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RESEARCH AND EVALUATION
IN COMMUNITY CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Submitted to Evaluation and Research
Corporate Policy and Planning
Correctional Service of Canada

March 31, 1987

Submitted by Joan E. MacDonald

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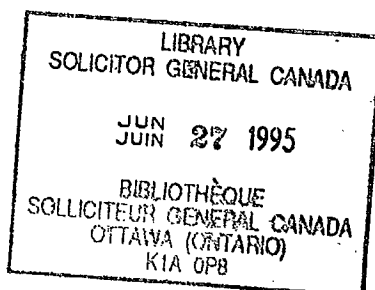
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March 31, 1987

Submitted by Joan E. MacDonald





TO
A

Evaluation and Research Committee
Comité d'évaluation et de recherche

FROM
DE

D. McMillan
DER

SUBJECT
OBJET

Research and Evaluation in
Community Supervision

Attached is the literature review prepared for the Evaluation of Community Supervision, which I believe that you will find to be interesting reading.

The next stage of this evaluation is an evaluation assessment which is the pre-evaluation planning stage. The evaluation assessment will commence in May and be completed by September 1987.

Should you have any comments or concerns please do not hesitate to contact me at 995-9000 or Warren Carter at 995-9985.

Doug McMillan

c.c. D. Allen

SECURITY - CLASSIFICATION - DE SÉCURITÉ
OUR FILE - N / RÉFÉRENCE
YOUR FILE - V / RÉFÉRENCE
DATE 1987-04-22

Recherche et évaluation dans la
supervision communautaire

Veuillez trouver ci-joint la révision littéraire, préparer pour l'évaluation de la supervision communautaire que vous trouverez sans aucun doute très intéressant à lire.

La prochaine phase de cette évaluation est au stade de planification, qui consiste en une évaluation préliminaire. Cette évaluation commencera en mai et se terminera en septembre 1987.

Si vous avez des commentaires ou des préoccupations, n'hésitez pas à me contacter au 995-9000 ou Warren Carter au 995-9985.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this report is to review the recent literature on community correctional program evaluation and research as a means of providing an overview of the substantive issues in community programs, a cursory look at the relevant methodological issues, and recommendations regarding evaluative research. The subject matter has been limited by its relevancy to the jurisdiction of the Correctional Service of Canada.

To assist in the appreciation of the various programs, the contemporary political, economic and progressional contexts are discussed and the five basic community correctional models are briefly explained.

From the review it is apparent that the community program options can be categorized into two types, structural programs and client centered programs. These categories are not mutually exclusive, rather the former is often a necessary organizational framework for the latter.

Structural programs are classified as such because their basic components can be identified by structural variations in the manner in which the three basic supervision functions are delivered: control/surveillance, service/assistance, and treatment/rehabilitation. In the 1980's, predominant emphasis on control and service, and an almost complete rejection of the utility and/or delivery of the care (treatment) functions. Besides function fulfillment, the program options are evaluated for their effectiveness in terms of recidivism reduction.

Client centered strategies and techniques include, as the name suggests, an individual client focus within program theory, goals, and means of delivery of these three functions. Most importantly, it incorporates an integrated functional approach.

The structural options reviewed include, community supervision versus unsupervised release, intensive supervision, summary and reduced parole, supervision by case management, team supervision models, service brokerage systems, community residential supervision (halfway houses), electronic monitoring and house arrest. The conclusions which have been arrived at by reviewing dichotomous supervision evaluations apply to most other types of structural programming as well, although in some instances with altered intensity. The basic conclusions regarding structural programs are: (1) community supervision is only marginally more effective than incarceration; (2) the effects of supervision are manifest in the short term, if at all, and seldom persist beyond the supervision period; and (3) supervision has differential effects on clients depending upon client characteristics and program intensity.

The most valuable lesson to be learned from the bulk of the structural literature is the potential for differential supervision, however, for a variety of program and methodological reasons, the heuristic opportunities in terms of differential effects are seldom explored in the literature. In very general terms, supervision differentials are apparent in the extremes of the client population. Despite the lack of thorough knowledge in this area, complex techniques for classification using risk and need assessments, have been developed to facilitate differential supervision. The forms and value of these are reviewed in the report highlighting the more promising Level of Supervision Inventory.

The client centered approaches reviewed include the use of volunteers and paraprofessionals, active supervision and ancillary rehabilitative programming. The value in these options, in terms of functional fulfillment and effectiveness, results from their incorporation of the principles of the social learning model and their inclusion of these minimum essential components: client focus, environmentally relevant design and delivery, multimodal intervention techniques, behavioral programming, and a marriage of the control and care functions with a de-emphasis on community service access. The review also notes that there are many promising rehabilitative programs in corrections and complementary disciplines which offer great promise to community correctional effectiveness.

The major methodological issues are classified and research design, selection criteria and assessment techniques. The significant observations are twofold. Firstly, the quasi-experimental research method appears to be the most appropriate because of its flexibility and the use of tailored statistical controls. Secondly, the incredible expense of methodologically inadequate research within the field of correctional program evaluation hinders the heuristic possibilities. This seems to be the result of incomplete methodologies, but more importantly the common lack of sound theory underlying program design, delivery and evaluation.

The major conclusion offered by this review is that the majority of community correctional programming is ineffective in its simple structural format, however, there is evidence of effective programs, both internal to supervision and as ancillary programs, of a client centered nature. It is recommended that these latter program options be explored if the goal of community corrections is to be recidivism reduction rather than simply the maintenance of offenders in the community. More specific recommendations regarding tasks toward this realization are offered in the report.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is the stated intention of the Correctional Service of Canada, under its Evaluation Plan, to undertake an evaluation of aspects of the Community Supervision program, during the 1987-88 fiscal year. The purpose of this report is to supply the Evaluation and Research Division with information which could assist in the design of an evaluation strategy.

The goals of this report are to (1.) provide the reader with a concise overview of the substantive program developments - issues and trends in the field of community corrections, (2.) discuss the methodological issues regarding correctional program evaluation, as they are reported in the recent literature on community programs, and (3.) to offer recommendations as to the pertinent topics under the umbrella of community correctional programs which warrants further research, as indicated in the literature. The literature has been selected for its relevance to the jurisdiction of the Correctional Service of Canada, namely adult inmates under community supervision and coincidentally will be handled from the C.S.C. perspective.

This report encompasses a review of the literature published since approximately 1980 and in no way claims to be exhaustive or attempts to present a definitive comment on the state of the art in community correctional programming or evaluation.

The first topic, presented in Chapter II, is the question of the essential value of community supervision as a means of reducing future criminal behavior of inmates. The discussion is predicated with a cursory review of the political, economic, and professional contextual factors, and a brief

explanation of the five correctional models. The program review considers the general utility of community supervision, and the merits of altered supervision schedules such as intensive, minimum, and reduced supervision.

In Chapter III the issue of differential supervision is examined along with methods for its implementation. As comes to light, little evaluative information is present in the literature regarding the use or usefulness of differential supervision, although there is ample discussion of techniques.

Chapter IV consists of a review of contemporary supervision strategies and techniques including several structural options such as case management, service brokerage, team supervision, and residential programming. The discussion highlights the value of client centered strategies such as the use of volunteers, paraprofessional and active supervision techniques and suggests that these are the most promising.

The differential value of structural and client centered programming become more evident in Chapter V through a discussion of ancillary treatment programs offered in the community setting.

In Chapter VI the issues, problems and promises of evaluating correctional programs are discussed.

Finally, in Chapter VII, general conclusions, discussion of their implications and recommendations are presented.

CHAPTER II

COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS

The purposes of this chapter are threefold, firstly, to set the stage for the report in terms of the contextual environment and the models of community corrections, secondly, to review the basic question of the value and relevancy of community supervision, and thirdly, to consider the most basic issues in supervision, whether to supervise and how much and how long.

2.1 The Political, Economic and Professional Context

The contemporary nature of community correctional programs reflects four general contextual forces, the correctional mandate which is legislatively determined, the current political and social view of the purpose of corrections, the economic context, and current trends and approaches in the correctional field as purported by the professionals.

In Canada, the correctional orientation adopted in 1977, as advanced by the Task Force Report on *The Role of Federal Corrections in Canada* (Canada, Solicitor General 1977: 59) was the "protection of society through the control of the offender." (Axon, 1980: 4) This development represented a shift from a mandate of protection of society through the rehabilitation of the offender, and a new emphasis on reintegration and control instead of treatment. It appears that this shift was precipitated by the disillusion with the previous rehabilitative efforts in corrections throughout the continent, encouraged by Martinson and the "nothing works movement" popularized in 1974.

Subsequently, in Canada the two major objectives of conditional release were restated in 1985:

- "1. To enhance the protection of society by minimizing the risk of released offenders committing further offences. This protection is enhanced by a careful selection of conditions of release, by monitoring the offender's behavior, by imposing special controls on his/her activities in the community and, if necessary, by imposing sanctions or having the offender incarcerated if his presence in the community becomes an undue risk.
2. To assist the offender in becoming a law-abiding citizen by assistance and services including counselling, guidance, referral to community services and where possible by the development of a supportive interpersonal relationship."¹

The latter objective, expressed with imprecise terminology, appears to represent a position half way between rehabilitation and reintegration, with concurrent mention of counselling (traditionally considered a 'treatment' function reflecting the medical model), guidance (an assistance/rehabilitation function), and service brokerage. On a more positive note, this statement of objectives appears to illustrate the continuing Canadian concern for inmate centered goals rather than the polarization to society/risk goals expressed in some American jurisdictions.

The critical Canadian precondition is the national scope and scale of the federal parole system which is legislatively integrated into the Canadian legal/correctional system precluding major structural innovation in community corrections. In response to this dual context (legislative and professional), it would seem that the Canadian research has concentrated on the more dynamic aspects of supervision, within the contemporary release

¹ Canada, *Administrative Agreement between the National Parole Board and the Correctional Service of Canada*, Feb. 21, 1985.

structure and ancillary programming. This will become more evident throughout the discussion.

The contemporary socio-political context in the United States is characterized by a distinctively American swing towards law and order, fiscal constraints (Harlow and Nelson, 1982), and severe prison overcrowding complimented by a rejection of the correctional goal of rehabilitation. In capsule form the immediate policy consequences seems to have been budget cuts to correctional systems (including the abolition of the federal parole system by the Reagan administration); the development of alternatives to incarceration (Gottfredson and Taylor, 1983) which attempt to conform to the law and order mandate; and a general shift towards risk control programming based on the justice model (Harris, 1982).

Unlike in Canada, the American scene is comprised of fifty separate systems with autonomous control for a full range of offenders which facilitates structural and program diversity. This jurisdictional situation, coupled with the broader contextual factors has lead to several general programming consequences, including the research and development of a wide variety of structural programs designed to fulfill the requirements of control, cost effectiveness and societal protection while, ironically, at the same time often involving innovative program components, such as diversion alternatives, community work and victim restitution, risk/need assessment, classification and differential supervision. For example, previously, probation was seen as a more humanitarian and liberal alternative to incarceration while it is now being developed as a more cost effective alternative, and coupled with intensive supervision it conforms to the control/protection mandate.

Although, program innovation has been the fortunate consequence in the United States, the nature and quality of the program development and subsequent research and evaluation varies. This will become more evident within the various program sections below. When reviewing community correctional programs it is important to consider these contextual influences and relevant purposes in order to appreciate the various programs.

2.2 Models of Community Corrections

As a means of providing a reference for the following program discussion, the basic correctional models, as they have been presented in the recent literature, are outlined below.

2.2.1 Social Control/Justice Model

The justice model emphasizes just punishment for the crime committed. It focuses on the offense (not on the offender); it stresses blame and punishment and not crime control. (Sacks and Logan, 1980) This approach dictates that the sentences reflect fairness, at the expense of risk assessment, and not utilitarian criteria therefore eliminating the need for rehabilitative or reintegrative programming.

Simplistically stated, the purpose of community supervision, with the justice model, is to provide a less severe sentence component coupled with retribution for the crime committed, for example, through the use of probation orders which include community service, restitution, fines and house arrest, but not treatment. (Bryne, 1985) Under this model parole is a division of the sentence and needs to be justified as deserved punishment just as the served portion.

2.2.2 Limited Risk Model

This utilitarian model attempts to balance concern for offender risk with fair punishment. (O'Leary and Clear, 1984) It generally includes judicial sentencing to community supervision or incarceration using risk information and guidelines for appropriate sentences. In operations, this could be translated into a tiered structural approach to community supervision, with intensive supervision, employing objective risk assessment, as the highest level, followed by regular probation/parole supervision, and simple restitution or community service.

2.2.3 Reintegration Model

The reintegration model views criminal behavior as a social problem to be treated from a social perspective concentrating on societal goals. It employs structural programming options such as risk and need assessment, with a dual concentration. This model is often applied using the brokerage system of service delivery based on the theory that if an offender has access to community services which fulfill his/her concrete needs then he/she will be less likely to recidivate. Within the reintegration model, supervision fills the need for controls, where they are not self imposed. (Latessa, 1983)

2.2.4 Social Learning Perspective/ Intervention Model

The social learning model, expanded upon by Andrews (1982) is based on an essential functional rehabilitative role of corrections and it also encompasses control, containment and deterrence theories. It appears to be the most promising in terms of prediction of risk and control of recidivism through measurement and intervention at the level of the client, worker, practice, programming and setting. It encompasses all elements of the

environment (internal and external) to understand, predict and alter criminal behavior. It recognizes the necessity to affect many aspects of the criminals life if altered behavior is to be achieved. The operational target of intervention is to alter the density of the rewards and the density of the costs for criminal and noncriminal behavior such that noncriminal is favoured.

In practice the intervention model employs both intervention techniques (treatment, individual and group counselling, educational and vocational training) and external controls such as supervision and conditional release conditions tailored to this approach. Andrews (1980) argues that the issue over authority versus helping roles in supervision is artificial based on his use of the intervention model in which the two functions are complimentary and essential.

2.2.5 Medical/Treatment Model

At the far end of the spectrum is the medical model which is based on the belief that criminality is an illness which can be diagnosed and treated. It places the emphasis for responsibility on the supervisor to diagnose offender "problems", formulate a treatment strategy, implement the strategy, and then evaluate in light of plan. In application it generally includes a one to one client/officer relationship, required treatment of a group or individual psychotherapy nature, requirement of full-time employment, education or volunteer service work, and punitive conditions of release.

This model has manifested different delivery approaches, the most common of which is casework (Latessa, 1980; Andrews, 1982) from which the issue of the conflicting roles (as active social control agent and

treatment/change agent through the 'meaningful relationship') has emerged. In practice, this has been a common model for many probation and parole programs employing the assumption that treatment and compliance (reduced violation and revocation) are related.

2.3 Community Supervision

The goals and objectives of community supervision reflect both the correctional milieu and the greater socio-political context. As a compendium, the various objectives of community supervision are rehabilitation and treatment, punishment, protecting offender's remaining rights, temporary containment and societal protection, and reconciliation or reintegration. (Haley, 1980: 43). The ultimate goal is generally agreed to be the protection of society from recidivism while the offender centered goals are secondary as a means to this end. These often include increased skills, better life circumstances, attitude change, increased coping mechanisms, etc. and vary considerably as a reflection of their perceived value.

The main concern in community corrections is effectiveness concisely defined as

"any consequence, in terms of recidivism, of being on parole release in contrast to being released from prison not on parole."²

This definition is most appropriate to the C.S.C. mandate.

The myriad of program options which are designed to increase effectiveness and which have received attention in the literature will be

² Michael R. Gottfredson; Susan D. Mitchell-Herzford; and Timothy J. Flanagan. "Another Look at the Effectiveness of Parole Supervision," (*Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 19, 2, July 1982): 278.

reviewed below. These programs, which are generally designed to effect recidivism, can be classified into two main categories, those relying on structural program adaptations and those involving intervention techniques internal to the supervision structure.

2.3.1 To Parole Or Not To Parole

The matter of whether community supervision has merit continues to be researched and debated in the United States by policy makers and professionals as a result of the political-legislative context which has not entrenched community supervision into the correctional systems as it is in Canada. Concurrently, it is the job of politicians and professional to sell the various program options to the public. (Travisono, 1986: 4)

This environment has perpetuated the studies designed to consider the major structural supervision variables, generally of a quantitative nature such as the presence of community supervision, the quantity of supervision, and investigative versus surveillant supervision.³ (Star, 1981) A sampling of the structural research is summarized below.

Sacks and Logan (1979, 1980) conducted research on the benefits of parole supervision versus no supervision for court ordered early releasees with minor felons. The experimental study employed one, two and three year followups and discovered that parole can be credited with a delaying effect on recidivism, at least during the period of supervision, but that only for high risk offenders does this delay in recidivism persist over a three year period. Immediately following supervision, the recidivism rate increased significantly, suggesting a potential deterrence effect during supervision.

³ Reviews of a sampling of these studies are contained in Gottfredson et al., 1981: 277-298;

They discovered that the overall reduction in recidivism was modest and the post supervision failures of the groups were relatively comparable.

"In summary, an eighth-month parole period did not affect recidivism over a three-year period; it did not rehabilitate."⁴

With qualifications emanating from the research design limitations, which caused selection bias amounting to the comparison of worst risks (releasees) with best risks (parolees), it appears that these results could possibly underestimate the positive conclusions.

Gottfredson et al. (1981) completed a comprehensive, quasi-experimental study to determine whether parole supervision reduces recidivism and whether post release information could be used to improve recidivism prediction. Their major conclusion was procedural rather than programmatic. They determined that the assessment of effectiveness is inextricably linked to the definition of success/failure employed. In terms of recidivism they found, when employing court commitments during the supervision period as the measure of success, that the parolees performed significantly better. However, this was reduced to only a marginal improvement when a five year follow-up period was introduced into the analysis.

Two final study conclusions were, the effect on recidivism of the mode of release proved to be dependent upon the characteristics of the offender suggesting differential benefits of supervision, and most importantly, there were no large differences between the recidivism rates of the parolees and the releasees in the long term when controlling for risk.

⁴ Howard R. Sacks and Charles H. Logan. *Parole, Crime Prevention? or Crime Postponement?* (Hartford, Conn.: Connecticut School of Law Press, 1980: 19).

A structural study done in Washington State, explored the potential differential effects of parole supervision. (Washington Dept. of Social and Health Services, 1976) The authors discovered that the first year of parole was critical because greater than fifty percent of exoffenders recidivated during this period, more so in the later six months; that offenders of violent personal offences such as murder and manslaughter were less likely than property offenders (especially burglars, car thefts, and forgery) to recidivate; younger parolees did significantly worse than the over forty year olds; and blacks had slightly worse recidivism rates than whites after six months, while natives did significantly worse than all other groups.

After reviewing studies dating from 1953 to 1979, which contained evidence in favor of parole supervision, Jackson qualified this conclusion by observing that much of the prior research lacked proper study design and controls. (Jackson, 1983) He himself tested the effects of community supervision and the revocation process on youthful offenders in California by comparing parolees assigned to regular supervision and to parole without supervision. He discovered no large or systematic differences between the number of or timing of arrests and convictions; that the parolees were marginally more likely to be charged with more serious crimes, while releasees were more likely to be charged with drug and alcohol offences; that there were some effects of risk category on offense type and severity; that the results suggest that the higher risk parolees seemed to respond better to parole supervision by displaying lower recidivism rates while under supervision and within the follow-up period of 26 months. These conclusions must be qualified by considering that the sample consisted mainly of lower risk youths, who appear to typically resist supervision, according to prior research.

Jackson's general conclusion was that attempts to rehabilitate and control through parole supervision actually illicited a negative effect in that it resulted in more serious crimes and more severe court sanctioning. Consequently, Jackson rejects the deterrence hypothesis and suggests that criminality may be maintained or reinforced by parole status.

Most of these studies were quasi-experimental employing isolated population cohorts, relying on file data and the use of statistical tests to control for predicted risk differentials such as actuarial tables or salient factor scores. This means that their conclusions must first be considered with caution and that the results are most likely only relevant to the specific cohort, within confined circumstances.

An entire issue of *Crime and Delinquency* comprehensively articulates the preoccupation in the United States with evaluating community supervision from a relative all or nothing perspective, relying on monitoring and control as the significant supervision techniques and employing as purposes punitive sentencing, public safety and cost effectiveness.⁵

As these studies illustrate, there still exists some disagreement as to the value and effectiveness of community supervision. The pertinent evaluative question is not so much effectiveness but what does supervision (within the studies) encompass? In most of the structural studies, supervision is defined as a program delivered to offenders which involves components of behavior monitoring and surveillance, control through sanctioning provisions, and client/supervisor interaction of a "helping" nature. Often times this definition is naively equated with rehabilitation or

⁵ An overview of this issue is offered by Joan Petersilia. "Community Supervision: Trends and Issues," *Crime and Delinquency* 31 (3, July 1985): 339-347.

treatment forming the basis for the assumption of the transferability of research theories and conclusions from simple surveillance to rehabilitative programming.

The most valuable lessons to be learned from these and other structural evaluations pertain to basic programmatic and procedural concerns. In the first respect, there appears to be six general conclusions.

(1.) Community supervision has generally been marginally effective in reducing the recidivism levels for most clients during the period of supervision, therefore acting as a temporary deterrence. (Gottfredson et al., 1982)

(2.) Supervision appears to be most effective within an initial critical period, identified as approximately one year.

(3.) The positive effects persist minimally beyond the supervision period, if at all.

(4.) The achieved reduction in recidivism is marginal at best.

(5.) Younger offenders generally benefit less from structural supervision if not actually experiencing an increase in recidivism.

(6.) There appears to be an interactive effect of the mode of release and client characteristics which can determine the effectiveness of supervision.

These conclusions suggest that simple structural alterations in supervision strategies are inadequate for increasing effectiveness and therefore the need for differential selection and supervision in terms of quantity and modality.

In terms of procedural elements, there are three immediate conclusions emanating from the structural research.

(1.) The means of defining and measuring recidivism are essential to the assessment of program effectiveness.

(2.) The time frame employed in the analysis should also be considered an important analytical variable.

(3.) The field of analysis - social analysis with correctional clientele - inhibits the use of true experimental design resulting in a variety of methodological problems.

The problems and pitfalls of structural research with the purpose of comparing populations with and without supervision have been articulated by Gottfredson et al. (1982: 280), they are as follows.

(1.) The risks of parolees and those inmates released at sentence expiration may not be comparable.

(2.) Parolees, subject to supervision, are often reincarcerated for technical violations which would not be reasons for even rearrest of releasees therefore biasing measures of success and at risk periods.

(3.) At the same time, technical violations can be used as crime prevention measures and therefore mask potential criminal behavior.

(4.) It also may be argued that parolees are at a greater risk of detection, due to supervision, therefore their rates of failure are comparably higher than the releasees.

(5.) And finally,

"statistical controls for risk still leave open the hypothesis that selection bias accounted for the observed differences, although the hypothesis is weakened."⁶

Other than these basic lessons, the continuing value of attempting to determine whether supervision "works" seems meaningless and generally

⁶ Michael R. Gottfredson; Susan D. Mitchell-Herzfrid; and Timothy J. Flanagan. "Another Look at the Effectiveness of Parole Supervision," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 19, (2, July 1982): 280.

heuristically useless in terms of programming for recidivism reduction, when, in Canada, we have, by policy, already accepted community supervision as a component of our correctional system, because supervision serves such a variety of functions, often seemingly contradictory, and it is delivered to a heterogeneous population of offender.

2.3.2 Intensive Supervision Programs

The intensive supervision option has arisen from the concern for control and cost efficiency. Some of the earliest intensive probation supervision programs were designed as punitive community base alternatives to prison; (Rosecrance, 1986) therefore were inextricably intertwined with the sentencing options. were delivered through the probation structure and, relied upon very strict surveillance codes in order to ensure control and risk reduction of high-risk offenders. (McCarthy, 1984: 245) Simultaneously intensive parole supervision programs were developed using similar principles, however, contrary to probation, the target population seemed to be the lower risk offender. As an example, three intensive parole programs are described below.

The Washington State intensive parole supervision program was designed with the critical criteria of "no greater risk" and less costly alternative employing two main program components, extensive screening to identify lower risk offenders coupled with intensive supervision agreements. (Fallen, et al., 1981) The parole officer was seen to assume three roles, service broker, caseworker, and law enforcement agent. A three tiered intensity of supervision schedule was employed beginning with a minimum of one personal contact per week to one per month. The results showed that the intensive parolees had significantly higher rates of technical violations

and revocations than the regular parolees but lower rates of new offences, therefore it was concluded that the program could be considered effective in reducing recidivism at no greater risk to the community. However no followup research was done beyond the supervision period.

Collier (1981) conducted a formative evaluation of an intensive parole program in New York State in 1979. The key elements of the program were a classification system based on a risk and reintegration needs assessment, limited caseload (35 clients), strict surveillance beginning with six personal contacts per month followed by a gradual reduction, quicker apprehension by specialized parole officers, counselling and referral services, computerized information and central staff monitoring.

The study, consisting of a performance and outcome evaluation, discovered that the program had been delivered differentially, according to office discretion, contrary to design, but no attempt was made to test these differential effects. Collier discovered lower recidivism rates during the period of supervision using a comparison group of regular parolees and concluded that the program "showed promise" as an effective approach to supervising violent felony offenders. (Collier, 1980) The author speculated as to the program's apparent success,

"Is it the increased contact or reduced caseload size or enhanced rehabilitation support that leads to higher success rates? Is it some combination of these components? Or, do social and economic circumstances of releasees to parole impact more on parole outcome of the special supervision program?"⁷

The majority of the research on intensive supervision pertains to probation programs. In 1986, there were thirty-seven states either using or

⁷ W. V. Collier. *Summary of the First Year Evaluation of the Special Parole Supervision Program for Violent Felony Offenders*. Albany: New York State Division of Parole, 1980, p. 27.

experimenting with intensive (probation and/or parole) programs in the U.S. Some of the more noteworthy programs have been developed in Georgia (Erwin, 1986), New Jersey (Pearson and Bibel, 1986), and Massachusetts (Cochran et al., 1986).

According to Bryne (1986), the form and function of intensive probation supervision reflects the dominant sentencing philosophy of the particular state and the three basic conceptual models of corrections, the justice model, the limited risk control model and the traditional treatment model. Bryne has concluded that:

"there is no consensus concerning the *purpose* of IPS. ...the term "intensive supervision" is a "catch-all" phrase which includes a wide range of programs at distinct decision points in the criminal justice process. It has been used alternatively to describe programs which function as 1) a front-end alternative to incarceration (both in the form of discretionary sentencing decision controlled by a judge and as an established presumptive term for a particular offense); (2) as a form of probation case management, once offenders are placed on general probation caseloads; and (3) as a "back door," early-release mechanism from prison/jail."⁸

The key components of intensive supervision, which can be found in the majority of American state programs, are frequent direct contact between client and officer ranging from a minimum of two to thirty-two contacts per month including a compliment of regular personal collateral contacts (by phone or other significant person), curfews/house arrest with checks, objective need and risk assessments, chemical testing for alcohol and substance abuse, periodic record checks for new arrests or convictions, mandatory referrals, restitution, and community service. A sampling of the

⁸ James M. Bryne. "The Control Controversy: A Preliminary Examination of Intensive Probation Supervision Programs in the United States." (*Federal Probation* 50, 2, June 1986: 8).

American state programs also include as mandatory or optional program components, shock incarceration, team supervision, special training for supervision officers, probation fees, split sentence, electronic surveillance, and community sponsors. Other comparisons not revealed by this listing are the considerable variation in the targets and intake populations for IPS programs, some specifying low risk and other high risk and the fact that the type of programming which may seem to work in one area may not be appropriate for somewhere else mainly because of differences in population targeting and classification.

One of the better examples of an I.P.S. program in operation is in Georgia. The Georgia I.P.S. program integrates both the limited risk and treatment models, and has been designed with three purposes, to provide an equitable alternative to prison, meaning to be as punishing as prison; to be more cost efficient than prison, and to provide a sanction to offenders while minimizing undesirable side-effects, such as forcing innocent families onto welfare or putting lesser offenders in with criminal types. The program involves a team approach to supervision and a dual emphasis on control and treatment.

"The crucible works not only to apply intense pressure but also to mold and temper. All the resources of the community are tapped through probation staff on the behalf of the probationer who is willing to obey the rules and straighten out his life."⁹

The Georgia target population is felony offenders diverted from prison. With I.P.S. the highest and lowest rates of success respectively were alcohol-related offenders and property offenders. Drug offenders actually performed better under I.P.S. than under regular probation. (Erwin, 1086)

⁹ Billie S. Erwin. "Turning Up the Heat on Probationers in Georgia" (*Federal Probation* 50, 2, June 1986): 22.

The bulk of the research in intensive supervision deals with program design and implementation issues. There is little valuable research into the effectiveness of these programs. (Burkhart, 1986) To date the research offers no conclusive evidence, but suggests that intensive supervision is not an effective means of reducing recidivism. (Banks et al., 1977) However, there are other lessons to be learned from I.P.S. regarding the population selection, design, delivery and evaluation of supervision programs.

In New Jersey the preliminary findings indicate a high detection rate of technical violations and revocations and a subsequent lower reconviction rate during supervision, assumed to result from the surveillance intensity, suggesting a potential increased deterrence effect within the supervision period.

I.P.S. in Massachusetts (Cochran, et al, 1986) and Oregon (Clear and Shapiro, 1986) both incorporate strict surveillance and rely on a system of referrals, community provided services and optional treatment. Research in Oregon has identified delivery problems resulting from a lack of resources (internal and contracted services), strict and complicated case management requirements (ie: standards and paperwork) which infringe upon officer time and reduce supervision flexibility causing alienation and increased officer burnout.

The Georgia Study demonstrated the value of performing I.P.S. evaluations in light of the system and not just in terms of recidivism. Here the systems are two, the prison system which was less utilized and the community. In terms of the latter, I.P.S. did not contribute to increased policing costs, and allowed offender maintenance of family and financial responsibilities, and lessened the cost to community support systems for families of offenders.

The Georgia study also claims that I.P.S. is more cost effective than incarceration on a strictly cost per client basis for housing/supervision functions, to the degree of about ninety percent. However, no justice or community system costs resulting from new criminal activities were costed into the function. Cost benefits were gained substantially from employment, taxes, welfare reduction, restitution, fees, fines, social benefits due to less social and psychological disruption from incarceration, etc. (Erwin, 1986) These assertions are augmented by Latessa (1986) who reviewed the cost effectiveness research in five other states. Overall, it appears that intensive supervision is more cost effective than incarceration and more cost effective than regular parole supervision because the clients experienced less front end incarceration time.

The general conclusions about intensive supervision effectiveness are very similar to those gained from the regular supervision research. The potential for deterrence under supervision is increased, with some clientele (possibly drug offenders and violent offenders), intensive supervision has a differential effect on offenders although this is yet poorly understood, and intensive supervision, compared to incarceration, reduces disintegration of offender community contact.

2.3.3 Caseload Size

Case load size has been used as an independent program variable based on the assumption that a reduced case load will automatically result in increased supervision standards. In actuality, it operates as a proxy for intensive supervision. Jackson (1983) found that reduced case loads delivered similar effects as intensive supervision, increased technical violations and no effect on recidivism. As explained by Bunton (1984)

marginal increased contact is insignificant in a positive sense and may even have a negative effect with some clients. The issue is not case load size or supervision contact but differential contact.

"Manageable caseload size is essential to improve service, but only as a part of the overall picture. Within the course of establishing client and/or officer groups which will result in clearly defined behaviors for offenders, it may be appropriate to establish caseload of various sizes."¹⁰

2.3.4 Reduced and Minimum Supervision

In some American jurisdictions where the parole boards have the power to determine the length of parole, such options as selective early discharges, ultra-short and ultra long parole, has been studied for their correlation to recidivism considering different risk levels. The basic conclusions are that reduced supervision periods of only eight to twelve months have no significant negative impact upon recidivism. (Jackson, 1983b and Sacks and Logan, 1980) The option of long and ultra-long parole, as a means of ensuring behavioral change, is based on the maturing out hypothesis, which if correct and implemented could be more effective (suggest to parole to age 34) but very expensive and questionable on humanitarian grounds. The common comment is that both shortened and long parole warrant more study.

Using the same logic of intensive supervision, minimum or summary supervision schemes have been developed, with the goal of increasing resource efficiency by reducing the level of supervision to very low risk clients. (Astone, 1981) There is little published research on this subject,

¹⁰ Jim Bunton. "Review of Intensive Supervision Concepts," *Correctional Options*. 4 (1984): 21.

however the few references which are available, suggest that with proper selection of low risk clients reduced supervision, with as little as two contacts per year, is equally as effective in terms of criminal performance as regular supervision (Star, 1978) while being significantly more cost effective.

Innovative supervision techniques, such as house arrest and electronic monitors are being used to implement minimum supervision for low risk client groups with specific needs. These will be discussed in Chapter IV on supervision techniques.

2.4 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to discuss the basic issues in community corrections, to supervise in the community and if so how much and how long to supervise. There are several conclusions which can be broadly drawn about the utility of community supervision as are listed below.

- (1.) Correctional programming which includes a community supervision component, measured in a very general manner, is only marginally more effective in reducing recidivism than simply incarceration and direct release to the community within the post release time period corresponding to the supervision period. Therefore, it appears that supervision operates as a short term deterrent to criminal activity.
- (2.) Supervision appears to be most effective within an initial critical period, identified as approximately one year.
- (3.) The positive effects of supervision persist minimally beyond the supervision period, if at all.
- (4.) Supervision has a differential effect on clients depending upon risk, personal characteristics, and program intensity.

- (4.) Younger offenders and natives generally benefit less from structural supervision if not actually experiencing an increase in recidivism.
- (5.) Violent, personal offenders appear to perform better while under supervision than property offenders.
- (6.) Higher risk parolees seem to respond better to intensive supervision in term of recidivism, but the effects do not persist.
- (7.) Intensive supervision results in higher technical violations and revocations, but lower recidivism rates during the supervision period, which appear to be the result of increased surveillance and therefore increased immediate deterrence effect.
- (8.) Reduced and/or minimum supervision programs are equally as effective as regular parole with the properly selected minimum risk clientele.
- (9.) Case load size supervision amounts to a backward approach to the issue of supervision intensity and therefore is useless unless it is coupled with principles of differential supervision as will be discussed in the next chapter.
- (10.) Community correctional programming warrants evaluation using criteria other than simply recidivism such that the benefits to the individual client and his/her family can be measured and factors related to social integration can be determined and costed. Only then will the true value of community supervision be understood.

The key lessons to be learned from the above review are simply that community correctional supervision has merit as an alternative form of sentencing and its marginal effectiveness can be increased if attention is paid to the differential interactive effects that have been manifest between clients and program designs. The subject of the next chapter concentrates on

this latter issue and attempts to review the pertinent factors in differential effectiveness.

CHAPTER III

DIFFERENTIAL SUPERVISION

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the value of supervision delivered with a differential approach and the techniques employed to assist in this function.

Differential supervision is based upon the assumption that offenders should be supervised to an extent which reflects (1.) their problems or needs and (2.) their risk of recidivism and perceived degree of dangerousness as a means of preventing, at the least, the committment of new offences during the supervision period and more optimistically, in assisting the offender to become a law abiding citizen. The response has been the development of client selection processes and corresponding supervision program structures. Conversely, intensive supervision, as a policy alternative, often precedes the designation of client need and results in the design and provision of a program followed by the designation of a target population. Although these two methods are intended to address a similar problem, they are often initiated from different directions. Regardless, both approaches necessitate a system of classification and selection of program clientele. Depending on the underlying model employed and the program intent, risk control and/or reintegration or rehabilitation, a method is needed to classify offenders by potential risk and needs related to criminal behavior.

3.1 Classifications and Typologies

Axon (1981) completed a comprehensive *Review of Offender Classification and Typologies* for the Ministry of the Solicitor General in

which she categorized classification using various criteria. One approach, which compares system purposes, and is appropriate to the current task, identifies three types of classifications: those designed to facilitate managerial tasks, those designed to provide guidelines for the supervision and treatment of offenders, and those which contribute to etiological theories. The first two purposes appear to be addressed in the contemporary classification systems designed to facilitate differential supervision.

In 1981, Axon found that the existing classification systems were unsuitable for employing or even assessing the usefulness of classification for differential supervision or treatment. Consequently, she recommended the pragmatic development of a new classification system focusing on "what works," rather than on a theoretical identification of the causes of criminality, employing an inductive approach, and using empirical constructs, rather than theoretical hypotheses, to achieve a multidimensional tool capable of differentiating sub-populations of offenders. Such a system needs to clearly reflect agency objectives and its purpose needs to be specified. She advises the inclusion of operation staff in the development procedure because eventual effectiveness is directly dependent upon implementation in their hands. She offers specific suggestions to assist in this task.

It was Axon's assessment that few typologies in use at that time related directly to supervision. Regardless of this commonly stated goal, the design of subsequent classification systems appears to have been initially directed simply toward predicting recidivism and prescribing supervision levels. Such systems, still in use, usually include at least four common elements.

- (1.) The assessment of risk or potential for crime or violation expressed in an ordinal manner.
- (2.) The expression of offender needs or problem areas in an ordinal manner.
- (3.) The grouping of offenders, usually three categories, using a single or two separate scales.
- (4.) Standards of supervision which vary in intensity are assigned to each group. (Clear and Gallagher, 1985)

Classifications which rely simply on these four components are referred to as "checklists" by Axon and do not qualify as a true classification system. Such methods fulfill the function of risk assessment and are useful as administrative and case management tools however they do not address the the real issue of differential supervision focusing on the individual. (Kratcoski, 1985)

In order for classification to contribute to differential supervision it must function in a diagnostic capacity. (Axon, 1981: i) Classification systems designed for this purpose imply differential treatment based on individualized assessment of needs and problems. Classifications are not "true" offender statuses but are decisions about how to treat offenders, given their current status. (Clear and Gallagher, 1985) Those systems presented in the literature which claim to assist in the provision of differential supervision contain five basic components: risk assessment devices, need/problem assessment, criteria for interpreting the results and matching client with programs/resources, corresponding supervision/treatment standards, (Bunton, 1984) and a management system of information, budgetting and work load deployment. (Baird, 1985).

3.2 Risk Assessment Devices

The risk assessment component of supervision classification draws mainly from the risk prediction methods employed in sentencing, inmate management, and parole decision making. They employ a concept of risk which only has meaning in a comparative sense and the designation of resources or supervision category is a programming decision.

There is much redundant discussion in the literature about the development of statistical risk prediction techniques pertaining to indicator selection and variable definition. The common indicators generally employed, as determined by Pritchard (1979) who reviewed seventy-one studies are historical or "destiny" (Shawyer et al., 1985) variables such as criminal history (type of instant offense and previous offences), age at first offense, previous supervision experience, incarceration experience, employment stability, marital status, living arrangements, and in some populations, ethnicity. This list is generally augmented with the subjective variables of alcohol and drug abuse and offender attitude. (Cochran, 1981)

Eaglin (1981) tested four of the more commonly used predictive systems or base expectancy scales using newly released populations (Revised Oregon Model, Modified California BE61A, United States Parole Commission's Salient Factor Score, and U.S.D.A. 75 Scale) and discovered that, all four models were valid for making risk assessments and for use as probation caseload classification tools. The study however recommended that the U.S.D.C. 75 model be implemented systemwide. Robertson and Blackburn employed these four risk assessment systems to determine their relationship to probation success and discovered relatively uniform value in predicting supervision outcome for all risk levels under, and in the absence of, treatment. They failed to include in their analysis any discussion or analysis

of treatment type, extent or modality, but simply treated it as a homogeneous variable.

The essential character of these and most systems is their static determination of risk. Research has attempted to develop more dynamic assessment methods. A study by the California Youth Authority, of parolees in their late teens and early twenties, identified six dynamic factors, supervision and community, which influenced parole success and could be used to predict parole outcome. These were characteristics of peers as described by the client (suggesting some increasing awareness of quality and nature of peers as supervision progressed); response and attitude toward the parole officer; neighborhoods and communities (it seems that some areas react differently to criminal/parole behavior, or produce criminal behavior); self prophecy of performance (could represent evidence of positive decisions); time working or in school; and absence of problems with drugs or alcohol. These variables need to be further tested in other populations and situations.

The Wisconsin model, which has been replicated in many other American jurisdictions, has one of the most comprehensive and integrated risk and need identification components. It employs an initial risk assessment based mainly upon criminal history and a followup assessment, for the purposes of reclassification, stressing dynamic indicators of supervision adjustment. (Baird, 1981). The resulting classifications and reclassifications (low risk, moderate risk, moderately high risk, and high risk) have been successfully tested for validity. (Axon, 1981: 79) Regardless of these general findings, more recently

"research on the effectiveness of risk screening suggests that even the best of these devices work well only on the extremes

of the population (i.e., those likely to fail or very likely to succeed)."¹

Hassin (1986) compared statistically based risk prediction devices (the model he studied included socio-demographic and criminal variables) to clinical prediction methods generally in use, and found that clinical methods resulted in both more false negatives and false positives than the statistical method meaning that with the statistical method a greater number of potential successes would not be released or over supervised and that a greater number of the failures would be released and undersupervised.

Caution can be found throughout the literature regarding the adoption and implementation of risk assessment devices. Clear and Gallagher (1985) stress the need to validate models based on the local population, allowing for flexibility in implementation and formative research. Axon (1981) would suggest that the underlying assumption of differential supervision (not differential treatment), which is that risk levels can be identified, objectively addressed with corresponding levels of supervision and the result will be reduced recidivism, is based on incomplete theory about human behavior and control. This opinion is supported by Rosecrance.

"The adoption of differential supervision will do little to resolve the assistance-control dilemma faced by probation officers. The assumption that better utilization of the probation officers' time will improve supervision capabilities and result in lower recidivism rates has not been empirically demonstrated."²

¹ Todd R. Clear, and Kenneth W. Gallagher. "Probation and Parole Supervision: A Review of Current Classification Practices," *Crime and Delinquency* 31 (3, July 1985): 433.

² John Rosecrance. "Probation Supervision: Mission Impossible," *Federal Probation* (March 1986): 27.

3.3 Need/Problem Assessment

The other side of the assessment and classification coin is offender needs defined as

"a lack of some resource or skill that interferes with the ability of an adjudicated offender to function in the community in a law-abiding manner."³

The basic issues pertaining to needs assessments are the purposes of needs assessment, the choice of specific needs to be measured, how and who identifies these needs, how expressed needs are articulated and related to risk, and how these identified needs are subsequently used in program and service delivery.

There are converging purposes and uses of need assessments, both programmatic and administrative. In terms of program value the following purposes are commonly found.⁴

(1.) Needs assessment has been used as an adjunct to risk prediction under the justice model based on the conclusion that needs have independent potential to influence a client's success therefore are affect risk. (Clear and Gallagher,1985: 45)

(2.) Needs assessments provide a necessary tool for the designation and provision of services to offenders in response to specific needs under the reintegration model. (Duffee and Clark, 1985)

(3.) Needs assessments aid offender adjustment under supervision by concretely articulating offender needs, facilitating a course of action or plan for their fulfillment, and offering a base line for reflection.

³ David E. Duffee and David Clark. "The Frequency and Classification of the Needs of Offenders in Community Settings," *Journal of Criminal Justice* 13 (1985): 245.

⁴ Read Axon (1981) for a comprehensive discussion of the functions and purposes of classifications.

(4.) Needs assessments offer assistance in the diagnosis and treatment of offenders. (Kratcoski, 1985)

The type and number of needs measured in assessments vary with application in accord with the purposes and general philosophy of the correctional context. Duffee and Clark (1985) reviewed forty-eight studies of needs assessment systems employed within community supervision programs for adults and discovered twenty-four different kinds of needs mentioned. The list includes, in descending order of frequency of occurrence, employment, education (education, job training, vocational, instructional, and the development of good work habits), emotional (counselling, therapy, psychological, ego, and personal identity), financial (money, financial assistance, financial planning, economic, income and credit), social, housing, family, drug/alcohol, medical/dental, leisure, system rules, clothing, transportation, legal, stigma, survival, religion, bonafides (driver license, etc.), immediate, goal planning, excitement, general assistance, crises, and mental ability. The first four needs were by far the most commonly addressed. Despite this impressive list, they discovered that attention to a variety of needs has not improved during the past twenty five years and only twenty-one percent of the studies can qualify as full needs assessments.

How does identification of these needs relate to supervision success? There are no immediate answers to this question within the literature, however, post supervision research has identified the following needs as more likely to be expressed by probation failures (at time of failure) than successes: education, employment, marital/family problems, social, alcohol, drugs, counseling, living arrangements and financial management. Health did not prove to have any relevancy. Unfortunately, there is no information as to the attempts to fulfill or service these needs and why they went unmet.

It is one thing to know which needs are related to failure and therefore should be measured, but then what?

Duffee and Clark (1985) attempted to classify offender needs for two purposes, administrative and theoretical. They theorized that offender needs could manifest themselves in a clustered hierarchal fashion in the manner of Maslow's hierarchy of needs, survival to self actualization. They hypothesized that if needs occur in clusters then less detailed measurements would suffice and possibly more basic needs could be fulfilled which would alleviate subsequent related needs. Unfortunately, they tested their hypotheses, not with primary data, but by factor analysis of the expression of needs within other studies and were unable to determine any significant patterns.

In terms of measurement, there is an additional concern, who's perception of need should be employed? Needs assessments generally collect information from one of two sources, the offender and the correctional staff. Duffee and Clark found that only three of the adult needs assessment systems used information from both sources. These studies taken together indicate that,

"(1) official and offender sources do, in general, corroborate each other, (2) officials seem to report more needs per client, and (3) officials are more likely to mention social and emotional needs than are clients, although economic needs are the most frequently mentioned by both sources. ...but the data on needs-perception agreement between officials and offenders are too sparse to allow any construction of the rules that adjust needs assessments to account for source bias. At best, we can probably say that needs assessments from probation populations are to date overly reliant on official, rather than probationer, perception and that this reliance may result in an overestimation of the incidence of emotional and social needs."⁵

⁵ Clark and Duffee, 1985: 251.

The Wisconsin model, one of the more comprehensive in intent and extent, incorporates an eleven factor needs identification system including the client's impression of her/his needs, an attempt at integration of risk and needs using a matrix of supervision level and supervision/treatment strategy. The short fall is that it fails to explain how the expressed needs can be translated into a treatment strategy in structured fashion, even though four groups of clients are identified, selective intervention, casework/control, environmental restructuring, and limit setting.

The Level of Supervisory Inventory, represents an integrated approach to risk and needs assessment. It is based on the intervention/rehabilitation model, and appears to fill the gaps in both prediction and program implementation. (Andrews, 1982a) It claims an extremely high predictive capacity, both at the time of the original decision and during supervision, and employs both descriptive and dynamic variables (offender behavior and situational information) which can be used for treatment prescription. The system of fifty eight items, quantitatively measured, are grouped as follows: criminal history (10), education/ employment (10), financial (2), family/marital (4), accommodation (3), leisure/ recreation (2), companions (5), alcohol/drug problems (9), emotional/ personal (5), probation condition (4), and attitudes/orientation (4). The system incorporates flexibility allowing professional judgement to override the L.S.I. guidelines, it is based on comprehensive perspective to achieve validity and effectiveness rather than on efficiency, and it encourages the use of complimentary sources of information whenever professional judgement so suggests. (Andrews, 1982a, p. 26) Bonta (1985) tested the systems applicability to predict halfway house performance and concluded that the L.S.I. predicted outcomes with significant reliability as well as proving to be

a valuable tool in aiding in the identification of residents needs, especially the importance of employment and structured leisure time.

To date this system has only been applied, in Canada, to supervised populations of probationers. Its comparative effective predictability and supervision utility warrant that it be tested within the parole framework, pre and post release.

The list of needs (outlined above) and there assessment receptivity and predictive capability has been validated in both pre and post supervision studies. However, there is little other indication in the literature (with partial exception of the L.S.I.) as to how needs assessments can be operationalized and integrated into supervision/treatment programs. It would seem that there is great need for further research and development in this area.

3.4 The Integration of Risks and Needs

A central objective of classification devices is to develop different client groups for allocating scarce resources. Therefore, the important concerns are efficiency in grouping potential "successes" and "failures," the ability to make decisions regarding the distribution of offenders into supervision groups, and corresponding standards of supervision. It appears that this decision stage is the most difficult to design and implement, because of its potential imprecision and prerequisite reflection of the goals of supervision emanating from the correctional orientation.

Few concrete suggestions are offered in the literature as to solutions to this problem. The most popular approach to classification reflects the limited risk/reintegration perspectives and is comprised of a classification device which indicates risk, summarizes and describes needs and decision

responses which slot clients into supervision categories and match services or resources to the stated needs. (Palmer, 1984)

If only community goals (protection through control and risk reduction) are stressed then classification is used to designate control and service functions. (Clear and Gallagher, 1985) If client centered goals are viewed as paramount, and not simply secondary, a more utilitarian approach is required which employs both prediction and prescription of treatment with the goal of treatment for rehabilitation. As Palmer states:

"In short, in addition to describing the individual and his situation- that is, summarizing or otherwise referring to them in a condensed form which also distinguishes him from other individuals -a treatment classification should suggest or perhaps prescribe principle tasks (e.g., "reduce external pressure"), areas of focus (e.g., "family relationships"), and/or specified approaches which seem appropriate or even essential with respect to achieving socially centered and offender-centered goals for that particular category or type of individual. Together, this set of brief diagnostic and treatment centered messages (labels, phrases, etc.) can thus comprise the core or basis of a detailed, step-by-step plan for achieving those goals."⁶

In Palmer's opinion, few classification systems in operation today, appear to be the "best" or even most promising, although, he believes that four systems are beginning to show promise with respect to socially centered and/or client centered goal. These are the I-Level (1966), the Conceptual Level (1971), the Wisconsin classification system, and the Jesness Inventory system (1983).⁷ It would appear from Palmer's reference list that he did not critique the L.S.I.

⁶ Ted Palmer. "The "Effectiveness" Issue Today: An Overview," *Federal Probation* 46, (2, June 1983): 7.

⁷ These four systems are discussed in: Warren et al., 1966; Hunt., 1971; Baird, 1981; and Jesness and Wedge, 1983.

Flynn's criteria for effective classification systems, listed here, sheds light on why many systems appear to fall short of their intended purpose:

- "(1) There must be an explicit statement regarding the function and purpose of the classification system.
- (2) The classification system should be dynamic and theoretically based so that it may serve to increase the system's predictive powers and its success in reducing recidivism.
- (3) The assumption on which the classification system is based must be explicit.
- (4) The critical variables of the classification typology applied can be empirically tested.
- (5) The classification system should be useful and feasible and facilitate efficient management and optimum use of available resources."⁸

From my brief review of classification systems, it would appear that many suffer from four short comings. Classification systems seem to overstate their function and purpose and simply assume that since it is implemented they are achieving their goal. Most have not been designed with a sound theoretical base, neither in an aetiological nor effective interventionist respect; rather they reflect case management and resource needs. The assumptions upon which the system is based are often not stated, however, the majority appear to successfully incorporate criteria four and five meaning that they employ empirically tested variables, and they result in decisions regarding resource allocation. Unfortunately, just as the systems lack theoretical grounding so to do the resource allocation decisions.

Since 1981, there has been a burgeoning use and abuse of classification systems. (Clear and Gallagher, 1985) Their abuse results from their misappropriation as the substance of parole/probation work rather

⁸ Edith Elisabeth Flynn, "Classification Systems," *Handbook of Correctional Classification*. (Cincinnati, Ohio: Anderson Publishing Company, 1978), p. 86, as presented in Kratcoski, 1985: 49.

than just a limited tool to improve case management; the replication of a system designed for a different population without appropriate adjustment and testing; a misunderstanding and mistrust of the system by the line staff manifest in an undermining of the system; inadequate conceptual and operational linkages between the offenders classification and the supervision/treatment delivered; (Rosecrance, 1986) failure to understand that the implementation of a classification system is a complicated process; (Clear and Gallagher, 1985) and failure to interpret offender classifications as arbitrary rather than as static. (Clear and Gallagher, 1985)

3.5 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to review the issue of differential supervision and the techniques designed for its implementation. There is little information in the literature describing or evaluating differential supervision but there is ample discussion of the means for attempting this loosely stated program goal.

The main technique is a classification system consisting of risk and needs assessment devices and program models which assign clients to different categories of control and different 'treatment' programs. These classification systems generally have in common five basic program components. These are risk assessment, need/problem assessment, criteria for interpreting results and assigning clients to programs, supervision standards, and a corresponding information and administrative system.

The majority of the risk systems are problematic because of their static determination of risk based on historical variables rather than dynamic variables. The commonly used historical variables are, age at first offense, type of offense, previous supervision experience, incarceration

experience, employment stability, marital status, living arrangements, and in some populations, ethnicity. Dynamic variables have been identified which warrant further research, these are, characteristics of peers as described by the clients, attitude toward the parole/probation officer, home neighborhoods and communities, self prophecy of performance, time spent working or in school during supervision, and absence of problems with drugs or alcohol. The greatest predictive value of static risk systems appears to be in the extremes of the population. Others suggest that statistical predictive risk systems are not much better than good clinical methods.

Needs assessments are performed because needs have been shown to have independent potential to influence recidivism and because they aid in the process of identification, articulation, goal setting, diagnosis and treatment of problems. The common list of needs measured includes employment, educational, emotional, financial, addictions treatment, family counselling, and housing. It has been shown that needs should be assessed by both the offender and professional because the former tends to underestimate and the latter overestimate.

The most promising contemporary system is the L.S.I., developed by Andrews (1981), because of its theoretical base (social learning theory), the integration of risk and needs, the comprehensive use of both descriptive and dynamic variables, the incorporation of professional judgement in a structured override capacity, and the use of additional information and assessment sources. It has been tested as effective for both decision making and for programming assessments based on its diagnostic and predictive capacity.

In short, classification is a multipurpose correctional tool which is essential to supervision case management if differential supervision and/or

differential treatment are intended. The research to date offers the following observations and conclusions. Classification is simply a tool and not the substance of supervision, therefore, its applicability to a population must be tested; they must be able to operationalize the goals and purposes of the encompassing system; and their dynamic nature must be insured. There are concrete risk and need variables, both descriptive and dynamic, which have proven more predictive and prescriptive and should be incorporated into any system. The integration of classification and programming is essential to the systems usefulness.

CHAPTER IV

SUPERVISION STRATEGIES AND TECHNIQUES

The purpose of this chapter is to review the effectiveness of the various supervision strategies currently in vogue, such as case management, service brokerage, team supervision and the use of volunteers and paraprofessionals and residential supervision. These program options are not mutually exclusive and in some examples may incorporate overlapping components.

The role of community supervision of offenders includes three general functions, surveillance and control, treatment and rehabilitation, and service and assistance. In 1981, Axon reviewed the issues and types of community supervision and concluded that,

"...by and large, traditional supervision has failed to implement any of the three major components of supervision and that there are very strong reasons why this has happened. In general, the reasons underlying parole and probation agencies' failure to provide treatment, control, and assistance are because of inadequate theory, resources, administration and expertise."¹

This conclusion may still be applicable today in many jurisdictions.

Since 1980, the key supervision issue, which seems to have persisted from the 1970s, has been identified as the potential conflict between the dichotomous roles expected of parole and probation officers. The basic problem is interpreted as a conflict between the officer's role as control agent and change agent, suggesting that the functions are contradictory and

¹ Lee Axon. *The Supervision of Offenders: A Review of Parole and Similar Types of Supervision*. (Canada: The Ministry of the Solicitor General, May 1981), p. ii.

consequently endanger respective delivery. (Marshall and Vito, 1982: 37) The reasons for this dichotomy are historical emanating from the current diffusionment with the casework model. In many jurisdictions, and Canada is no exception, the role of the parole/probation officer has been poorly defined drawing on a lack of a complete mission statement. Although it is recognized that the specific relationship between a client and an officer is to a great extent determined by the particular client, the interpretation and realization of this relationship is conditional upon the approach taken by the officer and especially the supervision agency.

Deitrich articulates the controversy, by describing three problem areas which have evolved from the widening expectations of officers employing the traditional casework approach to community supervision. These are firstly, the parole officers inadequate qualifications to serve as change agent based upon lack of proper training and/or experience to function as the facilitator of another person's changing behavior, attitude or personality style. Secondly, the minimal time an officer is able to allocate per client allows only cursory interaction of questionable value. The common approach adopted generally consists of humanistic directives which are,

"simplistic, cognitive, overgeneralized, and lack depth of understanding of the dynamics and complexities of personality organization and change."²

Thirdly, the inherent conflict between the officers' role as change agent and control agent emanating from the dual responsibility to represent both client and state. The conflict arises because the control role puts the officer in a position of hardship in the development of a therapeutic relationship and results in frustrating contradictions of expectation for the client.

² Shelle G. Dietrich. "The Probation Officer as Therapist," Federal Probation (1979): 16.

The supervision dichotomy is generally between control on the one hand and treatment/service on the other. Control encompasses surveillance, compliance and enforcement, all considered complimentary functions. The change functions include rehabilitation, counselling, treatment and service assistance. Among themselves they are not consistent, and their relationship to control is viewed as contradictory. Recognition of this arbitrary dichotomy has fueled a debate over the relative value of the two major functions, and the development of a variety of supervision program options designed to aid in the delineation and delivery of these roles. The value emphasis chosen also reflect the political, social and professional context. The current emphasis in the United States on control functions, as a means of fulfilling the goal of just punishment, is an example.

The use of differential supervision and classification have often been coincidentally motivated by the need for service delineation as well as the goal of more efficient resource use. Classification systems enable the separate identification of offender needs for control and treatment/service, and subsequent separation of delivery, or at least a re-emphasis of services according to these two general classifications. Some programs actually separate the control and service functions, such as in a California differential supervision program which equates treatment with the provision of resources and community services and operationalizes the dichotomy by classifying clients as 1. control (high risk) 2. service (low risk but high need) 3. minimum supervision cases (low risk and low need). (Marshall and Vito, 1982)

This issue has been debated extensively in the literature, and it appears to be no where near an end. (Kratcoski, 1985; Hatt, 1985; Andrews 1982; and Petersilia, 1985) The important outcome has been the

development of supervision programs incorporating the recognition of separate supervision functions. The recent program options are reviewed below with an emphasis on their apparent effectiveness in performing their assigned function and in achieving the overall goal of correctional supervision - recidivism reduction.

4.1 Case Management Systems

From his assessment of the current contradictions in the range of functional responsibilities placed on supervision officers, Deitrich (1979) suggests the use of a model of case managers who would operate primarily as control agents complimented by service brokerage for rehabilitative and therapeutic services, and other community based services. This model separates the three basic functions by assigning service and treatment to professionals in the community and subsequently places the responsibility for rehabilitation on these community services. The case management model, as opposed to casework, emphasizes the community rather than the offender.

Case management models employ risk/need classification systems to differentiate service needs; and the work unit concept incorporating client supervision levels, the geographic distribution of cases, specialized duties required of officers, and special cases, as a means, theoretically to equalize work loads.

Hatt (1985) presents a comprehensive list of the pros and cons of case management in probation, which can be easily applied to parole. Since this list also provides a descriptive evaluation of the components of a case management system, it is presented here in its entirety. The major arguments in favor, are:

- "1. It makes it possible to re-orient work with probationers away from treating the offender and focussing also on change in the community.
2. It makes it possible to provide more specialized services to probationers who need it instead of relying primarily on the probation officer.
3. It is likely that there will be greater enforcement of the probation order.
4. It tends to shift the traditional delimma of the probation officer from care vs control to provision of services.
5. It turns the probation officer to more involvement with colleagues and generates more resources for decision-making in supervision.
6. Through assessment and evaluation, the probationer is effectively assigned to a program which fits his needs.
7. Case management is more efficient as a training device since new employees are involved in team meetings-shared decision making.
8. With the need for better communication and liason, better information and evaluation bases are established.
9. It makes it possible to process a larger number of cases more efficiently."³

The major arguements against case management are:

- "1. Case management depends upon services being provided and available within the community - a factor not as frequent as is thought by many.
2. There is often a lack of continuity for the probationer who is interviewed by one probation officer for the PSR, another probation officer in the assessment interview; still another in service delivery.
3. The length of time between team meetings or agency contacts may be longer than if handled by a case worker who had a smaller case load.
4. The increase in the time spent in preparation of paperwork and team meetings can be counterproductive to probation officers and detract from time which could be spent in supervision.

³ Ken Hatt. "Probation and Community Corrections in a Neo-Correctional Era" *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 27 (3, 1985):311-312.

5. It is not clear that a format of operations designed for an urban area can effectively be transferred to a rural setting.
6. While case management involves being placed on one program (generally), it is not clear that a serial set of programs can deal with probationers needs which occur in complex bunches.
7. Probationers may be clients of other agencies in the community which means that they face a series of workers whose activity may not be coordinated or may actually conflict.
8. Advocacy for the probationer by the probation officer may only be as a client of probation which may actually conflict with interests of probationers as a person.
9. Probation officers as brokers may become "bureaucratic entrepreneurs" whose impersonal and bureaucratic manner becomes counter-productive to interests of probationers and adequate involvement in his program.⁴

As can be seen from this list, case work functions to re-establish the scope of supervision within the community context as a service delivered to clients, without really solving the control/care dilemma. It also stresses the utility of administrative benefits. Regarding case management, Kratcoski (1985) states,

"...it is apparent that the case management models should be evaluated in relationship to their utility and not necessarily in relation to a reduction in criminal activity."⁵

The issue in programming then becomes administrative efficiency and not effectiveness. Perhaps this is why there is no recent published literature of an evaluative nature regarding case management systems. If we accept the conclusion that supervision is largely ineffectual anyway, then case management strategies gain their value as methods of improving delivery

⁴ Ibid.: 312.

⁵ Peter C. Kratcoski. "The Functions of Classification Models in Parole and Probation: Control or Treatment Rehabilitation," *Federal Probation*. (December 1985): 56.

and reducing officer stress, at the same time assisting in the provision of a concrete service to offenders.

Another approach to case management is community resource management team (CRMT). It has been criticized by Marshall and Vito (1982) for some of the similar failures as are listed above, stressing the fundamental reliance on community resources which are outside the control of the supervision agency. The solution offered is to contract for services which would provide both provision and financial controls for the agency. This approach is often referred to as the service brokerage model.

4.2 Service Brokerage

Service brokerage appears to effectively differ little from case management except in its obvious orientation to and reliance on community based services. As the following example will illustrate, service brokerage, with its dependence upon formal services and programs which do not incorporate a personal orientation, regardless of personal referral, simply constitutes a more complex form of structural program delivery.

The Project START program in Wayne County, Michigan, in 1978, was designed for nonviolent felonious probationers. Its goal was to offer an enriched probation program through the extended use of community services as a means of providing individualized rehabilitative services to the client. (Lichtman and Smock, 1979) The program included a process for intake client diagnosis, brokerage of contracted professional services in the community, in house employment specialists assisting clients in job searches, in house staff training, reduced probation case loads of sixty clients, and one-to-one trained volunteers whose role was to provide friendship and an example of stability.

With a rigorous experimental design, the program was evaluated to determine the various effects Project START had on the various classes of clients, if any. The evaluation procedure included both formative feedback and outcome analysis and discovered that START clients accessed community services only 29 percent more than control probationers; clients spent an average of 22 percent more time employed; no effect on recidivism levels (measure in terms of new convictions) was achieved; and no correlations were discovered between client demographics, status or program benefits received and recidivism. One beneficial effect of the program was realized by a positive cost benefit analysis comparing START with alternate incarceration. The authors concluded that

"recidivism among younger property offenders may not be a function of controllable external forces in the justice system such as supervision and service delivery. ...there is no reason for the introduction of intensive or crash programs just for the sack of increasing the number of referrals. The community will be no more or less safe as a result of such programs."⁶

Consistent with these findings, Andrews et al. (1984) concluded in the CaVIC research that, within supervision practice, the use of community resources by clients was unrelated to recidivism.

If more efficient delivery of services is the program goal, then service brokerage has value. In some American jurisdictions and certainly in Canada, not only are ancillary services brokered but also supervision services through private sector contracting. There is little data on the comparative effectiveness of nonprofit sector and public sector supervision in Canada, however, a study in Florida concluded that there were no significant differences in recidivism. The rationale for the Florida SAMP

⁶ Cary Lictman and M. Smock. *Evaluation of an Enriched Probation Program: Project START* (1978), 1981, p. 82.

program was the assumption that by contracting services in the community, specialized services could be accessed, which would not be otherwise obtained. (Lindquist, 1980)

4.3 Team Supervision Models

Case management and service brokerage are also offered by community resource management teams which incorporate the basic assumptions discussed above but expand on the notion that no one person can delivery all needed services, therefore, it ensures the provision of services through team participation of staff. The main distinction with this approach is that assessments and referrals are further compartmentalized by relative experts within the supervsion agency. (Morris, 1981) Supervision teams can also include volunteers and paraprofessionals to augment the professional staff. (Astone, 1981)

Components of this model are client assessments, role specialization, team meetings, program objectives, review of cases, pooled cases, brokerage and team building. Sounds wonderful for the supervisor! Supporters of this approach claim that its benefits are the provision of a pool of collective knowledge, resources and experiences and the allowance of a wider range of alternatives and approaches to problem solving. Its development has evolved from the rejection of the basically ineffectual casework model, and the blossoming believe that what offenders need is access to services, not treatment or therapy. (Morris, 1981: 36)

A more limited approach to team supervision and case management was incorporated into the Georgia intensive supervision program. It's original purpose was to separate the control and care function using a pair of officer specialists complemented by service brokerage and ancillary

programming. An evaluation of the program discovered that the delineation of roles of the two officers quickly blurred and at times reversed because the surveillance officer, whose responsibility it was to make daily client contact, was in a position to develop a relationship with the client and his/her family facilitating positive intervention and situation response counselling. The role of the probation officer, on the other hand, limited by fewer contacts and formal administrative duties, developed an assessment/service/referral capacity. Regarding this phenomena, Erwin writes,

"...one of the most interesting findings of Georgia's intensive model is the fact that it is almost impossible to separate the functions and deal adequately with the person and the human situation. One of the major benefits of the supervisory team design may be the support officers have given each other ... It was clear that each officer became absorbed in goal attainment for the cases assigned rather than in the performance of a job description."⁷

This experience demonstrates the almost impossibility of structuring the officer/client relationship and hints at the inappropriateness of separating the control/care functions.

One exceptional team supervision program appears in the literature. It is exceptional because of its design and its success at not only reducing recidivism levels, but also in effectively improving client employment records and increasing incomes and reducing client contacts with mental health services. The complex offenders program was based on the theory that

⁷ Billie S. Erwin. "Turning Up the Heat on Probationers in Georgia," *Federal Probation* 50 (2, June 1986): 18.

"...criminal behavior was part of an individual's adjustment to the needs of community living and that a reduction in illegal activities could not be expected until different, more successful means of coping with life's problems were available."⁸

The complex offender was identified as a "troubled individual" offenders/probationer, an ex-convict, with many problems and failures, historical, social, behavioral, mental, educational, familial, marital, etc. They are exactly the clients that the mental health system does not want. The program was delivered by a multidisciplinary team of professionals including a psychologist, social workers, counselors, nurses, and paraprofessionals. Program components include intensive supervision by frequent contacts, individualized treatment planning incorporating self-determination which facilitated client participation, and increasing client responsibility. The program can be described as behavioral because the treatment goals related to reality rather than being intrapsychic changes.

"In general, the program principles were based on social learning theory and emphasis was placed on skill building (including employment-seeking skills) and contingency contracting."⁹

This program demonstrates that team supervision can be effective as a program delivery method if it is based upon theoretically sound program design; a marriage of the control/treatment functions; appropriate program resources; multiple modalities; and individual centered programming and intervention.

⁸ James D. Kloss. "Success and Failure in the Evaluation of Behavioral Community Treatment," in Ross, Robert R. and Gendreau, Paul. (Ed.s), *Effective Correctional Treatment*. (Toronto, Ont.: Butterworths, 1980), p. 405.

⁹ Robert R. Ross and Paul Gendreau. *Effective Correctional Treatment*. (Toronto, Ont.: Butterworths, 1980), p. 403.

4.4 Volunteer and Paraprofessional Supervision

The use of volunteers and paraprofessionals seems to have changed little since the 1970s. They continue to be used to complement and enhance the control function of officers. Currently, within the Canadian parole system, volunteer supervisors, working under the auspices of nonprofit agencies, perform care functions within a limited control framework since ultimately the control and sanctioning power lies with the federal parole officer.

Volunteers and paraprofessionals have been used in many capacities in the United States from administrative assistants to full supervision responsibility. (Chapman and Wigward, 1983; Love, 1981; and Allen et al., 1985). The four basic modes are (1.) the casework model within which the volunteer functions as a rehabilitation/change agent and aid to the officer; (2.) the supervision model, where the volunteer performs the full responsibilities of parole/probation supervisors; (3.) the professional model designed to offer specific professional volunteer services to the client; and (4.) the administrative model with no client/volunteer interaction.

The most common mode seems to be the use of volunteers as officer aids. In this role they are expected to operate in a basic casework one-to-one capacity with clients to relieve the officer of the care responsibilities. The arguments in favor of this design are, cost effectiveness; volunteers enhance agency public relations; and benefits are offered the client in the form of a relationship based on confidence and trust. Within this model the casework and case management approaches are integrated.

There appears to be two general classes of volunteers/paraprofessionals, the highly educated semiprofessional and the lower

educated often indigenous volunteer. The former is favored because of the belief that proper education and training are essential to perform effective supervision. The latter are recruited because of their unique connection to the client population as a result of racial, class subculture or exoffender status.

Allen et al. reviewed the literature on paraprofessionals from the late 1970s and early 1980s and discovered that

"aids were generally more concerned and sensitive about the type of problems they faced than were parole officers, ...parolees felt that aids maintained a higher level of contact than did parole officers."¹⁰

It would seem that this operational effect impacted on supervision effectiveness ensuring the conclusion that volunteers performed better or at least as well as the program alternatives. Many of the evaluations reviewed in the literature are simply comparative assessments of professionals and volunteers with little regard for program quality or content although attention is paid to the importance of proper selection and training of volunteers reflecting the requirements of the caseworker role.

The most thorough study and follow-up of the use of volunteers in correctional supervision was done by Andrews et al. (1984) for the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada as part of the Canadian Volunteers in Corrections (CaVIC) series. Consistent with the observations of Allen et al. (1985) the CaVIC volunteer supervisors were more relationship-oriented rather than directive, were more intensive on the frequency-of-contact measures, but offered comparably lower quality yet a greater quantity of

¹⁰ Harry E. Allen; Chris W. Eskridge; Edward J. Latessa; and Gennaro F. Vito. *Probation and Parole in America*. (New York: The Free Press, Division of Macmillan, Inc., 1985), p. 213.

services. In terms of differential treatment, Andrews discovered that probation supervision by intensive, relationship-oriented volunteer supervisors, who were also disposed to express anticriminal alternatives, was most effective with higher risk cases, particularly when these clients were classified as interpersonally sensitive. This means that volunteer were differentially effective depending upon probationer/ volunteer matching. In short their major conclusion regarding volunteers is:

"Supervision by citizen volunteers was no less effective than supervision by professionals overall and there was evidence that the introduction of differential intervention strategies would result in reduced recidivism."¹¹

It would appear that volunteers are most effective in supervision, not as a means of segmenting the dual functions of supervision, but rather as a resource for intensive supervision, as a result of the greater amount of time they have to offer when assigned to those clients who most benefit from nondirective intensive supervision - the medium to high risk cases but not for highest risks. Effectiveness is dependent upon the selection of the proper type of volunteer (high empathy, high socialization type, and supervision style). This research demonstrates that the actions of supervisors can effect levels of recidivism.

The above supervision strategies, with the possible exception of the use of volunteers, all share the same shortcomings which affect their ability to influence recidivism. They all appear to have been designed and implemented in the absence of theoretical grounding; their design motivation

¹¹ Don Andrews; W. Friesen; and Jerry J. Kiessling. *A Three Year Postprogram Follow-up of the CAVIC Probationers: The Effects of Selection of Officers, Supervision by Volunteers and Supervision Practices on Recidivism*. (Ottawa: Min. of Solicitor General, Working Paper, 1984), p. i.

seems to have been drawn from identification of problems in the administration and delivery of supervision services rather than with regard for program effectiveness as it relates to the client. They are based on the belief that casework is ineffective therefore the focus on the offender must also be inappropriate. They incorporate the belief that what offenders really need is access to concrete services and opportunities. In this author's opinion, these strategies amount to more complicated means of simply funnelling offenders through a system in hopes that they will pick up something good along the way which will make them see the error of their ways.

In contrast to these structural approaches there has been development in the area of client centered supervision, such as with active supervision, studied in the CaVIC series and proactive rehabilitation programs. These strategies will be discussed below.

4.5 Active Supervision

Traditionally parole/probation supervision was believed to actively involve the care component. It is my belief that in the majority of supervisor/client situations this function went unfulfilled because officers, firstly, did not truly understand it, and secondly, administrative functions seemed to take precedent. Astone's description of typical supervision expresses this situation well.

"The emphasis in a traditional parole agency is directed toward the proper administration of the specific caseload assigned to each individual officer. It is an administrative style familiar to bureaucracy. Frontline workers have responsibility for specific and clearly defined tasks and are checked by their supervisors to see that those tasks are carried out. Although the rhetoric of the organization is couched in such phrases as "helping the

offender" and "developing a positive relationship," organizational controls tend to be attached to activities designed largely to foster the surveillance work of the agency to protect it from outside criticism. Parole officer performance most often is judged by the number of contacts that have been made with parolees; often with little regard for the quality of events that transpired during these contacts."¹²

The situation Astone describes could be referred to as passive supervision; it is active in terms of the surveillance functions but includes intentionally or unintentionally passive performance of care functions. In contrast, active supervision, would include those supervision strategies which recognize, work with and attempt to enhance the character and quality of the interpersonal relationship between officer and client.

In an attempt to gain knowledge and control over the factors which make active supervision effective, Andrews (1984) has conducted extensive research into the sources of variability in recidivism and discovered factors which can be influenced or controlled to make a difference. The six categories of factors are clients, workers, intervention practices, program-level factors, intermediate changes in the situation of clients, and the broader setting factors which surround programs; yet, as Andrews states, these cannot be appreciated unless understood from a functional framework, meaning that these variables should be examined within the context of understanding the goals of the agency and supervision. He purports that the goal should be recidivism reduction as a functional means of promoting societal protection, justice, and humanitarian goals.

Andrews' research differs from the bulk of correctional research because it is grounded in the theory of the social learning perspective which,

¹² Nicholas A. Astone. "Variables Affecting Parole Outcomes." *Southern Journal of Criminal Justice*. 6 (1981): 25.

when translated into practice, stresses the client as the focus for correctional program intervention. The main elements of the social learning perspective are as follows.

(1.) Behavior (criminal and noncriminal) must be examined in relation to the environment, external and internal, because

"criminal and non criminal acts are considered to be under the control of the relatively immediate environmental antecedent conditions and/or under the control of the consequences of prior acts."¹³

(2.) Personal responsibility is recognized in actions through the inclusion of personally controlled antecedents and consequences.

(3.) There is a direct link between the costs/reward density for crime and the cost/reward density for conventional noncriminal behavior.

From this theoretical base, effective supervision practices can be developed which incorporate actions to enhance the noncriminal behavioral repertoires and competencies and which conversely alter the environment such that noncriminal behaviors are favored. Translated into supervision terminology, this means that the officer/client relationship should incorporate the following functional elements, which have been demonstrated in research to be effective in recidivism reduction:

"... the use of authority (not interpersonal domination), anticriminal modeling, problem-solving with a concrete community focus, use of community resources, and the relative avoidance of the non-directive relationship strategy of active listening."¹⁴

¹³ Andrew, 1984, p. 26.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 20.

Andrews stresses the first three points as the most essential. He argues adamantly that the directive element is essential to the realization of a meaningful client/worker relationship and a component of the anticriminal modeling function. Problem-solving is the most action oriented component of his approach and its main purpose is to demonstrate the quality of rewards which are associated with conventional behaviors. He see the advocacy-broker activity as a minor component of problem solving, and in isolation, this function is irrelevant to recidivism reduction. As compliment, Andrews also stresses the need for recognition and incorporation of other factors into the program design which affect effectiveness. These are officer related factors (high empathy, interpersonally sensitive officers are shown to be the most effective in most cases), differential supervision realized through client/officer matching and supervision intensity.

Andrews research also includes the development of an offender classification system the L.S.I. discussed above. It has a broad range of implications for,

- (1.) the development and use of a risk/needs assessment tool;
- (2.) parole officer selection and training;
- (3.) casework management (clients/supervisors matching) and designation of supervision category;
- (4.) use of volunteer supervisors; and
- (5.) post program evaluation for identifying persistent value of dynamic intervening factors.

This system certainly warrants further attention within the parole context because of its immense promise of effectiveness.

4.6 Residential Programs

Community residential programs are common throughout Canada and the United States. The halfway house is generally considered a transitional residence for inmates recently released from incarceration. It has also been used for pretrial remanded offenders and probationers. There are generally three alternative models of use of halfway houses in North America. Within the first model, an inmates is released from an institution on conditional release and as a condition of his release he/she must reside in a community residential center. In model two, the inmate is released from the institution into the halfway house and from there receives parole release into the community; this is similar to the community correctional center model in Canada. In model three, the halfway house is used as a means of increasing the control on a parolee already under supervision, whose behavior warrants temporary return to more secure custody. Halfway houses have been established in our society based upon three theoretical assumptions,

"(1) treatment of offenders in the community is more humane than are traditional methods, (2) gradual reintegration in the realistic setting of the community is more effective in reducing recidivism than the prison/rehabilitation ideology, and (3) offender reintegration in the community can be accomplished at a cost less than that of incarceration."¹⁵

Two comprehensive studies of adult halfway house populations are reported in the literature which review a bulk of the evaluations conducted on halfway houses. When complemented with Beck's (1979) evaluation of fourteen houses and a number of other single studies, the following unanimous conclusions emerge regarding employment, recidivism and

¹⁵ Edward Latessa and Harry Allen. "Halfway Houses and Parole: A National Assessment," *Journal of Criminal Justice* 10 (1982): 154.

differential effects. Halfway houses are generally cost effective compared to secure institutional facilities, while their true success lies in effectively fulfilling their goal of increased community adjustment and reintegration.¹⁶ When adjustment is measured in terms of level of income or employment, resident parolees consistently perform better than non residents under supervision, however, in terms of criminal behavior there appears to be no consistent increased effectiveness of residential supervision over regular parole supervision. Any positive effect that has been identified in residential parolees while under supervision appears to dissipate over the longer term, in other words beyond the residential component and/or after supervision termination.

Concurrent to these conclusions, there appear to be differential effects of halfway house residency. Beck (1979) discovered that higher risk clients experience greater benefits from residence than low risk offenders who benefit less or even experience increased criminal activities. Beck (1981) also discovered a beneficial differential effect for minority racial groups when comparing those in residence to regular parolees and he attributed this to their improved employment performance while in residence. Donnelly and Forochner discovered several differential correlations between residency and client attributes. They found that females were more successful in residential centers than males; age and education of client were positively correlated to success rate; married parolees were more successful; non-drug users were more successful; and the typical historical indicators of risk were discovered and consistently correlated to recidivism such as age at first arrest, employment stability at arrest, and prior criminal record.

¹⁶ Johnson and Bonta, 1985, argue this point and suggest that this issue is as yet unresolved.

In regards to adult residential programs, Latessa and Allen (1982) concluded that,

"...it [their article] has not categorically concluded that halfway houses are *more* effective in reintegrating offenders than are traditional parole and other release procedures. It is concluded that they may be as effective as any other parole program and strategy, and may be more cost efficient, at this time. Most, but fortunately not all, of the evaluation material suffers from a range of methodological weaknesses and research failings, leading to the suggestion of caution in drawing conclusions about effectiveness."¹⁷

The above studies fail to consider program components of residential supervision. As a simple measure of program, Bonta et al. (1983) discovered that if time spent in a halfway house was held constant there was a positive correlation between residential probationers and the successful time spent on the street after release from the residential component.

It appears that when evaluated in a dichotomous fashion, with disregard for program attributes, community residential programs are simply another form of structural programming offering no greater impact on parolees than other forms of supervision, with the exception of increased employment levels. The general conclusions which can be made about residential stay, as a form of more intensive supervision, reflect those already made about general supervision practices in Chapter II and III. Residential supervision, when compared to regular supervision, has no significant effect on recidivism although some marginal improvements are experienced in some populations; it has differential effects; and it results in improved employment rates. Whatever short term effects it has, dissipate in the long term.

¹⁷ Latessa and Allen, 1982: 162.

4.6 Electronic Monitoring

Electronic monitoring of offenders in the community, which has only been in use since 1984, is generally intended for the supervision of less risky offenders as a means of reducing the amount of supervision time required per client by the supervision officer. To date there are four general types of systems, as outlined by Schmidt (1985). In general terms these are:

(1.) The first type consists of attached monitors which continuously signal using a telephone to transmit the signal from the monitored location to a central computer. These require that the client be within range of the receiver at all times unless specified.

(2.) The second type of system uses a telephone to call the offender at preassigned locations and times. In response the offender must insert a wristlet key into a verifier box attached to the telephone. This system allows movement within specified locations.

(3.) A third system uses continuously signaling attached transmitters which are monitored periodically by an officer when within range of the clients location. This system enables flexible movement but ensures that curfews are observed.

(4.) The fourth type of system is similar to the second but uses a radio monitoring and relaying system instead of the telephone.

Because this technology is so new, little is known about its effects on clients, or its potential optimal use in terms of types of clients most appropriate to the system. As well there are potential legal questions and constitutional issues regarding their usage which have yet to be resolved in both the United States and Canada. Recently the Provincial Government of British Columbia announced that it would be using an electronic monitoring

system in a nine month trial program as a cost effective alternative to incarceration for nonviolent minor offenders who are sentenced to short and/or intermittent sentences. At this time there are more questions related to electronic monitoring than there are answers. One thing is certain, there are many companies ready to promote and test the products.

House arrest, as a supervision technique, is being used as a complement to electronic monitoring as well as a component in some intensive supervision programs. In conjunction with electronic monitoring, the goal of house arrest is to confine the low risk offender without taking up prison beds. (Petersilia, 1985)

The advantages of these techniques are their potential cost effectiveness compared to incarceration, their incorporation of flexible elements, their ability to fulfill the control function, their complementary nature to other justice programming techniques such as community service and restitution, and their potential applicability to special needs populations such as the ill or pregnant mothers. The disadvantage is mainly that they completely separate the control and change/treatment function resulting in systems simply of "just deserts" and not corrective action. In this way they are an extreme example of singular programming that may be used to mechanically perform human functions resulting in further alienation of criminal clientele.

4.8 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to examine supervision strategies in terms of their value in implementing the three basic supervision functions of control, treatment and service and their general effectiveness. These strategies include case management, service brokerage,

team supervision, volunteers and paraprofessionals, active supervision, and electronic monitoring. It was recognized that many of the contemporary strategies have been developed with recognition of the arbitrarily defined conflict between control and treatment/service functions resulting in a separation of these functions and a new emphasis on control and/or service and an almost disregard for treatment. It was argued that this division is the result of the growing role expectations of parole/probation officers, coupled with officers inadequate qualifications to serve as change agents due to lack of training, resulting in inappropriate interpersonal techniques; insufficient time allocated per client due to large caseloads; inherent conflict between the control/caring functions all manifested within an atmosphere of renewed verve for protection and punishment.

An extensive list of the pros and cons of case management is presented in the text, which highlights the fact that case management systems focus on the delivery of services in the community and administration of the delivery system and not necessarily on the client. Although individualized programming is stated as an advantage there is no evidence of such in the model nor is there any continuity in dealing with a client.

Service brokerage is a similar system based on the stated belief, not a researched or tested theory, that what clients need is not treatment but improved access to community services. This theory has been invalidated by methodologically sound evaluative research which demonstrates that in the absence of additional treatment oriented programming access to external services is unrelated to criminality.

Team supervision models have been employed to further functionally isolate and stress control and service as well as to ensure the delivery of a

thorough range of both services and behavioral treatment modalities in reaction to individual offender needs. In the former mode their use value can be equated with case management and service brokerage as administrative service delivery tools. In the latter application they gain their value from the theoretical context which ensures multiple function application and the meshing of the control and care functions.

Volunteers and paraprofessionals, as a supervision strategy, are often used to complement the three systems discussed above, yet, offer one major advantage that the others generally do not. The use of volunteers, which most commonly seems to take the form of caseworker aids (meaning that the volunteer's role is to develop a personal relationship with the offender), effectively ensures that the care functions will be fulfilled when they have perhaps been deemed inappropriate or unnecessary duties of officers. The research demonstrates that volunteers and paraprofessionals perform at least as well or more effectively than professional counterparts. Andrews research expands greatly on understanding the role of volunteers and professionals within the interactive relationship of worker/client, while showing that the value of volunteers lies in their interpersonal relationship role as opposed to directive role. The greater intensity of contact they maintain with clients results in differential beneficial effectiveness with medium and high risk (although not the highest risk) clients, as long as they practice techniques of positive supervision. These are discussed in Chapter V.

The literature on residential programs, in other words correctional halfway houses, offers little hope as a means of improving supervision effectiveness. The research reveals that halfway houses do positively affect short term income and employment patterns during the residential period,

however, they have only a marginal effect, at best, on criminal patterns compared to regular supervision which dissipates over the longer term. There is a beneficial differential impact on higher risk offenders and possibly negative effects on low risk offenders. It is apparent that the performance of residential supervision can be equated almost uniformly with regular supervision as expressed by the client factors which were found to be associated with success.

Electronic monitoring is a fairly recent technique and therefore few observations of any value are presented in the literature to date. Generally it's a wait and see situation, however, it must be remembered that electronic monitoring and house arrest function only in a control capacity with complete disregard for treatment or service.

The shortcomings of case management, service brokerage, team supervision, and residential programs, in terms of correctional effectiveness, reflect inadequate theoretical reference regarding criminal behavior. In the end, they amount to simply more complex examples of structural programming, with a predominant administrative motivation, meaning programming with a structural emphasis rather than client focus.

The only bright light in the sky of community supervision techniques is what this writer refers to as active supervision. This is an approach to supervision which recognizes the necessary marriage of treatment, control and service, although the latter is the least important. It is based on the behavioral theory of social learning which stresses the client as the necessary focus but only within a relevant environment consisting of very definite interaction techniques designed to influence behavior as it relates to criminal activity. The main techniques are the use of directive authority, antiriminal modeling, problem solving with a concrete focus and the use of

community resources and services to assist in the problem solving function. The comprehensive research on active supervision has demonstrated dramatic increases in effectiveness of this approach over regular supervision techniques.

In short, community supervision can be conducted using many different strategies and techniques. The majority of current literature on supervision techniques is concerned with structural alterations to supervision in hopes that these will both positively affect the client and ease the administrative burden of rising supervision caseloads. These structural alternatives generally are ineffective, or at least no more effective than regular supervision strategies, with the possible exception of volunteer programs. The reason for this difference lies in the nature of the relationship manifest between client and volunteer. The reasons for the success of volunteer programs and active supervision techniques and the relative ineffectiveness of structural strategies relate to theory, focus, and degree of program diversity. These will become more clear in the following chapter on ancillary treatment.

CHAPTER V

ANCILLARY COMMUNITY PROGRAMMING

The purpose of this chapter is to review those community based programs for offenders which have generally been considered ancillary to supervision, such as rehabilitative/treatment, educational, training and employment programs. The difference between such programs and supervision is that the latter constitute specific programs of a definite duration. Supervision on the other hand is the interaction of client and worker over an extended, yet specified time period.

5.1 Offender Rehabilitation and Treatment

Rehabilitative treatment programs can take many forms. Programs for adults offenders in the community setting appear to have been all but abandoned as a result of the "nothing works" movement. Ross and Gendreau completed an exhaustive search and review in 1980 and uncovered only three effective adult community based programs worthy of mention in their book.¹ These are the Complex Offender Program, the CaVIC program (both discussed above) and an offender heroin addiction program in New Jersey. However, they did review several other effective programs which fall under other correctional jurisdictions such as diversion programs, delinquent's family intervention programs, and both community and institutional programs for young offenders. There appears to have been little research in the area of adult rehabilitative programs as evidenced by the sparse

¹ An updated review of effective correctional programs is due to be published by Gendreau in the summer of 1987.

reporting in correctional publications since 1980. The bulk of the valuable research available is being produced here, in Ottawa, by Ross, Gendreau, Andrews and Fabiano.

One American study warrants mention, Garrett's (1985) meta-analysis of treatment on adjudicated delinquents in community residential centers.. The essential programming element evaluated in this study is not the residential component but rather the various treatment programs offered in this setting. Garret classified these into four categories, psychodynamic, behavioral, life skills, and miscellaneous. She concluded that 'treatment programs' in residential settings can be effective and that behavioral programs are potentially more effective than psychodynamic programs in reducing recidivism. She speculatively attributes this to the cognitive-behavioral and contingency management programs which were found to be independently positively correlated to success. These findings are supported and expanded upon by the Ottawa contingent.

Ross and Gendreau (1981) reviewed effective treatment programs in the hope of isolating components which have demonstrated consistent rehabilitative value. They classified the various treatment modalities, reviewed between 1973 and 1978, into nine categories as outlined below:

(1.) Family intervention, which is mainly used with juvenile offenders, is based on the idea that the sooner the problem is addressed the better and that the intervention should be community based involving both the family and the school.

(2.) Contingency management or behavior modification programs, which are mainly effective with adolescents using the token system at the community level, have had some success with adults, depending on the client type.

(3.) Counselling occurs in a variety of types of programs with varying success rates with different classifications of clients and different treatment modalities.

(4.) Diversion programs have also had varying degrees of success. It appears that the more client contact and diversified programming available to the client greater the chance for positive change.

(5.) Biomedical programs such as vitamin therapy for drug users claim some success.

(6.) Miscellaneous probation/parole community supervision programs include the array of structural programs reviewed in this report. They are generally associated with varying supervision techniques, client/supervisor matching, service brokerage, and work furlough programs and have generally been shown to have negative, nil or marginal effectiveness with the exception of Andrew's (1984) active supervision techniques.

(7.) There are a variety of effective programs which are designed to deal with those problems which are often related to criminality, such as drug and alcohol abuse, sexual deviation and mental health. They discovered that these programs are often ignored by the criminal justice community because their focus is external to criminology, when in fact they could be very utilitarian in correctional programming as complete programs and/or as program models.

In response to the above review and after conducting a component analysis, Ross et al. (1987) have designed and tested a program for offender rehabilitation based on cognitive retraining. They discovered one common program component in all the successful rehabilitation programs critiqued that appeared crucial. This amounts to:

"some technique which could be expected to have an impact on the offender's thinking. Effective programs include as a target of their intervention not only the offender's behavior, his feelings, his vocational or interpersonal skills but his cognition, his self-evaluation, his expectations, his understanding and his appraisal of the world, and his values." ²

The program, which has been delivered to high risk probationers, involves adaptations of a variety of cognitive, modeling and mental skills training techniques; delivery by probation line staff; and selection of clients using the L.S.I. The initial results show drastic reductions in recidivism in the short term of the study, from 69.5 percent recidivism (defined as new convictions) for regular probationers, compared to only 18.1 percent for program subjects.

There is clear evidence in the literature that effective treatment programs are in use for offender populations in the community, however it appears that few of these are currently operating for adults. It would seem that the major theory underlying these programs is predominantly behavioral in nature; assumes that offenders can learn to take responsibility for their own actions with the appropriate treatment; operationalizes concepts from the social learning model; and does not depend on a single treatment technique or indicator of effect but rather is multimodal and multigoaled.

5.2 Employment and Employment Training Programs

Although a variety of programs exist in the community which are available to offenders, few are readily available in the contemporary literature. These take the form of literacy training, general education and

² Robert Ross; Elizabeth Fabiano; and Crystal Ewles. "Reasoning and Rehabilitation Project: Initial Results." Unpublished paper, 1987.

vocational training, employment directed training programs and employment access programs. The following comments, therefore, are based on only a few studies and can not be considered comprehensive statements by any means.

In one example of an experimental study of a job training program for probationers from low income families, Anderson (1986) discovered that the training program had no significant effect in terms of recidivism measured at six and twelve months. Consequently, he concluded that,

"These results are also important because they contradict long standing beliefs about benefits from work and vocational training. We have assumed that such programs teach basic skills, help form appropriate positive work habits, and keep an offender from engaging in further criminal behavior. This study, however, revealed that training programs do not necessarily minimize the likelihood of further criminality, since program participants had similar outcomes as community probationers..."³

A California project of youthful parolees in group homes was conceived with the belief in the importance of employment for parole success. (Cross-Drew, 1984) Project Jericho was designed to assist in job hunting, school enrollment and/or training courses and help establish community links. The project did manage to affect sporadic employment records and prevented some unemployment but had little effect on semi or steady employment compared to the control group. The greatest impact of the program was on "low productivity" parolees in terms of employment of educational activities and "high potential" parolees in terms of college enrollments. However, the experimental parolees actually accounted for

³ Dennis Anderson and Randall B. Seumacker. "Assessment of Job Training Programs," *Journal of Offender Counseling, Services and Rehabilitation* 10 (4, Summer 1986): 47.

more arrests than the controls evidencing that education had no influence on criminal behavior.

Only one employment access program is worthy of mention. The Ottawa Employment Program conducted and evaluated by Andrews et al. (1981) was a pseudo-experimental project designed to investigate whether offender employment status influences community adjustment or whether the critical factor is motivation level. The program involved three groups: a group of regular unemployed probationers, unemployed probationers who received employment assessment, counselling and referral services, and unemployed probationers who received the above services in combination with social skills training relevant to employment need.

Significant findings of the project, in terms of criminality, were that employment counselling services, in the absence of social skills training, were no more effective than the absence of services; and in the absence of vocational stability, there is no evidence of the effect of skills training on correctional performance. In other words, although, there were effects from the program components on employment performance, especially for the younger probationers who experience more acute employment problems, there was no evidence to support the notion that employment or employment skills influenced criminality. The authors speculate that this may have something to do with the level of employment security, and that if such could be increased a positive relationship may become manifest. In any event this study is worth reviewing in more detail when considering the option and design of offender employment programs.

5.3 Problem Specific Treatment Programs

Problem specific treatment refers to programs which have been designed to deal with problems that are often related to or are the manifestation of criminal behavior, such as alcohol or drug abuse, sexual deviation, shoplifting, etc. There is a vast array of literature on all these options from the correctional, psychological, and counselling perspectives. Since these programming options are not seen as offender community programming, but rather ancillary treatment programs, they have not been reviewed in this report. However, from a cursory notice in the literature and from the review by Ross and Gendreau (1981) it is apparent that there are rehabilitative treatment techniques being developed in these areas which are appropriate and potentially transferable to the correctional environment warrant further research.

5.4 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to consider ancillary programming. As a result of the very nature of such programs, the corresponding review was limited by the scarcity of published material within the correctional journals dealing with such program topics.

A wide variety of employment, educational and training programs exist for offenders within the community. Despite the generally held belief that these are valuable as means for normalizing offenders and equipping them with integrative skills, the few sources reviewed show that they have qualified effectiveness in the achievement of their direct goals regarding employment performance and educational attainment, and only marginal, if any effect in terms of altering criminal behaviors. However, in terms of rehabilitative and problem specific treatment programming the research

clearly demonstrates that effective programs conform to specific principles as have been determined and articulated by Ross and Gendreau. The essential differences between the purely structural supervision strategies, and the client centered strategies can be articulated by using the comprehensive list of critical factors identified by Ross and Gendreau in 1984:

(1.) Many program innovations have often only changed the system or setting for the provision of traditional services without regard for whether the nature of service is such that it could engender offender change.

(2.) Problems have occurred because of a lack of program integrity consequently failing to ensure that even promising programs are delivered with sufficient intensity and for sufficient time to enable success.

(3.) Many correctional programs rely upon single intervention techniques and approach. This amounts to looking for simple answers to complicated problems. Successful programs are multifaceted and involve multiple modalities.

(4.) Many programs are not based on any theory of behavior; behavior change; adequate conceptualization of offenders' problems; or operationalization of how these can be affected with treatment.

(5.) Many ineffective programs fail to consider two essential elements simultaneously as interactive elements, that offenders are individuals and that the program environment influences both offender and program delivery. Many programs are delivered with a general catchall approach and in a vacuum.

(6.) One of the key problems, even with potentially effective programs is that staff are not well selected (they have inappropriate personal characteristics and personalities), trained, motivated or properly supervised to ensure proper delivery.

(7.) Programs often use volunteers in a simple friendship mode which can reinforce criminal activities rather than using them for more direct intervention.

(8.) Many programs separate the basic correctional functions and deliver services which concentrate on either enforcement and control or intervention and treatment while compromising the other. Effective programs must include both components in complimentary fashion.

(9.) The need for differential treatment and intervention are often overlooked and too much generalization in delivery occurs. Nothing will work for all. Programs must to match offender needs to program options.

(10.) Finally, programs often inappropriately apply need-risk assessments in hope that no one slips through, resulting in risk overclassification and therefore under treatment.

In effect, the structural programs of case management, service brokerage, team supervision, and the use of volunteers represent incomplete programming because they are not based on theories nor intervention strategies. These have value as techniques for delivery of services or program components but in isolation they are generally inadequate. Rehabilitation and intervention strategies must exist within a delivery framework, be it the team approach of the complex offender program or the client/worker environment of active supervision.

The essential elements for effective programming are the need for recognition of both the individual and environmental factors (on both the theoretical and practical levels); multiple modalities and differential intervention to address the variety of individuals; and a marriage of the control and treatment functions within the program structure.

CHAPTER VI

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN CORRECTIONAL
EVALUATION AND RESEARCH

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the pertinent methodological issues in the evaluation and research of community correctional programs. To set the stage, consider first the definition of evaluation as expressed by Shufflebeam (1980). Evaluation is

"a systematic study that is designed, conducted, and reported in order to assist a client group to judge and/or improve the worth and/or merit of some object."¹

When reading the bulk of literature it becomes most apparent that there are many shortcomings in the quality of the correctional research methodology in use. Although this seems to be recognized, the situation persists. Perhaps the reason for this is the difficulty presented in the field. Basically social research of ongoing programs involves reactive assessments rather than process evaluation. This inhibits the use of true experimental design or even rigorous quasi-experimental design.

Rather than discuss in broad terms the elements of evaluation research, this chapter will only concern itself with the issues specific to correctional evaluation which can be loosely categorized into three groups: research design, selection criteria and assessment techniques.

¹Daniel L. Shufflebeam and Anthony J. Shrinkfield. *Systematic Evaluation*. Boston: Kluwer-Nijoff Publishing, 1980, p.24.

6.1 Research Design

There are three general forms of evaluation research design. The purest form is true experimental design using experimental and control groups, and random selection. In the correctional field this method is often not available for reasons related to selection and program operations. (Allen et al., 1978: 27) For example, there may be no extra people to serve as controls because the program serves all eligible. Assignment to a program is usually done according to need as professionally judged, precluding random assignment. Control groups can become contaminated by intergroup interaction. Also, experimental design inappropriately requires that a program be held constant (contradicting the need for program development) and that conditions be controlled resulting in an unreal aseptic situation.

Quasi-experimental design is most commonly used because it employs reasonable comparison groups possessing similar characteristics which can be standardized using statistical regression methods such as the use of prediction scales to establish base line scores.

Non-experimental design offers a descriptive assessment of program efforts and performance comparison but is inadequate for conducting true evaluations. Examples are case studies, cohort analysis, etc. Finckenaer (1986) considers the case study a viable correctional method as a means of conducting action research projects for testing the principles and components of a program throughout the program development phase. Travis (1983) does not consider case study to be a research method but rather an example of an intensive study of selected instances of a phenomenon which is most useful when the contextual and program boundaries are not clear. In this way the case study is appropriate to correctional research because of its sensitivity to the complexity of patterns of causation and community

systems. In essence it attempts to include all factors rather than the exclude and simplify.

The fourth commonly used method is cost analysis. Its value is gained from the ability to assist in the evaluation of the relative cost effectiveness of a program.

6.2 Selection Criteria

The key elements determining the value of a research design are selection criteria and method employed. The practice of random assignment, considered to be the most ideal in research terms, presents ethical problems because it results in selective program delivery. The problem arises because random assignment ignores need and causes systematic deprivation of a service to the control group. This can also be seen as a violation of human rights such as equal access and due process. Ereg (1985) researched this issue with correctional clients and discovered that their perceptions of fairness and attitudes toward the use of various selection criteria (random assignment, need, merit, and first come first served) was related to their level of education and understanding of program development and evaluation processes. For the lower educated inmates randomization was seen as the least fair method because they equate it with "luck" or, in other words, being subject to arbitrary and "capricious" forces, something most prisoners resent.

The counter argument to this is that if the beneficial effects of an experimental program are as yet unknown then deprivation is unsubstantiated. An alternative method is to ensure that the control group can have the choice to participate at a later date. (Baunach, 1980)

A related ethical issue is that random assignment encroaches on the jurisdictional responsibility of criminal justice agents such as the courts. To counter this problem negotiated means have been adopted.

The practical problems associated with random selection are:

- (1.) Program administrators insist on having a say in the selection.
- (2.) The random process can be cumbersome and difficult to operate within the program framework.
- (3.) Inmates continue to choose or reject involvement in programs for a variety of reasons. (LeClair, 1977)

When random design is not possible, the result is a variety of selection bias problems emanating directly from the nature of the subjects under study. When comparing parolees and releasees, how should risk bias potential be measured and controlled? Selection bias occurs when studying parolees because of the self selection process of parole and the corresponding selection by the parole board. (Jackson, 1983b) Flanagan (1985: 15) believes that this inherent bias cannot be overcome because parolees are essentially early release inmates and controls are usually inmates released after longer incarceration periods without parole. Even with random assignment these biases are uncontrollable. To overcome these problems, quasi-experimental designs are required which include statistical controls to compensate for the increased potential risk of failure resulting from inherent group differences. Examples in the literature generally use statistical risk prediction methods to develop base expectancy scales to score both treatment and control groups and then cross correlate predicted outcomes with intervention outcomes.

6.3 Assessment Techniques

The major contentious assessment issues are the definition and choice of measures of success and the follow-up time frame employed. Both have been shown to significantly effect rates of recidivism which is defined as the proportion of a specified group who sustain an outcome defined as negative within a given period of time. The problem with follow-up periods is mainly one of standardization. (Hoffman and Stone-Meierhoefer, 1980)

Before the practical problems of choosing a recidivism measure can be considered, the question of evaluation criteria must first be decided. Although recidivism is the most popular criterion, because it reflects the ultimate goal of corrections, there are problems in using it as a measure of program success as recidivism is a negative measure. Independent decisions must be made as to how recidivism is to be viewed. How serious is a problem to be classified as recidivist? What is the reasonable time expectation of effects and how long after treatment should a residual effect be expected and measured? With recidivism as the criteria for success/failure, a problem exists with the potential for self-fulfilling prophesy; is recidivism a product of program failure, criminal detection effectiveness or society in general? Finally, it must be remembered that recidivism is simply an aggregate measure and loses detail with analysis. It obscures program diversity and important intervening variables; differences in selection criteria; selective beneficial and negative effects for certain clientele; and results in simple generalizations. (Denhardt et al., 1980)

In practical usage the degree of the problem to be defined as recidivism must be determined. Is an offender a recidivist if he/she violates a supervision regulation which is not actually a community law? Could a person who commits a new offense which is less serious than prior offenses

be considered a failure? Recidivism has been defined in many ways, such as: any new arrest, any new felony arrest only, any new conviction, any new felony conviction only, any new prison commitment for 60 days or more, all technical parole violations, and parole violation in lieu of convictions only.

There are three approaches to measuring recidivism. The first, considers the occurrence of an act such as a new criminal conviction. The second, considers the gravity of the failure in terms of the severity of offense, the amount of confinement imposed if any and whether the offense involved violence. The third, considers the time spent in the community prior to the first failure. (Sacks and Logan, 1980)

All these measures have inherent problems. For example, if new convictions are used it must be remembered that conviction rates depend upon both the arrest rate, the plea bargaining process and an offender's criminal history. It has even been shown that in some jurisdictions the status of parole/probation increases the likelihood of a conviction while in other places the reverse is true.

Should a definite line defining success and failure be used? A dichotomous definition of recidivism necessitates generalizations while a continuous definition improves the qualitative utility of an analysis. The decision criterion must be that the definition and tool for measurement of recidivism must reflect both the policy and program intent and be measurable and comparable.

Implementation problems persist even after definition. As Jackson (1983) muses, the problem with aggregate recidivism outcome measurement is that the number of clients in the community continually decreases therefore the levels of the aggregate at risk alter. This is crucial to the calculated rate of failure during the followup period and requires that

statistical calculations be imposed on the analysis. The use of technical violations can overestimate the level of failure because they are not serious enough to rearrest nonparolees, yet, technical violations may mask actual crimes and therefore the disposition is misrepresentative. Parolees are at greater risk of being caught because of supervision by parole officers and not just police. Gottfredson (1981) determined that 'new court commitments only' is the best common criterion, however, this approach can limit the time at risk of the parolees due to reincarcerations for technical violations, therefore reducing aggregate time at risk and lowering potential for new criminal behavior.

Regardless of the recidivism measures used, few studies of structural programming have been able to predict more than thirty percent of the variance in recidivism. (Weideranders, 1983) This may be enough for practical application to general populations and for structural program design but for casework or client centered treatment it is insufficient.

Besides recidivism, other measures of success have been used. These generally can be classified into two categories, social adaptation behaviors and system impacts. The former are measures of client performance which can be reasonably expected to result from program interventions, such as literacy levels, employment status and interpersonal skills. The latter are effects of the program on the delivery system and on the greater societal system in terms of negative and positive impacts such as more efficient service delivery, lower use of welfare systems, lower costs to the local policing system, etc.

Any measure of success is altered depending upon when it is measured and recorded. Within the literature the range of time tables for measuring effects goes from internal program measures to six year followup

periods. There is no hard and fast rule to determine the appropriate period although it seems to be the consensus that measures of success should be recorded during program delivery to determine program applicability; at program end to determine the immediate effect; and at a time period after program completion which is reasonable considering the type of intervention and the change anticipated. In-program measures must consider behavioral adaptation to the program environment while post program measures must take into consideration greater societal standards and rules which could potentially affect behavior. (Cavior and Cohen, 1975) Post program measures must also deal with the problems of aggregate risk. One method, called survival analysis, which is drawn from medical research, is proving applicable to corrections because it helps to articulate the timing of failures and persistent effects of programming. (Flanagan, 1982)

6.4 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to review the methodological issues in correctional evaluation. The potential scale of this subject is beyond the scope of this report, therefore, the discussion was limited by the pertinent comments from the literature.

There are three general issues in the design of correctional evaluations; these are research design, selection criteria and assessment criteria. Despite the ideal of experimental research, its application to correctional evaluation is limited by the contextual program and service delivery factors making the use of quasi-experimental design the most common and potentially the most valuable tool due to its flexibility. Non-experimental designs have limited utility in program development and improvement.

The selection of offender clients is important because of the limitations placed on random assignment resulting from ethical and practical considerations. In order to control for potential selection bias the most common contemporary method appears to be the use of base expectancy scales drawn from risk prediction devices which are then applied to both treatment and control subjects. This allows performance comparisons across risk levels and assists in assessment of differential effects.

Although recidivism reduction is the ultimate aim of correctional programs, and therefore its use as a measure of success is logical, there are many problems associated with its use. These include theoretical definition, extent or severity, dichotomous versus continuous nature, modes of measurement, and timing of measurement. Because of the nature of the subject matter, many of the problems are difficult to overcome, and it seems as though there are no simple answers, just more complicated statistical models with which to attempt to control unprogrammed variance.

In reaction to this situation there is growing value in the use of alternate measures of success in terms of client performance and system effects.

The greatest issue in correctional evaluation is not even approached by a discussion of methodological issues. As is apparent from the literature, the bulk of research is inadequate due to the lack of complete pure and operational theory about offender behavior and corresponding intervention techniques. Regardless of the sophistication in research design the work is all but useless if it is not based on consistent theory. As the discussion in previous chapters has demonstrated, little correctional programming shows much promise for changing offender behavior or reducing recidivism. The

main culprit in this situation is simply the lack of theory, although poor research design is also rampant.

Before considering design issues, the goals and purposes of operation must be established; theory must be developed, expressed in operational terms and then tested with programs which are logically consistent and implemented with integrity.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The intent of this chapter is not to repeat the specific findings of the report but to discuss the implications of these findings when considered in their totality. A review of the pertinent findings is presented in the chapter summaries, and to these the author refers the reader for that purpose. This chapter, therefore, will consist of a discussion of the knowledge gained from this review, a presentation of the research needs suggested directly by the literature and a recommendation for future research emphases as is warranted from this review.

7.1 General Conclusions

This review has highlighted the two major approaches to community corrections, structural programming and client centered treatment. Although the former constitutes the bulk of the literature the lessons to be learned from it are neither new nor extensive.

A wide variety of programming options have been developed in the past decade with the impetus for discovering alternatives to the casework model; in response to the growing movement towards crime control, societal protection, and just punishment; and as means of improving service efficiency in a time of growing fiscal restraint and overcrowded prisons. Concurrent with these forces, corrections as a professional subject is also reshaping itself in terms of its goals, realistic objectives, and methodologies. The result has been the refocusing of corrections in the community with community resources as a replacement for programming with an individual

focus. The 'nothing works' movement has all but precipitated an abandonment of client focused supervision strategies and treatment techniques. The cumulative result is the growth of a variety of structural program options, such as intensive supervision, summary supervision, case management as opposed to casework, service brokerage, and team supervision, and the burgeoning use of residential programs and volunteers and paraprofessionals. Client centered approaches have basically fallen by the wayside within the field of adult corrections. It seems that the basic belief is that treatment does not work with adults therefore new approaches are needed. These new approaches appear to involve two premises, the first being that stricter control can only help teach the offender how to "toe the line" and increased access to community resources and services, where formerly there was deprivation, can in and of itself enable him/her to deal with his problems which undoubtedly must underlie criminality.

The problem with these assumptions and programs, as the literature clearly indicates, is that they are not based on sound theory of human behavior, and amount to little more than a reaction to historical problems and external forces. If the goal of corrections is to maintain the offender in the community at an acceptable risk level then these approaches are moderately reasonable and have proven to be marginally differentially effective in controlling short terms recidivism. But what about the long term? Are we still not spending money on today's clients who will be tomorrow's clients? What about long term rehabilitation?

If the goal of corrections, especially community corrections, is to actually reduce recidivism, then some form of rehabilitation appears to be the answer. The literature on client centered approaches such as active supervision, use of volunteers and rehabilitative treatment programs

demonstrates without doubt that effective programs are available but must include the following characteristics: client focus; environmentally relevant design and delivery; multimodal to reflect the multidimensional nature of offender problems and the range of offenders; contain some form of behavioral retraining; and effectively fulfill both the control and change functions of supervision.

The structural approaches have proven in the literature to be relatively inadequate because they are based upon the assumption or hope that offenders will somehow absorb the right stuff while being corraled through a series of generic programs. If the social learning perspective is adopted then the absurdity of the structural approaches is revealed. If offenders have not been able to learn how to function in a socially acceptable manner in their previous twenty years or so how are they expected to do so in an artificilly controlled environment simply by exposure to positive elements.

In short, this review indicates that although structural programming is very valuable in regards to the potential for differential supervision, it clearly falls short of the goal of effectively reducing recidivism. In terms of specific findings, the structural literature has demonstrated value in modified supervision/control levels for the extremes of the offender population in terms of risk and specific need. Unfortunately, the literature fails to take advantage of the research opportunities in which more knowledge about such differential effects could have been gleaned, opting for generalizable conclusions.

The promising options for community correctional programming lie in the area of rehabilitative treatments and active supervision based on the social learning model. The literature has demonstrated that effective

correctional treatment program models are available but that they lie not within the traditional corrections or criminology discipline. To find such literature one must venture beyond the parameters of adult corrections and the arbitrary mandate of C.S.C. into related areas such as young offenders, family therapy, community psychology, sexual deviation, addiction research and offender counseling. Within these disciplines can be found theories and program models which are both directly applicable and potentially transferable to the needs of correctional treatment.

7.2 Research Suggested by the Literature

The range of research needs suggested in the literature directly reflects the above bias towards familiarity with structural programming but also suggests a growing recognition with the inadequacies of such structures. Below is a list of topics suggested in the literature which warrant further research:

- (1.) The pressing need today is for research in the development of a range of sanctions to reflect the range of both offences and offenders. (Petersilia, 1985)
- (2.) Research is needed to improve the means of managing offenders and resources, such as classification systems. Research should concentrate on the design of population specific techniques (validation studies) and the means for improving implementation procedures. (Petersilia, 1985)
- (3.) It is important to conduct research which includes the line staff in all aspects of evaluation. (Rosencrance, 1986)
- (4.) Research is needed in the area of design, implementation, and effectiveness of intensive probation supervision programs, especially

concentrating on relative effectiveness within each of the three conceptual models (control, justice, and medical). (Bryne, 1986)

(5.) Research is needed to better determine the cost effectiveness of intensive supervision programs compared to incarceration. There is need for more systematic attempts to measure the full range of costs and benefits of the program to allow for more informed policy decisions.

(6.) IPS programs need further testing regarding clients, program design, and effectiveness.

(7.) The issue of officer role and approach in supervision in terms of surveillance/control versus treatment/change agent must be explored and related to the mission of supervision.

(8.) Studies are needed to determine optimal parole supervision lengths. This involves the determination of the point at which recidivism rates level off. In other words, at what point would continued supervision provide diminishing returns? (Sacks and Logan, 1980)

(9.) In accordance with the mandate of the U.S. Academy of Science Panel on Research and Rehabilitative Techniques, Haley (1981) stresses the need for further research to determine effective programs of a rehabilitative nature which are based on sound methodologies.

(10.) A reconceptualization of supervision practices is desperately needed if useful policy, operations and research recommendations are to be derived. (Andrews, 1982)

(11.) There is need for comprehensive research programs identifying client-based variables as predictors of recidivism and an equal need to retest these variables to discover which have dynamic validity. (Andrews, 1982)

(12.) What are the specific program level and setting (context) level factors affecting client change? (Andrews, 1982)

(13.) Even difficult clients can be treated, but the nature of the various target groups needs to be identified and considered when evaluating intervention techniques.

(14.) Finally, there is a need for systematic replication of effective treatment programs.

7.3 Recommendations

It is evident from the findings that the future direction in community correctional research and evaluation in Canada has two potential courses of action. The first is to continue in the foot steps of many researchers in developing more efficient structural programs, while the second is to venture into the relative unknown and research and test truly rehabilitative programs. Before any direction can be chosen, it is essential that the mission and goals of community supervision be clearly articulated. Following this, operational statements are necessary which set the stage for programming.

It is this authors opinion that the following key major areas warrant further and/or increased research and evaluation attention: active supervision practices, the use of volunteers in supervision and treatment, and rehabilitative treatment programs. Specific research tasks are as follows:

(1.) Research is needed to determine the value of the existing system of supervision. What components now in place are more or less effective? Once identified these can be incorporated into new program designs.

(2.) What now exists in Canada is basically structural programming complemented by treatment programs offered mainly by community based organizations. What value are these programs to the goals of supervision?

Do they assist or potentially deter lowering recidivism levels? These programs need to be identified, examined and evaluated.

(3.) Treatment programs and supervision techniques are not intended to be delivered universally, therefore population specific classification procedures are necessary which reflect the purpose of actual differential treatment. Axon's recommendations and Andrew's L.S.I. could prove of assistance in this matter.

(4.) The control/supervision needs of inmates vary as is demonstrated by the functional literature. There is need to identify and operationally classify the extremes of the population who could most immediately benefit from altered supervision levels.

(5.) Research is needed in the area of research design to develop "outcome" and "process" measures which are not unidimensional and which reflect program objectives.

This list only scratches the surface of the research potential in community corrections. The most important recommendation is that the Correctional Service of Canada consider the means by which its community supervision system can explore the options of client centered programming in the hope of incorporating some elements of effective treatment. The contemporary literature clearly shows that despite the continued efforts being put into structural programming the promise for effective corrections lies in client centered supervision and rehabilitative techniques. The range of type of offender and their problems is great, therefore, correctional programming must respond by being diverse and flexible.

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