff judgment and a wide array of available instruments (1, 36, 35). Results provided by these instruments can be regularly updated -- based primarily on the judgment of parole field staff -- throughout the period of parole/outpatient status.
- F. The judgment of parole field staff, based on approximately three months of parole performance, is superior to current actuarial-based pre-release assessments in predicting behavior of adult offenders during the short term (six months) (29). Field staff judgment is also dependable over a long term (twelve months) (29). A combination of the actuarial and field staff judgment methods may be appropriate.

Functional supervision

- A. A team supervision approach appears to be a more effective method of parole supervision than the traditional one agent, one caseload approach (9, 8, 11, 21).
- B. Agent specialization appears to be effective in many cases (17, 14). A contributing factor is that adult offenders appear willing to seek assistance voluntarily from an agent if that agent has not previously exercised any active supervision (29). In addition, it is unlikely that a given "generalist" agent can be aware of or have access to all available resources in all areas within moderate- to large-sized communities.

- C. No single model of parole supervision is appropriate for all adult offenders (9, 16, 3, 27). The appropriate model for each offender must be based upon that person's prospects for reinvolvement in criminal activities and for his/her readjustment to community life. Because these factors change over time, the appropriate model of supervision for each felon and non-felon also will change over time.
- D. Results of studies examining caseload size and parole outcome are inconclusive. In any event, caseload size is probably less important than other factors (such as availability of services and agent quality) in influencing outcome (14).
- E. Currently, caseload sizes are inappropriately determined. Factors that should be considered when determining caseload sizes include risk, need for controls and services, locale, turn-over rates, community support, and adult offender progress (9).
- F. Changing the frequency and nature of interactions between agents and adult offenders as a result of adult offender behavior, significant events, and perceived needs appears to be more effective than the provision of constant levels of supervision to adult offenders over time (32, 9).

Minimum supervision

- A. A number of felon parolees require only a minimum level of parole supervision (29). (Given the level of effectiveness and efficiency of P&CSD programs in 1976, and if recidivism rates alone are used as the evaluative criteria, a total of thirty-eight percent of all felon parolees could have been placed in a minimum supervision program in 1976.)
- B. Implementing a minimal supervision program can free-up P&CSD resources which, when used elsewhere in the division, can improve the overall efficiency and effectiveness of P&CSD operations (29, 9). Consequently, the number of people best placed in minimum supervision should decrease as parole becomes more effective.

- C. The people who fail under minimum supervision are not necessarily the same people who fail under regular supervision (29). Some who fail on minimal supervision would probably succeed had they been placed under regular supervision.

Supervision of narcotics users

- A. The civil addict treatment and testing program has been able to reduce significantly daily narcotic use and associated behavior among non-felons. In addition, for selected addicts, the methadone maintenance program, when combined with the revised control policies adopted in 1970, appears as effective as the previous policies which emphasized short term returns to institutions (13).
- B. Rapid and certain testing for substance abuse appears to be of substantial efficacy in the implementation of an intervention policy (19).

Control strategies

- A. Several important elements are related to the imposition of sanctions on adult offenders who become involved in criminal behavior after release from prison. These include the timeliness of intervention and/or certainty and consistency of punishment (16).
- B. For younger offenders it appears that certainty and timeliness are probably the most important factors to be considered in parole revocation. For older offenders, consistency also seems to be important (16, 2, 33).
- C. A six-month parole violation period for certain offenders may not furnish sufficient periods of control (22).
- D. Short term reconfinement of addicts who are beginning regular heroin use has proven to be successful in deterring re-addiction and consequent criminality (13).

Length of parole/outpatient status

- A. A significant number of parolees may only require minimal supervision (29).
- B. For high risk parolees who encounter difficulties, extension of the parole period to eighteen months and even longer is warranted (16, 5, 12, 7, 24).
- C. The period of supervision for non-felons is much longer than for felons and needs to be re-examined.
- D. Indications are that there is a need in some cases for the provision of services beyond the maximum one year of parole currently experienced by most parolees (7).
- E. Felon parolees are arrested nearly as often during the second year of parole as during the first year (12, 6).
- F. Longer parole periods should be considered for young adult offenders who have prior felony convictions, extensive juvenile records, and lack stable employment and residence during their parole period (16).
- G. Many adult felons have extensive drug abuse histories. A longer period of parole, including anti-narcotic testing, for these individuals can reduce the rate of drug abuse and associated crime (4, 13).

Management and staffing

- A. Feedback from division management to field staff concerning certain field actions, program objectives, and division expectations has been perceived as weak or inconsistent (23).
- B. Absence of a sophisticated auditing and monitoring system for the placement of holds and the initiation of revocation proceedings has allowed an uneven and inequitable administration of these procedures to exist throughout the division (23).

- C. Until recently, the use of a rather narrow set of measures of effectiveness (such as recidivism rates) may have partially misdirected agents in their dealings with individual clients, and has probably led to misallocations of resources. Because the measures have provided very little feedback as to success of field operations, change has been inhibited, outdated or ineffectual actions have been retained, and resources have been allocated among the units without regard to need or demonstrated levels of effectiveness (23).
- D. Disproportionate attention within the division may be currently placed on procedures at the expense of outcomes.
- E. The majority of division staff have demonstrated the capability to implement change effectively, largely due to a tradition of trying new ideas and the hiring and training of staff who welcome innovation.
- F. Inequities in the provision of services throughout the division appear to be the result of more than varying client need and the availability of local resources (23).

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings listed in the previous section the following recommendations are made:

- A. Comprehensive assessment of the prospects for reinvolvement in criminal activity and for readjustment to the community should be made by institution and parole field staff for each felon and non-felon prior to release from an institution. This assessment should be used as the basis for a parole action plan which will indicate specific goals and activities to be achieved. The assessment and action plan should be periodically reviewed and updated to better achieve the stated goals.
- B. Maximum resource allocations should be targeted on those offenders who, based on a rigorous assessment, present the highest risk to the community.
- C. Adult offenders should be classified to one of two types of supervision: a control emphasis; a service emphasis. The levels and types of controls and services provided to individual adult offenders may change over time.
- D. Placement in a minimum supervision status should be undertaken for selected adult offenders who, either at their time of release or during their period of parole supervision, evidence a low risk for reinvolvement in criminal activity.
- E. Continued emphasis should be placed on further improving the capability to supervise highly disturbed adult offenders; to facilitate the return to prison, based on good cause, of offenders posing a high degree of risk to the public; to improve the capability to control serious substance abuse; and to achieve still fuller cooperation of community sources for the provision of controls and services.

- F. Legislation should be supported that lengthens the period of parole for certain high risk offenders who commit a new crime or whose behavior has been or is anticipated to be so disruptive that it seriously threatens the public safety.
- G. Activities of field staff should be redirected from a generalist to a specialist approach. Appropriate related changes in management are also indicated.
- H. A study should be undertaken which determines the proper length of outpatient status for non-felon offenders.
- I. Continuing emphasis should be placed on further improving executive decision-making capability, providing timely response to changing demands, resolving issues of resource allocation, and establishing policy and program direction. Further improvements in procedures for monitoring and evaluation of the performance of management at all levels should be implemented.
- J. Additional evaluations of individual projects and programs should be conducted to refine parole operations. Specific projects to be examined include direct discharge, high investigation and surveillance, and high services.

VII. NEW MODEL OF PAROLE

The experience of the last three years as well as the findings from the division's experimental projects -- plus the insights gleaned from the research of others -- have resulted in substantial changes in the division's thinking about what constitutes an effective and efficient model of parole supervision. This new model of parole is based on three major features: (a) new program principles; (b) new managerial/organizational principles; and (c) risk minimization.

A. Program principles

1. Undertaking frequent and comprehensive assessment

There will be a requirement for careful initial and continuing assessment of the adult offender's prospects for criminal reinvolvement and for successful adjustment to community life. This implies a continuing search for and use of improved diagnostic and behavioral predictive techniques as well as close collaboration between field and institutional staff.

2. Developing and updating action plans

An action plan will be developed for each adult offender specifying detailed objectives and the levels and kinds of controls and services programmed, including minimum supervision, if appropriate. The plan will be periodically reviewed and updated.

3. Providing appropriate and effective controls and services

The controls and services actually provided for each adult offender will have been demonstrated to be effective in improving parole outcomes for that class of adult offenders at that point in their re-integration process. "What works, for whom, and how well" is the relevant question.

4. Emphasizing results

Specified contacts will be determined by results to be achieved. This is a marked shift away from measuring activity levels by parole agents to monitoring compliance with the action plan and measuring achievement of parole outcomes by adult offenders. This emphasis will encourage evaluation at all levels of management and will focus attention on the division's objectives and measures of effectiveness.

B. Managerial and organizational principles

1. Shifting to functional specialization by field staff

Field staff will be organized, trained, and operate within functional specialties. This approach represents a major change in the way field personnel, the division's major resource, are utilized. The traditional approach, used by almost all parole organizations, is the generalist approach: an individual agent is responsible for all aspects and phases of the parole period for an assigned group of adult offenders. The underlying assumption is that all agents are equally good at all things; an assumption which clearly is erroneous.

As in all fields of human activity, some persons are better at, prefer to, or can be more easily trained for certain tasks. Furthermore, as the tasks themselves become more numerous or complex, the ability of any one person to be competent at all such tasks is greatly diminished.

The division's study efforts have developed an array of controls and services of tested effectiveness and identified a series of interrelated functions involved in the supervision of adult offenders. Thus, a "technology" has been developed and functional specialization becomes not only possible but highly desirable: both greater effectiveness and efficiency result. The managerial aspects of the new model of parole operations are therefore, a necessary outgrowth of the earlier programmatic experimentation.

2. Requiring a full array of functions within each major field unit

Each major field unit must provide the full array of functions needed to ensure the public's safety and promote adult offender adjustment to community life. These functions include: undertaking comprehensive initial and ongoing assessment of prospects for a return to criminal activity and adjustment to community life; developing, monitoring, and updating action plans; undertaking surveillance and investigations; imposing and enforcing controls; intervening in crises; providing, purchasing, or arranging for supportive services; arranging revocations and discharges; and generating and utilizing community resources.

3. Shifting greater responsibility to field level management

Within policy guidelines, responsibility for providing the full array of functions and for resource allocations will center on the major field units. Resource allocations will become a prime concern of field administrators and their staffs: they will have to make careful choices of emphasis with respect to both functions and programs in order to accomplish individual adult offender and organizational goals within policy and budgetary constraints. This approach also allows greater opportunity to judge the effectiveness and efficiency of individual field units.

4. Improving executive guidance

Clear policy guidelines, improved communications among all managerial levels, and conscientious monitoring and evaluation will be stressed. Allocations of resources from the division to and within field units will be improved by more rationally determining workloads and results and the budgets related to them.

C. Minimizing risks

Several categories of risk associated with the proposed parole model have been evaluated:

1. Risks to public safety

The release of adult offenders to parole/outpatient status inherently poses some degree of risk to the public. With improved risk assessment procedures, however, this ever-present danger can be reduced by initially applying appropriate controls to high risk adult offenders. Although placing certain types of adult offenders on a minimum supervision status may entail some additional risk to the public's safety, any significant events or evidence of behavioral change indicating a return to criminal involvement will result in a rapid application of appropriate controls. Overall, the division's goal is to strive for a reduced level of risk compared with the current way of doing business.

2. Organizational change and risk

The move from generalist supervision to functional supervision entails internal risks in terms of possible staff resistance to change. However, once the intent of the proposed parole model is clearly understood, the risk should be low. Moreover, field staff would have new opportunities to utilize their unique personal skills to effectively manage functional workloads.

VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. "Accelerated Social Development," Parole and Community Services Division (P&CSD) Experimental Project, 1978.

The Accelerated Social Development project was based on the premise that in addition to the basic security needs of job, residence, transportation, adult offenders need certain social skills to successfully complete the transition from the institution to the community.

Since there was no specific program in existence that addressed social development, the curriculum was created from both classical and modern theories of psychology, sociology, and education such as exchange theory and modeling. Specific techniques used combined psychodrama, role playing, peer group counseling and assertion training. Praise and gifts were awarded to adult offenders for achievement of self-determined goals. Parole agents attempted to exercise the influence of positive attention and reinforcements to bring about change using authoritarian methods as a last step in the supervision process.

2. "Age, Crime and Punishment," Barbara Boland and James Q. Wilson, The Public Interest, No. 51, Spring, 1978.

This article refers to a study at the University of Pennsylvania which followed a group of boys in Philadelphia from birth in 1945 until age 30. It found that the chronic offenders in the group (15 percent of those born in 1945) committed four times as many offenses as the periodic offenders. Although the frequency of offenses declined with age, the chronic offenders continued to account for the great majority of crimes by adult offenders.

3. "California Correctional System Study, Field Services," Robert E. Keldgord, et al, 1971.

This comprehensive, three-volume study contains numerous findings and recommendations regarding parole. It strongly urges the development of more sophisticated strategies of differential treatment.

4. "CDC California Prisoners," 1973, Summary Statistics of Felon Prisoners and Parolees.

Seventy-three percent of 1973 male felon commitments had some drug abuse history; 38.1 percent had been heroin addicts at one time.

5. "California Mental Health, Research Monograph No. 5," Louise V. Frisbie and Ernest H. Dondis, California Department of Mental Hygiene, Bureau of Research and Statistics, 1976.

This study reports on the recidivism rates of 1,921 patients released from California Mental Hygiene hospitals. For the six-year reporting period it was shown that the highest rates of recidivism for sex offenders whose victims were male children was the second year: the first year 7.5 percent, the second year 13 percent, the third year 7.5 percent, and rates declining to two percent in the sixth year. Another finding was that the rate of recidivism for sexual aggressive offenders was 35.6 percent for the six years of the study; this was exceeded only by the relatively less dangerous categories of exhibitionism and voyeurism which were 40.7 percent and 46.8 percent respectively.

6. CDC Research Report No. 39, "By the Standard of His Rehabilitation," 1971.

This study examined 1,455 felon cases submitted for two-year discharge review during 1965 and 1966. During the twelfth to eighteenth months of parole, 22 percent of the cases had been arrested for various offenses. Twenty percent of the cases incurred an arrest during the eighteenth through twenty-fourth months of parole. The highest arrest rate was 29 percent during the first six months of parole.

7. "CDC Workload Yardstick Study and Budget Proposal," 1972.

Using the stratified sampling method on 552 subjects the Yardstick Committee found a marked upward trend in the need for employment and subsistence services and referral to community agencies during the eighteenth to twenty-fourth months of parole. Findings on arrest indicators (contact with law enforcement, court liaison) also showed an increase during the one and one-half to two-year period on parole. The need for services and controls during the second year of parole was equal to or greater than during the first year of parole.

8. "Community Resources Management Team Proposal and CRMT: A Position Statement." Two papers used by Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education (WICHE) in its recent team supervision training effort, 1975.

The project is summarized: "This project will institute an alternative treatment approach to reintegration of the offender into the community to replace the casework model widely used in probation and parole today. This new approach is called the Community Resources Management Team (CRMT), in which differentially qualified staff of an agency function together as a team to literally treat the community and its agencies and institution of human services to ensure the linking of those services to the offender caseload." The two papers detail the concept further and outline several models for adoption.

9. "A Comparative Appraisal of Selected P&CSD Field Demonstration Projects," CDC, P&CSD, December, 1977.

Since 1975 P&CSD has developed and implemented a series of field demonstration projects. These projects were designed to test promising alternatives in parole supervision and to provide information on "what works, for whom, and how well." Since considerable time still is required before the evaluations being conducted for most of the experimental projects will be completed, a cost-effectiveness comparison was undertaken to achieve a timely appraisal of selected experimental projects and ongoing programs. The findings of that comparison study are presented in this report.

This comparison study specifies that accurate judgments can be reached only by weighing a full array of criminality and community adjustment measures that are observed when the appropriate services and/or controls are provided to each adult offender depending upon the needs and problems experienced by that person throughout the period of supervision. Although focus is placed on the full array of measures, separate comparisons are also performed using measures of community adjustment or criminality.

The comparisons are based on the results of thirteen field demonstration projects and two ongoing programs. These latter programs are: Regular Parole Supervision and the Parole Outpatient Clinics. Included in the thirteen projects were: Team Supervision/Community Resources Management

9. A Comparative Appraisal (Continued)

Team (CRMT), High Control, Rapid-Response Urine Testing (EMIT machine), National Health Plan, Project JOVE, Sheltered Workshops Project, Vocational Rehabilitation, Direct Financial Assistance, Accelerated Social Development, Summary Parole, Parole and Planning Assistance, Special Projects Alcohol and Narcotics, and the San Jose Parole Outpatient Clinic.

A total of 31 measures of effectiveness was developed for the study, several of the analyses emphasize groupings of measures. These include:

- Recidivism measure -- the traditional primary measure of program effectiveness.
- Criminality measures -- indicators of actual or potential reinvolvement in criminal activities.
- Community adjustment measures -- indicators of the actual or potential ability to readjust to community life.
- Community adjustment and criminality measures considered together.

Within the controls category, the San Jose Parole Outpatient Clinic (POC SJ) project has the highest cost-effectiveness ranking. The Enzyme Multiplying Immunoassay Technique (EMIT) project ranks second. The High Control project, although having a slightly higher level of overall effectiveness than the EMIT project, ranks third, based on cost-effectiveness considerations. However, since each of these projects has a distinctively different control focus, choices among them cannot be made on cost-effectiveness considerations alone.

Team Supervision/Community Resources Management Team (the only project included in the Restructured Case Management category) has the highest overall level of effectiveness for all projects and programs included in the study. Because of the large cost savings achieved by the direct Summary Parole and agent determined Summary Parole cases, however, Team Supervision ranks only third among all projects and programs on a cost-effectiveness basis.

9. A Comparative Appraisal (Continued)

Providing Provisional Answers to Policy Questions. The appraisal clearly suggests that a recidivism measure by itself should not be used to judge the value of any project or program.

An array of measures including both community adjustment and criminality measures is preferred. The study also demonstrates the feasibility of comparing the costs and effectiveness of various projects and programs; it identifies promising choices as well as distinctly inferior choices.

The results of the cost-effectiveness comparisons can be combined with qualitative information on each project (especially problems that have been encountered and lessons learned). When this is done, it suggests that full-scale programs similar in operation to the Team Supervision/CRMT, Vocational Rehabilitation, ASD, JOVE, San Jose POC, EMIT, and High Control projects may be promising alternatives. (Additional study may be warranted in some cases to further increase the effectiveness or lower the costs of these programs.) Moreover, the placement of selected adult offenders on a conditional summary parole status after the initial adjustment period, based on agent judgment, appears to be a promising program choice.

The appraisal also suggests that the various needs and problems, individually or jointly, of adult offenders vary during the supervision period. An adult offender may experience an adverse change at any time during the period of parole. Unless intervention by P&CSD occurs, the persistence of any adverse situation may cause additional adverse changes. An adult offender may also experience favorable changes, but these are more likely to occur during the earlier phases of supervision. Periodic review may be required to maintain favorable situations throughout the period of parole.

The return-to-prison analyses suggests that the appropriate period of parole for high risk adult offenders who are experiencing adverse situations may be about eighteen months (provided the situations are improved) rather than twelve months specified by the Determinate Sentence Law.

9. A Comparative Appraisal (Continued)

An argument can be made that civil addicts should also be supervised for a period of about eighteen months, provided that they participate in treatment programs and are not experiencing adverse situations.

10. "Connecticut Prison Release Study," Howard R. Sacks, Connecticut Department of Corrections, Findings Scheduled for Release, Fall, 1978.

One hundred fifteen prisoners were released outright to the community, without parole, in the summer and fall of 1974. Another group of 58 inmates, released in late 1973 and early 1974, were released to parole status. The two groups were followed up for one year to determine whether they committed new criminal offenses. The failure rates for the two groups were strikingly different. Only 28 percent of the group released to parole failed (i.e., committed new offenses), which rate is a normal one for parolees. However, 66 percent of the no-parole group failed within the one-year follow-up period.

The research concluded that it is highly probable that it was the absence of parole that made the 115 offenders do so much worse in the community than their 58 counterparts who were released under parole.

11. "Corrections in the Community: Alternative to Imprisonment," - Selected readings by George G. Killinger and Paul F. Cromwell, Jr., West Publishing Company, St. Paul Minn., 1974.

A variety of papers ranging from poor to excellent in quality. These papers are organized in four chapters: Diversion from the Criminal Justice System; Special Community Programs; Probation; and Parole. The Parole chapter suggests the following be emphasized: team assignments, flexibility in organizational structure, community services for parolees, financial assistance, employment, residential facilities, and differential handling.

12. Department of Justice, Bureau of Criminal Statistics (BCS) Parole, "Arrest File, Quarterly Reports," 1/1/77-3/31/77; 4/1/77-6/30/77; 7/1/77-9/30/77.

BCS statistics on parolee arrests for the first three quarters of 1977 show that 48.77 percent of parolee felony and misdemeanor arrests occurred during the first year of parole. Thirty-five percent of the arrests happened during the second year of parole.

13. "An Evaluation of the California Civil Addict Program," U.S. Department of Health, Services Research Monograph Series by William A. McGlothlin, Ph.D., 1977.

This paper compares four groups of addicts admitted in the 1960's and 1970's and follows them for up to seven years. Among the findings is the fact that testing and supervision significantly reduced daily narcotic use and associated behavior. Methadone maintenance in combination with testing and supervision was found to be as effective in detoxification as was short-term institutional returns. It also found daily rate of narcotic use continues to decline the longer an individual remains in the Narcotic Addict Outpatient Program.

14. "Evaluation of Intensive Special Probation Project, Summary Phase I," J. Banks, et al, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, LEAA, Department of Justice, September, 1977.

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 twenty 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:

- 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.

14. Intensive Special Probation (Continued)

- 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.
- There is only weak evidence for success of volunteer probation projects.
- Projects specializing in serving particular client groups offer evidence of successful outcomes.

15. "The Future of Parole," Analysis of the Budget Change Proposal for Reorganization of Parole Services, California Youth Authority Administrative Report by Bill McCord, April, 1978.

Realistic planning can only begin upon the ward's return to the community, with full voluntary participation of the ward, and by staff who are familiar with community resources and who will be working with the ward.

16. Greenwood, Peter W., et al, "The Rand Habitual Offender Project: A Summary of Research Findings to Date," The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, 1978.

Offenders with felony convictions who continue in crime until a subsequent imprisonment report greater overall criminality and activity in more types of crime than do prisoners without prior felony convictions.

The seriousness and frequency of juvenile crimes are systematically and strongly related to the number of crimes in which they are active and their likelihood of high rate criminality. Respondents who committed their first crime before age 16 tend to be high rate offenders.

Job and residence instability are closely associated with crime.

Research project findings raise questions about traditional practice of concentrating law enforcement efforts and imposing harsher sentences on older career offenders as youthful first-time adult offenders are typically at, or reaching the peak of their criminal careers and may, in fact, have a lengthy juvenile record.

16. The Rand Habitual Offender Project (Continued)

Despite the fact that more youthful offenders (ages 24-28) present the greatest risk, factors such as probability of arrest, certainty of a prison commitment and severity of punishment increase with age. More youthful offenders tend to receive more lenient treatment.

17. "High Control Experimental Project," P&CSD, Fall, 1977.

Parole units in Walnut Creek, Stockton, Bakersfield and Riverside have implemented a limited, experimental project involving a total of twelve parole agents trained in intensive supervision and investigative duties. These agents operate with a limited group of offenders defined as the most serious offenders who have demonstrated patterns of potentially dangerous behavior. Preliminary indications suggest that High Control agents are able to detect earlier and intervene more promptly when evidence is found that criminal behavior patterns have been resumed.

18. "High Control Model - Parole Alternatives Discussion Paper #2," Norman Holt, CDC Research Unit, October 24, 1976.

This author stresses the point that the police discover very little crime on their own initiative but are credited with a higher number of detections because the victims or witnesses call the police for a response. Several studies of law enforcement agencies are cited to indicate that saturation patrolling proved ineffective. Often the targeted crime was displaced to other neighborhoods or the criminals developed more sophisticated techniques to counter the increased police manpower. The author contends that the 12 percent parole detection rate compared to a realistic rate of 20 percent for the police is a good showing for parole in that the police work on a 24-hour-day schedule whereas paroles works an 8-hour day.

19. "Implementation Plan - EMIT Process" - An unpublished paper by the California Department of Corrections - June, 1978.

This paper deals with the division's recent experience with all forms of antinarcotic testing with an emphasis upon the Enzyme Immunoassay Test or EMIT. It finds the EMIT system to be cost-effective, more efficient with a quicker response of test results in more detailed form allowing for rapid intervention.

20. "The Offender Looks at His Own Needs," by Rosemary J. Erickson, et al, Western Behavioral Sciences Institute, La Jolla, California, March, 1971.

Sixty San Diego parolees - half newly released and half who had been on parole about two years - were interviewed at length by trained ex-convict interviewers. Various paper-pencil tests were given to tap the parolees' self-concepts, philosophies, and concerns.

General Conclusions: Parolees have acute physical and material needs. They lack financial support upon release.

21. "Planning for California's Adult Parole System" - Ernest Reimer, July, 1975.

This comprehensive review of the literature reports on those activities that have potential to influence parolee behavior constructively, identifies by whom or how these activities were executed and the elements of risk and cost benefits involved. Over ninety books and reports were reviewed. The author ties together some of the threads he finds relating to such areas as parole planning, team supervision, temporary community releases and other aspects of the parole function.

22. "Prison Gangs in the Community" - A Briefing Document for the Board of Corrections, June, 1978.

This document deals with the history and formation of prison gangs in California and their method of operation, including bail jumping. It is suggested that jailed gang members employ delay strategies, exhaust the six-month time period forcing the removal of a parole hold, bailing from custody and absconding.

23. "Quarterly Management Review," P&CSD, 1977, 1978.

The Quarterly Management Review is a compilation of data relating to operational activities reported from the field. These include detailed figures relating to case management, personnel, budget and community relation matters.

24. "Report of the Attorney General's Advisory Committee to Assess the Uniform Determinate Sentence Act of 1976," 1978.

Committee recommended that the present three-year limit on the parole of a life prisoner be increased to five years and that the current one-year limit on the parole of other prisoners be increased to three years.

25. "Report of the Attorney General's Task Force on Prisoner Rehabilitation," Evelle J. Younger, Attorney General, January, 1975.

This is the report of a task force appointed by the California Attorney General "to study the problem of rehabilitation of inmates of the California state prison system and, if possible, to make positive recommendations." Among the task force's findings: "Of all the factors that may be identified as having an appreciable impact upon prisoner rehabilitation, the four factors that appear to be most critical are: 1) improving prisoner self-esteem and motivation, 2) increasing post-incarceration employment opportunities, 3) strengthening family relationships, and 4) improving the quality and the relevance of vocational and academic educational training." The report's recommendations included the utilization of placement personnel concentrating exclusively upon ex-convicts, state support of private and public groups organized to assist prisoners in adjusting to their release from prison, and accelerating present efforts to remove the bars that prevent an ex-convict from being licensed in various professions.

26. "Save Parole Supervision," Robert Martinson and Judith Wilks, "Federal Probation," Vol. XXXI, No. 3, September, 1977, Pp. 23-27.

An analysis of 5,804 recidivism rates of adults in the United States and Canada released under parole supervision. Comparisons are made on arrests, convictions, technical violations, and new prison sentences.

27. "Special Intensive Parole Unit, Phase IV, The High Base Expectancy Study," Research Report No. 10, CDC - Research Division, 1963.

Minimal supervision was defined as one face-to-face contact every three months unless parolee requested help or parolee evidenced indications of delinquent behavior on parole.

27. Special Intensive Parole Unit (Continued)

Parolees with high Base Expectancy scores performed better on parole during the first year studied than a group of "good risk" parolees released to regular parole supervision.

28. "Summary of the Parolee Risk Study," Michigan Department of Corrections, Program Bureau, January 10, 1978.

This study concerns 2,200 male adult offenders released on parole in 1971 from Michigan prisons. A five-point recidivism scale was devised for the study:

1. No illegal activities
2. Technical violation or absconding from parole
3. Misdemeanor
4. Non-violent felony
5. Violent felony.

In addition to these factors the seriousness of the offense was weighted to include: the number of victims in a crime, relationship of the offender to the victim, injuries, and the use of a weapon.

The highest risk group for committing a violent offense while on parole were those with an instant offense of rape, robbery, or homicide and serious misconduct or security segregation while confined and were first arrested before their fifteenth birthday.

The highest risk group for committing a property crime while on parole were: reported felony while juvenile and major misconduct or reported felony while juvenile and no major misconduct and age at first arrest before fifteenth birthday.

The study concluded that it is not possible to predict the probability of recidivism for a particular individual but rather indicated that the person is a member of a particular sub-group which has a certain average rate of recidivism.

29. "Summary Parole: A Study of Minimum Supervision and Parole Effectiveness." A Preliminary Report, March, 1978.

This preliminary study reports on the outcome of 627 cases released under minimum supervision requirements in 1976. The major finding is that for about 38 percent of those

29. Summary Parole (Continued)

released to parole supervision, a minimum supervision model is as effective in controlling return to criminality as traditional parole supervision.

30. "Surveillance and Service in Parole," A Report of the Parole Action Study by Eliot Studt, Ph.D., National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, LEAA, May, 1973; 214 pages.

An excellent analysis of the parole process, what it is and what it is not. Describes well the limited impact parole agents have on parolees, and the forces parolees must contend with. Offers suggestions for improving the process.

31. "A Systemwide Approach to the Career Criminal," Joan Petersilia and Marvin Lavin, RAND/WN-10153-DOJ, June, 1978, Pp. 20-22.

"The inmates comprising the Criminal Careers sample were similarly diverse as to offense commission rates, yet they tended to cluster into two broad offender groups, which we termed the intensives and the intermittents. The two groups could be distinguished in terms of a variety of characteristics, e.g., juvenile criminality, criminal sophistication, use of violence, etc., but most strikingly in terms of the intensity of criminal activity and the resultant involvements with the criminal justice system. For example, over his full career the average intensive offender committed about ten times as many crimes as the average intermittent offender, yet was five times less likely to be arrested for any single crime and, once arrested, less likely to be convicted and incarcerated. (Chart omitted.)

"These results all tend to reinforce the belief that there is a segment of the offender population which is disproportionately active in crime and which should be targeted for lengthy incarceration when convicted in order to produce the most pronounced effect on crime rates. It is clearly important to be able to identify that segment in terms of various characteristics that are associated with a high rate of criminal activity - one of several reasons being to perceive the adequacy of the various definitions of a career criminal being employed in police and prosecutorial programs. In this vein we next present materials that illustrate the association of offense rates with several factors, namely, offender age, criminal record, and juvenile criminal activity."

32. "The 1973 Report on the Work Unit Parole Program," California Department of Corrections.

Analysis of data obtained from the work unit parole program empirically supported the supposition that supervision allocated according to case needs and reflected in caseload size enhances the opportunity for better parole performance.

The work unit program had a positive impact on the entire parole operation. Comparison of parole outcomes for male felons released to California parole during the years preceding work unit (1961-1964) and a two-year follow-up study (fiscal year 1970-71 sample) showed a reduction of 52.7 percent in parole violations and new prison terms.

The two-year follow-up study conducted in fiscal year 1970-71 also indicated that in 16 out of 18 follow-up categories, work unit had smaller percentages of cases returned to prison with a new felony commitment than did the conventional program.

33. "Training and Orientation Package" - Parole and Community Services Division, 1977 - Unpublished.

This document provides a detailed accounting of the policy and practice requirements for implementation of the Determinate Sentence Law. Included are the procedures relating to the return to custody of technical parole violators.

34. "Uniform Parole Reports: A National Correctional Data System," M. G. Neithercutt, et al., NCCD Research Center, Davis, California, LEAA, March, 1975.

Agencies in fifty states, the Federal Government and Puerto Rico contribute data to establish this data collection procedure and the resultant feedback to participants. The information about those under parole supervision includes over 25 items in three main groupings: Identification data, Historical data, and Parole Performance data.

Plans, based on this uniform data, are projected for analysis which will improve prediction capabilities and classification procedures, and for conducting comparative studies of differing parole systems.

35. "Use of Prediction on Caseload Management," Richard C. Nicholson, Federal Probation, December, 1968.

The U. S. probation office in Sacramento, California utilized a modified Base Expectancy scoring method to rate 111 male adult offenders. Ninety-nine percent of high Base Expectancy scores (57-76) made favorable adjustments. Medium Base Expectancy scores had a favorable adjustment (20-66 percent) and low Base Expectancy scores (17-36) all made unfavorable adjustments.

36. "Validity of the Base Expectancy Scale, BE61A," CDC, Research Services Unit, September 17, 1974.

The Base Expectancy scale, developed by CDC, assigns a score to each inmate according to possession or absence of certain historical characteristics. It predicts from past observation the percentage of inmates for each particular BE score who will have favorable parole outcomes; the higher the score, the greater the possibility of favorable parole outcome.

BE61A was created to predict favorable parole outcome within two years after release. In general, favorable outcome was defined as no return to any prison from parole, no jail sentence of 90 or more days, or not Parolee-at-Large (PAL) over six months. The scale scores range from 0-76, with the specified points accumulated for whichever of the following characteristics are applicable:

12. Arrest-free period of five or more consecutive years
9. No history of any opiate use
8. Not more than two jail commitments
7. Not committed for burglary, forgery, or checks
6. No family criminal record
6. No alcohol involvement
5. Not first arrested for auto theft
5. Six or more consecutive months for one employer
5. No aliases
5. First imprisonment under this serial number
4. Favorable living arrangement
4. Not more than two prior arrests.

36. Validity of the Base Expectancy Scale (Continued)

BE61A continues to be a valid measurement and predictive device for male felon parolees for the 1970-1971 releases; the percent of favorable outcome for each year's releases is higher at any level than the percents observed for the same year's lower levels. Although the BE was created to predict percent favorable outcome within two years, it has some validity for predicting returns to prison in that the percent of returns generally increases as the BE score level decreases.



END