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IMPROVED PROBATION STRATEGIES

MANUAL

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INTRODUCTION: IMPROVED PROBATION STRATEGIES

The fields of probation and parole are in a transition period which may produce the most significant if not radical changes in the more than 130 years of their existence. While the very existence of parole is being questioned in some quarters and some States are considering its termination as a release alternative, others are advocating its expansion and some States have moved to release all offenders under some form of supervision substantially similar to parole. Probation, which is the focus of this proposed training effort, is not under attack from the same extreme perspectives as parole but is nevertheless being carefully scrutinized in terms of primary objectives, service delivery techniques, cost effectiveness, overall management and resource allocation, etc. In addition, the proper functions of probation agencies are being debated, and the question is raised whether pretrial activities and residential programs should appropriately be included under a probation agency's purview.

There is widespread ferment within the entire correctional system as well. Some changes have been induced by court decisions such as Morrissey and Gagnon which elicited significant procedural reform in the parole decisionmaking process. Some have been the product of LEAA's change-oriented infusion of new money. The list of States which have undergone major organizational and administrative realignments in the past decade is now fairly long.

Yet in considering community corrections in its entirety, it is easy to become discouraged about the prospects for genuine institutional reform. The mainstream of probation and parole is not grossly different from what it was a decade ago. Too often, new and innovative efforts are essentially "side shows"--intriguing, existing, but devoid of major impact upon the overall operation.

Yet there are some broad and fairly pervasive trends in probation and parole that can be identified with some confidence:

- The rehabilitative ethic is still alive and, if not well, at least active and visible in probation and parole. Particularly with respect to experimental programs and to preinstitutional as opposed to post-institutional operations, there is a strong predilection to be helpful and supportive of the offender population. Assumption of an advocacy role by corrections staff is not uncommon, especially among its more youthful members.
- The classic conflict inherent in the role of the probation or parole officer still exists. The field officer generally is still required to be a combination of policeman and social worker, providing surveillance with one hand and services with the other. Some interesting arrangements for resolving this ambiguity are now being tried.

- The public's fear of rising crime, particularly violent crime, is reflected in an increased emphasis on the control aspects of the field officer's function, especially in parole.
- Prison populations declined during the late 1960's and early 1970's to a low point in 1973, only to rise to an all-time high in January 1976. Adult probation and parole caseloads have climbed rapidly during the past 10 years and continue at a high level. Staff increases apparently have not kept pace with the growth in client populations. This has encouraged some reassessment of traditional strategies for assigning and managing caseloads.
- In numerous (though still a minority of) jurisdictions across the country, the probation function is being expanded to include certain pretrial services. This has been primarily in the administration of release on recognizance programs and "diversion" or deferred prosecution strategies. Again, the increased workload has not always been matched by the addition of staff, and thus the impact of these new programs has been limited.
- The nonjustice and private sectors of society are increasingly a part of the correctional enterprise. Growing emphasis on probation and parole officers' "brokerage" function (which implies a greater reliance on community services and resources) is apparent in many jurisdictions. Such efforts entail considerable investment of time and effort in promoting and developing necessary resources. There also has been a substantial growth in the use of volunteers in probation and parole, although the practice is by no means universal and the reactions of staff and administrators are varied.
- Use of community-based residential facilities for adults is expanding. Halfway house and work and educational release centers are widely used for parolees. Although administrative responsibility frequently is lodged with prison or jail administrators, field agency managers appear to be taking on more of this responsibility. Probation agencies are moving slowly toward wider use of such facilities as an alternative to imprisonment.
- There appears to be an increasing use of jail commitment as a condition of probation, sometimes called the "split sentence." Although the practice has been criticized as making more difficult the offender's later reestablishment in the community, where the alternative would be prison commitment, it may be a preferable choice.
- The continued viability of the parole function is being challenged in some quarters. Although much criticism appears to be directed more against prison programs and the indeterminate sentence than parole itself, the proposed alternative—the "flat sentence"—would seem to leave little place for conventional parole operations. Probation, on the other hand, seems to be faced with a rather different future. Although some of its methods and operating principles are under attack, it seems likely that the use of probation will continue to expand in the foreseeable future.

It is clear that because of external pressures, probation administrators are being forced to provide a growing range of services to an increasing number of clients, frequently without a corresponding increase in resources. What has become known as the "jail crisis" has increased demands for both pretrial services and for misdemeanant probation. Overcrowded prison conditions have led, in some jurisdictions, to probationary sentences for offenders who ordinarily would have been incarcerated. This in turn has led to demands that probation agencies assume a surveillance rather than a treatment posture.

Probation executives have responded to these conflicting demands in a variety of ways, such as special caseloads and programs, and caseload management techniques. As pointed out in the National Evaluation Program on Special Intensive Probation, these responses are frequently undertaken without a clear articulation of goals and with weak implementation plans. More often than not, provisions for evaluating the success of a particular response are not included. Especially in program areas beyond the traditional scope of probation and in programs undertaken with grant funds, lines of authority become blurred and the need for special training is neglected or unrecognized.

In the midst of an avalanche of conflicting demands, correction workers also have had the benefit of some sober, fair, and insightful commentary. A mixture of support and criticism, these views deserve serious attention as more than polemics, for they represent the conclusions of those who have thought carefully about the past and present of the field we call corrections and have attempted to put the future in perspective. Some of these critiques have been based on the findings of evaluative research, while others have been derived from observations of the nature of contemporary corrections and speculations about its future role.

The Challenge of Evaluation: "Nothing Works"

Perhaps no single critique of contemporary corrections has created such a stir as the review of evaluative studies of correctional treatment by Robert Martinson and his associates. For some time this uniquely comprehensive review --covering some 231 studies conducted from 1945 to 1967--was much talked about but unavailable for wide reading. The consternation it generated in correctional circles may have been due in part to the attention which one tends to focus on well-known, but still unpublished, works. Nevertheless, from a review of the results of these studies and a careful assessment of their methodological adequacy, the researchers concluded that very few rehabilitative programs-whether institutional or community-based and regardless of type of treatment-have had any significant impact on recidivism.

The observation that evaluative studies tend to discredit rehabilitative efforts was not new with the Martinson survey. Walter C. Bailey, who reviewed the findings of 100 studies in 1966, arrived at conclusions similar to Martinson's, noting that the more rigorous the research, the less likely it would be to show a positive result. And for years some iconoclastic thinkers have suggested that correctional intervention may sometimes make things worse rather than better.

An important contribution of the Martinson review has been to place in perspective the minuscule scale of rehabilitative efforts when compared to the forces which generate crime in the community and over which the treaters have little control. Martinson and his associates also point out that both program operators and researchers have tended to ignore the effects of punishment and deterrence as independent or causative variables. It should be noted that the Martinson survey has received a variety of interpretations and responses. Palmer, for example, has pointed out that the data presented actually indicate positive or partly positive results for some programs or some offenders in 48 percent of the studies summarized. However, whether or not one agrees with the Martinson conclusion that rehabilitation efforts have little or no demonstrable effect, their work should be thoughtfully considered by all concerned with the future of correctional treatment programs.

Interestingly, a recent statistical study of probation arrived at conclusions significantly different from the point of view that "nothing works." A 1976 Report to Congress by the Comptroller General of the United States presented data on a sample of 1,200 former probationers in four counties. This study found that--

Overall, the four counties failed to successfully deal with an estimated 55 percent of the former probationers—they fled, had their probation revoked, or were convicted of new crimes.

Instead of concluding that probation is inherently a failure, however, the GAO report argues that these dismal results stem from inadequate treatment services, a lack of dependable information to guide judges in deciding who should be placed on probation, and especially the problem of caseloads which are so high that probation officers are unable to perform their supervisory duties effectively. Statistical tests conducted by the researchers support their conclusion that more adequate rehabilitative services would in fact reduce recidivism. This study illustrates the fact that questions relating to the effectiveness of community treatment still have not been definitively answered.

While the importance of existing evaluative data cannot be denied, caution is advisable in drawing conclusions from them. Any effort to piece together the results of different studies conducted in different times and places will confront enormous difficulties. Also, research itself is a "movement" with its own normative thrusts, and these sometimes are antithetical to action programs. In the 1960's we may have been to quick to accept uncritically the apparent success of community correctional programs. Now, with the swing of the pendulum and the shift in the national mood to one of skepticism about rehabilitation, we stand in danger of reaching opposite but equally simplistic answers to the same complex questions.

A major weakness in correctional research may be found in the questions which have been asked. In an excellent article entitled "Achieving Better Questions," Daniel Glaser states that "the primary contribution of past research to correctional progress in not in its answers to the questions that were investigated, but in its guidance to more fruitful questions." Glaser believes that we can progress through a series of incremental leaps, elicited by new perspectives on old problems. He suggests that the illumination of "why"-type questions—or hypothesized explanations for program success or failure—should

come from the social behavioral sciences, just as engineering depends on physics and agriculture on chemistry. Unfortunately, the lines of communication between corrections and the social sciences have not often been open, and their relationship frequently has been characterized by reciprocal negative stereotyping. The paper by Golbin on page 73 of this manual raises the problems and outlines some areas for improvement.

Correctional research in the past has moved in a zigzag, and sometimes circular, progression rather than a reasonably coherent line of development. Needed now is a summative approach which supplies continuity both in refining program methods and asking better research questions about them.

A parallel requirement for probation managers is best stated by Eric Carlson who says that we must "...attach the highest priority to developing and delineating models of probation, analyzing the tasks and roles implied by each model."

An increased level of sophistication on the part of probation executives, coupled with a decreased level of resources, demands that probation managers reexamine not only existing services but also better methods of assessing the development of new programs. In essence, better management, monitoring, and evaluation techniques need to be developed if probation services are to maintain some parity with other governmental programs. Thus, management processes need to be assessed along with substantive developments in the field. A probation manager is no longer able to maintain a "status quo" operation and continue organizational survival.

The papers in this manual are designed to review the research literature in more depth, with specific attention to the strategies of intensive special probation (ISP), presentence investigation (PSI), and resource brokerage. All of these strategies are potentially programs of innovation to meet the demands of cost, productivity, and accountability that affect current probation services.

In addition, the program development model and process outlined are vehicles for realizing the possibilities of these programs. Only through a carefully managed process of program development can researchers and managers in the probation field realize a common end--improved probation strategies.

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CHAPTER 1: PROBATION: THE STATE OF THE ART

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Introduction

Probation assumptions, purposes, functions, and processes have recently joined the growing ranks of criminal justice system components which have been spotlighted by controversy and critical reassessment. Spurred by a number of widely publicized attacks on the prevailing theories and models which have directed criminal justice practices for the past quarter-century, policymakers, taxpayers, and practitioners are no longer as willing to continue to support certain current activities and programs simply because they are "traditional."

We have recently witnessed challenges in corrections to the medical rehabilitation and the reintegration models; we have seen devastating attacks on the effectiveness of correctional treatment programs; we have followed the trends in court decisions which challenge traditional practices by raising such issues as the constitutional rights of convicted offenders, due process, and the right to treatment (or the right to refuse treatment); and finally, we are being asked to consider the implications of new or revived concepts such as the deterrence model, the incapacitation model, the justice model, "just desserts," and even punishment.

Correctional administrators, policymakers, and practitioners reassessing the functions of their agencies have a critical need to know not only how their agencies presently operate but also the strengths and weaknesses of those operations, operational costs, and the effectiveness of those operations. In addition, the experiences—if assessed—of other agencies which may have experimented with innovative or unusual programs or techniques can guide the administrator toward (or steer the administrator away from) alternative approaches.

Out of recognition of this need for research and comprehensive information dissemination, the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice has funded a number of improtant projects.

Among the most significant are--

- An evaluation of special intensive probation projects by Banks at the Georgia Institute of Technology
- The preparation of a comprehensive prescriptive package on PSI's by Carter
- A study of promising probation strategies by Nelson, Ohmart, and Harlow
- A study of critical issues in probation at the Ohio State University by Carlson, Parks, and Allen.

The great bulk of the material which you will see presented in this workshop will be drawn from these sources. Several studies are available now, and all will be available within the next few months from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service.

In preparing for this workshop, we were faced with the task of reducing this mountain of material to some realistic dimension. We have tried to do this by focusing on three areas of interest in which we believe the possibility for significantly improving the overall quality and effectiveness of probation lie. These areas--PSI's, brokerage strategies, and intensive special probation-raise a good cross-section of the major concerns faced by most probation managers, and they offer some very practical alternatives to traditional practice.

Scope of Contemporary Activity

Before discussing the various issue areas which we have identified, however, it might be helpful to give you a sense of the scope of contemporary probation activity. When faced with a stream of day-to-day problems, it is sometimes difficult to reflect on the larger view. Recently, a survey of probation and parole agencies was conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Department of Justice. Although the survey frequently mixed probation and parole data, it contains the only national probation data currently available.

The survey reports that on September 1, 1976, there were 923,064 adult probation clients under State and local supervision in the United States. Approximately 50 percent (455,093) of these clients had been convicted of felony crimes, and the balance had misdemeanor convictions. Eighty-six percent, or 795,231, were male. The rate at which the probation disposition is used varies widely from State to State. For example, Massachusetts reports 1,265 adult and juvenile probationers per 100,000 population, while Kentucky reports only 210. The rate for the entire United States is 583 per 100,000.

The number of offenders on probation, however, only tells part of the story. In 1976, there were 1,929 agencies which listed adult probation supervision as one of their functions. Fifty-six percent of these agencies operated at the State level and 42 percent at the county or municipal level. Adult probation was listed as the only function by 340 agencies. These 340 agencies served a total caseload of $\frac{1}{2}$ 67,276, with a full-time counseling staff of 2,504, for an average client caseload of $\frac{1}{2}$ 67 clients./1/

The results of this survey emphasize the fact that the delivery of adult probation services is a big business, even though the individual probation agencies are often quite small. In the aggregate, probation touches more lives than any other area of corrections. The scope of probation activity alone warrants a careful study of the methods used to manage and deliver its services.

Presentence Investigation Reports

Although presentence investigations and reports constitute only one of the major functions of probation, they can be quite demanding, both in terms of probation officer diligence in providing a thorough and accurate report and in terms of the amount of time necessary to perform the investigation. These demands are further heightened by the frequent court-imposed requirement that presentence investigations must be completed within a relatively short period of time.

The importance of presentence investigations to a probation agency can be seen in the data collected by the Census Bureau survey. The data, reflecting the situation in 1976, showed that 3,303 responding agencies reported performing probation functions. Of these 3,303 agencies, 2,540 agencies indicated that they conducted presentence investigations; almost 1 million (997,514) presentence investigations were performed by these agencies in 1975. In terms of the agency workload, almost one-half (45 percent) of the agencies which conduct presentence investigations reported that more than 25 percent of their workload was devoted to presentence investigations./2/

Estimates of time to prepare one PSI range from 10 to 20 hours. If you assume the high estimate is correct, the PSI's may absorb up to 20 million man-hours of available probation time, or a full-time workload for 9,600 persons. It is evident that the PSI area may offer probation administrators a golden opportunity to significantly affect the workload of their agency, if they are able and willing to examine their PSI policy.

In recent years, a great deal of space in the probation literature has been devoted to the subject of presentence investigation reports. The subject matter can be roughly divided into two target areas: the production of the presentence investigation report and the impact of the presentence investigation report.

In some localities, PSI's are mandatory in particular instances, such as when the offense is a felony, before the defendant can be placed on probation, and for specific offenses. The degree to which these mandatory requirements are met and the effects of the probation agencies in meeting them are unknown.

Research suggests that if PSI's were discretionary, they would be ordered for two reasons: (1) to provide time for the judge to evaluate potential sentences in light of community sentiment and (2) to obtain additional data of a medical and/or psychiatric nature./3/ These two reasons for preparation suggest reports which would have different angles. The first suggests a long, detailed report which would require a large block of time to prepare; indeed, to provide time is really why the report was ordered. The report would be long and involved, possibly filled with superfluous but difficult-to-gather information. The second suggests a very focused report aimed at a particular gap in the judge's information about the offender. It is reasonable to expect that each of these aims might be achieved in better ways than the traditional long-form PSI.

The optimal time during the presentencing process at which to prepare the PSI is a largely unsettled issue. It is apparent that most probation officers do not like to prepare a report before adjudication of guilt, but this is probably to avoid unnecessary work rather than their possible objection to preadjudication preparation. We know very little about the effects of preadjudication preparation reports on plea bargaining or witnesses. The use of waivers to permit the preparation of the preadjudication PSI is an area untouched by researchers. It is not untouched, however, by critics and legal commentators. There is widespread belief that preadjudication PSI's, however justified, raise such grave issues of self-incrimination and privacy that they can never be acceptable since they (1) assume the defendant is guilty and (2) result in the collection of extremely private and potentially damaging information for no good reason.

The question of who should prepare the PSI has been the subject of some research. It appears that both the background and experience of individual probation officers can affect their recommendations; that is, similar information given to probation officer with different backgrounds and experience will result in different recommendations. The educational level of the probation officer has been suggested as having an influence on the recommendations. The findings of a study by Carter and Wilkins indicated that probation officers with graduate training, or degrees in social work or social welfare, recommended probation for approximately 50 percent of their cases./4/ Officers with degrees in criminology and sociology recommended probation about 70 percent of the time. A second study indicated that as probation officers gained more experience they began to modify the factors which they weighed when making probation recommendations./5/ Officers fresh out of school were inclined to recommend probation in every case which offered some hope that the defendant's behavior or attitude might be modified by probation. Most experienced officers tended to be more concerned with the risk that the defendant presented to the community, which resulted in fewer recommendations for probation.

The research to date has been unsuccessful in either understanding or controlling the effects of a probation officer's experience and background on recommendations. The subject deserves study, however. If indeed the probation officer seems to function as a surrogate "sentencer" for the judge, this phenomenon could very well contribute to sentencing disparity rather than reduce it.

Some research indicates that the short-form PSI can be effectively used. Although court personnel tend to dislike and generally refuse to accept "fill-in-the-blank" type reports, they nonetheless rely on a relatively small amount of information included in the usual long form.

There is consistently a great deal of uniformity in the information which is used. Offense, prior record, and various stability factors rank among the most frequently used and useful pieces of information, both for probation officers' recommendations and judicial sentencing decisions. Results indicate that these types of information are related to the recommendation contained in the report and to the ultimate disposition of the offender. What is unknown and should be addressed is how this material can be presented in such a manner that it can be uniformly interpreted by a variety of probation officers and judges to predict the probability of an offender's success on probation.

Research indicates that the reliability of the information contained in PSI's is seldom checked./7/ Verification is time consuming, and departments do not give it high priority. This situation has given rise to a steady increase in calls for the disclosure of PSI's and sources of information to defendants and their attorneys. In several situations, the failure to obtain full disclosure has resulted in the growth of both private and public agencies to produce "defense-oriented" PSI's.

The PSI is of little use, at least in the traditional sense, if it has no impact on the sentencing process. Attempting to discern the impact of PSI's is extremely difficult, however, because these impacts are masked in the discretion that shrouds the sentencing process. Attempts to determine those judicial characteristics which influence sentencing decisions have not been particularly fruitful and have been frequently contradictory except in demonstrating that judges can be inconsistent in their sentencing patterns.

The fact that an estimated 80 to 90 percent of the cases to be sentenced have entered guilty pleas means that judges have had, on average, little contact with the defendant prior to sentencing. This lack of information is regarded by many as one of the causes of uninformed, even inconsistent, sentencing. Judges seem to at least partially accept this, because they almost universally agree that the information in PSI's constitutes a valuable sentencing aid.

On the other hand, while judges and probation officers find it difficult to agree on whether a sentencing recommendation should be included in a PSI, they do seem to agree on the important factors in making sentencing decisions. The defendant's prior record and the facts of the present case are most often cited as the important factors. It is possible that this consensus is responsible for the high level of agreement between PSI recommendation and the sentence imposed. This ranges from 72 to 96 percent./8/ To date, research has been unable to determine the causes of this high rate of agreement, although it is often attributed to judges' willingness to accept probation officers' recommendations. To resolve this issue, further investigation should be made to determine whether similar sentencing patterns would occur without the PSI.

There is also some evidence that PSI's do not serve to influence the nature of sentence disposition but instead affect its length. This assumes that judges decide on the nature of the disposition prior to the PSI./9/

In summary, research into PSI's leaves us in somewhat of a quandary. First, we see that sentencing decisions tend to be made on a relatively few pieces of information. Second, we see that in spite of this, there is a rather stady demand for more complete and accurate PSI's. On one hand, we see little evidence that conclusively indicates that PSI's are worth their massive costs; on the other, the traditional logic for them is persuasive and the demand of judges for them can hardly be denied.

Possibly, these contradictions and the seemingly irresistible march toward determinate sentencing patterns are a clue that we should carefully reexamine the PSI process. To do this we have to ask ourselves what persons and agencies use the PSI and why. We have to perform some analysis, and to do this we have to abandon the notion that the PSI is a given product. Instead, it is what each user thinks it is. In general we have to view the users as ourselves, the courts, and correctional and parole boards.

We know the information needs of these agencies can be accommodated without producing a definitive biography of each offender. The most difficult task may be to persuade the agencies to recognize their own needs. If correctional institutions, in particular, are unwilling to realistically assess their information needs, locally funded probation agencies may have to consider passing on the cost of data collection to these State-funded correctional institutions.

Intensive Special Probation

Intensive special probation, as we define the term, is any form of probation which offers unusually large quantities of supervision to each probationer or unique forms of probation service delivery. The Georgia Tech study of these programs found a tremendous variety of programs with respect to locale, concept, and scale./10/

Most discussions of ISP are plagued by the confusion of the concepts of intensive probation, which generally means reduced caseloads, and special probation, which indicates some unique form of probation service delivery. In practice, seldom is one concept employed without the other. In fact the very act of reducing a probation officer's caseload may guarantee that the remaining probationers will receive their services in a unique manner. For a moment, however, let us try to separate the two concepts.

Intensive Probations

The President's Task Force on Corrections has not been the only body, but has certainly been one of the most prestigious, to state that the administrative problem which has plagued probation officials most has been the achievement of a manageable workload for probation officers./11/ Whenever probation programs are subject to criticism, the oversized caseload is usually identified as the obstacle to successful operation. Efforts to reduce caseloads have and will continue to be a source of continuing struggle between probation administrators and local and State authorities.

A number of numerical standards have been proposed for average caseload. Fifty and 35 are probably the two most common, although neither the basis nor the efficacy of either is clear. The American Bar Association's proposal was probably most realistic when saying in its standard relating to probation that the average caseload should be sufficiently low to provide adequate supervision and to develop variable caseloads for different types of offenders./12/

Caseload size is a crucial consideration. If it is large, as is likely the case in most places, probation officers often spin their wheels for lack of knowing where to begin. It is easy, if one feels overwhelmed by the magnitude of a situation, to spend a lot of time doing nothing but fretting over what to do first. Even more often, there is so much to be done that most things are done superficially and without meaning merely because that is the only way to keep the paperwork flowing. This obviously has serious consequences for the general attitude and approach of probation officers. They become frustrated by not being able to keep up with the work and disillusioned because they are not doing what they thought probation work was all about. Often they give up the struggle and resign themselves to superficial noninvolvement which does nothing to resolve client problems. Or occasionally, they may quit. All these possibilities indicate the importance of the issues surrounding caseload size.

The majority of research into the effectiveness of intensive probation has been directed at the impact of reductions in caseload size on probation success. A number of reviews of caseload research are available; however, most focus on just one major project, the San Francisco Project./13/

This project randomly assigned probationers to ideal (caseloads of 40), intensive (caseloads of 20), normal (caseloads of 70 to 130), and a minimum supervision caseload of several hundred. Analysis determined that, excluding technical violations, the minimum supervision caseload was no less successful than the other caseloads. The smaller caseloads appeared to generate larger numbers of technical violations. Unfortunately, the San Francisco Project is not the best study upon which to base conclusions regarding caseload sizes. First, it was a study of the Federal probation system; second, no control was exercised over the supervision style of officers; and third, there were a host of other minor methodological problems.

Some additional research has become available in the 1970's to supplement the San Francisco Project. An ISP project operated by the Florida Parole and Probation Commission in 1971-72 assigned probationers and parolees to experimental caseloads of 35 "high risk" probationers and compared their performance to caseloads of 70 "medium" and "low risk" offenders. The only real conclusion drawn is that parolees are revoked more frequently than probationers.

An Oklahoma Department of Corrections study compared caseloads of size 50 to caseloads of 160 to 170 and found no significant difference in success rate./14/

When caseload size reduction is carried to its extreme, as when volunteer counselors are assigned on a one-to-one basis, there is some evidence that lower recidivism results. Other projects are just underway and have been only partially evaluated.

From the available published research and the 20 projects visited by the Georgia Tech team, it appears that the simple expedient of reducing caseloads will not of itself assure a reduction of recidivism. There is, however, limited evidence that very small caseloads may be effective with juveniles.

Experiments with reduced caseloads seem to show that in order to reduce recidivism, some form of differential treatment must be made available. At this point it is obvious that we can no longer avoid discussing special probations.

Special Probation

Research into the effectiveness of special probation is even more sparse than caseload research, but it does offer some tantalizing suggestions.

One of the most widely used types of special probation relies on the use of volunteers. Both Georgia Tech and Ohio State research located studies which purported to demonstrate both the effectiveness and ineffectiveness of these programs. The evidence clearly does not weigh in favor of either direction.

A second approach to special probation is to specialize the treatment given probationers. This involves either classifying the probationers and giving special treatment to different classes, or selecting a special group of probationers.

The approach of selecting special caseloads has received positive support from the research. Sex offenders and offenders with "psychiatric problems" are two groups which appear to benefit from specialized treatment in terms of lower recidivism. Several projects focusing on drug offenders also indicated some degree of success in reducing recidivism.

Lastly, special probation may result from decentralizing services and including outreach programs. To date, there is no clear evidence that these programs are effective.

So what do we know?

It appears from many studies that the simple expedient of reducing caseloads will not of itself assure a reduction of recidivism. Experiments with reduced

caseloads have shown that to reduce recidivism requires classification of offenders with differential treatment for each class. The value of differential treatment requires that probation manpower ratios vary directly with the kind and amount of services to be performed. A major requirement for using a differential treatment system is an adequate case analysis and planning procedure. Such planning must determine the kind and intensity of supervision needed by probationers, the ability to place offenders in the community where they are most likely to succeed, and the determination of the period during which various kinds of probation supervision are required.

Standards for average caseload size serve a useful purpose in estimating the magnitude of present and future needs for probation officers, but in operation there is no single optimum caseload size. In the opinion of the President's 1967 commission, it would be a mistake to approach the problem of upgrading community treatment solely in terms of strengthening orthodox supervision to bring caseload sizes down to a universal maximum standard. Such an approach would ignore the need for specialized caseloads to deal differently with particular types of offenders and for changes in the standard procedure that results in an offender's being supervised by only on officer./15/

The effectiveness of probation will by far depend more on the kind of individual being treated and the setting in which the treatment occurs than it will on pure questions of numbers. For some, minimum supervision is sufficient. An important finding made by Carter and wilkins in their research on caseloads in the San Francisco Project is that the effect of caseload size is more a function of the interaction of several factors such as types of probationers and possibly types of agents rather than a simple function of numbers./16/

The underlying assumption on which probation must rest is that most probationers need supervision and that the adequacy of supervision and the skill with which it is deployed will in large measure determine the success of the system.

The General Accounting Office report on "State and County Probation: Systems in Crisis" discusses the fact that probation cannot effectively rehabilitate offenders and protect society as long as problems in delivery of services exist./17/ Eliminating these problems depends on the commitment of resources by all levels of government. The effect of a large caseload is that probationers are not closely supervised or provided necessary services. As a result, high caseloads contributed to probationers' committing crimes and violating conditions of probation. The report indicated a highly significant statistical relationship between

the extent to which probationers received needed services and success on probation; that is, as the probationers received more of the services they needed, they were more likely to complete probation successfully.

In a small caseload, the problems include becoming bored with the feeling that there is so little to do. Another problem is busywork, where the probation officer tries to find things to do to maintain the appearance of being busy. Small caseloads may only be effective so long as the officer is capable of using the extra time wisely to assist the client. There is also the problem of overkill, where actions are repeated and time wasted. Finally, an important consideration is that through extensive involvement and supervision clients may become dependent upon the probation officer, and thus not be able to function on their own in society.

Sparks, in "Research in the Use and Effectiveness of Probation, Parole and Measures of Aftercare" discussed the lack of significant differences in the success rates of offenders on intensive, ideal, normal, or minimum supervision./18/He believes that those offenders placed on minimum supervision could be dealt with just as effectively by means of a fine, discharge, or other nominal measure not involving supervision. When examining offenders on intensive supervision, it appears that probationers do not consider the probation officer a factor in their success, but rather their own (perceived) noncriminal orientation and the assistance given by family and friends.

Although intensive supervision may increase technical violations due to increased surveillance, the increased surveillance may also have a deterrent effect and thus decrease total criminal activity.

In ISP, the process of probation and its substance are so interwoven that the potential benefits of decreased caseloads and special probation have been masked under a plethora of other issues. The indications of success are there; what we need now are carefully planned and evaluated programs which are capable of demonstrating program success.

Brokerage in Probation

All probation departments manifest an identifiable orientation toward what is considered by a given department to be the "proper" approach to probation supervision and service provision. This orientation may not be explicitly stated but can be discovered by examining the departments' attitudes and practices concerning the role of the probation officer and the relative emphasis placed on the probation officer or community agencies in the delivery of needed services to probationers.

The traditional approach to probation supervision has been the casework approach. At the outset, we should note that casework is not synonymous with social work. Casework is only one strategy among many in social work. Modern definitions of casework focus on the caseworker's role of discovering potential in his or her client and assisting the client to exploit his or her own capabilities. The medium upon which this role is played out is the relationship between the client and the caseworker. Thus, the attempt to change the behavior of the client through the development of a supportive one-to-one relationship and a mutual plan between the caseworker and the client is emphasized. Because of this close relationship, the casework approach views the caseworker as the sole, or at least the primary, agent of treatment for the client.

Almost diametrically opposed to the casework approach is the brokerage approach. Under this approach, the probation officer is not concerned primarily with understanding or changing the behavior of the probationer, but rather with assessing the concrete needs of the individual and arranging for the probationer to receive services which directly address those needs. Since the probation officer is not seen as the primary agent of treatment or change, there is significantly less emphasis placed on the development of a close, one-to-one relationship between the probation officer and the probationer. The probation officer functions primarily as a manager or broker of resources and social services which are already available from other agencies. It is the task of the probation officer to assess the service needs of the probationer, locate the social service agency

which addresses those needs as its primary function, refer the probationer to the appropriate agency, and follow up referrals to make sure that the probationer actually received the services. Under the brokerage approach, it can be said that the probation officer's relationship with the community service agencies is more improtant than his or her relationship with an individual probationer. The brokerage approach does share with the casework approach the importance of the probationer's participation in developing his or her own probation plan in a one-to-one relationship.

Because the brokerage approach, with its emphasis on the management of community resources, requires intimate knowledge on the part of the probation officer of the services in the community and the conditions under which each service is available, it may not be feasible for each officer to accumulate and use this vast amount of information about all possible community service sources. It has been frequently suggested, therefore, that the brokerage of community services might be more easily handled if individual probation officers were to specialize in gaining knowledge about and familiarity with and agency or set of agencies which provide related services. For example, one officer might become extremely knowledgeable about all community agencies which offer services for individuals with drug-related problems, while another officer might specialize in all agencies which handle unemployed or underemployed individuals. Regardless of whether officers decide to specialize or would prefer to handle all types of community agencies, the essential requirement under the brokerage approach is for the probation officer to develop a comprehensive knowledge of the resources already available in the community and to use those resources to the fullest extent for the benefit of his or her probationers.

Closely related to the brokerage approach is the role of advocacy. Recognizing the fact that some services which probation clients need will not be available in the community, these authors suggest that rather than trying to supply those needed services themselves probation officers should concentrate on working with community agencies to develop the necessary services. This will insure that these services will be available not only to probation clients but also to any other individuals within the community who might require them.

The essential tasks of the brokerage orientation to probation are the management of available community resources and the use of those services to meet the needs of probation clients. There is little emphasis on the quality of the relationship which is developed between the probation officer and the probationers; rather, more emphasis is placed upon the close working relationship between the probation officer and the staff members of community social service agencies. Couseling and guidance are considered inappropriate activities for the probation officer; no attempt is made to change the behavior of the probationer. The primary function of the probation officer is to assess the concrete needs of each probationer and make appropriate referrals to existing community services. Should the needed service not be available in the community, it is the responsibility of the probation officer to encourage the development of that service.

Administrators contemplating a shift from the traditional casework approach must face a number of issues. Initially, they may find their enthusiams tempered by the prevailing philosophical orientation of judges and probation personnel toward the probation process. A number of managerial implications will also be raised.

The most obvious implications will arise in the area of caseload supervision strategy. A department which emphasize the casework orientation may find that the single officer caseload model is preferable. The brokerage approach is amenable to the team supervision model. The department must also decide, regardless of the approach selected, whether probation officers will specialize in certain types of cases or will be expected to handle heterogeneous caseloads. The arguments in favor of specialization suggest that relatively homogeneous caseloads are easier to deal with for the casework approach as well as the brokerage approach.

There are also implications concerning preservice education for probation officers. The theories and techniques of casework are generally learned in conjunction with a background in social work. If casework is the preferred approach, it will be necessary to require all candidates for probation officer positions to be able to function competently in a casework role, thus limiting the pool of candidates to those with social work backgrounds. If, however, the brokerage approach is used, the administrator might prefer to select probation officers from many disciplines and offer inservice training which is designed to familiarize the officers with community resources.

The administrator will also find that the orientation of his or her department will affect the use of volunteers and paraprofessionls. Most volunteers and paraprofessionls will probably not bring to their service the ability to perform in a casework role but may be well informed about community services and resources. It may also be easier to handle volunteers and paraprofessionals within a supervision team rather than on a single officer basis.

Team Approaches

Although it would be a great value to the probation administrator, research comparing the effectiveness, efficiency, and cost of casework and brokerage approaches to probation has not yet been done. In spite of this lack of research attention to the specific subject of brokerage, there is research bearing on closely related subjects, in particular the team approach to supervision and service provision.

Under the team model, a caseload of probationers is assigned to a group of probation officers who function together as a small work unit called a team. The team as whole can operate on a generalist or a specialist model. The team may supervise a broad range of clients, for example, drug or alcohol abusers, property offenders, probationers with problems with employment. Or within the team each officer may specialize in the provision of a specific service or all officers may be expected to provide all necessary services. The question of the extent of specialization within the team notwithstanding, there are several arguments advanced for the use of the team approach to probation supervision.

The first argument generally presented in favor of the team model is that it is possible to offer the probation client a broader range of expertise and skills than would be available from a single officer. The team can be composed of several probation officers, each possessing different but complementary skills and areas of interest, thus making available to each client in the caseload the widest possible array of problem-solving talents.

Closely associated with this argument is the argument that the increasingly larger caseloads which probation agencies must handle can be better dealt with using team supervision. For example, instead of four officers, each with an individual caseload of 80 probationers, the team model would assign a caseload of 320 probationers to a four-officer team. Proponents of the team model argue that several advantages accrue to this arrangement. First, team members are familiar with most of the clients in the caseload, thus enabling supervision and service provision to clients to continue uninterrupted in the event of one team member's absence. Second, advocates of the single officer model emphasize the importance of the positive relationship between the officer and the probationer. Advocates of the team model, however, point out that the benefits of this relationship are lost if the probation officer and the clients are not compatible. But, using the team model, each probationer has a greater likelihood of finding an officer with whom he or she is compatible and feels comfortable. However, there are reports that some probation and parole officers criticize this particular aspect of the team approach, believing that dealing with several officers, rather than just one, is too confusing for the probationer. Third, the members of the team can specialize by function, with one or more officers specializing in intake and, perhaps in conjunction with one or more other officers, handling most of the caseload classification. Another officer might perhaps specialize in routine supervision and surveillance checks, while other officers would handle the actual provision of services and the referrals to other social service agencies. Fourth, as mentioned above, the officers who make up the team may wish to specialize by area of expertise and interest. Under this arrangement, one officer might deal with the drug or alcohol problems in the caseload, another officer with the employment problems or vocational training needs of clients in the caseload, and another officer with clients who need assistance in obtaining educational advancement. Finally, the adoption of the team approach places accountability for the performance of the caseload on the team as whole, rather than on an individual Thus, both the decisions about the appropriate supervision probation officer.

probation officer. Thus, both the decisions about the appropriate supervision and service provision strategies for a particular probationer and the responsibility for the probationer's performance under supervision are shared among the members of the team.

An additional advantage of the team model is that the adminstrator has greater flexibility in preservice educational background, because members of a probation team are expected to bring different skills and interests to their team. Any specialized inservice training which the agency offers can be given to those officers who are interested in and specialize in that area for their own teams. Since the use of teams encourages the development of specialized skills directed at specific categories of probationers, the administrator may wish to consider designing an inservice training curriculum which uses the agency's own officers as instructors.

Further, the team approach also offers many opportunities for the agency to use volunteers and paraprofessionals. One or more volunteers or paraprofessionals can be assigned to a particular team, depending upon the needs of the team and the special skills and interests of the volunteer or paraprofessional.

A Baltimore project was designed to effect a significant reducion in impact crimes committed by probationers and parolees who were under the supervision of the Division of Parole and Probation./19/ The primary treatment mechanism was to identify impact offenders and to provide intensive differentiated supervision,

which was defined as intensive personal intervention into the offender's situation, attacking specific problems of each individual offender and tapping available community resources needed to reintegrate the offender into his or her community. Caseloads were limited to 20 offenders who were judged to be in need of intensive supervision. Supervision of these caseloads was structured on the team model, with several modifications. First, the probation officers were organized into pairs of officers. This "buddy" system was intended to insure that both partners would be familiar with each others's caseloads, would work together, particularly with their field work, would help each other in developing treatment plans for individual probationers, and would be available to handle one another's caseload if one partner were absent. All of these buddy pairs were then organized into four teams. Within each team, each member was expected to develop an area of specialization; for example, drug or alcohol abuse, employment problems. Each team met weekly to discuss individual cases and to allow team members to share their ideas and suggestions about the development of treatment plans. Representatives of other community social service agencies were also invited to attend these weekly meetings.

Building upon this team model, the project developed the concept of the "collective team." This approach was characterized by the assignment of cases to the team as a whole, rather than to one officer of one buddy pair. Any or all members of the collective team participated in all phases of the probation or parole process. No one single officer had total responsibility for any individual client. Another feature of the collective team was the emphasis on the client's participation in the development of his or her own treatment plan. Thus, clients were able to feel that they were part of the team, minimizing the stereotyped concept of agent as a "giver" of services or orders and the client as the "receiver" of same. It was believed that the collective team approach would be beneficial in several ways: (1) it would allow better observation of client response to the treatment plan; (2) officers could develop complementary roles in dealing with clients; and (3) clients would have some choice in deciding which officer they would prefer to work with at any given time. The primary disadvantage of the collective team was found to be the inefficient use of the officers' time.

Since caseloads had been limited to 20 cases for a single officer, the collective team, consisting of four officers, handled a caseload of 80. More and more of the officers' time was required to be spent in working out the logistics of what each officer would be doing at any given time. It also became increasingly difficult to organize the operation of the team so that all officers would be involved with every aspect of the treatment and supervision of the entire caseload. The project staff, in assessing the advisability of continuing the collective team, gathered arrest and conviction data on the collective team caseload and on the caseloads of the other teams and found that the collective team did not appear to be any more effective in reducing rearrest and reconviction than the other teams. Because of the problems of inefficient use of time and size of the caseload and the fact that the collective team approach did not prove to be more effective, its use was discontinued.

An Albuquerque project was designed to explore the effectiveness of two frequently recommended alternatives to traditional probation supervision; supervision by volunteers and team supervision./20/ The object of the study was to assess the relative effectiveness of the three types of probation supervision by means of a true experimental design, employing random assignment to the two

experimental groups (team supervision and volunteer supervision) and the control group (traditional supervision). Outcome variables included pre- and post-test scores on the Mooney Problem Check List and the California Test of Personality, number of contacts with the probationers or on behalf of the probationer, time spent with the probationer or with others on his or her behalf, length of time required to attain stated correctional goals, number of correctional goals developed and percentage of stated goals attained, rating on two survey questionnaires (one completed by the probation officer and one by the probationer upon termination from probation), number of agency referrals, securing of employment by the probationer, number of probation violations, arrest during the period of probation, and arrests following termination from probation.

Clients were adult males and females who had been placed on probation by the Albuquerque Municipal Court following conviction of misdemeanor offenses.

The team consisted of two probation officers and two paraprofessionals, neither of whom had previously been employed as a probation officer. All four members of the team were responsible for all probationers assigned to the team. Although each team member was expected to specialize in a particular area, roles were interchangeable if necessary. Two members of the team were primarily responsible for court-related activities, including presentence investigation reports. One member was responsible for liaison with community agencies, and the other member was responsible for field supervision. To minimize contact with the traditional probation group and the volunteer supervision group, the team was located in a storefront office which was removed from both the central probation office and the municipal court.

The volunteer supervision group consisted of approximately 75 unpaid citizens who provided supervision for one to three probationers. The volunteers were recruited, screened, selected, trained, and supervised by a full-time staff member who was designated as Director of Volunteers. After receiving required training, each volunteer was matched with a probationer who had been randomly assigned to the volunteer group. Matches generally took into consideration such factors as common interests, language spoken, geographical location, age, needs, and working hours. Volunteers supervised from one to three probationers at any given time.

The term "traditional probation" was defined as the probation supervision system that existed prior to the implementation of this project. The traditional probation supervision group consisted of three experienced probation officers.

Research results indicated that the volunteer group had significantly more indirect and on-behalf contacts, more overall contacts; spent more time on direct contacts, indirect contacts, on-behalf contacts, and all contacts; developed more correctional goals; and received a high rating on the client's perception of how well the volunteer got to know the client, higher than either the team members or the traditional officers. Compared to only the traditional approach, the team approach had significantly more direct contacts, more indirect contacts, more total number of contacts, more time spent in direct contacts, more total time spent, a higher percentage of stated correctional goals attained, and a higher rating on three of the five questions on the probation officer's survey form. While the team attained a higher percentage of their stated correctional

goals than did the traditional officer, the team had actually developed a significantly lower number of such goals than had the traditional officer. With respect to recidivism outcome measures, the volunteer group had significantly fewer arrests following probation than either the team or the traditional group. The team group had fewer arrests following probation than did the traditional group, however, the significance level was lower than that of the difference between the volunteer group and the team and traditional groups. There were not significant differences among the three groups on arrests during the period of probation, number of probation violations, and job placement.

In addition to comparison of outcome measures, the Albuquerque project also performed an analysis of the comparative costs of the three types of supervision. In figuring the costs of each method of supervision, only staff salaries and the miscellaneous expenses of the volunteer group were included. It was assumed that 50 percent of an officer's time was devoted to presentence investigations and 50 percent to supervision. Thus, the figures provided for the cost of supervision represented 50 percent of the total annual cost. The calculated costs were--

Traditional supervision \$74.43/probationer
Team probation \$56.60/probationer
Volunteer probation \$42.20/probationer

From these figures, it can be seen that the costs of volunteer supervision is approximately one-half the cost of traditional supervision, and the cost of team supervision approximately three-fourths the cost of traditional supervison.

The project report concluded that the volunteer and team approaches are effective supervision alternatives.

Another type of team arrangement which has been developed recently is the Communityr Resource Management Team (CRMT). There are currently 17 Community Resource Management Teams operating in the United States./21/ The creation of these teams is part of a project being conducted by the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education which organizes and provides training for the teams.

Under the CRMT concept, the team is a service broker rather than a service provider. This means that, in addition to fully utilizing existing community resources to meet the needs of probation clients, the team members act as managers of community resources and services rather than as managers of their clients. If services needed by the clients are not available in the community, it then becomes the task of the team members to convince service providers to offer the needed services or to modify and refine existing services to become more useful to the probation clients. The CRMT approach emphasizes the development of strong linkages between the community service providers and the probation agency, which is accomplished by fostering and maintaining open, continuous communication between the staff members of the probation agency and the staff members of the community service agencies.

Although team styles may be flexible, there are several basic concepts which characterize the orientation of a Community Resource Management Team:/22/

• Each offender's tangible normative needs must be assessed rather than assessing psychological problems.

- Caseloads must be pooled on the basis of tangible normative needs rather than indiscriminate assignment to one agent.
- The role of the agent must be that of broker/advocate rather than counselor/ caseworker.
- The total staff must be used as a team which offers their differential skill collectively rather than being isolated individuals operating alone.

The systematic process of tracking the delivery of community services to probationers is accomplished by the practice of having one member of the team act as liaison with one agency or a set of agencies which provide common or related services. This team member can then monitor both the probation agency's use of a particular community resource agency and the extent and quality of resources and services which the agency provides to the probation clients.

The development of these Community Resource Management Teams began in 1975; however, adequate evaluations of their effectiveness and efficiency have not been completed. The available evidence does indicate that the shift to CRMT is often accompanied by serious disruptions of the organization and become an increasing source of revocations.

Conclusion

It would be easy to conclude from this summary of the state of the art of probation that we are in a very poor state indeed, that we know very little for certain, and that what we do know is negative. I have made a number of statements like "this is not effective," "that does not result in significant reductions in recidivism." However, if you reach this unhappy conclusion you are making a grave error.

Research results are almost always negative. Researchers can prove that certain things do not work, but they seldom can prove that other things do work. It is very rare when you find a researcher who will unconditionally accept something as successful. We are professional quibblers. We need to cover ourselves and to add some conditions to every answer that we give. To you, this can be frustrating, but if you recognize it as an occupational trait of researchers you can begin to recognize what research can do for you. Research closes off some avenues when it concludes that a given program or strategy will not work. At the same time, however, it will raise twice as many questions as it answers, and thus open up a whole host of new avenues for you to explore.

Take intensive special probation as an example. In general, researchers agree that simply reducing caseloads will not improve the performance of probationers. However, in the process of determining that simply reducing caseloads is not the answer, a host of other opportunities are opened up. Even though we know that short duration contacts between the officer and probationer are ineffective, we can say nothing about the effects of more sustained contact. If you consider that there are at least 16 waking hours in a day, then the probationer has 112 hours per week to fill. Even the most intensive of probation programs only places the probationer and his or her officer in contact for 2 to 4 hours per month. Is it reasonable to expect much behavior change when contact is less than 1 percent of waking time? Indeed, should we even refer to current programs

as intensive? If we develop strategies which increase contact to a significant amount of time, we may find that the previous research on intensive probation no longer holds true.

Researchers have also suggested that the <u>quality</u> of the contact may well be the most important variable. Your opportunities to improve the quality of contact are in no way impeded by research which has been done. Further, you should be developing strategies which improve the <u>effectiveness</u> of the contact which is available.

One way to improve both the duration and quality of contact is to combine the advantages of intensive special probation and the brokerage orientations. ISP opens up a number of opportunities to specialize caseloads, which in turn can improve the efficiency of contact. Brokerage allows an agency to widen the scope of its avaiable resources to take full advantage of the specialization opportunities offered by ISP. The bias toward team probation which accompanies brokerage allows specialization of officers within the team and allows those officers who function best in a one-to-one relationship with probationers to devote a larger percentage of their time to that activity. If specialized services not available in the department are required, the brokerage approach allows you to move into the community to seek them. If they are not available in the community, you can take an advocacy position to see that they are developed.

It is also possible to tie in our topic of PSI's. Obviously, any improvement in PSI policy which releases manpower resources can be used to improve the quality, efficiency, and quantity of contact. Also if time is available or cases prescreened, the PSI can act as the initial stage of information gathering and analysis for later classification into special or intensive probation.

The three areas discussed here are all intimately tied to one another. The available research offers some excellent direction for future efforts and some good advice about blind alleys which you should not bother to reexplore.

Your probation administrators are the key to exploiting these opportunities. You are the only persons who have the authority and the responsibility to make significant impact on the methods used to deliver probation services. Probation can continue to muddle along using an unsystematic approach to developing strategies for probation, or it can begin to develop a systematic approach to problem solution and organizational change. This workshop is intended to offer you a systematic approach while at the same time offering some options in the programmatic areas of PSI, intensive special probation, and brokerage.

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CHAPTER 2: INTENSIVE SPECIAL PROBATION: A REVIEW

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Intensive Special Probation: A Review

This review concerns intensive special probation (ISP). ISP projects can be intensive (unusually low caseloads) or they may be special (unique services). Additionally, they may be both intensive and special concurrently.

The purpose of this review is to give the reader an up-to-date summary of ISP. The paper is based on a Phase I National Evaluation Program (NEP) awarded by LEAA to Georgia Tech to investigate ISP. The researchers conducted an extensive literature review, contacted "experts," and visited some 20 ongoing projects in developing the required reports and follow-on articles which have appeared in the literature. Materials developed at Ohio State University and others have been added so that the review is essentially up to date.

This review is organized as follows. First, a number of operational issues in ISP are presented. Next, effectiveness of caseload is presented with the research results divided into two time periods: research before 1970 and research since 1970. In the third section, three special forms of probation are discussed. These forms include the use of volunteers, specialization of treatment, and the decentralization of probation. In the last section several summary comments are made.

I. Issues

One of the primary 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 caseload of probation officers. Lack of success is attributed more to managerial problems than to an invalid concept. The issue is in operationalizing 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. Questions remaining are when does ISP work (based on age, sex, prior criminal record, criminal associations, etc.)? and when should it be avoided? There are probably different effects with different categories of offenders.

There is disagreement over what is the desired result of ISP. 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 lifestyle, rather 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 1 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 decisionmaking process is relevant at several levels. For example, at the case level, advantages of a probationer participating in file development include 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 a different 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 assegnments includes 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.

Cost is a significant issue in intensive special probation because 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 ISP's have received short-term funding, but their continued existence is an annual nightmare.

II. Effectiveness of Caseload Reduction

A. Research Prior to 1970.

Historically, there has been considerable interest in determining the "correct" caseload size. Frequently, the response to criticism of probation programs has been, and is, that the magnitude of the caseload prevents successful operation. Searches for the "best" caseload size have been conducted since at least 1960.

Initially, 50-unit caseloads become the recommended standard. This concept "dates back to at least the second decade of this century when Charles L. Chute of the National Probation Association observed that 'fifty cases is as many as a probation officer ought to carry."/1/ Academicians and professional organizations began to concur with this nonempirical statement which reinforced acceptance of 50 units as the "standard caseload." In 1967, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice advocated a new number--35--as the appropriate standard. "It, too, was without empirical basis and only generally considered other impactors on supervision."/2/ Recently, even asking the question, "What caseload size is optimum?" has been challenged. M.G. Neithercutt and D.M. Gottfredson suggest that asking such a question is committing a reductio ad absurdum. They reason that the relationship between caseload and recidivism may

be noteworthy only under extreme conditions—such as the instance when a probation officer has so many cases that he or she has no time to treat any of them./3/

Implicit in the search for an optimum caseload size has been the assumption that a magic number or numerical range could be found that was more effective in reducing recidivism than numbers above or below that point. This assumption, in turn, depends on the hypothesis that reducing caseload size will reduce recidivism. The rationale for such a hypothesis is based upon the following set of beliefs:

(1) The fewer cases a probation officer has, the more time he can devote to each probationer. (2) The more time the probation officer devotes to the probationer, the greater the intensity of the interpersonal relationship will be. (3) The more intense the interpersonal relationship, the more likely it is that the probationer will not recidivate.

A number of projects have been conducted to assess the effect of caseload size on recidivism in juveniles and parolees, but until recently very few studies had dealt with adult probation. The San Francisco Project is a well-known pioneering effort. In it, four levels of workload were established: (1) Ideal (50 workload units), (2) Intensive (25), (3) Normal (100), (4) Minimum Supervision (with a ceiling of 250 workload units) and requiring only the submission of a monthly written report. Recidivism was measured by the "violation rate" or fraction of unsuccessful case closings. It was found that those clients under minimum supervision performed as well as those under normal supervision. The minimum and ideal caseloads had almost identical violation rates. In the intensive caseloads, the violation rates did not decline, but technical violations increased. This was, quite possibly, due to increased surveillance.

The San Francisco Project indicated that the number of contacts between probationer and staff appeared to have little relationship to success or failure on probation. The conclusion was that the concept of caseload is meaningless without some type of classification and matching of offender type, service to be offered, and staff./4/ However, the conclusions of the San Francisco Project have been questioned. "After addressing itself to peripheral issues, suffering from a lack of methodological sophistication (which was fortunately realized by the end of the project) and acute data collection problems, undergoing major alterations in the research design and experiencing a phenomenal attrition rate, the project provides few bases for significant conclusions."/5/ The San Francisco Project moved too rapidly from speculation to attempted experimentation and failed to state well the problems to be solved./6/

Results for juvenile probation have not been as negative as those of the San Francisco Project. For example, a report by Reed Adams and Harold J. Vetter on a 1965 low-caseload demonstration project under the auspices of the Maryland State Department of Public Welfare showed that there was a statistically significant lower number of recidivists in the low caseload until research sample than in the high-caseload unit research sample. (The findings apply to Caucasian, adolescent, male, first offenders.) However, the report also suggests that a more efficient approach, in terms of energy expended, tax dollars spent, and correctional ends achieved, would be the development of criminological diagnostic entities matched with appropriate treatment measures./7/

After reviewing caseload size research for probation and parole, several authors came to the same conclusion that the results of caseload research are

inconsistent and that the problem is more complex than a straightforward numerical reduction in caseload would seem to imply. Reed Adams and Harold J. Vetter determined that it would be a misleading interpretation of previous research (prior to 1967) to infer only that low caseloads were superior to high ones. They pointed out that a survey of caseload research performed by Stuart Adams in 1967 found that although early studies reported unsuccessful findings, later (perhaps more complex) research supported the innovative programs./8/ Through their review of the literature, Adams and Vetter concluded that although low caseloads are superior to high caseloads with some offenders or probation officers or other variables, such as type of additional offense, this does not hold true under all conditions for all such variables. Also, it is probably a far less efficient means of achieving probation success than even the most rudimentary form of caseload flexibility plus classification. Stuart Admas found that the data collectively were unable to support a consistent finding that small caseloads were superior to large, at least in terms of overall offender success and failure rates. Some of the specific points which emerged from Stuart Adams' review have significant implications for intensive probation. Simply stated, small caseloads have essentially been failures for adults. He ponders whether this means that the concept of small caseloads is ineffective for adults, or that the program design for adults has been uninformed, management too ineffective, or measurement too imprecise./8/ A similar finding based on a study by Carter, Glaser, and Nelson concluded that

...there is no such thing as an ideal caseload size and that a continuous search for a magic number is inappropriate and most likely futile. Rather, there may be ideal caseload sizes, depending upon and varying with different combinations of offenders, officers, programs, communities, and the like. The challenge is to find the appropriate mix; the immediate requirement is to build into the probation and parole system sufficient flexibility to permit restructuring from traditional to experimental caseloads./1/

B. Research Since 1970.

Since the late 1960's time frame of most reviews of caseload research, a number of large caseload reduction projects have been undertaken in various parts of the United States. The Intensive Supervision Project operated by the Florida Parole and Probation Commission in 1971-1972 is an example of such a project. 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" and 35 "medium" or "low risk" clients. Comparision of revocation rates between experimentals and controls who were classified as "high risk" (there were at least 1,497 different individuals) showed no significant differences for probationers. Parolees in the experimental group were statistically more likely to be revoked than those in the control group. No analyses were reported on rearrests or reconvictions./9/

Another significant caseload reduction project is the Oklahoma Department of Corrections' Special Community Supervision Project. Project caseloads of 50 were randomly selected from the probation and parole population and compared to control caseloads of 160 to 170. Approximately 90 percent of the clients were

probationers. No significant differences were observed between project and control groups in success rates, but the accuracy of this conclusion is questionable because of methodological difficulties.

Summarizing all the caseload reduction research reviewed in this paper, it appears that the weight of scientifically valid evidence is on the side of the hypothesis that caseload reduction alone does not significantly reduces recidivism in adult probationers. Moreover, results on both sides of the question are so tainted by methodological problems that broad conclusions are not warranted./10/

III. Special Forms of Probation

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.,/1/ 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. A convincing evaluation of such a use of volunteers was of the Lincoln, Nebraska, Volunteer Probation Counselor Program./12/ 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,/13/ and Evansville, Indiana./14/

In the Technical Issues Paper by Carlson and Parks/15/ the subject of volunteers in probation is treated thoroughly. Their review of 45 projects concurs with that of an earlier work by Scioli and Cook/16/ who evaluated 250 projects and found them to be "at least effective" in reducing recidivism and improving the probationer's self-concept (in comparison to regular probation).

There is no clear-cut evidence that volunteer projects are any more successful or any less successful than other program alternatives. Generally, it seems that volunteer projects can also reduce probation officer caseload, and provide their service at a relative low cost/benefits rate.

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 project reviewed 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./17/ 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/18/ show a statiscally 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./19/Special bilingual 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./20/21/ Recidivism of project clients is compared to that of burglary offenders in four other counties which are reasonably 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 Narcotic Unit has operated a valid evaluation design but produced only preliminary results./22/ The Philadelphia Comprehensive Drug Control Project evaluation report makes comparisons only to similar projects in other parts of the United States./23/ 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./24/25/ 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 office probation supervisor are specialized into various supervision units. Preliminary, but apparently reliable, evaluation results show no significant differences in recidivism between the two groups.

The Philadelphia Outreach Suboffices and Chester District Office project is a decentralization effort of the Pennsylvania State Board of Probation and Parole. Five outreach suboffices 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 suboffices 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.

Further evaluation findings/26/ indicate that Chester Outreach Centers have significantly lower percentages of recidivists than the general caseload in Philadelphia. It was concluded that the more localized service delivery systems had enhanced the effectiveness of client rehabilitation "programming" as evidenced by lower rates of recidivism. Additionally, outreach clientele had fewer unconvicted violators per capita than philadelphia's general caseload. Also, the outreach clientele had a higher percentage of employed probationers. Finally, the outreach program was found to have measurable economic advantages to society in comparison with the centralized alternative.

A very recent analysis couches the findings in somewhat unusual terms: "In light of Chester's relative effectiveness in maintaining low recidivism, it could not be concluded that caseload size or intensity of supervision adversely affected client performance."/27/

Paul C. Friday comments--

Like many new approaches to probation, outreach will ultimately be assessed in terms of impact. It is necessary to wait for further analysis, but the outreach efforts thus far seem to be valuable. The advantage of such efforts is seen in the involvement of the local community. More variables need to be assessed to determine if the outcome differences are actually due to the form of delivery. Whether or not outreach fills this gap remains to be seen./28/

IV. Summary

The following conclusions are among those given in the NEP Phase I Summary report./29/ They have been substantiated by subsequent authors.

- 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.
- 2. 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.
- 4. Projects specializing in serving particular client groups offer evidence of successful outcomes.
- 5. Unfortunately, relatively few projects use an evaluation design which permits attribution of success to the project.
- 6. There are no standardized measures for process or outcome variables in ISP.
- 7. 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.
- 8. There is almost no real cost evaluation in ISP. Most cost analyses have only compared the cost of ISP to the cost of incarceration.

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CHAPTER 3: PRESENTENCE INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

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PRESENTENCE INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

Presentence investigations and the subsequent reports to the sentencing court have been the legacy of probation since its inception. The first probation law in Massachusetts in 1878 mandated that "the probation officer will investigate persons convicted of crimes and misdemeanors and make recommendations to the courts regarding the advisability of probation." To question the need, content, and use of PSI borders upon heresy to those who have been traditionalists in the field. To even intimate that someone other than a probation officer should prepare a PSI is beyond the realm of reason to most probation people. Even to this day Federal guidelines require that a report "shall be prepared" before the imposition of sentence or the granting of probation. Many States leave the decision as to when a presentence report will be required up to the sentencing judge. However, other States mandate PSI's by statute in cases involving felonies but not in misdemeanors. PSI's in the latter type cases are prepared only upon order of the sentencing judges.

Other variations in PSI requirements include a presentence report (1) before placing a defendant on probation, (2) when the potential punishment exceeds 1 year of imprisonment, (3) when specific offenses are involved, (4) in all felony cases except capital offenses. Full investigation and reports are consistently required in juvenile court matters.

Judges, when surveyed, almost invariably endorse the presentence investigation and report as the mainstay of their sentencing procedure. Some probation officers, including Chief Probation Officers, have found to their dismay that the failure to provide adequate and timely probation reports to the courts has resulted in severe judicial criticism and even discharge.

A Hard Look at the PSI

The traditional PSI process has been and is being questioned. As far back as the early 1960's a National Institute of Mental Health study of Federal probation in the northern district of California concluded that much of the information collected in the presentence investigation was extraneous to the probation officer's decision as reflected in his recommendation to the court. The study also found that some data were dominant aids to decisionmaking. Information concerning the current offense, prior record, and indicators of stability was particularly significant. Finally the study recommended that the amount and type of data collected should be related to the sentencing alternatives available.

The report of the Corrections Task Force of the president's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice noted that the presentence report had played an increasingly greater and more significant role in the administration of justice. However, the high manpower levels required to complete reports raises questions as to the need for the kind and quantity of information that is typically gathered and presented. The report further noted that in order

to evaluate the information needed in the presentence report it is important to identify the variety of decisions that depend upon it.

The study suggested that the primary importance of the PSI is found in its contribution to the sentencing decision of the judge, the length and conditions of probation, and the term of imprisonment, where such incarceration is ordered. Secondly, the PSI provides a basis for determining probation programming and supervision. Where the defendant is incarcerated, it serves as a basis for the institutional classification and handling of an inmate. It contributes to type and intensity of parole supervision and to parole and probation revocation decisions.

Similar to the conclusion of the NIMH study, the Correctional Task Force pointed out that presentence reports have tended to include a great deal of material of doubtful relevance to the disposition in most cases. Attempting to provide a comprehensive analysis of offenders, including extensive descriptions of their childhood experiences, is only marginally relevant to the kinds of correctional treatment needed. Probation verterans remember when court report outlines required data indicating whether a defendant had been breast or bottle fed or whether his or her toilet training had been early harsh or late easy. The rationale for such information was that the probation report might serve as the social history for a psychiatric examination. It is doubtful that such information is now used even in the most sophisticated psychiatric practice.

The tremendous investment in probation manpower devoted to the PSI process was emphasized in the Corrections Task Force report. It has been estimated that the average presentence investigation and report requires a total of approximately 20 manhours of professional and nonprofessional (primarily clerical) time. Other estimates indicate that more than 25 percent of probation officer time is devoted to the PSI process.

Facing Financial Reality

While various studies have been looking at PSI procedure from the standpoint of its relevance to the sentencing and correctional process, a more pressing need to evaluate it from a hard-nosed management point of view has surfaced. All government agencies are currently living in a climate of public disenchantment and disillusionment. While corruption and scandal have contributed to public distrust, of greater importance has been the fallout from a turned-off public. The curtailment of public finances brought about by the passage of an initiative in California is having an impact nationwide. The approval of Proposition 13 has shaken the foundation of the political philosophy of both major political parties. Tax and spend liberals are outdoing their conservative opponents in advocating cuts in government spending. The property tax philosophy associated with Proposition 13 has spread to other States outside California. A proposed Federal income tax cut of 30 percent over the next 3 years promises to be a major campaign issue of the Republican Party in the 1978 elections. Under the current political climate the Democrats will be compelled to respond with their own version of cuts in public expenditures.

Public disenchantment with corrections, including probation, is perhaps even greater than with other government services. Politicians, wetting their fingers to the political wind, are asking such questions as "Why do we need probation?"

and "How do we justify the existence of probationers?" The end result of this declining public image is diminished funding for probation programs.

Even in this era of declining resources, probation is being called upon to provide added services. Perhaps one of the major trends in the mid-1970's in probation has been the requirement for and acceptance of preadjudication responsibilities. These new services include diversion from the criminal justice system, deferred prosecution, informal probation, and preadjudication release on bail and own recognizance. All require some type of pretrial investigation and intervention. Not only will such programs expend probation's traditional investigation process, but also its supervision responsibilities. It is entirely possible that traditional probation supervision may be advanced in the criminal justice system to a time almost immediately after arrest.

The pressures probation administrators feel from the curtailment of budgets and the resources they purchase is multiplied when faced with an increased demand for services for an ever-growing workload. With little chance of securing outside help, administrators must look internally to sharpen their management practices, increase efficiency, and find areas of savings. Because of the vast investment of staff time in the process and the potential for savings, probation administrators are more and more taking a critical look at PSI.

Short-Form vs. Long-Form Reports

One of the more effective means of reducing the time spent on PSI's is to reduce the amount of information required in the probation report. Less information in the report also means a shorter, less time-consuming investigation. Known as the "short-form report," use of the shortended investigation and report is based upon the following conditions: (a) The reports are primarily tailored to meet the needs of the sentencing responsibility of the courts and probation in a particular justice system, (b) Only secondarily should they be tailored to meet the needs of the other justice agencies in the system. (c) A system of graduated reports should be developed varying from a full detailed report to those of short-form length. (d) Guidelines established by the court and the probation organization should be followed as to what gradation of report to use.

While the short-form and the long-form report require the same cover (face) sheet information, the areas and amount of information in the two reports vary significantly.

It was indicated earlier that certain data in the PSI were found to be dominant as aids to the probation officer in making the recommendation to the court and in the judge's sentencing decision. Accordingly, the development of the short-form report emphasized the inclusion of this type of information and deleted that which traditionally is included in the long-form report. Thus the narrative of the short-form incorporates only four areas of information: the official version of the offense, the defendant's version, his or her prior record, and an abbreviated statement of the defendant's personal history. Added is an evaluative summary of the case and a recommendation for sentencing or case disposition.

The long-form PSI report adds 11 areas of information to the short form. Descriptions of the family history as well as the home and neighborhood are included. The defendant's education, religion, interests, and leisure time

activities are covered. His or her medical history are described as well as a history of the defendant's employment and military service. A description of the current financial condition is included to aid in determining restitution or a fine as part of the sentencing decision. Finally, the long-form includes information regarding the resources available to assist the offender and a statement of any unusual circumstances or public concerns regarding the case. Particularly important is information regarding the notoriety and public reaction or outrage pertaining to an offense, and also any threats or endangerment to victims and witnesses or to the defendant.

As mentioned earlier, the use of the short-form report is predicated upon the establishment of a system of graduated PSI's. As the complexity and sensitivity of a case increases, the need for more detailed information for court and probation decisions expands. Investigations and reports become longer in accordance with established criteria for the gradation of reports.

The shorter strategy is primarily used in cases involving minor offenses-misdemeanors heard in municipal and other lower courts. It frequently is used in specialized cases such as misdemeanor drunk driving, in other types of substance abuse, and in sentencing defendants to voluntary work projects. The short-form strategy frequently serves as a screening process to determine whether or not more detailed information is needed concerning a case.

Of increasing significance is the resort to the short form by probation administrators who are feeling the pressure of a reduction in their available manpower, accompanied in many instances with an ever-increasing number of cases to investigate and to prepare and submit reports to the courts. Adding to this pressure is the increasing seriousness of the cases which probation is required to investigate and supervise. Probation departments are also using the short form as the time frame for completing the PSI process is shortened. Again, as mentioned earlier, as the demand for detailed information diminishes and the variation in the types of data required is reduced, probation departments are finding that they can reduce the length of their reports. Finally contributing to the reduced length of reports is the requirement of an assessment of the information contained in the report by the probation organization itself and by other criminal justice agencies.

The long-form report is of course used by probation departments whenever a court determines it is necessary. Those who have studied the PSI process have recommended that the more detailed long form be used in all cases where the potential sentence would be imprisonment for 5 years or more. Most authorities in the field of juvenile justice advocate that reports to the juvenile court be long form. Whenever screening by the short form process shows the need for more detailed information the longer report form is to be used.

Verification and Disclosure

Verification of the information contained in both the short- and long-form reports has been a significant problem. However, because of the abbreviated time available to complete the shorter investigation and report, the verification problem has been particularly aggravated in the short-form process. Surveys indicate that in municipal and other lower court cases verification of information is rarely accomplished.

Related to the problem of verification is the issue of disclosure. The degree to which a defendant is entitled to knowledge of the results of the presentence investigation and the content of the probation report has been the subject of numerous court cases. Of concern to those advocating disclosure was the right of the defendant to challenge the veracity of the information contained in the presentence report, particularly where the information had a significant impact upon the sentencing decision. Of concern to those opposing disclosure were the repercussions that might occur to those providing confidential information during the course of the presentence investigation. Further, full disclosure of the content of the report would alienate the relationship between the probation officer and a probationer and thus minimize the effectiveness of the former in carrying out a plan of rehabilitation.

Varying disclosure practices have emanated through court decisions. Generally at the discretion of the judge, defendants and their counsel may be provided an actual copy of the probation report, may be provided a summary of the material contained in the probation report, or may be furnished parts of it. In some instances it is the policy of the probation agency to provide a copy to the defendant as agreed to by the court.

The right to challenge the content of the report varies from an opportunity for the defendant or his counsel to simply comment on its information to the right to cross-examine those who prepare reports for the court, subject to the control of the court. While the issue of disclosure is still unresolved, the right to challenge the information in a probation report appears to be the most effective means of assuring its accuracy. Verification of the data contained in the report takes on greatly added importance under such circumstances. In its ruling in the Gardner case, the U.S. Supreme Court now appears to assure that when the death sentence is the punishment imposed at sentencing, due process will require that the defendant be made aware of the contents of the report and given an opportunity to refute any information contained therein.

Innovative Efforts and Practices

In addition to merely shortening the investigation process and the length of the probation report, many innovative efforts and practices have been utilized in making the PSI process more efficient and effective. The following have been extracted from interviews with representatives of various probation departments, and from a review of literature in the field. Among the latter, the most significant is the "Prescriptive Package for PSI's" prepared by Robert M. Carter under a grant from the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice and the "Technical Issue Paper on Presentence Investigation Reports" by Eric W. Carlson, Evalyn C. Parks, and Harry E. Allen of Ohio State University. The latter work was also funded by a grant from the National Insitute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

Other Personnel

One of the more productive and popular innovative PSI program strategies is the use of nonprofessionals and paraprofessionals to assist in the PSI process. They can relieve the professional staff member performing the probation investigation of much of the routine detailed collection of necessary information.

As deputized personnel, they can obtain routine police records, verify employment information, and obtain other similar routine data. Although adding somewhat to the training workload of a probation department, the use of nonprofessionals and paraprofessionals provides a significant savings in professional manpower costs to be used to offset budget reductions or to enrich other programs and activities.

Similarly, the use of volunteers can provide significant savings in professional manpower devoted to PSI's. Not only can they obtain needed information for the profession as in the case of the nonprofessional or paraprofessional, but the savings are far greater. As deputized, nonpaid personnel, they may require specialized training and more supervision than paid employees. However, the reduction in costs far outweighs these increases. In addition, volunteers comprise one of the most effective sources of constructive public relations. As representatives of the general public, they frequently have more credibility with their fellow citizens in describing the programs and services of a probation department than those in the highest echelons of a department.

A major shortcoming in the use of nonprofessionals or paraprofessionals or volunteers in the PSI process is the opposition that may be encountered from employee organizations. Many see the use of this type of personnel in the PSI process or other professional activities as a threat to their professional membership and to professionalism itself. Management has the responsibility of providing the unions and other employee organizations with information that justifies the utilization of this type of personnel, from the standpoint of both needed savings and enriched programming.

A novel innovative strategy that may be cost effective is having the offender complete the narrative of his family history and related data. The savings in professional time this practice represents may be offset by the need for time-consuming verification of the accuracy of the data provided. Nonetheless, in some situations where the offender has skill in expressing him or herself in writing, a significant time savings can accrue.

Separation of Function

A rather common PSI strategy, particularly in medium and large departments, is to separate the investigation and supervision probation functions. In large departments this practice may include the establishment of separate units of probation officers doing only investigations or in at least one large probation department, an entire office devoted only to PSI's. The specialization brought about by this practice can contribute significantly to the efficiency of the investigation process. PSI training can be a savings in professional and other staff time, reduced training demands and, most importantly, improved reports and probation recommendations. With more skilled investigators who are more adept in preparing probation reports, relations between the courts and the probation departments using this strategy can be enhanced.

Balancing workload distribution can be a problem under this system. Unfortunately, referrals to probation departments do not come in a steady stream. Intake has its peaks and valleys. Thus when it is particularly high, those probation officers assigned to investigations may not be able to keep up with the workload. Officers assigned to supervision may have to supplement the

investigation staff with a consequent neglect of their supervision of the probationers on their caseload. Possibly one other drawback is the reduced work satisfaction the probation officer may feel when his or her work with a probationer is limited to only investigation of the case. The officer may be deprived of the satisfaction of seeing progress in his client and the latter's ultimate success.

Specialized Case Investigator

A refinement of the strategy of separating investigation from supervision is the specialized case investigator. Such probation officers are assigned such cases as those involving substance abuse, alcoholism, and sexual offenses. All of the advantages and savings accrued through the separation of investigation and supervision are realized by use of the specialized case strategy. Especially important in the latter is the knowledge the officers handling such investigations have of treatment resources for these types of offenders. More appropriate court sentences should result, as well as improved court-probation relations. Again, the shortcomings of this strategy are found in balancing the assignment of cases during peak and low intake periods as well as in overspecialization, with the consequent loss of job satisfaction. Another problem may be a confusion about the probation organization's mission of protecting the community. Overidentification with a particular type of case may lead to the recommendation of a treatment modality that is not always compatible with public protection.

Treatment Model Recommendations

Another strategy related to the two previous ones is the treatment model recommendation. Based upon specialized treatment programs for such cases as those involving drugs or alcohol, the PSI is geared to justify recommendation for specific treatment programs. The entire process is shortened by the pre-existing information and conditions which are used to make the recommendation with a consequent savings in staff time.

Check Sheets

The use of the fill-in-the-blank check sheet form report is the most effective strategy in bringing about savings in professional and other staff time. In one medium-sized probation department in California, 3 probation officers assigned to the investigation of municipal court cases were able to do the work of 15 officers simply by the use of fill-in-the-blank check sheet form reports. The shortcomings of this strategy are found in the superficial unverified data it produces. Additionally, most judges do not look upon this practice with favor. Nonetheless, it has apparently been used satisfactorily in minor cases and has helped greatly in meeting budget cuts, which otherwise would have resulted in a serious deterioration of services to more serious cases.

Individual Assignments

In some probation departments probation officers are assigned to individual courts. As liaison officers serving in municipal courts, they make oral recommendations to the court regarding probation grants or in some instances the need for a PSI. According to one department, the assignment of two officers to the municipal courts under this strategy eliminated 1,244 PSI's in 1 year that they would otherwise have had to perform.

Summary

Of greatest importance in the various PSI strategies are those that enhance the appropriateness of sentencing and the ultimate rehabilitation of the offender. Of particular significance are the use of volunteers and paraprofessionals who supplement the professional's investigation activities and free the latter to give greater concentration to the more sophisticated aspects of case dynamics and analysis. Of equal importance are the strategies of separating, where practical, the investigation and supervision functions and the further refinement of specialized case investigation. All give prospect for reduced recidivism and thus more protection to the public.

Other Management Implications

The maintenance of existing resources and the addition of others brought about by improvements and innovations in the PSI process can be supplemented by other management activities. For instance, it appears opportune for probation departments to consider asking for reimbursement for the time and resources devoted to acquiring and providing information in the probation report that is used by the various criminal justice agencies for screening and classification purposes.

Management can institute a screening program for those types of cases that can be diverted from the criminal justice system. Persons involved in moderate alcohol and drug abuse and relatively minor offenses are particularly adaptable to treatment in private agency community-based programs. Diverting them to these programs can significantly reduce the number and/or length of PSI's.

Specialized training in presentence investigation techniques and resources and in court report writing can speed up the PSI process. In some instances training in the basics of English can increase the productivity of investigating probation officers. The development of manual procedures regarding the preparation of presentence reports is correlative to training and is a continued reference source to all probation officers making presentence investigations. Similarly, court report outlines and guidelines to dictation procedures will reduce the hours devoted to this function.

Increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of the PSI process should benefit the sentencing decision by providing more specific, verified information in the detail required. The result should be an expedited sentencing process which shortens the time a defendant must wait for the court's decision. In turn this should reduce jail time for defendants with a consequent reduction in jail population and the accompanying costs of incarceration.

Finally, the increased efficiency and effectiveness of the PSI process should be communicated to the public, resulting in an improved public image for probation.

Reference

Carter, Prescriptive Package: Presentence Report Handbook. (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1978).

CHAPTER 4: RESOURCE BROKERAGE

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RESOURCE BROKERAGE

The field of probation is being subjected to demands for accountability by federal, State, and local government administrators and the community at large. Because probation is being viewed as ineffective in rehabilitating the offender or protecting the community, a reassessment of probation activities is required.

The reassessment of probation tends to take two divergent approaches. One approach states that probation does not have the proper resources to execute its role, and assumes that probation suffers from insufficient manpower because of increased caseloads and therefore cannot provide the amount of surveillance necessary to protect the community or adequate time for treatment services. The other approach to reassessment concludes that the traditional caseload/casework method of operation is ineffective and that the restructuring of probation services is required.

Depending upon the approach to reassessment, the planned response emphasizes either a need for more personnel and increased training or a radical break from the traditional approach.

The following discussion addresses an alternate--but perhaps not radical-approach to probation. This approach, termed "resource brokerage," is not
primarily concerned with understanding or changing the behavior of the probationer or with closely monitoring the behavior. Instead this approach assesses
the concrete needs of the individual and arranges for the probationer to receive
services that directly address those needs. The purpose of resource brokerage
is to reintegrate the individual into society.

Basic Principles

Resource brokerage is based upon the following principles:

- All probationers will be released from supervision at some point in time in our communities and citizens should expect that offenders have been prepared for the responsibility of community life.
- Each individual is accountable for his or her own behavior; responsible behavior is required for freedom.
- Probationers generally need the opportunity to learn new workable strategies of handling their life roles (work, family, leisure) while under supervision.
 - Programs don't change people; but programs can provide appropriate "opportunities" for individuals to change themselves and their life situation.

Primary Goals

Resource brokerage's goals are to --

- Operate a highly structured community resource program that provides community treatment services to selected probationers who are under supervision in our communities
- Increase the "opportunities" for probationers to change themselves and those conditions that brought them into the criminal justice system (such as problems of immaturity, alcohol, employment, leisure time)
- Develop a social climate and program that facilitates personal change, encourages individual responsibility, and increases social problemsolving skills
- Encourage and guide probationers toward development of positive interpersonal relationships with family members and others as appropriate
- Operate a probation program in such a manner that the community feels comfortable with the probationer's presence
- Release probationers from supervision with appropriate employment, cash savings, and suitable housing
- Implement a probation program that provides economic and social advantages to the community (for example, employed probationers, family support, restitution, taxes)
- Decrease the need and probability of continued crime after release from supervision by providing "opportunities" to probationers to prepare themselves for the responsibilities of freedom.

This approach rests upon the following assumptions about the motivation and control of human behavior in relation to probation:

- Probation is in need of improved delivery system models.
- Most offenders are not pathologically ill; therefore, the counselor/ therapist role is usually inappropriate.
- Most probation officers are not equipped by education and experience to provide professional counseling even if it is needed.
- Existing probation manpower is not likely to be expanded.
- Services needed by the offender to "make it" in society are available in the community, or they must be created in the community.

Information modified from the article, "Advocacy, Brokerage, Community: The ABC's of Probation and Parole," by Dell'Apa, Adams, Jorgensen, and Sigurdson, Federal Probation (December 1976).

- Probation officers must assume advocacy roles in negotiating appropriate community-based services for offenders to assure needed services are available.
- Utilization of community resources will enable the client to independently arrange to meet his or her needs rather than to rely on corrections' services.

When the brokerage approach is utilized, the probation officer's relationship with community service agencies may become more important than the relationship with an individual client. There is also the possibility that utilization of community resources may provide increased monitoring of behavior due to the increased awareness of the client's activities.

In order to develop a resource brokerage approach, probation programs need to --

- Identify the client's needs -- Does the client need assistance from one or more agencies?
- Make appropriate referrals -- Do the appropriate agencies exist to meet the client's needs?
- Provide short-term assistance where referral is not indicated or immediately possible -- Is there a long waiting list?
- <u>Serve as advocates</u> to assure cooperation and delivery of appropriate services -- Is the client receiving services that will meet his or her needs?
- Monitor the client's activities available services?

To incorporate this approach within your organization, the following activities should be considered:

1. Inventorying Resources

Before making any referrals, an inventory of community resources, both public and private, should be undertaken in the following areas:

- Social services-financial, housing, transportation, family planning
- Guidance resources-diagnosis and treatment, psychiatric or psychological
- Substance abuse resources-drug/alcohol
- Educational resources-remedial, special courses, high school equivalency tests
- Vocational training
- Job development

- Religious groups
- Recreational resources
- Independent professional resources-doctors, lawyers, dentists, volunteer or minimum fee
- Volunteer coordinating resources
- Criminal justice system-provide assistance and information to client and probation officer.

You may find that a directory of community resources is already available in your area.

2. Developing Resource Bank

After compiling a list of community resources, an evaluation of those resources should be made regarding:

- Geographic area served
- Intake practices
- Type of specialization
- Strengths and weaknesses in--
- -- Program
- -- Personnel
- -- Ability to work with other groups
- -- Capacity and willingness to extend their services to people on probation.

On the basis of this evaluation, a directory outlining the scope and availability of community resources may be developed, if one is not already available.

3. Preparing the Community

In order to introduce the resource brokerage approach to the community, it is essential to gain acceptance from the court, community resources, and the public. Failure to describe properly the purpose of using community resources or to outline the limitations of probation's authority when referring their clients to community resources may result in complications and resistance in the future. A lack of clarity regarding the role of probation in the resource brokerage approach also tends ro result in complications and resistance. Although the referrals may be either coercive or noncoercive, the emphasis should always be on assuring that the clients are receiving services that will meet their needs—the role of an advocate.

Steps in preparing the community could be as follows:

- Notification of intent to utilize the resource brokerage approach (such as letters to community resources, contact with the court, information pamphlet)
- Joint conference among community resources, interested individuals, and probation department to define roles and to allow community involvement in the process of developing this approach
- Identification of a contact person in significant agencies
- Letters of citation thanking participating resource agencies.

4. Developing Client Contracts

The client must be involved in problem identification and problem-solving activities of assessing needs in order to increase the possibility of making an appropriate assessment and proper utilization of community resources. Determination of client needs or desires requires that the client and the probation officer make a coordinated effort.

A contract should be developed that identifies community services which need to be offered to the client and states goals and objectives for the client to attain within a specific time limit. Activities or objectives should be observable and measurable and, above all, realistic. It should be made clear that the referral agency is not an arm of probation. Renegotiation of contract goals may occur when appropriate, and any modification in a contract should be documented. (This contract may be formal and written or informal and verbal; but in any case, it should be documented in the client's case file. The client should be aware of this documentation.)

The contract may serve the following specific purposes:

- To effect precise communication between the client and the probation officer.
- To provide an opportunity to utilize community resources, and outline guideposts for making a suitable adjustment to the community.
- To focus the probation officer's efforts on developing, together with the client, individual goals and tasks to be accomplished to reach these goals.
- To give the client a clear description of what behavior is expected, what programs in which to be involved, and for what length of time.
- To designate probation officer responsibility to insure that tasks are accomplished, services are provided, and goals are evaluated. Assessment and reevaluation of incremental tasks is essential.
- To underscore the client's responsibility for themselves and their behavior.

The contract provides a means of clearly establishing expected behavior so that there are no misunderstandings concerning expected performance while on probation. Therefore, a breach of the contract should result in a reassessment of the contract. It may also result in a recommendation for revocation if the activity is required by court order, or the court may consider this breach in the disposition of future convictions. (See sample contract form on page 68.)

5. Developing Plans

The basis for identifying and assessing strengths upon which to build a positive plan of action should be developed during the first contact with the client. At this, probation orders should be reviewed, client needs assessed, and services available in the community determined.

These factors should be incorporated into a workable plan with the client and formalized by means of a client contract. This plan should prioritize the client's needs and define objectives/activities that are to be accomplished within a specified time limit. Incremental tasks designed to meet this objective should also be developed.

This is a preliminary assessment which should be negotiable. The client's progress should be evaluated periodically in relation to the established contract.

6. Referrals to Community Resources

The probation officer should assess the client's ability to initiate contact with the community resources and choose whether to personally introduce the client to the resource or to give the necessary information to the client so he or she can contact the resources independently. This flexibility regarding the initial contact allows for an evaluation of the individual client's level of socialization.

Information should be sent to the community agency indicating the reason for the referral, whether the referral was coercive or noncoervice, and how the agency may assist.

If the appropriate community resource is not presently available, the probation officer may have to provide short-term direct assistance. Acting as an advocate, the probation officer should attempt to stimulate interest for developing the needed service or expand the geographic boundaries in the search for this service.

7. Purchasing Services

When needed services are not available, the possibility of purchasing services as an individual agency or jointly with another agency may be considered. For example, in order to improve the availability of job development services to the probationer, the probation agency and employment agency may seek funding through grant resources.

8. Followup and Evaluation

The probation officer should personally follow up the referral to a community resource by eliciting reactions of both the client and the referral agency to the level of services and level of cooperation.

There should be periodic evaluations of the client's progress based upon agreed time limitations on specified activities.

In order to implement the resource brokerage approach, there are several organizational considerations. One consideration is the degree of support and involvement of the primary organization decisionmaker. Another consideration is the preparation for organizational change that would assist in incorporating this approach. The organizational change may be one of major structural change and reallocation of resources, or a redefinition of primary goals; or it may be a matter of staff adjustment to the new approach. Change in organizational structure or in case management techniques demands planning and staff training in designing and implementing this approach.

Yet another consideration is the method of documentation. The resource brokerage approach emphasizes the development of a case plan by which the client's progress may be evaluated. The documentation of this progress should allow for a visual evaluation of the client's progress relative to agreed upon objectives. The standards against which this progress would be measured should include—

- Assessment of client's needs, prioritized
- Objectives
- Time limit for accomplishing objectives
- Referral to community resources
- Utilization of resources
- Report of progress
- Modifications.

This system can not only provide evaluation of the progress of the client; but it may also assist in monitoring the probation officer's activities. (See the rough sample of a case summary on page 70.)

When developing and implementing the resource brokerage approach, the probation officer should be aware of the following dangers:

- Referral procedures may become too routinized -- As the emphasis is less on the one-to-one relationship with the client, there may be a tendency to mechanize referral responses. This may result in a failure to properly evaluate the needs of the client and the level of services of the referral agencies.
- Probation itself may become a referral agency -- By providing shortterm assistance too frequently, the probation officer may become overwhelmed and ineffective.
- Serious service gaps may not be documented and referred to the proper planning agnecy.

By utilizing the resource brokerage approach properly, the probation officer becomes an evaluator of community resources and is in a position to recommend system modification in order to adjust to service gaps. The role of advocacy is stressed, for rather than trying to supply needed services themselves, probation officers should concentrate on working with community agencies to develop necessary services.

Because the brokerage approach, with its emphasis on the management of community resources, requires intimate knowledge on the part of the probation officer of the services in the community, it may not be feasible for each officer to accumulate and use this vast amount of information. Because it was frequently suggested that the brokerage of community services might be more easily handled if individual probation officers were to specialize in gaining knowledge about an agency or set of agencies which provide related services, an approach to resource brokerage which is termed "Community Resources Management Team" (CRMT) was developed. This CRMT model is based on the previously noted assumptions of resource brokerage, but it adds the following assumption:

• Synergy-- joint action in which the total effect is greater than the sum of the effects when acting independently.

CRMT suggests that a team approach represents a powerful and viable alternative to the autonomous and isolated individual officer. The essence of "pure" CRMT is a synthesis of four elements:

- Needs assessment
- Resource brokerage
- Pooled caseloads
- Team management.

A CRMT project, funded by the National Institute of Corrections, was initiated in March 1975 and completed in April 1977. According to Frank Dell'Apa, Project Director, a change in approach of the dimensions suggested by this concept runs counter to personal, professional, and organizational values. This concept requires basic changes in individual staff methods of operation and an organizational accommodation that challenges the most progressive administrator. The concept is tailored to each agency by the implementing teams.

Transition to this approach is not easy; teamwork is difficult. Training is considered the primary vehicle for the transition to a CRMT operation. Implementation requires thorough planning. Further information regarding CRMT may be obtained by contacting--

Frank Dell'Apa Corrections Program Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education Post Office Drawer P Boulder, Colorado 80302 (303) 492-6838 Whether the approach to resource brokerage is by an individual probation officer basis or by a team approach, the emphasis on reintegrating the offender into the community is the same. The role of advocacy, brokerage, and utilization of community resources is intended to meet the offender's needs in order to facilitate integration into the community. There is little emphasis on the quality of the relationship between the client and the probation officers; instead the emphasis is on the close working relationship between probation officers and community agencies. This approach does not lessen the officer's responsibility of monitoring the clients behavior; in fact, it may enhance the effectiveness of this activity.

"Sample"

CRITERIA FOR CONTRACTS

0n	ed upon by and the Probation Department, 19
оп <u> </u>	, ₁₉
I.	Employment
	I will be employed at
	I will be up by 8:30 a.m. each morning and will check with the Job
	Development Coordinator about employment until I find employment.
	I will find a job within 3 weeks.
	I will take vocational tests and evaluate my employment goals with the Job Development Coordinator.
II.	Treatment
	I will see my probaton officer at least once a week.
	I will regularly participate in a counseling program within the community
	I will attend money management couseling sessions.
	I am willing to enter counseling with
III.	Education
	I will attend GED, Basic Ed, college (schedules coordinated with staff).
	I will attend literacy classes.
IV.	Skill Training
	I will talk with the Work Release Coordinator about job training
	(on-the-job training, Voc. Rehab., etc.)
V.	Behavior
	I will not use alcohol or drugs.
	I will be punctual and will be accountable to the probation officer for
	my whereabouts at all times.
	I will not verbally or physically abuse another person.
	I will follow probation officer's instructions.
	I will regularly give a urine sample. Failure to do so will be considered a violation of this contract.
VI.	Finances
	I will turn in pay stubs to my probation officer.
	I will turn in pay stubs to my probation officer. I will pay restitution or fines of per I will pay per for family support to

VII. Living Situation

- I will locate suitable housing.
- I will coordinate my efforts with the Social Service Agency to obtain suitable housing.
- I desire to live with
- I will contact the probation officer to coordinate my release plans.

VIII. Other

- I would like to participate in a community volunteer work project.
- I will establish new (positive) peer associations, either through my job, family, or through planned social outlets.
- I will obtain a driver's license.
- I would like to be involved in religious activities.
- I would like to participate in Jaycees, golf lessons, or another structured activity in the community, if possible.

I understand and agree that if I violate any of the terms of this contract, I may have terminated referral assistance in that area, and I may have violated the conditions of my probation.

I further understand that this contract may be renegotiated at any time upon request to my probation officer.

"SAMPLE"

CASE SUMMARY

Name: Goes by:		Address:		Phone:	ne:	SS No.: FBI No:	o.: No: r :	
Current Charge(s)		: 00	Begins:	Reco	Received:	Judge: Court:	. :	
. s.	3.5		Conditions:	;;				
Probation Officer:	: J		Release Date:	ate:		New	charges:	
Age: DOB:	Education: Illiterate: No Comments:	Yrs.	Med. Disabi	Disabilities	Occupation: Skills:		Fines: Restit Suppt.	Fines: Restitution: Suppt. Paymt.:
Job Placement:	Address:		Phone:	Supervisor:		Working hrs./dys	dys	Wages:
Special needs/interests:	terests:		Leisure int	interests:	·	Tra	Transportation:	n:
Referral to Agen 1. 2. 3.	Agencies:			Fam	Family Relationships:	ships:		
General Assessment: Primary needs: Secondary needs:	nt:							
Client Contract Phases: (ind Needs Assessment: Community Resource Referral: Periodic Evaluations: Comments:	icate	dates) Client/P.O. Review:	Review:		Contract	Contract: Pla	Plan: cations:	

Training Needs: Voc. Lit GED					OJT [] College []				Psych. Assessment								
Priority of Need							-										
	Employment	Vocational Training	Education	Counseling	Health	Financial	Housing	Transportation	Recreational	Religious	Professional (e.g., legal)	Volunteer	Other	Problem- Solving Skills	Accepts Responsibility	Restitution/ Fines	
Week/Need									• •								
Discussion:												ey:					
												N: Assessed as Need C: Contracted as Nee R: Referred to Agency F: Failed to Contact Agency RC: Recontracted					
Case Summary Approval:											_	M: /:	Ta	omplis	shment		
Probation Officer:									ate:			Time Limit X: Goal Accomplished					
Supervisor:									ate:			O: Failed to Accomp					

CHAPTER 5: OBSTACLES TO RESEARCH UTILIZATION IN A CORRECTIONAL SETTING*

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^{*}Paper presented at the 86th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada, August 28 - September 1, 1978.

There is a considerable amount of research, evaluation, and data collection currently being conducted in corrections. However, little of this activity ever impacts on the decisionmaking process. This situation is not accidental. Most research is considered irrelevant, untimely, impractical, or incomprehensible by correctional policymakers.

Drawing upon the implementation of corections research in the design of probation treatment programs, several problems associated with utilizing scientific knowledge have been identified. This presentation offers observations and suggestions for improving both the psychologist/policymaker relationship and the corrections research environment.

The first problem concerns securing relevant research data in a timely fashion. Two factors impede the utilization of research in the time framework of the decisionmaking process: inefficient systems of communication and language barriers between researchers and policymakers. The current systems of communication that are used in the dissemination of research results (professional journal publications, etc.) are inefficient. Since many policy decisions are made in the context of severe time constraints, research results must be readily available to potential users. Also, the results must be reported in the professional language of the policymaker, not solely in the technical language of the researcher. Too often, the language used in reporting research is confusing to the correctional administrator who simply does not have the time to figure out what the researcher is trying to say.

Another closely related factor that impedes the timely utilization of research is the fact that research results quite often must be deciphered and translated into criteria meaningful to the correctional agency. Frequently, the researcher does not report the results according to properties of criteria that the policymaker uses in making judgments.

These problems clearly illustrate that the policymaker is not the <u>primary</u> <u>target audience</u> for most correctional research. Research results are reported, first and foremost, to the academic and research communities. As a result, policymakers consider most research results ancillary to the decisionmaking process.

These interrelated problems underscore the fact that formal linkage systems and methods of effective communication between researchers and correctional policymakers do not exist. Without effective communication and genuine collaboration, consensus is rarely achieved regarding research priorities, acceptable criteria, cost parameters, and systemic implications. It seems as if the the two disciplines conduct research or implement programs independently and then express surprise when concurrence is not achieved.

Researchers often fail to find out what is important to administrators, while policymakers often make decisions in spite of the information that is collected. The roles of each seemingly have been defined to minimize the involvement of the other. As a result, there is a negative attitude in corrections toward research, and a byproduct of this attitude results in entry restrictions placed on social investigators to the correctional environment.

Upon successful entry to the correctional environment, social researchers may aggravate already existing negative attitudes by failing to utilize administrators and line personnel as part of the total research process. Social researchers instead often treat policymakers and line personnel as necessary evils.

Although the roles of researcher and correctional policymaker appear to be at variance, they have one disturbing percept in common. Both the social scientists and correctional practitioners view research as an extrinsic element of operational programs. Rarely is research and evaluation considered an essential ongoing process or a necessary component of program design. Correctional personnel view themselves as the specialists that can effectively provide technical services on a periodic or consultant basis. Unfortunately, both attitudes contribute to the problem.

Another problem concerns the operational feasibility of implementing research findings which work against the utilization of knowledge. Cost factors contribute most prominently to the implementation of research findings. New programs are perceived by policymakers as high priority, but many policymakers also operate under the attitude that new programs should be "more effective but less costly" than current ones. This is the first criterion in program design that a researcher in an operational setting must address.

Also, operational feasibility is often disregarded by many researchers conducting applied as well as basic research. Research is often conducted under optimal conditions to increase the likelihood of dramatic results. However, most of the results could not be applied in a practical sense due to economic limitations. For example, an expensive, low-caseload juvenile supervision project may produce dramatic results but would never be duplicated in areas where resources are severely limited. However, research conducted under restricted conditions would probably produce less dramatic but more useful results. Unfortunately, many researchers are reluctant to conduct research under these conditions because of the inherent frustrations involved.

The problems described thus far have been viewed from the perspective of a researcher from within the criminal justice system who takes an active role in decisionmaking. Each specific problem regarding existing systems of communication, criterion, language, timeliness of results, cost effectiveness, and attitudes toward research in general restrict the utilization of research in the decisionmaking process.

However, some promising efforts have begun that, if expanded, will improve the overall planning, research, and decisionmaking processes in corrections. For example, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration has initiatied managementoriented research and evaluation training programs for policymakers. This program attempts to demystify research and evaluation and improve the negative attitude toward research by administrators. This effort also attempts to routinize program evaluation. There is also a concerted effort by LEAA to translate research results into operational terms, including systemic implications, and report this information directly to the policymakers. Although these efforts are encouraging, they do not impact on the vast majority of decisions currently being made in corrections. It is necessary for the research community to redefine their role, priorities, and systems of communication.

From this researcher's perspective, the following recommendations are offered for improving both the psychologist/policymaker relationship and the corrections research environment:

Research results must be reported in the professional language of the policymaker, not solely in the technical language of the researcher. The policymaker must be considered the primary target audience.

The social scientist must become sensitive to the priorities as well as operational limitations of the policymaker and integrate this information into the overall research design. The only way this objective can be achieved is by developing a formal system of communication that will allow collaboration.

Correctional administrators must become educated in research and evaluative methods. In effect, research and evaluation must become routinized into the daily operations of corrections. Training in management-oriented evaluation should become an important part of mandated training for correctional policymakers.

More researchers must conduct applied research. Although basic research is obviously needed, the problems encountered in implementing and evaluating correctional programs are complex. The emphasis must be shifted so that more practical, high-priority issues are resolved from research resouces.

Research must be treated as an ongoing process. Both social scientist and correctional personnel must become intimately involved in the research process. The exclusionary roles and approaches must give way to cooperative effort.

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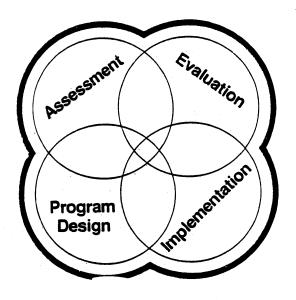
CHAPTER 6: PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

A. Overview

- B. The Assessment Process
- C. Program Design
- D. A Framework for Comparison of Intensive and Special Probation Projects
- E. Goal Facilitation as a Probation Administration Strategy
- F. Strategies for Implementing Change
- G. Evaluation A Case Study

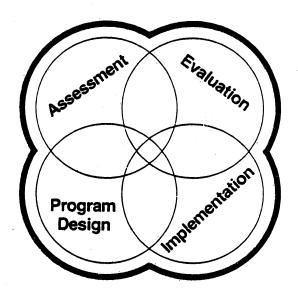
A. OVERVIEW

THE PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT/PLANNING PROCESS



THE PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT/PLANNING PROCESS

A planning process is a systematic way of making decisions and taking action to address problems, needs, and concerns. It includes the collection and analysis of information, specification of goals, and organization of resources. It culminates in the implementation of planned actions and the evaluation of the outcomes of those actions. The planning process is composed of four overlapping and interdependent components: Assessment, Program Design, Implementation, and Evaluation. The process can be visualized as a figure composed of four distinct but interlocked circles (see diagram below). Each component comprises specific activities listed below.



Assessment Component

The assessment component is the initial part of the planning process in which the following activities occur:

- Identification of the problem area(s)
- Preliminary evaluation of possible problem area(s)
- Definition/statement of the problem(s)
- Collection of assessment data
- Analysis of assessment data
- Setting priorities among the problem(s)
- Decision point: Decide whether or not to pursue solutions to the problem(s).

Program Design Component

The program design component includes the following activities:

- Setting goal(s)
- Specification of objective(s)
- Selection of strategy(s) for reaching objective(s)
- Identification of resources and constraints
- Rating the importance and impact of resources and contraints on the plan
- Development of a time-phased plan which includes the enumeration of activities, personnel, and other resources required for achieving the objectives
- Analysis of potential problems and contingency plan(s)
- Outline of the evaluation design for measuring success of the plan.

Implementation Component

In the implementation component, necessary knowledge, skills, and resources are applied in order to achieve the goals and objectives. The following are among the activities of the implementation component:

- Management/monitoring/supervision; performance of assigned activities
 - Establishment and use of information-exchange channels
 - Coordination of participating resources
 - Making adjustments as required.

Evaluation Component

The essential purpose of evaluation is to provide information for decision-making. The major activities of evaluation include--

- Clarification of decisions to be made
- Identification of the type(s) of information needed to make decisions
- Designing and carrying out a plan for collecting that information
- Reporting conclusions from the analysis in a timely and useful manner
- Feeding backing evaluation conclusions for consideration in revising the plan.

Program Definition

For the purpose of this workshop, we will adopt a simple but explicit definition of a "program":

"A program is a set of interrelated tasks which, when completed, satisfies some technical, business, or social objective."

It will be useful to spend a little time at this point in examining that definition for some principles and implications.

First, consider the phrase "a set of interrelated tasks." By definition, then, a program is a complex undertaking composed of "tasks" which bear definite lateral, hierarchical, and sequential relationships to each other. In major government programs, it is common for these interrelationships to be, in fact, strong interdependencies, such that failure or excessive delay in the completion of one task can have catastrophic implications for the planning and execution of related tasks.

The next significant term in the program definition is "when completed." All programs have endings at which planned outputs are delivered and progress is measured against objectives.

As used in the context of program planning and execution, the concept of an objective has certain definite characteristics which are common to all programs:

- (1) It is <u>measurable</u>, i.e., whether or not it is achieved at program completion can be demontrated in concrete terms, or if short of full achievement, nonfailure can be demonstrated by measurement of progress toward the goal.
 - (2) It is related to <u>time</u>. The concept of progress toward the achievement of an objective is meaningless unless there is an understanding of when the full objective will be reached.
 - (3) It is related to <u>cost</u>. In general, no program ever has unlimited funds. And whenever funds are limited, the question of whether the objective is worth the cost is always relevant.

As our definition implies, all programs have (or should have) well-defined objectives. To the extent that such objectives are established in any program, planning, execution, and evaluation are facilitated, and program expenditures can be justified. To the extent that objectives (as defined) are not established or are poorly defined, the program will suffer from incomplete planning, uncertain execution, and difficulty in evaluating progress. In such circumstances, a program manager who is asked to justify his need for more funds would have a difficult time at best.

The definition and specification of clear objectives can be utilized directly to establish such points. Planned objectives can be arbitrarily made to coincide with fiscal or calendar year budgeting (with time and cost constraints imposed by the combined program plans). In either case, long-range planning in parallel with current execution can always ensure the renewal of the program cycle beyond the next objective completion point. In this way, the continuous program is reduced to a series of discrete programs with measurable objectives, and the development and application of a program management methodology can be simplified to account for only one kind of program--the one described in our definition.

Life-Cycle Planning

CONCEPT. The definition of a program introduced in the previous section serves as well to introduce the concept of a program life cycle and hints at its importance in program planning. As we have seen, all programs, when they have been properly planned on the basis of established objectives, have finite lifetimes. They begin with planning, carry on through execution, and end when objectives have been achieved or when time or money has run out. That series of events, from planning through final evaluation and program closeout, is called, logically enough, the life cycle of the program, and it plays an important part in all program planning.

Life-cycle program planning is normally based on a kind of back-to-front consideration of program requirements. Beginning with the final objectives, the administrator works his way back to the starting point by successively identifying interim objectives and milestones which must be satisfied along the way. In order to lay out the basic sequence of program events, the administrator applies a simple logic--"In order to get to A, we first have to go through B"--and works backward in this way until, hopefully, all links in the basic chain have been identified and accounted for. If done properly, the result represents the "critical path" through the program.

Finally, manpower, money, equipment, and other resource needs, as well as a schedule, are woven into the planning fabric to ensure that the necessary movement from activity to activity throughout the life of the program is facilitated in the most cost- and time-effective manner.

Thus, as the term implies, life-cycle planning means planning for the life of the program. It means identifying a complex set of activities, literally all of the activities needed to carry out a program, reducing them to their component parts, and structuring a plan in which every component is accounted for. Such planning is normally completed before the start of the program. In addition, in recognition of the fragile and ephemeral nature of plans of men, life-cycle planning is reexamined at intervals during the course of the program to ensure the continued validity of current program plans.

VISIBILITY, TRACEABILITY, CHANGEABILITY. The importance of life-cycle planning is reflected in the management concepts of visibility, traceability, and changeability. By carrying out comprehensive planning early in the life of a

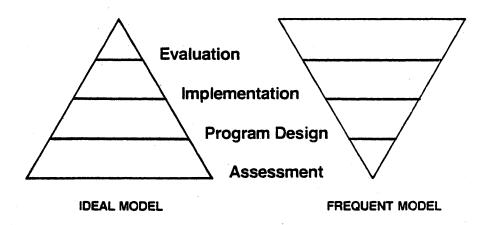
program, we provide management with <u>visibility</u>—i.e, insight—into downstream program needs and potential problems well enough in advance to permit plans to be developed to meet the needs as they arise and to forestall or avoid the problems. On the other hand, should other, unforeseen problems arise during the course of the program, the existence of a sound planning base facilitates <u>tracing</u> the effect of a problem back to its root cause and taking the appropriate action to alleviate it. Finally, with a foreknowledge of how the various program elements relate to each other, management is enabled to <u>change</u> program directions as necessary to keep all activities on the most direct course toward program objectives. Visibility, traceability, and changeability are thus indispensable to effective program management. And the degree to which they are present and available to management in a program situation is usually in direct proportion to the quality and level of life-cycle planning that has been carried out.

B. THE ASSESSMENT PROCESS

Assessment is the foundation or groundwork on which all successful program planning is based. A systematic needs assessment comprises the very beginning tasks in planning. As a result of the assessment, the program planner is in a position to decide whether or not to proceed with the planning process.

A representation of the planning process is shown in Figure 1. Assessment forms the base of the pyramid with the other activities positioned securely on this foundation. The second diagram shows the planning process as it often occurs. In this case the program is based on an inadequate assessment, giving instability to the project and requiring an excessive expenditure of effort on evaluation. This increased emphasis on the later stages results because the incomplete needs assessment leaves goals and expected outcomes unclear; therefore, evaluation becomes a difficult, if not impossible, task.

Figure 1.



Assessment is crucial and must be done carefully and completely, because it directly impacts all of the subsequent components of a planning process. Only after a decision has been made, on the basis of the assessment activities and data, does the program planner--

- Formulate goals and objectives; and
 - Proceed with the development of a program design.

By the time the assessment component activities are completed, a program planner will have--

- Identified and defined the <u>possible</u> and the <u>actual</u> problem(s) that confront the agency
- Ranked the problems in the order of their importance and their potential for solution
- Decided which problem(s) will be worked on.

Assessment Activities

The activities or tasks involved in the assessment component of the planning process are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2.

ASSESSMENT PROCESS

- Identify and evaluate possible problem areas
- Write problem statements
- Collect and analyze assessment data
- Set priorities among problems
- Decide whether or not to pursue solutions

Problem Assessment Process

Each of these tasks or phases of the assessment process is briefly discussed below.

Step 1. Definition of Major Problems

Development of probation programs begins with identification of those concerns that constitute actual problems. The following activities are involved in the selection of program-type problems from agency issues or alleged needs.

- a. Identification of possible problem areas--Possible problem areas are usually first identified through an administrative directive, a news event, or some community concern that calls for action. Sometimes the administrator initiates an action through investigation of relevant situations/conditions in the agency.
- b. Preliminary evaluation of possible problem areas--On the basis of "quick-and-dirty" or "eyeball" inspection, one decides whether given possible problem areas warrant further attention.
- c. <u>Definition/statement of the problem--Next</u>, problem definitions are developed by stating them in terms of who, what, when, and where, thus narrowing and sharpening the focus.

Step 2. Collection of Assessment Data

Assessment data provide information about the scope and importance of the problem. Data usually exist in many places and in many forms, and they must be collected systematically and carefully for an orderly examination.

Step 3. Analysis of Assessment Data

The collected information is examined carefully and thoroughly. A number of different analytical methods can be used to determine what the data reveal about actual needs.

Step 4. Setting Priorities Among Identified Problems

Once problems have been clearly stated and documented, one must select which problem to work on first, which second, etc., since it is almost never possible to work on all of them at once. This selection process requires setting priorities, or ranking. Decisions may be made on the basis of how serious or important the problem is judged to be and/or on whether or not a problem can be solved or reduced, regardless of its importance.

Step 5. Decisions

Finally, the assessment component of a planning process is completed when, using all of the information gained from studies made during the major assessment activities just outlined, a decision is made on whether or not to pursue a solution to any of the stated problems. If a decision is made to work on a

solution to one or more problems, the administrator begins activities in the program design component. The problems not selected for action are discarded or postponed for future consideration.

Stating the Problem

To plan a solution it is necessary to start with the identification of the problem; but in planning services for an agency, it isn't always easy to specifically pinpoint real problems and separate them from those needs the people think are problems. People are easily aroused by shocking or tragic events which may or may not be the outcome of an ongoing problem situation. On the other hand, it may difficult to arouse people about a condition that is often concealed, such as alcoholism.

People often apply the label of "problem" to a broad topical area that is complex and vaguely stated. What is identified is really only a "possible problem area." Therefore, the probation administrator and concerned community representatives must make a relatively simple investigation of the possible problem area to see (1) whether it is a real matter for concern in this community and (2) what actually might be the one or more <u>specific problems</u> in that possible problem area.

This investigation and resulting decision constitute a "preliminary evaluation of a possible problem area." If one decides that there are some identifiable problems that are the proper concerns of his or her agency, efforts are made to state the problems concisely.

A more detailed discussion of the first phase of the needs assessment process is presented below with explanations of--

- What a possible problem area is and how it differs from a problem statement
- How to make a preliminary evaluation of the reality of the possible problem area(s)
- How concerns can be expressed as problem statements.

What Is a Possible Problem Area?

A possible problem area is a broad topical area that someone, some group, or some institution says is a problem. It is said to cause, provoke, contribute to, or be involved in some undesirable outcome. Examples of possible problem areas include drunk driving, theft, robbery, a section of town with a high crime rate, juvenile criminals, street murders, taverns, and child abuse. These examples illustrate the general characteristics of possible problem areas. They obviously are broad, vague topics of concern that may, in fact, encompass a whole set of problems that often cannot be solved because of their scope and complexity.

Why Is the Term "Possible Problem Area" Used?

Often what is called a problem is too broad to be a true problem statement. Moreover, just calling any concern a problem doesn't provide evidence that it

really is one. In addition, sometimes people operate with sterotyped reactions to a label that may be traditionally associated with trouble or difficulty of some sort, e.g., dark streets, guns, the young, joy riding, drive-in movies. Thus, until the topic has been made more expicit and there is at least basic evidence that it is real, it is still only a possible problem area.

How Does a Possible Problem Area Get Identified?

Someone in the agency, the community, or some event ordinarily calls attention to problem areas by labelling them as problems. Identification and arousal of concern over a problem often is the result of any one or any combination of the following:

- An event or situation which arouses concern in the community, e.g, the injury or death of a prominent citizen or a group of young people
- A news or feature story on such an event or situation
- ◆ The action, push, or clout of a prominent, influential, or sympathy-evoking person or group, e.g., a powerful local citizen, the chamber of commerce, a political group, a service club
- The publicized opinion of a spokesperson for an official agency, institution, or similar office stating that it is a priority problem (e.g, council of government, mayor, governor)
- An administrator's own familiarity with agency situations or needs.

Why Is the Term "Possible Problem Area" Used Instead of "Problem"?

Identification of a possible problem area differs from the definition of a problem in a number of respects. For eample, possible problem areas are usually broad, general areas of concern that are seldom based on critically examined evidence. Rather they are often based on emotional reactions (anger, fear, grief) to events reported in the media or called to attention through events that capture the sympathy of the community, In contrast, problem definitions or problem statements are rather narrow and sharp. They focus on a specific trouble or difficulty rather than on emotional, stereotypic labels.

How Does an Administrator Make a Preliminary Judgement About the Reality of Possible Problem Area(s)?

An administrator must make a preliminary judgment about which of the possible problem areas are <u>real</u> for his or her community. He or she should not automatically assume that what is or was a problem at some time or in another agency is now a problem for his or her agency. Without much commitment of time, effort, or money the probation administrator can find out how important a possible problem area is for his or her community by the following means:

• Asking those who identified the problem as such for evidence of its existence

- Asking members of other relevant agencies, organizations, groups for their views
- Finding out the status of the possible problem area in other, similar communities or agencies
- Considering whether the authority and/or power of the person or group that identified the "problem" is such that it simply cannot be easily dismissed or ignored
- Checking the literature related to the identified problem area.

The kinds of evidence the administrator should look for include facts and figures which show that trouble of some sort does or does not exist. The administrator can get preliminary evidence about the suspected problem through--

- Official records and reports (e.g., police department, hospital, public health reports, school records)
- The media (newspapers, television, national magazines)
- People who interact regularly with the identified problem group or activity (e.g., school personnel, health workers, social workers, law enforcement)
- Colleagues (phone calls, letters of inquiry, reports, professional journals).

How Does an Adminsitrator Know When He or She Has Enough Real Evidence To Make A Decision?

He or she can make a preliminary decision about the existence of a problem when he or she and the concerned staff members are convinced that it is (or probably soon will be) causing undesirable outcomes in the community. The preliminary evidence will suggest that for the persons in this community it is or is not a more serious concern than in other comparable communities, or than it was previously in this community.

When the administrator and the concerned staff members can begin to view the problem area from one or more narrower perspectives (e.g., not all "offenders," but "offenders in a particular group who do some particular thing") it usually indicates that they have identified a problem area that includes a set of specific problemes.

How Does a Problem Statement Differ From a Possible Problem Area?

From a breakdown and analysis of the possible problem area, one can derive a sharp and precise statement of a specific problem. Depending on the topic, the problem statement specifies as many of the following as are applicable:

Who is involved or affected

- What is involved or affected or what happens
- How the trouble or difficulty happens or manifests itself
- When or how often the difficulty occurs
- Where or under what conditions the trouble occurs.

What Is The Common Error That Is Made in Stating a Problem?

Possible problem areas are usually presented and discussed on the premise that "something ought to be done." It is easy, therefore, to slip into the error of stating the problem in terms of the solution. For example, "I have to go to the dentist," is really a solution to the problem, "I have a toothache." In the same way, "reducing presentence investigative time" is a solution, not a problem.

What Does a Planner Do Once the Problem Is Stated?

Once an administrator has identified and clearly stated one or more real problems for the agency, it is then possible to investigate those specific problems more closely. In other words, data can be collected to illustrate the extent or seriousness of the problem(s).

Collection of Problem Assessment Data

After clear-cut problems have been stated on the basis of a preliminary investigation and judgment about some possible problem area, an administrator does a more detailed investigation of the key element(s) in each of the problem statements. That is, data are collected to determine the extent to which a given problem (or some aspect of it) exists. This is step 3 of the assessment process. The data are collected so that later a decision can be made about whether or not to respond to the identified problem(s).

What Is Meant by Data?

Data are pieces of information assembled for examination. Assessment data may include not only "facts and figures" but information about attitudes, opinions, beliefs, activities, and events as well.

Given a Problem Statement, How Does an Administrator Determine What Data Are Required for an Assessment?

The administrator first looks for the who, what, how, when, and where content in the problem statement to see what kinds of information figure in it.

He or she decides whether these kinds of information consist of, or take their meanings from, other kinds of information. For example, take the problem statement, "Many professional persons are not aware of the extent to which alcohol-related problems affect the people for whom they provide services." It may be necessary to define what is meant by "many," "professional persons," "aware," "extent," "alcohol-related problems," "affect," and "services." The administrator must realistically determine what pieces of relevant, required information he or she can collect, given existing time, staff, money, and access to the data.

For Whom Is the Assessment Data To Be Collected? Who Will Use the Data?

Most immediately, the data will probably be used by the administrator or staff planning group. Eventually, however, the data may also be used by others; e.g., agency supervisors, funding bodies, and other persons or groups related to the problems(s) under assessment.

The identification of all probable data users should be considered before beginning to collect data because all may not be satisfied with the same data or with the same level of detail. For some, it may be sufficient merely to gather data necessary to provide data on how often, under what circumstances, with what results, at what costs, etc.

Similarly, probable users may require different levels of precision. For example, it may be enough for a teacher to determine by touch that a child has a fever; the school nurse seeks more precise data by using a thermometer.

Likewise, reporting forms vary with the kinds of data reported. A school principal might want a record of how many students were absent from school each day. A public health official might want to know how many were absent due to illness, the diagnoses and duration of illness in each case, etc., and so would need a more complex recording format.

For What Purposes Do the Probable Users Need the Data? How Will the Data Be Used?

- To provide information or knowledge
- To make judgment possible
- To allow for sound decisionmaking.

The end point of the data gathering activity in an assessment is decision-making. Decisions are made as a result of judgments; judgments are based on information available. On the basis of the data gathered in the assessment process, a decision is made about whether or not the problem is one that the administrator will work to resolve.

Where Does an Administrator Get the Required Data?

There are two sources the administrator can look to. One is "the horse's mouth," that is, the people, places, events, situations on which data are being collected. This is called primary data.

What Are the Advantages of Primary Data?

- Primary data can be precisely tailored to answer specific questions about the problem at hand.
- The administrator has control over the scope and quality.
- They may add to the existing bank of information on the problem.
- They may provide "serendipity data," information beyond what was sought.

What Are the Disadvantages of Primary Data?

- They may be costly in time, personnel, and other resources to compile.
- They may turn out to be of uncertain or limited usefulness, which may not be discovered until the data have been collected and analyzed.

Where Else Can the Administrator Look for Required Data?

He or she can also look to sources other than those actually being investigated. These are called secondary data.

What Are the Advantages of Secondary Data?

- They are usually cheaper, easier, and faster to collect.
- They can serve as a check on the validity of whatever primary data have been collected on a problem.
- They may provide the only means for getting information on a particular problem.
- They sometimes are much more complete than the administrator could have gathered, given the constraints within which he or she must operate.
- They may provide additional or different slants on a problem.

What Are The Disadvantages of Secondary Data?

- They may not be as complete or precise as one needs.
- Depending on how, when, and from whom they were collected, the data may be faulty, inaccurate, biased, or out of date.
- They may be slightly off target, since they may have been collected for another purpose.

How Can Primary Data Be Collected?

Information about the target group, situation, or event can be gathered through--

- Interviews with the target group
- Questionnaires completed by target group members
- Observations of the target group
- Surveys conducted within the target group.

How CAn Secondary Data Be Gathered?

Secondary data can be gathered by collecting relevant information about the target group or situation from other people or sources. Additional sources of secondary data are reports, studies, presentations, articles, etc., which other persons, agencies, organizations, or institutions may be able to contribute as a result of having gathered their own primary data on the target group, situation, or event.

What Are Some of the Pitfalls in Collecting Data?

• Collecting more data than are needed; whether too much of the same kind or too many kinds for the purposes of the assessment

- Failing to collect data in an orderly, consistent, usable, and predetermined way
- Failing to make sure that data are collected in a usable form and are properly labeled as to source and content
- Failing to check out the design of the data collection instrument(s) (e.g., questionnaire, survey form, etc.) to make sure it is appropriate in regard to──
 - --Information sought
 - --Information providers
 - --Style and format
 - --Vocabulary used
 - --Directions
 - --Context or setting for use
 - --Time and effort involved in supplying data
- Failing to revise instruments and/or procedures as necessary after a preliminary draft or trial run
- Failing to offer clear and believable reasons for collecting the data
- Failing to state appreciation to providers of data.

Analyzing Data For Decisions

Collected data are merely a jumble of information until they have been organized and analyzed for possible meanings. For many program administrators, analysis of the data is the most challenging and exciting of the assessment activities. Data analysis often calls into play all of the logic and ingenuity that one can draw on. It requires discipline, because one must never lose sight of the fact that he or she is searching for evidence to support or refute the need to solve stated problems.

At the same time, analysis requires more than a little flexibility and imagination. Some years ago, a magazine ran a series of "What-Is-It?" puzzles. The pictures were all of common objects; the puzzles lay in the way they were photographed--from extremely close up, from unusual angles, or in unusual combinations. Collected data can present the same kind of puzzle. By the time information has been collected, the administrator is likely to be quite familiar with the data but may not yet know much about what they can reveal about the problem.

Organizing and reorganizing the collected data to look at them in search of different relationships, contrasts, trends, etc., is the initial step. Then the data usually begin to show where, with whom, when, or with what the focus of the stated problem lies.

What Does the Term "Data Analysis" Mean?

Data analysis essentially means examining individual pieces of information and identifying relationships among them so that inferences or conclusions can be drawn.

Who Analyzes Data?

The adminsitrator will probably analyze the collected data along or with the help of others involved in the planning process. He or she may have help from someone who specializes in evaluation activities. It is desirable however, for those who analyze the data to be thoroughly familiar with the purposes of the data collection and also with the conditions under which the data were collected in order to avoid false conclusions. For example, in one small city DWI arrests dropped from an average of 31 per month to fewer than 10 per month during a certain period. This information led the local alcohol council director to assume that the council's new campaign on drunk driving had been immediately and fantastically successful. The reality was that there were fewer arrests because, shortly after the compaign began, all but a skeleton crew of police officers were diverted to special dirty on a murder investigation. There were simply fewer police officers available to arrest people for DWI. Fortunately, the sheriff, who was on the council's board of directors pointed out this possible infuence on the data before the council director came to an incorrect conclusion about the impact of the drunk driving campaign.

What Is the Basis, Point Of View, or Framework for Data Analysis?

The point of view taken in analyzing data depends, of course, on the purpose(s) for which the data were collected as well as how the results of the analysis will be used, and by whom. Nevertheless, the following types of viewpoints are likely to shape the framewor and which administrators of a probation service agency analyze data:

- The Community--What might the data show, mean, or imply for this community? How might the information affect the community and vice versa?
- The Program--How might the data relate to this program? How might other programs be affected by the information? What programming implications do the data have?
- The Administrator or Planning Group--Do the data have any special significance for planning activities as they have traditionally been conducted or are currently understood and projected?
- Probation-Related Concerns--Are there relations or implications in the data that might be significant for criminal behavior? Might such concern areas influence or be some other way involved or reflected in the data that was collected?
- The Agency--What implications do the data have for this agency? For others? For this agency in relation to other agencies or

When data are t be analyzed, it is wise to review each portion of the information in terms of the who, what, how, when, and where of the problem statement, as a guide in identifying the key frames of reference for the analysis. On occasion, the data may reveal some evidence that was unexpected but appears to be damaging to the program or the agency. This can so jar and distract the analyst that the problem statement and the reasons for collecting the data are forgotten, at least momentarily. Deliberately returning to the major topics in the problem statement refocuses on the task at hand and, sometimes, helps to put the damaging evidence into proper and productive perspective.

Similarly, the data analysis itself may suggest a frame of reference somewhat different from those above. For instance, the collected information may indicate that in a given problem area, there may be far more serious or urgent problems that the ones stated. If this happens, the administrator should allow for consideration of the newly uncovered problem(s) and what might be done about them at that point. Two such possibilities are revising or rewriting the problem statement(s) and extending the data collection and analysis to provide more information on the new problem.

Careful problem statement work should make such a shift in framework a rather rare occurrence. However, if the need to restate does arise, it is silly to ignore it, since this data analysis is an activity of the first planning component—the front—end work. After all, the purpose of an assessment is to find out what is needed and/or how much is needed. However, if a shift seems

necessary, under no circumstances should one make the shift without including the relevant perticipants in the decision of whether or not to change from the original problem statement(s).

How Are Data Analyzed? What Are Some of the Mechanical Activities in Data Analysis?

Ordinarily, the mechanical activities of data analysis seem to be left to on-the-job or experiential learning. There are, however, some simple practices that can enhance such learning. They are presented here to guide and serve as simple checklists or reminders.

- First, the collected assessment data are organized so that they are clear and easy to read and study. For example:
 - -- The same kinds of information are grouped together.
 - --Where it is useful, data are summarized, collapsed (i.e., combined), abstracted, etc.
 - --Certain kinds of data speak loudest to the analyst when portrayed in tables, graphs, charts, maps, diagrams, outlines--all of which have a wide variety of forms.
 - --Whatever organization method(s) are used, great care must be taken to lable accurately and immediately each unit or portion of the data; e.g., what it is, what time/place it came from, who it represents, etc. The importance of correct labeling cannot be stressed too much. Given the reality of interruptions and other distractions, it is very easy to forget whether the content of a given table represents consecutive months or annual averages, males, females, or both, the north or south end of town, etc.
 - --If the analyst used coding of some sort, it is essential to record the coding key(s) on the data representation; e.g., blue=boys, black=girls; thick lines=the incidence in the north, thin lines=the incidence in the south; dotted lines=weekly totals, broken lines=monthly totals, etc.
- Second, each tabulation, representation, or grouping of data is searched for trends, patterns, peaks and valleys, similarities and differences.
 - --Each group is examined to identify any patterns in the individual groups of data.
 - --Patterns or relationships between different groups of data are sought and studied.
 - -- The patterns may convey their most important meaning when different kinds of data are examined together. For example, in certain age or ethnic groups, neighborhoods, occupational

groups, or economic levels, there may be more or less evidence of some behavior, need, or difficulty than in others; or the occurrence of the behavior, needs, or difficulty varies among groups depending on the time of year, the unemployment rate, and/or the day of the week.

--Data analysis <u>as the term is used here</u> includes data interpretation. It includes not only what a column of figures or a report shows or says, but also possible explanations of what it may indicate or mean. Strictly speaking, "More boys than girls took part" is the stated result of analyzing some figures. "This seems to indicate that boys were more interested than girls," is one interpretation of those figures. Other interpretations could be--

"There were more boys than girls available to participate."
"More boys than girls knew they could take part."
"Most girls had already taken part on previous trials."
And so on.

- --Data analysis should not be done in a hurry. The cautious analyst allows for occasional breaks or time away from the data. In that way, when he or she returns to a study of the data, new relations and new interpretations may come to mind. Further, it allows for the verification or correction of previously identified relations and interpretations.
- Third, the administrator steps back for an overall look at how the results of data analysis relate to the stated problem(s) for which the data were gathered.
 - -- The main question is whether the analyzed data support, contradict, or seem unrelated to the stated problem(s).
 - --This overview involves integrating all the conclusions and interpretations arrived at so far and provides the basis for the next assessment activity: setting priorities among identified problems.
 - --When the outcomes of data analysis seem contradictory or unrelated to the problem statements, the assessment activities should not be seen as "wasted effort" (unless it happens repeatedly, in which case the preliminary evaluation and/or problem statement activities probably were not well done). The purpose of an assessment process is to find out in a systematic way what needs to be done; not just "do an assessment" and then push on toward "solving" a problem, regardless of what the investigation has revealed about the stated problem and/or the need to solve it in that community. For example, the stated problem may be, "Presentence investigations take up one-third of staff time." The assessment data may show that five times as many full presentence investigations are ordered by Judge X as by any other judge.

Guides for Setting Priorities and Making Decisions

Priority setting and decisionmaking are complex processes in which the rules that operate are often unclear. The purpose of these guides, therefore, is to alert the adminstrator to thekinds of topics and questions that can help to replace subjectivity and intuition with a measure of objectivity and evidence for setting priorities and making decisions about identified problems.

Rather than simply saying, "It depends," when the priorities or decisions of one's agency are questioned, the administrator should be able to cite what it is that the priorities or decisions depend on. To be sure, some influences are stronger than others, and the strengths of the influences vary from time to time and from place to place. The following questions are designed to sharpen the way to approach decisions that are to be made on the basis of the assessment data.

What Are Some Basic Questions That Probation Administrators Should Ask When Confronted With Evidence of More Than One Probation Problem Which Is Worthy of Attention?

For each problem the following sorts of questions should be raised.

- Does it appear that it is possible to solve this problem?
 - --Can the problem be reduced if not solved? To what degree?
 - --Can parts of it be solved? Which ones?
- What segments of society are directly affected by this problem (e.g., women, parents, young children, nurses, low-income people, auto drivers, German-American, singles)?
- How many people are directly affected by this problem (e.g., 40 percent of all women, all auto drivers)?
- In what ways and to what extent are those people affected by the problem (e.g., time/money costs; injury/illness/death/discomfort/seriousness or continued impact)?
- Is this problem one that falls within the scope of this agency's goals and activities?
 - -- If so, which one(s)?
 - --If not, is there some other agency within whose goals it might fall?

- If another agency's goals encompass this problem, how could this agency be involved in the solution of the problem (e.g., sharing special knowledge or resource personnel)?
- Is this problem one for which there is now strong evidence of general community concern?
 - --What likelihood is there that communty support could be generated?
 - --How could it be generated or increased?
- Is this a current, but probably temporary, problem?
 - --If so, what is its likely duration?
 - --What is the probable scope of its impact?

On What Bases Can Priorities Among "Worthy Problems" Be Set?

When several problems have been investigated and found to be worthy of attention, attention usually focuses on the following considerations:

- The likelihood of solving or reducing each problem
- The urgency/seriousness/importance of each problem's impact on the community and segments of the community
- The estimated extent of current or predictable support for working toward the solution to each problem
- The priority ranking that the agency or planning group has already established for certain target groups, regions, program emphasis, etc.
- The feasibility of being able to locate and obtain the resources required to work toward the solution of each problem
- As an ever present political reality in probation program development planning (and in other situations also), the possible involvement, interest, or support of some community member or group which cannot be ignored (i.e., influence, power, or clout).

What Usually Determines the Relative Weights of Those Bases in Priority Setting?

Relative weights of the factors involved in decisionmaking vary from problem to problem, time to time, community to community, agency to agency, and people to people--and/or any combination(s) of these. The important actions to take in dealing with relative weights in priority setting are--

- Identify as clearly as possible each of the probable sources of influence
- Determine as precisely as is reasonable the current relationships among the influences (e.g., last year's priority for an organization may not be this year's; some feuds smolder for years whereas sometimes new and unexpected alliances are formed)
- Work closely and tactfully with staff members to rank the problems when more than one appears to fall in the high priority category.

Although an agency may bear the ultimate legal responsibility for action, care should be taken to make certain that there is community support for the action. This not only strengthens the chances of success in working on a given problem, but it also bolsters the position of the agency if difficulties or opposition should arise.

What Is One Particularly Effective Way That Administrators Can Show How Different Problems Cost a Community and What Savings Could Result From Solving Them?

- They can prepare comparative projections on the relative costs of each of the problems and their solutions. Comparative projections can be made in terms of economic, human, and political costs of the problems and solutions.
 - --Economic costs are by far the easiest to figure, although doing so does involve considerable work.
 - --Human costs are much more difficult to measure precisely, but they may offer especially persuasive arguments.
- Showing a community some estimates of what a problem costs--in any terms--and what its solution might save, often serves to motivate and elicit support from segments of the community that are not otherwise likely to concern themselves with crime problems.

Who Should Be Involved in Priority Setting for a Probation Agency? How?

- The two main groups involved in setting prorities are--
 - --The probation executive and whatever other persons from his or her agency may have authority, responsibility, or particular experience in probation work of this sort
 - --The key community and criminal justice representatives or spokespersons who have been involved, from possible problem area identification through the other assessment activities.

- Involvement should occur within clearly defined parameters, i.e., if an agency or a board is legally responsible for making final decisions, community members should have been made ware of this from the start, in a tactful way, and had their advisory role clarified.
- Before priorities are set among these problems, if any of the defined problems is likely to require the cooperation of other agencies, organizations, or groups, the administrator should find out how his or her problems rank among the priorities of those other agencies, etc.

Is a List of Priorities Static or Dynamic?

As with virtually everything else in a planning process, a priority list should not be regarded as static or final. Priorities can be changed--but not on a mere whim--when the situation changes and/or new information indicates the need for a change. For instance, the day after the administrator and his or her group decides on the problem to which their efforts will be applied, the newspaper announces that a professor at the local university has received a handsome grant to work on the same problem in much the same way.

- Admittedly this should not have come as a surprise if the agency were truly in touch with the community, but once in a while there is a surprise which must be taken into consideration.
- In this case, the administrator and his or her staff group might elect to work on their second-ranked problem.

Making Decisions About Prioritized Problems: Once Priorities Among the Problems Are Set, What Happens Next?

A decision is made about which problem will be worked on first, second, etc. It was for the purpose of making this decision that each of the assessment activities was carried out. Making this decision completes the assessment activities, and the planning process moves into the program design phase.

• Although an agency might in fact elect to work on several problems simultaneously, for the purposes of illustration and simplicity, this training program proceeds on the assumption that the individual administrator is approaching the solution of a single problem.

C. PROGRAM DESIGN

After the Assessment Component of the planning process, in which a problem is systematically identified and selected for action by an administrator, he or she works on the second component as outlined:

PROGRAM DESIGN

- State goals
- Specify objectives
- Choose strategies
- Identify major activities
- Determine and locate necessary resources
- Develop time-phased action plan
- Outline evaluation design

The component called "program design" in this course is often called "planning" in other courses and writings on the subject. The term "program design" is used here to avoid confusion between the overall planning procedure that is the subject of this course and the specific program planning or design component that is one part of the planning process.

Step 1: Writing a Goal Statement

What Is a Goal Statement?

The problem statement is deliberately phrased not to include a solution, but it does imply a solution. The goal statement should state the outcome that would provide that solution. In other words, a goal is what the administrator wants to see in place or accomplished when a plan to address a given problem has been carried out.

For example:

Problem: A very small percentage of alcoholic offenders are receiving treatment through the community service network.

Goal: To increase the number of alcoholic offenders receiving treatment.

What Are the Characteristics of a Goal Statement?

- It implies a broad and general solution by identifying the desired outcome
- It specifies the target group (e.g., alcoholic offenders)
- It focuses on a selected need (e.g., alcoholic offenders receiving treatment).
- It is consistent with the agency's mission or purpose (e.g., assuring alcoholism services to alcoholic offender population).

What Is Not Included in a Goal Statement?

It is important to notice that the goal statement identifies only what will be accomplished. It does not specify how the outcome will be achieved, when it will come about, exactly how many individuals will be affected or to what extent.

What Is the Purpose of Developing a Goal Statement?

There are several important reasons for stating a goal before moving immediately to objectives.

First, particularly when the adminstrator is working with a community group, a variety of concerns, preferences, and special interests may exist. In such a situation, often without intending to, people often "hear" quite different messages. Each one operates from his or her own frame of reference in a discussion. Therefore, it is essential to be certain that, regardless of wherever each person is "coming from," the group is focusing on the same thing.

A goal statement spells out that focus in a general way and so provides a point of agreement from which the probation administrator and the involved community people can move on to specifics. If the members of a planning group are thinking of several different outcomes or solutions to a problem, that must

be brought out and dealt with at this time, rather than accidentally discovered when someone eventually says, "Is that what we're trying to do? I thought we were doing so-and-so."

Second, similar to a politician's campaign speech, one purpose of a goal statement is to elicit support around a point of basic agreement. Once planners have reached agreement at a global level, the likelihood of later reaching agreement on necessary details is increased. Plunging too soon into details has snarled many a community effort in nitpicking and time-wasting pursuits. Consequently, even though the adminstrator may already have leapt ahead mentally to the point where he or she could state objectives, the goal statement activity must not be short-circuited in planning for community program development.

Furthermore, starting at the global level of a goal statement increases the probability that the focus will not be narrowed too soon. When a solution is considered in a broad context, a number of worthwhile alternatives may be presented and considered that would probably not even be brought up if a precise objective statement were offered at this point.

In addition, formulating a goal statement ensures that the solution falls within the agency's scope or mission. It may help ensure that the agency is not impinging on work already being done by another agency or group--resulting in a duplication of effort or a political embarrassment. Furthermore, formulating a goal statement may suggest ways in which the agency can complement or enhance another programs.

In summary, a goal statement is a broad statement responsive to a stated need. It provides the <u>what</u> information, as distinct from the <u>how</u>. It serves the purposes of clarification for concerned individuals and groups, provides a basic focus of agreement, serves as a checkpoint regarding the agency's mission or goal, and provides a basis for selecting means and resources to implement a solution.

Step 2: The Essential Characteristics of a Program Objective

What Is an Objective?

An objective is a statement which specifies the activity for reaching a goal or outcome. In contrast to the broad goal statement, an objective is much more precise in stating how the outcome is to be reached.

For example:

Goal: To increase the number of alcoholic offenders receiving treatment through community services.

Objective: To increase by 50 percent between January and June of 1981, the number of alcoholic offenders in probation Area D receiving treatment through the Emerson County Community Agency.

What Are the Essential Characteristics of an Objective?

A useful objective has four essential characteristics:

- Identifies the target group
- States the result
- Uses measurable terms
- Identifies when the result will happen.

As the above pair of goal and objective statements show, the <u>target group</u> is more precisely stated in objectives. Objectives identify clearly the persons with, for, or on whom the result will be accomplicated.

Likewise, the result is more specifically spelled out in an objective.

The result is stated in <u>measurable terms</u>-how many, to what extent, etc. (e.g., 50 percent more than the number of alcoholic men now being treated through the Emerson County Community Agency vs. alcoholic men). Sometimes the measure is merely a yes or no: Is the result in existence or isn't it?

Identifying when the result will happen simply means setting a specific date or a specific time limit within which the result will occur or be in place (e.g., within the next school year, during October and November 1980).

A realistic awareness of what is involved in, and required for, reaching the objective must guide the administrator in drafting objectives. The next sessions will provide some techniques and procedures for ensuring the reality of objectives. For the moment, it is wise to be cautious and conservative in stating objectives.

Step 3: Decision Model for Selecting a Strategy

A strategy, as the term is used here, is "the science and art of employing the essential forces or resources to provide the maximum support to some adopted policy." It is the how for accomplishing objectives and goals.

The decision model offered here for selecting a strategy has four parts:

<u>Part One: A Brainstorming Session and Listing of All Possible Ways an Objective Might Be Attained</u>

All suggestions are listed as they are made. All suggestions made are equally acceptable; no judgments about the quality of the suggestions are to be made at this stage.

Part Two: Application of Quality Criteria to the List Produced in Brainstorming.

Now judgments are made about the quality of each suggested strategy. The following criteria should be used:

- Is the suggestion complete? Does it fully address the objective?
- Is it coordinated (or can it be coordinated) within itself, with other suggestions, and/or with what already exists?
- Is it <u>flexible</u> enough to accommodate possible future shifts in emphasis?
- Is it <u>simple</u> enough that it can be accomplished without a disproportionate amount of effort?
- Is it <u>explicit</u> enough that everyone who reads it will understand it the same way?

Suggestions that do not meet all of the quality criteria should be either discarded--or reworded so that they meet the criteria.

Part Three: The Prediction of Probable Consequence of the Remaining Suggestions.

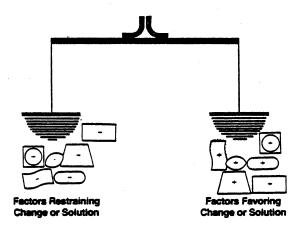
In order to avoid being surprised later because an acceptable strategy did all it was supposed to do--and some it wasn't intended to--the adminstrator should predict two kinds of consequences for each acceptable strategy.

Immediate or direct consequences of a strategy are the expected ones. They are the consequences which are sought. They are important and relatively easy to predict.

Indirect consequences or side effects of a strategy are the ones which occur when a strategy is implemented, but they may not be intended or expected. Predicting them is difficult if the administrator is not thoroughly familiar with the parts of the community involved and affected, e.g., what was done before and is being done now, by whom, and with what results. Side effects can be favorable, and if they are, they should be capitalized on as soon as they are identified. They can also be unfavorable (or actually destructive) in their results. As soon as damaging or potentially damaging side effects are identified, steps should be taken to eliminate or decrease their undesired impact. Knowing the kinds of things which raise hackles among key people and segments of the community helps tremendously in making valid predictions of outcomes, and thereby permits the avoidance of most unpleasant consequences. Conversely, capitalizing on the preferences of key community people and groups gives the strategy extra support.

Part Four: Setting Priorities Among the Acceptable Strategies on the Basis of the Strengths of Their Advantages and Disadvantages.

Advantages and disadvantages can also be described as positives and negatives—factors in favor of the strategy and factors working against it—and these factors can be given relative values or weights to help decide on the merit of a given strategy, or to choose among strategies. This kind of weighting procedure can be diagramed as a fulcrum effect.



If the positives outweigh the negatives, the balance will tilt toward a positive outcome and the strategy will be successful.

This decisonmaking method, which is similar to a Force Field Analysis, can be used in any decisionmaking situation that involves a weighing of positive and negative factors. For example, a similar procedure was used in selecting the problem focus, in asking, "How important is this problem for this community? It could be used in choosing a goal, by analyzing what positive and negative factors exist that contribute to the status quo, and what additional positive factor or force could tip the balance in the desired direction (or prevent a shift toward a less desirable status or situation). It can be used in choosing among several objectives, balancing expenditure of time and resources against impact on the problem or furtherance of the goal.

The key feature of this decisionmaking technique is to assign some sort of weight or value to the factors in question, whether by giving them numerical values or simply labeling them as, for example, major, moderate, or insignificant in importance.

Steps 4 & 5: Major Activities and Agency and Community Resource Inventory Guidelines

After a strategy has been chosen for meeting an objective and its goal, an administrator identifies the main activities which must be done in carrying out the strategy. Then, he or she lists the resources for each activity and takes an inventory of their availability.

As the term is used here, the word <u>activity</u> describes a rather broad process or function in a specific area of work which must be done to accomplish a desired objective or outcome. Each activity is made up of groups of related <u>tasks</u>.

Before the administrator starts a resource inventory, he or she--

- Reviews the objective and strategy
- Lists the major activities required to carry out the strategy
- Checks the list of activities or <u>reorders</u> it so that the activities are listed in the sequence in which they are done
- Specifies for each major activity the <u>kinds of resources</u> needed to complete the activity.

Although there are many possible ways for planning a community resource inventory, key questions to ask about resources are--

- 1. What facilities, equipment, information, expertise, personnel, money are required to carry out the job successfully, i.e., as it is stated in the objective(s)?
- 2. Which of the required resources are on hand and available when needed? Which resources must be mobilized? Which of the resources cannot be obtained?
- 3. How important to the job are the unavailable resources? What other resources can be substituted for the unavailable resources?
- 4. Based on this resource inventory, is the proposed project attainable within the agency's scope of resources?

There are many ways that the identified, necessary resources can be grouped. Sometimes an agency or a project requires some particular system of categorization. However, the following basic grouping pattern is one that administrators may find helpful: facilities, equipment, supplies, personnel, and money. Each of these broad catgories can of course be subdivided if desired (e.g., "personnel" might be separated into several different kinds of personnel: volunteers and paid staff; professionals and paraprofessionals; clerical workers, maintenance staff, administrators, and treatment staff).

Whatever categories are specified, the resource inventory must be done with an eye to reality. Just because a resource is known to exist in a community, the administrator should not assume that it will be made available for a given "worthy" project. The candid administrator will probably find that a great many important resources must be mobilized. That's really what a community effort is all about, anyway.

Some administrators find it more logical and productive to take general resource inventories for several acceptable strategies before selecting one strategy. That is all right; the same principles and procedures apply. After the strategy is chosen, its activities are listed, and the inventory proceeds as described above.

Step 6: Time-Phased Action Plan Guidelines

A time-phased action plan is a means for the administrator to show in graphic form what his or her plan involves, who does it, and when it is to get done.

Preparation for its Construction involves these steps:

- A review of the <u>Program objectives</u>
- A review of the <u>Strategy selected</u> for implementing each of the program objectives
- A listing of the major activities which must be done to carry out each strategy
- A reordering of the major activities so that they are listed in their order of occurrence
- A <u>listing of the tasks</u> which make up each of the major activities
- A reordergin of the tasks in their order of occurrence
- A review of the community resource inventory.

Developing or constructing a time-phased action plan involves these steps:

- Specifying what must be done (i.e., the activity tasks)
- Identifying who the persons are that will be responsible for doing each task
- Determining when each task is to be completed.

The administrator draws on the knowledge and experience that he or she and other available, reliable people have about--

- The time, materials, and equipment requirements for completing each task (e.g., ask typists about typing time and equipment)
- The possibility of a more economical use of resources by combining or overlapping some tasks and activities, or parts of them (e.g., although they are listed sequentially, the sequence most often refers to the time, they are to start). Several activities are usually going on at the same time, and the day a volunteer is available he or she may work on several tasks in one or more activity.
- The knowledge, experience, skill, and commitment level of the people involved.
- The kinds of natural, local, mechnical, personal--and whatever--kinds of events, circumstances, conditions that may affect schedules (e.g., blizzards, holidays, mechanical breakdowns, illnesses).
- Any need to revise an action plan once it has been developed.

An action plan can be used as--

- An <u>outline</u> for describing a project or program
- A checklist for determining progress
- An indicator of problems
- A possible clue about which parts of the plan need changing to correct the problems (e.g., X's tasks are most often done late or wrong; certain kinds of tasks usually slow down the schedule).

An action plan should provide at a glance the information an administrator needs. Therefore, it should fit his or her need for detail. A plan that is too broad often doesn't give enough information; important pieces are often overlooked. A plan that is too detailed can be overwhelming to produce and to revise--and it can depress enthusiasm, especially among staff participants in the project or program. Like Goldilocks, an administrator has to try out several levels to find the specificity level that is "just right" for a given project.

The designer of a time-phased action plan must be--

- Thorough,
- Definite, but
- Willing to revise, and above all,
- Realistic.

Step 7: Outline of Program Evaluation Design

Often people think of evaluation as the last activity the administrator engages in after the plan has been implemented. But evaluation begins as soon as the goal statements and program objectives have been written. The goal statement(s) identifies the broad areas of concern; the program objectives state what the administrator will do and how long it will take to accomplish the stated results; the link—the evaluation design—includes the methods and procedures the administrator uses to determine whether or not he or she has succeeded in completing the task.

An outline of the evaluation design should include the following:

- The types of information that should be collected to determine whether program objectives have been achieved
- A plan for collecting the necessary information
- The date on which the evaluation findings will be reported so that the results can assist the administrator in making necessary revisions in the existing plan or other decisions about the program.

The parts of a program evaluation design should have a familiar tone, since they have already been encountered in the assessment component. An assessment is, in fact, a particular kind of evaluation activity.

D. A Framework for Comparison of Intensive and Special Probation Projects

by Alan L. Porter and Jerry Banks Georgia Institute of Technology Atlanta

from

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This paper presents a conceptual framework to consider the activities and outcomes of probation projects. It is based on 20 site visits at which probation staffs described how project activities interrelated to produce desired effects. Based upon comparative analysis of these projects, alternative probation strategies are contrasted in six areas: (1) caseload reduction as a means to increase contact time; (2) in-house versus out-house treatment services; (3) helping relationships and tightened surveillance for probationers; (4) ways to enhance community acceptance; (5) usefulness of attempting to change probationer attitudes versus behaviors; and (6) goals of reduced criminal activity during, versus after, probation. The analysis points up underlying assumptions probation programs and leads to three recommendations. First, contact character is a superior measure of probation intensity to caseload reduction. Second, probation projects should prepare conceptual frameworks to better understand the relationship between project activities and desired outcomes, but they should not be subject to elaborate evaluation requirements. Third, multiple measures of criminal activity allow a more balanced appraisal than is possible with single measures such as revocation rate or recidivism.

Evaluation of criminal justice programs is directed at establishing how effective the programs are. It requires understanding of program objectives, activities, and outcomes. This research, part of the National Evaluation Program of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, sets forth conceptual frameworks for probation projects, thus providing a basis for comparison of the projects. By considering the sequence of actions between funding and impact upon crime, causal influences leading to particular outcomes are identified. Alternative concepts underlying various probation strategies are contrasted, and operational recommendation for programs improvements are derived.

The information base for this analysis consisted of site vists to the 20 ongoing intensive and/or special adult probation projects in the United States listed in Table 1. ("Intensive" refers to probation projects with unusually low caseloads; "special" to projects which offer unique services, such as use of volunteers or provision of drug counseling.) Based upon the significant activities, or elements, associated with these projects, a general conceptual framework was constructed, as shown in Figure 1.

A General Analytical Framework

This general framework identifies a comprehensive set of process features for intensive and/or special probation (ISP). While it is improbable that any one project would entail all of the elements, a given project assembles a coherent set of elements to span the conceptual distance between funding and project impacts.

Coordination with Other Agencies Facilities Referral Resources Internal Organization Development (with process flow linkages drawn to represent a typical volunteer probation program) Training THE ELEMENTS OF INTENSIVE SPECIAL PROBATION PROCESSES Program Developments Additional Support: Increased Revocation Administrators Increased Contact Greater Community Surveillance Time Awareness **Behavior Change** Funding Decreased Recidivism Client Stabilization Specialists Separation of Function **Public Relations** Decreased Criminal Activity More Probation Options **Professionals Employment** Helping Relationships Client **Decreased Revocation** Information on Available Comm. Services Sound Referrals Reduced Caseload Improved Self-functioning More Client Options Aides Increased use of Probation Job Referral/ Placement Attitude Change Figure 1. Special Caseloads Interns **Enhanced Community** Decreased Hostility Toward C. J. S. Client-Community Interactions Acceptance Information on Client Needs Specialized Treatment Improved Sentencing Better Volunteers Additional Personnel: Facilitating Efforts: Immediate Results: Additional Activities: Better Services: Client Change: **Impacts**: Intensiveness

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Decreased Social Costs

Decreased Incarceration

TABLE 1. PROJECT SITES VISTED

Ann Arundel County Impact Probation Project, Anne Arundel County, Maryland (Baltimore suburban areas)

Georgia Citizens Action Program for Corrections, headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia (community offices in each of 42 judicial circuits of the State)

High Impact Intensive Supervision, Narcotics Unit Project, Baltimore, Maryland

Intensive Differentiated Supervision of Imapet Parolees and Probationers, Baltimore, Maryland

Model Probation/C.A.S.E. Project (also known as Youth Offender Program), Brockton, Massachusetts

Model Adult Probation Project: Assessment, Classification, and Management of Probationers, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Volunteers in Probation: One-to-One Adult Program, headquartered in Columbus, Ohio, and serves Franklin County, Ohio

Probation Intensive Supervision Program, Denver, Colorado

Comprehensive Community Corrections Program for Des Moines, Iowa (Polk County, plus serves 15 neighboring counties of the Fifth Judicial District)

Volunteers in Probation Project (Court Counseling Program) for Vanderburgh Circuit Court, Evansville, Indiana Volunteer Probation Counselor Program, Lincoln, Nebraska

Mutula Objectives Program, State of Michigan (4 counties)

Harlem Probation Project, New York City, New York (Harlem section)

Adult Community Services, Burglary Offender Project, headquartered in Salem, Oregon, with offices and operations in Astoria, Albany, Bend, and Baker, Oregon

Office of Court Alternatives--Misdemeanant Probation Project, Orange County, Orlando, Florida

Intensive Services Unit (ISU), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Differential Diagnosis and Treatment Program, San Jose, California

Ohio Governor's Region 10 Probation Rehabilitation Activities Project, Stark, Summit, and Wayne Counties, Ohio

Intensive Supervision Services Project, City of St. Louis, Missouri

Adult Probation Aides Project, Tucson, Arizona

Special Services Project for Mentally Deficient Offenders, Tucson, Arizona The organization of the framework (Figure 1) into sequential levels is intended to portray the general process flow. That is, additional funding typically results in additional personnel of some type and possible additional support in the form of training, referral resources, or facilities (e.g., decentralized offices). Program development flows from additional funding leading to additional activities. From these activities flow facilitating factors such as better sentencing and referrals which in turn contribute toward better provision of services. These services aim to assist the client and change him or her in particular fashions with eventual favorable impacts for society. This is the basic conceptual framework for ISP upon and within which further elaboration of issues will be developed.

To exemplify such a flow process, Figure 1 also protrays the main elements that might be linked in a typical volunteer program. Following the causal flows in this scenario, funding is first used to support administrators for the volunteer project. They in turn develop the organization, and recruit and train volunteers from the community. The volunteers provide additional contact time with the probationers which results in helping relationships of several types. These in turn may assist the probationer in securing and maintaining a job, which in conjunction with the enduring volunteer-probationer relationship, leads to improved self-functioning. (Self-functioning refers to the offender's capacity to make viable choices.) As a consequence of improved self-functioning, attitudes and values shift toward socially acceptable norms. This results in more socially acceptable behavior, decreased criminal activity and recidivism, and lowered social and economic costs. Concurrently, public relations and volunteer recruitment serve to enhance community awareness of probation. This in turn leads to enhanced community acceptance, given socially satisfactory behavior by the probationers or increased understanding of the probationer's actions by the community. Obviously, one could include many other elements and connections in a particular volunteer project. Yet, the overall project outcomes depend on successful accomplishment of the sequence of activities.

Determination of project outcomes is of most interest insofar as these pertain to project objectives. This obvious point is of considerable importance as one moves toward evaluation of probation projects. Put simply, outcomes of different projects are not likely to be directly comparable if the projects aim at diverse objectives.

Three prominent objectives generalize from the site visits: (1) enhancing the capability of the client to function effectively in society and for him or herself, (2) protecting the community by minimizing criminal activity on the part of the client, and (3) reducing the prison population through propitious use of probation. While these are by no means mutually exclusive, they do point toward different perceptions of what a probation project is attempting to achieve and consequent variations in priorities.

Alternative Probation Process Paths

One of the intents of the analytical framework is to clarify the cause-andeffect assumptions held by project personnel. What are the presumed interrelations among the various functions they perform and in what ways are these presumed to effect the intended outcomes? An objective is to identify the probation process steps actually taking place and to formulate composite models of how these fit together. Similar project approaches are then grouped into general types in order to compare the findings. This leads directly into consideration of the similarities and differences among the different ISP projects.

Not surprisingly, the majority of the project personnel queried professed no readymade conceptual model of how their activities led step by step toward the desired outcomes. This appears to reflect both a lack of theory development in the field of probation and inattention to such concerns. The weakness of theory is especially clear when one tries to pin down the nature of helping relationships and client-change models.

Project personnel reacted favorably to development of a conceptual model of their project's activities (once it was completed). These models, which were compiled to produce the general framework of Figure 1, clarify relationships and highlight gaps or deficiencies.

The specific connections among the elements shown in Figure 1 vary among projects and are subject to question even within projects. For instance, it has been particularly difficult to separate the client change elements in an orderly fashion. Does attitudinal change lead to behavioral change or viceversa? Does self-functioning capability (that is, client change toward greater self-responsibility or self-reliance) increase because of an increased sense of autonomy, or vice-versa? Nonetheless, general statements can be made at three levels: (1) certain functional elements and relationships typically appear in ISP projects, (2) certain basic types of ISP projects can be differentiated easily, and (3) certain alternative linkages appear to represent significant conceptual distinctions with important implications for the formulation of probation programs.

At a very general level, funding is used to provide additional personnel and/or additional support. By and large, the ISP projects visited had increased staffing, either professional or otherwise, whereas support for referrals or facilities was less generally the case. In turn, projects implemented additional activities. Naturally, the time order of events is not always distinct. For instance, as new administrators develop a program they may continue to increase staff, which may then improve services, lead to better probation performance, thence increased use of probation, and the need for even more staff. The additional activities may then facilitate efforts to provide better services in one form or another. These may induce changes, such as increased client employment, which lead to client changes and on to beneficial community impacts.

Several of the elements appeared in essentially all of the 20 projects analyzed. Increased contact time between the clients and one or more categories of personnel was a central theme, although this does not always mean increased contact with a probation officer, and it has not been measured well. Client change in the form of altered behavior and "self-functioning" is an almost universal objective in these projects. Enhanced employment is the most common means seen as contributing to client change. Finally, while outcome goals and measurements are varied, reduction of criminal activity is certainly present as an objective.

While it would be possible to typify each of the ISP project types, (e.g., use of paraprofessionals, or special client groups such as mentally defective offenders, drug users, or sex offencers) this appears less fruitful than attempting to focus on critical alternatives. The number of process permutations through the framework is very large, but even more telling is the possible array of elements in any single project, as illustrated in Figure 1. Rather than discuss a few arbitrary fundingto-impact sequences, a series of alternative functional linkages for portions of the general model are presented in Table 2. In this way, six critical comparisons among probation programs are addressed.

The first issue raised (Issue A, Table 2) concerns the way an ISP project attempts to increase contact between the client and the staff (or volunteers). As commonly used, "intensive" projects entail reduced caseloads in one fashion or another, although the magnitude is highly variable. A typical range of intensive caseload might be from 15 to 50 equivalent probationers. But this definition of intensive would exclude a number of projects involving volunteers, interns, or aides in that caseload may not be reduced. Yet a strong argument can be made that this is the wrong criterion. In all cases reviewed, the first characteristic of intensive probation is a presumed increase in contact time.

On the one hand, there is little evidence that reducing caseload leads to an increase in contact time since the latter is only rarely measured. Based upon a statewide study in Georgia showing that the typical probation supervisor spends only 19.9 percent of his or her time on client supervision, one could hypothesize that reducing caseload would be a quite ineffective way to increase contact time (Lyons 1975). On the other hand, a volunteer program that does reduce official caseloads may allow time for a probation officer to concentrate upon clients other than those with whom the volunteer is working. It certainly increases contact time of the client with the volunteer. Likewise, transfer of the presentence investigation function to carefully trained aides may greatly enhance probation officer-client contact time based upon the Georgia study's finding that 30.2 percent of the supervisor's time was spent on investigations. Consequently, it appears that "intensive" should be redefined and that measurement emphasis be placed upon contacts rather than caseload.

Issue B of Table 2 focuses upon the locale for specialized treatment. Two polar modes can be recognized--development of in-house treatment skills (B1) or referral to outside sources (B2). The former may allow tighter control over treatment profiles, client participation, and resource usage; the latter may prevent duplication of services and make use of more highly trained personnel. Considering the diverse groups of special clients ranging across first-offense misdemeanants, sex offenders, and retarded offenders, it is obvious that ISP may involve many different program specifics. Likewise, client populations may differ in terms of demographic attributes and intelligence. Naturally, the treatment program process involves other elements than those highlighted in B1 and B2, but these have implications for funding level, implicit resource support and interagency coordination, organizational size, and potential effectiveness.

Issue Area C raises two major alternatives and two variants. Alternative 1 indicates the use of extra contact time for developing deeper, more helping relationships which may stabilize the client, lower the revocation rate and, in turn, the crime rate. In contrast, Alternative 2 portrays increased monitoring which by keeping closer track of probationer activities can increase the revocation

Table 2. ALTERNATIVE PROBATION PATHS

(Note: Refer to Figure 1 to consider the alternatives in their proper context.)

Alternatives Within Issue Areas

A. Intensiveness of Probation

- 1. Projects reduce caseloads to generate increased contact time between professionals and clients.
- Projects generate increased contact time by other means, such as use of volunteers, interns, or aides.
- B. Locale for Specialized Treatment
- In-house treatment skills are developed (specialists recruited, information on client needs gathered, special caseloads formed for specialized treatment).
- Out-house treatment is utilized (referral resources obtained to provide specialized treatment).
- C. Nature of the Relationship with the Probationer
- Deeper, more helping relationships are developed with use of increased contact time, leading to stabilization of client lifestyle and lowered revocation rate and, in turn, decreased criminal activity.
- Increased contact time provides tighter surveillance, leading to possibly increased revocation rate and thereby decreased criminal activity.
- Split roles, such as between a probation officer and a volunteer aide, are developed whereby one offers a helping relationship while the other maintains surveillance.
- 4. Dual role is developed in which both functions are present in a single relationship.

Table 2., Continued

D. Community Orientations

E. Client-Change Models

F. Project Goals

- 1. Indigenous aides relate to both clients and to the community, decreasing hostility toward the criminal justice system.
- 2. Facilities are decentralized to enable easier helping relationships and reduced hostility toward the criminal justice system, along with greater community awareness, sound referrals, and better clientoriented interactions.
- Attitudinal change arising from a helping relationship and resultant client stabilization leads to improved self-functioning and, thence, to decreased criminal activity.
- Behavioral change arising from tight surveillance and resultant client stabilization leads to improved self-functioning and thence to decreased criminal activity.
- 1. Post-treatment return to criminal activity is to be reduced.
- 2. Assurance of public safety while on probation is to lead to enhanced community acceptance, increased use of probation, and, thus, decreased incarceration.

rate. The revocation of hardened criminal types can decrease criminal activity, and the threat of revocation, enhanced by the surveillance, may deter criminal activity. Alternative 3 notes the possibility of accomplishing both a helping relationship and increased surveillance by splitting the roles. In particular, a volunteer may develop the helping relationship while the probation officer plays the "heavy." Alternative 4 reflects a dual role model in which both functions operate together in a single relationship. In probation practice, any helping relationship is likely to have some elements of the surveillance role in that supervisors or volunteers are obligated to report criminal activity of which they become aware. Nonetheless, the distinctions among the four alternatives carry considerable conceptual weight.

Issue D contrasts two client/community-oriented modes of operation. Alternative l posits the hiring of aides particularly in tune with client needs and to whom clients can more easily relate (e.g., exoffenders, ghetto residents, or ethnically matched aides). Alternative 2 involves decentralization of facilities to less-threatening neighborhood sites or to facilities not strongly associated with the criminal justice system. Both helping relationships and attitude change on the part of the client should be improved. These represent two distinct approaches toward that end.

Issue E contrasts an attitudinal change model (Alternative 1) with a behavioral change model (Alternative 2). The attitudinal change path fits with the helping relationship but not with surveillance; the behavioral model can originate from either, or both, sort of supervisor-client relationships. However, this distinction appears to reflect only part of the difference in perceived means of helping the client through the relationship. A great variety of ideas emerged between helping relationships and client change with confusion in causal ordering (e.g., improved self-functioning before or after behavior change). Helping relationships are depicted as an element in the model, possibly the most complex one. Subsumed in the concept of client change are distinctions among short-term, long-term, and crisis relationships; between deep, trusting relations and transportation to the store; and among confrontation tactics, formal behavioral contracts, and supportive approaches. Alternatively, one can identify law enforcement approaches, various psychologically rooted theories (self-choice, behavior modification, deficient person needing guidance, etc.), and social casework approaches. Given the lack of formal application of these to ISP by the practitioners, it would be presumptuous to attempt a detailed breakdown. However, as a beginning, the categorization shown in Figure 2 seems to capture a fair portion of the variations observed in the field.

Figure 2. CATEGORIZATION OF HELPING RELATIONSHIPS

		Internal to the Client	External to the Client
У	Attitude	I	II
	Behavior	III	IV

Primary Focus

Examples of the four styles of helping relationships displayed were all observed on the site visits. The internal orientation focusing on attitudinal change (Category I) fits the in-depth treatment model. This concept includes a volunteer developing a long-term caring relationship with the client and providing both support and a model for attitudinal change and increased self-confidence and aspirations. The person's deficiencies are remedied, thereby changing his attitudes, from which other positive reinforcements follow. Volunteer projects fit this style quite well. Category II places greater emphasis on the person's environment to attain attitudinal change in directions commensurate with more acceptable norms. Helping assure social stability, recognizing the importance of community acceptance and support, reducing hostility toward the criminal justice system, and the social casework model tend in this direction. A community-oriented aide program appeared consistent with this focus. Category III, in contrast, emphasizes internally oriented, behavioral changes, from which improved attitude may or may not follow. The notion of an enforceable contract setting forth conditions agreed upon by the probationer and the supervisory agency fits this reality-directed emphasis. Finally, the fourth category puts stock in environmental influences to increase adaptive behavior. One project primarily uses environmental manipulations (living conditions, job) in conjunction with training programs directed at the entire criminal justice community to correct negative behavior of mentally defective offenders. The "defective person" image is consistent with this category--obtain socially tolerable behavior without undue concern about effecting internal attitudinal changes. surveillance mode also reflects an external influence to induce acceptable behavior.

Issue Area F assumes a common path from employment through increased personal stabilization leading to improved self-functioning and decreased criminal activity. Whatever the attitudinal or behavioral emphasis of the probation project, this pathway is widely endorsed. It also fits reasonably well coming from successful participation in special treatments such as job training (leading to employment), and drug treatment. Alternatives 1 and 2 reflect different sorts of project goals: (1) to reduce post-treatment return to criminal activity and (2) to assure public safety and obtain support for use of probation in lieu of incarceration. Alternative 2 emphasizes the minimization of new criminal activity while on probation. Hopefully, the probation experience will lead to better prognosis for future behavior than will incarceration, but this is of secondary concern.

Note the different interpretations on outcome measures, such as revocation rate, implied by these two orientations and by Alternatives Cl and C2 (helping relationship contrasted with heightened surveillance). These are made more difficult by the lack of standardized definitions (c.f., National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice standards and Goals, 1973). For instance, in one project the revocation rate (return to prision) is lower than the recidivism rate (new charges while on probation); in another it is higher since chargeable criminal activities while on probation (recidivism) are a subset of the causes for revocation; in still another, recidivism means post-release offenses (arrests and convictions). As Cl-C2, and Fl-F2 indicate, interpretation of the desirability of high or low revocation rates can be in opposite directions!

Dicussion

It may be useful to review certain of the major assumption more or less implicit in the ISP process models. 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 and merit consideration.

- Most all of the projects operate under a "pro-probation" bias, assuming that it is a desirable and viable approach to corrections.
- Probation is a sufficiently strong treatment to alter client attitudinal and behavioral patterns developed over a lifetime.
- Increased contact time between probation staff and clients favorably affects the development of more helpful relationships.
- Increased contact time between probation staff and clients increases the level of client monitoring.
- The helping and surveillance roles are separable.
- Helping relationships promote client self-functioning, socialization, and success in attaining a crime-free lifestyle.
- Increased surveillance may lead to increased revocation.
- Obtaining and maintaining employment is vital to client stabilization and development of self-functioning abilities.

To the extent that any of these assumptions can be effectively challenged, rather substantial revisions in probation proctices should result.

Based on the analysis leading to the development of these frameworks, the following recommendation are offered:

(1). The operational definition of "intensive" probation should reflect contact character, not caseload. Measures such as number, time, quality, and type of contact are suitable because increased contact is the central conceptual element of intensive probation. This is not assured by caseload reduction, which is difficult to measure in a defensible manner (American Correctional Association, 1966), and is potentially enhanced by the use of volunteers, specialists, aides, etc., which may well not reduce caseload (by most measures).

Caseload measurement should be abandoned as a process measure unto itself, serving as the criterion for intensiveness of probation processes (c.f., Adams et. al. 1971). It is most useful as a workload balancing measure for internal project management use.

- 2. Since project evaluations are costly and difficult to accomplish (Weiss 1972) and many probation personnel aremore concerned with, and better trained for, service than research, relatively few such studies should be supported. But those supported should be done to maximize the research objective, utilizing the most powerful experimental designs possible, and clearly marked "research." Other probation projects should be encouraged to prepare conceptual models describing their activities, as this paper has done. They should not be burdened with undue measurement requirements. Preparation of process flow models could direct attention to critical points in other criminal justice programs as well. There is little justification for the present attempted merger of the service and research functions that burdens the service staff without commensurate research utility.
- 3. "Revocation" is a particularly poor outcome measure conceptually and cannot be recommended for use as the sole index of decreased criminal activity. There is ambiguity as to whether an increase or a decrease in revocation rate (incarceration for violation of probation conditions) is desirable. Different ISP perspectives postulate either increased or decreased revocation rates as salient steps toward reduction of criminal activity. Multiple measures of criminal activity/recidivism are highly desirable. A more balanced appraisal of a program's outcomes should result from consideration of several indicators than is possible from any one (c.f., National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973).
 - 4. Further research appears to be needed on the following issues:
 - When can client change leading toward reduced criminal activity be best accomplished through attitude-change focused approaches? When through behavioral approaches? Under what circumstances does an internally oriented approach work better than an externally oriented, environmental manipulation strategy to secure desired crime-free life styles in clients? Under what circumstances does the combination of both approaches work best?
 - Is community acceptance effective in fostering successful probationer outcomes, and if so, under what conditions can this be most effectively obtained?
 - Under what circumstances are volunteer and paraprofessional programs useful? Toward what outcomes?
 - When and how does one decide between development of in-house specialized service capabilities, development of support for referral resources, and use of available community resources?

- What alternative formulations most satisfactorily depict the client-change processes involved in ISP? What testable differential predictions do alternative conceptual models yield? Are undirectional causal models too unrealistic to describe such a complex process of human change?
- When is separation of the helping relationship from the authoritarian role effective?

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E. Goal Facilitation as a Probation

Administration Strategy

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Throughout recent years, much has been written on the desirability, if not necessity, for modern correctional organizations to establish goals, and back up those goals with effective actions whereby they can be achieved. In 1975, Robert M. Latta and Jack Cocks presented an effective challenge to the Federal Probation Service, pointing out quite clearly that the time is upon the profession to move ahead with the setting and accomplishing of goals and objectives. 1

At the same time, Probation and Parole organizations have been under continuous and careful scrutiny by outside agencies that have demanded a more readily defined product in return for the correctional tax dollar, as well as some definite measures of success. Needless to say, most often, the correctional agencies under such scrutiny have fallen far short of the expectations expressed by those reviewing investigative organizations. At the caseload level, review today still reveals that although more and more often case goal setting is becoming an accepted practice, few cases show evidence of appropriate action having been taken toward the accomplishment of those goals. The blame for this continuing deficiency only lightly rests on the shoulders of the professional probation and parole officer, but is more a result of fragmented administration direction found in many correctional organizations. Although the need for goal setting and achievement continues until the statement becomes almost trite, few organizations have actually demonstrated a true desire to establish their administrative activities toward the ends of facilitating the accomplishment of operational goals.

After Goals, Then What?

Today, most probation and parole administrators have established goals for their organizations. Likewise, more and more individual caseload carrying officers have identifiable goals contained in case files indicating certain objectives seen by that officer as necessary for proper case adjustment. Yet, the establishment of goals is often as far as a probation office will go in its efforts to carry out its correctional effort. From here, the actions become disjointed. What is quite often lacking in both administrative and caseload objectives is a strategy of action to effect goal achievement and a direct relationship between the caseload goals and those of the organization. Through a strategy statement containing observable actions, the activities of both administration and line officer can be compared in an effort to evaluate whether or not those acts will, in fact, lead to the achievement of stated goals and objectives.

It is the actions taken by an organization as a whole that will define its effectiveness more than its goals. Congruency of goals is not a difficult task, nor the most critical. It is ensuring that all levels of an organizational structure are moving in a unified direction with their actions to maximize the end of achieving its stated goals. What is commonly found to be dysfunctional is the fact that often the steps taken to effect administrative goal achievement actually impair the achievement of objectives set by the line officer.

An example might prove helpful in illustrating this point. It is safe to assume that most probation and parole organizations have, as one of the stated objectives, the effective delivery of available community services to the client. Instead of analyzing each community and its services and the individual officer's ability to secure those available resources, most often cases are assigned on a purely geographical basis that may cut across service areas and exclude certain needs from being met. Just as often, cases and caseload areas are assigned to officers on a seniority basis with little thought given to the needs of the client. Frequently, caseloads with a high concentration of non-English speaking clients end up assigned to officers unable to determine client service requirements because of a language barrier. It is this kind of incongruency between stated objectives and subsequent actions at administrative levels that regularly proves to lessen an operation's effectiveness.

Overall, it is this conflict of actions that can have a serious detrimental effect on a probation and parole structure. In fact, a correctional organization's growth potential is, to a large extent, limited by the degree to which the actions of administration and line officers conflict in their efforts to achieve the same overall goals.

The Impulse To Manage

Although the overall growth effect produced by outside scrutiny of correctional programs has been productive, there has been a definite increase in the defensiveness of the overall correctional atmosphere. J.R. Gibb in his discussion of group climate, speaks of both supportive and defensive climates. Briefly, a defensive administrative climate is produced and characterized by an emphasis on management by controls and censuring. On the other hand, a supportive climate is achieved by an administrative attitude of willingness to share in goal achievement and enter into a cooperative effort.

The increase in the defensive climate of many probation and parole administrations is not terribly surprising. Left alone, correctional organizations may indeed have developed into supportive and facilitative structures, even if not economical. Somewhat regular and embarrassing outside evaluations of effectiveness have, however, had some dysfunctional results in that there has been a continuous movement away from the role of administration being one of goal facilitation.

For example, if any investigative agency such as the General Accounting Office audits a Probation and Parole Organization and has as one of its results that probationers are not being seen as often as they should, many organizations have, as their immediate response, the establishment of new case classification and accountability systems, the initiation of punishment systems to deal with officers not making contacts, and possibly a public policy statement to reflect a decision to make more contacts. This is, to a large degree, a defensive response that will have the effect of creating a defensive atmosphere that can eventually characterize the entire organization. A more appropriate response might be to determine why cases have not been seen, and seek to provide a facilitative network

of administrative actions to increase the probability that those contacts will be made. The development of new tracking systems, or other management tools, is likely to either have little effect, or possibly even impede and restrict line officer's efforts to make more contacts unless the means of increasing the contacts to be tracked are first introduced.

As seen so frequently, the first impulse of many correctional administrators is to manage. This comes so easily when compared to the real challenge of achieving lofty goals of rehabilitation or the protection of society that basically rely on faith in the correctional process and have few, if any, tangible products. Management may indeed be a most urgent need in production rather than process oriented organizations. It is still difficult to envision, however, a production company initiating management tools that might have the net effect of reducing production level. This happens repeatedly in the field of probation and parole.

What it comes down to is that management is only as useful as its ability to facilitate and increase the probability that the goals of the organization as a whole can be achieved.

This somewhat less than flattering evaluation of impulsive management in no way allows for the dismissal of professional accountability in the field of probation and parole. Accountability and statistical integrity of probation organizations is something that should be a cornerstone of any well-conceived operation. However, the notion of an over-zealous management effort leaves the logic of accountability behind in its efforts to continue to dwell on the simplistic, traditionally measurable activities of correctional organizations. It is a fixation of the byproducts of the correctional process without any analysis as to how those byproducts lend to, or impede, a total organizational effort in goal achievement.

If anything, present ideas of organizational accountability do not go nearly far enough in expressing the worth of either the individual line officer or the entire operation. Today, nearly every probation and parole agency has the statistical capability to count such things as number of cases, numbers of case contacts, cases with or without employment, and so on. This is not true accountability since few correctional organizations have as their main objective the maintenance of certain numbers of offenders, or certain numbers of actions by their professional staff. The true objectives are those anticipated and achieved results arising from the interaction between offender and the corrections professional. It is here that action facilitation becomes the most complete form of accountability system, not only for the individual officer, but also in analyzing the efforts of the larger parent organization.

To effect this higher level of accountability, it is apparent that line officers must be held accountable for their observable efforts to facilitate the total resocialization of the offender. However, this is not where agency accountability should end even though it quite often does. As will be pointed out continuously in this article, it is the

levels above the line officer, the administrative levels, that frequently lose sight of their roles as facilitators of subordinate actions that are, in turn, to lead to goal achievement. Line officer professional accountability should be a given fact in modern correctional organizations and is swiftly reaching that level. However, the administrative accountability for actions taken to achieve goals is still relatively new and virgin territory for even the most sophisticated urban probation offices.

The Evaluation of Organizational/Operational Change

Service delivery in process organizations such as probation and parole are constantly changing, both organizationally and procedurally. Many such changes are imposed from outside the organization, but just as many have their point of initiation from within. In many correctional organizations, these changes are so rapid that if an employee was to have a 2-year break in service with such an organization, they might find, upon return, that there has been sufficient alteration of procedural activities as to render the job unrecognizable. What happens all too often is that many changes within an organization are conceived and initiated with little thought given to the effect that those changes will have on facilitating the achievement of the organization's goals and objectives.

All changes have some degree of facilitative effect on goal achievement and must be evaluated on that basis before being initiated. probation and parole organizations have as their main function the dispensing of probation and parole services through the efforts of line probation and parole officers, changes that may prove to be useful in their management qualities, and therefore positive, may, in fact, impede a probation officer's efforts to deliver the services required by the organization. The ideal change is one that facilitates the completion of activities performed by those charged with providing probation services. Although this ideal is seldom achieved, quite often resulting in some trade-off, the frightening thing is that many administrative changes are made without being subjected to this type of analysis and are entered into on the basis of immediacy and expediency. That is to say, that often administrative decisions and changes are discussed only as to how they might expedite an administration's efforts to observe, organize, and provide sanctions with regard to subordinates, with little thought given to how they affect the performance of the line officer's job. This leads to a condition whereby management proceeds and exists in order to provide management as an end in itself rather than as a facilitative body directed toward goal achievement and allowing an atmosphere where probation services could most easily be rendered.

Another often occurring phenomenon is the attempt by naive administrators to overlook the dysfunctional aspects of a change or decision on the pretense that "in the long-run" such a decision will facilitate the line officer's efforts to carry out the organizational goals. In practice, however, a stumbling block now only tends to become a barrier, or something to be avoided the longer it exists. It may even become accepted, but will most likely never change from a stumbling block to a facilitative agent.

One of the most often observed examples of this type of problem centers around the distribution of workload in a probation organization. Unless new tasks are analyzed on the degree to which these tasks interact with present workload, often what is developed is a condition whereby a newly introduced task will impede the completion of other duties and thereby reduce the effectiveness of an officer's overall performance. We often find ourselves in the position of being the waiter who is asked to take an order from a nearby table that is not his station. Although to do so would certainly expedite the achievement of the goal to serve the customers with food, there are restrictions based on reasons aside from goal achievement that actually slow down the process. Goal facilitation as a measure for policy and procedural change as well as an evaluation point for present policy is ultimately how we, as a system can increase our output of service delivery.

Goal facilitation and sound organization management are not all mutually exclusive, but are only incompatible when management techniques are not evaluated on the basis of their facilitative worth. Through effective action facilitation, a probation and parole administration can more easily reach the step of monitoring, controlling, and managing the correctional process by reducing barriers to goal achievement that are often the product of an overly zealous management effort.

A Revised Look at the Role of the First Line Supervisor in Probation

Recent articles dealing with the field of probation administration still emphasize the dichotomy between the field officer and administration as if there is an inevitable clash or divergence of goals. Although this may sadly be the case in most probation and parole organizations, it is far from inevitable and certainly provides for dysfunction in a goaldirected organization.

Along with this traditional view, the first line probation supervisor is still seen as "somewhere in the middle," mediating, analyzing, clarifying, and transmitting communications between the field and administration. Supervisors are still being warned of the dangers of over-identification with either line staff or higher administration.

Instead, it is suggested that probation staff supervisors should be viewed as facilitators. This view transcends the conventional definition placing him or her as either a representative of administration or line staff. Nor is the supervisor seen any longer as "in-between." As a facilitative agent, the role of staff supervisor becomes an integral part of the continuum of direction from chief executive to line officer.

Examples abound of how the facilitative role of the first line supervisor continues to be neglected. In an April 1976 Supervisory Development Program undertaken by the United States Probation Office in the Central District of California where prospective supervisors had the task of formulating a position description for a supervising U.S. probation officer, the results were as follows:

Basic Function-serves as the supervisor of a unit of Probation Officers in the District Probation Office, assisting in the management, direction, coordination and control of the unit and officer activities to achieve maximum service effectiveness consistent with the balanced best interest of the Court, the U.S. Parole Commission, clients, employees, and the general public; shares in the development of a responsibility for the basic objectives, policies, plans, programs, and financial requirements of the office; appraises the performance of the services of officers and the operations in the light of approved objectives, plans, policies, and budgets; takes or recommends actions to ensure improvement. ³

Without using a great deal of imagination, nowhere in this basic functions description does it speak to the supervisor's role as a facilitator of subordinate actions directed toward goal achievement. Earlier attempts at the same task by other similar groups of prospective supervisors proved equally ineffectual, speaking in their position descriptions of "supervising, organizing and evaluating" with little thought given to facilitating what they were eventually to supervise, organize and evaluate.

Viewing the first line probation supervisor as a goal facilitator also transcends the earlier view of the supervisor as a "helper" to line staff as envisioned by Edward W. Garrett in 1963. Here again, Garrett makes little reference to what is seen as the ideal of a facilitative philosophy underlying all levels of a probation organization's administrative structure. This is more than merely helping an officer in the performance of his or her duties. This means establishing organizational goals and the related actions necessary to achieve those goals by making sure those actions do not frustrate efforts at another level to achieve the overall objectives. The supervisor should exist to maximize the probability of a successful correctional process.

The previously noted impulse to manage has also well been documented when analyzing the existing role of the first line supervisor in probation. Joan Carrera, in her article on a probation supervisor's job, probably best touches on the tendency of many probation administrators to see management as their major responsibility. She states that a supervisor

should not be so preoccupied with minute details and the meeting of deadlines that he overlooks the objectives of the agency. His intent should be to help his workers improve their functioning so that as they become more competent, the goals of the agency can be better fulfilled. ⁵

Yona Cohen, in a much later article, points out the realization that staff supervisors can obstruct the Probation Officer's growth and usefulness if there is over-emphasis on the supervisory role employed by the supervisor. Both writers, however, do little to offer a means of rethinking probation staff supervision to avoid many of these common barriers. What is being suggested here is that the first line probation supervisor no longer be taught to view the position as "in the middle" of two forces. Rather, the position should be seen as an integral part of an overall effort within which the supervisor can be dedicated to achieving the goals of the entire organization through the facilitation of subordinate actions. Once this is accomplished, the rather mechanical aspects of management become easier, and certainly more relevant to the organization as a whole.

This rethinking of the probation supervisor's role is also an aid in the evaluation of a supervisor's overall performance on the job. Supervisors can best be evaluated on the basis of observed action steps taken to facilitate the goal facilitating actions of the officers supervised.

By way of illustration, supervisors should be engaged in such activities as public relations, community resource development, the reduction of redundant and unnecessary steps in investigation and case supervision, the improvement of physical conditions for officers, regular and frequent supportive individual case evaluation and so on. It is these types of actions taken by supervisors that lend themselves to evaluation of his or her real work to an organization. In spite of this, many organizations still feel that the measure of a supervisor is how he or she limits, controls, observes, and acts as a voice for administration rather than how that supervisor takes appropriate actions such as those described above that enhance, expand, and facilitate the efforts of the line officer charged with the duty of day-to-day dispensing of the correctional process.

Action Facilitation and the Team Concept

Probably one of the most popular, and possibly accurate views of the role of probation officer is that the officer is ideally an agent of change. In other words, the officer should be a catalyst or facilitator for appropriate actions on the part of the probationer that would have the recognized effect of social reintegration of the offender. Many old and new approaches to community supervision of offenders such as Community Resources Management Teams, continue to stress the facilitative, active role of the probation officer over the more passive position of observation, surveillance, and reporting. 7,8 However, to really be seen as an effective role for the probation officer to assume, this role identification must permeate the entire probation organization from chief executive to the most subordinate. As pointed out above, if a first line supervisor is to hold a line probation officer accountable for taking necessary steps to facilitate a probationer reaching a certain goal, then the supervisor should be equally held accountable for the facilitative worth of his or her actions providing support for the officers to complete those steps. This accountability should continue up the administrative ladder.

An earlier view of the team concept in probation by Patrick J. Murphy in 1975, marks several good efforts by some probation organizations to look at their structure for possible realignment to maximize goal achievement. Little emphasis, however, is given by Murphy to the role of administration in the team concept of service delivery. It is assumed that, to be effective, these models must also include every level of management as team members dedicated to facilitating the achievement of realistic agency goals. Too often, probation organizations view action facilitation as a good thing for supervision officers to do, yet administratively, make little effort toward these same ends.

Conclusion

In total agreement with Latta and Cocks¹⁰ that probation is at a point in its development where it can truly begin to achieve many of the goals and aspirations stated for so long, what is being suggested is a revised attitudinal orientation for probation administrators. Many organizations have reached the point in their development where there is an ideological congruency existing at all levels within their hierarchy of organizational structure. Now what is needed is a strategy to achieve those goals through compatible and functional actions by all members of the correctional agency.

The next step following goal identification should not be the establishment of systems to measure whether or not the goals and objectives have been achieved. It should instead be the analysis of organizational actions and practices to determine whether they facilitate, or in fact impede, the process of goal achievement. It is from this analysis that sound management tools and devices will flow, not the reverse. It is time that the idea of professional accountability move beyond merely the counting of actions taken by a certain officer or even a certain organization. The state of the art now permits an analysis of those actions on the worth of this facilitative nature in achieving the overall goals of our business. We can no longer answer charges of ineffectiveness with a mere tally of numbers, but must genuinely make an effort to demonstrate how those numbers relate to an agency's efforts to achieve its goals. Through creative administration, both management tasks and facilitative tasks can be blended, if only administrators can begin to view their actions critically with respect to their facilitative value.

When seen from this orientation, the evaluation of probation officers and probation offices becomes simplified and relevant.

A line officer is only as good as his or her actions to facilitate change with clients under supervision. A first line supervisor is only as good as his or her actions to facilitate the officer's ability to effect those changes, and so on up the table of organization. Ultimately, the worth of a probation operation as a service can only, and should, be evaluated on its readily observable efforts at facilitating the accomplish-

ment of its stated goals. Those that make a concerted effort to reduce administrative barriers in the path of this direction are, at least, increasing the probability that they will succeed.

Ideologically, Federal Probation is at a point in time and in development where the assumption of leadership in solving problems of organization and structure would go a long way in bringing about the kinds of change--meeting of goals--that society has mandated correctional administrators to achieve. The degree to which success is accomplished, through empirical and experimental models, may be a real contribution to criminal justice administrative theory. Above all, however, is the recognition that the emerging role of the professional, be he subordinate, supervisor, or executive, must be as an individual whose personal goals and behavior are congruent and appropriate to the goals of the organization.

-ROBERT M. LATTA AND JACK COCKS

Endnotes

¹Robert M. Latta and Jack Cotes, "Management Strategies for Federal Probation Offices in Metropolitan Areas," <u>Federal Probation</u>, September 1975.

²John R. Gibb, "Factors Producing Defensive Behavior Within Groups,"

IV. <u>Annual Technical Report</u>. Office of Naval Research, November 15,

1957.

This exercise was part of a 6-month training program to recruit and develop supervisors from existing line staff. The author was one of the participants.

⁴Edward W. Garrett, "Improvement of Officer Performance Through Supervision," Federal Probation, September 1963.

⁵Joan Carrera, "Some Thoughts on the Probation Supervisor's Job," Federal Probation, September 1968.

⁶Yona Cohen, "Staff Supervision in Probation," <u>Federal Probation</u>, September 1976.

⁷Program-Community Resources Management Team, Training Activity-Corrections Program, Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, National Institute of Corrections, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, September 20, to October 1, 1976.

Frank Dell'Apa, W. Tom Adams, James D. Jorgensen, Herbert R. Segurdson, "Advocacy, Brokerage, Community: The ABC's of Probation & Parole," Federal Probation, December 1976.

⁹Patrick J. Murphy, "The Team Concept," <u>Federal Probation</u>, December 1975.

10 Latta and Cocks, op. cit.

F. STRATEGIES FOR IMPLEMENTING CHANGE

Implementing Innovation

Summary

Innovation is bringing something into new use, as contrasted to invention, which is bringing something new into being. 1 The diffusion and adoption of innovation can be difficult, but certain practices and actions in implementing innovation have been shown empirically to be more effective than others. Importantly involved are the characteristics of the actors who bring the innovation and those who will participate in its implementation, the norms and conditions of the organization or system that is offered the innovation, and the perceptions of the innovation. The process of adoption follows a fairly predictable evolution through stages. Responses by actors also are open to reasonable categorizing. Resistances to change can be identified and specific actions taken to overcome resistances. Innovation, or social change, has received considerable research attention by social scientists. This article reviews some of the generalizations about innovation from the literature on social change.

A simple innovation in the way hospitals admit patients has produced a system that could save billions of dollars a year in hospital costs.

In a dozen demonstration hospitals, the system has not only cut costs but has increased the hospitals' occupancy rates, reduced their waiting lists, and improved the quality of patient care.

Although development of the Admissions Scheduling and Control System by the University of Michigan's Bureau of Hospital Administration involved simulation by computer, the innovation is based on a simple idea. By scheduling short-stay elective-surgery and medical-workup patients at times when the hospital is least crowded, such as on weekends, fuller and more efficient use can be made of the hospital's beds, facilities, and personnel.

One hospital, which invested \$17,000 to have the system developed for its use, estimates that it will save about \$750,000 a year, about \$6 a day per patient. This hospital had sought permission to expand, to accommodate staff demands for

¹ Mohr, "Determinants of Innovation in Organizations," American Political Science Review, Vol. 63, No. 1 (March 1969).

beds at peak operating times, at the same time that the hospital's overall occupancy rate was 88 percent. Permission to expand was denied, but adoption of the new admissions system not only made more beds available at peak hours but also increased the overall occupancy rate to 91 percent.

An official of DHEW's National Center for Health Services Research, which funded Michigan's work on the new system, said the "vast majority" of American hospitals could use the system and "billions" could be saved annually.

Although hospital administrators are pleased with the innovation, they encountered early resistance from medical staff. One administrator's strategy for dealing with that opposition was simply to begin using the system. "We just did it and afterward told everybody how wonderful it was," he said. "And by then it was."

Definition and Characteristics of Innovation

The example of the hospital admissions system fits the definition of an innovation as bringing something into new use, as contrasted to invention, which is bringing something new into being.

Generally, an innovation may be described as any idea perceived as new by an individual or organization—a novel idea or practice, a new way of doing things.³ Implied is a new use or rearrangement of present resources or practices. The hospitals in the above example merely rearranged existing admission practices.

Innovations may be only momentary, or they may have long-range effects.

One winter, shortly after the 747 jetliner was introduced for passenger travel, a blizzard swept through the Midwest, closing airports and stranding passengers. When the storm lifted somewhat, one airline deployed a 747 to gather up waiting passengers at several upper Midwest cities and fly them to Chicago. After deplaning at Chicago's O'Hara International Airport, the passengers were held up an inordinate time waiting for their baggage to arrive on two small delivery carrousels, the normal number assigned to each plane. More than 300 passengers vied for a chance at finding their bags, effectively shutting each other out. After long minutes of delay, one passenger suggested to the airline officials, simply, "Why don't you use more than two carrousels?" It was an innovation because it was contrary to the airline's customary practice. But the idea was adopted, and while passengers bumped and scurried from one to the other of ten additional carrousels put into use, their frustration was broken by the activity and soon all had retrieved their bags.

²"Reducing Hospital Costs: Basic Business Tools Cut Red Ink," <u>The Washington</u> Post, July 18, 1977.

³Rothman, <u>Planning and Organizing for Social Change</u> (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).

Once institutionalized, innovations lose their definition as being novel. The field of athletics has seen numerous innovations of the kind which began as unusual variations. The so-called "jump shot" in basketball—during which a player merely jumps as high as he can and releases the ball at the top of his leap—was a revolutionary alteration of the common "set shot" of many years back when a player seldom left his feet when shooting the ball at the basket. An innovation in track and field by a high jumper by the name of Fosberry introduced the "flop," a way of jumping over the bar backward. It gained him greater heights, even though it was not as graceful a maneuver as the standard style. Today, most world—class jumpers use the flop. In a football game years ago with Army, Coach Knute Rockne of Notre Dame pulled victory from defeat by employing a device which, while permitted under the rules, had never been tried—the forward pass.

Some innovations come from novel uses of new inventions. Television was introduced as a sight medium for public communication, an improvement on radio-but very soon found novel use in closed circuit systems which update airline schedules for airport travelers, allow medical students to observe surgical techniques in operating theaters, permit students who have missed a class to catch up by viewing videotape, and enable engineers to inspect sewers for leaks. The range of innovative uses of computers keeps broadening, reaching into the lives of citizens like a commercial relative, who adds up your bills and plays chess with you. Supermarkets in some cities now employ computers to scan and count up the cost of customers' groceries at check-out counters.

Probably because of the striving to increase productivity in order to increase profit, business and industry have taken a forerunner role in innovation. Examining the work processes of production employees, such as in time and motion studies, has permitted the adoption of new practices of increased efficiency and output. The growth of industry and the increasing complexity and breadth of its operations gave rise to a new way of examining processes—systems analysis.

While applied in an ever-expanding scope, systems analysis is essentially a new look at old practices. Only in recent decades has systems analysis turned attention to the practices of public and social institutions—moving from the so-called "hardware" of industrial technology to the "software" of human services delivery.

The innovations which can result from such a disciplined, systematic scrutiny of traditional practices range from changing the color of the familiar "black-board" to green (necessitating a change in name to "chalkboard") and improving its visibility for students, to experiments in "flextime" hours under which employees are required to be in their places of work for four to five set hours of the day and may fill in the additional work hours at their own convenience. This innovation makes it possible for individuals to adjust their commuting schedules to avoid the rush hours of traffic.

Such a new look at old practices in search of better technology for the criminal justice system has been the mission of research and demonstration projects of LEAA's National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. Once research has been fruitful in discovering potentially effective new practices, an endeavor is made by the Institute's Office of Development, Testing, and Dissemination to introduce them across the country.

An example of such a new technology is the improved usage and management of juries. Systematic analysis of the present practices of courts shows that far fewer jurors are needed than are presently being called. Studies to show the average and peak needs for jurors, the effect of staggering the starts of voir dire and trial procedures, and the results of improved methods of notifying and selecting jurors came from research. The transfer of this technology to courts throughout the nation has resulted in saving hundreds of thousands of dollars in juror fees. But perhaps even more importantly, jurors themselves have been spared countless hours of waiting.

Technology in human service organizations has been defined as "a series of complex sets of techniques used to alter objects in an appropriate manner." The term "objects," could involve both human behavior and work processes.

To satisfy this definition, technology should meet these criteria:

- 1. Knowledge of random cause-effect relationship.
- 2. Feedback such that the consequences of acts can be assessed objectively.
- 3. Possibility of repeated demonstrations of efficacy.
- 4. Proportion of successes that can be estimated.
- 5. Techniques communicated easily and performed under acceptable limits of tolerance.⁴

Resistance to Change

Resistance to change is normal. All that contributes to stability in personality or social systems can be regarded as resisting change. Culture, values, and institutions are preserved by resisting unwarranted change.

Nor is resistance to change rightly perceived as simple inertia in human nature. Most human beings are eager for some changes—better health, more money, more freedom, more work satisfaction.⁵

The human tendencies to preserve what is present and to return to equilibrium when what is present is disturbed have corresponding behavior in social systems or organizations sometimes described as norms, the customary and expected ways of behaving. Norms make it possible for people to work together, to know what to expect of each other. When norms are shared by many individuals in an organization, they cannot easily be changed.

⁴Perrow, "A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 194-208.

⁵Watson, ed., <u>Concepts for Social Change</u> (Washington: National Institute of Applied Behavioral Sciences, 1967).

Resistance comes in many forms and from a variety of motivations. Following are some generalizations on resistance to change which appear with some regularity in the literature:

Change is resisted by force of habit.

Humans are creatures of habit. The time we get up, the way we dress, the route we take to work, where we carry our money, the place we sit in meetings or at home—all are habitual behavior. Changing any of these habits makes us uncomfortable. Routine seems safe, known. If by demand or circumstances we are forced from habit, anxiety results.

• Change disturbs what is regarded as normal.

What is customary, what is old (the "good old days," the "old-fashioned way") are assumed to be "normal" while change is deemed "abnormal." The status quo is protected because it represents a known norm with which we can deal. Organizational norms are accepted as "the way we do things here" and are interpreted as tried and true simply because of their existence.

Change is contrary to first-learned patterns.

Our primary experiences carry throughout life. The familiar music we first heard and learned to love, the foods we were "brought up on," the "way we were taught" was proper to dress or behave—these form an impervious pattern. Patterns in organizations often continue, in the absence of effective challenge, largely because "that's the way we have always done it."

Some norms or values become sacrosanct.

Values or norms which have attributes of moral or religious significance are protected tenaciously from change. Organizational or professional codes of ethics, formal or informal, become "sacred cows." Negative patterns take on the form of a taboo, as practices which "just aren't done" because they were prohibited in early experience. Persons who first learned to read the King James version of the Bible view it as the only authorized version. Liturgical changes in church are fiercely resisted.

 Change may be perceived as an admission of failure or the judgment of inadequacy.

A new procedure which could save money can be resisted because making the change would appear to be an admission that money is now being wasted. Training is resisted because acceptance seems to be acknowledgement of ignorance. The advocacy of change takes on the weight of an indictment that "something is wrong."

 The reasons for change may be unclear or misunderstood or may conflict with personal goals.

Motivation for change may be suspected. An assumption can be made that the advocate of change would benefit inordinately from the change. Some changes which might be given superficial or "professional" acceptance are resisted because they conflict with personal attitudes or goals. The police officer may resent some service duties as being "social work." A change may interfere with an opponent's desire to press for some other change.

Change can be resisted for its ripple effect.

When the full implications of change are not known or acknowledged by proponents, changes can be resisted because of the interrelationships or consequences involved. Change at one level may require changes at other levels—increased budget, more personnel, training, approval by authority figures, new policies or procedures, amended legislation.

• Change can represent a challenge to authority.

Change sometimes is perceived as an invasion of "turf," which could mean loss of control by an authority figure. Change initiated from outside may infer to a resister that "somebody is trying to tell me how to do my job." The "good guy" privileges of a leader may be diminished by change, robbing him or her of the opportunity to dispense rewards.

• Anything "not invented here" may be resisted.

Local pride resents suggestions from an "outside agitator" or the local "interference" of "the feds" or others not part of the local or organizational structure. Ideas which originate in other communities, especially competitive cities or those which carry a stereotyped antipathy, such as New York, are resisted with the contention that "it won't work here." Opposition to change is often justified by the uniqueness of the resisting community, because it is smaller, more rural or different in some way.

• Change may increase or decrease workloads.

Fear that a changed practice will require more work is expected, but sometimes change is resisted from fear that less work will result. Trade unions resist automation and computerized operations for the possible reduction in need for labor. Professional associations may resist new technology out of concern for a reduction in fees.

People may feel powerless to make changes.

Traditional and bureaucratic organizations are perceived as immovable and hope for change as useless. A sense of impotence comes when accountability for change rests upon vague, faceless forces—"They ought to do something about it." The anonymous community, public, or "society" is held responsible for lack of change, such as in the view that "people get the kind of government they deserve." These statements represent a sense of powerlessness. Describing problems or causes in all—encompassing terms such as "racism," "sexism," or "the bureaucracy" or stating solutions in unmanageable terms like "public education" or "interagency cooperation" are subtle resistances to change which render change agents powerless.

The Process of Implementing Innovation

The way an innovation is implemented has been described by some writers as the change process. Several different kinds of change processes have been defined, based upon the characteristics of the persons involved, their participation in the process and the distribution of power among them, and the setting for the change and the change itself.⁶

Planned change

In this kind of process, change is derived through mutual goal setting and equal distribution of power and deliberateness among all persons involved. An example would be a task group in which all members hold equal responsibility and authority for solving a problem by determining the change action necessary and participating in implementation of the change.

• Indoctrination

Goals are assumed to be mutually accepted but power and deliberateness are unbalanced. A new recruit in a military service would be said to accept the goals of the service and thereby submits to indoctrination deliberately done by superiors.

• Coercive change

Goals are not mutually set, power is unbalanced, and deliberateness is one-sided. The ideological process of brainwashing is an example, or any change which is forced.

⁶Bennis, Changing Organizations (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966).

• Technocratic change

In this process, change comes from the superiority of data, new and expert information which prevails over any other considerations. An airline which adopts computerized procedures for passenger reservations would rely on computer experts in making the changes necessary.

• Interactional change

Mutual goals, fairly equal power, but no deliberateness among persons involved. A married couple changes by virtue of their interaction with each other or a professional changes approach or practices through interaction with peers.

Socialization change

In this process, change comes through kinship with hierarchical controls, as in the socialization of a child. Relations with parent or teacher result in change.

• Emulative change

The subordinate employee identifies with and seeks to emulate a superior changes behavior or practices through emulation. Power figures and role models determine this kind of change, either positively or negatively.

Natural change

No goals are set, no deliberateness to change is present. In this process, change results through accidents, quirks of fate, or acts of God, so the process is spontaneous.

Theorists who deal with innovation generally agree that the implementation of innovation occurs in a staged process.

Kurt Lewin has had substantial influence on change theory with his force field concept. This holds that an organizational structure or situation is not static, but dynamic. Equilibrium is maintained by a balanced field of forces working against each other. When an innovation is introduced, its proponents and opponents and conditions which support them arrange themselves into driving forces (seeking the innovation) and restraining forces (opposing the innovation). The implementation of innovation calls for change agents to increase the strength of the driving forces or to reduce the strength of the restraining forces, or both. 7

⁷ Lewin, Field Theory in Social Science (New York: Harper & Row, 1951).

Lewin postulated a process of change much like that of Carl Rogers, the famous formulator of nondirective therapy. Change begins with a period of "unfreezing," during which defenses and resistances are minimized and a climate of openess is sought. Change can then occur. Once change has been adopted, a "refreezing" takes place, to consolidate the change.

The process in behavioral change moves from an external motivation for the change to an internalized motivation.

Psychologist Norman Maier has stressed the interdependence between the innovator and those who must implement the innovation in his concept of synergistic decisionmaking. Effective decisions (or implementations) are the product of quality thinking (ideas) multiplied by acceptance of the decision by the people who must carry them out.

Maier cast his concept in a mathematical formula: effective decisions equals quality thinking times acceptance. The thinking behind a particular decision (the idea or innovation) may be highly rational and extremely creative (Q equals 10). However, if the people who have to implement the decision do not accept it (A equals 0), the decision will suffer in its implementation (10 times 0 equals 0).

Irrational or unimaginative thinking (Q equals 0) may lead to an inappropriate decision that is very acceptable to the people (A equals 10) who proceed to implement it. In that instance, a poor decision is implemented (O times 10 equals 0).

The ideal combination, of course, is high quality thinking (a fine idea) (Q equals 10) which is very acceptable to those who must implement it (A equals 10). This produces the synergistic effect (10 times 10 equals 100) which leads to results beyond what could be expected from the total of the separate entities.

Maier's concept of the interdependence between change bringers and change implementers has been offered as a caution against the view that authority figures can bring about effective change by direct order. Those required to implement the ordered change who do not accept it can damage or sabotage it.

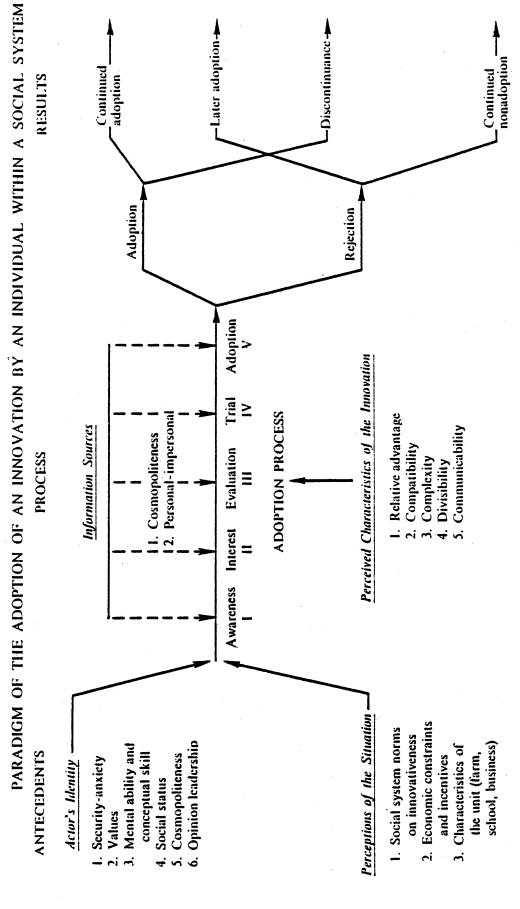
One of the most influential thinkers on the subject of innovation is Everett Rogers, whose book, <u>Diffusion of Innovations</u>, is generally considered a classic in its field.⁸

In the rest of this section, Rogers' formulations first are diagrammed in a paradigm (Figure 1.) and then a summary is presented of generalizations from a review of the literature on social change which interprets Roger's constructs, as described in Jack Rothman's work.

⁸ Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations (New York: Free Press, 1962).

^{9&}lt;sub>Rothman</sub>, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 442-482.

Figure 1.



Antecedents

Adoption of an innovation by an individual is contingent upon two primary antecedents—the actor's identity and his or her perceptions of the situation.

Factors which influence the actor's (or group of actors') reception of innovation include his or her present security-anxiety state, values, mental ability and conceptual skill, social status, cosmopolitanism (interest in, association with and openness to information and influences outside his or her own group, organization or community) and readiness to be influenced by opinion leaders.

Generalization: The innovativeness (tendency to adopt innovations) of an individual is directly related to his or her level of social participation. Persons who are active in formal organizations are more innovative than persons who are not.

Perceptions of the situation into which an innovation is introduced are vitally influenced by the membership of the actor in a social system, organization or economic condition. That which affects the system to which he or she belongs marks the actor's perceptions.

Generalization: The innovativeness of a system is inversely related to the extent to which that system adheres to traditional norms. Systems with more modern orientation are more innovative. Generally, indices of receptivity to innovation include:

- 1. An urban character or orientation
- 2. A nuclear family structure
- 3. A high-level use of mass media
- 4. A high level of residential mobility
- 5. A more heterogeneous population
- 6. A high level of scientific knowledge.

Generalization: The innovativeness of a system is directly related to its socioeconomic status. High socioeconomic systems are more innovative.

Generalization: The innovativeness of a system is directly related to previous experience with innovation. Systems that have previously experienced successful innovations are more innovative than those which have not.

Generalization: The innovativeness of a system is directly related to the extent to which it feels a need for change. Discontented systems generally are more innovative than contented ones.

Generalization: The innovativeness of a system is directly related to its supportive value orientations. Conservative, fatalistic, and authoritarian systems are less innovative.

Adoption Process

The adoption process is affected by the perceived characteristics of the innovations themselves and by the sources from which the actor receives information about the innovations.

Characteristics of the innovation which are important to the actor are relative advantage, compatability, complexity, divisibility, and communicability.

Generalization: The rate of adoption of an innovation is related to people's perception of its advantages relative to other innovations or to the status quo. A crisis situation may emphasize the relative advantage of an innovation. The adoption rate will be higher during or shortly after a crisis period.

Generalization: Adoption of an innovation is related to the degree to which it is seen as compatible with the existing values of the system. More compatible innovations will have a high adoption rate. Compatability is a judgment made by the system, by standards such as cultural values, previously accepted practices and professional standards of conduct.

Generalization: Innovations which can be explained or demonstrated with ease will have a higher adoption rate than those which are difficult to explain or demonstrate. Oral transmission of technical information about innovations may result in distortion. Oral communication should be supplemented by visual aids or experiential exposure or with feedback interactions. Generally, the closer the communication to the sytem's language or vernacular, the better.

Generalization: The rate of adoption of an innovation is inversely related to its degree of perceived complexity. Less complex innovations will have a higher adoption rate.

Rogers characterized the manner in which information about an innovation is communicated as the diffusion process. Factors of importance in this process are whether the communication is personal or impersonal, that is, face-to-face communication or by media, and whether communication originates within the system or from an external source.

Generalization: Innovation adoption is directly related to the extent to which it is diffused in a manner that is compatible with the system's norms, values, and customs. Innovations diffused in a compatible manner have a higher adoption rate. Innovations communicated with the cooperation of the system's power structure generally have a higher rate of adoption. In some systems, informal and personal exchange of information is traditional. The rate of adoption of innovation in such a system is related to the use of the informal, personal mode of communication.

Generalization: The adoption rate is related to the extent to which innovations are supported by the peers of a system. The adoption rate is also related to the amount of discussion of the innovation and informed discussion prompts a higher innovation-adoption rate.

Generalization: The innovation-adoption rate is directly related to the extent to which opinion leaders, persons from whom others seek advice, promote the innovation. Opinion leaders are not necessarily innovators themselves.

Generalization: Generally innovations communicated with a clear and unambiguous message are more likely to be adopted than those subject to unclear and confusing interpretations.

Rogers lists five stages in the adoption process—awareness, interest, evaluation, trial, and adoption. Behavior associated with each of these stages: exposure to innovation, increased interest and information gathering, decision whether to try innovation, trial for the innovation, and decision as to further continuation.

Actors involved in the process are categorized by Rogers as falling into five groups: innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards. Innovators are the first to adopt innovations and laggards are the last.

Results

The innovation adopted in the adoption process may undergo altered results. An adopted innovation may be continued after some experience with it or discontinued. An innovation which was rejected may later be adopted.

Axioms for Action

The implementation of an innovation is a creative, dynamic, and practical process. Many successful innovators are not informed by the literature of social change but move intuitively to achieve results. From that experience, certain commonly accepted empirical guidelines emerge. They are presented here as axioms for action.

• Gather complete, precise information.

A carefully thought-through statement of the problem which the innovation seeks to resolve is necessary—one which is fully documented, describes the situation in all its ramifications, the results expected and the possible impact of the innovation, as a rationale for action. More bluntly: Know exactly what you are talking about.

Caution: Information alone will not bring change. A report or study, diffused or not, needs active support. Information is, however, the beginning of an innovation. People with the same information tend to move in the same direction.

Know exactly what innovation is sought.

The innovation you want adopted should be stated in the language of goals and objectives—clear, simple, and concise. Ambiguity and complexity should be avoided at all costs. Reducing your goal to a simple statement is a useful discipline and prepares your description of the innovation to stand up in interactive discussion.

Enlist the support of power figures.

Authority persons usually cannot produce change simply by ordering it, but innovations are rarely adopted without their approval. While change can occur in spite of resistance from power figures, implementation of innovation is more rapid and smooth with their support, particularly when that support is observable to others.

• Inform and involve all concerned.

While this activity may be time-consuming, the involvement of all who might conceivably be concerned is ultimately the shortest route to innovation. Keeping everyone up-to-date, touching base with both advocates and opponents will prevent the outcropping of resistance which comes from misinformation or not being informed.

Try to give everyone--even those of lesser concern--the same information. Informed people tend to assume responsibility for action simply because they were "let in on what is going on."

Know your opposition.

Analyze the resistance the innovation is apt to encounter. Identify the actors—who must be convinced if the innovation is to succeed and what their response to it is likely to be, whether they are part of the driving or restraining forces, as Lewin's force field analysis terms them. Put most emphasis on reducing the restraining forces; that is, minimizing the opposition.

Focus on the local level.

Innovation should be justified as valid and needed in the home community, where the benefits will accrue. How another city made use of an innovation may stir resentment. Appeal to local pride.

• Let others take the credit.

Nothing impedes the progress of change more than concern over who gets the credit. The copybook rule that there is no limit to what can be accomplished if a person does not care who gets the credit is a prescription for successful innovation. Provide feedback on both success and setbacks.

Frequent progress reports, intended to convey "how we are doing" should not only update progress but describe delays, setbacks, and rejections as well. Negative news has value. By sharing reverses, all become aware of problems encountered and obtain the idea that all are in the process together. Help can come on setbacks from those least expected to give it if they are informed.

Listen to the resisters.

Respect those who oppose the innovation and take their views seriously. Listen hard to what they are saying. Paying close attention may disclose openings for you to reduce their resistance. Obstacles may not be as severe as you suspect. Resistance is uneven; sort that which is hard from that which is soft. Work on the soft spots in your opposition.

Remember that piecemeal changes are most easily accepted.

"Try it for a while" may be the opening wedge for an innovation. A new procedure that can be withdrawn after a time will sometimes be supported when one which is permanent will not.

 Be mindful that people seldom change immediately under pressure, but they seldom change without pressure.

In striving to have an innovation adopted, applying pressure increases tension and resistance. Withdraw pressure after the innovation has been introduced. Allow time for defenses to drop and for the innovation to germinate. When "saving face" is no longer a factor, acceptance of a new idea can come in more abundant form than first expected.

 Do not expect adoption to come in the form or at the time you anticipated.

Because the process of adoption of innovation has a dynamic of its own, the equilibrium of the process will evolve differently as time goes on. When new factors arise, they may signal change occurring. Be ready to modify your timetable and your expectations. The innovation may not be adopted in the manner or form in which it was first presented. Learning to recognize success requires the ability to change perceptions.

 Acknowledge that adoption of innovation will occur at the pace of the person or organization.

Some people or organizations are more open to change and move more rapidly toward adoption than others. Adjust the expectations of the rate of adoption to those concerned. Do not expect

all to move at the same pace. Pushing for implementation too rapidly may generate additional resistance.

When you confront a stalemate, look for higher ground.

If forces for and against an innovation become locked in immovable position, seek some new action or objective which rises above the frozen situation and offers something more for each side. An enlarged goal which "sweetens the kitty" for each set of forces can sometimes break the inertia. Try to move from a win-lose condition to a win-win proposition.

The Change Agent

The impetus for innovation--particularly the kind of innovation that is undertaken--usually comes from a source outside an organization or system. The conditions or climate of receptivity to innovation, however, generally require a combination of internal dissatisfaction and an external stimulation.

Customary practices may fail to produce acceptable results, and this failure may be noticeable to both those within the organization and persons or forces outside the organization to whom there is some accountability. Fear of criticism or demands for improvements may prompt a search for innovation. An organizational crisis or even a noncritical but continuing history of problems may open the way to consideration of new practices. Unfavorable coverage by the news media, disenchantment among citizens, and, in the case of business organizations, a fall off in profits can create a climate for change. Sometimes, innovation is mandated from the outside. In the criminal justice system, organizational practices are changed by court decisions or the passage of new legislation.

Whatever the stimulus for innovation, the role of change agent is vital, although the role is not always sought; it sometimes falls accidentally on some unsuspecting member of an organization. When an organization is under some compulsion to improve, the charge to seek out new ideas may be assigned to persons whose prior role has been to protect and maintain present procedures. Or, simple exposure to an innovative concept may be enough to drop the mantle of change agent upon a person. He or she may learn of a new idea by attending a conference, reading a periodical, or visiting a comparable organization in another city.

The change agent role has been given multiple definitions in the literature. Enabler, demonstrator, stimulator-innovator, broker, advocate, activist, analyst, planner, organizer, initiator, and transmitter are some of the titles attributed to change agents. Most titles describe a function or role set that is carried out by the change agent. Social scientists seem to be moving away from this characterization of the change agent by function, however, toward an interpretation that the role requires a repertoire of many functions. In recent years, for instance, the once popular description of the change agent as primarily an enabler has been regarded as too limiting. 10

Rothman, "An Analysis of Goals and Roles in Community Organization Practice," Social Work, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 24-31 (April 1964).

Performance of the role varies in time, place, and circumstances and sometimes requires a mix of overlapping functions.

The change-agent role is beset with limitations. One study of consultants who served as change agents disclosed that the approach or focus orientation of the consultant was major determinant in his or her diagnosis of problems in an organization. The organization-development-oriented consultant saw problems in the norms and practices of the organization, while the people-change-oriented consultant could detect problems in the way individuals functioned. Out of different perceptions, the different consultants advised diverse solutions for the same organization. 11

Perhaps the most misconstrued perception of the change agent's role involves his or her standing as a power figure. The assumption is often made that authority figures or "decisionmakers" have the power to implement innovation almost automatically, purely by virtue of that power. The assumption follows that persons with less or no authority do not have the power to require change. While this is traditionally described as the top-down or the bottom-up flow of influence, most change-agent functions by persons not in positions of authority are a lateral influence of peers, a side-to-side activity.

Earlier, discussion of Maier's concept of synergistic decisionmaking was cited as a concept which illustrates the dependency of power figures who seek to make changes on the subordinate persons who must implement the changes.

The notion that authority figures are able to order change is based upon a limited definition of power and its effect. Yet power, or influence upon others, derives from a variety of bases with different degrees of effect.

French and Raven have defined six sets of power bases which grow from the interaction of persons and groups and their belief systems. 12

• Referent power

Two individuals in constant reference to each other through friendship, love, respect or worship may be regarded as having almost inadvertent power over each other. One may act as he or she thinks the other wishes, without overt attempt at influence. The power or influence of one over the other is not perceived negatively, if at all. Referent power generally is confined to individuals.

¹¹ Richy, and Horstein, "Stand Up When Your Number is Called: An Empirical Attempt to Classify Types of Social Change Agents," <u>Human Relations</u>, Vol. 29, No. 10, pp. 945-967 (1976).

French, and Raven, "The Basis of Power," Group Dynamics, Cartwright and Zander, eds. (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

• Legitimate power

Power is legitimately attached to certain persons by virtue of the office or position they occupy. This vested authority, when accepted by others, becomes legitimate power as individuals and groups act out of an obligation to be influenced. The authority figure is regarded as having the "right" to have influence. Acceptance of this power by those who are influenced is what makes it legitimate.

Expert power

The strength or superiority of special knowledge or expertise gives persons who possess such expertise a power over others. Expert power can be attributed to groups and organizations as well as individuals. It is dependent upon the recognition of superiority in expertise.

• Reward power

The capacity of persons or groups to reward others carries power. Behavior can be influenced by the promise of reward, if the rewards are those which are valued. Reward power must be exercised to be effective.

• Coercive power

The capacity to punish is a power often used as a corollary to reward power. The strength of coercive power depends upon the subordinate's fear of punishment if he or she does not conform. Coercive power is also limited to the behavior which the individual believes is observable to the power figure. An individual's past experiences with punishment and circumstances away from the influence of power figures—such as independent support—also limit the strength of coercive power.

• Information power

The concept that "information is power" is legitimate, particularly in situations where information is vital to effective functioning. The withholding of information, as well as its sharing, is a base of power.

The important implication to be drawn from the delineation of different bases of power is that more activity is required of the authority figure than implementing innovation by decree. Rewards, expertise, information, recognition of legitimacy are necessary for the full power of the authority figure to be effective. Coercive or punishment power is seldom sufficient to generate change.

Probably the most human, yet dysfunctional temptation of the change agent is to expect all change to come from others. An essential for the effective innovator is the willingness to change himself or herself.

Change itself can evoke change in others through interaction. The skilled innovator views change as a sharing in which each side moves toward the other in the process of changing. The proponent of innovation who refuses to change is modeling a behavior of no-change, which is contrary to his or her purpose.

Ignoring Innovation

Jean-Henri Fabre, the noted French naturalist, conducted some experiments with processionary caterpillars which have significance for attitudes about innovation.

Processionary caterpillars are called so because of their habit of moving through trees in a long procession, feeding upon pine needles. One leads and the others follow, each with eyes half closed and head snugly fitted against the rear extremities of his predecessor.

Fabre put a large group of processionary caterpillars in a flower pot and enticed them to the rim of the pot. With great patience, he got the first one connected to the last one, so that all the caterpillars formed a circle, moving around the rim of the flower pot in an unending chain.

He placed a supply of food close at hand and visible just outside the range of the circle and expected that after a time the caterpillars would break out, start off in some new direction.

Not so. Through sheer force of habit, the creeping circle kept moving relentlessly around and around the rim of the pot, for seven days and seven nights. Ultimately, the caterpillars died of starvation or exhaustion.

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G. EVALUATION - A CASE STUDY

Intensive Supervision Parole Project Intensive Supervision Parole Project - The Great State of Superior

In 1972 the Commissioner of the State Department of Corrections and the Director of Parole approved plans for a demonstration project that would provide intensive supervision and guidance to a randomly selected group of parolees. The plan called for the project to run for two years, from July 1, 1972 through June 30, 1974. Approximately 500 parolees would be approved for this project and would receive supervision and guidance from 13 parole officers who would undergo special training -- especially in job development and referral skills.

The Director of Parole appointed Mack Truck as Project Director. Mack's responsibility was to develop a project plan, staff the project, train the parole officers, and manage the day-to-day operations of the project. This included the development of an evaluation system for monitoring the performance of project operations.

One of the first tasks that Mack Truck undertook was to install a simple procedure for collecting data on expenditures and activities. He had his administrative assistant collect a variety of data that was reviewed quarterly. Mack used the figures to keep in touch with how well his project was doing in meeting planned objectives and targets. He used this information to make any adjustments that were needed in project operations.

The project completed its first year and it is now mid-July of 1973. Mack calls in his administrative assistant and gives him an assignment. He feels that there should be sufficient data to analyze the operations of the project for the first year. He wants to have a summary report on the impact and performance of the Intensive Supervision Project for FY'73 so that he can determine if the project was effective and efficient in meeting its objectives. He is particularly interested in costs, the work of the parole officers, placements of parolees and whether the project measured up to its planned impact on recidivism among the parolees it served. The project specified an ambitious success rate of 90% within its first year of operations. He is also interested in the efficiency of the operation.

Along with this report on how well the project is measuring up to its planned objectives, Mack wants some comparison of his project with the routine parole operation in the state -- particularly in impact and cost-effectiveness. The Director of Parole and the Commissioner had expressed interest in this at the very start of the project.

Mack explains that he wants all this information partly to satisfy his own curiosity and to have something for the file. But he also wants to know whether he should change the way the program operates and whether there is a need to do a more detailed evaluation later. He would like to bring the report -- especially if it is favorable -- to the Director of Parole to buttress his argument that the project is worthwhile and deserves continued support. Mack would like to use the findings to convince the Director that he should have more funds for personnel and training.

The administrative assistant assures him that the analysis can be done rather quickly, since the data are already available in different reports from the parole officers and the Finance Department, and the recidivism data should be easy to get from the Director of Research. They agree on a target date of July 30 for a summary report.

ACTUAL PERFORMANCE DATA

CASE STUDY

1,092

Successful parolees (not returned to institutions) Recidivists Employed 6 months + 161 Parolees placed in jobs 464

Actual Performance Intensive Supervision Project

Treatment referrals met

Job referrals made	1,127
Treatment referrals made	1,207
Visits - Total	29,575
Cases actually served	575
Total Expenditures	\$258,400
Personnel expenditures	\$241,000
Parole officers	13
Offenders approved for project	581

DATA FROM PLAN

Planned Targets, Costs-Intensive Supervision Project

Successful parolees	90 percent	(or 450)
Recidivists	10 percent	
Employed 6 months +	35 percent	
Parolees placed in jobs	90 percent	(or 450)
Treatment referrals to be met	96 percent	(or 1200)
Job referrals to be made	1.5 per parolee	(or 750)
Treatment referrals to be made	2.5 per parolee	(or 1250)
Visits - Total Expected	50 per parolee	(or 25,000)
Cases to be handled	500	

Total Cost FY73	\$261,500
o Personnel cost	\$241,000
Parole officers	13
Offenders to enter project	500

ACTUAL PERFORMANCE DATA FROM ROUTINE PAROLE, FY 1973

Successful parolees
Recidivism
Employed 6 months +
Caseload
Cost

80% of caseload (or 2480) 20% of caseload (or 620) 24% of caseload (or 744) 3100 parolees \$719,200 ANSWER KEY

CASE STUDY

WORKSHEET FOR COMPLETION OF PHASE I: SELECTING THE EVALUATION TOPIC

EVALUATION SUBJECT(S)	Areas of Emphasis
Intensive Supervision	
Parole Project	Parole Officer effort
Type of Evaluation	
Needs Assessment	X Performance Evaluation
Design Evaluation	X Impact Evaluation
PROGRAM OBJECTIVES	
ISPP aimed at placing 90% of its case	eload in jobs and through continuing
job placement and job counseling eff	orts and treatment referral services
aimed at keeping 35% of its caseload	employed 6 mos. + and 90% of its
caseload from recidivatingannually	•
OBJECTIVE OF THE EVALUATION	
Mack Truck Dr	oject Director - Dr. of Parole, Comm.
Target Audience(s)	olege priecedi pr. or rarore, comm.
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge	
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge If purpose decision making, Options:	
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge If purpose decision making, Options: Modification: 1) change program operations operations are then:	X Judgment X Decision Making
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge If purpose decision making, Options: Modification: 1) change program ope If change then: If no change	\underline{x} Judgment \underline{x} Decision Making erations or 2) leave it as is.
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge If purpose decision making, Options: Modification: 1) change program ope If change then: If no change	<u>x</u> Judgment <u>x</u> Decision Making erations or 2) leave it as is.
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge If purpose decision making, Options: Modification: 1) change program operations of them: If change then: 1) investigate problem are then: If no change then: 1) recommend budget increase.	x Judgment x Decision Making erations or 2) leave it as is. eas or 2) do not launch further inquiry. ases or 2) do not recommend.
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge If purpose decision making, Options: Modification: 1) change program operations operations then: If change then: 1) investigate problem are then: If no change then: 1) recommend budget increase then: Deadline(s) July 30, 1973	x Judgment x Decision Making erations or 2) leave it as is. eas or 2) do not launch further inquiry. esses or 2) do not recommend. Frequency Annual Factors Affecting Use (Internal and Ex-
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge If purpose decision making, Options: Modification: 1) change program operate then: If change then: 1) investigate problem are then: If no change then: 1) recommend budget increase then: Deadline(s) July 30, 1973 FEASIBILITY OF THE EVALUATION	x Judgment x Decision Making erations or 2) leave it as is. eas or 2) do not launch further inquiry. ases or 2) do not recommend. Frequency Annual
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge If purpose decision making, Options: Modification: 1) change program operations operations of the state of the	x Judgment x Decision Making erations or 2) leave it as is. eas or 2) do not launch further inquiry. esses or 2) do not recommend. Frequency Annual Factors Affecting Use (Internal and External)
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge If purpose decision making, Options: Modification: 1) change program operations: If change 1) investigate problem are then: If no change 1) recommend budget increased then: Deadline(s) July 30, 1973 FEASIBILITY OF THE EVALUATION Resources to Conduct x Staff x Time	x Judgment x Decision Making erations or 2) leave it as is. eas or 2) do not launch further inquiry. esses or 2) do not recommend. Frequency Annual Factors Affecting Use (Internal and External)
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge If purpose decision making, Options: Modification: 1) change program operations of them: 1) investigate problem are then: 1) recommend budget increased beadline(s) July 30, 1973 FEASIBILITY OF THE EVALUATION Resources to Conduct X Staff X Time X Money X Materials & Equipment ALUATION TOPIC	x Judgment x Decision Making erations or 2) leave it as is. eas or 2) do not launch further inquiry. esses or 2) do not recommend. Frequency Annual Factors Affecting Use (Internal and External)
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge If purpose decision making, Options: Modification: 1) change program operations of them: If change 1) investigate problem are then: If no change then: 1) recommend budget increased on them: Deadline(s) July 30, 1973 FEASIBILITY OF THE EVALUATION Resources to Conduct x Staff x Time x Money x Materials & Equipment ALUATION TOPIC provide Mack Truck	x Judgment x Decision Making erations or 2) leave it as is. eas or 2) do not launch further inquiry. ases or 2) do not recommend. Frequency Annual Factors Affecting Use (Internal and External) None evaluative information on FY 1973
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge If purpose decision making, Options: Modification: 1) change program operations of them: If change 1) investigate problem are then: If no change 1) recommend budget increased of them: Deadline(s) July 30, 1973 FEASIBILITY OF THE EVALUATION Resources to Conduct x Staff x Time x Money x Materials & Equipment ALUATION TOPIC provide Mack Truck (whom) performance and impact of ISPP	x Judgment x Decision Making erations or 2) leave it as is. eas or 2) do not launch further inquiry. ases or 2) do not recommend. Frequency Annual Factors Affecting Use (Internal and External) None evaluative information on FY 1973 (sub- by July 30, 1973 in order to
Purpose of Evaluation: X Knowledge If purpose decision making, Options: Modification: 1) change program operations of them: 1) investigate problem are then: 1) recommend budget increased them: 1) recommend budget increased beadline(s) July 30, 1973 FEASIBILITY OF THE EVALUATION Resources to Conduct X Staff X Time X Money X Materials & Equipment ALUATION TOPIC provide Mack Truck (whom) performance and impact of ISPP ject and type evaluation)	x Judgment x Decision Making erations or 2) leave it as is. eas or 2) do not launch further inquiry. esses or 2) do not recommend. Frequency Annual Factors Affecting Use (Internal and External) None evaluative information on FY 1973 (sub-

WORKSHEET FOR PHASE II: DEVELOPING THE EVALUATION PLAN

JUDGMENT PLAN

1.	STUDY DESIGN: Experimental, Post-test ONLY
2.	CRITERIA (Use attached worksheet)
3.	STANDARDS (Use attached worksheet)
4.	ANALYSIS PLAN Compare actual with planned and routine parole performance, compute ratios of effectiveness and efficiency in meeting objectives
DATA F	PROCESSING PLAN
5.	SAMPLING PLAN: Collect census data on all events
6.	DATA COLLECTION PLAN: Compile annual figures from monthly fiscal reports
	parole officer reports, Research Department recidivism figures for
	routine parole, and FY 73 plan.
7.	REPORTING PLAN: Summary of data without narrative; abstract plus tables
	if report is sent to Director of Parole.
MANAGE	EMENT PLAN
8.	MANAGEMENT PLAN (Use attached worksheets)

DATA ANALYSIS AND REPORT ACTUAL PERFORMANCE COMPARED TO PLAN (Based on % of planned FY 1973 Caseload) (Standard)

CRITERIA	MEASURES		DATA	ANALYSIS
EFFECTIVENESS			į.	
IMPACTS Successful parolees	# not returne	not returned > Expected #	477 450	= 106% +
Recidivists	# returned	Actual # < Expected #	98 50	= 196% -
Employed 6 mos. +	# employed	Actual #	<u>161</u> 175	- 858
EFFECTS				
Parolees placed in jobs	# placed	Actual #	464 450	= 103% +
Treatment referrals met	# of refer- rals made	Actual # > Expected #	1092 1200	- 91% -
OUTPUTS				
Job referrals made	# made	Actual # Expected #	1127 750	= 150% +
Treatment referrals made	# made	Actual # Expected #	$\frac{1207}{1250}$	- %96 =
Visits - Total	# held	Actual # Expected #	29,575 25,000	= 118% +
Cases served	# served	Actual # Expected #	<u>575</u> 500	= 115% +

DATA ANALYSIS AND REPORT continued - 2

					•	· ·				
		1	+	+	1	ı	i i	1	+ · · · ·	+
ANALYSIS		= 98.8%	= 100%	= 100%	= 116%	= 150%	105%	1148	85.5%	8 60
		÷							\$44 <u>9</u> \$52 <u>3</u>	= \$541.71 \$581.11
DATA		\$258,400 \$261,500	\$241,000	ដ ដ	581 500	$\frac{1127}{464} = 2.4$ $\frac{750}{450}$ 1.6	$\frac{1207}{1092} = \frac{1.10}{1.04}$ $\frac{1250}{1200}$	$\frac{575}{13} = \frac{44}{38.4}$	\$258,400 575 \$261,500 500	\$258,400 477 \$261,500 450
MEASURES		# dollars Total Actual \$ (total) Total Planned \$	# dollars Total Actual \$ (pers.) Total Planned \$	<pre># parole Actual # officers officers Planned # officers</pre>	# approved Actual # approved Planned # approved	<pre># actual job referrals made # parolees placed # job referrals planned # parolees expected to be placed</pre>	<pre># actual treament referrals made # actually met # treatment referrals planned # expected to be met</pre>	<pre># cases actually served # actual parole officers # cases expected # planned parole officers</pre>	Total actual cost Total # actually served Total planned cost Total # expected to be served	Total actual cost Total # actual successes Total planned cost Total # expected successes
CRITERIA	INPUTS	Cost	Personnel Cost	Parole Officers	Offenders approved for parole	DEFICIENCY Job referrals per parolee placed (0/E)	Treatment referrals per referral met (O/E)	Cases per staff (0/I)	Cost per case served (I/O)	Cost per successful parolee (not returned to institution) (I/M)

Added

REPORT ON COMPARISON WITH PLAN--USING PLANNED %'s of <u>ACTUAL</u> CASELOAD (575)
INSTEAD OF PLANNED %'s of <u>PLANNED</u> CASE-LOAD (500)

DATA ANALYSIS AND REPORT
ACTUAL PERFORMANCE COMPARED TO PLAN (Based on % of Actual FY 1973 Caseload)
(Standard)

DATA ANALYSIS AND REPORT continued - 2

CRITERIA	MEASURES	DATA	ANALYSIS	
INPUTS				1
Cost	# dollars Total Actual \$ (total) Total Planned \$	\$258,400 \$261,500	- 98.88 H	
Personnel Cost	# dollars Total Actual \$ (pers.) Total Planned \$	\$241,000 \$241,000	= 100% +	
Parole Officers	<pre># parole Actual # officers officers Planned # officers</pre>	13	= 100% +	
Offenders approved for parole	# approved Actual # approved Planned # approved	<u>581</u> <u>500</u>	* 116% -	
Job referrals per parolee placed (0/E)	# actual job referrals made # parolees placed # job referrals planned # parolees expected to be placed	$\frac{1127}{464} = \frac{2.4}{862}$ $\frac{862}{517}$	= 150%	
Treatment referrals per referral met (O/E)	<pre># actual treament referrals</pre>	$\frac{1207}{1092} = \frac{1.10}{1.04}$ $\frac{1437}{1379} = \frac{1.04}{1.04}$	= 105%	
Cost per case served (I/O)	Total actual cost Total # actually served Total planned cost Total # expected to be served	$\frac{$258,400}{575} = \frac{$449}{$523}$ 500	= 85.5% +	•
Cost per successful parolee (not returned to institution) (I/M)	Total actual cost Total # actual successes Total planned cost Total # expected successes	$\frac{$258,400}{477} = \frac{$541.71}{$505.80}$ 517	- 107% -	

REPORT ON

COMPARISON IS WITH ROUTINE PAROLE

DATA ANALYSIS AND REPORT Actual Intensive Supervision Project Performance compared to Actual Routine Parole (Standard)

ANALYSIS		838 - 808 = + 38 +	178 - 208 = - 38 +	288 - 248 - + 48 +	= 186% (86% more per success)	= 166% (66% more per parolee employed) -	= 194% (94% more per case)
	·				\$541.72 \$290.00	\$1604.97	\$449.39
DATA					\$258,400/477 \$719,200/2480	$\frac{$258,400/161}{719,200/744} =$	\$258,400/575 \$719,200/3100
		IS & - Routine &	IS % - Routine %	IS % - Routine %	Actual IS Actual Routine	Actual IS Actual Routine	Actual IS Actual Routine
MEASURES		<pre>% not returned to institutions</pre>	<pre>% returned to institutions</pre>	<pre>% on job for 6 months +</pre>	\$ spent # successful	<pre>\$ spent # on job for 6+ months</pre>	\$ spent # cases served
CRITERIA	EFFECTIVENESS IMPACTS	Successful Parolees	Recidivism	Employment	COST-IMPACT Cost per successful Parolee	Cost per Parolee Employed 6+ months	ADDITIONAL DATA COST-OUTPUT Cost per Case Served

WORKSHEET FOR PHASE III: CONDUCTING AND MANAGING THE EVALUATION

	ALUATION STAFF: See Attached						
EVA	ALUATION AND MANAGEMENT PROCEDURES:	See Attached					
	<u> </u>						
PRE	E-TEST AND REVISE: Not Applicable						
COI	LLECT AND ANALYZE, REPORT RESULTS:	See Attached					
UTI	ILIZE THE FINDINGS: IS Project had t	to handle more cases than planned,					
but	at came close to and even went beyond many of its targets and, despite						
the	e increased case load, operated more e	efficiently than planned. It went					
sig	ignificantly above its recidivism goal; increased caseload may have contri-						
but	ed to this poor impact.						
but		ine Parole, the IS Project had					
a s	Compared to Rout						
a s	Compared to Rout	more per impact than Routine Parole					
a s EVA	Compared to Rout	more per impact than Routine Parole					
a s	Compared to Rout	more per impact than Routine Parole					
a s EVA ACT	Compared to Rout slightly better impact but costs much alware the EVALUATION: PION STRATEGIES:	more per impact than Routine Parole					
a s	Compared to Rout slightly better impact but costs much ALUATE THE EVALUATION: PION STRATEGIES: Lions Leave as is	more per impact than Routine Parole					

DATA FROM PLAN

Planned Targets, Costs-Intensive Supervision Project

Successful parolees Recidivists Employed 6 months + Parolees placed in jobs Treatment referrals to be met Job referrals to be made Treatment referrals to be made Visits - Total Expected Cases to be handled	90% (or 450) 10% (or 50) 35% (or 175) 90% (or 450) 96% (or 1200) 1.5 per p. (or 750) 2.5 per p. (or 1250) 50 per p. (or 25,000)
Total Cost FY73	\$261,500
• Personnel cost	\$241,000
Parole officers	13
Offenders to enter project	500

ACTUAL PERFORMANCE DATA

CASE STUDY

Actual Performance Intensive Supervision Project Successful parolees (not returned to institutions) 477 Recidivists 98 Employed 6 months + 161 Parolees placed in jobs 464 Treatment referrals met 1,092 Job referrals made 1,127 Treatment referrals made 1,207 Visits - Total 29,575 Cases actually served 575 Total Expenditures \$258,400 • Personnel expenditures \$241,000 Parole officers 13 Offenders approved for project 581

ACTUAL PERFORMANCE DATA FROM ROUTINE PAROLE, FY 1973

Successful parolees Recidivism Employed 6 months + Caseload Cost 80% of caseload (or 2480) 20% of caseload (or 620) 24% of caseload (or 744) 3100 parolees \$719,200 BIBLIOGRAPHIES

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