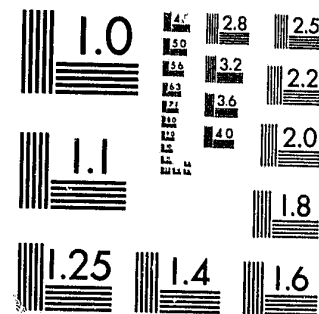


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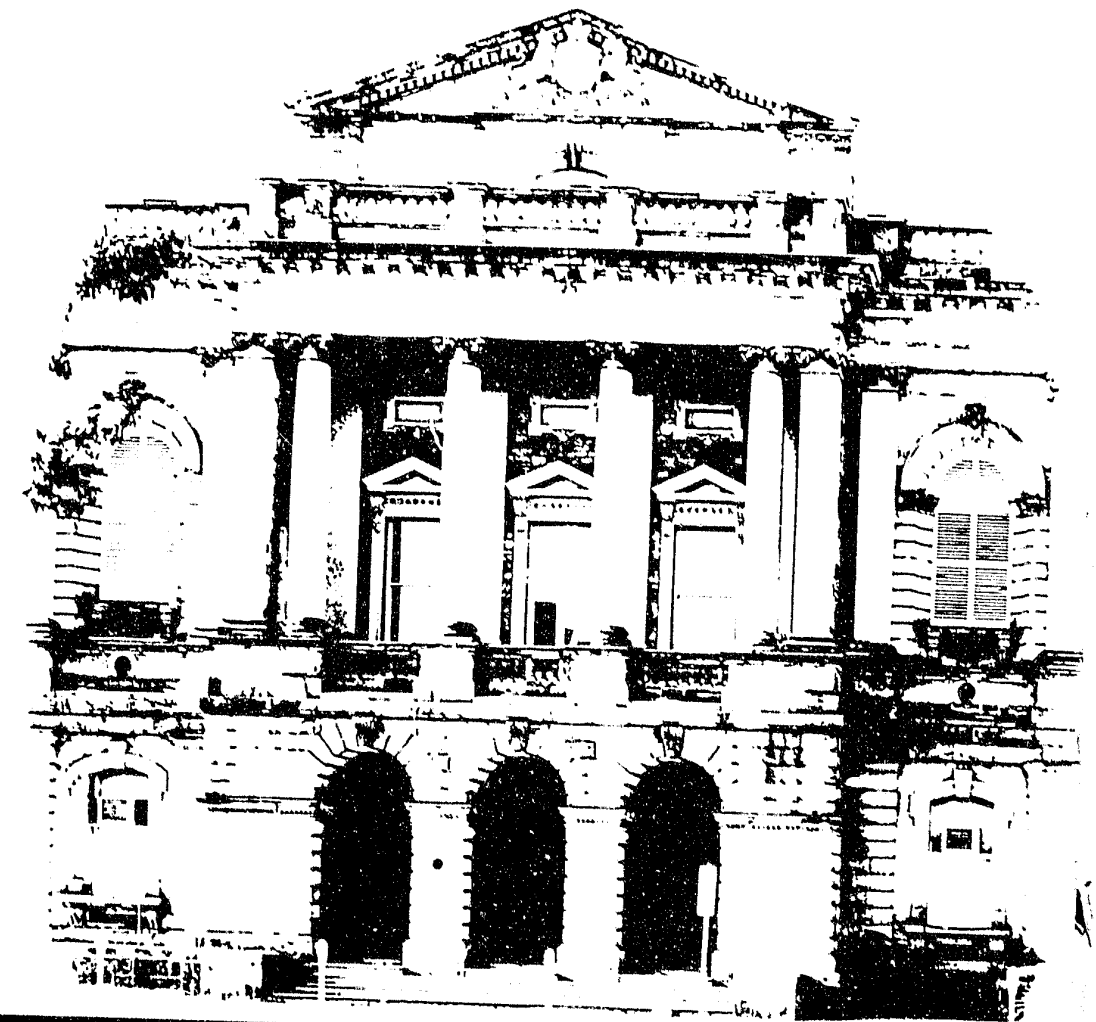
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Research  
Report

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# Evaluating Rehabilitation: Community Service Orders in South Australia



OFFICE OF CRIME STATISTICS

# EVALUATING REHABILITATION: COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDERS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

by  
Prue Oxley

U.S. Department of Justice  
National Institute of Justice

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## PREFACE

This report is the culmination of a five month visit to the Office of Crime Statistics, Attorney-General's Department, South Australia.

A frequent pursuit of criminological research is the study of the outcomes of penal measures; and it is not infrequent that field staff respond with the cry "but what has this got to do with what happens in probation?" or prison or .... The main purpose of my visit has been to respond to this justifiable query by developing a research approach which relates outcomes to the substance of a penal programme.

Even though the main thrust of this work is methodological, the Department of Correctional Services generously and enthusiastically opened their new community service scheme to my scrutiny. Although I cannot provide them with conclusive results because of the experimental nature of the project, I hope I offer the Department some insights into their scheme. The approach adopted involves a questioning of the Department's statements and procedures. At times I am critical, but for all that there is no doubt that the Department has been more thorough in its preparations for introducing a new sentence than is often the case and for that they can be congratulated.

Between the time of writing this report and publication, the community service scheme, being young and developing, is bound to have changed in some respects from what is reported here. I apologize for any points rendered inaccurate or inappropriate because of this.

The helpfulness of the Department of Correctional Services community service staff was outstanding. I am particularly grateful to Peter Visser, Charlie Cornwall and David Nankivell for sharing so much of their time and experience, and to the community agency supervisors, offenders and judiciary for their participation. This project could not have been undertaken without the professional and administrative help of the Office of Crime Statistics, in particular its Director, Adam Sutton, Lesley Giles and Nick Kosnitsky.

My visit to South Australia was both profitable and enjoyable. Thank you all.

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August 1983

## SUMMARY

1. South Australia's community service scheme has a number of objectives: to be an alternative to prison; to be substantial punishment; to provide reparation for offending; to rehabilitate offenders. This evaluation concentrates on the rehabilitation objective, the aim being to discover how community service rehabilitates.

2. The first stage of the evaluation was to construct a theoretical model which explains how community service might achieve this effect. According to Department of Correctional Services' documents, offenders who work alongside community minded volunteers, help persons less fortunate than themselves, give something back to society and participate in education will undergo changes in attitudes and skills (e.g. character building, development of new employment capabilities) which in turn will give them the opportunity of doing something constructive about the reasons for their offending and thus lessen the probability of committing further crimes. In order to test whether this happened in practice, the process was divided into 3 progressive stages (immediate activities, intermediate changes in individuals, ultimate outcome of not-reoffending) and each stage was investigated in terms of the inputs devoted to it and the processes employed.

3. Community service's rehabilitation objective needs to be appreciated in the wider context of the scheme. The Department of Correctional Services' main concern was to ensure that it would be acceptable to the public and the courts, and consequently the Department emphasized the punitive aspects. It was hoped this would enhance its chances of being used as an alternative to prison. Rehabilitation was considered a side benefit. In contrast to this judiciary, when discussing the issue at a philosophical level, considered rehabilitation to be a prime purpose of community service, along with it being an alternative to imprisonment. The scheme was not considered punitive. However, an analysis of reasons why judges and magistrates made community service orders in specific cases, relegated rehabilitation to third place after alternative to prison and reparation.

4. The three main areas of input into community service are the offenders, the community and the Department of Correctional Services.

5. The major processes involved in selecting offenders are assessment and sentencing. Although statutory eligibility is very flexible, the Department has issued detailed guidelines on who is suitable for community service. These criteria are pragmatic and aimed at avoiding offenders who may be a threat to the community at large, to the community agencies or to the acceptability and manageability of the scheme. On the whole offenders came from settled backgrounds, though 61% were unemployed. Seven out of ten had previous convictions but only 9% had previously been sentenced to imprisonment. The overall impression is that community service tends to be used for the more serious type of offence (e.g. against the person and property) rather than lesser crimes (offensive behaviour was noticeably absent).

6. Legislation dictates what type of project - and hence community agencies - can be involved in community service. Ideally the Department wants community participation to offer projects which are close to where offenders' homes, offer tangible benefits to the community, and have considerable volunteer involvement. Of the 27 approved agencies, 17 were non-profit organizations, 5 were pensioners and 5 were government organizations. There were basically three reasons why community organizations wanted to be involved in community service: to have extra assistance with their work; to give a social service to offenders and to support the idea of community participation.

7. Community service is administered by the Probation and Parole Branch of the Department of Correctional Services and the probation influence is evident in the rehabilitative statements that recur in the community service literature.

The scheme was introduced into two demonstration areas and to date has not been extended. The judiciary has found this restrictive and wants the sentence more widely available. The limited number of centres resulted in problems for the metropolitan centre which serviced a number of courts - its caseload was growing at a rate greater than available placements. Curtailing orders became a necessary but not desirable outcome. Seven out of ten of this centre's offenders lived outside the community service area, thus negating the rehabilitative benefits associated with working for one's own community.

8. Once offenders, community and Departmental inputs have been incorporated into the scheme, they have to be activated into doing community service. The process involved is matching the offender to appropriate placement. The Department recognizes the importance of this for successful

completion of the order, successful servicing of agencies and successful rehabilitation of offenders. However, rehabilitation was not generally the overriding consideration when placing offenders.

9. Once offenders are allocated to projects, it is time to assess to what extent the immediate outcomes of the rehabilitation process are being achieved. Only half of the community service effort involved offenders working alongside volunteers. Approximately half the projects offered the opportunity for offenders to assist people less fortunate than themselves. It was generally accepted that by definition community service involved offenders "giving something back to society", however there was no acknowledgement of the idea that the work performed through community service should in some way make amends for the harm occasioned by the offence. At the time of the evaluation the educational component of community service was not operational, and only three offenders participated in ad hoc educational activities. In none of these cases did education represent 20% of the order as intended.

10. The next stage of the evaluation model developed for this study concentrates on ways community service activities can be converted into changes in the individual offender's attitudes and skills. Processes identified as possibly facilitating these changes included the nature of the work, the extent of contact with other people, the type of supervision given the offender, discipline and enforcement. Almost 80% of community service hours were spent on labouring and maintenance tasks. Most offenders thought the work was useful to the community, most liked the work, and in half the cases the offender was learning something new. About 60% of community service hours were devoted to projects with a high level of contact with volunteers or public. Only half the community service hours were spent on projects with regular or constant agency supervision.

Because of the relatively small number of offenders who had completed their orders it is difficult to give absolute rates of non-attendance at community service. However, even on these 'interim' figures, the rate was quite substantial. For example 59% of those whose orders had not terminated had been absent with leave, and 37% had been absent without leave. Leave was granted on 21% of their scheduled work days, and absences without leave took care of 9% of scheduled work days. The main reasons for absence were personal sickness or injury, and work commitments.



11. The rehabilitation model lists 13 outcomes at the intermediate stage. These equate with changes in the offender's attitudes and skills. Community service officers were asked to assess whether individual offenders had developed in these ways. On average offenders achieved 3 outcomes each. There were only 3 outcomes that were thought to be achieved in a reasonable proportion of cases: facilitating the correction of anti-social behaviour; having a genuine sense of achievement or self-satisfaction; community service being a worthwhile social experience. The first outcome in this list is relatively tangible and should be evidenced in behaviour but very few concrete examples were forthcoming. The second and third outcomes are less tangible and consequently easier to assert, but difficult to support or challenge.

12. The third stage of the rehabilitation model encompasses the ultimate question: does community service reduce reoffending? The present study does not provide the ultimate answer because, firstly, offenders had not had time to reoffend, and secondly, there was insufficient project time to create a complete and integrated data file. However, assessments by community service officers and offenders themselves about their chances of recidivism produced some conclusions about the processes involved. Offenders were more optimistic than community service officers about crime-free futures but both groups agreed on the ways community service achieves this. Community service did provide incentives not to reoffend, but not generally the "constructive" opportunity described in the rehabilitative theory. Rather community service acts as a deterrent - the offenders would not want to repeat the hassle of community service.

13. The concluding chapter discusses rehabilitation in relation to the other community service objectives. Rehabilitation was constrained by the fact that it is not considered a primary goal of the scheme. Nor were the other objectives pursued in a particularly dedicated fashion. The fact that community service has four objectives means it can not help but succeed in terms of one or other of them - as the researcher was told on several occasions, community service "has something for everyone". At the stage when the evaluation was undertaken community service was being used very much as a general sentencing option. In practice there were two strains of community service: one catering for rehabilitation and the other for punishment. The study concludes that rehabilitation has little impact in that it was not a major reference point during implementation stages, nor was it consciously pursued in day-to-day operations. However, rehabilitation ideals are part of the training and experience of the community service staff and despite the diluted

authority of the rehabilitative objective, the scheme is by no means devoid of rehabilitative components.

14. Although there are indications that community service does not rehabilitate, the sentence is appreciated by the various participants: offenders prefer it to custody and to fines which they cannot afford; the courts on the whole have accepted it as a sentencing option and would like to see it more widely available; the community agencies see it as a positive development in corrections that contributes to their organization and the community as well as not being counter-productive for offenders; community service staff continue to be enthusiastic, are pleased with the way the scheme has been accepted and are optimistic about fulfilling its potential.

15. The evaluation concludes that if the rehabilitative ideals of community service are to be seriously pursued, its administrators must give close and careful consideration to the following suggestions:

- . selection of offenders who present more of a challenge for rehabilitation;
- . deliberate allocation of offenders to placements that provide a reasonable frequency and depth of contact with people in the community;
- . thinking hard about the definition of "community", mobilizing it and keeping the scheme local.

## CHAPTER 1

### COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDERS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

#### The Philosophy and Objectives of Community Service Orders

The community service order for adult offenders was introduced as a sentencing option in South Australia on 1 July 1982. Its legislative basis is the Offenders Probation Amendment Act 1981 and the scheme initially and still operates from two centres only, Norwood in the metropolitan area and Noarlunga, a new city on the suburban fringes, south of Adelaide.

It is important for two reasons to briefly outline the development of community service in South Australia, particularly with reference to its role in the sentencing and penal systems. Firstly, the process-outcome evaluation approach which I have adopted depends on the explication of the reasons why and how the programme under study is expected to produce certain results - in this case the lessening of reoffending. The need for such an explicit statement will become evident in the next chapter which explains fully the evaluation approach. A short history here will help establish the reasoning behind community service.

Secondly, that community service should have a rehabilitative effect on offenders is but one of the scheme's objectives and it is necessary to put this in perspective at this early stage and to foreshadow the eventual resetting of the results into the wider context of the scheme.

It has taken some considerable time to see the introduction of community service in South Australia. It was first officially mooted in 1973 and became operational in 1982. Its development was fairly tortuous, particularly as regards the purposes attached to the scheme as the following brief history demonstrates. I have restricted my sources of information to published documents which are more than sufficient for my purposes of setting the community service scene. A more thorough treatment of the scheme's development would be an interesting study in its own right.

The initial incentive for a new non-custodial sentence arose from the recommendation in the First Report of the Criminal Law and Penal Methods Reform Committee of South Australia in 1973 that, as a general policy, the whole range of semi- and non-custodial sentences should be available to the courts (p. 135) and that one of these should be a scheme whereby offenders are obliged to spend time engaged on a project of community utility (p. 154). The main advantage of such "periodic detention" was seen to be in providing a means of subjecting an offender to restrictive discipline without removing him from the community or his normal occupation. Other positive aspects identified were the actual work done and the cheapness of the measure. Although the Committee noted that possibly the rehabilitative element in periodic detention is its more humane character by comparison with even an enlightened prison, they hastened to add that they did not suggest that periodic detention would make a dramatic change in the recidivism rate (p. 156).

In response to the report, the next formal consideration of the topic was the report of the Department of Correctional Service's Community Work Committee in 1976. The "rationale" of a semi-custodial alternative is stated as being an alternative to the unfortunate social effects of custodial sentences (pp. 1-2). The 'alternative to prison' idea is introduced and pervades this document. Interestingly, elements such as constructive service, rehabilitation, involvement of the community with offenders and vice versa, and punishment rate only cursory mention.

In 1980, the Community Work Order Committee submitted to the Chief Secretary a "proposal for the implementation of an economical community based offender work scheme as alternative to imprisonment". This report argues that the main part of the rationale for the scheme should be as an alternative to imprisonment and reparation to the community (p. 3). This is the first time the concept of "reparation" is isolated and emphasized as a specific aim. Also for the first time since the 1973 reference to "restrictive discipline", "punishment" is discussed and two points are made; first, that the system must ensure that the offender completes the work assigned to him or be further dealt with by the court and secondly, that the tasks should demand effort of the offender. This punitive component is reflected in the statement that "a community service order, representing heavier punishment than do probation orders, fines or conditional discharges, be regarded as an alternative to short term imprisonment only and thus be linked to a suspended sentence" (p. 3). The only mention of rehabilitation in this report is a reference to the fact that it is a goal in some community service schemes, and should be accepted as a subsidiary aim in the South Australian scheme.

By the time the Offenders Probation Amendment Bill was debated in the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council in 1981, the various threads all feature in the Chief Secretary's opening speech in the Second Reading debate. Without assigning any priorities, the scheme is presented as an alternative to a fine or imprisonment with consequent reduction in the prison population and savings in money and resources; as an opportunity for the offender to repay his debt to the community in a tangible manner; and as hopefully having a rehabilitative effect on some offenders (Parliamentary Debates, 5 March 1981, 3583). During the debate, there are several references - mostly of a superficial nature - to rehabilitation. The idea that the courts should have a constructive sentencing option, the original idea of the 1973 committee, prevails.

At some stage between the 1980 report and the introduction of the Bill, an education component for community service enters the scene so that the Act says that a probationer shall be required to undertake or participate in a course of instruction for two hours each week. Although canvassed extremely cursorily in the debate, this education was seen as a rehabilitative feature (Parliamentary Debates, 2 June 1981, 3713) as well as an extra restriction on the offender's freedom (Parliamentary Debates, 2 June 1981, 3708).

The fact that community service is incorporated into the Offenders Probation Act has two interesting implications. First, the major legal provisions giving the court authority to order community service are sections 4 and 5, the same sections which give the options of discharging without conviction, without penalty, of being under supervision, and of suspended imprisonment. It is an easy extension from this to consider community service as just another sentencing option in this range. Secondly, the Offenders Probation Act is administered by the Probation and Parole Branch of the Department of Correctional Services. This no doubt influences the substantial change in emphasis towards rehabilitation evident in later departmental publications, particularly since the Act's introduction. The 1981 amending Act is reproduced in Appendix 1.

In May 1982, an information booklet Community Service for Adult Offenders: A Non-Custodial Penalty, canvasses in the foreword, introduction and text, the numerous objectives and features of the community service scheme. In discussing the philosophy of the scheme, four objectives are identified:

- (i) a cost saving alternative to custody;
- (ii) a substantial punitive measure;
- (iii) reparation for offending;

- (iv) a potential source of rehabilitative and therapeutic value to offenders;

No explicit priorities are allocated, but the rehabilitative, socially beneficial aspects of community service recur throughout the booklet. The educational component is explained, the thrust being rehabilitation: the aim is to facilitate the correction of anti-social behaviour, enhance general social skills, use leisure time more constructively, and improve employment prospects (p. 10).

Since the introduction of the scheme, the Department has been gradually compiling a thorough Policy and Practice Manual for community service. Here, the philosophy and objectives of the scheme are reiterated: punishment, humane and cost saving alternative to custodial sentences, reparation, and rehabilitation (part 2.4). However, for the first time a statement is made as to the priority of these objectives: "it is the intention of the branch to ensure that, while the scheme's administration will emphasize offender accountability, on balance the scheme is to emphasize the positive reparative and rehabilitative aspects, rather than the punitive element" (part 4, 1.3).

In summary, the objectives of community service have in a sense gone full circle. Originally a community sentence was recommended in order to give the courts an extra sentencing option. This evolved through an emphasis on community service as an alternative to custody and as a source of rehabilitation to its eventual proliferation into its many objectives or, in other words, effectively another sentencing option. It is evident that by the time the scheme became operational a number of objectives had been established and it is reasonable to conclude that rehabilitation is one of the major ones. Before inquiring into the relative importance of these objectives in practice, two further matters remain to be discussed.

First, as becomes evident in chapter 2, "rehabilitation" is equated with preventing or reducing reoffending. There is considerable debate over this point, but I feel justified in making the equation in this case since the Department of Correctional Services does so itself in several places. The main reference is the full rehabilitation statement made in 1982, quoted in full on p. 15, which demonstrates that rehabilitation is a means of lessening offending. The connection was also made during the Bill's second reading (e.g. Parliamentary Debates, 2 June 1981, 3770; 3702). The statement of purpose of the department as a whole speaks of reducing recidivism, whilst the Probation and Parole Branch has this as an objective within their overall purpose of providing a social intervention service (Manual, part 2).

Secondly, I have to acknowledge that the department in its literature is always cautious and tentative about its power to effect rehabilitation. For example, the 1982 publication uses qualified statements such as: "a measure of rehabilitation"; "a potential source of rehabilitative value"; "the offender will be offered the opportunity to do something constructive..."; "aimed at minimizing the probability of reoffending" (emphasis added). This is no doubt a realistic stance to take, but it has implications for an evaluation of the rehabilitation objective in that community service is seen as a facilitator of rehabilitation rather than its source.

### Objectives in Practice

Before looking at how the rehabilitative objective of community service is actually implemented, it is necessary to appreciate exactly how this objective is perceived by the administrators and its priority in their scheme of things.

It has already been demonstrated that rehabilitation is only one of community service's objectives, and although there is one statement to the effect that it is to be emphasized, and one to the effect that it is a subsidiary aim, the overall documentation suggests it is equal among the rest.

Informal discussions and formal interviews with departmental staff confirm that rehabilitation is not the prime objective. However there are differing and vacillating views on whether it is of equal priority or a subsidiary aim.

The departmental policy as conveyed by both the Assistant Director of Probation and Parole and the community service co-ordinator (head office staff) is that community service is primarily meant to be an alternative to imprisonment, as a means of reducing the population of short term prisoners, while at the same time the offender makes reparation to the community for his offending.

Reparation was never fully developed as a concept in interviews and discussions with community service staff or community participants, except the odd acknowledgment that this community service scheme does not repay actual victims. It is accepted on face value that the fact that work is done is in itself reparative. I realized too late that my questioning on this topic was not sufficiently sensitive to distinguish between the idea of paying back society in the sense of making amends and thus reimbursing it for the harm done, and the idea that paying back is expiation: that the



doing of time in itself atones, with no notion of returning the situation to its original state, even in a symbolic way.

Punishment is considered to be a natural part of every penalty, including community service, in that further court appearances and possible imprisonment can follow for non-compliance. Be that as it may, it was a common theme in informal discussions and in interview with the community service co-ordinator and community service officers that the punitive elements of the scheme were stressed, particularly in its earlier stages. The motivation behind this was to gain the courts' and public's confidence in the scheme by forestalling notions that community service is a soft option. It also seems to be associated with the department's wish that community service be used as a real alternative to imprisonment, thus stressing the punitive aspects. Consequently, this aspect was heavily promoted when the community service co-ordinator and community service officers first approached community groups soliciting their participation. This was confirmed by the community agency people themselves who were asked in interview what they had been told about the objectives of community service at the recruitment stage. Of the 9 asked, 5 said the predominant reason was that community service was meant to be instead of prison.

Rehabilitation is seen by the head office staff of the department as a side-product of community service. In the course of diverting offenders from prison, and while they are contributing something to the community, the offender may gain some personal benefit by learning through example or by taking the opportunity provided to achieve something - a new experience for many.

The two community service officers, operating in the field did not themselves put priorities on the four main objectives but saw them as equally important, though they acknowledged that in the early days emphasis was put on it being an alternative to imprisonment and a substantial punishment. The strength of community service, it is claimed, is that it is a pragmatic sentence, that it "has something for everyone". I reserve discussion of the ramifications of this statement for the conclusion.

Given that rehabilitation is at best a side-product of community service, what are the community service staff's views on its chances for realization?

First, how is "rehabilitation" defined by the administrators and people in the field? It is acknowledged that community service as a penal measure, like all the department's measures, is aimed at reducing the level of offending. Therefore the rehabilitative aspect of community

service is also headed in this direction. One of the head office staff and one of the operational staff made the connection swiftly, but added that the means of getting there are manifold. All the community service staff spoke of rehabilitation in the shorter term as helping the offender change his attitudes or behaviour so that he copes better in mainstream society, which will eventually lessen the need to offend. These changes are expected to come about through contacts with the community, a sense of task achievement and through a less self-orientated approach to life. All three agreed that rehabilitation is a realistic expectation of community service as a general concept. A more difficult question is whether this is realistic in South Australia, given the way community service has been implemented to date with emphasis on punishment and the pragmatic considerations of getting it operational. Responses were more cautious, saying it is too early to tell, but potentially they think it is possible. Certain elements which they consider necessary or conducive to rehabilitation are lacking: in particular the educational component, optimum caseloads and more restricted community service districts. These are discussed fully later.

The two departmental community service supervisors who were interviewed saw rehabilitation in different lights. One saw it resulting from personal counselling, the other as (re)training for employment; for one it was the first priority of community service, for the other it was important but punishment was community service's main purpose. Despite these philosophical differences, their descriptions of their role in rehabilitation were very similar - by being close to offenders, they can, if time permits, assess the individual's needs, counsel him and point him in the right direction.

Agency supervisors also were asked about their role in rehabilitating community service offenders. Their responses fell into a number of categories. Seven agencies saw their role as providing counselling or support, thus helping the offender gain personal awareness and skills to live with trust or with confidence in the community. These agencies used such phrases as "treat them like human beings"; "respect their autonomy"; and "give them a positive experience". Two of these agencies made the point that government agencies are not sufficiently independent to provide the counselling and support required. Five agencies endorsed the idea that their role is to encourage the completion of work, thus engendering a sense of achievement. Three agencies saw themselves or their clients as providing models whereby community service offenders could learn to operate successfully in the community. Three agencies saw their role as providing employment opportunities, two through teaching new skills and one by providing contacts for work.

The other group of participants whose views on the purpose and objectives of community service are particularly influential to the scheme's operation and effectiveness is of course the sentencers. Their views were gained by means of a questionnaire which was sent to all 17 magistrates presiding in the courts served by the two community service centres, to the 3 judges of the Central District Criminal Court and the one Supreme Court judge who had made community service orders. Responses were received from 12 of the 16 who had actually made an order plus 1 from the 5 who had not at the time made an order, giving a total of 13 responses.

One question listed a number of sentencing principles with a brief explanation and asked the magistrates and judges to endorse those they thought were usually achieved by a community service order. Two respondents thought it too soon to answer the question, and another declined to respond. The remaining 10, as shown in table 1, well and truly affirmed the "official" objectives: all but one saw community service as usually achieving a rehabilitative and reparative effect, and all but two saw it being used as an alternative to imprisonment. The remaining official objective, punishment, was markedly missing from their assessment - only one magistrate thought community service is usually punitive.

TABLE 1 JUDICIARY VIEWS ON OBJECTIVES USUALLY ACHIEVED  
BY A COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDER

OBJECTIVE	POSITIVE RESPONSES
<u>Rehabilitation:</u> The attempt to change the offender through treatment or corrective measures so that he/she will refrain from offending.	9
<u>General Deterrence:</u> The attempt to impose a penalty on the offender sufficiently severe that potential offenders in the community will refrain from offending through the fear of punishment.	1
<u>Individual Deterrence:</u> The attempt to impose a penalty on the offender sufficiently severe to deter him/her from further offending through fear of punishment.	4
<u>Punishment:</u> The view that certain behaviour is wrong and ought to be punished, regardless of the effect.	1
<u>Denunciation:</u> The view that punishment has a symbolic function and the long-term educative objective of expressing the boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable conduct.	3
<u>Reparation:</u> The situation where the offender provides redress for his/her offending.	9
<u>Alternative to Imprisonment:</u> If the offender did not receive a Community Service Order, he/she would have been imprisoned.	8

Having said what they think community service does achieve, the next question asked each respondent what in his or her view was the primary objective of imposing a community service order on an offender. As table 2 shows, rehabilitation, which had previously been defined as an attempt to change the offender through treatment or corrective measures so that he/she will refrain from offending, featured in 9 out of 13 responses, reparation in 5 out of the 13, alternative to prison once, alternative to a fine once, and punishment once. This result is consistent with the previous one, perhaps elaborating on those results to the extent that whereas community service was accepted as an alternative to imprisonment, it was not actually considered its major purpose.

TABLE 2 JUDICIARY VIEWS ON COMMUNITY SERVICE'S  
PRIMARY OBJECTIVE

PRIMARY OBJECTIVE	NUMBER
Rehabilitation	2
Rehabilitation through reparation	1
Rehabilitation and reparation	3
Rehabilitation and alternative to imprisonment	1
Enhance employment prospects, plus be a meaningful sentence	1
Inclusion of defendant within community to give a feeling of responsibility	1
Pay back community for wrongdoing	1
Alternative to prison	1
Alternative to a fine, where a fine would impose substantial hardship	1
Punishment	1
TOTAL	13

Pursuing this line of questioning further, each respondent was asked to compare community service with a number of other sentences (imprisonment, suspended imprisonment, a bond with supervision, and a fine) as regards its potential for rehabilitation, reparation, punishment and for individual deterrence. Results are summarized in table 3.

Community service was generally seen to be more rehabilitative than imprisonment, suspended imprisonment or a fine. Although it was not seen as having less rehabilitative potential than a supervised bond, there was no decisive verdict as to whether it had more or not.

TABLE 3 JUDICIARY VIEWS ON COMMUNITY SERVICE'S POTENTIAL COMPARED WITH IMPRISONMENT, SUSPENDED IMPRISONMENT, SUPERVISION AND A FINE

POTENTIAL OF COMMUNITY SERVICE FOR:	COMPARED WITH :			
	Imprisonment	Suspended Imprisonment	Bond With Supervision	Fine
REHABILITATION				
More	8	7	5	6
Less	-	-	-	1
About the same	1	2	5	2
REPARATION				
More	8	8	6	7
Less	2	1	1	-
About the same	-	1	2	3
PUNISHMENT				
More	2	3	4	5
Less	7	4	1	2
About the same	-	1	4	2
INDIVIDUAL DETERRENCE				
More	1	3	4	1
Less	5	4	-	2
About the same	2	1	4	5

Community service was considered more reparative than any of the given options.

Community service was definitely thought to be less punitive than imprisonment, and the weight of opinion tended to think it was more punitive than a fine. There was no consensus on the relative punitiveness of community service compared with suspended imprisonment and supervised bond.

As regards individual deterrence, community service was seen to be less of a deterrent than imprisonment, but about the same as a fine. Once again there was no consensus on the other two options.

When the judiciary were asked more specifically whether it is realistic to expect community service to rehabilitate offenders, 7 thought it is realistic and 2 said it is in some cases. One answered he hoped so, but experience suggests otherwise and 2 said outright that they did not think it realistic to expect community service to rehabilitate offenders.

The 7 who thought rehabilitation possible were asked how community service orders achieved this objective. The factors mentioned were that by making a positive contribution to the community the offender will gain community respect, self-realization, self-respect and a sense of responsibility; and that community service can relieve isolation, give "employment" leading to motivation, and an appreciation of not being in prison.

Similarly, those who thought community service would not rehabilitate were asked why. One magistrate contended that a few weeks on community service was not sufficient to overcome entrenched vices or to sever relationships with bad friends. The other explained that community service is conceived on the premise that effort and enterprise have a salutary effect, and he argued that this may not be the case. Indeed it could lead to bitterness and resentment - particularly if the work is "worthless" (e.g. weeding cemeteries).

It would seem even at this early stage of research, and even in this fairly theoretical context that the department's view of community service and the judiciary's are not completely harmonious. Whereas the department first and foremost wishes community service to be used as an alternative to imprisonment, this was not the judiciary's primary objective - though it does see that community service can achieve this. The objective which received most backing from the judiciary was rehabilitation, a side-product from the department's point of view. Later analysis of what is actually happening with community service may sort out any confusion apparent at this stage.

### The Scope of Community Service in South Australia

Although details of community service operation will emerge as this report progresses, a basic description of the scheme is called for here. Basically it is similar to other community service schemes in Australia, England and New Zealand. The court orders an offender to do no less than 40 and no more than 240 hours of service in the community, ideally at the rate of 8 hours per Saturday plus 2 hours of educational activities per week. The service must benefit a non-profit organization, a person or group of persons disadvantaged through age, illness, incapacity, poverty or any other adversity, or a government authority.

Legally, a community service order is a condition of a good behaviour bond. This means that the offender must enter into a recognizance, with or without sureties, with or without conviction, to be of good behaviour and to appear before a court for conviction or sentence if he fails to observe the terms of the recognizance. The Act stipulates that a community service order shall not be accompanied by a supervision order - the rationale being that a person needing the support and guidance of supervision is an inappropriate candidate for community service which needs more motivated and settled involvement. However, any other penalty - from imprisonment to suspended imprisonment to a fine - can be cumulatively or concurrently ordered with community service. An offender can be subjected to more than one community service order at a time, but aggregate hours ordered must not exceed 240. Enforcement procedures include estreatment of the recognizance, breach of the recognizance, and the imposition of up to 24 additional community service hours.

The scheme is administered by the Probation and Parole Branch of the Department of Correctional Services. Community service officers, who are probation officers, have the main day-to-day responsibility and are assisted by part-time community service supervisors employed by the department. Community agencies also provide supervision. The nature and scope of their contribution will be revealed in the course of this report.

At the time of writing, the most recent figures available on the use of community service were as at 28 February 1983 - that is eight months after its introduction. In that time, 80 persons had been sentenced to community service, 72 men and 8 women. Twenty-four had completed their hours, and one was suspended for breach, leaving a current caseload at the end of February of 55. Of this total caseload, 39 were reporting to the Norwood office and 16 to Noarlunga. The numbers receiving community service each month from July to February are in

table 4 below, showing not unexpectedly a slow beginning, then substantial increases, mostly in Norwood, until February when receptions dropped to 4. More of this later.

Within this context, this evaluation sets out to investigate how the faith in rehabilitation is translated into action.

TABLE 4 NUMBER OF COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDERS MADE,  
1 JULY 1982 TO 28 FEBRUARY, 1983

Month	Norwood	Noarlunga	TOTAL
July	4	2	6
August	2	1	3
September	4	8	12
October	9	1	10
November	16	-	16
December	13	6	19
January	5	5	10
February	1	3	4
TOTAL	54	26	80



## CHAPTER 2

### EVALUATING REHABILITATION

Does community service reduce the incidence of reoffending?

Although this issue has been addressed by a battery of research methodologies during past decades, none have been particularly conclusive in their results and this basic question still holds a challenge for the criminological researcher. This project is an attempt at approaching the problem from yet another direction.

On ethical grounds, true random experiments are usually out of the question, and rather than studying the incidence of reoffending retrospectively by means of a descriptive statistical survey or by contriving quasi-experimental "before" and "after" matched samples, I have been eager to approach the question front-on, by looking at the actual substance of a sentence, at what actually happens inside community service and seeing how this can or cannot affect an individual's future offending behaviour. This, then, is my starting point: what actually happens? I use a process-outcome model to help sort out the answers. Although I do not find it very useful to draw rigid distinctions between research and evaluation, this approach has its genesis in an evaluation mode. Nonetheless, it is confronted with many of the same old research questions about validity and reliability of data definition, collection and analysis.

I am convinced that the process-outcome model developed here has potential for helping us understand how programmes work, particularly if complemented by larger statistical surveys. However, this particular application of the model must be viewed as a pilot project, because there was not enough time to undertake the data collection needed for a fully fledged evaluation. Given this experimental context, this research does not offer final answers to the ultimate question of community service's rehabilitative potential, but for all that it contains much useful information about those aspects of community service which are and those which are not conducive to rehabilitation. It also contains excellent pilot material for a more exhaustive research design aimed at answering the question of how does rehabilitation work. The

purpose of this chapter is to explain the development of the process-outcome model, the basis of this evaluative effort. There are three distinct components : the theoretical rehabilitation model; the process-outcome analytical model; the data collection techniques.

### The Rehabilitation Model

Objective setting should be a responsible exercise. If one claims a programme has an intended outcome, the subscribers should set about earnestly trying to achieve that outcome. If this is not done, objectives are nothing more than a fashionable masquerade.

One of the first steps in fulfilling this responsibility is to make explicit the reasons why and how the programme is expected to effect the intended outcome, and another is to deploy resources efficiently towards that end. At the theoretical stage of this evaluation, the concern is with the former. In this case, it is necessary to explicate the links assumed to exist between doing community service and being rehabilitated, or in other words state what it is in the doing of community service that leads to a reduction in further offending. This statement is pivotal to the evaluation for it becomes the theoretical position to be tested.

Not only is rehabilitation a stated objective of the South Australian scheme, but the Department of Correctional Services has also provided the necessary statement in respect of the connections between community service and rehabilitation:

"The scheme is a potential source of rehabilitative or therapeutic value to offenders. By working alongside community minded volunteers, by assisting persons less fortunate than themselves, and by giving something back to society, offenders have the opportunity for character building, restoring their personal dignity, and improving their standing in the community. It will also enable them to establish constructive interests, develop worthwhile patterns of behaviour, and they may also be encouraged to resume lost work habits or to develop new employment skills. Finally, through participation in suitable education activities as arranged through the scheme, the offender will be offered the opportunity to do something constructive about the reasons which brought him into contact with the law in the first place, thereby lessening the probability of re-offending."  
(Manual, part 2.4.5)

I have reconstructed this statement into what I called the "rehabilitation model" (see figure 1). This entails breaking the statement down into a number of consecutive stages, representing the logic of the argument. The model clearly identifies immediate, intermediate and ultimate outcomes. To take an example, an immediate objective for a person on community service is to have him working alongside community volunteers. Activities at this immediate level are expected to effect certain changes in the individual, e.g. he will develop work related skills. These second phase outcomes are labelled intermediate outcomes. In turn these changes in the individual's attitudes and behaviour offer him the opportunity to do something constructive about the reasons that brought him in contact with the law which if he avails himself of the opportunity, in turn means he will not reoffend, the ultimate objective.

Once this theoretical model is established, the task of the researcher is to see whether this chain of events actually happens, and if it does not happen, what processes are at work and with what consequences. The analytical approach used to organize the mass of information is process-outcome analysis.

#### Process-Outcome Analysis

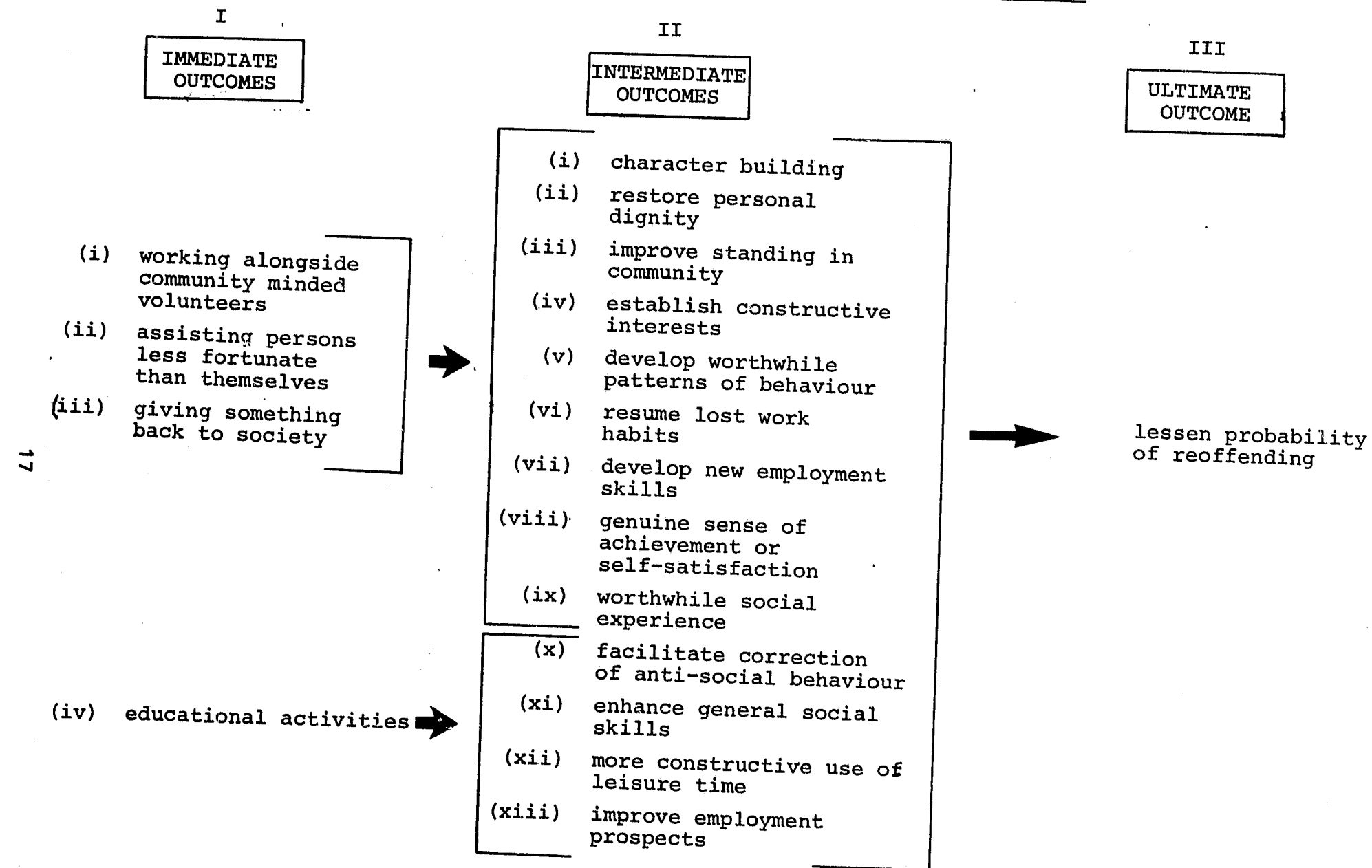
There is considerable discussion in evaluation text books of analyzing process and reference to process-outcome models. However, it is difficult to find applications in the criminological field in this part of the world.

Very basically, this technique for describing how a programme works isolates three components : the input, the process, and the output. The input consists of resources allocated to and participants selected into the programme. Once in, something happens to these resources. Their deployment and the ensuing activities constitute the process, which in turn converts the input into output, that is, the product of the total enterprise. This output may or may not be the intended outcome of the programme, if indeed this has been formulated.

input —→ process —→ output

This is a very simple version of the process-outcome model, but its very simplicity is where its advantage lies. It is simply a systematic approach to discovering the parameters of how a programme works. Within this framework, the overall evaluation question of whether community service reduces offending (by means of rehabilitation) can be rephrased into the more manageable ones of : what are the inputs of community service or, in practice, who is involved in community

FIGURE I : THE COMMUNITY SERVICE REHABILITATION MODEL



service? Once the raw materials are involved, what activities do they participate in, what decisions are made as to how they are deployed? Then, what is the outcome of these activities? What is the raw material converted into and is it what was intended?

The strength of this model for the present analysis is that it can be applied progressively to each of the stages of the rehabilitation model. So taking stage I for example, the immediate outcomes (refer figure 1) become the hypothesized outputs of the first input-process-output analysis. The evaluation task is to identify the inputs and the processes acting upon these and to test whether the actual outputs are the intended outcomes of the rehabilitation model.

In turn, the outputs from stage I become the input for stage II, the question now being what processes convert these into the intended stage II outcomes. For example, if an offender does work alongside community minded volunteers, how does this translate into him undergoing character building or learning new skills etc?

So the analysis progresses, with stage II outputs becoming the input into stage III, which in turn leads to the ultimate outcome of individuals not reoffending. Obviously the difficult questions that have always beset recidivism research remain - how to define and measure changes in the individuals' attitudes and behaviour, and whether to attribute these to the programme under scrutiny or not. As to the latter question, I am hopeful that the more substance-orientated approach of this analysis will make the connections, although circumstantial in some cases, more compelling.

A distinction to be aware of in the process-outcome model, which may or may not be usefully used in any given application, is between a theoretical process model and the empirical one which is the product of research. Objectives by definition belong to the theoretical model. Inputs and processes may also be the subject of rules, directions and guidelines by which the administrators intend their programme to work and which, for the purposes of evaluation, can be constructed into a theoretical process-outcome model.

For example, in the present community service exercise, at one level the Offenders Probation Act regulates what type of beneficiaries can be involved, thus determining to some extent what the community involvement (input) is; at yet another level, the departmental guidelines add further 'theoretical' intentions by stating a preference for community agencies that have a strong volunteer component. This evaluation identifies the theoretical components that have been formulated and uses them to guide the areas of inquiry

and as a measure against which to interpret the inputs, processes and outcomes identified by empirical methods.

#### Data Collection

In the course of the present study a battery of research techniques have been used. However, the pilot nature of the exercise has meant that information gathered cannot always be as comprehensive as would be required for a fully fledged evaluation. Data sets are not always coterminous, and measures not always sufficiently sensitive. It must be emphasized that the purpose has been to develop an evaluative approach rather than to test the data. Before analysing consequent data shortcomings, sources and methods are described.

1. Documentary materials on the development of community service in South Australia. These were fundamental to the construction of the rehabilitation model and the theoretical aspect of the process-outcome models and include reports from several committees, departmental and other, which have considered the purpose and nature of community service in South Australia; the proceedings of the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council during the passage of the Offenders Probation Amendment Act 1981; the Offenders Probation Act 1913-1981 and its Regulations; departmental instructions, manuals, duty statements, information publications and leaflets on the community service scheme. The main departmental sources were Community Service for Adult Offenders : A non-Custodial Penalty and the community service Policy and Practice Manual. The latter is being produced in instalments and parts became available as the research proceeded. Parts 1-4 of the Manual had been approved and some later parts were available in draft only. It was not anticipated that the final form would differ significantly from the draft and this report has quoted from the draft.

2. Analysis of individual offender records of all persons referred for a community service assessment during the first 6 months of operation whether eventually ordered to do community service or not. There were 84 assessments, 69 of which resulted in an order. Eighteen of the 69 had terminated their community service hours at the time of the survey.

From these, information was collected relating to personal and social descriptors of the offender, offence and sentence characteristics, community service assessment and recommendation details, previous offending details relating to the conduct of the order such as where, when and with whom the



offender worked, problems encountered in carrying out the order and enforcement procedures.

3. Analysis of departmental records as regards community agency involvement, particularly the "agency profile" which was the application for approval of projects put before the State Advisory Committee describing the nature of the project. All projects approved as at the end of January were included, being 41 projects emanating from 27 agencies.

4. Questionnaire to 12 magistrates and 4 judges who had made a community service order by the end of 1982 as well as to 5 magistrates who preside in courts within the community service catchment area but who had not made an order. This questionnaire sought their views on the purpose of community service orders, for whom and in what circumstances an order is appropriate, the assessment process, feedback they have had, plus problems relating to the restriction of the scheme to two localities. Of the 16 who had ordered community service, 12 responded. Only 1 of the other 5 responded.

Fifteen of the 16 judicial officers who had actually made an order were also asked, if they did not object, to state their three most important considerations (in order of priority) when they ordered community service for named individuals. Nine possible considerations were listed, though they were invited to note their own. This question was asked in respect of 56 orders, and was answered for 35. Reasons for non-response are detailed in chapter 3. Given the untried nature of this exercise, i.e. asking the judiciary their reasons for identified sentences, I am pleased with this 63% response rate. The only reason I thought this approach might work retrospectively was because of the timing of the evaluation in relation to the scheme's introduction: magistrates and judges were asked to do this memory feat early in its operation when the number of orders ranged from between 1 and 14 per judicial officer, the average being 3.5. I do not think this exercise would succeed once a programme was in full swing or it would need to be tackled non-retrospectively and asked of them at the time of the decision.

5. Interview with the Assistant Director of the Department of Correctional Services responsible for the Probation and Parole Branch on policy aspects of community service.

6. Intensive unstructured interviews with the community service co-ordinator and the two community service officers. These interviews were taped and were wide ranging on matters of policy, expectations, implementation and their conclusions to date on community service's operation and outcomes.

7. Unstructured interviews with two community service supervisors as regards their role in the scheme.

8. Semi-structured interviews with community agency supervisors about their involvement in and expectations of community service. By the end of 1982, 14 agencies had been used. Supervisors of 11 were interviewed. Of the remaining three, one was not appropriate it being a departmental project and completely supervised by the department; in one other the contact people who had been involved with community service had left and could not be traced; and one was not contacted. Two of the 5 pensioner beneficiaries were interviewed, making a total of 13 interviews.

9. Semi-structured interviews with offenders. There were 17 interviews, usually held at the offender's home. This was a matter of fitting in as many interviews as time allowed. It was a time consuming business, and one confronted with practical problems: offenders lived in all quarters of greater Adelaide, some 30kms north or south of the city; many offenders were not on the phone, this meant trying to catch them at home, or more conveniently but less satisfactorily while doing their community service; for employed offenders, interviews had to be conducted in evenings or weekends; for some unemployed offenders, keeping appointments was a foreign notion, so it was a matter of ringing them and going to see them then and there. All of this made planning of my scarce time difficult, and I feel in the circumstances, things went relatively smoothly and 17 interviews was a reasonable score.

The data collection period finished 21 February, and 10 of the 18 offenders who had terminated their order by then were interviewed. Of the remaining 8, 1 refused to be interviewed (the only refusal), 1 was interstate, 4 could not be contacted at their last known address, another 1 and I tried several times to connect and never succeeded, and 1 was not pursued.

The other 7 interviews were conducted with offenders well into their community service routine.

10. Offender assessments. The community service officer and, where practicable, the community agency supervisor were asked to assess each offender on a number of points. The community service officer assessed the motivation behind the community service order, what he thought the offender would have got if not community service, the offender's reaction to community service, reasons for job allocation, the offender's relationships with people within community service, problems and enforcements, agency participation, and an estimate of the offender's likelihood of reoffending. Forty-nine of the possible 69 were assessed thus. The agency supervisor was asked how usefully and how well the offender fitted in with the organization, what benefits the offender gained, were there any problems and did they think community service had rehabilitated the offender in this case. This was done for 26 offenders.

11. Project assessment. The community service officer and the community service supervisor were asked to assess each project in respect of the amount of contact with various people it offered the offender, its usefulness in administering community service, its potential in promoting rehabilitation, and what it offered as regards some of the immediate objectives of the scheme. Community service officers did assessments of the 28 projects that had been used at the time, and the supervisors did it for 21 projects that they had had experience with.

12. Observation. Originally, I had intended to do some incipient participant observation by volunteering my time and effort to one or some of the community agencies at the same time as an offender was doing his hours. This would never have been a fully fledged data collection method but was intended to give me a feel for the situation from the offender's and agency's points of view. However, time did not permit even a taste of this. Some observation did come my way, in that agency supervisor interviews were most often held on site and at times community service offenders were doing their hours while I was present. I managed to talk with these offenders about community service. Some of the formal offender interviews were also held on-site. I sat in on one induction interview and one termination interview between the offender and the community service officer. I accompanied a community service officer while doing his supervision rounds, I observed a meeting of the state community service advisory committee, and I went on two official tours of community service projects, many of which had offenders working at the time.

Even though there is this wealth of material, it does have some limitations which need to be discussed. First is the fact that at the end of the data collection period the community service scheme had been operational in South Australia for only 8 months. This has advantages and disadvantages for the evaluation. The most obvious disadvantage is that the pool of offenders who have completed their order is relatively small, and these tend to be the orders which were shorter, more likely to be trouble-free, and made during the scheme's settling-in period. It also means that these people have not had time to prove the lasting effect of their rehabilitation. However, counteracting this is the real advantage that the various participants - and in particular the community service officers who are responsible for administering community service in the field - were still conscious of their initial motives and reasons for their decisions and actions. Another instance, already described, is the question put to magistrates on their sentencing reasons in relation to individual, named offenders. Thus, some insights were forthcoming before the scheme becomes a set of institutionalized reactions.

The relatively short time available to work on this project compounded some of the difficulties and has meant that, in effect, the evaluation has concentrated on stage I of the rehabilitation model and loses precision as it progresses. Stage I is well developed, having both quantitative and qualitative data available for analysis. Stage II was not tackled so comprehensively and relies more on data of a qualitative nature. This is valuable in its own right, but more objective measures of attitude and behaviour change would enhance the model considerably. The qualitative data provides valuable groundwork for the development of such measures in the future. It is also of some reassurance to know that this process-outcome model is constructed in such a systematic way that another researcher could easily come in and use stage II as a starting point. Stage III has only been cursorily addressed by asking offenders and others whether they think community service has or will help them to not reoffend. The obvious missing quantitative data is whether in fact the offender has been reconvicted or not, or whatever the chosen measure would be. As a function of the short time the scheme has been operating, this information is not yet available. Once again, this aspect can readily be incorporated into the model when the time is ripe.

This progressive lack of definition is in some ways a reflection of the rehabilitation theory itself. As one moves away from the administrative actualities of stage I and nearer to the ultimate objective, no-one is really sure what processes are at work and consequently difficulties in measuring them multiply. There is still a large element of faith in the rehabilitation process. The Department of

Correctional Services has the same problem : their guidelines are very detailed and well developed for the early processes but there is very little attempt to explain how changes in individuals are effected and virtually none as to how these reduce offending.

Another consequence of the short project time and of the fact that model development was my main concern, is that not all the data sets are complete. For instance, whereas the sample consisted of the 69 offenders sentenced to community service in the first six months, of whom 18 had terminated their hours, community service officers assessed 49 of them (including all the terminated ones) and 17 were interviewed (10 terminated ones). This incompleteness has prevented the compilation of an integrated file on each offender and thus precluded proper analysis of results, especially in terms of identifying the more frequent and successful links and paths between one stage of the model and the next.

Before embarking on the results, two data enhancements, not undertaken in this project, are noted. First, a succession of interviews with offenders at critical stages in their community service would give more depth to their contribution and the understanding of the dynamics of community service. Suggested times are at sentence, on completion of the hours and, say, 12 months later. Secondly, although not necessary for my present concern of understanding how community service affects individual's rehabilitation, an analysis of sentencing trends would put community service into a wider context, increase our knowledge of when it is used, and be useful for future planning.

#### Structure of Report

The structure of the rest of this report follows the sequence of the rehabilitation model and within that the process model.

Chapters 3 to 7 relate to Stage I, the immediate outcomes. A basic concept underlying community service philosophy is that reciprocal obligations exist between the offender and the community. In community service, this manifests itself in the precepts that the offender should make amends in a tangible way to the community for the harm caused by his offending, and in turn, the community should be more involved with and accept responsibility for its offenders. Community service is an attempt to resurrect these responsibilities in a meaningful way, but obviously the state, through the Department of Correctional Services, will retain its delegated role of overseeing the system. This three-way

partnership suggested the starting point for the analysis of input by identifying the three main arenas of activity:

- (i) the offender,
- (ii) the community,
- (iii) the Department of Correctional Services.

Each of these areas is dealt with separately in chapters 3 to 5, the purpose being to identify who of all the eligible offenders actually receive a community service order and why; how is "community" defined and which parts of the community participate; what departmental resources are allocated to community service and what are their functions.

Chapter 6 discusses the main process involved in translating these inputs into immediate outputs, and chapter 7 analyzes the frequency of achieving immediate outcomes.

Chapters 8 and 9 discuss processes involved at stage II in effecting the intermediate outcomes, which are discussed in chapter 10.

Chapter 11 refers to the third stage and the processes involved in the ultimate outcome.

Each "input" and "process" discussion is generally divided into two sections. The first establishes the theoretical position as required by legislation or as recommended by departmental guidelines. The second compares these ideals with the actual inputs and processes that eventuate.

Finally chapter 12 makes concluding remarks about this evaluative approach and about rehabilitation and community service in South Australia.

## CHAPTER 3

### SELECTING OFFENDERS FOR COMMUNITY SERVICE

This and the next two chapters examine the input component of the input-process-output model as applied to the first stage of the rehabilitation model. There are two basic questions. In the first instance, what inputs are presumed to facilitate the realization of the immediate outcomes, and, secondly, what inputs are in fact allocated to and selected into the scheme's operation? To recapitulate, the immediate intention of the scheme as set-down in the rehabilitation statement is to have offenders:

- (i) working alongside community minded volunteers,
- (ii) assisting persons less fortunate than themselves,
- (iii) giving something back to society, and
- (iv) participating in educational activities.

#### Selecting Offenders in Theory

Legislative Requirements There is very little statutory direction as to whom may and may not be ordered to do community service. Basically, the Offenders Probation Act applies to any person 18 years or older who is charged with a summary or imprisonable offence and who subsequently either has the charge proved in a court of summary jurisdiction or is convicted in some other court. Such a person may be ordered to do community service.

There are two sections dealing specifically with community service that place limitations on who shall get community service, both arising partly from practical considerations and partly from a concern with the scheme's philosophical intentions.

The first is section 5(1d) which states that no community service order shall be made unless the court is "satisfied upon a report of a probation officer that there is, or will be

within a reasonable period of time, a placement for the probationer at a community service centre reasonably accessible to him and that the community service likely to be undertaken by the probationer is appropriate for him". The second, section 5b(2), which could prevent an order being made, states "a probationer shall not be required to perform community service (a) at a time that would interfere with his gainful employment, or with a course of training or instruction relating to, or likely to assist him in obtaining, gainful employment; or (b) at a time that would cause him to offend against a rule of religion that he practises". Thus a community service offender must live in an area accessible to a community service centre and have work and religious practices which are compatible with the community service regime.

Within the ambit of the Act, the discretion as to who gets community service and why is very wide.

However, these sections - and particularly section 5(1d) which requires a probation officer's report - do virtually insist on the existence of a mechanism for the assessment of offenders. Consequently, the department has introduced procedures and set down guidelines which, in comparison with the open legislation, make very strong recommendations as regards who should and should not get community service.

Assessment Procedures The department has submitted its views on who is a suitable candidate for community service and the procedures involved in assessing this in numerous publications, publicity pamphlets and procedural forms. The most detailed exposition is a section of the community service order scheme's Policy and Practice Manual which is devoted to pre-sentence assessment of offenders (part 5.5). This deals with the philosophy behind the assessment process, the assessment mechanisms and a list of "suitable" and "unsuitable" characteristics in the community service candidate.

The most direct and specific administrative translation of section 5(1d) is in respect of the "reasonably accessible" requirement. The department has prescribed areas, defined by post-codes, within which the offender must live to qualify for community service.

In order to assist the probation officer in his community service assessment, the department has provided two forms. The first (DCS B104, see appendix 2) is used while interviewing the offender in order to "obtain an accurate picture of the offender and his situation as quickly as possible" and is "designed to facilitate the gathering of pertinent information" (Manual, part 5.5.4.9). The



"pertinent" information is relatively detailed. The following summary list conveys the department's concrete translation of the Act's requirements for a "reasonably accessible placement", "within a reasonable period of time", which is "appropriate to the offender" and which suits his employment and religious commitments:

- . address
- . court/offence details
- . occupation
- . previous and current probation/parole/community service contact
- . previous convictions, particularly for sexual and violent offences
- . offender's consent to community service
- . health/alcohol/drug/gambling details and their effect on doing community service
- . employment details, including whether community service would interfere with it
- . education and trade training
- . living arrangement and domestic circumstances
- . leisure interests
- . accessibility to community service centre
- . placement availability
- . recommendation on community service.

Following this interview by a probation officer, the information is summarised onto form DCS B105 (see appendix 3) which is the community service assessment report to the court. In this form the assessment is summarized under four headings : placement; suitability; hours available; evaluation.

"Placement" refers to section 5(1d) and whether there is or is not a reasonably accessible community service placement available, thus presumably looking after the accessibility and availability requirements.

"Suitability" states whether or not the community service undertaken by the offender is appropriate for him. If community service is not appropriate, reasons are to be given and eight possible reasons are listed:

- (i) nature of previous criminal record,
- (ii) conscientious objection (presumably referring to community service requirements offending against religious practices and perhaps to unwillingness to consent to community service),
- (iii) addiction to drugs, alcohol or gambling,
- (iv) vocational or education interference,
- (v) living arrangements,
- (vi) domestic circumstances,
- (vii) personal reasons.

The criteria as listed are in fact an assessment of whether the offender is appropriate for community service rather than vice versa as provided in the Act (is community service appropriate for the offender?). The Manual (part 5.5.2.2) achieves this about-face when it takes the statutory phrase, extends it to "appropriateness or suitability" instead of just "appropriateness" and then neatly turns this around by concluding that "it stands to reason that the report should also give an indication of the suitability or unsuitability of the offender to perform community service as without such an assessment, no match can be made to a suitable project".

It is true that the Act does enjoin the court to have regard for the character, antecedents, age, health or mental condition of the person charged when making any order under the Act and so the above information is no doubt of interest to the court. However, I feel the logic employed in the transposition is somewhat tenuous in the light of sections 5(1d). It is not clear what the intention of the provision is, but to ask as the Act does whether the community service is appropriate to the offender is a plausible question in its own right. An example of this would be an offender who is in need of rehabilitation and so the question becomes does community service have a placement which offers rehabilitation. This part of the assessment report also addressed the specific requirements of section 5b(2), relating to the offender's employment, training and religious situation. Moreover, it introduces a number of additional considerations e.g. previous criminal record, domestic circumstances.

"Hours available" ensures that an offender already on community service will not, in total, be subject to more than 240 hours of community service.

"Evaluation" is a summary that states whether the requirements of section 5(1d) appear to have been satisfied or not and accordingly whether the offender is or is not suitable to perform community service. Additional comment may be added.

It is obvious from these two forms that the administrators of the scheme have injected substantial parameters concerning whom they think is and is not suitable for community service. This is not unreasonable, and the Manual goes to some lengths to explain this. A number of "philosophical and general considerations" emerge.

First, it is thought to be clearly desirable that there should be a consistency of approach within the department, between offices and officers, when assessing suitability (part 5.5.1.1).

Secondly, community service must be seen in the context of wider social objectives of correctional policy. In particular it is seen as an opportunity to reduce the alienation of the individual offender, thus the offender needs to be motivated and ready for change (part 5.5.1.2). This aspect of the assessment is definitely rooted in the rehabilitative philosophy.

Thirdly, for offenders who need the benefit of social work skills, community service will be a more appropriate vehicle in some cases than a primarily casework approach (part 5.5.1.3).

Fourthly, reference is made to the three philosophical frameworks, i.e. punitive, reparative and rehabilitative. Contrary to other statements, the community service work component is said here to be mainly directed towards punishment and reparation. The educational component of community service is to be seen as a reparative and rehabilitative measure. These distinctions are seen as important when assessing suitability, because factors making a candidate suitable for work are markedly different from those affecting suitability for educational activities (part 5.5.1.5).

Fifthly, the list of specific suitability criteria are said to be justified by the context in which the scheme is being implemented:

- administrative support to the courts,

- minimal supervision of the offender by the Department of Correctional Services,
- maximum involvement by the sponsoring or benefitting agencies,
- public safety considerations where offenders are working with non-offenders,
- limited availability of assessment, support and treatment resources within the context of the scheme (although offenders needing intensive support resources can be dealt with by other means within the Department, but this may require a variation in the condition of the bond),
- limited provision of services to the sponsoring or benefitting organisations,
- reasonable stability in the personal and social functioning of offenders including a measure of self-directiveness and motivation,
- weighting of probability factors in the satisfactory completion of a community service order and their attendant reduction in administrative procedures, i.e. brief assessment reports, lessened community officer intervention for disciplinary action or social work support, etc."

These contextual parameters are mainly directed at easing the management of the scheme and encouraging community participation. As the Manual acknowledges, given the resources available, "these criteria recognise the needs as well as the limitations of the scheme by selecting mainly those offenders who are more likely to succeed rather than fail in the performance of community service" (part 5.5.1.4).

The Manual states that experience will tell what constitutes "suitability" and "unsuitability" for community service, albeit it has a detailed list of suggestions. The specific suitability and unsuitability criteria are reproduced in appendix 4. Very briefly, some of the major features of "suitability" are a background of settled accommodation and stable family and personal relationships; first offenders or those with a marked deceleration in the rate of their offending; those motivated to change their life style; those in need of personality or social development. Some of the major "unsuitability" features are persons who constitute a threat to society, e.g. sex and/or violent offenders, serious drug or alcohol problems, mentally disturbed offenders,

offenders with continual personal or social crises, offenders with a history of recognizance breaches; insurmountable transport problems; persistent offenders; the genuine "work shy" offender; work commitments which would not allow the completion of community service obligations. A reading of the full list demonstrates the difficulties of constructing criteria, especially for a broadly-based scheme with several objectives. The list includes factors which at first glance seem to contradict each other, either within the "suitable" list or between the "suitable" and "unsuitable" lists. In fact the distinctions are usually drawn on the basis of the individual offender's circumstances and motivation for change.

Three other aspects of suitability not already mentioned are canvassed in the Manual. First, it is suggested that community service is best suited for those aged 18 (the legal minimum) to 30. Secondly, the scheme is seen as suitable for men and women though it is noted that sentencers may perceive women as personally unsuitable because of personal commitments, pregnancy, dependent children, family commitments, and so on. However, it is also noted that where women's offending is linked with social isolation, every opportunity should be explored to include them in the scheme. Lastly, the offender's consent to do community service is discussed. Willingness to undertake the obligation and to participate are considered important indications of ability to complete the order and to benefit from it. Therefore, he must consent to enter into the recognizance. The Manual concludes that where the offender is clearly unwilling to perform community service, this should be reported to the court as mitigating against inclusion in community service.

The general tenor of the ideal assessment procedures and guidelines as promulgated by the department is that community service caters for the more settled, less serious offenders who are non-threatening - both to the community and to the success of the scheme - and who are interested in doing something about their position. Interestingly, many of the "suitability" criteria as stated in the full list are firmly expressed from a rehabilitative perspective.

The Sentence Once the offender's suitability has been assessed and reported to the court, the court of course still has the discretion whether to issue a community service order or not, and if so, defines the details of the order and whether to impose concurrent sentences or not.

There is no reference in the Act to the philosophy or objectives of the scheme and there is no mention as to when a community service order is appropriate except the general prescription for all orders under the Act that the court shall

have regard to "(a) the character, antecedents, age, health, or mental condition of the person charged, or (b) the trivial nature of the offence, or (c) the extenuating circumstances under which the offence was committed" (section 4(1)).

#### The Selection of Community Service Offenders in practice

The department has put considerable thought into which offenders it wants on its community service scheme. The question now is, who actually gets community service? The description of the selection process is divided into three stages: the initial request to consider community service, the assessment, and the sentence. The main indicators discussed in the following sections are derived from the preceding discussion.

Who initiates consideration of community service? It is hypothesized that whoever it is who originally suggests community service as a possibility for any given offender could have a significant bearing on the type of offender who gets community service. For example, if it is usually at the magistrate's instigation, his views on when community service should be used obviously have an influence, and we have already seen, that these vary within the judiciary, and as a group they differ from the department's intentions.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to thoroughly research the question of who initiates the community service assessment. Is it the magistrate, the defendant's counsel, the probation officer, or who? I put the question to the judiciary and in 7 of 13 responses the initiative was said to be usually from the magistrate or judge himself. Three said it is either himself or the defendant's counsel; in the experience of one magistrate it is usually counsel for the defendant, and in another's it is usually the probation officer.

I also asked the two community service officers if they had reached any conclusions on this initiating action, eliciting responses that reflect the very different operating environments of the two community service centres. In one centre, most community service offenders are referred through the one local court with its one magistrate. On busy court days, the community service officer has been in the practice of sitting in court, and considers his presence a constant reminder to the magistrate of the community service option. Given this context, the community service officer said the assessment is usually instigated at the magistrate's initiative. This magistrate himself commented to me that this

is a changing situation in that counsel are increasingly raising the possibility as they become more aware of and familiar with community service orders. In contrast to this is the metropolitan community service centre which at the time of the survey had serviced 8 courts and 16 judicial officers. Obviously the community service officer cannot assume a high profile in the courtroom and consequently he is not present to see who initiates the consideration of community service. He imagined lawyers, some of the magistrates who use community service more frequently, and sometimes probation officers would be responsible for raising the matter.

Assessing the offender In the first 6 months of operation, 84 people were assessed for community service, 69 (82%) of whom received a community service order. At the early stages of its operation, forms were not always available for assessment and in 18 cases the assessment was proffered to the court by means of a pre-sentence report.

First, the circumstances of the 15 who did not receive a community service order. Four of these 15 were assessed as suitable for community service and reported as such to the court, and one was seen as a possibility for community service. The reasons for not giving community service in these 5 cases are not known. The following reasons were given for the remaining 10 who were assessed as unsuitable:

Nature of previous criminal record	3
Conscientious objection	0
Physical or mental illness of disability	4
Addiction to drugs, alcohol or gambling	0
Vocational or educational interference	3
Living arrangements	3
Domestic circumstances	1
Personal reasons	1

Next the 69 assessments which resulted in a community service order. Unfortunately, we do not have analogous information on why probation officers assessed positively, as indeed this is not their responsibility. However we can examine how those assessed as suitable measure up against the selection criteria. First, the legislative limitations. There are two sources of information as regards the

requirements of section 5(1d). First the form recording information at the time of the assessment interview, and secondly, the next stage, the report to the court. As regards available placement and the accessibility of the placements, results from both sources are given, as the latter form gives a composite report, which slightly alters the previous assessments.

- (i) Placement available. This information was available in 60 of the 69 assessment interviews which resulted in an order and in 57 it was noted that a placement was available, in 2 it was doubtful and in 1 it was stated there was none. This information is recorded prior to reporting to court.
- (ii) Community service centre reasonably accessible. Fifty-seven assessment interviews dealt with this question, of which 49 affirmed the reasonable accessibility, 1 was doubtful, and 7 stated that a community service centre was not reasonably accessible. This information is also recorded prior to reporting to court.
- (iii) Reasonably accessible placement available. When submitted to the court the two criteria are combined. This information was given to the court by way of the form or probation report in 54 of the 69 orders. In 51 cases, the availability of such a placement was endorsed, 2 were doubtful and 1 said a reasonably accessible placement was not available - he still got community service.
- (iv) Suitability. This information was not available in 9 cases. In 58 it was endorsed that community service was appropriate for the offender, 1 was said to be possibly inappropriate because of his domestic situation (he was a separated man who looked after his daughter on Saturdays), and 1 was said to be inappropriate because of his two previous convictions for violent offences.
- (v) Interference with employment, training for employment or religion. In none of the orders was it thought that community service would interfere with work, training or religious considerations. However, in several cases it was acknowledged that the employment situation was such that it may have to be taken into account during the course of the order, e.g. one man spent one weekend per month in the army; another was a works manager on call for weekend work.
- (vi) Section 5(1d) evaluation. This is a summary evaluation given to the court. All 50 cases where the evaluation was made were thought to satisfy the criteria.

In terms of legal criteria, it is difficult to put an exact figure on how many people got community service who should not have. If we take the section 5(ld) evaluation every one we know about was appropriate; if reasonably accessible placement is the criterion, I should not have. This was a very recent order and unfortunately it is too soon to see how this offender is coping. Whatever, it is clear that, almost without exception, persons getting community service fall within the legal scope of community service, as assessed by probation officers.

When asked, all but one of the magistrates and judges thought that it is necessary for the probation officer's report under section 5(ld) to be mandatory, though some of the disadvantages of this were mentioned. The main disadvantage, noted by 6, was that it causes delays in sentencing. One magistrate mentioned that there is no check on the probation officer's opinion, and another said that the reporting system may be too inflexible for offenders whose circumstances had changed.

The judiciary were also asked how helpful they find the probation officer's report in considering the various criteria of section 5(ld). As table 5 shows, it is generally thought to be very helpful. The only area in which it is sometimes less helpful is the imprecise one of whether the community service to be undertaken is appropriate for the offender.

TABLE 5 JUDICIARY VIEWS ON THE PROBATION OFFICER'S REPORT

Helpfulness of Report in determining that:	Very Helpful	Helpful	Not Very Helpful
There is a placement available within a reasonable period of time	10	1	1
There is a reasonably accessible placement	9	2	1
The community service to be undertaken is appropriate for the probationer	7	2	3

Next, the administrative criteria. There was no record of an offender who was assessed for community service who did not consent to undertake service. However, there were 6 offenders whose consent was thought to be doubtful, only one of whom did get community service. This information is not recorded on the form presented to court, so it is not known if the information was passed on to court or not. This individual said he would prefer to pay a fine and as it happens he has been a troublesome case when it comes to attending community service.

The table in appendix 5 displays factors relevant to the department's suitability criteria, related to whether the defendant received a community service order or not. Because there was probably only one person, or two at the most, assessed as unsuitable but who got community service, and four or five assessed as suitable who did not get community service, the characteristics of those getting community service versus those who did not is indicative of factors pertaining to the probation officer's assessment of suitability and unsuitability. It is not worth duplicating the data for both the assessment and sentencing stages.

Only 6 of the 69 offenders (7%) were women (appendix 5.1), a small proportion compared with the 15% of all defendants who were before courts of summary jurisdiction in 1981 (Office of Crime Statistics, 1982, p.48).

One of the department's propositions was that 30 would be a reasonable upper age limit. As appendix 5.2 shows 16% of the orders were in respect of persons 30 years or more. Despite this, community service offenders are a relatively young population compared with all defendants, 34% of whom were 30 years old or more (ibid, p.49).

As discussed previously the "accessibility" legal criterion has its administrative translation. It is interesting to note that 10 of the 15 who were not sentenced to community service lived outside the prescribed area, but then so did a large proportion of those who were given a community service order, 29 of the 69 (42%) (appendix 5.3).

A lot of stress is put on the fact that community service offenders should not be a threat to society, and a major indicator here, and one that community agencies are particularly interested in, is the offence. Although not stipulated by legislation, the department says serious offenders will not be involved. The offence for which community service was given is shown in part 5 of appendix 5. The first four offence groups are offences against the person and as a type they are the more serious offences, though these 14 instances may not have been particularly severe instances. Twenty-one percent of community service orders and 20% of the refusals fell into this category.

In order to get a better idea of whether community service is getting a more serious type of offender according to offence type, table 6 makes a comparison with various other penalties. The difficulty is to know what the appropriate comparison is. For illustrative purposes, community service has a very high proportion of person and property offences and is low on driving-drinking offences when compared with all convictions in courts of summary jurisdiction and even when compared with imprisonment. In many respects, the offence pattern of community service is similar to that for suspended imprisonment.

The noticeable group of offences not represented in community service is offensive behaviour, which is largely drunkenness, and generally considered a less serious offence. The overall impression is that community service in fact gravitates to more serious rather than lesser offences.

In terms of previous offending history, 70% of community service offenders had previously been convicted, a slightly higher proportion than the 62% of all defendants in summary courts (ibid, p.53). The one person with a previous sexual offence was not given community service, though there were 7 who had previous convictions for violent offences, generally common assault. Nine percent of community service offenders had previously been sentenced to imprisonment. This is considerably less than the figure for all those before the court - 23% (ibid, p.15). (Appendix 5.6-10).

Other factors considered unsuitable were physical or mental health problems, and heavy involvement in alcohol, drugs or gambling. Three offenders had health problems, one of whom was given a community service order. None were assessed as having heavy alcohol, drug or gambling problems (appendix 5.11-12).

Several items of information refer to positive factors relating to a settled background. A very high proportion of all persons assessed were unemployed. Sixty-one percent of those who got community service were unemployed and seeking work (appendix 5.13-14). Unfortunately, comparisons with the general population are 12 months out of date. Despite this, this 61% compares with, in the last half of 1981, at least 33% of all defendants who were unemployed and 6% of the adult population (ibid, p.52). In this respect, the community service population would not be considered stable, however the guidelines are flexible on this and community service is also seen as an opportunity to help those with long-term unemployment gain confidence in their ability to work, particularly if they had a stable employment history prior to their unemployment and if their situation is not compounded by serious social problems.



TABLE 6 COMPARISON OF OFFENCES RECEIVING COMMUNITY SERVICE WITH OTHER PENALTIES

Major Offence	July-December 1982 Community Service Order		1 July - 31 December 1981				
	No.	%	Fine	Bond With Supervision	Suspended Imprisonment	Imprisonment	Total Convictions
			%	%	%	%	%
Offences against the person*	9	13.2	2.0	6.0	15.4	6.9	2.9
Assault police; resist arrest	5	7.4	4.5	4.8	11.6	6.5	4.7
Property offences	33	48.5	14.5	64.3	47.9	34.0	17.9
Drug offences	5	7.4	6.4	7.1	0.7	0.5	5.6
Drive under influence	5	7.4	5.2	1.2	2.1	8.8	4.9
Exceed prescribed alcohol content	5	7.4	19.3	1.2	-	12.2	16.7
Other driving offences	6	8.8	5.5	1.2	14.0	13.9	6.0
Offensive behaviour	-	-	29.1	9.5	2.1	11.0	28.6
Offences against order**	-	-	3.8	3.6	3.1	2.1	3.7
Other offences	-	-	9.7	1.2	3.1	4.1	8.9
TOTAL	68	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number			8098	84	292	582	9844

\* Includes conspire to rob.

\*\* Excludes resist arrest.

Sources: Community Service Research Survey.

Office of Crime Statistics, Attorney-General's Department,  
Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, South Australia 1 July - 31 December 1981, Series A, No. 3, 1982.

Only 4 defendants had living arrangements which the assessor thought might not remain stable during community service and only 1 had a domestic circumstance (which usually referred to personal relationships) which might interfere with doing community service. All but 15 community service offenders lived with members of their family and all but 14 had been in their present living arrangements for over one year - indicating a high degree of stability (appendix 5.18-21).

All in all, the picture is one of a settled background. The exception may be employment but this is a rapidly changing phenomenon anyway. As regards their involvement in offending, community service offenders are not new at the game, but their low rate of previous imprisonment indicated that their previous involvement has been at a less serious level than their current offences which tended to be of a serious type.

#### The Sentencing Stage

Having described the offender, the question of why these offenders were selected into community service still remains, and how, if at all, this relates to the objectives of the scheme, in particular the rehabilitation objective. Most of the information in this respect has been obtained through the questionnaire to the judiciary. Their general thoughts about community service's use were introduced previously. This section discusses more specific and practical considerations.

A series of questions was put to the judiciary about what offence, offender and other circumstances they see as appropriate and inappropriate for a community service order. Three respondents declined to answer, 2 saying this depends on individual circumstances.

First with respect to offences. Respondents were asked to indicate how appropriate they thought community service was for given offence categories. For the purposes of the question, they were asked to assume that the offender had no serious past convictions in that specific offence, in an attempt to control for some of the individual circumstances. As table 7 shows, there were not many who chose to commit themselves to the extreme positions of saying community service is very appropriate or very inappropriate for a given offence type. The exception to this was serious drug offences, for which 4 thought community service to be very inappropriate. However, looking at the basic distinction between appropriate and inappropriate, there were six categories where at least 7 of the 10 respondents agreed community service was appropriate, and two where 6 of the 10 saw it as inappropriate, leaving three categories undecided.

The "appropriate" group comprises false pretences, unlawful use of a motor vehicle, common assault, shoplifting and driving under the influence. The "inappropriate" group comprises serious drug offences and possession of marijuana for sale. The last group where there was no consensus includes assault occasioning actual bodily harm, breaking and entering, and exceeding the prescribed content of alcohol while driving.

TABLE 7 JUDICIARY VIEWS ON APPROPRIATENESS OF COMMUNITY SERVICE FOR CERTAIN OFFENCE TYPES

Type of Offence	very appropriate	appropriate	not appropriate	very inappropriate
Assault occasioning actual bodily harm	-	5	5	-
Common assault	-	8	1	1
Serious drug offences	-	3	3	4
Possess marijuana for sale	-	4	5	1
Breaking and entering	2	4	2	2
Shoplifting	3	4	2	1
False pretences	3	6	1	-
Unlawful use of motor vehicle	2	7	1	-
Exceeding prescribed content of alcohol	1	5	3	1
Drive under influence	1	6	2	1
Disqualified driving	2	7	1	-

The following lists record the responses as regards the type of offender (as opposed to offence) for whom community service was seen as appropriate and inappropriate. Responses dealing with similar ideas are grouped together. Answers were not expressed solely in terms of offenders, so answers to the question on other circumstances for which community service is appropriate have been incorporated here.

Type of offender and circumstances for which community service is appropriate

. needing support or work habits; low esteem	4
. if offender would benefit from reflecting on antisocial nature of offence	1
. of stable background and no threat to community	4
. fine too harsh in his financial situation	8
. first offender	2
. deceleration in offending pattern	2
. type of offence (drunken driving if offender has low or no income, dishonesty, vandals if they do not see it as a soft option)	3
. where custodial orders have been ineffective or are otherwise inappropriate; hardened offender who has not responded to variety of punishments	1
. leisure time should be curtailed	1
. impossible to answer, depends on circumstances	3

Type of offender and circumstances for which community service is not appropriate

. criminal history too serious (recidivist, violent offending, recognizance breaches)	11
. type offence (sex, property, shoplifting, break and enter, minor traffic and statutory)	4
. personal attributes (alcohol or drug problems, mentally disturbed, no fixed abode)	5
. unlikely to take up rehabilitation challenge; sees it as soft option	3
. another penalty is more appropriate	3
. community service not recommended by probation service	1
. impossible to answer, depends on circumstances	1

The final and critical question in respect of reasons for sentencing to community service was a direct question which asked exactly that in respect of named offenders. Fifteen of the 16 magistrates and judges who had actually made a community service order during the first six months of the scheme were supplied with a sheet for each named offender whom he or she had sentenced. They were asked to indicate the 3 most important considerations, in order of priority, that influenced each particular community service order. Nine possible reasons were listed, though they were encouraged to note other considerations if applicable.

The 15 magistrates and judges had sentenced a total of 56 offenders to community service. Four of these judicial officers did not complete the questionnaire reducing the number of sentences to 46. Of those who made the return, 1 thought it inappropriate to answer the question in respect of individuals, 1 had shifted courts and did not have the papers necessary to answer the question, 1 other could not recollect the reasons, thus reducing the total number of sentences by another 11, leaving sentencing information for 35 offenders from 8 judicial officers. The 63% response may not be sufficient to place complete confidence in the representativeness of the responses, but the results are interesting enough to make tentative conclusions about the selection of offenders in relation to the objectives of the scheme.

There were 5 considerations that stood out as reasons for giving a community service order. In order of frequency they were to ensure the offender is under some official supervision, to make the offender repay the community for his offending, to encourage the offender not to offend again, to provide an alternative to imprisonment, and to deprive the offender of some of his leisure time. If items 4, 8, 9, 14, 15 and 16 in table 8 are seen as rehabilitative factors, then taken together rehabilitation was definitely a frequent consideration, though rarely a first priority. The using of community service as an alternative to a fine in 7 cases is an interesting development and a theme that came through strongly throughout the study, particularly from the point of view of the offenders.

Note however that the most frequent response, to ensure some official supervision, was only once top priority and more often third. When it comes to first priority, to provide an alternative to imprisonment was most frequent, registering as such in a third of the cases. This was closely followed by a wish to make the offender repay the community for his offending. Encouraging the offender not to offend again was always a second or third consideration.

\* This does not balance with the total of 69 for 6 months, because at time of sending out the questionnaire, not all the information was available.

TABLE 8 PRIORITY OF REASONS FOR IMPOSING COMMUNITY SERVICE

Reason	Total Number of Times Mentioned	Priority of Importance		
		1	2	3
1. To make offender repay community for his offending	15	10	1	4
2. To deprive offender of some of his leisure time	11	1	6	4
3. To ensure offender is under some official supervision	21	1	5	15
4. To teach offender new attitudes/skills	7	1	6	-
5. Alternative to imprisonment	13	11	-	2
6. Alternative to a fine	7	4	2	1
7. To encourage offender not to offend again	14	-	7	7
8. To give offender an opportunity for social activities	5	2	1	2
9. To put offender in contact with non-offending people in the community	4	1	2	1
10. Alternative to licence disqualification	1	1	-	-
11. Offender has no history of offending	1	-	1	-
12. 1978 offence and has kept out of trouble since	1	1	-	-
13. Impulsiveness surrounding the offence	1	1	-	-
14. To preserve employment	1	-	1	-
15. History of psychological problems	1	-	1	-
16. Usually imprisonment, but in the circumstances, community service do more good for offender and community	1	1	-	-

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\* This does not balance with the total of 69 for 6 months, because at time of sending out the questionnaire, not all the information was available.

Not knowing what level of response to expect to the previous question, a similar question was put to the community service officer: in respect of each of his community service clientele, he was asked why he thought the magistrate or judge considered community service appropriate and what the main motivation for the sentence was. The responses are necessarily impressionistic but the judgments are based on considerable experience as probation officers. The question was asked in respect of 49 of the possible 69 offenders, though no reason could be posited for 14 of them. More than one reason could be registered in respect of each offender, though in most cases only one was noted. The most frequent reason posited for a community service order was as an alternative to imprisonment - 19 of the 49 were endorsed thus. A few of these responses had explanations as to why an alternative rather than prison itself was appropriate: the offender was put up to the offence by other people; the offender was a mother with four young children to care for; although the offender had a long record this offence was very old and he had stayed out of trouble since; the magistrate was glad to have a punitive alternative to prison. Punishment was seen to be the motivation for 14 offenders, and an alternative to a fine for 8 cases. Rehabilitation was mentioned explicitly only twice, plus another possible case where it was stated that community service was to give the offender something to do. Reparation was the motivation in 2 cases, and in 1 case it was as an alternative to loss of driving licence and a fine. Apart from less emphasis on rehabilitation and reparation, these judgments are close to the judiciary's stated reasons.

Although not particularly relevant to the question of why community service was ordered, this is probably the most suitable place to report the results of the question put to offenders themselves and to the community service officers as to what sentence they thought would have been given if community service was not an available option. As table 9 shows, imprisonment and fines were definitely on their minds. An interesting observation made to me by several offenders was that either their lawyer or their probation officer had advised them, or so they understood, that since they had had a fine and a supervised bond in the past, this time they could expect imprisonment. This was a strong incentive to agree to community service, even though they did not always know what they were letting themselves in for.

Finally, for the record, by the end of 1982, 1 Supreme Court judge, 3 District Court judges and 12 magistrates had made community service orders. There were 5 magistrates presiding in relevant courts who had not made an order. The number of orders per sentencer ranged from 1 to 14. As table 10 shows, the 14 was exceptional. The average number of orders per sentencer was 4.3.

TABLE 9 COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICER'S AND OFFENDER'S GUESS  
AT WHAT PENALTY WOULD HAVE BEEN ORDERED IF NOT  
COMMUNITY SERVICE

Penalty	Guess of	
	C.S. Officer	Offender
Prison	13	7
Prison or suspended imprisonment	7	-
Prison or fine	-	1
Fine	10	5
Fine and loss of licence	2	-
Fine and/or bond	3	1
Fine and suspended imprisonment	-	1
Suspended imprisonment	1	-
Bond	2	-
Bond and/or suspended imprisonment	3	-
Do not know	8	2

TABLE 10 NUMBER OF COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDERS MADE PER SENTENCER

Number of Orders	Number of Sentencers
1	3
2	1
3	2
4	4
5	3
6	1
7	1
14	1
TOTAL	16

## Conclusion

There are two main processes operating in the selection of community service offenders: the probation officer's assessment and the magistrate's or judge's sentence. Although there is the statutory requirement that an assessment precede an order, it is difficult to demonstrate how the one influences the other except to acknowledge that there were very few cases where the assessment recommendation and the eventual sentence did not agree with each other. Because of lack of information as regards who initiates the assessment we cannot know whether sentencers apply consistent criteria when asking for an assessment or whether assessments themselves are the main culling process within which the sentencers then apply their community service criteria.

Despite this, there is ample information about the two later processes on which to base conclusions about who is selected to undertake community service and why.

The assessment is a component that the Department of Correctional Services has taken very seriously: it has set up special and well documented assessment procedures plus detailed guidance as to whom they do and do not think is suitable for community service. The rationale behind their criteria is explained in the Manual with frequent appeals to the rehabilitative ideal on the one hand and the ease of management on the other. There are loose references to the punitive and reparative objectives of the schemes.

When discussing the selection of offenders with the community service co-ordinator and community service officers, it is evident that their views on who should and should not get community service are very pragmatic. Usually, the topic is discussed in the first instance in relation to who should not get community service. Basically, offenders who are a "threat" are not welcome. This label encompasses threats to the community as a whole (e.g. the violent offender who will continue to beat up people) and threats to the community service agencies or recipients (in that they cannot be entrusted to work properly, or even more specifically they may steal from their agency), but the strongest concern emerging was with threats to the scheme itself, either to its acceptability or its manageability. The community service co-ordinator and community service officers all talked about the need to play it safe and to let the scheme get established. Thus serious offenders should be excluded even if they could benefit in a rehabilitative sense from community service, as should those who need social work intervention beyond the facilities of community service. Despite this there was a reluctance to give up all cases which call for the professional case-work skills of a social worker and the



Manual quite explicitly countenances cases requiring short-term social support (part 5.5.6.1).

When it came to whom should be selected into the scheme, ideas were not so crystallized and the question was usually answered by a general reference to the guidelines in the Manual: generally, community service offenders should come from relatively stable domestic and social backgrounds and be individuals who are motivated towards change. However, the point was made that the situation is never simple and it depends on the total configuration of the individual circumstances.

The data confirm that community service offenders fit the intention of the stable, settled background and in terms of offending (previous and current) they do not seem to be a threat to society. Their motivation to succeed in community service or to change the offending aspects of their lifestyle was not something that could be gleaned from the assessment data, though the community service officers were inclined to categorise their clients as those "just doing their time" and those who "want to change".

The selection process holds an important question for this evaluation: to what extent does the assessment process produce a group of offenders selected to succeed? For example, succeed in reassuring the community agencies and allaying their fears; in ensuring the scheme is accepted by the community and gains the confidence of the courts; in minimizing the administrative inconvenience of recalcitrant offenders who need disciplinary or enforcement actions; and of course in selecting a group of offenders who are not going to reoffend anyway or who have already embarked on a rehabilitative path.

The last question, the rehabilitative one, is obviously crucial to this evaluation and will be borne in mind in the final chapter. In the meantime the official observations on this possible self-fulfilling process are noted.

The Policy and Practice Manual twice accedes that the criteria tend to select offenders who are more likely to succeed than fail in the performance of community service. It is claimed that the legislative requirements, the objectives of the scheme and resources justify the selection of "self-correcting" candidates (part 5.5.1.4 and 7). No reasoning is given for the statement that the legislation justifies self-correcting candidates and it is surely a circular argument to say the objectives support it. Be that as it may, it is evident from discussions with the community service staff that they feel community acceptance justifies it and administrative convenience demands it. All three staff agreed there is an element of pre-selection but they were not making any

apologies for this situation. An interesting situation existed in one of the community service centres where at the time of the research the community service officer was responsible for community service assessments as well as administering the operation of the scheme. He was aware of the control he had by selecting offenders who would not prove troublesome for the scheme if he so wished, a facility highlighted by the fact that his few difficult cases had been assessed outside his area and were ones he himself would not have recommended as suitable for community service. He cited two further considerations in this matter. First, there is a danger of setting up unsuitable candidates who are likely to fail the relatively stringent requirements of community service only then to undergo the breach consequences which could possibly be imprisonment. Secondly, the administrative workload incurred by unsatisfactory performance is considerable and to be avoided. Although the other community service officer did not have direct control over the assessment process, in all cases the assessing probation officer did contact him and he was able to have some input into the assessment recommendation.

The second part of the selection process is the actual sentencing. The relevant question here is whether the sentencers are making community service orders in a conscious attempt to respond to the objectives of the scheme, or whether community service has its own place in their sentencing repertoire. The real purpose of this study is to see how rehabilitation works and consequently has not been designed to thoroughly examine the reasons for sentencing. In particular, this work is not conclusive in relation to that important question of whether community service is really being used as an alternative to imprisonment. However, from the information that is available, we can conclude that at a general level the judiciary agreed that community service is an alternative to imprisonment, that it is a form of reparation, and that it does rehabilitate the offender. They did not see it as a punishment, the fourth objective. The majority of the judiciary thought rehabilitation to be the primary objective. At this general level three of the four objectives of the scheme are satisfied.

However, the priorities change when the question was approached from the less philosophic angle of the reason for making a specific order. Although elements of rehabilitation and punishment were involved, the custodial alternative and reparation were more frequently the first consideration in making the order.

Although the results drawn from specific examples are not incompatible with the judiciary's general philosophic position, they are not entirely consistent in terms of the most important consideration. The Department of Correctional

Services however, should be happy with the specific results, their official emphasis being on community service as an alternative to imprisonment which benefits the community. It needs to be borne in mind that the exercise related to a small sample of sentences only.

## CHAPTER 4

### COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

A basic assumption of the South Australian community service scheme is that the community should be actively involved, not only as a recipient of services rendered by offenders, but also by accepting some responsibility for supervising the offender while he is working. In terms of its rehabilitative aspect, involvement of the "therapeutic community", imbuing offenders with socially acceptable ways, is essential. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the "community" : who in the community participates in the scheme and why.

#### Community Participation in Theory

Legislative Requirements There are two levels of community involvement. The first is the participation of persons outside the Department of Correctional Services in the committee super-structure, thus contributing to policy decisions about the parameters of the scheme's operation, approving projects and advising the Minister. The second is the participation of community groups, individuals and community service beneficiaries during the actual working out of a community service order. About the former, the Act is specific; the latter is left flexible and any statutory guidance is by inference.

The Act establishes a two tier advisory system. First there is a state "Community Service Advisory Committee" of three to five members, one of whom shall be appointed by the Minister after consultation with the United Trades and Labor Council (U.T.L.C.) and one is nominated by the Executive Director of Correctional Services (section 5(d)). The functions of this advisory committee are to formulate guidelines for the approval of projects and tasks suitable for community service, and to perform such other functions as the Minister may direct. As such, this committee basically has a policy and advisory function.

The next tier is the establishment of "community service committees" for each community service centre". These committees have three to five members of whom one is a magistrate, one is appointed by the Minister after consultation with the U.T.L.C. and one is nominated by the Executive Director of Correctional Services. The functions of this committee are to approve, within the guidelines formulated by the Community Service Advisory Committee, the projects and tasks to be performed by community service offenders, to keep approved projects under regular review, to monitor the performance of community service work by offenders and to perform such other functions as the Minister may direct. The function of this committee is part policy and part administration, but still at a level removed from the actual management of individual community service orders.

The purpose of specific U.T.L.C. inclusion in these committees is to protect the position of workers by ensuring that community service projects will not deprive the community of employment opportunities. This provision insists on community involvement and there is room for more community participation in the filling of the unattached committee positions.

The other area of community participation is in the actual provision of work and supervision of individual community service orders. Here, the Act is less specific. It implies that the "community" should be a local one from the offender's point of view when it states that community service shall not be ordered unless the community service placement is at a community service centre reasonably accessible to the offender (section 5(d)).

The other aspect which delimits the type of person or group within the community who may participate is the definition of types of projects or tasks that can be done by community service: it must be for the benefit of an organization that does not seek to secure a pecuniary profit for its members; or a project that aids a person, or group of persons who is or are disadvantaged through age, illness, incapacity, poverty or any other adversity; or a project of a government department or instrumentality or of a local government authority (section 5(d)(8)). Further, no project or task shall be approved which would replace a person who is being paid to perform any work or for which funds are available (section 5d(9)).

In retrospect, one other legal provision that has potential for determining the type of community agency involved is section 5b(1)(a) which states an intention that community service work be carried out in eight hour stints on Saturdays, though there is a saving clause which allows flexibility in this.

Obviously, these provisions have implications as to the type of community agency or person involved. How does the department translate these requirements into operational objectives?

Departmental Policy The concept of community participation is reiterated throughout the department's community service literature. It is reflected in the philosophical statements and objectives of the scheme (Manual, Part 2.5.3):

- . to offer tangible benefits to the community or a section of the community;
- . to ensure that, as far as practicable, community service is offered in or near the offender's neighbourhood;
- . to ensure the work undertaken is that normally done by volunteers;
- . to ensure that the scheme maximizes the involvement of volunteers, voluntary agencies and community groups.

In turn, these objectives lead to a number of administrative instructions, the most pertinent being (Manual, Part 4.1.4):

- . the development and maintenance of a pool of projects suitable for offenders to undertake;
- . provision of support and consultation to participating community organizations, including development of policies and practices as well as supervising and interventive action, when necessary, to ensure effective offender placement.

The importance of these processes are summarized in Community Service for Adult Offenders (p. 11) with the statement that "the Department sees the agency or the volunteer supervisor as the most important link in the chain of people having an interest in the offender... The quality, enthusiasm and commitment of the agency or volunteer supervisor therefore is of paramount importance to the agency, the offender and to the scheme".

In an information leaflet the department lists its expectations of community agency participation in terms of immediate outcomes. They are expected to give the offender the opportunity to carry out tasks usually performed by

volunteers, provide work supervision, liaise with departmental officers on progress of the offender, treat offenders like any other volunteers by giving them orientation and guidance, by providing them with benefits where appropriate and by awarding them any special recognition merited. At the intermediate outcome stage, the department sees that the agency supervisor is in a position "to motivate offenders to become involved in the scheme and the work of the sponsoring agency, or to alienate them altogether" (ibid, p. 11).

The flexibility of the Act is acknowledged when the same publication states "the range of projects suitable for community service is almost limitless" (p. 8) and continues to describe aspects of the selection process. A minor one, not yet mentioned, is that "emphasis is placed on project sponsors or beneficiaries supplying whatever tools and equipment are required for the satisfactory completion of the task" (p. 9).

At the more practical level the department has drawn up a form for the purpose of applying to the Community Service Committee for project approval (see appendix 6). Most of the items are directed at assessing the legislative requirements of who benefits from the project and whether it would otherwise be funded or done by paid labour. Other items are related to operational aspects of supervision or objectives of the scheme. Amongst other things, it asked for details about agency objectives and funding; project and task description, skills required, and hours for which work is available; availability of tools and on site supervision; with whom the offender will have contact; and the agency's normal use of volunteers. The community service officer completes this form and presents it to the Community Service Committee.

#### The Development of the Pool of Projects

Community Service Committees Despite the fact that the Act requires that there be a state Community Service Advisory Committee and local community service committees and despite the fact that community service was operating out of two distinct community service centres, at the time of the research only the Community Service Advisory Committee was established and functioning. As well as performing its own functions, it was attending to at least one of the functions of local committees, that is, approving projects and tasks for community service work. The Committee found that the task of formulating guidelines needed some empirical assistance.

The membership of the committee is : Trade Advisor, Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Chairman); Secretary of the Federated Storeman and Packers Union; Industrial Chaplain,

Inter-Church Trades and Industry Mission; Director, Offenders Aid and Rehabilitation Services; and Assistant Director, Probation and Parole, Department of Correctional Services. The secretary to the committee is the community service coordinator. At this level, the community is represented by established organizations, if not institutions, with a balance between employment, offender and departmental interests.

The Committee has reported to the Minister on its first six months of operation. The following description of the Committee's development is based on that report.

As reported, the Committee sees its statutory primary function touching on (p. 2):

- "1. The approval of all work projects submitted to it in the initial stages of the scheme.
2. The development of guidelines within which these projects could subsequently be approved by the local community service committees.
3. The maintaining of harmony between the scheme, the Government, the trade union movement, the private sector, welfare groups and the community in general.
4. A promotion of the acceptance of the scheme by the organizations represented."

Consequently, it sees itself concerned with the following issues (p. 2):

- "1. The project development process. In this area, the role of the Committee is to balance the interests of the scheme, (which needs suitable projects), with those of the trade unions (which may see such projects as a threat to paid employment), business interests (which may see such projects as damaging to business), the general community (by ensuring that offenders on the scheme provide valuable service to the community), and to offenders (by ensuring that their voluntary labour is not adversely exploited).
2. Communication and feedback between the scheme, the Government and the community through the organizations represented ....

The Community Service Order Scheme depends very much on community acceptance for its ongoing

success.... The Committee can assist the Department by ensuring that the views of the community are actively sought and that involvement in the operation of this scheme by the community is encouraged.

3. The giving of advice to the Minister and to the Department by acting as an independent body of review on the progress of the scheme.
4. The co-ordination of the activities of the local committees."

The Committee has established the following guiding principles for use by departmental staff and agencies when assessing projects or tasks for community service (p. 3):

- "1. The work done should be for a non-profit or charitable organization or for a needy individual.
2. The work to be done should be that normally done by volunteers....
3. The work should be of therapeutic value to the offender. Although it may not always be possible, this factor is seen by the Committee as important in developing positive attitudes within the offender.
4. Community Service offenders should not be used if more suitable alternatives are available. It should therefore complement, rather than compete with, other voluntary programmes or tasks. The Committee must be satisfied that the projects approved could not otherwise have been completed but for the use of offender volunteer labour.
5. The project must have adequate and acceptable supervision available.
6. The work done must be of value to:
  - . the general community
  - . the project
  - . the offender.
7. The work to be done should have the support of the trade unions and the private sector, particularly where licensed tradeswork or specialist skills are involved....

8. Where similar projects have been unsuccessful, the feasibility of the project should be seriously questioned.
9. Any significant departure from the nature of the task as approved by the Committee is to be submitted to the Committee for approval."

During the first six months, the Committee met five times. I was invited to attend one meeting, to meet the members and observe their operation. Although my observations can in no way be generalized to the Committee's full operation, I offer them here.

Most of the meeting was concerned with the approval of specific projects. By chance it was at this meeting that the only application not to be fully approved was discussed by the Committee. This application generated considerable discussion and highlighted the concerns and uncertainties of the committee.

The application was from a school requesting labouring help with gardening, paving, laying gravel, painting, building seats and a small fence. The main issue raised was whether some of the work should really be done by paid tradesmen. Conflicts arose because although members agreed that the work should be done by persons employed through normal government building processes, it was evident that the school had no funds for such work and the work would not get done if they relied on that source. Only the gardening and maintenance components of the project were approved, the painting and carpentry aspects being rejected. The decision reinforced the position that community service should not replace paid work even in a putative sense and highlighted a number of subsidiary problems.

First, how should they interpret the provision in the Act which says work can be done for government bodies, given that this overlaps so much with paid employment? The guiding principles had not been formulated at the time, but it now seems that in these difficult situations, the Committee is to have recourse to the test "is the work normally done by volunteers?"

Secondly, the question of voluntary work contribution by parents of the school was raised and the Committee was of a mind that community service should not assist unless parents were also making an effort. Consequently, the project was approved for Saturday work only and not midweek.

This decision averted the third problem, the question of whether the community agency should have the right/privilege



to vet individual offender placements. The school had asked for this if the offender was working on weekdays when children are present, but not for Saturdays. It should be noted that the application form specifically asks the agency if it wishes to approve the offender before allocation, but the general tenor of the meeting was that this is a slight on the scheme and offender allocation should be left to the experience and skills of the community service officer.

Lastly, during this discussion, the community service officer raised the practical problem that lack of guidelines in these areas has for him in building up a pool of projects. It was an awkward situation approaching organizations, encouraging them, developing a project, but not knowing how the Committee would deal with it some time in the future. Guidelines have since been established. It was confirmed that once the Committee had approved a project the community service officer need not wait for formal notification before confirming it with the agency.

Although they were resolved in this instance, the conflicts, perhaps inevitable, that could emerge between the Committee wanting to protect their various interests (particularly not transgressing on paid employment) and the scheme's need to build-up and maintain enough viable projects, were apparent.

The community service officers did not have much to say about the proceedings of the state advisory committee. Apart from some frustrations about the time it could take to get formal approval of projects (from one to two months from when the project was first contemplated was quoted), they were satisfied with its operations. There have been a few instances of preliminary approval prior to full committee consideration so a project can be used when available.

Rather than problems with the state committee, it was the local committees that were being missed. These committees were seen to have two advantages. First, approvals would be quicker. It was envisaged that the committee would meet when required for this sort of business. Secondly, the committee would consist of local people who know what is going on in their district. In turn, this would help with the development of projects through the members local knowledge and contacts, plus it would be able to receive immediate feedback from the community and department on how the scheme is progressing. This was seen as particularly relevant in respect of the local magistrate, who is on the committee, in helping him have confidence in the scheme.

At a different level, it is hoped that involvement in local committees will help retain support, through greater public understanding, for the department's aim of diverting offenders from prison, thus reducing prison populations.

At the time of writing, the local committees are imminent. The invitations to members for the Norwood Committee have been issued and it is hoped their first meeting will be in April 1983. Noarlunga's committee is being discussed, plans being about one month behind Norwood.

The Projects The fact that community service has been introduced as a demonstration project in two areas only, immediately renders the objective that the scheme be available state-wide a long-term objective, and consequently limits community participation at the ground level to the Norwood and Noarlunga regions. Although the offenders may be farflung, all but 4 of the projects are within the areas circumscribed by the department, and 3 of these are just outside the limits. One of the projects is a mobile one, at times inside and at times outside the prescribed area.

By the end of February 1983, the committee had dealt with 41 project applications, approving 40 in full and 1 in part. The information discussed here derives from the project application form. Although the figures refer to all approved projects, it is worth noting that not all projects, even longstanding ones, had been activated at the time of the research. The reasons for non-use are various: project not yet fully developed; no offender living within the project locality; projects proffered to help community service get off the ground but not turning out to be particularly suitable. A descriptive list of agencies and projects is given in appendix 7.

The 41 projects have been provided by 27 agencies, and most of the projects involve unskilled or semi-skilled tasks such as clearing gardens, painting, paving and general maintenance jobs. Details of the type of agency and tasks involved are given in table 11. How do these projects compare with the Committee's guiding principles (see p. 59)?

The first principle refers to the non-profit status of the agency. In terms of the legal criteria, most (17) of the agencies are organizations that do not seek a pecuniary profit for its members, 5 are individual beneficiaries, and 5 are government or local government organizations (school, local government funded community centre, Department of Community Welfare camp, state and federally funded family services board, and the Department of Correctional Services Community Service Compound). Thus the Committee's first principle is satisfied.

TABLE 11 AGENCIES, PROJECTS AND TASKS

A. AGENCIES

	NORWOOD	NOARLUNGA	TOTAL
1 <u>Type of Organization</u>			
Community centre, neighbourhood house	4	1	5
Community health centre	-	1	1
Childcare centre	1	-	1
Welfare agency	2	4	6
Recreational camp	1	1	2
Pensioner	3	2	5
School	1	-	1
Cemetery	2	-	2
Disco for kids	1	-	1
R.S.P.C.A.	-	1	1
National Trust	-	1	1
Department of Correctional Services compound	-	1	1
TOTAL	15	12	27
2 <u>Legal Category (s.5d(8))</u>			
Non-profit organization (s.5d(8)(a))	9	8	17
Individual beneficiary (s.5d(8)(b))	3	2	5
Governmental agency (s.5d(8)(c))	3	2	5
TOTAL	15	12	27
3 <u>Source of Funding</u>			
Government	3	3	6
Government grant plus fees and/or voluntary	5	3	8
Non-government grant plus fees and/or voluntary	1	2	3
Fees and/or voluntary	3	2	5
Pension	3	2	5
TOTAL	15	12	27

B. PROJECTS

	NORWOOD	NOARLUNGA	TOTAL
4 <u>Number of Projects for Agency</u>			
1	13	8	21
2	1	1	2
3	-	2	2
4	1	-	1
6	-	1	1
TOTAL	15	12	27
Total number of projects	19	22	41
5 <u>Type of Project</u>			
Assist with cleaning, maintenance, garden & operation of community house	2	3	5
Erect pre-fab garage	1	1	2
Erect playground equipment	1	-	1
Paving	2	-	2
Clearing overgrown cemetery	1	-	1
Produce gardening	-	4	4
Restore buildings	1	2	3
Repair and deliver furniture	-	1	1
General maintenance, painting, gardening, labouring	8	7	15
Assist disc jockey at disco	1	-	1
Assist boys in hostel with schooling and arts and crafts	2	-	2
Child minding	-	1	1
Receptionist, clerical food sorting	-	1	1
Opportunity shop - clothes collection, sorting, laundering	-	2	2
TOTAL	19	22	41

	NORWOOD	NOARLUNGA	TOTAL
6 <u>Skills Needed</u> (can be more than one per project)			
Unskilled	16	21	37
Semi-skilled	10	19	29
Trade	6	8	14
Clerical	1	4	5
Professional	3	1	4
7 <u>Offender Contact With</u> (can be more than one per project)			
Recipients	12	16	28
Children	9	10	19
Adults	7	17	24
General public	9	9	18
Other	2	3	5
No public contact	1	1	2
8 <u>Does Project Usually Use Volunteers?</u>			
Yes	14	20	34
No	2	-	2
Not applicable (pensioner)	3	2	5
TOTAL	19	22	41
9 <u>Will Volunteers Work Alongside Offenders?</u>			
Yes	9	17	26
No	7	1	8
Does not say	-	2	2
Not applicable (pensioner)	3	2	5
TOTAL	19	22	41

	NORWOOD	NOARLUNGA	TOTAL
10 <u>Agency Provide On-Site Supervision</u>			
Yes	15	22	37
No	4	-	4
TOTAL	19	22	41
11 <u>Days Work Available</u>			
Saturdays	7	10	17
Specified weekdays	2	2	4
Any weekday	3	-	3
Any day (not Sunday)	3	4	7
Evenings and weekends	2	-	2
Anytime - urgent	1	-	1
Every day if required	1	-	1
Weekdays and weekends	-	3	3
Weekdays, Saturdays on negotiation	-	1	1
Seven days a week if possible	-	1	1
Weekdays, weekends when required	-	1	1
TOTAL	19	22	41
12 <u>Duration of Project</u>			
Weekly	-	11	11
Ongoing	7	5	12
2 - 3 weeks, then monthly	-	1	1
Until completion	4	2	6
Regularly	-	1	1
Approximately 2 months	1	1	2
3 - 4 full days	2	-	2
Depends on referrals	1	-	1
Three Saturdays	2	-	2
Does not say	2	1	3
TOTAL	19	22	41

A number of items combine to look at the question of whether the work would normally be done by volunteers (principle 2). According to the applications, 34 of the 41 approved projects usually use volunteers and in 26 a volunteer works alongside the offender. This is not a particularly high proportion and this matter is discussed later in relation to work actually done rather than approved projects, as a number of these projects had not been activated at the time of the research. The funding position of the organization is the other indicator and as table 11 shows, all but 6 have to raise all or part of their funds through fees for service, donations or voluntary efforts. The remaining 6 are funded by government.

According to the applications, 37 projects provided on-site supervision (principle 5). This figure includes the 5 pensioners. The remaining 4 projects are entirely supervised by departmental staff and involve tasks such as clearing overgrown cemeteries and pathlaying.

One indicator perhaps relevant to principle 7 and the possible conflict of projects with trade unions and the private sector is that which classifies the degree of skill needed to do the task. Mostly, the skills needed are very general, trade or professional skills being required relatively infrequently (see table 11, part 5).

The remaining principles (3,4,6,8 and 9) need to be judged on the circumstances of each task. However, it is interesting to note that the work should be of therapeutic value (principle 3) and in terms of the rehabilitation model, contact with volunteers is one of the factors seen to facilitate this. Hence, the use of volunteers already discussed plus the statistics that all but 2 projects are said to have contact with public, and 28 have contact with recipients of the work are encouraging. Compared with this profile derived from the project application process, the actual amount of contact with volunteers and public is not so satisfactory. Analysis of daily worksheets shows that in fact on 22% of the days on which offenders actually worked, the offender worked on his own (e.g. painting a church hall) and in another 34%, he worked only with other community service offenders (e.g. clearing an overgrown cemetery). That leaves only 54% for possible contact with other volunteers, recipients and public.

The untenable position in practice of all community service being performed mainly on Saturdays is demonstrated in table 11, part 11, which shows that only 17 of the 41 projects fit neatly in the intended pattern. This eventuality has been recognised by the Community Service Advisory Committee which reported to the Minister that only 55% of hours were worked on Saturdays. The main reasons they give for this are the

demands of the participating agencies and the need for a pool of projects. The present data confirms this. The high rate of unemployment amongst community service offenders allows the community service administration to take advantage of the weekday projects offering. An insistence on Saturday work would conflict with the Committee's principles of encouraging volunteer participation and ensuring adequate supervision.

The Community Agencies Reasons for Participating One of the purposes of the interview with agency supervisors was to find out why they wanted to be involved with the community service scheme.

I interviewed 14 community supervisors, a more rewarding proportion than the total of 27 agencies might at first suggest. At the time of interviewing, 4 agencies still had not been actively involved and another 3 have been approved since the interviewing programme, bringing the total down to 20. The remaining 6 non-interviews consisted of 3 pensioners and 3 agencies, 2 of which were relatively large community service "employers". In one case, the supervisor who had had most to do with having community service within the organization had recently left and could not be contacted. The other was basically a scheme where there was no contact between the agency and the offenders - departmental staff doing all the supervision. The remaining agency was in fact the Department of Correctional Services and its community service compound project. This is a stopgap placement which has not been used to a great extent. Consequently, the 14 interviews are a good representation of the agency participation.

Three questions are particularly relevant to the issue of community recruitment and participation. The first was how did the agency become aware of the community service scheme. In half the cases (7) the community service staff (either head office and/or district staff) approached the organizations. Some organizations heard by other means and took the initiative of approaching the community service scheme. Three said they heard by word of mouth and in this category I include the organization whose chairman is a judge and so was aware of the scheme; 1 read about it in the paper and decided to find out about it; and in 1 case the approach came from an unexpected source - the police prosecutor dealing with a defendant who was a disc jockey thought his talents could be used in a disco voluntarily organized by off-duty policemen. The prosecutor contacted the police community liaison officer who in turn contacted the community service staff.

The story involving one of the pensioner beneficiaries is fairly involved in that the couple approached their local council about help with cutting down a tree. The council could not help but referred them to their Community Information Centre who referred the case to the community service office. In the other beneficiary case, the local community health centre made the referral, a more usual type of reference point for pensioner projects.

In most cases, participation was a direct result of the department's recruitment drive, and even the remaining approaches were probably as a result, although one step removed, of the intensive campaign at the time the scheme was being introduced.

The more substantial question put to the community supervisors asked for their reasons for participating in the scheme. There were basically three reasons offered, with various combinations and variations. They were one, they wanted extra help to get their work done, two, they wanted to give a social service to the offender, or three, they wanted to support the idea of community participation. The three aspects were in most cases interrelated as table 12 shows. This question was not put directly to the pensioner recipients, but their motivation was obviously to get assistance in maintenance around the home for which they could not afford to pay.

TABLE 12 AGENCIES' REASONS FOR PARTICIPATING  
IN COMMUNITY SERVICE

Reason	Number of Agencies
Wanted extra workers	2
To support the idea of community involvement	2
Extra workers and community involvement	2
Extra workers and give a social service to the offender	1
Extra workers and community involvement and social service to the offender	3
So offenders can make a constructive contribution	1
Extra workers and help community save money by not sending them to prison	1

A supplementary question was whether the agency supervisor had been at all apprehensive about taking on offenders to help their organization. Most supervisors said they were not concerned. This is perhaps not surprising since they all went ahead and joined the scheme, but given this response some interesting considerations emerged.

First, there were 4 supervisors who said they were not apprehensive as they had previous experience of working with offenders. Another 4 said they were not personally concerned but had to consider their clients. One of these cases was a camp for school children and there was a slight concern that the parents would worry about this. For this reason they did not want to publicize their participation. Another instance was the disco for kids, and whereas the liaison police officer was not at all perturbed, some of the disco committees were reluctant and wondered about the wisdom of having offenders loose amongst the disco clientele. A different sort of apprehension was felt for the community service offender herself. In this example, the supervisor wondered how much temptation they were providing for the offender, a second time shoplifter, by having her working in their opportunity shop.

Two supervisors said that they had been apprehensive. In one case, the supervisor was concerned about the type of offence the offender had committed. She did not want any sex, drug, violent or psychological offenders as she was not in a position to properly supervise such people. The community service officer assured her such offenders would not be included. In the other instance, the supervisor was initially concerned for his female staff, their office being in a very isolated spot, and for the money on the premises which he makes sure he does not count in front of the offenders. He has had no troubles and is not worried about these aspects now.

The question is also highly pertinent to pensioner beneficiaries. In the case of the married couple, the wife, having been assured the volunteer was a "nice man" wanted to go ahead and "give him a go". The husband was less enthusiastic, but his fears were unfounded and in fact this has turned out to be a very successful placement. The other case was an elderly woman living alone. She felt somewhat apprehensive but was reassured by other pensioners who had had the same offender work for them. In particular, she did not want young fellows, and she was a bit afraid of someone who steals.

#### Conclusion

The community service officers are responsible for the development and maintenance of the pool projects. Consequently, their views on the selection process, the committee system and agencies within the scheme were sought.

In both cases, the initial recruitment period was intensive and it was a matter of approaching local agencies which came within the legal criteria. Noarlunga was able to easily tap into an effective network of voluntary and welfare agencies of which the probation office was already a part.



This ready-made situation did not exist in the Norwood region - a more diffuse set of communities anyway - and lists were compiled from directories, making sure there was a cross-section according to legal categories. At this initial stage, this community service officer was not making a distinction as to what he thought the agency could offer the community service offender but rather was interested in getting a cross-section of groups. One of the officers commented that at this recruitment stage, he found the statutory and established organizations considerably more conservative and cautious about being involved in the scheme : they tended to want to wait and see how other agencies fared before making a commitment.

From the experience to date, both officers have reached some conclusions about agency traits with they think are essential in a participating agency and those they find more useful in different situations.

The two features stressed by both community service officers as most important for a community service agency were adequate supervision and the use of volunteers. Supervision refers to direction and supervision of work rather than in the disciplinary sense of supervising an offender. If the agency is providing adequate supervision, it avoids a resource problem for the community service officer but more importantly it provides support - support in terms of getting the job done but also in providing social support for the offender. In retrospect the provision of agency supervision for support has become an important dimension and this is discussed in chapter 8.

Agencies that use volunteers regularly are seen as desirable, not only because this is part of the original conception and is very much associated with the rehabilitative ideal, but also as a practical response to the need for support when the agency supervisor is too busy to provide regular personal supervision.

In their assessments of individual projects, the community service officers showed that the projects which they saw as having high rehabilitative potential were also the ones where the offender had constant contact with the agency supervisor and had constant or frequent contact with volunteers, workers or members of the community.

Other characteristics looked for in agencies included the role of the agency in the community and the benefits it provides for the community, their involvement with other agencies and funding sources in order to avoid duplications.

Projects where the offender worked mainly on his own were not considered to have much rehabilitative potential, whereas working for disadvantaged individuals - where it was assumed the offender would feel he is doing something worthwhile - was seen as having this effect.

There was no strong impression that rehabilitation was a conscious consideration in the development of the project pool. One community service officer cited a couple of examples where it had been, especially because of the educational aspect of the project. The other officer said he hoped to be able to take rehabilitation into account once the scheme settled into a routine, but at the moment he was in desperate need of placements and could not afford to be selective. This is discussed more fully in the next chapter. He made the point that if approached by an agency which fell within the criteria, he felt he was obliged to put it before the committee for approval regardless of what it could contribute to the scheme according to his priorities.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES' CONTRIBUTION

The Department of Correctional Services is the third partner in the community service enterprise and this chapter examines its contribution to the scheme. This is not done in an exhaustive resource and financial way. Rather, I have selected the main resource, staff, and discussed the implications of this in implementing the scheme. Other resource issues raised during interview are also discussed.

#### The Probation Influence

There is a longstanding debate in community service circles about the advantages and disadvantages of community service being attached to probation organizations. It is often contended, for example, that if community service is administered by probation officers, a conflict will arise because trained social workers face difficulties in adopting the punitive/disciplinary attitude needed to manage a community service scheme while still maintaining a caring role and achieving professional satisfaction.

In South Australia the scheme is well entrenched in the probation system. All the various departmental committees and reports since 1976 have recommended such an alliance and it was legislatively reinforced by incorporating the scheme into the Offenders Probation Act. The Act states that a community service officer is a probation officer. The probation influence is evident in the progressive reformulation of objectives and guidelines with their increasing reference to individual rehabilitation.

The 1980 report of the Community Work Order Committee noted its reasons why the Probation and Parole Service was the best organization to carry out the aims of community service (p. 6-7):

- " it is based in the community.
- it already has experience of negotiating with the community, for various purposes.

- it already has experience of handling offenders on conditional liberty.
- it is experienced in court procedures.
- it has the skills available for proper assessment.
- the cost of adapting the Service for this purpose would be slight.
- it already has the structure to enable a rapid introduction of the scheme through its service delivery outlets in the metropolitan area and in the country. The cost of adapting these District Offices for this purpose would be slight in comparison to the setting up of expensive new facilities within the Department.
- existing voluntary organisations ... would not singly have the capacity to take on such a new task and would have to be funded to employ staff and recruit volunteers for this purpose.
- the department, through its own volunteer programme has the capacity to involve these, in addition to assistance which will be sought from (voluntary) organisations, as well as from Service Clubs and the like."

The probation connection was accepted and community service staffing, financing and administration occur within its purview.

#### Community Service Staff

A contention made in the department's literature (1980, p.8; 1982(a), p.10) has been that to avoid serious operational problems and consequent loss of community confidence the scheme must have adequate staff. The following positions have been established: a community service co-ordinator and clerk-typist at head office; a community service officer, a part-time clerk-typist and a number of part-time community service supervisors at each community service district. These positions are discussed in turn. The local district probation officer also has a role to play in community service. His or her community service responsibilities include consultation and liaison between community service staff and other staff, consultation on community service developments, public relations, reviewing

all applications for variation and estreatment of community service orders and the imposition of extra hours, and acting as departmental representative on the local community service committee (Manual, part 4, app. B).

#### The Community Service Co-ordinator

"This person, located at head office, is responsible for the development, co-ordination and overall management of the scheme state-wide, and as such, acts as the secretary to the State Community Service Advisory Committee and liaises with the district probation and parole officers responsible for the scheme in their districts."

(Manual, part 4.4.1)

There is only one community service co-ordinator. The current appointee was a senior probation and parole officer at the time of appointment and has been in the probation service for 13 years.

The only comment made in relation to this position was the dilemma it poses for the community service officer who is directly responsible to his District Probation Officer and yet indirectly working to the community service co-ordinator in some aspects of community service administration. This dilemma was mentioned informally to me in several conversations. It was discussed by one of the community service officers during interview who felt this situation had produced a dilemma for him. There were suggestions that now the scheme is operational the co-ordinating position is no longer necessary. Officially, it is expected that once the scheme has been expanded statewide, the community service co-ordinator's role will be largely an inspectorate one, acting as consultant and extra resource person when needed.

#### The Community Service Officer

"Duties include maintaining a pool of community service tasks and educational activities for offenders to perform or attend, matching offenders to suitable projects or allocating them to a supervisor, following-up on offender absenteeism, reporting to the courts, acting as secretary to the district committee, giving support to the benefiting organization and the offender, reporting breaches of the community service order

for action by either the Director or the courts, maintaining oversight of paid and volunteer supervisors and ensuring the maintenance of all necessary records."

(Manual, part 4.4.2)

This is the crucial community service position and comment was elicited from several sources about it.

The community service co-ordinator contends that the future of the scheme depends on the selection of the right staff, particularly community service officers. He saw it as a very demanding position, requiring not only the experience and understanding of a probation officer for assessing offenders but also a myriad of organizational skills - co-ordinator, works manager, delegation, staff supervision, public relations, and project development.

These sentiments were echoed by one of the community service officers. He strongly asserted that as community service was operating in his district at the moment, there was no need for a community service officer to be a probation officer because, as a result of operating with a maximum caseload, his time was devoted to administering the scheme, maintaining projects, interviewing offenders, allocating them to and reassessing placements, following up on non-attendance and rearrangements, record keeping etc. He described his function as mainly clerical. Ideally, he thought there should be a social work component : that such skills could be usefully employed and should be in order to do justice to the scheme.

Running through the list of duties quoted above, maintaining the pool of projects and committee work have already been discussed. The community service officer's role as regards educational activities, matching offenders to projects, supervision and enforcement are discussed in later chapters. It is appropriate to discuss in this section the duty of giving support to agencies and offenders, as reported by these people themselves.

The agency supervisors were unstinting in their praise of the community service officers, and in most cases they had had considerable contact with them, particularly during the earlier period when the community service officers were doing the community service supervisor's job too. The community service officers were thought to be sympathetic and able persons, particularly as regards their skills in selecting appropriate offenders for the job. Their flexibility in fitting in with agency requirements was also appreciated.

Similar reactions were evident in the interviews with offenders. Without being specifically asked, 4 of the 17 interviewees offered very enthusiastic comments about their community service officer and another 5 made positive remarks. There were no critical ones. Once again, the community service officer's attempts to accommodate special circumstances were appreciated. Ten said they asked for family or work circumstances to be taken into account when the initial community service arrangements were made and all 10 were accommodated. During the course of their community service hours, 7 of the 17 offenders ran into circumstances that again required flexibility (e.g. sick family, work commitments, transport problems) and again appreciated the community service officer's understanding.

It appears that the community service officers have been able to maintain a high profile in their liaison role and have succeeded in giving the scheme a human face, despite the heavy workload and consequent frustrations associated with one centre.

#### The Community Service Supervisor

"Part-time paid supervisors are responsible to the community service officer for the direct supervision of offenders on certain projects, and, in their roving capacity, for liaison between the community service officer, the volunteer supervisor and the offender. They report to the community service officer on the attendance of offenders on projects under their charge, and on their standard of industry and behaviour. They are recruited from within their local community."

(Manual, part 4.4.3)

At the time of writing there are 2 community service supervisor positions at Norwood and 2 at Noarlunga, one filled by a husband and wife team. All 5 supervisors were appointed late in the research period so their influence within the scheme is difficult to assess. They are paid for a maximum of eighteen hours work per week. One supervisor commented that over and above this he spends extra hours following up matters, developing projects and on paper work. Another supervisor noted that eighteen hours per week is ridiculous in that it equates with two and a bit work days and so in order to be around at knock-off time on the third day, he needs to take a break during the day. He finds this inconvenient and in light of the relatively low remuneration he treats his involvement as community service from himself.

The supervisors' backgrounds are varied and non-probation. One has extensive military and industrial experience involving staff management, liaison and public relations work. He is also involved in community activities. Another is an engineer by profession but has varied experiences including business ones. Another has worked in youth corrections and been involved in church activities and family enrichment counselling. Another has teaching, church and counselling experience. The last is a recently graduated social work student awaiting a social work position.

The community service co-ordinator sees the main merit of the community service supervisor being his or her non-probation background, thus bringing to the scheme a variety of experiences beyond the rather narrow casework perspective of the probation system and consequently a better grounding for understanding the offender's perspective. With this and the frequent, and in some cases lengthy, contact with the offender, the opportunity for the building of relationships and rehabilitation exists. He sees the community service supervisor representing authority, but a low-key authority with a different face from that projected by probation officers.

Both community service officers agreed that the part-time supervising position has potential for realizing the rehabilitative aim of community service because of the contact with the offender. It is therefore important that the appointee have a wide experience of working with people and have an interest in, as well as the skills, to help people.

Two community service supervisors were interviewed. I asked them what qualities and skills they thought were needed to carry out their job. Their list of attributes were amazingly similar. Both thought the community service supervisor should be an older person, and that the commonsense and initiative that comes from a broad experience of life is more important than specialized skills. Organizing ability was mentioned by one.

This research was conducted at a time when community service supervisors had only recently been introduced into the scheme and the following comments must be seen in this context where the community service officer had in fact been doing the community service supervisor's job for most of the study period.

My first observation is that comments from a couple of agency supervisors and from 3 of the 4 offenders interviewed who were largely on projects totally supervised by departmental staff belie the idea that the professionalism of probation officers will prevent the building of a meaningful

relationship between the offender and the community service officers. There were many instances where the offender expressed a real appreciation of the community service officer's efforts, but none in respect of the community service supervisor. The qualification to this is that the time may not have been sufficient for such relationships to grow between offender and supervisor, and also that the supervisor is not in the position to be so magnanimous or otherwise in response to offenders' requests as the community service officer is. It will be interesting to see, in the future, the extent to which the community service officer withdraws from the frontline and the effect of this on the scheme. I gained a definite impression that the scheme is as satisfactory as it is for both agencies and many offenders because of the community service officers' commitment and personal approach. This has not yet been repeated in the community service supervisors' role.

Secondly, contrary to the expectations of the co-ordinator, one community service officer reckoned that as far as the offenders are concerned, the community service supervisor is identified totally with the department, that offenders are unaware of his part-time, hybrid status and its hoped for "low-key" authority.

#### Clerical Staff

"A clerical officer is provided for the co-ordinator at head office and for the community service officer in each district office to provide typing, clerical and record keeping support for the scheme and for the community service committees."

(Manual, part 4.4.6)

At the time of writing the community service co-ordinator has one full-time clerical assistant. One community service officer has a clerical assistant for 80% of the time, and the other has one for 60% of the time. The only comment made was that the clerical support is good at present but will not be able to keep up with demands as the scheme increases unless there is a streamlining of the paperwork and reporting procedures.

#### Other Departmental Input

Staffing was the only area of departmental input explicitly raised in the interviews. However, when casting

around generally for other comments in relation to departmental resources, the two main themes that emerged were the as yet virtually non-existent educational component of the scheme and the extension of community service to other areas in the state. Education is discussed in chapter 7.

Community Service Expansion When the scheme became operational in the two "demonstration" districts of Norwood and Noarlunga, the intention was to have community service available statewide by mid 1982, and most of this would be accomplished in 1983/84. More recently, the proposal was to do the total extension in 1983/84 but this was not approved. Government has approved extension to one metropolitan area (Port Adelaide) and one country area (Whyalla - Port Augusta - Port Pirie) this year. It is hoped these centres will be operational by September-October, 1983.

The restriction of community service to two centres has had practical consequences.

Ten of the 13 judiciary surveyed said the restriction had caused them difficulties, of a fairly predictable sort: they had wanted to use it but could not because defendants lived too distant from a centre; defendants were thus disadvantaged. Some specific comments were that one cannot expect a destitute person to commute for miles; that defendants without a driving licence were generally considered ineligible; one magistrate ignored the recommendation and made an order anyway.

Suggestions as to where the scheme should be extended included Elizabeth, Salisbury and the north-eastern suburbs, Murray Bridge, Whyalla, all major court areas, and state-wide.

As a result of the judiciary's acceptance of community service, the Norwood centre was facing an urgent situation by January 1983 with a caseload of 42 offenders, an influx of 29 occurring in November and December. The problem was having sufficient placements for the sudden influx of offenders. Data show that during the first six months, 70% of Norwood's clientele lived outside the designated area. Noarlunga has not had the same growth, being a more easily defined area and one with a smaller catchment area. At the end of January, Noarlunga's caseload was less than half Norwood's, with only 27% of offenders living outside its designated area.

The caseload and metropolitan spread was not anticipated and the department's immediate and necessary response was to put a maximum caseload of 40 per office. The department can control the caseload thus since before making a community service order the court must be satisfied upon report of the probation officer that a placement is available, and the



probation officer is directed to consult with the community service officer before making the report.

Although this was necessary from the operational point of view, the community service officer considers it a tragedy that this should have occurred. After concentrating for six months on the need to build up the courts' and the public's confidence in the scheme, the office was then in a position where most approaches had to be knocked back. As table 4 shows Norwood received only 5 offenders in January and 1 in February. The concern became: how long will lawyers and the judiciary persist with their initiatives?

The case overload also has repercussions on how the scheme can operate. The community service officer said his first priority is to make sure that offenders are placed on a project, that their hours are spent and that projects are properly served. With maximum caseload this does not leave time for considered matching of offender to placement and the selective development of projects which have potential for contributing to the objectives of the scheme, particularly the rehabilitative one. The desperate need for placements does not allow for such selectivity. As reported earlier, the community service officer does not have time to use his social work skills. The officer feels the potential of the scheme is frustrated because of the resource limitations.

This officer puts the optimum caseload at about thirty. He does not see the solution as additional staff at his centre, but the opening up of new centres. In this way the original community philosophy of the scheme would be reinforced: local people would be working on local projects and hopefully appreciating their own contribution to their own communities.

The localness or lack of it also has more practical implications. Reinforcing the observations of several magistrates, getting to one's community service site did have difficulties for several offenders. Sixty-four percent of offenders generally had access to a vehicle and 60% had an active licence. When asked if they had transport problems only 4 of the 17 answered yes, and all 4 lived outside the prescribed areas. The cost of transport was mentioned by 2 of these offenders, plus another who had arranged things so it was no longer a problem. All were unemployed. In one case, the return train fare was \$2, in another the petrol costs were estimated to be \$4-\$5 per return trip. The one who did not consider it a problem lived at least 25km away from his placement but had made arrangements to minimize cost and inconvenience - he did community service twice a week on consecutive days and stayed overnight in the metropolitan area with his mother-in-law, thus halving the petrol costs. In two instances, the offenders found their parents willing to take

them to projects relatively close to home but not to those more distant. In one of these cases, the offender caught buses, and the other fortuitously lived close to the community service officer who gave him a lift to the centre. One guy who did not consider transport a problem commented that his girlfriend was not very happy having to get out of bed to take him! As opposed to regular transport problems, there were 9 occasions when lack of transport was the reason for non-attendance at a scheduled placement.

It is interesting to note that the 42% of offenders who lived outside a designated community service area were no more likely to seek absences with leave than those who lived in the area and were responsible for only 20% of the leaves. By comparison they were more likely to be absent without leave (38% did so at sometime compared with 27% of the others) and were responsible for 58% of the total absences without leave.

The remaining and minor area of departmental resources that was discussed concerned equipment. Although the department has provided cars, one of the community service supervisors suggested a van would be a more appropriate vehicle for transporting men and equipment. As regards equipment for getting the tasks done, there is general acceptance of the principle that the agency should provide these resources as their contribution to the effort as they are getting free labour. Although they agreed with this sentiment, 2 agencies had qualms about their lack of tools. The department does provide some tools for projects helping out pensioners and some of the group labouring activities.

### Conclusion

The most important departmental contribution is its community service staff. The key staff - community service officers - have considerable probation experience and from the accounts from the two other partners in the scheme - the agencies and the offenders - their skills and attitudes are highly appreciated.

The major departmental resource problem is the limited availability of the scheme geographically and hence the burdening of the metropolitan centre. The community service officer contends that this prevents his paying attention to those aspects of the scheme that make it more than merely a work programme for clocking up hours.



**CONTINUED**

**1 OF 2**

## CHAPTER 6

### MATCHING OFFENDER TO PROJECT

Once the participants in the community service scheme have been selected, they then have to "do" community service. According to the immediate objectives this entails the offenders working alongside community minded volunteers, assisting less fortunate people than themselves, giving something back to society and participating in educational activities. These, it is argued, are prerequisites to any changes in behaviour. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse how community service offenders come to participate in these intended activities. Basically, there is one main process involved here: the matching of offender to work placement.

Once an offender is sentenced to community service, the first activity is for him to report to his community service officer and for an induction interview to take place. The purpose of induction is twofold: first, to explain to the offender his obligations under a community service order and to explain what is expected of him, the agency and the community service officer; secondly, to ascertain his capabilities, experiences, interests and preferences in order to allocate him to a project.

All departmental community service staff agree that the induction and matching processes are very important from the points of view of the offender, the agency, and the smooth administration of the scheme. A thorough explanation of the offender's rights and obligations is necessary in order to avoid misunderstandings and so enhance the successful completion of the order. If the offender is to complete his hours satisfactorily and have the opportunity for rehabilitation, he must be doing service he is capable of and from which he achieves something; if the agency is going to have the assistance with its work as anticipated, the offender must be capable and willing; if placements are suitable, they are expected to be less prone to non-attendance and attitude problems and consequently easier to manage from the administration's perspective.

The legal requirements relevant to induction are section 5a of the Act which requires the community service offender to report to a specific place within two working days of the

order having been given and section 6(a) of the Regulations which states that every probation officer shall take reasonable steps to see that his probationers (including community service offenders) are aware of the conditions of the order.

There are also statutory provisions as regards job allocation - sections 5b(2)(a) and (b) state that community service shall not interfere with gainful employment or with a course of training or instruction related to employment, or offend against a rule of religion practised by the offender. It could also be argued that there is an intention that the community service placement be reasonably accessible to the offender given that the court must be satisfied of this prior to sentence (section 5(1d)). Regulation 6(b) requires that each offender is allocated to a suitable task.

This last, rather vague, requirement is elaborated upon in the department's Manual (part 5.7.3):

"The objectives of matching the offender to a suitable job are to achieve the highest possible blend of

- (a) the offender's held or potential skills
- (b) his personal inclination
- (c) the needs and expectations of the agency providing the work.

Offender motivation is likely to be a key factor in the successful completion of the community service work obligation. Offenders are likely to respond best doing work which they can recognise as being of help to people in need, or for which they can see a real community benefit.

To achieve a high level of service delivery, the following objectives are to be pursued in relation to community service offenders.

- to conduct the induction interview within seven working days of the order having been made.
- to undertake an assessment of the offender's work history and skills and to explain in a comprehensible manner, the scheme to offenders;

- to match within seven working days of the induction interview, the offender to an appropriate community service placement;
- to ensure that the offender is started on a community service project no later than three weeks after being placed on the order."

The Manual continues later (part 5.7.5.2):

"On the basis of the material gained in both the Assessment Interview and the Induction Interview, the assignment of work will be made in consultation with the offender in relation to the following factors:-

- (a) the required level of supervision
- (b) the appropriate level of contact by the offender and members of the public or recipients of the work
- (c) a reasonable matching of the offender with work he is capable of performing
- (d) the availability of work projects."

To facilitate the appropriate assignment of work, the department provides a classification of projects based on a gradation of supervision and contact with recipients (Manual, part 5.7.5.3):

"1. Impersonal Group Work

Involving a group of CSO offenders (up to 6), little or no contact with members of the public or recipients, constant supervision by Sessional Supervisor and work of a primarily manual nature (e.g., clearance of a public reserve). Such groups should be kept to a minimum to avoid any "chain gang" image, and offenders should be transferred out of such groups to another category as soon as possible.

2. Personal Group

Involving a group of offenders; some contact with members of the public or recipients; regular supervision by Sessional Supervisor and

more complex work (e.g., gardening at a handicapped persons' centre; external painting of a pensioner's house).

3. Lone Worker

Involving the offender working solitarily with little or no contact with recipients or public and regular supervision by Sessional Supervisor, or Agency Supervisor, for example, clearing of rubbish or working on a small environmental project.

4. Volunteer Group

Involving offenders working in a group of non-offender volunteers, maximum contact with the public and/or recipients. Oversight provided by volunteer workers with Sessional Supervisor providing periodic linkage and maintaining appropriate records (e.g. clerical work in a neighbourhood centre; assisting in a Meals on Wheels service.

5. Individual Assistance

Involving offender placed on his own providing a service to an individual; maximum contact with recipient; oversight provided and the work being of a personal service (e.g. reading to a blind person, or gardening for a pensioner). As some of these beneficiaries may be victims of a crime such as wilful damage, careful matching of offenders to these projects is essential."

The Manual urges that "tasks should be chosen that are consistent with the aims of the scheme" and that emphasis be on placing persons in lone worker, volunteer group or individual assistance type tasks. Impersonal and personal group work are considered appropriate for offenders requiring constant supervision or discipline, offenders requiring a period of assessment to determine their future supervision and capabilities, persons with a small number of hours of community service, or where more suitable projects are unavailable.

From talking with community service officers about their induction interviews and job allocation process and some observation of this work, it would seem that it is conducted as intended, with emphasis on explaining obligations and ascertaining capabilities and interests and judging how much supervision an individual will need.

The degree of supervision required seemed to be a major factor in the allocation process of one community service officer, who has projects which cater both for those who need supervision and for those who prefer to and can be left to work alone. He also considers the "introduction" to be an important part of his matching procedure: a placement is proposed, but not confirmed until he takes the offender and introduces him to the agency supervisor or to the pensioners receiving services. While both are present, he candidly tells the agency person about the offender's offence, previous offending and domestic background, invites the agency supervisor to ask questions, and makes it clear that if there are any reservations about the wisdom of the placement on the part of the agency, the supervisor must let him know.

At Norwood, with its maximum caseload, the community service officer admitted that job suitability is only one of the factors to fit into the jigsaw along with project availability, agency requirements, where the offenders live (which in the case of Norwood need not be particularly close to the centre), and availability of tools and vehicles. He envisaged more consideration would be given to the suitability of placement once he was working with an optimum size caseload. The Assistant Director of Probation and Parole contends that meeting agency requirements has priority over the individual needs of offenders.

The community service supervisors also have a role in the job allocation process - not initially, but in a continuing reassessment capacity. Both community service supervisors saw it as an important part of their job to ensure that individuals are allocated to work they are suited to so they can feel they are doing something worthwhile.

Prompt allocation of offender to task is the ideal, aiming at having the offender working within three weeks of sentence. Data shows that of the 63 orders that had been placed at the time of data collection, 70% were placed within the three week period. In fact half of them had been placed within 13 days from sentence. The position is actually better than portrayed here because this sample includes several cases sentenced just before Christmas when the scheme was in recess for four weeks. Some agencies also closed shop over the new year period. Fifteen of the 19 placed after three weeks were in the Christmas contingent and 1 was in prison. Five of the 6 unplaced ones were also Christmas cases, but it transpires that breach proceedings have been initiated for 3 of these men because of their non-attendance. The remaining case was awaiting the offender to finish his hours of community service in the juvenile scheme before starting his adult quota.

Community service officers were asked in respect of 47 offenders the reason for their first job allocation. This information is related to the type of project according to the categories suggested by the Manual.

In table 13 information is given separately for the two centres. Although the data sets are incomplete, the differences shown here are indicative of the difference in practice between the two areas - reflecting one, the differences in community welfare networks and two, the overworked versus the underutilized centre. Perhaps luckily for Norwood, it has "convenient" projects of the impersonal group type to ease the, hopefully, short-term administrative problems associated with insufficient projects. Not that this is the only use of such projects, as the Norwood table shows. They are also used in some instances for punishment and assessment. In both centres, volunteer group projects are favoured. There were projects classified in this category that are not strictly "volunteer group" but a mixture of "volunteer group", "lone worker" and "personal group" projects: they have some, not maximum, contact with recipients and/or public, and yet oversight is provided by volunteer workers. There may be only one offender working but not in the solitary situation envisaged by "lone worker". Individual assistance projects, that is working for pensioners, are rarely given as a first placement. Generally the community service officer likes to know the offender better before making such a placement.

TABLE 13 COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICER'S REASON FOR FIRST PLACEMENT BY TYPE OF PROJECT

Reason for First Placement	Impersonal Group	Personal Group	Lone Worker	Volunteer Group	Individual Assistance	TOTAL
<b>NORWOOD</b>						
Convenient for scheme	17	1	-	5	-	23
To use skills	1	-	-	3	-	4
Most appropriate (women with children)	-	-	-	2	-	2
Appropriate and convenient	-	-	-	1	-	1
Punishment and convenience	1	-	-	-	-	1
Convenient for offender	1	-	-	-	-	1
To assess for further placement	1	-	-	-	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>NOARLUNGA</b>						
Convenient for scheme	-	-	1	-	-	1
To use skills	-	-	3	1	1	5
Convenient for offender; accessible	-	-	-	3	-	3
Supportive agency	-	-	1	2	-	3
Reparation and support	-	-	-	1	-	1
Related to offence	-	-	-	1	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>14</b>

Of the 24 "convenient" placements, 20 had changes of placement, but 9 of these were again for reasons of convenience and to a similar type of project. Seven were changed because it was felt long term, group project work in cemeteries is not good for the individual. Two asked to be shifted and this was acceded to. One was in order to better use his skills, and the last was to a placement offering variety of work and educational prospects.

Noarlunga's placements involved a more conscious rehabilitative element, particularly those placed because of the agency's supportive capabilities.

Initial placements were not necessarily the ones where the person spent most of his community service time. Here again practices differed. In Noarlunga most offenders stayed in one agency, whereas there was more movement between placements in Norwood.

A number of questions were put to offenders about the induction and job placement aspects of community service from their point of view.

Offenders were asked whether they were given a realistic explanation of how community service works before they started their placements. Twelve of the 17 said yes and 5 no. In 3 of the 5 negative responses it was on account of wrong expectations about the type of work they would be doing, 1 being disappointed and 2 being pleasantly surprised. In the former the man was misled by the name of the agency. Instead of working with animals, as hoped, he was doing mowing and maintenance work. One of the latter cases was a case of lack of confidence, the woman thinking she might have to look after a lot of children, where in fact it was only one child. In the other, expectations of "useless" weeding turned into typing which suited her much better. The other 2 negative cases related to family situations and difficulties encountered over the care of children.

Twelve offenders were asked by the community service officer what sort of work they wanted to do and 9 of these got the wanted work. The reasons for not getting the preferred work was known in only one case: the offender understanding it was because no pensioner work was available at the time.

Ten said they had asked the community service officer to take into account special circumstances when he was deciding on the placement and all 10 were accommodated. In 3 cases, these special circumstances related to arrangements for children. On top of this one of these women did not want her husband to know that she was doing community service and this involved special flexibility in the management of her order. Two requests related to fitting in with employment, 2 to study requirements, 1 asked for truck driving experience while doing community service to help his chances of getting a licence, 1 was in relation to travelling arrangements, and 1 was a request to get hours completed quickly.

Of the 12 cases where it was relevant, 11 were introduced to the supervisor of their first placement. When asked if they were given the opportunity to turn down that placement after the meeting, 2 said yes, 2 said they thought they could have and 4 said it was beside the point because they wanted the placement. Two said they were not given the opportunity. The only dissatisfaction came from a woman who had to leave her child. Although she was given the opportunity to turn it down, she did not feel she had a right to. She had been led to expect she could have her baby with her, but the agency supervisor would not allow it because of lack of space. This was obvious to the offender when she saw the worksite, the introductory interview having taken place elsewhere. She said at this stage, she would have liked to have turned it down.

When asked if their placement gave them the opportunity to use their skills, 11 said yes, 1 said "a bit", and 4 said no. One said he had no skills.

One of the arguments for careful matching of offender to job is that offenders will respond better and thus have more chance of successful completion if they do work they recognise as being of help to people in need or for which they can see a real community benefit. Sixteen offenders were asked if they thought the work they did needed to be done by someone and 14 answered positively, the other 2 not being really convinced. In one of these, the woman felt that the work that needed to be done would be done without her help, and that it would not matter if it was not done. In the other, the man felt there were agency clients and volunteers sitting around who could have done the work but did not.

The other person who has as much interest in this question of good match is of course the agency supervisor. I asked agency supervisors to assess named persons who had been through their agency on this aspect. In impersonal or personal group tasks, to use the department's terms, it was not a practical request in that there may not have been an agency supervisor or if so, the work population is very transient and consequently, the offender may not be individually recognized or remembered.

The question was asked in respect of 26 offenders. Twenty-one were considered well matched, 4 adequately matched and 1 incompatible with the task at hand. This last offender did not have the necessary skills and the agency did not have the time to supervise and teach him. One of the well matched responses was qualified by the comment that he did not work well without supervision.

Agency supervisors were asked whether they had any stipulations or requirements as regards the offenders placed with them. They were very undemanding in this respect, the only specific demand being 3 agencies who only wanted offenders with skills necessary to do the job. However, several dimensions were mentioned in this context. Three said they leave it entirely to the community service officer's discretion, 2 of these being group tasks supervised by the department anyway. The other said he preferred mature and responsible workers, having had an unsatisfactory experience with youngsters from a similar youth scheme. He found that youths, usually working in pairs, are irresponsible and difficult to supervise. Two agency supervisors said the offender must be willing and/or interested and one of these said times of work must also suit. Violent, sex or drug offenders were specifically excluded in 2 responses. One of these continued to say, being reassured on that ground, that she does not want to know what the offender did lest this prejudice her attitude towards them, as she wants to treat them like any other volunteer. Two other agencies said they are pleased to meet the person first, but they would not turn anyone down and can use them according to their abilities.

#### Conclusion

Matching offender to placement is considered an important part of community service and it is evident that the department emphasizes this process in relation to rehabilitation and reparation - the right placement, with the right amount and nature of contacts, and with suited and needed work is expected to satisfy both the offender and the agency. In practice in one centre, project allocation was a much more pragmatic process, just making sure that offenders are placed and projects are served. The rehabilitative objective was forced into the background. In the other centre, there was the time and the projects for more selective placement in terms of support needed, supervision needed and skills available. The next chapter looks at the extent these allocations fulfil the requirements of the first stage of the rehabilitation model.

## CHAPTER 7

### IMMEDIATE OUTCOMES: THE COMMUNITY SERVICE SETTING

The inputs and main processes involved in the first stage of the rehabilitation process have been discussed. The next phase is the output, or in terms of the model, the immediate outcomes, a critical stage. The theoretical position was supplied in the statement of the rehabilitative objective and the rehabilitation model. As such the theory is relatively stark, but the explanations in the preceding chapters as to why certain offenders, agencies and activities are preferred have provided a more comprehensive picture of how community service is expected to work at this stage. The task now is to see to what extent the intended outcomes have been achieved.

#### Working Alongside Community Minded Volunteers

There are at least two measures of this. The first, using projects as the basic measure, is the number of projects which have volunteers working with the community service offender. The second, using the offender and his days at work, counts the number of times the offender actually worked with community minded volunteers. The latter is the more appropriate standard but also the more difficult one to measure. This exercise does not examine what "community minded" is or is not, and the assumption is that it is a characteristic of all volunteers.

There are a number of sources of information relating to the extent that projects offer work alongside community minded volunteers. Results are given in relation to the 23 non-pensioner agencies that had been used by the end of the data collection period.

According to the information provided at the time of application for project approval, 16 of the 23 active projects were to provide volunteers to work alongside the community service offender. However, when it came to the actual working situation only 11 qualified for the departmental project classification promising volunteer input. The community service officers' and community service supervisors'



assessments agreed that these 11 projects provided frequent or constant contacts with volunteers, workers or members of the public. The evaluations of the agency supervisors who were interviewed agreed with these findings.

The question is not really relevant to pensioner recipients, but in the cases of the two pensioners who were interviewed, they were usually present and did help out in the gardening where they could.

In conclusion, only half of the 23 projects in use had volunteers working alongside the offender. The number of volunteers was sometimes only one, but they were there.

One community service officer commented that agencies approaching him were increasingly volunteer oriented, particularly the community houses. He thinks pensioner projects are slow to get established because pensioners are apprehensive but he expects this side of the programme will increase too, following the Tasmanian experience.

A related concern is the operational objective that the scheme maximize the involvement of volunteers, voluntary agencies and community groups. The distinguishing factor here is that community and/or volunteer organizations can be involved in community service by providing the projects without actually providing volunteers to work alongside the offender. Five projects fall into this category. Examples include painting the hall of a welfare agency without agency assistance and a group of offenders working on a community produce-gardening project under departmental supervision. In this connection, one community service officer commented that most of the community groups are interested in getting the work done rather than contributing to the other objectives of the scheme. The agencies however did not agree with this summation - at least not in regard to their initial reasons for joining the scheme. Although most of them were interested in getting work done, all but 2 also wanted to be involved as part of a community effort or in order to help the individuals. Be that as it may, the other community service officer has come to the conclusion that more involvement from the volunteers within the organizations that are participating needs to be encouraged, if not insisted upon. Currently the involvement often falls on the shoulders of one person in the agency which invites problems if they have a busy schedule. There are administrative benefits as well as objective ones in increased volunteer participation in that it would provide more supervision and support in the difficult cases.

Two agency supervisors made comments relevant to this issue of volunteer and community involvement. One agency supervisor applauded the department's effort, through community service, to become involved with community groups,

thus allowing people in the community to have contacts with the department, and hopefully offsetting negative reactions to "crims" (a cause also espoused by the department). Another agency supervisor claimed that one of the advantages of the community's involvement is the very fact that it is non-governmental, thus allowing more room for the offender to respond without reference to official authority.

There are three sources of information regarding the amount of time offenders spent working alongside community volunteers. None of them are particularly strong indicators in themselves, but they all give consistent results.

The first is derived from the daily worksheet and should be available for all offenders. However the relevant part of the form was not always filled in, the categories are not defined strictly in terms of volunteers, and the categories are not mutually exclusive. Out of the total of 470 workdays, offenders worked with non-offenders on 190 (40%), with other offenders on 201 (43%), and mainly on their own on 61 (13%). On 143 days (30%) they were classified as having come into contact with beneficiaries of the service - however this last item was recorded very inconsistently. Because none of the above categories are mutually exclusive, the data is not very meaningful but it is known that on 52 days the offenders worked on their own, and on 160 days they worked only with other offenders, leaving a possible maximum of 258 days (44%) where they would have been in contact with other people, be they volunteers, staff, recipients or other public. This is consistent with information that shows that 51% of total hours spent on projects have been spent on "volunteer group" projects (see table 16).

The second source of information is the community service officers' assessments of individual offenders' achievements. In their assessment, 26 of 47 offenders (55%) were placed so they were working alongside community minded volunteers.

The third source is the interviews with offenders and therefore is available in respect of only 16 of them. Again, the categories are not mutually exclusive and the results show that of the 16, 9 worked with volunteers at some stage, 3 worked with agency employees, 5 had worked with other community service offenders and 11 had at times worked alone.

It would seem from all sources that at best, a little over half the community service effort involves offenders working alongside community minded volunteers.

### Assisting Persons Less Fortunate than Themselves

This outcome is not as easy to classify as the previous one because of varying perceptions of "less fortunate". No attempt has been made to define it and the following results rely on the views of the various participants.

Once again this can be measured in terms of projects or in terms of offenders.

The community service officers and community service supervisors agreed that 20 of the 28 projects (including pensioner projects) involved the offender assisting persons less fortunate than himself. All agree that pensioner projects and projects involving the growing of produce and the collecting and distribution of food, clothes or furniture fall within this category. Community houses and activity centres were thought to serve less fortunate people some of the time but not always. Projects which did not fit this category included working in an animal shelter, painting a historic building and paving for a well established community centre, two cemetery projects, an educational camp and two community houses.

The agencies themselves did not find this a straightforward question. Only 4 definitely thought community service offenders were assisting persons less fortunate than themselves and 2 said it applied to some of their clients. One agency supervisor added that she did not think offenders necessarily saw their community service in these terms, another commented on how his agency's work had been a real eye-opener about poverty within the community for his offender, and another was reluctant to make such an assessment, saying it is judgemental.

In terms of offenders, community service officers assessed that 23 of their 47 offenders (49%) were working in a situation where they were assisting persons less fortunate than themselves.

This aspect was not discussed directly with offenders, but two questions skirted it. The first asked whether the offender thought the work he did on community service needed to be done, and the second asked whether the work was useful to the community as a whole. As discussed in chapters 6 and 8 most felt the work was needed and that it was helpful to the community, though they were not asked and did not comment on whether the recipients were "less fortunate".

In summary, community service staff consider most projects offer the opportunity for offenders to assist "less fortunate" people, but approximately one half are actually

doing this. Agencies found it difficult to assess their own service and the community service offender's contribution in these terms.

### Giving Something Back to Society

It was accepted by the community service officers and supervisors that the very fact that the offender was doing service meant he was "giving something back to society". Consequently they assessed all 47 offenders as achieving this outcome. Agencies tended to respond similarly though there were 4 which qualified their response. Two said they doubted if the offender saw it in these terms, 1 said the offender gave something back to the agency but he did not know about society generally, and another agreed in that they gave back their time. These answers raise the issues and distinctions discussed previously about just what does reparation mean. If it is seen merely in terms of getting work done without any added value of reparation attached to it, then there is no doubt that the community is receiving "tangible benefits"; if it is seen in terms of doing hours as one supervisor mentioned here, then the issue is one of expiation and bordering on punishment. There is very little comment from community service officers or agency supervisors in terms of offenders making up for and redressing the harm caused through their offending.

Offenders were asked if they thought by doing community service they had made up for their offence. This question obviously did not discriminate between the various implications of "paying back" as discussed above but, luckily, most of the answers did. Seven offenders answered positively and only 1 of these spoke in terms of helping society, while 5 saw it in terms of doing their "stint". There were 3 equivocal answers. One woman said she felt she would never make up for her offending and so in a sense had paid for her offence with this guilt; another said she did not know if she had made up for what she did, but feels better now she has done community service; a third offender supposed he had paid back a debt by doing free work, but felt he had been given too many hours and was suffering out of proportion to his debt.

There were 3 who thought community service had not made up for their offending. One, because he was imprisoned at the same time; one who thought it was a "cop out" and a big fine would have been more punishment and the third who said it made up for the money he was not paying in a fine, but anyway he did not feel as if he owed a debt to society as he had already got his just desserts, having lost two fingers and a car in a drink-driving situation.

Three others felt they did not owe the community anything, 2 because they did not think they had done anything wrong (a drug offence, and an assault) and 1 because he did not think he was guilty of the offence. Incidentally, he claims he pleaded guilty because his lawyer said he would get community service if he did.

In most cases, this "making up for your offence" question prompted responses related to expiation and punishment, rather than restitution. Offenders were not questioned specifically on the idea of making amends.

#### Participation in Suitable Educational Activities

According to section 5b(1)(b) and (c), the offender is "to undertake or participate in courses of instruction" for two hours in the evening of one working day in each week or at such time as the community service officer directs. In its discussion of the scheme, the department elevates "courses of instruction" to "educational activities".

The department sees the educational component as a valuable part of a community service order, particularly in terms of its rehabilitative function: "it offers offenders an opportunity to do something constructive about the reasons leading up to the offence and to expand their awareness of the potential for problem solving by self-development through self education" (Department of Correctional Services, 1982(a), p.10). This idea is included in the main philosophical statement as regards the scheme's rehabilitative objective and is explicitly linked with lessening reoffending.

The educational component was incorporated into the scheme by the government relatively late in the scheme's development. Reactions to it are mixed. At the top, the Assistant Director of Probation and parole is cautious, saying any education in this scheme will be limited, and he foresees education becoming an information giving service, thus providing opportunities for the offender to take up further education if so inclined. The community service co-ordinator supports the education component as a means for rehabilitation, as well as reparation - this time the community's reparation to the offender, redressing its previous neglect. One community service officer thinks education is a good idea for community service, if resources permitted. The other is ambivalent, and certainly does not think it should be a compulsory part of the scheme. He, like the others, acknowledges that you cannot enforce education, but also recognizes that some individuals would benefit from it. He would like to see it as optional, if appropriate to

the offender and if the appropriate educational resources are available. Apart from resource problems, discussed below, he sees the main disadvantage in the education component being that it makes the community service scheme that much more complex, and cumbersome, to the extent that the difficulties created could outweigh the benefits. He is of the opinion that the work component of the scheme has enough positive features for the scheme to stand on this alone.

Despite the Act and this partial support, the educational aspect of community service had not been implemented at the time of the research. Resources have not permitted it. The two community service officers have their time cut out maintaining the pool of work projects, allocating offenders to these and the subsequent management of these. To be fully implemented, education would be in effect a separate system and it is generally agreed that activating the educational component would double the administrative effort, all for, theoretically, a 25% increase in hours completed per week.

However, in the early days of the scheme, before large caseloads rendered it impossible, there were 3 instances where ad hoc arrangements were made for education.

In 2 cases this was provided by the agency where the offender was doing his work placement. In one of these, the agency, as well as running educational camps, holds courses on personal development and communication skills. One offender attended these, reluctantly at first, but eventually enjoyed participating in the course. In the other instance, a woman who had been convicted for shoplifting clothes for her child was given sewing lessons during which she made a dress for her daughter. The community service administrators are proud of this example of direct benefit accruing from their scheme, and see it as potentially preventing further shoplifting. However, the woman herself is still most unenthusiastic about sewing. Another instance, not associated with an agency, involved an offender who as a carpenter had always wanted to learn to make stairs. Under the guidance of the community service officer, this man spent several sessions at the local library reading and taking notes on the topic. He subsequently took a contract for making stairs. In none of these cases did the education represent 20% of the order as intended. There were 6, 18 and 20 hours involved, representing 5%, 15% and 17% of their 120 hour orders. At the time of writing, some months after the research period, the Noarlunga centre has placed 10 of its 16 offenders in educational activities - 5 in courses on interpersonal skills and 5 at formal further education courses.

Community agency supervisors were asked whether their organization provided educational activities or not. The 2 mentioned above did of course. But interestingly another 9 of

the 12 answered positively - either by saying they gave the opportunity to practise skills, or more often something to the effect that one is always learning, though it might not be as specific as the department has in mind. Three agencies thought counselling on a one-to-one basis is a legitimate and in some case the only appropriate means of education. One of these supervisors had some specific suggestions on the education issue. First, it should be seen broadly and include discussion, living skills, and counselling. She thought the government should fund the employment of a community minded person, who is not part of the Department of Correctional Services, to attend to education. This person should be selected by a balanced panel comprised of a probation officer and a community person. The education should be held in a non-threatening environment.

These agency perceptions of education are more informal than what the department has in mind, which appear to be closer to the wording of the Act, that is, "courses of instruction". The department is in the process of putting up a proposal for implementing the educational component, a proposal that supports a relatively formal approach to education. The Department of Correctional Services has an existing arrangement for the education of prisoners which it would like to extend to other areas of its jurisdiction, including community service. The Prisoner Education Centre is a joint venture between the Department of Correctional Services and the Department of Technical and Further Education and functions as a specialist school within the Open College of the latter department. It is hoped this successful and existing structure can be extended to community service offenders, who would then be offered the whole range of Technical and Further Education courses. The Department of Correctional Services proposes to transfer its funds for the development of the educational component to the Department of Technical and Further Education. If the proposal is accepted, the department is hopeful that it would be implemented late in the 1983/84 financial year.

The educational component remains a live concern and on balance is supported as an important aspect of community service, especially in terms of its rehabilitative potential. This connection is never examined very closely, but stated as an act of faith. It has not had high priority for implementation as it has administrative and resource problems in that it involves an almost equal effort to that in getting the work aspects operational.

## Conclusion

Immediate outcomes are by no means universally achieved as the summary of the community service officer's assessments in table 14 shows. My reservations about the 100% achievement of "giving something back to society" and the implications of this have already been discussed.

The theory is not clear, but presumably it is not necessary for each offender to achieve all four immediate outcomes to continue along the rehabilitative path. Presumably one of those outcomes is a precondition to achieving some of the intermediate outcomes. If "giving something back to society" is accepted, then all offenders have achieved at least one of the effects and preconditions for continuing, that is, a chance for rehabilitation. If this third outcome is not included, there were 11 of the 47 assessed offenders whose progress theoretically stops here because they did not achieve any of the remaining three outcomes. There were 22 who achieved one, 12 who achieved two and only 2 who achieved all three.

TABLE 14 NUMBER OF OFFENDERS ACHIEVING IMMEDIATE OUTCOMES  
AS ASSESSED BY COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICER

Immediate Outcome	Number of Offenders Achieving Outcome (N=47)
1. Working alongside community minded volunteers	26
2. Assisting persons less fortunate than themselves	23
3. Giving something back to society	47
4. Educational activities	3

## CHAPTER 8

### THE WORK AND ITS SUPERVISION

The first stage of the doing of community service has been recorded and the immediate outcomes have been achieved to varying degrees. According to the community service officers' assessments, about half of the offenders work alongside community minded volunteers, about half assist persons less fortunate than themselves, all give something back to society if this is seen in the most elementary sense, and very few receive education of a structured kind. This output now becomes the input into the next input-process-output model, and the evaluation task is to describe the processes at work that convert offenders working in these community service activities into the changes in the individual's skills, behaviour, experiences and attitudes as set out in the list of intended intermediate outcomes. In other words, what happens to an offender once he is working alongside community minded volunteers? What processes are at work now and how consciously or otherwise are they directed towards rehabilitation?

"The Success of the scheme hinges on the provision of adequate supervision of offenders and on placement in a suitable project" (Department of Correctional Services, 1982 (a), p.6). Now that offenders are allocated to a placement, our attention turns to the community service work itself. In an attempt to understand what community service work actually is, this chapter investigates the nature of the work, its supervision, and the offender's contacts with people while on the job.

#### The Nature of the Work

The work undertaken on community service has already been described in various ways: according to the legal categories which classify the benefiting organization (table 11.2); the degree of skill involved (table 11.6); the department's project categories based on degree of supervision and recipient contact (table 13); the type of organization and a more descriptive summary of project type (table 11.1 and 11.5); and appendix 7 gives a list of the 41 projects

approved at the time of this survey, showing the type of project and tasks involved. This appendix is annotated to show which ones had not been used at the time of the research and, for those used, its project classification (departmental categories but assigned by researcher). In summary, although most of the active projects are of the type where an individual works with volunteers and/or has sporadic or constant contact with one or more recipients or agency personnel, only half the community service hours are spent in such situations. There are only 5 impersonal group projects, but they are large employers of community service offenders. Skills required are usually of a semi- or unskilled type, regardless of type of project.

This chapter now looks at the type of work done in terms of the number of hours spent by offenders at different tasks over the term of their order. This is more meaningful for the 18 offenders who had completed their order, but the information is also given for the orders still in progress.

Not all offenders stayed in the one placement throughout their order, though this was a regular arrangement with it happening in 44% of terminated orders and 46% of those still in progress. The number of different agencies an offender worked for ranged from one to six.

Offenders were asked whether they would have preferred to work with more than one or only one agency. Most were satisfied with their situation, only 3 stating definite preferences: 1 said he would have liked to stay with the agency closer to home; 1 preferred one of her tasks but this was only available for 2 hours a week; 1 was sick of doing the same thing and had asked, unsuccessfully, to be shifted. There were 2 others who said they did not really mind, but 1 qualified this by adding that there was not all that much work to do and the other maintained that the clients of the agency were a "pack of layabouts".

The number of different sorts of tasks (as distinct from placement) tackled by each offender ranged from 1 to 3 for those who had terminated their order - most of them doing 2 different sorts of work. For those still doing their order at the time of this research, the number ranged up to 4, again most of them doing 2 sorts of tasks. Overall, 38% did only one sort of work during their order. The different sorts of tasks are listed in table 15.

TABLE 15 NUMBER OF OFFENDERS AND HOURS SPENT ON  
DIFFERENT DAYS AND DIFFERENT TASKS

	Terminated Orders			Orders Still in Progress			TOTAL ORDERS	
	Number of Offenders	Number of Hours	Average Hours Per Offender	Number of Offenders	Number of Hours	Average Hours Per Offender	Number of Hours	Median % of Hours Per Offender
DAY OF SERVICE								
Saturdays	13	644	50	24	1021	43		
Not Saturdays	13	596	46	17	816	48		
Only on Saturdays	4	300	75	2	32	16	N.A.	N.A.
TASK								
Delivery, driving	1	44	44	-	-	-		
Maintenance, repairs, construction, painting, pathlaying, manual labour	12	651	54	29	1280	44	44	44%
Gardening, weeding, clearing bush	8	301	38	13	284	22	1931	85%
Help elderly, children, handicapped	3	150	50	3	71	24	585	29%
Office, clerical, odd jobs	3	186	62	3	40	13	221	51%
Help with animals	1	42	42	1	16	16	226	53%
Housework	0	-	-	3	86	29	58	72%
Recycling plant, sorting goods for needy	1	40	40	1	32	32	86	50%
Miscellaneous	0	-	-	1	16	16	72	70%
TOTAL	18	1414	79	51	1825	36	3239	73%



Table 15 shows clearly that labouring and maintenance jobs clock up the community service hours. If gardening is included (much of this was heavy clearing of overgrown gardens), 2516 hours of the total 3239 hours were spent on these labouring jobs, i.e. 78%. The proportion of each offender's time spent on maintenance type jobs ranged from 16% to 100%, the median being 85%, and the proportion on gardening tasks ranged from 10% to 100%, median 29%.

What were the offenders' reactions to the actual work they did? As discussed in chapter 6, 14 definitely thought the work they were doing needed to be done, and 11 thought they were able to put their skills to use.

As opposed to being useful to the agency, offenders were also asked if they thought the work they did was helpful to the community. Fifteen said "yes" and 1 said "yes and no, in a roundabout way", elaborating that the clothes did get ironed and washed, but was not sure if this needed to be done. This offender worked in an opportunity shop. Reasons offered as to why it was helpful to the community fell into the following categories: it has helped people use the facility (5 responses); if the offender did not do it, no one would have, having already said it needed doing (4); they had seen people appreciating their work (3); it did not cost the community the cost of putting the offender in prison (1); everyone benefits if unemployed people have work to do instead of "lazing around" (1).

Offenders were asked to rate their work performance on a scale from very good to poor. This was a difficult question to answer and one that admittedly depends on the confidence and modesty of the individual. However, 5 said their performance was "very good", 3 "average", 1 said she had not had any complaints and 1 that he put in a reasonable day's work. None graded their work below average. The question elicited a few interesting comments. Two commented to the effect that they did a passable job, but did not put their total effort into it and 4 proudly said supervisors and public had commented on how good the work was.

The community service supervisor gives each offender, each workday, a rating for attitude and industry on the job. I have not included these results as I found the markings to be even less sensitive than the question put to the offender as the mark was invariably "good". It seemed to be an automatic response unless something really untoward had happened.

Offenders were asked if they had done the sort of work they were doing on community service before their community service, whether they liked that sort of work or not, and whether the actual work was harder or easier than they had expected it would be.

Nine offenders had done the work previously, 2 had not, and 6 had done some of their tasks before but not others. So of the 17, 8 persons did something that was new to them. Eight said unequivocally that they liked all their work, 4 liked some tasks but not others, and another 3 were equivocal in their approval. Only 2 outrightly disliked their work.

Three offenders did not have any expectations as regards how hard the work would be, 2 thought it was harder (1 of these explained that this was in the sense that it was more involved than he had expected - rather than doing simple clerical work, he introduced an accounting system for the agency), 5 thought it was easier, and 3 said it was much as they had expected. Three answers that did not fit into this classification were that 'it's not hard', 'it's pretty tough work', and 'it's as hard as you make it'.

#### Work Supervision

The draft Policy and Practice Manual has this to say about the role of the agency supervisor (part 5.8.4):

"The Department sees the agency or the volunteer supervisor as the most important link in the chain of people having an interest in the offender. It is this supervisor who also has the direct day-long contact with offenders through working with them, who decides to which tasks offenders will be assigned and whose comments on offender's behaviour and industry should be seriously considered in the assessment. It is also this supervisor who is in the position of being able to motivate offenders to become involved in the scheme and the work of the sponsoring agency, or to alienate them altogether. The quality, enthusiasm and commitment of the agency or volunteer supervisor therefore is of paramount importance to the agency, the offender and the scheme."

Elsewhere the department takes this further, making the link between quality of supervision and rehabilitation explicit (1982(a), p. 7):

"It is an objective of the scheme to involve citizens, whenever possible, in the capacity of volunteer supervisors. Experience gained

elsewhere has shown that the very nature of their involvement in the scheme creates a climate which fosters a positive relationship between offenders and supervisors. Offenders quickly become aware that their volunteer supervisor does not represent the Department or the Law in any way. A relationship so developed has, in many cases, resulted in a complete change in the anti-social attitudes adopted by an offender."

The reason given for the effectiveness of this relationship is that the agency supervisors are not professionals within the corrections business, a fact recognised by the offender, thus the relationship between the two is a pragmatic one, rather than casework oriented and satisfaction is derived from task achievement. The task sets up the process of interaction between people and hopefully the supervisor treats the offender as a volunteer rather than an offender. The community service co-ordinator and community service officers agreed that projects where the offender is in regular contact with a voluntary supervisor have more rehabilitation potential than group tasks under departmental supervision.

This introduces the second part of the equation, i.e. the offender should be coming into contact with other volunteers who along with supervisors provide a model for the offender, and with recipients of the service which is meant to give the offender a broader understanding of the community he lives in, an appreciation of his place in it and the options open to him.

In terms of supervision, projects with regular or constant agency supervision (type 4 in table 16) are considered most rehabilitative. As at end of February, 51% of community service hours were spent on such projects.

In terms of contact with recipients and/or the public, the same volunteer group projects and individual assistance projects are considered most rehabilitative (types 4 and 5). Fifty-nine percent of hours were devoted to projects of high public/recipient interface.

Thirty-one percent of hours had been spent on projects less rehabilitative in both respects, that is impersonal group projects supervised continuously by a departmental supervisor.

The differences between Norwood and Noarlunga are evident, Norwood being responsible for most of the impersonal group work hours, which account for almost half of its programme. The other half of Norwood's hours are mostly devoted to volunteer group work. In comparison, in Noarlunga, volunteer group work constitutes 61% and impersonal group work 2%. Noarlunga has a fair size of lone worker projects (24%), which involves sporadic agency or departmental supervision.

TABLE 16 TOTAL HOURS SPENT ON DIFFERENT PROJECT TYPES AS AT 28 FEBRUARY 1983

Type of Project	Norwood			Noarlunga			TOTAL		
	Number of Projects	Hours		Number of Projects	Hours		Number of Projects	Hours	
		No.	%		No.	%		No.	%
1. Impersonal group	4	1179	46.4	1	32	2.4	5	1211	31.1
2. Personal group	2	48	1.9	1	24	1.8	3	72	1.8
3. Lone worker	-	-	-	4	326	24.0	4	326	8.4
4. Volunteer group	8	1174	46.2	7	825.5	60.7	15	1999.5	51.3
5. Individual assistance	3	138	5.4	2	152	11.2	5	290	7.4
TOTAL	17	2539	100.0	15	1359.5	100.0	32	3898.5	100.0

Source: Records held at Community Service offices.

Offenders were asked if they were treated differently from other volunteers or staff at the placements. Of the relevant cases, 10 said "no", and 1 said "yes and no". Her placement had several divisions and in the main one she felt that she definitely was not "one of them" and was not trusted by her supervisor. According to her, she was not allowed to touch the till or talk to customers and she felt she was there to work off her hours. In contrast to this, in another part of her placement, she was treated like everyone else. This same woman was the only one who cared, at the beginning, whether or not others knew she was an offender but by the time of the interview she did not mind. This was not an issue for many of the offenders either because they did not work with others or the others did not know.

Offenders were asked if the amount of work supervision they were given was the right amount or too much or too little. Thirteen said it was about the right amount (5 adding that they did not need supervision) and 2 said it was not intensive. One woman said she had a lot of free time so perhaps it was not enough and that she should probably have slowed down and not hurried at her work. Another man said at the start there was too little, and in the end too much. He and another referred to one occasion when they thought the departmental community service supervisor was expecting perfection when the job did not demand it and when they were not tradesmen. There were several references appreciative of the fact that their work was not under constant supervision of the chaingang variety.

The interview also probed how the offender got on with his/her supervisor. Of the 15 who had an agency supervisor, 6 were very enthusiastic about the relationship, claiming to be friends in some cases. The other 9 were all positive but a little more reserved in their appreciation. Of the 4 who had worked under departmental supervision, 3 were very appreciative of the community service officer, and 1 cooler. In contrast to the community service officer, the community service supervisor was not as appreciated, seemingly because of his more intensive supervision.

Matters relating to supervision cropped up throughout the interviews with agency supervisors. Some of their observations about particular aspects of supervision and style of supervision are recorded here.

Two agencies independently drew what they consider an instructive comparison between community service work done by juveniles and adults. Their conclusion from experience was that youths are irresponsible and particularly difficult to supervise if there is more than one at a time. And following from this, they both thought that a group of more than three or perhaps four is unworkable. If more, the youths would need

careful selection and constant departmental supervision. One supervisor has found that the difficulty with all volunteers, and this has repercussions for dealing with youngsters, is that he has no real control over them. He can caution them and that is all unless he goes to the extreme of reporting them to the department. They appreciated that the more regular departmental supervision of the adult scheme avoids some of these problems.

The major specific point that came through on the topic of supervision was that the offender either has to have the skills and initiative to work alone or else the agency has to have time to teach and provide intensive supervision. One agency, for whom the department provided supervision, added that the job would not have been done if the agency had to provide the supervision. One agency recognized the need for supervision and the supervisor went out of her way to find time for it. Two other supervisors came to appreciate the need for supervision (one as a result of an unsatisfactory placement), but did not have the time nor inclination to give it. In these circumstances of partial supervision, the successful passage of a community service order depends to a greater extent than usual on the punctuality and reliability of offenders.

There have been two supervision problem cases, one resulting in the only imposition of extra hours to date, and the other handled informally whereby the offender's order was not officially terminated until the offender had returned in his free time to repair a slapdash job. The community service officer says that these 2 instances have confirmed for him the importance of agency supervision and support for the offender. He feels that in both these cases, though the offender himself was not blameless in terms of attendance and punctuality, the agency was partly responsible because the contact person was not there when needed - to provide directions, equipment, support. It becomes a vicious circle with the offender wandering off when there is no-one around to tell him what to do next.

Regarding the style of supervision, there was a common theme that the supervisor must repose trust on the individual and not be checking up on him a lot of the time. Most supervisors want to help the offender, but differ in how actively they pursue this through their supervision. Some see the benefits coming through the work and the fact that the offender is doing something constructive; others were more purposeful about helping to build up the offender's confidence; others wanted the offender to see new aspects of community life, for them to have more faith in people, and if approached by the offender offered counselling and support, some of which was professional.

Another variable that showed through was agency expectations as regards standard of work and its progress. For some the standard was important, and half-done jobs had to be redone. For others, the feeling was that the offender's only obligation is to do his hours, that he has no obligation to the agency and any work done is a bonus. In one agency, this difference in approach was highlighted in an incident between the agency supervisor and one of the members of the agency's funding body. The latter turned up on one occasion to help with supervising according to his more intensive style, but only the once. It is not a real problem for the agency, but illustrative of inevitable differences.

The other aspect of doing the job is the degree of contact with people. As shown previously, according to the definitions of project type, 59% of hours have been on projects with high levels of contact. This is reconfirmed by information from a different source. Individual work returns showed that on 34% of days worked the individual worked only with other offenders and in 11% he worked on his own, leaving 55% worked in contact with others.

The offenders were asked if they preferred to work alone or with others, most of them having experience of both. Most were content with either, or could see the advantages of both but there were 3 of the 16 who definitely preferred to work alone, and one who was bored on his one day alone and preferred to be with others.

## CHAPTER 9

### DISCIPLINE AND ENFORCEMENT

Maintaining standards of offender attendance, punctuality, industry and behaviour is said to be important for a number of reasons, each deriving from a separate interest in the scheme.

First, there is the community in general, in the sense that community service is a court sanction and as such has to be honoured. Moreover, because the department continues to stress the punitive aspects in order to foster the use of community service as an alternative to imprisonment, it is important that the offender's free time be restricted and subject to discipline. If not, and standards lapse, there is the fear that in the long term, the community's and courts' confidence in the scheme will be undermined, rendering community service no longer a viable sentencing option, let alone an alternative to imprisonment.

Secondly, the department has entered into an agreement with community agencies to provide them with services and these obligations must be satisfied. Once again, failure to do so will lose the confidence of the community at a time when this is an important prerequisite to public acceptance of non-custodial alternatives. The department's views, as expressed in an interview with the Assistant Director, Probation and Parole, is that these obligations have priority over the needs of the individual offenders when it comes to administering the scheme.

Thirdly, the offender's interest is linked with rehabilitation, which, it is claimed, is consequent on compliance with the terms of the recognizance:

"The linking of a recognizance which includes a sanction for failure to carry out the undertakings given to the court with community service - a penal measure capable of effecting creative restitution - should work as a powerful incentive for the offender to take responsibility for his/her actions, develop self-esteem and adopt positive social values."

(Department of Correctional Services, 1982(a), p. 6)  
Or more simply:

"The basic objective of breach action is to reinforce to the offender that he is an adult and therefore responsible for his actions."

Fourthly, and more immediately, there is the concern for the basic administration of the scheme. The more individuals who complete their orders without involving the time-consuming activities of chasing them up, issuing threatening letters and ultimately preparing breach proceedings, the smoother the operation.

The Manual (part 5.11.1.2 and 3) states that a prerequisite to enforcement is that rules must be clearly set out and consistently applied, the offender must be aware of them, and breaches must be swiftly and consistently dealt with. The following sections set out the legislative and administrative steps promulgated in order to maintain the integrity of the community service scheme.

The Offender's Obligations The basis of the community service order is the offender entering into a "recognizance to be of good behaviour" (section 4(1) Offenders Probation Act 1913-1981). The important element of this in practice is not be convicted of an offence while under the bond.

Obligations specific to community service are that the offender is obliged to undertake a specified number of hours of community service (section 5(1)(e)); to report to a specified place within two working days after the order is made (section 5a); to perform community service work or education at times directed (section 5b(1)); and to undertake any "reasonable directions" given by the community service officer on matters set out in section 7(2).

The first opportunity for these statutory requirements to be translated into practice is the induction interview. After having his rights and obligations explained to him, the offender is required to sign a form (DCS B107) which lists his obligations to the community service officer. These elaborate on the legal provisions, the most relevant ones being:

- ". Report to me at the community service centre or any other place, at such dates and times as directed by me.
- . Obtain written permission from me before leaving South Australia for any reason.
- . Perform community service work for eight hours each Saturday or on such other days and times as



I direct. These days and times will be notified to you in writing and they can be changed only at my direction.

- . Behave in a reasonable manner while on community work or educational placement, and perform such community service work at a reasonable rate and satisfactory standard as I direct.
- . Inform me or any other person designated by me immediately, if for any reason you are unable to keep a work or educational appointment that I have directed you to attend.
- . Produce a medical certificate signed by a qualified medical practitioner when absent from community service by reason of sickness if required to do so."

Enforcement Provisions The Offenders Probation Act offers two ways of dealing with offenders who break the conditions of their community service order.

The first is administrative and is intended to be a swift disciplinary action against failure to comply with a reasonable direction from the community service officer in relation to attendance, punctuality, industry and conduct (Manual, part 5.11.2.1). Without recourse to the court, the Executive Director of Correctional Services may require an offender to do up to 24 extra hours of community service (section 5b(4)).

Secondly, there is the more conventional breach proceedings (section 9(1)) which the department sees as appropriate where a new offence is involved or the misbehaviour is so serious that extra hours are inappropriate.

The Manual also acknowledges varying degrees of informal response to breaches - from resolution on the spot resulting from a discussion between the offender, the departmental supervisor and the agency representative, to home visits or office interviews by the community service officer, to formal warnings in person or in writing. The Manual concludes (part 5.11.4.2):

"It is not the intention of these guidelines to prematurely impose penalty hours or return people to Court, when a little perseverance on the part of the community service staff or a change in project may precipitate a change in the offender's performance. However, sustained unsatisfactory community service performance or the endangering

of available work projects by offenders is not acceptable and should result in the appropriate action swiftly being taken."

The Manual continues with detailed instructions for enforcement for breaches of various sorts with varying degrees of regularity. Attendance and punctuality are the two major problem areas meriting further discussion here.

The Management of Leave A community service offender can be granted leave from community service. He must request leave of the community service officer or community service supervisor (not the agency supervisor) before the event. If leave is not approved, he will be regarded as absent without leave and dealt with as such, unless he can establish satisfactory reasons for his inability to apply for leave beforehand.

The Manual continues with guidelines for leave in specific circumstances (part 5.8.6):

"In relation to illness or injury which prevents him doing community service, the offender is to inform the community service officer before the appointed time or within 24 hours afterwards. Within 7 days he is to provide a medical certificate."

The Act states that a probationer shall not be required to perform community service which conflicts with employment commitments and the Manual allows for flexibility in these situations.

Another eventuality taken into account is inclement weather in which it is unreasonable to require the offender to work. If it is impracticable to redeploy him or expect him to wait for an improvement in the weather he is given leave for the rest of the day and credited with the total number of hours he was scheduled to work. During the research period, this provision was needed on some excessively hot days, when much of the work was labouring in outside areas without shade.

The Manual recognizes the pressures of family dynamics (e.g. sick children, pregnant wife) and the consequences these may have on doing community service. Without saying as much, the Manual implies that it is reasonable to give leave in these circumstances, and enjoins the community service officer to find ways to help offenders through family crises in order to help him get through his order (part 5.8.7).

The Department has recently found it necessary to reinforce its procedures for dealing with absences without leave (part 5.11.2.2.2). In the first instance, a home visit (or if the offender is not home a letter requiring a visit to the office) is made and once it has been determined there is no valid reason for the absence, the offender is reminded of his obligations. After a second unapproved absence, an interview is held warning the offender that if it happens again, he will incur extra hours; after the third absence without leave, extra hours are imposed and if it happens again he is breached. If the situation warrants it, the more severe procedures can be activated at an earlier stage without working through progressively.

#### Attendance Rates, Leave, Standard of Work, Enforcement and Breaches

In the total sample of 69 orders there were 136 absences, 38 of them without leave. Looking at the 18 terminated orders, only 9 offenders managed to survive their order without leave, authorized or otherwise. Nine were granted leave: on one occasion for 4 offenders, twice for 2, and three times for 3 of them. Three were also absent without leave, one occasion each. Those who managed without leave had, on average, shorter orders than those with leave - the median being 40 hours and 100 hours respectively.

The 51 who had not terminated at the time of study were not coping as well. Already 19 had been absent without leave, that is 37% compared with 17% of the completed ones, and the frequency ranged from one occasion for 11 of them to six times in one instance. Thirty had had approved leave, already more than those with completed orders (59% compared with 50%) and they still have time to accumulate leaves. Again, most of the 30 had been on leave only once, but the maximum was nine times for one individual. Most of the absences in this extreme case resulted from a sick child plus the need to accommodate a husband who did not know about the conviction and the community service order. Only 19 of the 51 had attended all scheduled days and this includes new orders which had been extant for relatively short periods.

Another comparison, the percentage of scheduled days not actually worked reinforces the unsatisfactory position of orders still in progress compared with completed orders. The proportion of days where leave was granted was 21% and 5% respectively, and for days with absences without leave 9% and 1%. A significant contribution to this difference is the fact that the completed orders were for considerably shorter periods, the median being 56 hours compared with 100 hours for

those still active. In other words, they had almost half as much time to be absent in. Although I have no data to confirm it, it was my impression that offenders enthusiastically work off their hours at the beginning and the end of their order. It is the middle period, particularly in the longer orders, which is the drag and prone to absences, with or without leave.

Reasons for the absence were noted for up to the fourth time the offender was absent. The results are shown in table 17. Personal sickness or injury or work commitments were the most common reasons for absences. Transport problems - for example broken-down car or pick-up arrangements falling through - and family commitments were not uncommon occurrences preventing the person getting to community service. Unfortunately, this information is not related to whether leave was granted or not, but presumably most of the 24 occasions where no reason was given were without leave.

TABLE 17 REASONS FOR NON-ATTENDANCE

Reason	Number of Occasions
Sick	31
Sick family	4
Work commitment	27
Study commitment	3
Religious commitment	0
No transport, car broke down	9
Family commitment	9
Overslept	4
Confusion, thought he did not have to	1
Attending court	1
No reason given	24

The formal response to continued absences without leave was not very consistent in the early months. In the case of the person absent 6 times, he was sent two warning letters, the second threatening breach for a further unauthorized absence. Since then the offender has attended. Another offender was absent without leave 5 times. He was sent four letters, the last delivered by hand. It transpired that he had been serving time in custody on warrants. In another instance, the offender had been absent 4 times, 3 of them on three successive Saturdays when he had only six hours left to perform. A letter was sent to him giving him the benefit of the misapprehension that he had finished his order. He has since finished.

A variation on attendance is punctuality and seeing the day out without nipping off early. A note on punctuality is part of the daily record kept in relation to every attendance, but the form is filled in so routinely that all but one attendance was recorded as "good", contrary to some anecdotal accounts.

The only instance of extra hours of community service being imposed involved a man who was adept at turning up late and going early. He was absent without leave on 4 occasions, one being when he was confused about when to report. There were also 9 occasions when he was absent with leave for a variety of reasons: employment commitments, helping father with a painting job, sprained ankle, job interview. This involved the community service officer in considerable tracking down of the offender by means of messages, letters and interviews. This was one of the cases complicated by lack of sufficient agency supervision, because when it came to sorting out exactly what happened, the defendant had to be given the benefit of the doubt because the supervisor had not been there at the time and so could not verify it. Eventually however, a request for 16 extra hours was made and imposed upon the offender. The offender did not seem too perturbed about it. The community service officer on the other hand found the process for getting the extra hours slightly frustrating. The extra hours lost their effectiveness, it taking a day's work to complete the paperwork and a month for it to be approved. He appreciated that the proceedings were no doubt prolonged because it was the first application of section 5b(4).

The only other instance of enforcement arising out of the doing of community service itself, was in relation to the standard of the work. This time the enforcement was informal in that the community service officer insisted on the offender returning to redo his painting even though he had completed his hours. The officer did not officially terminate the order, holding the threat of a breach over his head, until he did. This was the second case where insufficient supervision was partly to blame, to the extent that paint was not supplied when needed. On the other hand, the supervisor maintained it was difficult to supervise this lad because he was often late, and the supervisor had a busy schedule and could not wait indefinitely.

Since the data collection period ended, three breach proceedings have been initiated where the offender has made no initial contact with the community service officer, despite attempts to track him down.

There have been two cases where breach proceedings have been commenced, not as a result of the offender's conduct on community service but for further offending. In one case, the offender had all but finished his hours when it came to the

notice of the community service officer that he was being prosecuted for an offence committed after he commenced community service. Because the offender was nearing the end of his order, he was allowed to finish his order without suspension. However, breach proceedings were commenced. The outcome of the proceedings is not known, but it is interesting to note that the community agency supervisor provided a favourable reference for the court proceedings which the offender greatly appreciated. In the other case, the offender was convicted for further offences and suspended for breach of his recognizance before he started his community service hours. The outcome of this breach is still pending.

Offenders themselves did not have very much to say about the issue of attendance or punctuality. Two offenders appreciated the community service officer's accepting response when they said they could not turn up and had not sought prior leave. In one instance, the baby had kept him up all night, and in the other case the offender finished work a few hours before he was due to start community service. In contrast to these is the reaction of one offender who had trouble getting up on Saturday mornings and seemed to think it was easy enough to get a doctor's certificate which satisfied, reluctantly, the community service officer. There was one woman who seemed to have an arrangement with her agency supervisor about her hours of attendance without recourse to the community service supervisor. Two women commented on the difficulty of looking after their family in the morning and getting to community service on time. They are always 5-10 minutes late, their supervisors do not mind, and they make it up at the other end of the day.

Only the two agencies involved in the two incidences resulting in enforcement spoke of problems with attendance, attitude or standard of work. However, agency expectations were not particularly high. Four agencies said that any work done was a bonus, and all but the one discussed above thought the work done was up to expectations and some were more than satisfied. Two supervisors said they get the work redone if it is not up to scratch. Six agencies said they did not rely on the community service person turning up and if he did not, it did not matter. In two cases, it could be a problem not to have them attend, particularly if they had gone to some lengths to make arrangements. One agency supervisor said she relied on her community service worker as she did with any volunteer.

In discussing the standard of work, a comment made by four agencies was that it is the doing of the hours that counts, that this is the obligation and the punishment, not what they do with the hours. In other words, they did not expect too much from the offenders.

Only one agency seemed to be concerned with the attitude of the offenders. He instanced one offender who enjoyed his work too much thus causing a minor upset through lack of judgement on the offender's part and another offender whose enthusiasm was quickly waning to the disappointment of the supervisor.

The only real compliance problem to date has been attendance. No overall non-attendance rate can be calculated as the 18 terminated orders to date tend to be atypical because of their short duration and would not reflect the situation evident with the longer, but still active, orders. It is not an easy obligation to turn up regularly and on time for many weeks on end. For those who are employed, it is a real burden to get up and go to work for an extra day; for those who are not working, their level of motivation is dwindling plus Friday night and Saturday are still very much part of their social calendar and, consequently, community service remains an intrusion.

After six months' operation, the scheme was carrying a number of cases of repeated non-attendance, and it became evident that guidelines needed to be issued - hence the draft instructions quoted throughout this chapter. A number of enforcement proceedings have since been initiated, bringing the attendance problem into line.

## CHAPTER 10

### INTERMEDIATE OUTCOMES: CHANGES IN OFFENDERS' ATTITUDES, BEHAVIOUR AND SELF-EVALUATION

The offender has been assigned to his community agency, he has or has not been doing his community service in accord with the 'ideal' rehabilitative situation as described in stage I of the model, he has encountered the major processes of the intermediate stage: the nature of the actual work done, the people it brings the offender into contact with and the depth of this contact, the style of supervision, problems with attendance and completing the order, and disciplinary matters. The community service order has run its course. What effect has it had on individual offenders, particularly in relation to the intended intermediate outcomes?

- (i) character building
- (ii) restore personal dignity
- (iii) improve standing in community
- (iv) establish constructive interests
- (v) develop worthwhile patterns of behaviour
- (vi) resume lost work habits
- (vii) develop new employment skills
- (viii) genuine sense of achievement or self-satisfaction
- (ix) worthwhile social experience
- (x) facilitate correction of anti-social behaviour
- (xi) enhance general social skills
- (xii) more constructive use of leisure time
- (xiii) improve employment prospects

The theory at this stage as to why the first stage outcomes (working alongside community minded volunteers, assisting less fortunate persons, giving something back to society, and participating in education) should effect these individual changes is not very well developed. The rationale for the various processes was discussed when they were introduced in the preceding chapters. There are three ideas said to be at work here. The first is the "something must rub off" syndrome. The offender is introduced to hitherto unknown aspects of community life, he becomes aware of people worse off than himself who have recourse to legitimate modes of behaviour, he appreciates there are other ways of conducting life than his own and consequently models his behaviour on the examples set by the workers and recipients of community agencies. Intermediate outcomes (i), (iv) and (v) could be expected to be achieved through these processes. A second dynamic, given offenders are often non-achievers, is said to be that community service work provides them with the opportunity to achieve something, to feel a sense of achievement, thus boosting their self-worth and confidence, which in turn relieves the need to offend. Intermediate objectives (ii) and (viii) are thought to result from this sort of process. The third strain is that community service can teach the offender demonstrable skills which can help him operate more successfully in "mainstream" society. The offender may or may not avail himself of the opportunity provided. This is usually associated with employment skills but also applies to communication and coping skills. Intermediate outcomes (vi), (vii) and (xi) are the obvious correlates here.

Changes in individual behaviours and attitudes as listed in the intermediate outcomes are notoriously difficult to measure objectively. The task is not made easier when the community service administrators themselves do not know what some of the phrases are intended to encapsulate. The potential of the subjective information elicited in this project is to help both administrators and researchers define their ideas in this area in the future.

There are several sources of subjective assessments bearing on these intermediate objectives: the offender's own version of how community service has changed him, plus assessments by the community service officer and the agency supervisor. The difficulty for this analysis is that the complement of each of these assessments is not identical. The community service officers assessed 47 offenders, the remaining 22 not having been on community service long enough to draw conclusions. The agency supervisors assessed only 25 of those 47, and only 17 offenders were interviewed.

The community service officers were asked to assess the offenders in terms of the intermediate outcomes as stated in

the model (summarised in table 20). They found it difficult to answer in respect of some outcomes because it was not the sort of thing they had had the opportunity to witness. The agency supervisors were asked what benefits the individual gained by working with the agency. The offenders were asked general questions about the effects of community service, not necessarily worded in terms of the outcomes.

Before addressing each of the intermediate outcomes in turn, tables 18 and 19 show the response from the offenders and the agency supervisors when they were asked in what ways the offender benefited from doing community service.

The agency supervisors' and the offenders' assessments are quite compatible. Although the offenders do not talk in terms of counselling and support (the major benefit bestowed by the agencies), their main responses (meeting people and gaining feelings of self-worth) could well be the same benefit by another name, from a different perspective. Offenders were slightly more prepared to think they had gained some work-related benefits than the supervisors did. The sundry responses were similar between the two assessments.

TABLE 18 AGENCY SUPERVISORS' ASSESSMENTS OF BENEFITS  
GAINED BY OFFENDER

Benefit	Number of Times Mentioned
Counselling, opportunity to talk, personal support, encouragement	8
Found friends	1
A degree of acceptance as a person	1
Saw other life styles (including community life)	4
Helping less fortunate people	1
Develop a sense of responsibility	1
Skills, work experience	3
Actual employment	1
Avoided a fine	1
Avoided prison	2
May have learnt a lesson	1

TABLE 19 OFFENDERS' ASSESSMENTS OF BENEFITS GAINED

Benefit	Number of Times Mentioned
Made friends, meet people	3
Got out of the house	3
Learnt about people	1
Feel more worthwhile, responsible, confident, trusted	4*
Rewarding to help others	2
Learnt skills, work experience	2
Practised skills	3*
Not in prison	1
Discipline	1

\* Each of these categories include 1 person who saw this as giving him/her the confidence needed to apply for work.

Offenders were also asked the complementary question of what were the drawbacks of doing community service. Not many offenders recalled any drawbacks, although 3 mentioned that it restricted their free time and consequently they could not go out with friends - either because the time was spent at community service or because they were too tired after doing their community service. In a similar vein, 2 of them had difficulties getting up to go to community service. One felt he could have helped his parents shift and set up their house more than he did, and one blamed her daughter's behavioural problems on the fact that she had to be separated from her while doing community service.

(i) Character building

The community service co-ordinator and community service officers did not throw much light on this vague attribute. When asked about this generally, one community service officer commented that almost any experience can do this if the person is receptive, and the other community service officer would like to think that contact with community people influences character by means of example. However, they had enough of an idea when it came to the individual offender assessments to say that 10 of the 47 had undergone some character building, plus another 7 who possibly had. Further comments were made in three cases which shed a glimmer of light on its meaning.

Two of them referred to the efforts of the agency supervisor in fostering personal growth and in offering counselling. The third referred to the way community service can help establish patterns of behaviour needed to survive moderately well in society, such as using an alarm clock.

TABLE 20 INTERMEDIATE OUTCOMES: 47 OFFENDERS ASSESSED  
BY COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICERS

Intermediate Outcome	Effectuated	Not Effectuated	Possibly, Do Not Know	Already has it, Not Applicable
(i) Character building	10	29	7	1
(ii) Restore personal dignity	7	31	3	4
(iii) Improve standing in community	8	38	-	1
(iv) Establish constructive interests	9	31	3	4
(v) Develop worthwhile patterns of behaviour	10	29	4	3
(vi) Resume lost work habits	7	15	15	10
(vii) Develop new employment skills	8	34	2	3
(viii) Genuine sense of achievement or self-satisfaction	22	18	7	-
(ix) Worthwhile social experience	21	22	4	-
(x) Facilitate correction of antisocial behaviour	25	10	12	-
(xi) Enhance general social skills	6	33	5	3
(xii) More constructive use of leisure time	13	28	2	4
(xiii) Improve employment prospects	8	35	1	3



(ii) Restore personal dignity

The community service officers had received very little feedback from offenders on this, though one officer was moved to comment that because prison would have been devastating for a number of clients, community service had helped at the very least to maintain the dignity of those people. When it came to individual assessments, 7 offenders were said to have benefited in this respect, plus another 3 where it could have possibly happened. The only specific comment was that community service had helped an offender view himself more positively. In 4 cases it was noted that the offenders had never lost their dignity.

Given the community service officer's cue about viewing oneself positively, this may be the appropriate place to report the responses of 4 offenders when asked how they had benefited from doing community service. They felt they had gained personally because they had enjoyed the trust of their agency supervisors who had left them in charge of the premises or confidential material, or in other ways had felt responsible and more confident in themselves. One woman now felt confident that she could re-enter the workforce once her son went to school. These results could equally be seen as endorsing character building, being a worthwhile social experience, or having a sense of achievement.

(iii) Improve standing in community

The community service officers could not comment on the applicability of this in a general way, but assessed 8 offenders as having improved standing and nearly all the explanations related to the fact that the work done and the offender's abilities were well regarded by the people at the agency or the recipients of the service.

(iv) and (xii) Establish constructive interests; more constructive use of leisure time

Most of the discussion about establishing constructive interests revolved around the continued voluntary involvement of the offender with the agency once he has finished his community service. There were 5 offenders who had intended to do so, of whom 2, possibly 3, did so to a limited extent.

The community service officers assessed 9 offenders as having established constructive interests and examples included a woman who learnt to sew (she in fact claimed she still hated sewing and would not be doing any), one man whose wife also became involved in the agency, and one who benefited from mixing with people of different interests from his own.

Everyone agreed that community service is a more constructive use of leisure time while the person is actually doing his community service, but wondered whether it continues once the person has finished community service. Except the 4 of whom it was granted that they did not have any leisure time, this objective presumes that the offenders were not constructively occupied prior to doing community service.

And in some cases the presumption may not be wrong. Offenders were asked what they would have been doing with the time they spent doing community service, if they had not been at community service. Three women would have been absorbed in looking after their families; 5 men would have been at home, some working, some not, some with additional activities such as being at the pub; 2 said they would be at the beach or watching sport; 2 would have been out with friends; 2 reckoned they would have been sleeping and 1 said he would have been doing nothing. I find it difficult to judge how constructive or satisfactory some of these pursuits are, but it was evident to me that a few of the unemployed spent a lot of time doing nothing much. In any case, community service officers thought 13 offenders were using their leisure time more constructively as a result of community service. However, closer analysis shows that the two community service officers seemed to be interpreting the question differently, in fact many of the 13 cases were annotated with "while on community service". The other community service officer was applying the criterion more widely, to leisure time outside of community service hours, and he recorded fewer positive changes.

Only 4 offenders said during interview that their spare time activities had changed as a result of community service, and only one of these was in a positive direction, the woman continuing to see her ex-community supervisor socially. The other 3 said they were not able to pursue their usual spare time activities, having no spare time while doing community service.

(v) and (vi) Develop worthwhile patterns of behaviour; Resume lost work habits

These two outcomes are tied together because both community service officers did so. An example of a "worthwhile pattern of behaviour" was getting up in time to go to work. They think community service does have potential in nurturing these habits, though it does depend on how astutely the community service officer handles the situation. In their assessment of offenders, 10 were thought to have developed worthwhile patterns of behaviour and 7 to have resumed lost work habits, plus another 15 who possibly had. In 10 cases it was noted that this outcome was irrelevant, as the people were already coping satisfactorily with their work.

(vii) and (xiii) Develop new employment skills; Improve employment prospects

Improving the offender's employment chances is one of the more tangible benefits community service hopes to offer and to date there have been two outstanding successes. In one case the offender has been given part-time paid work at his community service agency and the agency supervisor would employ him full-time if he had the resources. The other is the carpenter who learnt to make stairs while doing community service and has since, in his work environment, taken a contract for stairs. Less spectacular examples in that they did not actually lead to employment included practising truck driving and learning to sew. Apart from these, community service teaches general skills such as painting and cementing which the community service officers think must help the individual's employability. It was pointed out that expectations in this respect should be realistic and not too high, as some offenders have no skills at all, and any work knowledge is some gain. Despite the enthusiasm for this aspect of community service, only 8 offenders were assessed as having developed new employment skills.

One community service officer was not prepared to equate gaining employment skills with employment prospects, the fact being that jobs are not available even for skilled persons. In 8 cases, employment prospects were seen to be improved, only 4 of these coinciding with those who had developed new employment skills. One of the specific instances of improved employment prospects involved the agency supervisor providing the offender with a job reference.

When offenders were asked if they thought community service would help in finding a job or in doing their work there were 6 positive responses but, apart from the one person who had got work from his community service agency, the responses are of the hopeful variety: one person who had worked at the same agency as the success story was hoping he might be asked back for part-time work in the busy holiday period; another had enjoyed his paving work very much and saw it as experience for a roaddigging job; one thought it possible that some of the church people who had seen his work might ask him to do painting jobs for them; another thought a reference might be useful but thought as far as work experience goes community service was not substantial enough; finally there was the man who profited at his work in an unforeseen way. He says that at the time of his sentence he was so downhearted about his offending and community service sentence that his workmates had made a joke of community service and ever since he had got on with them better and been happier in his work.

Five other work related comments were forthcoming when offenders were asked how they benefited from doing community service. Three unemployed persons saw it as an opportunity to practise their skills (signwriting, typing and truckdriving), one saw it as giving her the confidence to apply for jobs, and another just saw it in terms of work experience.

(viii) Genuine sense of achievement or self-satisfaction

Both community service officers reported feedback from offenders on this aspect of community service, and the officers were adamant that offenders do feel a sense of achievement and that this must contribute to preventing them offending again. Twenty-two of the 47 offenders were assessed as having gained in this respect and it was a possible outcome in another 7 cases. The community service officers did not have many examples to illustrate their assessment, but the offenders themselves did.

When asked if doing community service work gave them a real sense of achievement, 9 offenders answered positively, 6 somewhat tentatively and 2 said "no". The achievement sprang from two main sources: working with people and enjoying the work was one, but more often the achievement arose from doing a good job which made them feel good, particularly when it was helpful to others. In one case the sense of achievement came from being given the responsibility for the agency when everyone else was out.

(ix) A worthwhile social experience

The only interpretation of this came from one of the community service officers who saw this in terms of community service being socially rewarding in the sense that the offender enjoyed the company of the other people at the community service placement. For 21 offenders, community service was assessed as being a worthwhile social experience and for 22 it was not.

The question put to offenders was slightly different in that it referred to a "worthwhile experience" without the "social" qualification. Fourteen offenders agreed that community service had been worthwhile, 2 were equivocal about this and 1 said it had not been. Reasons supporting the 14 positive answers are listed in table 21. Only 3 were thinking in terms of social intercourse, whereas 5 were thinking in terms of employment, 4 had less tangible feelings of satisfaction, and 3 in terms of alternative penalties.

TABLE 21 OFFENDERS' REASONS WHY COMMUNITY SERVICE WAS A  
WORTHWHILE EXPERIENCE

Reason	Number of Offenders
Learnt new skills	3
Got a job at the agency	1
Possibility of a job at the agency	1
Meeting people	2
Met people whom would not otherwise have met (eg. Minister of Community Welfare, Local Councillors)	1
Sense of achievement, worthwhile, confidence, helped people	4
Not have to pay fine	2
Not lose licence and therefore income	1
It was something different to do	1

Elsewhere, 2 offenders not already included in the above summation said one of the benefits of community service for them was meeting people and 2 women mentioned the beneficial effect of community service in getting them out of the house.

Although it is not particularly clear on reading the department's rehabilitation philosophy for community service (see statement on page 16), my interpretation attributes the last four intermediate outcomes as effects of the educational activities rather than the work component of community service. However, as education was virtually non-existent community service officers were asked to assess whether community service as practised promoted any of these four outcomes. Outcomes (xii) and (xiii) (constructive use of leisure time and improved employment prospects) were discussed above in relation to outcomes (iv) and (vii), leaving (x) and (xi) to be discussed.

(x) Facilitate correction of anti-social behaviour

Twenty-five offenders were assessed as having improved their anti-social behaviour as a result of doing community service. Another 12 were thought to possibly have improved in this respect leaving only 10 who had not improved.

Despite the strong positive support for this outcome, not much illustrative material was supplied. Examples of community service correcting anti-social behaviour included an incident of counselling which assisted the offender to view alcohol more responsibly, offenders responding positively to helping less fortunate people, and a deterrent effect in that the offender would not want to do community service again. This outcome is directly related to the ultimate outcome of lessening reoffending and further discussion is postponed to the next chapter.

(xi) Enhance general social skills

The community service co-ordinator and one of the community service officers were optimistic about community service's role in this respect and saw it in terms of learning to cope and consequently deflecting the need to offend. However only 6 offenders were thought to have definitely succeeded in this area plus another 5 possibles. Comments were made in two specific cases: skills learnt while on community service would possibly help the offender cope with difficulties he was having living with his parents; and in one case the woman had learnt social skills but the community service officer thought she might well use them "manipulatively".

There were a number of agencies who saw helping offenders to cope better socially as a definite part of their role in community service. Five of the 11 offenders above were placed in these agencies.

Conclusions

Because of the paucity of data and the lack of standardized measures these results do not pretend to be conclusive as regards community service's effectiveness in changing individual's attitudes and behaviours. Despite this the results here do indicate some of the changes that are or are not happening and provide a wealth of material for the development of more rigorous studies.

The community service officers' assessment of offenders is sufficiently representative in that all the offenders who had completed their community service order or had been on community service for any length of time were assessed.

Although the community service officers found it difficult to make the assessments, they did so without much hesitation when it came to it. Only 7 offenders were thought not to have achieved at least one of the intermediate outcomes, and one was thought to have achieved something of all thirteen outcomes. On average, offenders achieved 3 outcomes each.

No standard has been set as to how many outcomes need to be achieved per individual. One is presumably sufficient if it leads to reduced reoffending. This project has not followed through the chain of events at this individual level, but looking on the optimistic side, 85% have achieved at least one of the preconditions for lessening their offending.

There were only three outcomes that were said to be achieved in a reasonable proportion of cases: facilitating the correction of anti-social behaviour (25 positives and 7 possibles out of the total 47), having a genuine sense of achievement or self-satisfaction (22 positives and 7 possibles), and community service being a worthwhile social experience (21 positives and 4 possibles). So although the theory lists 13 possible avenues towards reducing reoffending, only 3 can be said to be making an impact at this stage and then for only half the offenders.

Even then the second and third successful outcomes ("sense of achievement" and "worthwhile social experience") need to be treated cautiously as they are relatively easy to endorse in that they reside in the offender's psyche and are not easily vindicated or challenged by consequent behaviour. The first outcome should be more tangible and be evidenced in behaviour, but for all that not much illustrative material was offered.

The one other outcome singled out in the results were resuming lost work habits, it having scored highly as a possibly achievement. A prevalent feeling was that although community service offers these opportunities it is over to the individual to capitalise on them or that it is really beside the point if no jobs are available.

Although only 17 offenders were interviewed, their responses fleshed out the community service officers' assessments. They also confirmed the tendencies suggested by the officers' assessments. Fourteen agreed that community service had been a worthwhile experience, and 9 definitely and 6 possibly gained a real sense of achievement or self-satisfaction from their community service. These seem to be the areas where community service has an effect. The next chapter examines whether the impact is such that it helps reduce reoffending.

## CHAPTER 11

### THE OPPORTUNITY TO NOT REOFFEND

The third stage of the rehabilitation model encompasses the ultimate question: does community service reduce reoffending? This exercise is not able to provide the ultimate answer - not because the model is not capable of more than is attempted here, but because of the practical data problems arising from the timing of this project. There are two aspects to this. First, insufficient time has elapsed since community service was introduced to allow offenders to reoffend if they are going to, thus precluding essential data to answer the basic question. Second, there was insufficient project time to create a complete data file and to construct more rigorous measures of the intermediate outcomes, both of which prevent more sophisticated data analysis. Once a fully defined data set is available, the next challenge is to apply appropriate analyses to this progressive model.

Given this data situation, this chapter concentrates on the processes involved in converting offenders who have undergone changes in skills, confidence and character into people who are going to lead crime-free lives, or at least offend at a reduced rate. The general process is identified in the rehabilitation statement and is said to reside in the offender himself: "the offender will be offered the opportunity to do something constructive about the reasons which brought him into contact with the law" (Manual, part 2.4.5). The theoretical connection between rehabilitation and reduced reoffending needs to be restated. The department's statement is clear. It is the rehabilitative activities and outcomes which present the offender with the opportunity to not reoffend.

As demonstrated in preceding chapters, no-one has particularly precise or concrete views on what the opportunities are nor on how the offender avails himself of them. As discussed previously in chapter 1, the views of community service officers, community service supervisors, agency supervisors and the judiciary in this respect do not extend much beyond the generalities of the rehabilitation statement, though they give a slightly more illustrative version of it.

More light was thrown on this by means of questions which asked agency supervisors and community service officers to assess the likelihood of named offenders not reoffending in the future. The offenders were asked a similar question. This is obviously no substitute for actual reoffending data, particularly as the predictions at times vary from source to source. However, these assessments do provide considerable information on the processes involved in reaching this potential state and, interestingly, summations by the various participants of the dominant process are often consistent even if the end result is judged to differ in kind or degree.

#### Agency Supervisors' Assessments

Agency supervisors found it difficult to make an assessment when they were asked if they thought community service had in any way rehabilitated offenders. Assessments were forthcoming in only 12 of the 26 assessments, 8 of them relating to offenders who had completed their community service hours.

Two offenders were readily dismissed as not being cases for rehabilitation: 1 because he is easily exploited and therefore it is not up to him whether he offends or not, and the second because he approached the sentence purely as punishment. A third case, which puzzled the supervisor as to why the offender was on community service at all, was a woman whose shoplifting was inexplicable to the supervisor and whose lifestyle and attitudes seemed irreproachable. The agency supervisor concluded that community service could not teach her anything. The woman herself agreed with this but claimed as well that being on community service was a constant reminder to her of her offence and her wrong and reinforced for her that she would not do it again.

In 5 cases the agency supervisors thought community service had had a positive effect on the offender's rehabilitation: 2 because community service had given them a chance and they were relieved not to be in prison, one of whom the supervisor thought also gained personally by helping others; 1 who had attended communication skills classes and was said to have started thinking about his lifestyle and to have more time for other people; another through counselling had got his drinking problem under control and therefore his drink-driving offending; one case where community service provided the offender with employment which was much appreciated by the offender.

In 4 cases the supervisors said the opportunity for rehabilitation had been provided but they were unsure whether

the offender would take advantage of it. This was explained further in one case which concerned a woman who has asked for counselling, had undergone some personal realisation and reinforcement but about whose long term adjustment the supervisor remained cautious. In this case rehabilitation was seen in terms of redirecting a very mixed-up young woman, an opportunity that would not have arisen but for community service.

#### Community Service Officers' Assessments

Community service officers' assessments were more comprehensive in that they were asked to estimate the likelihood of reoffending for each of their 49 assessments, and to state how this likelihood was related to doing community service. They were unable to assess the reoffending potential of 10 of the 49. Community service officers used their own words to describe the degree of likelihood and these have been grouped into categories in table 22.

In summary, of the remaining 39 cases, one had already reoffended early on in his community service order, 2 were seen as highly likely to reoffend, and for 13 it seemed a fairly likely eventuality. At the other end of the scale, 5 were thought most unlikely and 17 were thought unlikely to reoffend. There was 1 offender whose rate of offending was said to be lessening. Very crudely, 23 success cases in comparison with 16 failures were estimated.

TABLE 22 COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICER'S ASSESSMENT OF THE LIKELIHOOD OF REOFFENDING AND THE IMPACT OF COMMUNITY SERVICE ON THIS

Likelihood of Reoffending	Impact of Community Service on Reoffending						TOTAL
	Rehabilitative Effect	Deterrent Effect	Community Service Possibly Had an Effect	Community Service Had No Impact	Court Process Had The Effect	No Judgement Given	
Already reoffended	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Highly likely	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
Likely, quite possible, possible, reasonable, 50:50 chance	1	3	1	5	-	3	13
Lessening	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Low, unlikely, little, minimal	1	5	1	1	2	7	17
Highly unlikely, very little, no chance	1	1	-	1	1	1	5
Unable to say	-	1	1	3	-	5	10
TOTAL	3	11	3	12	3	17	49



The question remains, what impact has community service had on these chances of reoffending? In the absence of proper data analysis, the community service officer made a judgment where he could. The interesting cases are those where there is some chance that the offender will not reoffend. In 2 of the 5 cases where reoffending was thought most unlikely, community service was thought to have contributed to this, but only 1 of these was through its rehabilitative process. This case concerned a man with a drinking problem and consequently a drinking-driving problem. His community service placement provided him with counselling, his personal and family life improved and he was not resorting to drink as he had before.

In the other case community service was seen as influencing the offender's future reoffending but this time it acted as a deterrent, not as rehabilitation - the offender would not want to do community service again. Interestingly this was one of the three cases where the offender did some education hours towards his community service. This had positive application in his work - learning to make stairs - but was still not considered to have a rehabilitative effect.

The community service officer made no judgment in 1 of the remaining 3 "highly unlikely to reoffend" cases, in 1 it was said community service had no impact but no further elaboration was offered, leaving 1 case where it was thought the whole process of being arrested and going through court, rather than doing community service, was the main influence on the offender's probable future non-offending.

As well as the 5 who were thought most unlikely to reoffend, there were another 17 for whom reoffending was thought unlikely, but the community service officer was not prepared to predict this outcome with the same degree of confidence. There was 1 offender whose offending was said to be lessening. The impact of community service on these positive but tentative outcomes was judged in 11 cases, and in 7, possibly 8, of these the reform was attributed to community service. These sound promising, but on closer investigation only 1 was by means of rehabilitative processes. In this case community service was said to have a reinforcing, supportive value for the offender. In the remaining cases community service was judged as deterring the offender from reoffending. There were 2 cases where the whole criminal justice episode, not just community service, was said to deter the offender. Community service is said to have a secondary role in these cases in that it reinforces their reactions and intentions. A similar picture is presented for the 5 who were thought would probably reoffend but for whom community service holds a slim chance that they might not - not through rehabilitation but deterrence.

In summary in only 14, possibly 17, of the 32 cases where a judgment was made, was community service seen as instrumental in reducing the likelihood of the offender's reoffending. And only 3 of these 14 were as a result of a rehabilitative process, the remaining 11 were attributed to deterrence, that is, the offender will not reoffend again as he does not relish the thought of going through community service again or its alternative, prison.

#### Offenders' Assessments

The deterrent effects were very evident in the offenders' responses. They were asked whether they thought doing community service had helped them keep out of trouble. Their answers are more illustrative of how community service has or has not influenced them.

On the surface, their immediate responses are most encouraging, perhaps rather optimistic: 14 of the 17 said community service had helped them stay out of trouble, 2 thought it possibly had, and one fatalistically responded "if I'm going to get into trouble, it will happen". According to these figures it is possible that all of them will lead blameless lives henceforth.

Deeper analysis conveys the complexity of the responses. There were 8 who thought community service was the main force behind their expected non-offending future, but only 2 of them attributed strong rehabilitative influences to community service. Both did their placement at the same welfare agency where they worked alongside community minded volunteers and where they were obviously assisting people less fortunate than themselves. Both felt that their work was very much appreciated and were proud of their work achievements and the responsibility entrusted in them, and both asked for and received personal counselling. As well as these 2 who were confident about community service's rehabilitative effect, there was 1 woman, not included in the above 8 because she was not prepared to commit herself to staying out of trouble, who definitely saw community service in rehabilitative terms - it had helped her out of depression and she enjoyed meeting people and gained confidence from her community service responsibilities.

For the other 6, community service's main effect was deterrence. Four cases elaborated on how this works. They all quite explicitly said that they thought that they had been given a chance by getting community service on this occasion and next time it might be prison, of which they certainly wanted to stay clear. Two of them commented to the effect



that community service was punishment and a waste of time and I was adamant that it had not rehabilitated her, it "hadn't taught her anything she didn't already know". The other 3 mentioned that they had gained work skills or experience but did not associate this with their future offending.

There was one more case of deterrence with a slightly different complexion, focussing on the 12-month good behaviour bond attached to community service: breaking the bond was seen as a potential source of imprisonment and consequent loss of job, an eventuality to avoid at all costs.

There were 6 offenders who were adamant that they had decided independently of community service that they were not going to offend again. In some of these cases community service was said to have a reinforcing effect: twice it was a constant reminder of their offending and its effect, once it was an additional "small deterrent" in that the offender did not like having to get up on Saturday mornings, and once it was a means of containment in that the offender was not available for drinking and driving on the fifteen Saturdays of his community service. Other reasons given for the decision not to reoffend included family commitments (mentioned twice), deterred by being arrested and going to court (twice), being past the stage of getting into trouble (once).

There is plenty of evidence in the offenders' accounts that they have "taken the opportunity" to not reoffend, though not necessarily by "doing something constructive about the reasons which brought them into contact with the law". This relates particularly to those offenders who claim that community service made them realise that they have been given a final chance, that they could have been imprisoned for this offence or that they will be next time. This passive rather than constructive reaction was evident in 10 of the 17 cases. On the face of it one can claim for community service that it prompted the recognition and the taking of the opportunity but not through the avenues intended by the rehabilitative ideal. It is admittedly difficult to conclude how much of this new resolve of the offenders is really independent of community service's rehabilitative functions or how much of it is unconsciously fostered through community service-induced achievements such as character building and feelings of satisfaction.

Even the 2 "deterrent" cases who quite simply did not want to do community service again because it was punishment and because they did not like it, could perhaps be interpreted as opportunities taken, although somewhat negatively.

The 2 "rehabilitative" successes described previously are really the only two examples of "constructive" use of the opportunity along the lines envisaged in the rehabilitative

statement. Both these offenders took the initiative in seeking counselling and both, at the time of interview, were surviving well and consciously appreciative of what community service had done for them, or, in the voice of the theory, what they had done with community service.

The one offender who could be said categorically to have not taken the supposed opportunity is the fatalistic woman who said if it (offending) is going to happen, it's going to happen. However even she, being unemployed, appreciated the activity provided by community service and, through the efforts of her supervisor, was able to express the thought that she did not assume the responsibility she should for her behaviour.

For the 6 offenders who had decided not to reoffend without the prompting of community service, it is essentially an irrelevant consideration, whether they used the opportunity constructively or not, though there are elements of it when they speak of community service reinforcing their resolve.

It would seem from their own accounts that community service did provide an opportunity for a good number of the offenders but not necessarily the rehabilitative opportunity "to do something constructive about whatever it was that caused their offending in the first place". Whereas offenders were quick to say they had capitalised on the opportunity, community service officers were less prepared to predict an offence-free future for their clients. Despite this, their judgments as regards community service's role in this were generally compatible with the offender's version - mostly as a deterrent, with the occasional case of rehabilitation.

## CHAPTER 12

### CONCLUSION: COMMUNITY SERVICE AND REHABILITATION

This final chapter discusses both the methodological and substantive endeavours of this project. Ideally the two should be brought together in a final analysis as regards the rehabilitative impact of community service on the reoffending of its clients. As explained previously, incomplete data prevent such conclusions. Nevertheless each aspect can be commented on.

First, my main purpose has been a methodological one and I assess the usefulness of the process approach as developed here. Secondly, I discuss the substantive issue of how well South Australia's community service scheme achieves, or at least pursues, its rehabilitative objective.

#### The Rehabilitation Process Model

The main purpose behind this work has been to find some way of analysing the effectiveness of programmes in a substantive way which is meaningful and helpful to programme administrators as well as policy formulators. The need for this "content" approach is very evident in the criminal justice field, which in many jurisdictions still maintains an overriding concern with reducing reoffending. I purposely say "criminal justice" rather than "criminological" field to convey the idea that this evaluation work is being done in an applied setting, where administrators and field staff find it difficult to accept, and quite rightly, comparative reoffending rates which show no appreciation of how the programme under study operates. There is, however, a corollary arising from this concern that evaluations be appropriate: an acknowledgement from managers that policies need to be consciously made operational into programmes with specified missions.

My research question was how does one study what community service actually is and does, particularly in relation to reducing reoffending, one of its espoused objectives. The strength of the model developed in this

exercise is that it organises the vast community service experience into manageable and logical events and processes. The rehabilitation model is no more than the evaluator's version of management's formulation of goals and objectives. In this case this was provided by the administration in the form of a philosophical statement rather than a fully fledged schedule of goals and objectives. The research, by testing to see whether the assumed outcomes prevail at each stage, can then begin to question the existence of the assumed causal links. Identifying and examining the processes that convert outcomes at one stage into outcomes at the next, gives what would otherwise be a series of static descriptions of outcomes a more dynamic and explanatory interpretation. Investigating the participants' assessments of those processes and their effect is a vital component in understanding what happens. As I found out in this project, this sort of questioning needs to be detailed, insistent and concentrated on the assumed process-outcome links.

This project was designed as the preliminary phase of a complete evaluation. However, as a strategy for systematically investigating what ought to be happening in a programme and delineating realistic parameters as regards programme activities and programme outcomes this process approach is very successful.

Its power extends further in that the structure of the process-model can also be the basis for the statistical analysis needed to enhance the appreciation of the dynamics involved, the causal effects of the processes. Such analysis would, with an integrated file for each offender tracing his history from candidacy through selection, participation, completion and follow-up period, enable analysis of the sequence of achievements through each of the stages of the model, including the ultimate outcome, thus helping to confirm or reject the connections between the three stages and to identify the paths more conducive to non-reoffending. Quantitative measures would also need to be constructed, particularly in respect of the intermediate outcomes.

#### Community Service in South Australia

Although this piece of work cannot produce conclusions on the substantive topic about community service's success in reducing reoffending by means of rehabilitation, the research did identify relevant issues which are discussed here.

It was obvious from early in my investigations that the rehabilitative objective of South Australia's community service scheme must be kept in perspective. It is only one of

four main objectives, the other three being community service as an alternative to prison, as punishment, and as reparation. No clear priorities are attached to these, and these change according to the source or to whom one is talking. The view of the Assistant Director, Probation and Parole, which I accepted as the most official view outside the Manual, was that community service is primarily an alternative to imprisonment, thus reflecting a concern to reduce the overcrowding of prisons. He regarded punishment and reparation as concomitant, almost by definition. The only other strong impression, which emerged from community service staff and agency sponsors when discussing the scheme's introduction, was the insistence that community service must be punitive in order to win the confidence of the public and the courts. Officially it was accepted that rehabilitation is a subsidiary aim. However, community service staff are probation staff and consequently imbued with rehabilitative ideals, and they continued to talk cautiously of community service's rehabilitative potential and their hope that at some stage they will have time to concentrate on these aspects. In the meantime their efforts were devoted to non-goal oriented concerns, such as getting and keeping the scheme operational.

In contrast to this, rehabilitation was seen to be one of the main objectives by the judiciary when considering the scheme philosophically. However, in terms of reasons for actual sentences, rehabilitative considerations took third place to prison alternative and reparation as the main reasons for giving community service.

So from the beginning, pursuing rehabilitation is constrained, or at least not encouraged, by the fact that it is not considered a primary goal of the scheme. Be that as it may, the other objectives did not seem to be pursued in a particularly dedicated fashion either. Let us consider community service as an alternative to imprisonment. Although this study did not evaluate this aspect, there are sound indications that in many instances this is not happening. It can only be actively encouraged in individual cases prior to sentence and yet the two main vehicles for this - the legislation and the assessment procedures - have no explicit directions in this regard.

Community service is reparation, according to the administrators and as such does not need to be consciously administered. It is my contention that this equation needs greater examination. This is supported by the finding that offenders in particular but also community agency personnel did not easily make a connection between doing work, even when acknowledged as being much needed, and making amends for their offending.

That leaves community service as a punishment. This is the objective to which most attention is paid, in the name of gaining credibility for the sentence and the wish to have it accepted as a feasible and real alternative to imprisonment. Punishment was variously perceived from a simple statement that "doing time" (in this case hours) is punishment in itself, to requiring certain standards of behaviour and performance, the breach of which can lead one back to court and further penalties. Thus strict adherence by offenders to community service requirements was advocated, the most obvious manifestation of this being an insistence that offenders attend community service at the stipulated times. In fact there was considerable tolerance allowed, both informal and formal, which had the beginnings of a problem for management and public credibility, resulting in firmer rules being instituted after six months' operation.

This exercise of fitting rehabilitation into its respective place amongst the other three objectives prompted a question about the wisdom of having four goals for one programme. It seems to me that, generally, it is unsound for one programme to have as many as four objectives, particularly when they are all of a fairly conceptual nature. Yet, on more than one occasion, I was told that community service's beauty lies in the fact that it has "something for everyone". It follows from this proposition that community service must be a success, that it cannot fail to have an effect. If it does not rehabilitate in a given case, then it probably scores as a punishment, or an alternative to imprisonment or, if none of those, the ubiquitous reparation. An adaptable community-based "sentencing option" might indeed be what was needed and wanted. If this is the case, there is no need to dress it up with "objectives", which in the event become more descriptors of its characteristics.

Assuming that objectives are not purely cosmetic, I hypothesized that serious pursuit of a number of objectives within one programme would lead to conflicts, an hypothesis I hoped to explore in this evaluation. However, because none of the objectives in this scheme had activities or procedures associated with them which were consciously and universally applied, this becomes a non-issue in practice. It was my impression that there were two distinct strands within community service - one catering for rehabilitation and one for punishment. In the former, the rehabilitation component had the offender working with community minded people, in a setting with a community mission, and a degree of personal, one-to-one relationship with an agency person. Rehabilitation was expected to flow from an awareness of community co-operation in action, personal achievement and personal support. In the latter group, inclined towards "doing time", discipline and punishment, the offender worked mainly by himself or with other offenders, there was more concentration

on work than building relationships and the work supervision was more intensive. Any incidental rehabilitation derives from acquiring work skills, satisfaction from task achievement and from doing something for someone else. One benefit remarked upon by offenders in this latter category was their enjoyment in working alongside other offenders.

It is fair to conclude that within the total community service context, rehabilitation (even though it has a well developed statement of what it is and how it works) has little impact in that it was not a major reference point during implementation stages, nor is it consciously pursued in day-to-day operations. However, rehabilitation ideals are part of the training and experience of the community service staff and despite the diluted authority of the rehabilitative objective, the scheme is by no means devoid of rehabilitative components.

The first operational stage of community service determines the rehabilitative course. The crucial factors are the selection of offenders, projects, and staff, and how they relate together.

Chapter 3 discussed the proposition that offenders sentenced to community service may be good bets, predisposed towards rehabilitation in the first place, thus making the rehabilitative objective redundant from the outset. Community service officers agreed there may be elements of this, and one admitted that in his assessments he avoids troublesome cases - not that this necessarily equates with reoffending. The guidelines are formulated to exclude serious and problematic cases, some specifically in terms of reoffending and lack of motivation to change. And a number of offenders were convinced that they were not going to reoffend again regardless of their community service stint. So there is some suggestion that this process of selecting for success is operating in some cases, but it cannot be fully tested with the present data and would probably require extensive comparisons with other offender groups before conclusions can be made. The rudimentary comparison made in chapter 3 showed the community service population to be a relatively stable group.

As regards selection of projects, there seem to be two distinct types. On the one hand, there are projects which have very little reference to community participation except that the work is done for the community, and which are essentially there to provide jobs and discipline, thus accommodating administrative and punitive considerations. Examples of these are clearing bush and overgrown gardens and paving cemeteries. Scope for rehabilitation in these projects derives, if at all, from job satisfaction and developing work skills or habits. On the other hand, there are projects with more community involvement. At the very least they are

provided by organisations with an identifiable community spirit and they have a community minded supervisor (not often a volunteer). However, even within this community orientated group, I think it is necessary to recognise the varying degrees of contact offenders have with the community. The offender may be working mainly by himself, with other offenders, with staff (volunteers or otherwise), with clients, or combinations of these. The offender has varying degrees of contact with his agency supervisor, from occasional to constant, and this can involve purely work instructions through to work supervision, to intermittent social intercourse, to intensive counselling. The agencies see their role as providing work through to teaching skills, to setting examples, to demonstrating trust and friendship, to offering insights into alternative lifestyles, to providing personal support and counselling if requested. There is, understandably, variability in potential for rehabilitation. The three cases in this sample which were assessed by community service officers as having gained rehabilitative advantages from community service happened to have had intensive involvement with their agency and its supervisor. Fuller analysis of the paths through the rehabilitation model is needed before we can identify the more successful modes, in rehabilitation terms, of community contact and supervision. Offenders who had a fair degree of contact with agency supervisor or community service officer certainly appreciated the interest taken in them - particularly if it was accommodating their particular circumstances of the time.

Matching offender to task is held to be an important process in the rehabilitative process. The results showed that in many cases, such careful and considered allocation was not a practical proposition; keeping the scheme operational was the immediate concern. The comparison between the two centres is instructive here. There were differences in their communities in terms of community identifiability, community awareness, and social service structures, the difference in the concentration of their catchment area and referral agencies, and most importantly the relative sizes of their caseloads. All these factors contributed to the situation where Noarlunga could invest more effort in placing offenders according to needs or talents whereas in Norwood placements were not so abundant and once all contingencies were accommodated it was a matter of offenders fitting into available placements.

This comparison raised a fundamental issue that ought to be tackled if there is any serious intent to pursue the rehabilitative objective: how "local" should community service be? The concept of "community" is explicit in the scheme, yet not all the implications of this are expressly acknowledged. There is an underlying notion that rehabilitation is more likely to be effected if the offender's

contribution is meaningful to him and that this is more likely if he identifies with the community he is serving. Similar motives are attributed to agency involvement and a number of agencies said they participated because they consciously espoused the idea of community involvement. The assumptions need testing. In the meantime it is noted that Noarlunga, operating in a more easily identifiable locality, offered relatively more placements geared for rehabilitation than the "convenience" projects of Norwood with its diffuse and variable catchment area.

One element of community service with rehabilitative implications which featured often in the discussions with the community agency supervisors was job satisfaction. It was obvious from interviews with offenders that this was not confined to placements with a degree of community involvement. Most offenders felt the service they gave was needed and helpful, and many had good feelings of achievement and usefulness arising from this, regardless of whether the beneficiaries were less fortunate than themselves or not. And although they felt they were "giving" a service to society, or a part of it, it was rarely appreciated in the sense of "giving back" to society, that is in terms of making amends and reparation.

Because the Department of Correctional Services wants community service to be used as an alternative to imprisonment, it is concerned that community service should not be seen as a "soft option", either by offenders, judiciary or the public. The offenders' perceptions of their experience are most telling in this respect.

Reactions to the "hardness" of the work itself varied greatly. The question which asked whether the work was harder or easier than they had expected elicited a range of responses, most reflecting the fact that they did not know what to expect. A frequent comment during interview was the pleasant surprise to find they were not working under constant supervision, nor in a chain-gang or workshop and that they were not "treated like a criminal". The amount of effort expended seemed to depend on their general attitude to work. The two main versions being "I like to do a good job" or "it's as hard as you make it", meaning hard enough to get by.

The work itself fell into two groups - one which was physically demanding such as clearing bush, paving, building (some of it performed at a consistent rate for the full day) and one which consisted of clerical assistance, playing with children, cleaning, maintenance odd jobs which, while they did at times involve pressure and responsibility, were not as physically demanding as the heavy jobs. A comment from the men involved in the heavy manual jobs was that they were very tired by the end of the day, sometimes too tired to pursue

their usual Saturday night social activities. This was particularly the case if they were employed and had been working all week as well. Most of the interviewed offenders either liked their work or were non-committal about this. Only two expressly disliked it.

The aspect of doing community service which does make it tough for offenders is the requirement to turn up regularly, for example every Saturday morning, every week, for a number of months. This was not such a problem for those doing short orders nor for the few for whom community service was an enjoyable diversion, but even then family contingencies interrupted the smooth course of community service. The high rate of absences, both with and without leave, attests to this. Despite instructions about seeking prior approval for leave, retrospective approval of leave was not a rare phenomenon. The deterrent effect of not wanting to go through community service again was mentioned by several offenders.

Despite this, on the whole community service was appreciated by offenders. Only one offender said bluntly that he didn't like it but could not say why. He had spent time in prison for the same episode and was feeling bitter about doing community service as well. Another offender found community service was worse than expected but that it was still preferable to the alternatives. It was in terms of alternatives that most offenders appreciated community service. Fines were often not viable in their circumstances and imprisonment was generally feared. Although not so universal, a good number of offenders also appreciated the constructive nature of community service (providing services for the community) when compared with other sentences.

The question of alternatives was explored further in a series of questions which asked the offender to compare 100 hours of community service with one year on probation, with three months' imprisonment and with a \$250 fine. If community service is served at the rate of eight hours per week, it would take nine weeks to dispose of 100 hours, not allowing for any absences.

No-one preferred three months' gaol to community service though one offender said he would rather spend two weeks in prison to 100 hours of community service because it would not use up as much of his time. This man had served an imprisonment sentence. In fact 5 of the 17 had been sentenced to imprisonment and another 8 had spent time in custody on remand, in children's homes, or in police lock-ups. Specific reasons for preferring community service were expressed not so much in favour of community service but against prison - 2 said prison cannot rehabilitate, 3 that it is a waste of life/time, 2 had no-one to look after their family, and 1 did not want to lose his job.



Community service in comparison with probation was not so clear cut. Six preferred probation, 2 of whom had had a probation sentence. Four preferred probation because it did not entail work; 1 because, had it been winter, community service would interfere with his sports coaching of children; and 1 because it interfered more than expected with family commitments.

Seven of the 10 who preferred community service did so in a positive sense: community service is over and done with more quickly (5), you meet people and get out (1), you are free (1). Two thought probation achieves nothing and 1 that any little thing can lead to breaking the probation bond, even if its not criminal. Eight of the ten who preferred community service had been on probation.

Seven preferred community service to a \$250 fine. One said this was because community service gives you something to do, but for 6 it was simply that they did not have the money for a fine. As well as these 6, there were another 7 who would have preferred a fine had they money to pay it. Four of these 7 said they would have pushed for a fine had they been employed at the time of sentence. There were 3 others who preferred a \$250 fine - 1 was working and could afford it, 1 could afford \$250 but not the large fine he anticipated for his offence, and 1 just did not like doing the work. The usefulness of community service as an alternative to a fine was well established by both offenders and judiciary.

With few exceptions community service was appreciated as a penalty by the offenders who were interviewed, but mainly in comparison with the alternatives, rather than for its own positive features. However, interviewed offenders did not include many with lots of absences and troublesome orders and so may present a biased picture in this regard.

Other participants in the community service scheme do not confine their appreciation to feelings of preference. The courts on the whole have accepted it as a sentencing option and would like to see it more widely available; the community agencies see it as a positive development in corrections that contributes to their organization and the community as well as not being counterproductive for offenders; community service staff continue to be enthusiastic, are pleased with the way the scheme has been accepted and are optimistic about fulfilling its potential.

This process approach has demonstrated that rehabilitation is still very much an expression of faith, even though the assumed connections between doing community service and not reoffending have been explicitly drawn out. Various threads are separated out in theory, but are easily tangled together in practice. Two identified in this study are

rehabilitation and deterrence. Their interrelationship could bear further examination.

Despite this, there are no strong indications that community service is a success in terms of its rehabilitative objective. If community service offenders do not reoffend, it does not seem to be as a result of the process outlined in the rehabilitation theory. These preliminary results cannot support a finding that offenders do not reoffend as a result of specific changes in attitude or behaviour which come about by being engaged in the community oriented activities of helping others, working with others, or being educated. Rather, the evidence there is, suggests that deterrence is a greater motivation. However, as a community-based sentencing alternative, community service is a success. It is liked.

This approach, by looking at the scheme in operation, can help direct attention to areas needing concerted action if rehabilitation is to be treated as a serious and possible proposition. Such areas suggested by this study are the selection of offenders who present a challenge for rehabilitation, deliberate allocation of offenders to placements that provide a reasonable frequency and depth of contact with people in the community, thinking hard about the definition of "community", mobilizing it and keeping the scheme local. The enthusiasm of the participants could certainly withstand a more directed challenge.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 OFFENDERS PROBATION ACT AMENDMENT ACT, 1981



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ELIZABETHAE II REGINAE

A.D. 1981

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No. 53 of 1981

An Act to amend the Offenders Probation Act, 1913-1971.

[Assented to 25th June, 1981]

BE IT ENACTED by the Governor of the State of South Australia, with the advice and consent of the Parliament thereof, as follows:

1. (1) This Act may be cited as the "Offenders Probation Act Amendment Act, 1981". Short titles.

(2) The Offenders Probation Act, 1913-1971, is in this Act referred to as "the principal Act".

(3) The principal Act, as amended by this Act, may be cited as the "Offenders Probation Act, 1913-1981".

2. This Act shall come into operation on a day to be fixed by proclamation. Commencement.

3. Section 2 of the principal Act is amended— Amendment of s. 2— Interpretation.

(a) by inserting before the definition of "court" the following definitions:

"community service centre" means any premises declared to be a community service centre under this Act;

"community service officer" means a probation officer holding, or acting in, the office of community service officer;;

(b) by inserting after the definition of "court of summary jurisdiction" the following definition:

"Director" means the Director of Correctional Services;;

(c) by striking out the definition of "Minister";

(d) by inserting in paragraph (a) of the definition of "offence" after the passage "indictable offence" the passage "other than murder or treason";

(e) by inserting after the definition of "probationer" the following definitions:

"probation hostel" means any premises declared to be a probation hostel under this Act;

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"probation officer" means an officer of the Department of Correctional Services holding, or acting in, the office of probation officer;;

(f) by inserting in the definition of "probation order" after the word "offender" the passage "or for the conditional suspension of a sentence of imprisonment";

(g) by striking out from the definition of "probative court" the passage "to appear for sentence, or for conviction and sentence, as the case may be";

and

(h) by striking out the definition of "this Act" and substituting the following definition:

"working day" means any day other than a Saturday, Sunday or public holiday.

4. The following sections are inserted after section 3 of the principal Act:

3a. (1) The Minister may, by notice published in the *Gazette*, declare any premises to be—

(a) a community service centre;

or

(b) a probation hostel,

for the purposes of this Act.

(2) The Minister may, by further notice published in the *Gazette*, revoke or vary any declaration under this section.

(3) The Minister may establish such other facilities as he thinks necessary or desirable for the proper administration of this Act.

(4) All community service centres, probation hostels and other facilities established under this section shall be under the control of the Minister.

(5) The Minister shall promote the use of volunteers in the administration of this Act to such extent as he thinks appropriate.

3b. (1) The Director may, by instrument in writing, delegate to any officer of the Department of Correctional Services any of his powers, functions or duties under this Act.

(2) A delegation under this section is revocable at will, and does not prevent the exercise or performance by the Director of any power, function or duty so delegated.

5. Section 4 of the principal Act is amended—

(a) by striking out from subsection (2c) the passage "The term" and substituting the passage "Subject to subsection (2d), the term";

(b) by inserting after subsection (2c) the following subsection:

(2d) Where, pursuant to section 5, the court includes in a recognizance a condition requiring the probationer to undertake community service, the term of the recognizance fixed by the court shall not exceed one year.

and

Insertion of new ss. 3a and 3b. Provisions relating to administration.

Delegation by the Director.

Amendment of s. 4— Power of courts to permit conditional discharge of offenders, etc., and to suspend sentence of imprisonment.

- (c) by inserting in subsection (4) after the passage "Any order under subsection (3) hereof may" the passage "(unless a condition requiring compliance with the order has been included in a recognizance entered into by the probationer)".

6. Section 5 of the principal Act is amended—

- (a) by striking out subsection (1) and substituting the following subsections:

Amendment of s. 5—  
Probation orders and conditions of recognizance.

(1) A recognizance under section 4 may include such of the following conditions as the court thinks appropriate—

- (a) a condition requiring the probationer to be under the supervision of a probation officer for a specified period of time, and to obey the lawful directions of the probation officer;
  - (b) a condition requiring the probationer to reside with a specified person, or in a specified probation hostel or other specified place;
  - (c) a condition requiring the probationer not to reside with a specified person, or in a specified place or area;
  - (d) a condition requiring the probationer to undergo medical or psychiatric treatment in accordance with the terms of the recognizance;
  - (e) a condition requiring the probationer to undertake a specified number of hours of community service, not being less than forty nor more than two hundred and forty, and to obey the lawful directions of the community service officer to whom he is assigned;
  - (f) a condition requiring the probationer to abstain from drugs of a specified class, or from alcohol;
  - (g) a condition requiring the probationer to comply with an order made by the court under section 4 (3);
- or
- (h) any other condition that the court thinks necessary or desirable.

(1a) A court shall not include in the same recognizance conditions both under subsection (1) (a) and under subsection (1) (e).

(1b) A court shall not include in a recognizance a condition under subsection (1) (b) unless it is satisfied that accommodation for the probationer is available with the person, or at the probation hostel or other place, specified in the recognizance.

(1c) A court shall not include in a recognizance a condition under subsection (1) (d) unless it is satisfied that treatment of the nature specified in the recognizance has been recommended for the probationer by a legally qualified medical practitioner and is available to the probationer.

(1d) A court shall not include in a recognizance a condition under subsection (1) (e) unless it is satisfied upon a report of a probation officer that there is, or will be within a reasonable period of time, a placement for the probationer at a community service centre reasonably accessible to him and that the community service likely to be undertaken by the probationer is appropriate for him.

(1e) A court making a probation order shall not specify a number of hours of community service to be undertaken by a probationer who is already undertaking, or liable to undertake, community service pursuant to a previous recognizance, where the aggregate of that number and the number of hours specified in the previous recognizance would exceed two hundred and forty.

and

- (b) by inserting in subsection (2) after the passage "the conditions he is required to observe" the passage "and shall satisfy itself that the probationer understands those conditions, the nature of the requirements that may lawfully be made of him by virtue of those conditions, and the implications of failing to comply with his recognizance".

Insertion of new ss. 5a, 5b, 5c and 5d.  
Condition relating to reporting to probation centre or community service within two working days.

Special provisions relating to community service.

7. The following sections are inserted after section 5 of the principal Act:

5a. Where a court includes in a recognizance a condition requiring the probationer to be under the supervision of a probation officer, or a condition requiring the probationer to undertake community service, the court shall also include in the recognizance a condition requiring the probationer to report to a specified place within two working days after the day on which the probation order is made, unless within that period the probationer receives a notice in accordance with section 6.

5b. (1) Where a court includes a condition in a recognizance requiring the probationer to undertake community service, the following provisions shall apply:

- (a) the probationer shall be required to perform community service work for eight hours each Saturday, or on such other day as the community service officer to whom he is assigned may direct;
- (b) the probationer shall be required to attend at a community service centre or other place for two hours in the evening of one working day in each week in accordance with the directions of the community service officer, or on such other day or at such other time as the community service officer may direct;
- (c) the probationer shall, during the two-hour period referred to in paragraph (b), be required to undertake or participate in courses of instruction arranged by the Director;

and

- (d) one hour of the eight-hour period referred to in paragraph (a) shall be allocated as a lunch break.

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(2) Notwithstanding subsection (1), a probationer shall not be required to perform community service work or attend a community service centre—

(a) at a time that would interfere with his gainful employment, or with a course of training or instruction relating to, or likely to assist him in obtaining, gainful employment;

or

(b) at a time that would cause him to offend against a rule of a religion that he practises.

(3) A probationer is not entitled to any remuneration for community service work performed by him under his recognizance.

(4) Where the Director is of the opinion that a probationer has failed to obey a reasonable direction given to him by his community service officer in relation to his conduct or behaviour while undertaking community service, the Director may, in lieu of commencing proceedings for breach of recognizance, require the probationer, by notice in writing served personally upon him, to perform a number of additional hours of community service work during the term of his recognizance, and any such hours shall, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed to be hours that were specified by the court in the conditions of the recognizance.

(5) The Director shall not exercise his powers under subsection (4) so as to require a probationer to work more than twenty-four additional hours of community service work during the term of his recognizance.

(6) The Director may exercise his powers under subsection (4) notwithstanding that the limit of two hundred and forty hours specified in subsections (1) (e) and (1e) would thereby be exceeded.

(7) Where the Director is of the opinion that a probationer has failed to observe the condition of his recognizance requiring him to undertake community service, he may, by notice in writing served personally or by post upon the probationer, suspend the operation of that condition until the probative court has heard and determined proceedings for breach of the recognizance.

5c. (1) The Minister shall provide insurance upon such terms and conditions as he thinks fit for probationers in respect of death or injury arising out of, or occurring in the course of, community service undertaken pursuant to recognizances. Insurance cover to be provided by Minister.

(2) The Minister shall provide insurance upon such terms and conditions as he thinks fit for persons appointed as voluntary supervisors of probationers undertaking community service pursuant to recognizances in respect of death or injury arising out of, or occurring in the course of, carrying out their duties as supervisors.

(3) The cost of providing insurance cover under this section shall be borne by the Crown.

5d. (1) The Minister shall establish a community service advisory committee consisting of not less than three, nor more than five, members, of whom— Community service committee.

(a) one shall be appointed by the Minister after consultation with the United Trades and Labor Council;

and

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(b) one shall be a person nominated by the Director.

(2) The members of the advisory committee shall hold office upon such terms and conditions as the Minister thinks fit.

(3) The functions of the advisory committee are—

(a) to formulate guidelines for the approval of projects and tasks suitable for community service under this Act;

and

(b) to perform such other functions as the Minister may direct.

(4) The Minister shall establish a community service committee for each community service centre.

(5) A community service committee shall consist of not less than three, nor more than five, members, of whom—

(a) one shall be a magistrate;

(b) one shall be appointed by the Minister after consultation with the United Trades and Labor Council;

and

(c) one shall be a person nominated by the Director.

(6) The members of a community service committee shall hold office upon such terms and conditions as the Minister thinks fit.

(7) The functions of a community service committee are—

(a) to approve, within the guidelines formulated by the community service advisory committee, the projects and tasks to be performed as community service work by probationers attending the community service centre in respect of which the committee was established;

(b) to keep approved projects and tasks under regular review;

(c) to monitor the performance of community service work by probationers attending the centre;

and

(d) to perform such other functions as the Minister may direct.

(8) A community service committee shall not approve a project or task for community service unless—

(a) it is a project or task for the benefit of an organization that does not seek to secure a pecuniary profit for its members;

(b) it is a project or task to aid a person, or group of persons, who, in the opinion of the committee, is or are disadvantaged through age, illness, incapacity, poverty or any other adversity;

or

(c) it is a project or task of a Government Department or instrumentality, or of a local government authority.

(9) A community service committee shall not approve a project or task for community service work if a probationer, in undertaking that project or task—

(a) would replace a person who is being paid to perform any work;

or



Offenders Probation Act Amendment Act, 1981

(b) would perform any work for which funds are available.

8. Sections 6 and 7 of the principal Act are repealed and the following sections are substituted:

6. (1) The Minister shall, upon receipt of a copy of a probation order, and may thereafter from time to time, assign the probationer to a probation officer for supervision, or to a community service officer for community service, as the case may require.

(2) The Minister shall cause the probationer to be notified in writing of the name of the probation officer or community service officer to whom he has been assigned, and of the place and time at which he must first report to that officer.

(3) It is the duty of each probation officer and community service officer to use his best endeavours to ensure that any probationer assigned to him complies with the conditions of his recognizance.

7. (1) A probation officer to whom a probationer has been assigned for supervision may give reasonable directions to the probationer in relation to the following matters:

- (a) requiring the probationer to report to him on a regular basis;
- (b) requiring the probationer to notify him of any change in his place of residence, or in his employment;
- (c) requiring the probationer to obtain his written permission before leaving the State for any reason;
- (d) requiring the probationer to reside, or not to reside, in any place or area, or with any person;
- (e) requiring the probationer to take up, or not to take up, any particular employment, not to give up his employment, or to be punctual in reporting to work;

or

(f) any other matter (whether pertaining to supervision or any other condition of the recognizance) authorized by the Minister either generally, or in respect of a particular case.

(2) A community service officer to whom a probationer has been assigned for community service may give reasonable directions to the probationer in relation to the following matters:

- (a) requiring the probationer to report to a community service centre or other place at certain times;
- (b) requiring the probationer to notify him of any change in his place of residence or in his employment;
- (c) requiring the probationer to obtain his written permission before leaving the State for any reason;
- (d) requiring the probationer to perform certain projects or tasks for his community service work;
- (e) requiring the probationer to undertake or participate in courses of instruction at a community service centre or other place;

Repeal of ss. 6 and 7 and substitution of new section.  
Minister shall assign probation officer or community service officer to each probationer.

Probation officer or community service officer may give reasonable directions to probationers.

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Offenders Probation Act Amendment Act, 1981

(f) requiring the probationer to conduct himself or behave in a particular manner while undertaking community service;

or

(g) any other matter (whether pertaining to community service or any other condition of the recognizance) authorized by the Minister either generally, or in respect of a particular case.

9. Section 7a of the principal Act is amended—

(a) by striking out the passage "having regard to his rank and the rules of the police force,"

and

(b) by striking out the passage "probation officer or other person under whose supervision the probationer has been placed" and substituting the word "Director".

10. Section 8 of the principal Act is amended—

(a) by striking out from paragraph (a) of subsection (1) the passage "vary the conditions" and substituting the passage "revoke or vary any condition";

(b) by striking out from paragraph (b) of subsection (1) the passage "under supervision" and substituting the passage "subject to a recognizance";

and

(c) by inserting after subsection (2) the following subsection:

(3) Where the Minister is satisfied that the conduct of a probationer under supervision has been such as to make it unnecessary that he should be under supervision any longer, and that it would not be in the best interests of the probationer for him to remain under supervision, the Minister may, by instrument in writing, waive the obligation of the probationer to comply any further with the condition of his recognizance requiring him to be subject to supervision.

11. Section 9 of the principal Act is amended—

(a) by inserting in subsection (4) after the passage "on being satisfied that a probationer has failed to observe any condition of his recognizance" the passage "may estreat the recognizance in such amount as the court thinks fit and";

(b) by inserting in paragraph (b) of subsection (4) after the word "shall" the passage "subject to subsection (5),";

and

(c) by inserting after subsection (4) the following subsections:

(5) Where a probationer is subject to a suspended sentence and the probative court is satisfied that the failure of the probationer to observe the conditions of his recognizance is

Amendment of s. 7a—  
Duty of members of the police force.

Amendment of s. 8—  
Power to revoke or vary a condition of a recognizance, or to discharge recognizance.

Amendment of s. 9—  
Provision in case of probationer failing to observe conditions of his recognizance.

Offenders Probation Act Amendment Act, 1981

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trivial, or that there are proper grounds upon which the failure should be excused, the court—

(a) may refrain from ordering that the sentence be carried into effect;

and

(b) may extend the term of the recognizance by a period not exceeding one year.

(6) Where a probative court orders that a suspended sentence be carried into effect, the court—

(a) may, if it considers that there are special circumstances justifying it in so doing, reduce the term of the suspended sentence;

(b) may direct that time spent by the probationer in custody pending determination of the proceedings for breach of recognizance be counted as part of the term of the suspended sentence;

or

(c) may direct that the suspended sentence be cumulative upon any other sentence, or sentences, of imprisonment then being served, or to be served, by the probationer.

(7) Notwithstanding the provisions of this section, where a probationer is found guilty of an offence by a court of a superior jurisdiction to that of the probative court, that firstmentioned court may hear and determine the proceedings for breach of recognizance and, subject to subsection (8), shall for that purpose have all the powers of a probative court under this section.

(8) Where, pursuant to subsection (7), a court sentences a probationer for the original offence, the court may not impose any sentence that the probative court could not have imposed.

(9) Any amount payable upon estreatment of a recognizance shall be recoverable as a fine.

(10) In this section "court of a superior jurisdiction" means—

(a) where the probative court is a court of summary jurisdiction—the Supreme Court or a District Criminal Court;

and

(b) where the probative court is a District Criminal Court—the Supreme Court.

12. Section 10 of the principal Act is amended—

(a) by striking out paragraph (a) of subsection (1);

and

(b) by striking out subsections (2), (3) and (4).

Amendment of  
s. 10—  
Regulations.

53\*8

10

Insertion  
of new  
s. 11.

Immunity  
from  
liability.

Offenders Probation Act Amendment Act, 1981

13. The following section is inserted after section 10 of the principal Act:

11. (1) No civil liability shall attach to a probation officer or community service officer for any act or omission by him in good faith and in the exercise of his powers, or discharge of his duties, under this Act.

(2) A liability that would, but for subsection (1), attach to a probation officer or community service officer shall attach to the Crown.

In the name and on behalf of Her Majesty, I hereby assent to this Bill.

K. D. SEAMAN, Governor

By Authority: D. J. WOOLMAN, Government Printer, South Australia

APPENDIX 2 ASSESSMENT INFORMATION GATHERING FORM (DCS B104)

DCS B104

C.S.O. ASSESSMENT NO. ....

COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDER SCHEME

ASSESSMENT INFORMATION GATHERING FORM

IDENTIFICATION DATA

Surname: ..... Given Names: .....  
Alias(es): .....  
Address: ..... Postcode: .....  
Phone: (Work) ..... (Private) .....  
D.O.B. .... / .... / ..... Sex M ☐ F ☐

COURT/OFFENCE DETAILS

Court: ..... Judge/Magistrate .....  
Date report requested: ..... Bail ☐ Custody ☐  
Offence: .....  
Lawyer: .....  
Sentence: Date sentenced .... / .... / .....  
Imprisonment ..... Fine .....  
Bond  
Type ..... Length .....  
Suspended Sentence ..... Recognizance .....  
Supervision Yes ☐ No ☐  
C.S.O. Yes ☐ No ☐ No. of hours .....  
Other Conditions .....

Assessing Officer: Name ..... Office .....  
C.S.O. Recommended Yes ☐ No ☐

OCCUPATION

..... ☐ Employed ☐ Unemployed (Tick as appropriate)

PROBATION/PAROLE/CSO CONTACT

Previous report: Yes/No Details .....  
Previous supervision: Yes/No Details .....  
Current report: Yes/No Details .....  
Current supervision: Yes/No Details .....  
If 'Yes', name of PO and office: .....  
Supervising officer's comments: .....  
Previous (expired) C.S.O.: Yes/No Details .....  
Current C.S.O.: Yes/No Details .....  
If 'Yes', name of C.S. Officer and office: .....  
Number of hours specified on current C.S.O. order: .....

-2-

CRIMINAL RECORD

No. of previous offences: ..... Summary/Frequency .....  
No. of sex offences ..... Comment .....  
No. of offences of violence ..... Comment .....

CONSENT

C.S.O. Explained ☐ Offender consent. Yes ☐ No ☐ Doubt ☐  
If 'No' or 'Doubt', details: .....

HEALTH

Give details of any illness, mental or physical, or disability which may preclude offender from C.S.O.  
.....  
.....

If offender currently under a worker's compensation claim give details:  
.....

Health certificate signed: Yes ☐ No ☐

ALCOHOL/DRUGS/GAMBLING

Give details of any drinking habits, addiction to drugs or gambling habits which may interfere with C.S.O. performance.  
.....  
.....

EMPLOYMENT

Employed? Yes ☐ No ☐

If employed, occupation: .....  
Name and address of employer: .....

Occupational Skills: .....

Hours of work: .....

Would a C.S.O. order interfere with offenders employment or course of training or instruction relating to or likely to assist, in obtaining employment? Yes ☐ No ☐

If 'Yes', give details: .....  
.....

EDUCATION

Level obtained: .....  
Trade Training: .....

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

With whom is offender living? .....  
How long? ..... Are living arrangements likely to remain  
suitable for duration of C.S.O. order? Yes ☐ No ☐  
If 'No', give details: .....  
.....

DOMESTIC CIRCUMSTANCES

Are there any serious family or domestic circumstances which would interfere  
with Community Service? Yes ☐ No ☐  
If 'Yes', give details: .....  
.....

LEISURE INTERESTS

List sporting/leisure interests of offender: .....  
.....  
Offender's attitude to foregoing some or all of these if necessary for  
duration of order? .....  
.....

ACCESSIBILITY TO C.S.O. CENTRE

Is there a C.S. Centre reasonably accessible to the offender?  
Yes ☐ No ☐ If 'No', give details: .....  
.....

PLACEMENT

Is there a placement at the C.S. Centre? Yes ☐ No ☐  
If 'No', give details: .....  
.....

RECOMMENDATION

C.S.O. recommended Yes ☐ No ☐

APPENDIX 3 COMMUNITY SERVICE ASSESSMENT REPORT (DCS B105)

DCS B105



DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES—COMMUNITY SERVICE ASSESSMENT REPORT

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_ D.O.B. \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

POSTCODE: \_\_\_\_\_

APPEARING AT THE: \_\_\_\_\_ COURT

BEFORE: \_\_\_\_\_ ON \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

OFFENCE(S) \_\_\_\_\_  
On \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_ the abovementioned offender was referred to the Department for a report by a probation officer as required by section 5(1d) of the Offenders Probation Act, 1913-1981.

PROBATION OFFICER'S REPORT

PLACEMENT

There is/is not a placement for the offender at a community service centre reasonably accessible to the offender.

Comment: \_\_\_\_\_

SUITABILITY

☐ The community service likely to be undertaken by the offender is appropriate for him.

☐ The community service likely to be undertaken by the offender is not appropriate for him due to the following reasons:—

- ☐ Nature of previous criminal record \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ Conscientious objection \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ Physical or mental illness or disability \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ Addiction to drugs, alcohol or gambling \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ Vocational or educational interference \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ Living Arrangements \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ Domestic circumstances \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ Personal reasons \_\_\_\_\_

HOURS AVAILABLE

☐ The offender is currently not undertaking community service pursuant to a previous recognizance and accordingly the maximum of 240 hours is available.

☐ The offender is currently undertaking community service pursuant to a previous recognizance. The number of hours specified in the previous recognizance is \_\_\_\_\_ and accordingly \_\_\_\_\_ hours are available.

EVALUATION.

As a result of the enquiries undertaken it appears that the requirements of section 5(1d) of the Offenders Probation Act, 1913-1981 are/are not satisfied and accordingly the abovementioned is/is not a suitable person to perform community service under the terms of the Offenders Probation Act.

Additional comment: \_\_\_\_\_

REQUIREMENT TO REPORT

Should the offender be placed on a community service order the appropriate community service centre to which he should be referred pursuant to section 5a of the Offenders Probation Act is situated at: \_\_\_\_\_

PHONE: \_\_\_\_\_

Probation and Parole Officer/Community Service Officer

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

CAN01

APPENDIX 4 ASSESSMENT GUIDELINES (FROM POLICY AND PRACTICE MANUAL, PART 5, 5.6)

PART 5 P.&P. NO.5
Page No. 17 of 26
Date of Issue 01.03.83
Amendment No.

PART 5 P.&P. NO.5
Page No. 19 of 26
Date of Issue 01.03.83
Amendment No.

6. ASSESSMENT GUIDELINES

6.1 Following is a list of general guidelines useful as a reference when preparing either a specific community service assessment report or a pre-sentence report. This list has been compiled in an attempt to formulate the criteria underlying the recommendations. It must be made clear that, apart from the exclusions which are a matter of common sense, the check list is really an indication of departmental policy, and as such, is likely to change from time to time.

SUITABLE	UNSUITABLE
<u>Past and Present Living Arrangements</u>	
A background of settled accommodation is essential because the community service order is not transferable to areas where projects are not available. Can include residence in hostels, boarding houses, etc.	The "happy wanderer". Offenders with no fixed place of abode.
<u>Physical/mental health</u>	
An offender's medical condition should generally be such that the person is capable of being matched to available projects.	Mentally disturbed persons or those with a severe personality disorder of psychosis.
Mental or physical disabilities should not necessarily be a bar and some medical conditions, such as mild depressive fits, are likely to be helped by community service.	Alcohol and drug or gambling addicts, where such addiction is likely to have an adverse affect on the offender's ability to perform community service. The severely mentally retarded offender.
	A physical handicap which cannot be accommodated within the available project placements.

SUITABLE	UNSUITABLE
<u>Transport</u>	
Suitable transport will have to be available. Offenders normally will be required to make their own arrangements to get to projects.	Lack of drivers licence may create an insurmountable transport problem, particularly in areas without public transport.
<u>Social work support</u>	
Where short-term social case-work assistance only is required to assist an offender to complete his community service order, and where such assistance is not likely to interfere with the carrying out of the community service order.	Where the offender has ongoing personal or social crisis situations which would prevent his energies being given fully to the demands of community service. Supervision by a probation officer would be more suitable in these cases, as this allows for extended professional casework support to be given, e.g. relationship problems, financial difficulties, effects of unemployment, etc.
<u>Offences</u>	
First offenders.	Offenders with persistent impulsive episodes of irresponsible behaviour culminating in arrest after arrest.
Those with a marked deceleration in the rate of offending.	
Those with some indication pointing to a change in motivation, e.g. recent marriage or obtaining a job after a prolonged period of unemployment.	
Those guilty of a crime committed in circumstances which are unlikely to recur.	



SUITABLE

UNSUITABLE

Offences of violence, but where the seriousness does not pose a public risk and where the client does not present any additional problems.

Those guilty of a serious crime but whose background is stable, had a stable family life, reasonable relationships at home, good job and prospects, good basic intelligence, etc. Community service could be considered where the offence does not endanger public safety or the requirements of the scheme.

Where the measure can be seen as a more effective way to underline the seriousness of the offence in preference to a fine or a good behaviour bond.

Where the measure can be seen as another intermediate step before a custodial penalty becomes a norm for that person - a means of pushing back the threshold of a custodial sentence.

Sexual offences of a minor nature such as carnal knowledge in cases where the age discrepancy is not a significant factor or where the nature of the offence is not likely to create a problem of acceptance by the agencies. Careful assessment and placement is emphasized.

Offences of violence, where the protection of the community is a prime consideration.

Where the offender is already on a community service order and the imposition of another order is likely to exceed the total number of hours to which the offender may be sentenced with the Act.

Sexual offences of a more serious nature such as rape are excluded as they are likely to provoke adverse community reaction, particularly in the early stages of the scheme.

SUITABLE

UNSUITABLE

Personality/social development

Persons with personality traits including:

. Purposelessness: Those who have had little opportunity for making positive contributions to society.

. Those who function below their potential and who may be encouraged to realise their abilities by placement in a working group situation.

. The isolated and withdrawn person who does not relate well in a case-work setting.

. Compulsive personalities who need to work out of a sense of guilt.

. Those lacking in social training and needing an experience of continuity to combat their fragmented behaviour pattern.

. Persons displaying acting out "chip-in-the-shoulder" type behaviour who take out of society more than they put in through their perception of always being on the losing end or who believe the world owes them a living. Such persons may benefit from community service by making them aware of their capacity for contributing to society, because they may have never been placed in a situation where they saw their contribution as having a significant value.

Persons with personality traits including:

. Those who display uncontrollable aggressive impulses, or those with personality disorders sufficiently severe to prevent effective community service placement, such as the schizoid and the paranoid personalities.

. Those with sociopathic personality disturbances, lacking total concern for others and a moral conscience, totally self-centred, and good at rationalising their anti-social behaviour.

. Offenders of very low intelligence. While these should not necessarily be excluded from the scheme, there are practical problems in placing socially or educationally retarded persons. As the scheme grows it may be possible to develop special programmes for retarded offenders.

**CONTINUED**



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SUITABLE

UNSUITABLE

. Those with a sufficient level of maturity who are able to discriminate and exercise some personal responsibility.

Family relationships and circumstances

A responsibility to dependants, a record of stability in a family situation, a family which appears supportive of the offender being the subject of a community service order, and the absence of adverse pressure by the offender's peer group.

Motivation for community service is desirable and it can be seriously undermined by lack of support. The family who positively encourages the offender and takes an interest in his or her order is a major factor in the completion of the order. Officers need to ensure that the implications of a community service order are discussed with the family where possible and that there is some positive indication of a sufficient level of support and encouragement.

Employment history

The offender should have a history of reasonable performance and attendance while in an employment setting. Obviously those with a stable and consistent work history are most suitable. However, a community service order may help those with a record of long-term unemployment to gain confidence in their ability to work.

. Offenders showing a distinct unwillingness to accept responsibility, or motivation towards a change in lifestyle, or lacking in the necessary maturity.

Lack of family support and encouragement. A collusive spouse, who prefers to have the offender home can put him under severe pressure not to complete his order.

Presence of adverse pressures by the offender's peer group

The genuine "work shy" offender.

.Where the offender has a long history of unemployment, compounded by other serious social problems.

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SUITABLE

UNSUITABLE

General work record must indicate an ability to perform in this new setting.

Self-employed persons who are able to arrange their business affairs to accommodate the requirements of their community service order in a reasonable manner.

Where the relationship between the number of hours ordered, the completion of any shift work and the length of the working week is such that it still allows the offender to discharge his obligations under the order in a reasonable manner.

Leisure interests, skills and abilities

Where an offender is at loose ends in his spare time.

Where he has ability and interests which could be developed through community service.

Where the offender has sufficient free time to complete the order.

Those whose employment commitments do not allow them to complete their community service obligations within a reasonable period, e.g. due to frequent absences interstate, excessively long working hours, difficult shifts, etc.

Where the offender's working hours make it difficult for community service arrangements to be made and the offender is unwilling to change such working hours.

Where an offender's leisure time pursuits interfere with his performance of community service and he is not prepared to forego some of such leisure pursuit.

Where the effects of deprivation of leisure on the offender's domestic situation acts against completion of the order.

Where an offender's vocational/ educational demands detract from his ability to perform effective community service.

# SUITABLE

## UNSUITABLE

Offences of violence, but where the seriousness does not pose a public risk and where the client does not present any additional problems.

Those guilty of a serious crime but whose background is stable, had a stable family life, reasonable relationships at home, good job and prospects, good basic intelligence, etc. Community service could be considered where the offence does not endanger public safety or the requirements of the scheme.

Where the measure can be seen as a more effective way to underline the seriousness of the offence in preference to a fine or a good behaviour bond.

Where the measure can be seen as another intermediate step before a custodial penalty becomes a norm for that person - a means of pushing back the threshold of a custodial sentence.

Sexual offences of a minor nature such as carnal knowledge in cases where the age discrepancy is not a significant factor or where the nature of the offence is not likely to create a problem of acceptance by the agencies. Careful assessment and placement is emphasized.

Offences of violence, where the protection of the community is a prime consideration.

Where the offender is already on a community service order and the imposition of another order is likely to exceed the total number of hours to which the offender may be sentenced with the Act.

Sexual offences of a more serious nature such as rape are excluded as they are likely to provoke adverse community reaction, particularly in the early stages of the scheme.

# SUITABLE

## UNSUITABLE

### Personality/social development

Persons with personality traits including:

. Purposelessness: Those who have had little opportunity for making positive contributions to society.

. Those who function below their potential and who may be encouraged to realise their abilities by placement in a working group situation.

. The isolated and withdrawn person who does not relate well in a case-work setting.

. Compulsive personalities who need to work out of a sense of guilt.

. Those lacking in social training and needing an experience of continuity to combat their fragmented behaviour pattern.

. Persons displaying acting out "chip-in-the-shoulder" type behaviour who take out of society more than they put in through their perception of always being on the losing end or who believe the world owes them a living. Such persons may benefit from community service by making them aware of their capacity for contributing to society, because they may have never been placed in a situation where they saw their contribution as having a significant value.

Persons with personality traits including:

. Those who display uncontrollable aggressive impulses, or those with personality disorders sufficiently severe to prevent effective community service placement, such as the schizoid and the paranoid personalities.

. Those with sociopathic personality disturbances, lacking total concern for others and a moral conscience, totally self-centred, and good at rationalising their anti-social behaviour.

. Offenders of very low intelligence. While these should not necessarily be excluded from the scheme, there are practical problems in placing socially or educationally retarded persons. As the scheme grows it may be possible to develop special programmes for retarded offenders.

APPENDIX 5 ITEMS OF ASSESSMENT INFORMATION BY WHETHER COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDERED OR NOT

A. INFORMATION FROM ASSESSMENT INTERVIEW

1		CS ORDERED	CS NOT ORDERED
	SEX		
	Male	63	15
	Female	6	-
	TOTAL	69	15
2	AGE		
	18	7	3
	19	12	1
	20-24	24	7
	25-29	13	1
	30 and older	11	3
	TOTAL	67	15
3	RESIDENTIAL LOCALITY		
	Within Norwood's prescribed area	19	2
	Within Noarlunga's prescribed area	21	3
	Outside a prescribed area	29	10
	TOTAL	69	15
4	COURT		
	Supreme	3	-
	Central District Criminal Court	6	2
	Adelaide	25	6
	Holden Hill	7	-
	Port Adelaide	6	3
	Christies Beach	14	4
	Stirling	4	-
	Glenelg	4	-
	TOTAL	69	15

5		CS ORDERED	CS NOT ORDERED
	OFFENCE TYPE		
	Assault occasioning actual bodily harm	4	1
	Assault police; resist arrest	5	-
	Other assault	3	2
	Conspire to rob	2	-
	False pretences	7	-
	Break & enter	5	6
	Larceny; receiving	16	2
	Unlawful use of motor vehicle	5	-
	Drug offence	5	-
	Drive under influence	5	1
	Exceed prescribed alcohol content	5	1
	Dangerous driving	1	-
	disqualified driving	5	1
	TOTAL	68	14
6	NUMBER OF PREVIOUS OFFENCES		
	0	20	2
	1	11	3
	2	12	3
	3 or more	15	5
	Some, do not know how many	8	-
	TOTAL	66	13
7	NO. OF PREVIOUS SEXUAL OFFENCES		
	None	60	13
	1	-	1
	Information not available	9	1
	TOTAL	69	15

8		CS ORDERED	CS NOT ORDERED
	NO. OF PREVIOUS VIOLENT OFFENCES		
	None	53	13
	1	5	-
	2	2	-
	4	-	1
	Information not available	9	1
	TOTAL	69	15

9	PREVIOUSLY BEEN UNDER SUPERVISION		
	Yes	11	3
	No	50	9
	TOTAL	61	12

10	CURRENTLY UNDER SUPERVISION		
	Yes	5	3
	No	63	11
	TOTAL	68	14

11	HEALTH PRECLUDE CSO		
	Yes	1	2
	No	54	12
	TOTAL	55	14

12	ALCOHOL, DRUGS, GAMBLING INTERFERE WITH CSO PERFORMANCE		
	Yes	-	-
	No	54	14
	TOTAL	54	14

13		CS ORDERED	CS NOT ORDERED
	EMPLOYMENT STATUS		
	Employed, full-time	18	3
	Employed, part-time	2	1
	Unemployed, seeking work	41	5
	Unemployed, not seeking work	6	2
	TOTAL	67	11

14	OCCUPATION TYPE		
	Professional, technical	5	-
	Administrative, executive, managerial	3	1
	Clerical	4	-
	Sales worker	1	1
	Transport & communications worker	3	-
	Tradesman	8	-
	Production worker, labourer	30	9
	Service, sport, recreation worker	2	-
	Armed services	1	-
	Student	1	-
	Home duties	4	-
	TOTAL	62	11

15	CSO INTERFERE WITH EMPLOYMENT OR TRAINING		
	Yes	-	3
	No	60	11
	TOTAL	60	14



16		CS ORDERED	CS NOT ORDERED
	LEVEL OF EDUCATION		
	Primary	1	2
	High school, year 1	5	2
	High school, year 2	8	7
	High school, year 3	22	2
	High school, year 4	26	1
	High school, year 5	5	-
	Tertiary	2	-
	TOTAL	69	14

17	TRADE TRAINING		
	None	24	13
	Incomplete, still studying	12	1
	Complete	24	-
	TOTAL	60	14

18	WITH WHOM LIVE		
	Parents	25	5
	Spouse	8	3
	Spouse & children	14	1
	Children only	1	-
	Siblings	5	1
	Friends	13	1
	Hostel	-	1
	Alone	2	2
	TOTAL	68	14

19		CS ORDERED	CS NOT ORDERED
	HOW LONG LIVED WITH THEM		
	Less than 6 months	7	2
	6-12 months	7	1
	Over 1 year	35	7
	TOTAL	49	10

20	LIVING ARRANGEMENT REMAIN STABLE DURING CSO		
	Yes	53	10
	No	-	4
	TOTAL	53	14

21	DOMESTIC CIRCUMSTANCES INTERFERE WITH CSO		
	Yes	-	1
	Possibly	1	-
	No	52	13
	TOTAL	53	14

22	LEISURE INTERESTS LISTED		
	Yes	54	13
	No	15	1
	TOTAL	69	14

**B. CONCLUSIONS FROM ASSESSMENT INTERVIEW**

	CS ORDERED	CS NOT ORDERED
23 REASONABLE ACCESS TO CS CENTRE		
Yes	49	8
No	7	7
Doubt	1	-
TOTAL	57	15

24 PLACEMENT AVAILABLE		
Yes	57	10
No	1	3
Doubt	2	-
TOTAL	60	13

25 CSO RECOMMENDED		
Yes	62	4
No	1	9
Doubt	1	1
TOTAL	64	14

**C. CONCLUSIONS REPORTED TO COURT**

	CS ORDERED	CS NOT ORDERED
26 REASONABLY ACCESSIBLE PLACEMENT AVAILABLE		
Yes	51	7
No	2	7
Doubt	1	-
TOTAL	54	14

	CS ORDERED	CS NOT ORDERED
27 CS IS APPROPRIATE		
Yes	58	4
Possibly	-	1
Not endorsed	11	10
TOTAL	69	15

28 CS NOT APPROPRIATE BECAUSE:		
Previous criminal record	1	3
Conscientious objection	-	-
Physical or mental health or disability	-	4
Drugs, alcohol, gambling addiction	-	-
Vocational or educational interference	-	3
Living arrangements	-	3
Domestic circumstances	1	1
Personal reasons	-	1

29 SECTION 5 (1d) SATISFIED		
Yes	50	6
No	-	9
Not stated	19	-
TOTAL	69	15

## D. INFORMATION RECORDED (NOT NECESSARILY AT ASSESSMENT)

	CS ORDERED	CS NOT ORDERED
30		
SOURCE OF INCOME		
Own salary	20	2
Spouse's salary	2	-
Unemployment benefit	40	-
Other benefit	4	3
TOTAL	66	5
31		
REASON FOR NOT WORKING		
Work unavailable	31	1
Illness	-	1
Marginally employable	1	-
Student; home-duties	6	-
Not applicable	18	2
TOTAL	56	4
32		
NUMBER OF CHILDREN		
0	41	3
1	9	-
2	7	-
3	1	1
5	1	-
TOTAL	59	4
33		
ACCESS TO VEHICLE		
Yes	32	2
No	18	4
TOTAL	50	6

	CS ORDERED	CS NOT ORDERED
34		
DRIVING LICENCE		
None	7	3
Active	28	-
Disqualified	12	1
TOTAL	47	4
35		
JUVENILE CORRECTIONAL RECORD		
No known record	47	3
Juvenile aid panel or court	12	3
Detention	2	-
Convicted, but details not known	1	-
TOTAL	62	6
36		
ADULT CORRECTIONAL RECORD		
No known record	30	4
Unsupervised bond	1	-
Fine	15	-
Supervised bond	7	1
Prison	6	2
Convicted, but details not known	6	2
TOTAL	65	9

APPENDIX 6 PROJECT PROPOSAL/AGENCY PROFILE (DCS B102)

DCS B102

COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDER SCHEME - PROJECT PROPOSAL FROM AGENCY

PART 1. AGENCY IDENTIFICATION:

Sponsoring/benefiting agency Name: .....  
Address: .....  
.....Postcode.....Phone No.....  
Contact person Name: .....Position.....  
Business Address: .....  
.....  
Phone No.....(Bus).....(Private)  
Agency objectives .....  
.....  
Funding sources .....  
.....

PART 2. PROJECT DETAILS:

Project Name: .....  
Address: .....  
.....Postcode.....Phone No.....  
Project objectives .....  
.....  
Funding sources .....  
.....  
Type of work usually available Unskilled ☐ Trade ☐ Professional ☐  
Semi skilled ☐ Clerical ☐  
Times work usually available .....  
Description of tasks to be done .....  
.....  
Skills required .....  
.....  
Can agency provide the required tools/equipment/materials? .....  
Are toilet/shelter/eating facilities available? .....  
How regularly is the work available? .....  
Work involves contact with Recipients ☐ General public ☐ No public contact ☐  
Children ☐ Adults ☐ Others (specify ☐

DCS B102

- 2 -

PART 3. GENERAL AGENCY INFORMATION:

Does agency wish to approve offender before allocation? Yes ☐ No ☐  
Comment .....  
Does agency normally use volunteers? Yes ☐ No ☐  
If yes, in what capacity? .....  
Will agency provide volunteers to work alongside offender? Yes ☐ No ☐

PART 4. ON SITE SUPERVISION:

Can agency provide on site supervision? Yes ☐ No ☐  
If agency can provide on site supervision Agency Supervisor  
Name: .....  
Address: .....  
Phone No.....Business.....Private...  
Comments on supervision arrangements .....  
.....  
If agency cannot provide on site supervision, who will accept responsibility for supervision? .....  
.....

PART 5. SCHEME PUBLICITY (COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICER USE ONLY)

Is agency willing to be named in publicity material? Yes ☐ No ☐  
Is agency willing to acknowledge assistance given through the scheme in its publicity material? Yes ☐ No ☐

PART 6. GENERAL COMMENTS

.....  
Community Service Officer  
District Office.....  
Date.....

Distribution  
Community Service Officer.  
C.S.O. Co-ordinator.  
Community Service Committee  
Members.

APPENDIX 7 AGENCIES AND PROJECT TASKS

Type of Agency	Tasks Performed by Offenders	Project Type 1
Neighbourhood House	Child minding, cleaning, gardening, painting, building alterations	4
Community Centre	Assisting with erection of a new workshop for self-help adult unemployment group	4
Hostel for Juvenile Offenders	Assisting hostel staff with running of socialising programmes, eg. teaching guitar, arts and crafts, survival	*
Aboriginal Hostel	Building of brick walls	*
Homeless Persons Day Centre	Restore Buildings. Project not gone on with because of lack of funding	*
Cemetery	Laying gravel paths, concreting. Cleaning up grave surrounds	1
Cemetery	General tidying up of cemetery, weeding, hedge clipping, etc.	1
Emergency Shelter/ Youth Camp	Maintenance of grounds, painting and repairing of camp buildings	3
Neighbourhood House	Clerical, typing newsletter, sewing of clothes for children, maintaining the property	*
Community Centre	Repainting the hall	3
Community Welfare Agency	Erection of garage to store donated furniture, etc.	*
Gardening Project	General gardening work to grow vegetables for low income families	*
Welfare Services Administration Office	Assisting staff with clerical tasks, sorting and distributing food parcels	4
Community Services Depot/ Garage	Assisting with maintenance of the depot, gardening	3
Opportunity Shop Collection Department	Emptying of charity bins, sorting clothing, preparing clothing parcels for needy families	*
Opportunity Shop	Preparing donated furniture and delivery to needy families	4
Animal Shelter	Assisting with animal care, ground maintenance and improvements	4

Type of Agency	Tasks Performed by Offenders	Project Type <sup>1</sup>
Pensioner	Minor repairs, repainting of house, general gardening	5
Pensioner	Painting, general handy	5
Community Activities House	Assisting with painting, carpentry and general maintenance	3
Opportunity Shop	Repairing of Clothing and distributing to needy families	4
Gardening Project	Assisting pensioners in the area to maintain their gardens	*
Gardening Project	Assist with establishing vegetable garden for the women's shelter	*
House and Garden Maintenance	Assisting needy families with gardening and house maintenance	2
House and Garden Maintenance	As above	1
Pensioners	Assisting with pruning of trees, exterior painting and clearing gutters	5
Home for Delinquent Boys	Assisting with running recreation and educational programme	*
Gardening Project	Gardening to produce vegetables for needy families	*
Community Centre	Paving of pathways to enable wheelchair patients from the Julia Farr centre to use the Centre	1
Childminding Centre	Assisting with childcare, maintenance of toys, cleaning, painting, etc,	4
Pensioner	General gardening and handyman work for a very old lady	5
Blue Light Discos	Assisting the hired disc jockeys	4
Child Care Centre	Assisting with ground and building maintenance	4
Pensioner Companionship Programme	Assisting elderly isolated people with basic home and garden maintenance tasks	*
Primary School Council	Assisting with gardening and maintenance of school grounds	4

Type of Agency	Tasks Performed by Offenders	Project Type
Pensioner	Basic home and garden maintenance	5
Community House	General aintenance of grounds and buildings	4
Community Child Care Centre	Erection of additional playground equipment and extension of playground	4
Gardening Project	Gardening to produce vegetables for low income families	4
National Trust	Renovate historic buildings	*
Camp for disadvantaged groups and families	Noxious weed eradication, tree planting, grounds maintenance	1

- <sup>1</sup> Project Type
- 1 = impersonal group (5)
  - 2 = personal group (1)
  - 3 = lone worker (4)
  - 4 = volunteer group (13)
  - 5 = individual assistance (5)
  - \* = not used as at time of research (13)



**END**