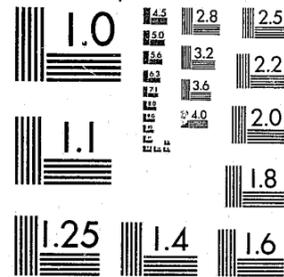


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ISSUES PAPER

PHASE I EVALUATION OF INTENSIVE

SPECIAL PROBATION PROJECTS

for

U. S. Department of Justice
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration

prepared by

J. Banks, Principal Investigator

A. L. Porter

R. L. Rardin

T. R. Siler

V. E. Unger

School of Industrial and Systems Engineering
Georgia Institute of Technology

Local Advisory Board

Mrs. Rachel B. Champagne

Dr. Bruce Cook

Mr. George Cox

Dr. Richard E. Longfellow

Mr. Jim Pace

Mr. Irman Phillips

Mr. Bill Read

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

Introduction and Background	1
Background	1
Purpose	1
Definitions	2
Scope	4
Organization	4
Procedure	6

CHAPTER II

History	9
History of Probation	9
History of Intensive Special Probation	12

CHAPTER III

Theoretical and Operational Issues	15
Intervention Methods	16
Social Casework	
Group Counseling	
Educational Upgrading and/or Vocational Training	
Team Probation	
Behavioral Contracting	
Use of Volunteers	
Use of Financial Penalties as Treatment	
Participants	31
Results	33
Conditions	36
Caseload Size	
Probationer Inclusion in the Decision-Making Process	
Probationer/Probation Officer Relationship	
Disparity of Sentencing	
Placement Issues	
Cost	

CHAPTER IV

Measurement and Evaluation Issues	68
Process Measures	69
Caseload/Workload Measures	104
Case Contact/Supervision Measures	106
Other Activity Statistics	107
Outcome/Success Measures	108
Recidivism Measures	
Employment Success Measures	
Other Outcome Measures	
Cost and Cost/Benefit Measures	113

CHAPTER IV (continued)

Evaluation Design115
Validity of Evaluation Designs
Problems in Implementing Designs

CHAPTER V

Summary and Conclusions124

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Background

Issues associated with intensive special probation (ISP) have been raised for many years. This is particularly true concerning intensive probation in which there is a reduction in caseload. In response to the issues, much research has been conducted to determine what behavioral changes result when the caseload of a probation officer is changed. However, there are researchers who have questioned the asking of the question. For example, Neithercutt and Gottfredson state that asking "What size caseload is optimum?" is committing a reductio ad absurdum. [126] * Their reasoning is that the relationship between caseload and violation rate may be noteworthy only under extreme conditions -- such as the instance where a probation officer has so many cases that he or she has no chance to treat any of them.

Rather than confine issues to the sheer number of caseloads alone, emphasis should be turned to treatment concepts. [1] But, treatment is an elusive concept. [149] Almost anything that transpires between probation officer and offender during the period of supervision may be labeled as treatment. Virtually anything out of the ordinary could be labeled as "Special," and certainly numerous extraordinary treatments have been tried.

Purpose

This paper presents as many issues as could be discovered in the time allocated to the task. The issues include those concerning treatment as well

*Numbers in brackets refer to entries in the Bibliography.

as a host of measurement issues. Many have conducted caseload research or evaluated projects that had the essential feature of reduction of workload. A number of these works are reported here. Additionally, many researchers have reported the results of special treatment, and their findings have been included in this document. The reader should have an understanding of the issues and relevant past findings concerning intensive special probation after having read this document.

Definitions

"Intensive Special Probation" is a confusing term. As used in this research effort the word "Probation" is defined as:

"A sentence not involving confinement which imposes conditions and retains authority in the sentencing court to modify the conditions of sentence or to re-sentence the offender if he violates the conditions. Such a sentence should not involve or require suspension or the imposition or execution of any other sentence ..."

This definition is the same as that appearing in the American Bar Association Project on Standards for Criminal Justice, Standards Relating to Probation. [258]

The word "Intensive" implies a reduced caseload. In the grant application "Phase I Evaluation of Intensive Special Probation Projects" (Application Number 00339-99-NI-75), the researchers defined intensive probation as caseloads which are not greater than the standard treatment caseload. An outside reviewer indicated rightly that, "there is no such thing as a 'standard treatment caseload'." Many practitioners, criminologists, and commissions have recommended a standard caseload; however, the methods of measurement and the quantities vary. The American Correctional Association's Study on Standards and Goals and the National Council on Crime and Delinquency both recommended a workload of not more than 50 work units. (One work unit is given for each probationer supervised and five work units for each presentence investigation completed). [210, 209] The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the

Administration of Justice recommended a staffing pattern of 35 cases per officer. [16] Goldfarb and Singer analyzed the gap between the "standard" and reality in After Conviction. [207] They indicated that over two-thirds of the felons were being "supervised" by officers who had caseloads of more than 120 offenders. Using Georgia as a current indicator, the 1975 average caseload per supervisor was 121 cases. [100] These "standards" are contrasted with the well-documented San Francisco Project which used a caseload of 25 as "intensive". [2] If the number, 25, was adopted as the size of caseloads studied in this project, very few projects would be included in this study. Rather, intensive caseloads, as reported here, are generally those with work units of 50 or less. This number is not adhered to with complete faith in the development of issues and relevant past findings. In some instances, a "great reduction in caseload" has been included as a project under investigation.

These comments on caseload should be considered in the light of comments by Carter and others. They state that "there is no such thing as an ideal caseload size and that a continued search for the magic number is inappropriate and most likely futile. Rather there may be ideal caseload sizes, depending upon and varying with different combinations of offenders, officers, programs, communities, and the like." [149]

The difference between caseloads should be observed. As mentioned above, the workload measure includes credit for presentence investigations. Rather than a ratio of 5 to 1 between presentence investigations completed per month and average caseloads supervised, Neithercutt and Gottfredson have derived a ratio of 14 to 1. [126] Thus, there is a vast difference between the various conversions between caseload and workload.

This leaves the definition of the word "Special" within Intensive Special Probation. Many types of projects fall within this general term including:

1. Individual counseling or psychotherapy
2. Group counseling
3. Decentralized probation service offered at the neighborhood level
4. Use of volunteers, peers, ex-offenders or para-professionals in supervision.

To be included as relevant, past findings or recent evaluations must be intensive, but not necessarily special. Thus, caseload reduction projects alone were studied. But, specialized projects alone, were not studied.

Scope

This document discusses issues that have been discovered through numerous sources. It is not possible to uncover every issue that has ever been raised concerning intensive special probation. Some potential issues that were derived by the research team were not reported in any of the informational sources, and are not included.

Just as it is impossible to raise all issues, it is equally difficult to uncover all past findings and research. However, a great volume of material has surfaced. Unfortunately, not all of the material that was provided to the researchers could be used.

Some of the material related to juveniles. Only adult probationers are considered within the scope of this project. Additionally, using the previously mentioned definition of probation such treatments as halfway-in houses, and shock probation are not within the scope of this research.

Organization

This document is organized into three major parts following the introductory materials. The first of these is a history of probation. The second concerns operational issues and the third concerns measurement issues. A conclusion follows the three major parts,

The history section is divided into the history of probation and the history of intensive special probation. Since these have both been extensively reported elsewhere, only a thumb nail sketch of each is given.

Extensive coverage is given to theoretical and operational issues. A major operational issue is choice of treatment method. Many sub-issues are discussed under this category. For example, is group counseling effective? Should casework be performed or should service be limited to referral?

Another major operational issue concerns the recipient of the service. Example questions include: Should service be confined only to the offenders, or should the family of the offender be included? What category of offenders should receive a particular treatment method?

The issues concerning desired and achieved results are then discussed. There are many types of results. Whether one looks at the avoidance of revocation or recidivism as the only valid result is a major issue among practitioners, and particularly between practitioners and evaluators. Practitioners frequently suggest other measures including obtaining and holding a job, improving reading levels, and so forth as important results for which projects should receive credit.

The conditions under which probation occurs provide additional issues. There are many, many sub-issues in this category. Whether the offender voluntarily participates in the treatment is an example. Caseload differentiation, or specialization are other conditions of treatment which may be applied. What is the relationship between the probation officer and the offender (racial differences, difference of sex, etc.)? There are placement issues such as the location of probation within the judicial or executive branch of government. All of these and many other conditional issues are discussed.

The second major area of issues concerns measurement. Measurement issues related to process are presented. For example, how do projects define caseload?

Outcome measures are then considered. The measurement of recidivism is an example of an outcome measure which has been discussed frequently with no resulting standard.

Another measurement issue includes the whole realm of cost. Attempts at determining benefits are usually met with meaningful challenges. However, comparisons which have been made of alternative treatment cost are discussed,

Lastly, research designs actually used in evaluation are described. These designs are discussed in the terms of the work of Campbell and Stanley. [208]

Procedure

Information for the preparation of this document has come from a number of sources. There are four areas of information:

1. Background materials; books, articles, and papers
2. Project information; grant applications, progress reports, final reports, and evaluations
3. Expert opinion
4. Local Advisory Board.

The background materials were developed in several waves. The initial wave was performed by scanning journals and periodicals which contained writings on the subject of probation. Abstracts were prepared on each of the articles that seemed to be on the subject.

The second wave was started by obtaining abstracts of related written material through the National Criminal Justice Reference Service. The complete library was searched using the keywords probation, caseload, and supervision. Approximately 200 possible references were generated. The abstracts were studied, and those which seemed relevant were obtained in hard copy, on

microfiche, or borrowed. Other background materials have been located through references listed or through suggestions of persons contacted.

Project information was developed from numerous sources. A Grants Management Information System (GMIS) run was requested with the following criteria:

1. The probation projects must be currently in operation.
2. The projects must have been in operation over the past year.
3. The projects must have been funded for \$25,000 or more during the current year.

This request resulted in extensive information on 595 block awards and 406 non-block awards. These listings were studied to determine those projects which might qualify as intensive special probation. Letters requesting past evaluations, monitoring reports, or other prepared materials were sent to 59 of those on the GMIS run. This resulted in 19 positive responses. Nine of the projects could not identify the grant number or had no materials which could be sent at that time.

A second cut was made at obtaining project information by writing to law enforcement planning agencies in each of the 50 states requesting information beyond that already obtained from the GMIS. These two cuts results in volumes of reports on active and completed projects. Ninety projects were eventually identified.

The third source of information was from opinions of experts. A total of 78 "experts" were identified. Insufficient information precluded locating ten of the experts. Letters were written to the remaining experts requesting that they identify the top issue in intensive special probation. Thirty-one of

these responded although a few declined to provide the information indicating that they were too busy or didn't comprehend the message.

This research project has the good fortune of being located in a large metropolitan city which is also the location of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Region IV, the Georgia State Crime Commission, the Central Office of the Georgia Department of Offender Rehabilitation, the Fulton County Division of Adult Probation, and several intensive special probation projects. A Local Advisory Board was formed from representatives of these agencies and projects. The Board has served on an individual and on a group basis to provide information relevant to this research effort. A full meeting of the Board was held on January 29, 1976. A second meeting was held April 14, 1976 to present the Draft Issues Paper and discuss the upcoming site visits. These site visits subsequently occurred between April 28 and June 17, 1976.

A library has been generated for storing and retrieving project related materials. This library contains over 250 entries. A detailed outline of the Issues paper was prepared. The researchers reviewed every document in the library for relevance to intensive special probation. Cards were made for each document with respect to the contents in the outline. From these cards the issues paper was then constructed.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

The history section consists of two parts. The first part concerns a very brief history of probation. The brevity is warranted since probation in general is not the subject of this research. The second portion relates to the history of intensive special probation, which is the subject of this research.

History of Probation

Societal reaction to crime varies from time to time and place to place. As society's values change, societal reaction to violation changes. Developments in the correctional system tend to reflect these changes in society's beliefs about the causes and control of criminal behavior. The practice of probation did not emerge until certain evolutionary antecedents in society's conceptions of crime and punishment had occurred.

Merton and Nisbett in Contemporary Social Problems note that only a few centuries ago when physical suffering was regarded as the natural lot of mankind, attempts to rehabilitate criminals took the form of torture, mutilation, and degradation. [203] Revenge in the form of severe physical punishments was accepted as necessary and natural.

"A revolution in correctional ideology occurred during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, resulting in the amelioration of physical punishment and the establishment of the prison as an almost universal device of correction. Prisons developed out of the new philosophies of hedonism and rationalism, the increasing popularity of contract theories of government, and the growing interdependence of men.

The new ideology maintained that natural law, not the divine right of kings, provides the foundation of social order, that man is endowed with knowledge of right and wrong, that he possesses a free will, and that he operates under the principle of hedonism in the pursuit of pleasure and the avoidance of pain. In this view, crime is a deliberate act, the result

of malicious intent and a perverse will 'Let the punishment fit the crime' was the motto of the system of justice."
[28]

Correction of the offender was to be achieved by imprisonment and prevention was to be achieved through deterrence based upon the evidence that "crime does not pay." The concepts of "certain punishment," "culpable intent," and "equal justice" also emerged at this time. These concepts are pertinent to contemporary justice because they provide a basis for the use of diversionary methods.

Significant changes in correctional ideology occurred again in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. "The offender began to be viewed as 'sick' rather than 'wicked,' a disadvantaged person whose troubles grew out of his biological, psychological, or social depreviation. Hence, treatment and training, rather than punishment were called for." [28] The impact of psychological theories on society are evident in this value shift.

The next stage was an increasing belief that society must share the responsibility with the offender for crime. Individual differences or personal responsibility by the offender were not denied, but it was emphasized that the social and cultural milieu must be taken into account in any rehabilitation efforts. Out of these directions toward treatment and the importance of the social milieu grew the practice of probation with its orientation to the community setting.

Due to the lower cost of probation compared to incarceration and the increasing acceptance that prison rehabilitation doesn't work, the judicial system is turning more frequently to probation as an alternative. However, the probation system has not adjusted yet to this changing emphasis. Budgets and manpower in probation services have not caught up. Frequently, the caseload of a probation officer is in the hundreds, [114]

The State of Massachusetts shares with England the distinction of introducing probation to the world. Although probation is essentially a 20th century

development, its roots are in English common law. Benefit of clergy is frequently cited as one of the earliest precursors of probation. It was used originally to release clergymen from criminal court on the theory that only church courts had jurisdiction over their personnel. Later it was extended to include anyone who could read.

Judicial reprieve was the precedent for the practice of suspension of sentence, although in England it did not extend to an indeterminate suspension of sentence. However, American courts' later pretensions to a power of indefinite suspension of sentence are anchored in this early English practice of judicial reprieve.

Recognizance is another English legal practice which contributed to the development of probation. Recognizance allowed release with some type of surety or bail to assure good behavior.

In summary, one of the essential elements of probation -- conditional suspension of punishment -- had several precedents in English common law.

England was also the first country to introduce probation for offenders on a national basis. In 1887 England passed a First Offender Act wherein the principle of probation was recognized.

In the United States, the first major steps for probation were taken in Boston, Massachusetts in 1841. In August of that year, John Augustus, a local cobbler, decided to stand bail for a man charged as a common drunkard. By 1858, Augustus had bailed out 1152 men and 794 women. Out of these, only 10 absconded. "Although his service to unfortunates was purely voluntary, he became in fact the first probation officer." [211]

After his death, John Augustus' work was continued by Rufus R. Cook, a less-well known pioneer in probation. Like Augustus, Cook's work was voluntary and of the "rescue" type.

Many of the practices begun by these men are essential features of probation today -- investigation and screening, interviewing, supervision, home visits, and services such as employment, relief and education.

Through the efforts of John Augustus, who became known as the "father of probation" in this country, and Rufus Cook, the potentialities of this form of social discipline became recognized. In 1878, the first probation legislation was enacted in Boston, Massachusetts. This legislation provided for the appointment of the first salaried official probation officer but applied only to the courts of criminal jurisdiction in Boston. In 1880, the right to appoint probation officers was extended to all cities and towns in Massachusetts. However, only a few exercised their option. Probation was established on a state-wide basis in Massachusetts in 1891 through mandatory legislation.

Only five states adopted probation legislation before 1900. Of these, only three dealt with adult probation. By 1936, adult probation was established by law in 39 states and the District of Columbia. [212]

The Killets decision by the U. S. Supreme Court which held that a district judge could not suspend or defer sentence indefinitely, resulted in the passage of the Federal Probation Act in 1925. However, it was not generally used by the Federal Courts until 1930.

History of Intensive Special Probation

A body of correctional literature has addressed the question of how increasing or decreasing caseloads can effect performance of probationers. [1, 65, 126] The literature usually combines probation and parole when tracing history. The last of these reviews was sponsored by LEAA and published in 1974. [126]

Exhaustive recitation of the materials in these excellent references would be repetitious. Rather, some of the summaries and conclusions of the various chroniclers will be provided, and some very recent research will be reported.

Adams discussing over a decade of caseload research in California, states that "one is impressed by the fact that all the reduced caseload projects of the Los Angeles County Probation Department have shown small caseloads to be more effective. All have shown the experimentals to have significantly lower failure rates..." [65] The Probation Department succeeded (in reducing failure rates), whereas, the parole units that conducted reduced caseload projects did not have similar success. Adams concludes that, "... probation and other open-community procedures will play far more important roles in the total correctional process." [65] In the San Francisco Project, four levels of supervision were identified, classifying caseloads as "ideal" (50 workload units); "normal" (100 workload units); "intensive" (25 workload units); and "minimum" (self report). After two years, an assessment was made of the cases. The available data indicated that the number of contacts between an offender and the probation or parole officer is seemingly unrelated to success. [206] It should be noted that both probation and parole are lumped into this conclusion.

Vetter and R. Adams conclude a thorough study of probation caseload effectiveness indicating that there has not been an adequate assessment of the influence of caseload on the range of offender types. They found that in the few studies approaching methodological adequacy in which caseload size has been employed as an independent variable, results have been compounded by the influence of other variables. "Actually, we do not know what is operating when we provide 'correctional treatment' in varying degrees of intensity; we do not know whether varying the caseload size leads to corresponding variation in intensity; and we do not know the differential effects of such manipulations on any number of potentially significant target variables. This chaotic state of affairs heavily underlies the necessity for research to be anchored

in theory.... We must conclude that caseload size remains an open situation." [1] It should be noted that the two authors include both juvenile and adults, probationers and parolees in their study of probation caseload.

Carter and others summarize from Adams' early research. "The data collectively were unable to support a consistent finding that small caseloads were superior to large, at least in terms of overall offender success and failure rate." [149] Carter and others were concerned with probation and parole supervision. Their conclusion from Adams is based on Adams' study of both probation and parole projects.

A very thorough review of caseload size variation was sponsored by LEAA, authored by Neithercutt and Gottfredson, and published in 1974. They state that, "In several of the caseload size studies one would be hard pressed to say that much of anything had occurred besides a reduction in number of cases assigned to each officer." [126] Again, these authors have included both adult and juveniles, probationers and parolees in their study.

The MITRE Corporation conducted an examination of intensive supervision as a strategy for probationers. They studied five intensive supervision projects. Although the MITRE report refers frequently to probation, four of the five projects dealt basically with parolees. Additionally, the projects dealt with juveniles for the most part. MITRE reported, "Based on the analyses performed here, it would appear that intensive supervision, as a general strategy, was effective in terms of reducing recidivism." [199]

In almost every instance, researchers have confounded probation and parole, and have made general statements about adults and juveniles. The current research effort concerns only adult probationers.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL AND OPERATIONAL ISSUES

Intensive Special Probation Projects serve individuals who have been adjudicated guilty of criminal acts. The problem then becomes one of changing the behavior pattern to one of non-criminality, through legal and humane means. Knowing the cause of the criminal behavior obviously would facilitate achieving a solution. Therein lies the initial difficulty in the practice of Intensive Special Probation (ISP). There are numerous answers and theories promulgated as to the causes of criminality. However, the fact remains that although the conditions under which some people commit some types of crime for some motives have been described, it is still not known why everyone exposed to the same influences does not resort to criminal behavior. Therefore, a major problem is the inability to guide intensive special probation projects on the basis of theoretical certainty.

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

Intervention Method(s)

The choice of intervention method is dependent upon the theoretical premises which are accepted as producing a desired behavioral change. If it is assumed that criminality is a function of an individual disorder, then change will come through correcting that individual or disorder. Common intervention techniques consistent with this premise are group therapy, and individual therapy.

If the assumption is accepted that persons change only when the psychological or physical pain is sufficient to motivate movement in a new direction, then intervention methods will be punitive in nature. On the other hand, if it is believed that behavioral change is produced by an individual's perception that the potential rewards are sufficiently pleasurable to incur the risks, then the emphasis of intervention methods will be different.

In contrast to the premise that criminality is an individual disorder, if it is considered to be a product of social processes and conditions, then the target group and methods of correctional efforts will reflect this difference. For example, efforts may be directed at changing the socialization setting and opportunity structure of a community through funding area projects such as large-scale recreation, work, or community improvement. Fundamental to such an approach is recognition that important changes cannot be imposed from outside. Therefore, the leadership must be local. [203]

Efforts directed towards altering the social processes assumed to contribute to criminality may also be accomplished by changing the definitions and expectations of what is valued by society so that levels of aspiration are more consistent with legitimate means for obtaining them.

Another product of a sociological orientation holds that attempts to change the criminal behavior of an individual must be directed towards modification of the groups "owning" the behavior. "If the behavior of a man is an intrinsic part of the groups to which he belongs, then attempts to modify

the behavior will succeed only if the groups are somehow modified. Probation is consistent with this principle in the sense of trying to integrate the probationer into sets of social relationships in which criminality as a way of life is strictly taboo." [203] ISP projects which have education or work components are consistent with this principle to the extent that they change the probationer's post release group relationships.

Against this background of theoretical uncertainty, ISP projects usually operate in an environment that expects ISP staff to perform the traditional functions of investigation, diagnosis, and supervision. These functions also include the dual responsibilities of surveillance and treatment, regardless of the particular unique features of the ISP. This does not present a major difficulty when the unique features of an ISP do not conflict with underlying philosophies of one of these functions and distribution of time is not an issue. However, it is conceivable that these various demands interact in some currently unspecified ways which affect project success.

The methods which are the subject of this investigation are classified as intensive special probation. Intensive refers to reducing the caseload substantially, while special refers to a variety of methods which have some feature that is not employed routinely in the traditional probation system. Neither classification is apt to be "pure" in a real world situation; therefore, the division is a convention utilized merely to facilitate discussion.

Since, by definition, in this scheme, intensive (reduced caseload) is more properly conceptualized as a condition under which a project works, rather than a treatment method, the issues in intensive probation are discussed in a later section on caseload size.

The issues in special probation concern the choice of special methods to be used as well as issues that relate to particular characteristics of that method. Some of the special methods that have been tried are individual counseling;

group counseling; educational upgrading; providing work opportunities; using team probation, using volunteers, including specialized types; using financial penalties as treatment; behavioral contracting between probation officer and offender; and emphasizing referral rather than casework. Each of these has its proponents and opponents, has had varying success, and has issues unique to itself. All have in common lack of conclusive evidence to guide relevant decisions, and the uncertainty of outcome caused by individual differences. Frequently, ISP's will employ a combination of methods. Each will be presented briefly to highlight the complexity involved in simply choosing and operationalizing the most appropriate intervention method(s).

Social Casework. Social casework was one of the earliest approaches to probation treatment and, is used frequently enough to be considered almost the norm. David Dressler defines casework as a method by which the worker, largely utilizing a one-to-one relationship, brings about mutual interaction with the client in an effort to promote a psychological and social situation that will enable the client to be more self-accepting and interact more acceptably with others. [45]

In the process of providing casework services, the probation worker may manipulate the environment in order to provide concrete services, such as financial assistance; or, through the one-to-one relationship, he may help the offender cope with his environment more effectively. The two approaches are not mutually exclusive under Dressler's definition. [45] If Dressler's conception of casework is accepted, the current controversy between casework and community referral is more a matter of emphasis than exclusive selection. The arguments for encouraging referral, are based primarily in the limitations of any individual worker. In communication with the investigators, Dr. George Killinger, stated,

"I feel that the greatest problem in probation supervision at the moment is the fact that many probation officers try to be 'all things to all people' and do not mobilize the community and use the supporting agencies that are available and more knowledgeable than the probation staff in modifying, controlling, or changing behavior. The probation officer should be a broker of services in addition to his one-to-one counseling and supervision role." [213]

This sentiment is echoed by others who favor the role of community referral agent for the probation officer.

If community referral is chosen as a mode of treatment, the question of parameters arises. There seems to be scant debate about intervening to secure employment for a probationer, but the extent to which probation officers should become advocates for probationers in community disputes does cause controversy. For example, should a probation department representative become involved in a rent strike to the point of picketing on behalf of probationers treated unjustly by landlords? [130] An issue such as this is usually settled by administrative policy, but the existence of policy does not prevent questioning of that policy.

The concept of community referral is often expanded to a theory of re-integration. Taken to its extreme, that notion raises issues not only of community based programs, but also of community-administered and controlled programs. [130] All of these unresolved controversies, which ultimately are influenced by value judgments, contribute to the selection of a method or methods for an ISP and to the setting in which the project is operationalized.

Group Counseling. Group counseling is another basic intervention method. Some authorities make distinctions between group therapy, group counseling, group work, and guided group interaction. Others do not. There is a lack of consensus on principles and concepts; consequently, the group leader is left without a guide. For example, Dressler suggests that having a common problem is a pre-requisite for group therapy. [45] Keve, on the other hand, contends that

"it is not essential that each group have such an expressly identified common denominator, but the leader should see in his own mind a common goal for them to reach by a common path, and be able to state the goal for the group if they are uncertain of it themselves." [195] Personality must also be considered in selection of group members. Thus, one of the initial decisions, who should be in the group, is complicated by uncertainty.

It is sometimes claimed that group work is a way to save time by the labor saving device of seeing several probationers at once. However, general experience has been that group work may be even more demanding of time and emotional energy of the worker than casework with individual clients. Certainly, logistical chores are involved in group work that are not required in casework. For example, a meeting place must be obtained which meets certain criteria, transportation may have to be arranged, and other similar tasks completed. Keve also indicates that group work is met with introductory resistance in nearly every instance. [195] If an ISP involves group work as a method, the likelihood of this resistance must be taken into account. Further, if the project staff is not already trained in group processes, provision must be made for such training, and consideration given to its timing in determining a reasonable point at which the project can be expected to make an impact.

The differential treatment unit of the Inner London Probation Service is an example of a project making extensive use of group techniques that appears to have success. A number of other elements present in the project also appear to be associated with its success. Tandem working, attaching a probationer to two officers, usually a man and a woman, rather than one officer, has been widely used. A central element in the approach has been to ensure that all clients have direct and immediate access to their supervisors.

Informality, such as the use of first names, is also a key element. The atmosphere is not one of equals but is therapeutic rather than correctional or controlling. [49]

Educational Upgrading and/or Vocational Training. Providing opportunities for educational upgrading and/or vocational training is another possible type of special method in an ISP project. The primary issues in this area relate to the best methods to assure effective implementation so that individual needs are met. That such services should be provided generally seems to be accepted. The National Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, and the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice both recommended providing such opportunities. [27, 16] This position is based upon the deficiencies in education and in skills necessary for employment which are characteristic of many probationers. [16] In the Oregon Burglary Offender Project, an effort was made to gain some understanding of the reason(s) or problem(s) the clients and officers were experiencing in finding work for unemployed clients. The officer was asked to indicate the primary reason from a list of 12 provided on the data forms.

"The categorized items ranged from poor work habits/job problems; lack of skills; seasonal work and general economic conditions in the labor market to incarceration. The most frequently selected reason for the unemployed in the target offices was judged to be due to client's inadequate skills (11%)". [85]

Also, it is felt that providing educational and/or vocational training services eventually will enable the individual to function more effectively in the community, and, hopefully, will contribute to less recidivism. This, of course, is qualified by the extent to which such services influence the offender's personal relationships and economic situations. The same types of comments apply to providing employment opportunities, except the relationship to preventing recidivism is more direct.

Glasser concluded that "unemployment may be among the principal causal factors in recidivism in adult male offenders." [16] The question becomes, is it causal or merely an associated characteristic? Even if it is not causal, many persons make the value judgment that providing employment to probationers is good in and of itself.

It should be noted that 54.8% of probation administrators participating in the 1967-69 Probation Management Institutes felt special methods such as educational, vocational, employment, and even group therapy, should be handled by referral agencies rather than probation agencies. [141]

Team Probation. Considering all of the activities in which humans have joined forces to achieve a common goal leads to the consideration of a team approach to probation. The U. S. Probation Office for the Northern District of Georgia was restructured into a team system in early 1973. [148] In Northern Georgia, two probation officers and a clerk stenographer form a team and two teams function as backup units for each other. In Northern Georgia, the role of the clerk stenographer is very important as keeper of the records, information provider, and general resource person.

Other federal probation offices which have recently adopted the team concept include Memphis in 1973, Oklahoma City and Tampa in 1974, and Nashville in 1975. Portland, Oregon has been using the team concept since 1968.

The positive attributes of team probation include increased motivation and morale. This leads to greater productivity.

The team approach may or may not include caseload reduction. In the Northern Georgia District it appears that the workload is essentially the same. In Virginia, the caseload has been differentiated between members of the team. The officer having an Intense caseload has between 20 and 25 cases. The team member supervising a Normal caseload has 40 to 50 cases. Finally, the officer with an Ideal caseload supervises 80 to 100 cases.

There may also be disadvantages with using the team concept; particularly when teams specialize. Perhaps, the biggest disadvantage to specialization is cost. Specialized teams must be formed for various types of offenses. These teams only handle the type of offense for which they are structured. This creates inefficiency. There is also an added expense with the type of team used in Northern Georgia. Each probation officer on the team must have full knowledge of all the cases handled by the team. This requires added review time, and in effect, increases the caseload.

The team approach has also been used in Virginia in differential caseload supervision. [172] It is said to provide decentralized decision-making affording the officers in the team greater flexibility, control and management of their respective caseloads within established policy and procedural guidelines.

The teams in Virginia are made up of three officers, each with a designated caseload for supervision; "Ideal," "Normal," and "Intense". One of the officers is designated as team "leader". This position rotates every six months.

Virginia has also developed specialized teams to handle drug and sex cases with the same differential caseload composition and with a team leader. Student interns are attached to all teams in Virginia.

Behavioral Contracting. Behavioral contracting between the offender and the probation officer is a special method which has been tried by the Division of Probation and Parole/Community Based Services, Georgia Department of Corrections and Offender Rehabilitation. This method involves mutual identification of the offender's needs and listing them in order of priority. The probationer and the probation supervisor work out appropriate and attainable goals to solve the problems listed. When the goals and methods of achievement have been mutually agreed upon, they may form a contract between the offender and the court.

The Chief Probation/Parole Supervisors in the 10 Judicial Circuits who volunteered to experiment with this program reported that many Superior Court Judges endorsed this method by placing it in the order of probation. However, hard data on effectiveness was not available. [132]

Use of Volunteers. Probation began with a volunteer, John Augustus. Today, the use of volunteers appears to be one of the more promising interventions in the field. It can help alleviate the problem of overloaded case-loads and contribute to rehabilitation and reintegration goals for the probationer.

The mere provision of manpower can contribute to alleviating problems. The ways in which that manpower is applied are limited only by system availability. For example, volunteers can amplify the time, attention, and types of interaction given to probationers, can help diversify the services received, can assist with administrative work, can help with public relations, can help secure facilities, materials or other volunteers, and provide many other services.

The types of volunteers which are used are as varied as the ways in which volunteers are used. The citizen who has a desire to help is one type of volunteer. Students have been used as volunteers, but using students has the disadvantage of requiring more constant supervision and having scheduling conflicts such as with school breaks. [104]

A natural extension of volunteer programs was to use specialized volunteers such as ex-offenders, the offenders themselves, and indigeneous non-professionals as para-professionals. Beless, Pilcher, and Ryan make a number of arguments for using indigeneous non-professionals which are persons from the same social class as the population being served. [5] The rationale is that use of such persons minimizes social distance; and, thus, encourages client identification and rapport with the worker. Grosser saw the local resident worker as a

"bridge between the lower-class client and the middle class professional worker." [5] Rieff and Riessman describe the indigeneous worker volunteer as follows:

"He is a peer of the client and shares a common background, language, ethnic origin, style and group of interests he 'belongs;' he is a 'significant other,' he is 'one of us'. The style of the non-professional is significantly related to his effectiveness, because it matches the client's." [5]

The preceding commentary supports Gordon's contention that "The indigeneous leader can communicate instantly to the suspicions, and distrustful client, avoiding noblesse oblige, in a way many middle class professionals cannot do when dealing with disaffected, hostile, anomic clients who see the middle class agency worker as part of the system against which he is fighting." [5] The same rationale could apply in dealing with interracial tensions in probation services.

Another viewpoint challenges this approach. While recognizing that using indigeneous workers facilitates communication, the following grounds are given for not restricting the probationer's official contact only to the indigeneous worker:

- 1) In everyday life the probationer will be dealing with persons from other social classes.
- 2) The probationer/probation officer relationship which is helpful will involve a realistic trust.
- 3) If trust is established, and the resulting relationship with the middle class probation officer is accepted, the lower class client's future reaction in dealing with persons from the middle class is apt to be enhanced. This, of course, is dependent upon the degree to which the client generalizes his experience.

Projects like POCA (Chicago based Probation Officer Case Aide) have experimented with using indigeneous non-professionals in probation and parole. POCA confirmed the operational feasibility of employing indigeneous non-

professionals as case aides in the Federal Probation Service. Tentative conclusions by Beless, Pilcher, and Ryan are that wider use of indigeneous workers seems justified when clients differ markedly from professional workers in cultural and social values, and development of such positions presents a means of increasing the number of blacks in probation work. [5]

The experience of groups like Alcohol Anonymous and Synanon has suggested that those who have personally encountered and overcome a problem have a unique capacity to help others with similar problems. From this and the recent respectability of using indigeneous workers, probation services have tried using ex-offenders and offenders themselves as staff. Studies of peer group influences and pressure would also support this approach.

Often in these situations, it is the ex-offender or offender who is "helping" that changes the most. To be the "helper" requires a role reversal. Cressey attributed the success of such activities to the fact that the reformee gains experience in the role of reformer, a role identified as desirable by the group. A group in which criminal A joins with some non-criminals to change criminal B is probably most effective in changing A, not B; in order to change B, criminal A must necessarily share the values of the anti-criminal members. [5] Another pre-success factor operating is described by Keve as "Our clients tend to be people who have had little reason to feel their lives are purposeful for they are usually on the receiving end and so are seldom able to enjoy the ego building effect of being important to someone else." [195]

Success is described rather frequently and in numerous terms for volunteer programs in probation. Killinger states that, "Courts using volunteers consistently report reductions in institutionalization rates, as more and more they are able to work with the offender in his home community. At the same time, striking reductions in repeat offense percentage are also claimed (although this can be a somewhat elusive statistic)." [79]

The Dallas Area Criminal Justice Council's Increase Adult Probation Project which includes a volunteer component also suggests success. Volunteers are enlisted to provide one-to-one counseling with probationers. The revocation rate for all of 1974 for those probationers who had volunteers was only 0.7%. While comparison statistics were not provided, 0.7% can be accepted, *prima facie*, as low. [95]

Scheier reported that research in three separate courts confirmed that a group of probationers assigned volunteers on a one-to-one basis showed lessening of anti-social attitudes when tested before and after probation. This finding was even more significant in view of the fact that groups of probationers not assigned volunteers showed an increase in anti-social attitudes. [8]

When discussing volunteer programs the Royal Oak program must be mentioned. If criteria such as community willingness to support a project with time and money, or program expansion are used, certainly Royal Oak is a success. After fifteen months the city and private contributors were asking to support the program. Four years later the program's budget had increased from \$4,400 to \$25,000. In addition, the project claims a 7% recidivism rate over a ten year period. [11]

Lack of success in volunteer programs seems to be a function of management or organizational problems rather than the concept. The Delaware Volunteers in Probation project records a number of difficulties of this type. However, the degree to which these problems affected the project's effectiveness in reducing crime or improving the criminal justice system has not been examined. Unfortunately, data was not maintained which might allow such a determination. [162]

A basic issue in volunteer programs concerns how to operationalize such programs effectively. Such programs are subject to common management pitfalls.

Depending upon the project structure, coordination can be a major factor. Delaware's lack of coordination between Judges, the Department of Corrections,

the Bureau of Probation and Parole, and the volunteers was severe enough for the evaluation to comment that "unless the coordination problems are resolved, the true potential for this particular project can never be realized." [162] Internal coordination was also a problem as evidenced by the time lags between a probation officer's request for a volunteer for a specific case and the time the volunteer was assigned. In some cases, the delay was so extreme (as much as six months) that the offender was already dismissed from probation before the volunteer was assigned.

Another issue revolves around the trade-offs between flexibility and control. How much procedure and control are necessary for effective functioning without unduly sacrificing the advantages of flexibility? Flexibility is considered essential to accommodate the individual personalities of the volunteer and probationer. [79] The point is to accomplish a goal, rather than to prescribe how it will be accomplished. Some parameters must be set but a broad philosophical framework can be sufficient. Horejsi, for example, describes a conceptual base from which the volunteer can plan his own intervention. His framework is called the M-C-O Approach. M-C-O refers to motivation, capacity, and opportunity. [13]

On the other hand, adequate controls are necessary for organized functioning and as protective measures. Working with probationers is a sensitive area. Therefore, controls on the discretion of the volunteer are necessary, just as there are some controls on the probation officer. Sufficient supervision of the volunteer also can prevent the volunteer from feeling alone and losing his motivation.

Other management issues relate to recruiting, screening, and selection, volunteer incentive and support, leadership, training, guidelines or suggestions for effective implementation and so forth. The process of recruitment, screening, and selection of volunteers is crucial. Exposure to these areas can best

be obtained by referring to any of a number of sources. Killinger and Cromwell's Corrections in the Community, Keve's Imaginative Programming in Probation and Parole, and LEAA's National Advisory Commission on Standards and Goals are among the sources that might be used. [79, 195, 16]

An issue that is peculiar to volunteer programs concerns the relationship of the probation officer and the volunteer. One of the questions is what are the optimum roles? Some professional probation officers feel threatened by the volunteer. This resistance appears to be lessening as probation professionals are exposed to evidence that shows professionals have not lost jobs because of volunteers. To the contrary, volunteers have helped create probation leadership positions where none existed before. [79] Training can also help mitigate this resistance.

Resistance has also been based upon the "good guy", "softie" image. Probation officers have tended to believe that volunteers get to do all the "good guy", "fun" things while the probation officer must be the enforcer. [162] The proper distribution of these roles is an issue which should be addressed by a volunteer project.

One way in which some of these objections can be lessened is to allow the probation officer to determine which of the probationers on his caseload need more intensive supervision by a professional. The probation officer can then work directly with those who are apt to benefit most from his attention. He will also have fewer probationers requiring his time, and be able to retain the satisfaction of direct contact. [79]

It is also important for volunteer programs to be structured and operationalized in such a manner that supervision of the volunteer doesn't become just another added duty for the probation officer without reducing his workload in some other manner. Although the original intention was to reduce the caseload

by using volunteer services, this did not happen in the Delaware project. In fact, caseloads were not reduced and the probation officer had the added duty of supervising the volunteer. [162]

Use of financial penalties as treatment. The use of fines alone as a treatment method has the advantage of being less disruptive to the offender's social and personal life than sending him to an institution or placing him on probation. If the fine is paid promptly, it is a cheap method of maintaining law and order. On the other hand, when systems have to be set up to collect the fines, the fiscal advantage is lost.

When fines are combined with a probation order, the accusation is made that mixing a punitive measure with supervision has a negative effect on the "helping process" that probation officers consider essential to the probation process. This contention is supported by Martin Davies study, "Financial Penalties and Probation", particularly when the probation officer is involved in collection of the fine. [50]

Davies' study further concludes that there is no evidence that using fines reduces the likelihood of reconviction and in fact, his findings suggest that the use of fines is associated with higher reconviction rates. No opposing studies were found in the literature search.

Another consideration in using fines or financial reimbursement to victims as a project component centers upon the question of equity. The pattern of non-payment which emerged in Davies' research showed that those with the greatest environmental problems were the ones least likely to fulfill their obligation to court. The higher the financial penalty and worse the environment, the greater the number of defaulters. Therefore, unless the offender's financial and environmental difficulties are taken into account, insufficient payment could automatically destine the offender to jail or prevent successful re-

establishment in the community. In those circumstances, the use of financial penalties is apt to have exactly the opposite effect of what is intended. Readings on this method force the conclusion that when fines or financial reimbursements to victims is the choice of methods, the goal is not treatment but some other value.

Participants

In addition to choosing a method, the participants in an intensive special probation project must be determined. Should the offender be the only person "treated" or should "treatment" include the offender's family, peer associations, and/or the community at large? One source of support for including the family and peer group is found in Charles Cooley's designation of primary groups. Primary groups, as contrasted with secondary groups, are characterized by intimate association and cooperation, usually face-to-face. The significance of the primary group is in its ability to exercise social control. The family and peer group as primary groups are able to exert considerable influence on an individual. It is in recognition of this that such groups are often included in treatment. Ultimately, the decision of who to include in treatment will depend in part upon the extent to which each of these is believed to influence the desired response from the offender. That extent, in turn, will be determined by the degree of acceptance of particular theories of crime causality.

Part of the difficulty in determining who should receive intensive special probation supervision revolves around lack of knowledge concerning what type offender should get probation. Dressler states that, ideally, selection for probation would be individualized. [45] There are, however, factors which should be considered in the selection process because of their relationship to recidivism. One area of general agreement appears to be that violent offenders

who commit their crime under circumstances which are likely to reoccur should not receive probation, and, thus, would not participate in ISP's.

Based upon past findings, intelligence and physique are not factors which are significant influences on recidivism. Consequently, they would not be part of any selection criteria. Factors which should be included because of their relationship to recidivism are age, prior criminal record, whether or not the crime was economic and non-violent, criminal associations, and prior work regularity. The specific findings are capsuled below:

- 1) The younger a person is when he is arrested, convicted, or confined for any crime, the more likely he is to continue in crime. Between 18-20 more than 50% recidivate. With age, the probability increases that any further criminal acts will be misdemeanors rather than felonies.
- 2) The greater the number of previous offenses on a criminal record, the greater the tendency to recidivate, except as mitigated by age. "Recidivism rates are about the same following a fourth or subsequent felony conviction as following a third conviction. However, first offenders for a felony have an appreciably lower recidivism rate than 'two time' or subsequent 'losers'." [224]
- 3) "We have learned also that because a person is for the first time convicted of a crime, such a circumstance in and of itself is no recommendation for his selection for probation. Investigation has repeatedly disclosed that some first offenders possess well defined anti-social habits, have had extended experience in criminal enterprise without having been apprehended, and have had continued contacts with underworld groups." [207]
- 4) Those offenders whose crimes were economic and not accompanied by violence are most likely to recidivate (i.e., auto theft, burglary, larceny, forgery, etc.).
- 5) Burglary and larceny offenders usually have life histories reflecting numerous associations with those who would give recognition and social support for their crimes.
- 6) Prior work regularity is more clearly related to recidivism than job type. [224]

Once it is decided that a person will receive probation, there are several classification schemes which have been used in designating the type of super-

vision which will be given. These are discussed in a later section on case-load size.

The classifications become a selection device since the category into which an offender falls determines who receives what kind of supervision.

A question also is whether or not various types of intensive supervision will have different effects on different categories of offenders. Work in the juvenile field by persons such as Ms. M. O. Warren indicates that there are differential effects with different categories of offenders. [76] It appears very little conclusive research has been performed on this in the adult area.

Results

There is a general agreement that a reduction in recidivism or the recidivism rate is a desired result. There is considerably less agreement as to what constitutes recidivism and what other results should constitute "success".

Recidivism in probation is defined most frequently as the commitment of a probationer to a penal institution for violation of the conditions of probation or for the commission of a new criminal offense. [146] It has also been defined as:

- 1) rearrest for any offense
- 2) rearrest for an offense included in a specific category of crimes
- 3) reconviction for any offense
- 4) reconviction for an offense included in a specific category of crimes
- 5) incarceration
- 6) revocation of probation
- 7) various combinations of the preceding.

The choice of definitions will, of course, affect any conclusions concerning the degree to which the desired result has been obtained.

Some like Dressler, feel that although recidivism is an important outcome, it should not be the only consideration. "To use recidivism as the only factor in establishing whether the individual has successfully readjusted in society is to set up an all-or-nothing frame of reference. The recidivist becomes a 100 percent failure and the non-recidivist a 100 percent success. Controversy is rampant as to what else should be considered success in ISP projects. There are those who advocate accepting positive attitude changes or desired changes in self-concept of participants as evidence of success. One position of proponents is that self-concept and attitude change are of value in and of themselves. "To be effective in reforming or re-educating the offender," states Kingsley, "effort should be directed towards the correction of faulty attitudes ... [rather than] improving bad habits." [204] This attitude is an expression of the feeling that at least some positive change has occurred. Other proponents assume that such changes will result in desirable behavioral changes in the long run, which may or may not include a change to no or less criminal behavior.

Other outcomes which are frequently suggested as evidence of success include job placement and retention, job type, work regularity, educational advances, drug or alcohol rehabilitation, satisfactory probation performance in terms of criteria other than commitment for a new crime, and community acceptance and perceptions. Community acceptance will be influenced by the perceived degree of risk to the community. The degree of project benefits versus the perceived risk to the community then surfaces as an issue. "This is modified on an individual basis by the degree of an individual's acceptance in the community. Community perceptions are also influenced by community awareness of incidents and the number of times the same individual is probated." [225]

Some suggest that being a valuable member of society is more important than a minor degree of recidivism. There are many ways the ex-offender may fail to become a valuable member of society. Perhaps, he avoids further crimes of theft and, instead, lives on welfare. It may be that some small degree of recidivism, if linked with an otherwise productive life, might be preferable to a parasitic existence just within the confines of the law. [202] Such a position could lead to considerable wrong-doing lurking behind approved behavior. For example, it is possible that a probationer's behavior, despite one major relapse into crime, would be so exemplary in other respects that success would be claimed. [46] Ultimately, the choice of results is a question of values.

Opponents argue that the function of ISP projects is a correctional one. Therefore, recidivism is the prime consideration. If the behavior leading to recidivism is not prevented, then success is not achieved. Other outcomes are judged in terms of their impact on recidivism.

Even the opponents are divided as to what should constitute progress towards the goal of preventing recidivism. Should a switch to a less "serious" crime be considered success? At what point in the criminal justice system should a person be considered a recidivist -- at rearrest, at reconviction, or at some other point? Time becomes a crucial factor as well. How much time must pass without evidence of recidivism before a person is considered permanently rehabilitated?

Rational decision making requires knowing what result is desired before one selects a method for accomplishing that result. Therefore, answers to the previous questions and resolution of the issues raised in this section are essential to choosing a project methodology.

Conditions

A large percentage of the issues in adult ISP projects concern determining what conditions influence effectiveness of the project in terms of the individual participant's behavior. Among these are caseload size and characteristics, the degree of offender inclusion in the decision-making process, voluntary versus involuntary participation, length of time of the probation order, and a series of sub-issues that revolve around the relationship of the probation officer to the offender, to the judge, to service agencies, and other individuals and groups which could influence service delivery and "treatment" effectiveness.

Caseload Size. Historically, there has been considerable interest in determining the "correct" caseload size. Frequently, the response to criticism of probation programs has been, and is, that the magnitude of the caseload prevents successful operation. Consequently, a search for the "best" caseload size began.

Initially, 50-unit caseloads became the recommended standard. This concept "dates back to at least the second decade of this century when Charles L. Chute of the National Probation Association observed that 'fifty cases is as many as any probation officer ought to carry.'" [149] Academicians and professional organizations began to concur with this non-empirical statement which reinforced acceptance of 50 units as the "standard caseload". In 1967, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice advocated a new number - 35 - as the appropriate target. "It, too, was without empirical basis and only generally considered other impactors on supervision." [149] Recently, even asking the question of "What caseload size is optimum?" has been challenged. M. G. Neithercutt and D. M. Gottfredson suggest that asking such a question is committing a reductio ad absurdum. [126]

Implicit in the search for an optimum caseload size has been the assumption that a magic number or numerical range could be found that was more effective in reducing recidivism than numbers above or below that point.

From this, it has been hypothesized that reducing caseload size will reduce recidivism. The rationale for this hypothesis is based upon the following set of beliefs:

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

The San Francisco Project is a specific example of findings which refute this hypothesis. Four levels of workloads were established: (1) Ideal (50 cases), (2) Intensive (25), (3) Normal (100), (4) Minimum supervision (with a ceiling of 250 cases) - requiring only the submission of a monthly written report. It was found that those under minimum supervision performed as well as those under normal supervision. The minimum and ideal caseloads had almost identical violation rates. In the intensive caseloads, the violation rates did not decline but technical violations increased. This was, in all likelihood, due to increased surveillance. Another problem which arises with intensive caseloads is effective management of the additional time available to project probation staff. This was found to be the case in the San Francisco project and was a complaint in the Atlanta Impact Program Outreach project.

The San Francisco project indicated that the number of contacts between probationer and staff appeared to have little relationship to success or failure on probation. The conclusion was that the concept of caseload is meaningless without some type of classification and matching of offender type, service to be offered and staff. [226]

The conclusions of the San Francisco project have been questioned. "After addressing itself to peripheral issues, suffering from a lack of methodological sophistication (which was fortunately realized by the end of the project) and acute data collection problems, undergoing major alterations in the research design and experiencing a phenomenal attrition rate, the project provides few bases for significant conclusions." [1] The San Francisco project moved too rapidly from speculation to attempted experimentation, and failed to state well the problems to be solved. [79]

As a general rule caseload research which is well known, has dealt with juveniles or parolees rather than probationers, per se. The Special Community Supervision Project (SCSP), of the Oklahoma Department of Corrections, was close to being an exception. It involved both parolees and probationers, but ninety per cent of the clients were probationers. Official results of this project were not supportive of reduced caseloads resulting in less recidivism. "The reduced caseloads showed no significant increment in success rate compared to the control group." It describes many of the probationers as self-correcting and states they may be supervised in caseloads of 150 or more. [126]

The Workload Determination Project of the Los Angeles Probation Project was instigated, primarily, to determine the most appropriate workload size for a deputy probation officer. Juvenile and adult caseloads were involved. "For adult cases, the WDP caseload settled down at about 90 cases per officer. This was in contrast with the average of 210 cases in the non-WDP caseloads in the same areas." The eleven month follow-up of the adult cases suggested the WDP units were providing more effective supervision and had "appreciable potential for cost reductions in the management of adult cases." [65] Adams did not report recidivism effects for the adult portion of the WDP.

In other studies, there has been evidence that lower caseloads reduce recidivism. For example, of 45 relevant studies listed in 1967 by the National Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information of the National Institute of Health, 40 supported low caseload effectiveness, and 5 did not. [9]

A report by Adams and Vetter on a 1965 low caseload demonstration project under the auspices of the Maryland State Department of Public Welfare showed that there was a statistically significant lower number of recidivists in the low caseload unit research sample than in the high caseload unit research sample. (The findings apply to Caucasian, adolescent, male, first offenders). However, the report also suggests that a more efficient approach, in terms of energy expended, tax dollars spent, and correctional ends achieved, would be the development of criminological diagnostic entities matched with appropriate treatment measures. [9] The point here is that several studies in both the adult and juvenile areas suggest that future research should relate measures to treatment content form and to types of offenders.

The 1961 Community Treatment Project of the California Department of Youth Authority provides insight into the process by which low caseload assignments may contribute to less recidivism. In spite of the fact that it deals with juveniles, it is mentioned because it has been described as follows.

"Although the effects of caseload size and other variables are compounded, this project provides what is probably the best-controlled assessment of lowered caseload size available since 1965. Contrary to other research, this project provides an opportunity to assess caseload size with reasonable assurance of what other variables are operating."

Statistically significant differences favoring the lowered caseload group were found in parole success rates. Lower caseloads appeared to be associated with success through enabling workers to make intensive and/or extensive interventions into several areas of a client's life. [1] This finding would tend to support the rationale behind the original caseload reduction hypothesis.

Adams and Vetter determined that it would be a misleading interpretation of previous research (prior to 1967) to conclude only that low caseloads were superior to high ones. They did point out that a survey of caseload research performed by S. Adams in 1967 found that, although early studies reported unsuccessful findings, later (perhaps more complex) research supported the innovative programs. Through their review of the literature, Adams and Vetter concluded that although low caseloads are superior to high caseloads with some offenders or probation officers or other variables, such as type of additional offense, this does not hold true under all conditions for all such variables, and is probably a far less efficient means of achieving probation success than even the most rudimentary form of caseload flexibility plus classification. [9]

After a detailed review of caseload size research, Stuart Adams found that the data collectively were unable to support a consistent finding that small caseloads were superior to large, at least in terms of overall offender success and failure rates.[149] Some of the specific points which emerged from S. Adams' review have significant implications for an ISP. For example, small caseloads were successful with juveniles but, apparently, were failures with adults. Adams ponders whether this means small caseloads are inherently advantageous for juveniles, but not for adults, or if it means the program design for adults has been too uninformed, management too ineffective, or measurement too imprecise.

Another finding of interest was that all the reduced caseload projects of the Los Angeles County Probation Department (most of which were juvenile projects) showed small caseloads to be effective. One of S. Adams' interpretations of this result is that "probation would be the correctional activity best able to make an effective showing with a procedure such as reduced caseloads." [65]

After studying the dilemma of caseload size; Carter, Glasser, and Nelson conclude,

"There is no such thing as an ideal caseload size and that a continuous search for a magic number is inappropriate and most likely futile. Rather, there may be ideal caseload sizes, depending upon and varying with different combinations of offenders, officers, programs, communities, and the like. The challenge is to find the appropriate mix; the immediate requirement is to build into the probation and parole system sufficient flexibility to permit restructuring from traditional to experimental caseloads." [149]

There are numerous studies on both sides of the caseload question. However, in summary, the question is still open and continues to be an issue of concern. The studies do seem to indicate that the questions should be refined to allow determination of the effects of graduated caseload amounts on the range of offender types and treatments.

Further, the studies seem to support the belief currently held by many practitioners and researchers that no single factor accounts for either the content or outcome of treatment.

The Georgia Department of Offender Rehabilitation, Division of Research and Development, Evaluation and Monitoring Services, has suggested that specialization of caseloads is more significant in effective supervision than caseload size. Effective supervision is equated with reduction in recidivism. Specialization of caseload, as used in Georgia, refers to assigning clients on the basis of need for services versus simple surveillance. The risk factor would also be taken into account. For example, for offenders classified as high need/low risk, the emphasis would be on counseling services while for those classified as low need/high risk the emphasis would be predominantly supervision and surveillance. [227]

The State of Virginia, in its Differential Caseload/Differential Investigation Load Project, Phase I, groups clients as "willing" (cooperative, tractable), "reluctant" (needs direction, help) or "intractable" (negative, resistant). The "willing" client is assigned to minimum supervision, the

"reluctant" client is assigned to medium supervision and the "intractable" client is assigned to intensive supervision. The number of face-to-face contacts required is one of the primary factors that distinguishes between the types of supervision. Minimum supervision requires one face-to-face contact every six weeks, medium requires one face-to-face contact every month, while intensive supervision requires not less than two face-to-face contacts a month with bi-weekly collateral contacts. Clients can move from one category to another based on personal and social adjustment.

In the Philadelphia Intensive Services Unit of the Adult Probation Department, supervision is intensive if the probation officer is the primary treatment agent and the client is being seen four times a month, or the client is receiving on-going primary treatment elsewhere and the probation officer is seeing the client on a moderate basis--usually two times a month.

The Missouri Board of Probation and Parole uses a client analysis scale to determine the degree of responsibility being exhibited by the client. Key areas such as employment, educational or vocational training, legal offenses, special problems, family and social relationships, aggressiveness or assaultive behavior, and client's perception of the way he handles responsibility are scored. From this the probationer is assigned to a supervision status.

Like Georgia, Maryland takes the factor of risk of failure under supervision into account. Maryland's process classifies offenders in one of two levels of supervision: intensive or minimum. Classification is based upon the offenders "potential threat to the public." All new parolees or probationers are given intensive supervision during the first six months. After six months, if behavior is appropriate, the offender may be reclassified to the minimum level. Offender types are initially ranked from high to low risk.

The highest risk rank is assigned the following types of offenders: (1) violent offenders, (2) organized crime offenders, (3) drug abusers, (4) criminalistic offenders, and (5) potentially violent offenders.

Mississippi classifies every offender in the maximum level for 60 days and allows reduction in supervision over time based upon a thorough evaluation of the client's community adjustment.

Oklahoma classifies within three levels of supervision: intensive, medium and mail-in-status. The offender is classified according to (1) age, and (2) conviction pattern. These two criteria produce the following classification:

- Early offender (under 21 and first conviction)
- Late offender (over 21 and first conviction)
- Intermediate offender (more than 4 years between convictions)
- Persistent offender (less than 4 years between convictions).

The Oklahoma system incorporates many of the basic aspects of most systems, using three levels of classification and permitting reductions in supervision based upon the successful adjustment through differential treatment.

California has put the most time and experimentation into their classification attempt. [115] California client-centered Base Expectancy classification is an actual design measuring expectation against outcome. [126] Not only is the classification system well documented by extensive data collection, but it has been highly innovative. The San Francisco project, while demonstrating the need for classification, emphasized the feasibility for mail-in supervision. The project indicated that it is possible for a single agent to handle a caseload of nearly 300 offenders classified as needing only minimal supervision, and, by doing so, free the energies of other agents to concentrate on specialized or more intensive caseloads.

Offenders in the San Francisco project are classified according to: (1) age, (2) current offense, (3) prior record, and (4) the socialization

score on the California Psychological Inventory. These four factors were used as indicators of difficulty in adjustment.

The various attempts to classify have yielded the following conclusions:

1. Even the most effective classification procedures, which identify appropriate levels of supervision do not of themselves reduce revocation or recidivism rates. It is, therefore, very important to identify the types of cases upon which the increased attention could be productively expended.
2. Minimum supervision groups had the lowest total violation rates while the intensive supervision group had the highest rate. The intensive group recorded the greatest number of technical violations. This may have merely reflected the increase in supervisory contacts and surveillance by agents.
3. The experimental random assignment of offenders to various intensities of supervision had had no significant impact upon violation rates. The number of contacts between offenders and agent are seemingly unrelated to success or failure under supervision when the assignment was made on a random basis. This implies that a simple reduction in client to agent ratios does not effect a corresponding reduction in criminal behavior.
4. There is some evidence that supervision may be improved by matching the offender type with specialized agents. The strategy of matching the offender with a particular style of supervision represents an important innovation in supervision technique.
5. Previous classification schemes question the value of "all purpose" counseling and supervision and demonstrate that effective supervision deals with treatment specifics, not generalities. Data suggest that

much of the supervision effort, which is routinely directed to the offenders, is not effective and does not produce any change in the delinquent or criminal behavior of the client, unless such treatment is designed specifically to the need for services.

6. It is evident that the first six to twelve months of supervision are generally the most critical. Violation rates tend to decline with the passage of time. Consequently, those who remain under supervision, after the first year, have an increased chance of successful termination.

Current research in classification is limited and extremely inadequate at the present time. [115] "Few classification systems have demonstrated accuracy, dependability and utility. Some types of classification attempts have been consistently disappointing -- 'clinical judgments, for instance.'" [126] However, that which has been conducted, has provided some evidence of the existence of differential treatment needs within heterogeneous offender populations. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice and Standards recognizes that the state of the art of classification does not as yet provide adequate guidelines for creating a comprehensive system. [115]

The term specialization has also been used to designate matching offenders with certain problems with probation officers with special skills to deal with those problems. The advantages and disadvantages of this procedure have been discussed previously.

Probation Inclusion in the Decision-Making Process. In addition to caseload issues, the extent to which the probationer should be included in the decision-making process is relevant to an ISP project at several levels. This question is raised at the individual case level, the project level, and the organizational context level.

At all of these levels the advocacy position is rooted in the social work philosophy of client-centeredness and, more recently, in various psychological approaches emphasizing assumption of responsibility by the individual for his own behavior, regardless of past influences. The opposition generally argues that organizational concerns require less involvement by the probationer or that external controls and pressures, particularly of authority and legal discipline, are needed to change behavior.

At the case level the question is discussed most often in terms of whether or not the probationer should participate in the development of his file. Some of the reputed advantages of a probationer participating in the process of his file development are:

- 1) Responsibility is shared by the probation officer and the probationer. The probationer is encouraged to assume responsibility for his own behavior. The hope is that gradually he will assume total responsibility for himself and exercise it in a constructive way in the community setting.
- 2) The perspectives of probationer and probation officer are exposed, with the implication that this should facilitate communication.
- 3) The probation officer is forced to examine his own thinking and assumptions in an effort to clarify his descriptions and conclusions.

Some of the disadvantages cited by Joseph Arcaya in Criminal Justice and Behavior include:

- 1) Confidential information with which the probationer may or may not be equipped to deal may be disclosed. For example, the probationer may not interpret results of intelligence tests or psychiatric examinations properly.

- 2) Mutual participation in file development may break down the traditional hierarchial roles between probationer and probation officer. This, of course, would not be desirable to those who believe legal discipline and external authority pressures are necessary to control the probationer's behavior. [53]

The question of participation by the offender in his treatment plan also arises at the case level. James E. Bartelt, Director of Mercer County Probation Department in the State of Illinois, in his February 17, 1976, response to inquiries regarding issues in ISP's attributes non-inclusion of the offender in treatment planning as one reason for failure of previous programs and methods. He points out that, "a plan is only as viable as the one who follows through." [221] Obviously, in these situations, the probationer is the one who must follow through. Inclusion of the offender in the need/goal setting process is consistent with commonly espoused general principles of probation work, and has the potential for encouraging follow through.

At the project level, support for identification of service needs by the probationers -- not probation staff -- is listed as a primary issue in ISP by John A. Wallace, Program Development, National Institute of Corrections. Mr. Wallace, substantiates his position with research by Elliot Studt and Vincent O'Leary noting the vast discrepancies between problems and objectives identified by probation staff versus those identified by the probationers, who were the service recipients. [223]

Whether participation in an ISP project is voluntary or involuntary is also a source of controversy. Some social workers view the legal restrictions and absence of the voluntary factor as making effective probation service unlikely. The basis for this view is that client readiness is an essential pre-requisite for change. The probation officer, on the other hand, can't wait for the

client's readiness to accept help with his problem. Since the probation officer's supervision is activity oriented there is more urgency than in the realm of the social worker.

In its 1967 - 1969 work, Probation Management Institute emphasizes the concept of having the probationer participate in the decision-making process at the organizational level. They proposed that probation organizations turn over control of the bureaucracies to the people affected by the decisions being made. Goal setting was to be in the hands of the clients, thus enabling them to plan their own destinies. Probation professionals then assume the role of implementers instead of directors. [141]

In summary, several decisions are raised for an ISP by the issue of including the offender in the decision-making process:

- 1) Should the probationer participate in the decision-making process or not?
- 2) Should a uniform procedure of participation or non-participation be established or should the extent of participation be left to the individual probation officer and/or probationer?
- 3) If it is determined that the probationer should participate, then the questions of a) at what level, b) to what extent and c) the best way to achieve such participation must also be decided.

Probationer/Probation Officer Relationship. In an intensive special probation project, as in probation in general, the relationship of the probationer to his or her probation officer is crucial. The probation officer, to a large extent, is in a position of power and control over what is done with the probationer. Carter, in a study of federal probation officers, reports that Federal Courts concur with probation officers' recommendations in 95 out of 100 cases. In 1967, California's Superior Courts followed probation officers' recommendations in 97% of their cases. [141]

The fact that courts tend to follow the officer's recommendations intensifies the issue of discretion of the probation officer to initiate revocation.

Donald J. Newman, Professor of Criminal Justice, State University of New York at Albany, addresses this issue so well in his response to the investigation inquiry, we quote;

"In my opinion, one of the key issues is the discretion of the probation officer to initiate revocation. Whatever specific procedures are later used to effect or deny probation are, of course, important but these are issues that have been addressed by the Supreme Court in Gagnon v. Scarpelli with references to Morrissey v. Brewer. What has remained largely unaddressed by courts, legislatures and for that matter by researchers is the initial exercise of discretion by the field agent. Presumably probation officers can and do discover violations and on their own initiative decide not to initiate revocation; in some cases this initial decision may be reviewed by a supervisor who may convince the P. O. to change his stance or may overrule him. However, the nature, range and frequency of nonrevocation discretion when violations are discovered (whether these violations are technical or new offenses) remains undescribed and unanalyzed.

Apart from simply a description of field agent discretion, a very tough, controversial and unresolved issue is whether the field agent may initiate revocation (and have the initiation supported by the court) based on his own 'expertise' in judging that the probationer is likely to violate in the immediate future even though the probationer has not violated a specific rule or condition of probation nor committed a new offense. Let me give you an example: suppose in the case of a sex deviant (child molester), under intensive supervision, it came to his probation officer's attention that the probationer was loitering near school yards, playgrounds or parks where children congregated. If, in the opinion of the probation officer, this behavior was an aura of possible future violation, could he initiate and successfully achieve revocation, assuming once more that there was no specific rule covering this loitering and the behavior did not constitute a crime?

Now there may be a question about the appropriateness and sufficiency of evidence that the probationer was in fact hanging around schoolyards. This of course is a separate issue, but there are some dimensions here that are largely unresolved also. There is, for example, the question of whether the probation officer must personally observe the loitering of the probationer, whether he can take the word of police officers, school authorities (or others) or whether such information can come third-hand in hearsay fashion. These are each important, but the most significant issue is the underlying one of whether probation officers can, should, and do initiate 'hunch' revocations basing these hunches on expertise resting on education, training and

experience. If the answer to this is no -- if the only way a probationer can really be subject to revocation is by flagrant violation of a specific rule of condition or police apprehensions for a new crime -- then the expertise basis of supervision is weakened. The fact is that in many jurisdictions because of large caseloads or otherwise, probation staff rarely initiate revocation unless an arrest has been made or the offender has absconded. This really makes the revocation decision a function of police activities and not of probation staff. And I think it weakens the credibility of probation supervision. It is my opinion that until probation officers become willing and able to revoke upon the basis of professional assessment of likelihood of violation before it occurs, then probation will have a hard time claiming recognition as a profession." [216]

Another way in which the probation officer controls the probationer is discussed by David H. Gronewold. Use of community resources is determined by the probation officer. It is his perception of the offender's need, knowledge of community resources, including waiting lists, the effectiveness of that resource in dealing with needs of the type his probationer is perceived to have, his knowledge of the probationer's financial status, and his willingness to refer clients to that particular agency. The probationer has control only in expressing his willingness or non-willingness to use that particular resource. [46, 225]

In view of the degree to which the relationship between the probation officer and the probationer can influence outcome, factors bearing on the relationship assume even more importance. "One direction in current research and theory in criminology is the notion that organizational outcomes such as recidivism rates in probation or parole, are not entirely an attribute of the client, but represent, in part, the judgments of the worker who is influenced by the organizational context in which he operates." [141]

Eighty percent of probation professionals who responded to a questionnaire by Probation Management Institute stated the probationer or community receives primary considerations in case judgments. However, it was apparent that different value orientations were attached to these terms. This same study revealed case judgments are influenced by:

- 1) age
- 2) hierarchial position
- 3) type probation agency
- 4) size of probation agency
- 5) region of the country
- 6) level of education
- 7) degree of metropolitanism.

Specifically, some of the findings were that education tends to increase leniency and those who carry caseloads are more severe than those who do not. In summary, decisions by probation professionals about probationers reflect personal belief systems, community values, and organizational boundaries. [141]

Since education has been identified as influencing case decisions, the educational background of persons working in probation becomes a concern. As in other spheres of the probation field, there is no one answer upon which there is agreement.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, in 1967, recommended the Master's of Social Work degree as the preferred educational qualification. Six years later, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals recommended an undergraduate degree for entry-level work in probation. This recommendation was in response to a shortage of MSW's, compared to the demand, and evidence that persons with bachelor's degrees were doing probation officers' jobs effectively. [27]

Walter Reckless, sociologist, holds that curricula for probation officers should not be in casework but, rather, in probation and parole. A contrary view is held by David Dressler, who perceives probation work, essentially, as social work. [45] Some feel the skills of the professional social worker are more appropriate to probation tasks than those of other professionals such as psychologists or sociologists. Others feel social workers do not know

enough about the law and are too client-centered, without giving sufficient consideration to the visibility of court decisions and the necessity for authority inherent in a correctional situation. [47] The dilemma is summarized by Professor Norman Glass, of the University of Southern California School of Social Work. Until the nature of probation is defined as social work or not, or social work and "something else," or some other combination of identifiable, educational content, no sound educational planning can take place. [45]

A study of factors affecting North Carolina's probation officers' decisions about probation violations was made in 1965. It revealed rural officers favored official action and were more "officer-oriented" than urbans who favored unofficial action and were more "probationer-oriented". Unofficial action, the officer handling the violation himself rather than going through official agencies or channels, was also preferred by probation officers who adopted big brother/big sister roles. Social science majors, liberals, those with no preference and preferences for supervising probationers of different ages and crime types were more likely to be in favor of non-revoking types of actions than officers with other characteristics. [46]

A factor affecting the probation officer/probationer relationship which is receiving increasing attention is difference in race. "There is an increasing cry from black professionals in psychology and social work that only blacks can work in a helping way with other blacks." [71] In the field of probation, however, William Breer, Probation Officer, San Bernadino County, California, contends this proposition breaks down on both theoretical and practical grounds. On the theoretical side, he holds that probation is involved in social control as well as many aspects of social work and that the social control function means coercing subcultural groups into at least nominal acceptance of the laws of dominant white society. On the practical

side, there are relatively few black probation officers in relationship to the size of the black caseload. According to Breer, even if the probation field were committed to assigning black officers to black probationers there would be insufficient manpower to do so. He attributes this situation to the lack of appeal probation work seems to have to black college youth and feels the situation is not likely to improve in the near future. He, therefore, concludes that the answer is to find ways in which the white probation officer can work more effectively with the black probationer. [71] Ms. M. Kay Harris, Press Officer and Researcher, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Southeastern Region, suggests that another alternative is to improve the appeal of probation work to blacks by making it more competitive with other job possibilities. [228]

Those who support only blacks working in a helping way with blacks contend that such an arrangement is necessary because of subcultural differences. It is claimed that when the officer and client are of different races, communication, trust, acceptance, and identification are frustrated. The other side of this position is that while racial differences may hinder or retard development of these qualities, positive exposure to persons of another race is the beginning of destroying misconceptions and stereotypes. The key, then, is in assuring that the exposure is positive.

Just as racial issues that affect society as a whole have filtered down to the probation field, so have sexual issues. Traditionally, cross-sex supervision, particularly of females supervising males, has been avoided in probation. Until 1965, female officers in Washington were assigned only to work with female offenders, although there were no written or verbal policies restricting women to supervision of women offenders. As of October, 1970, 10 states -- Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, New Hampshire, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Virginia -- had no women employed in adult probation or parole agencies who were supervising male offenders. The same

1970 study reported forty-two state probation and parole agencies, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands did employ female officers. Twenty-two of these state agencies indicated they restrict their female officers to the supervision of female offenders. Female offenders were occasionally supervised by male officers in these same twenty-two agencies. New Jersey and Pennsylvania statutes prohibited supervision of offenders by persons of the opposite sex.

In the federal system only nine of the eighty-nine district courts reported having women on their probation staff. Four of the nine made cross-sex assignments of females on a selective basis. Summarizing, of the fifty-three state and federal probation and parole agencies, who did employ women, twenty-eight allowed them to supervise male offenders while twenty-five did not. [54]

Cross-sex supervision did not develop in England, either, until recently. The 1967 Criminal Justice Act made it legally possible for male probation officers to supervise female probationers. Although there were no legal barriers, presumably because no one envisaged the possibility of women officers supervising men; traditionally, this did not occur until the 1960's. [74]

Cross-sex supervision assignments, particularly of female officers to male offenders, usually have reflected the administrative needs of the agency. Shortage of personnel and high caseloads have led some administrators to assign women officers to supervise male offenders. Others have made such assignments because they are convinced women can do the job as effectively as men. [54]

In England, also, administrative need led to appointing women to carry male caseloads. The practice began in London where male officers were in shorter supply than women officers. Existence of cross-sex supervision seems to be related more to problems of recruitment and personnel shortage than to a thought-out policy of matching the offender's needs with the skill and sex

of the officer. However, a practice which originated in administrative need may offer greater flexibility in meeting client needs. [74]

Resistance to assigning females to supervise male offenders has been based upon objectives such as:

- 1) women can't cope with the more aggressive male offender
- 2) women would be in physical danger when making field investigations and home visits
- 3) uneasiness about female officers attempting to arrest or transport male offenders
- 4) women would be less objective in case decisions where men were concerned [54]
- 5) fear of sexual involvement, blackmail or at a minimum, arousal of sexual feelings between officer and client. [74]

When supervision of male offenders by female officers has occurred, frequently, assignment has been selective. The selectivity is often predicated upon stereotypes of women and their roles. For example, women working with male juveniles and family problems tend to be accepted more readily than other female supervisor-male offender arrangements. [54] It is quite likely that this acceptance is connected to a mother image of women. Wisconsin has adopted a policy of using women agents to deal with family problems involving support, neglect, alcoholism, or marital conflicts. They have also been used to work with male juveniles and youthful offenders. [54] Traditionally, in England, women officers were allowed to supervise males only up to some ill-defined point in their teens, after which they were thought to require a "male influence". [74]

All of this persists in spite of lack of scientific evidence concerning the objections or the need for selectivity. In fact, the experience of agencies which have engaged in cross-sex supervision supports the view that an experienced,

competent officer, male or female, can work effectively with offenders of either sex. Skill and personal qualities appear to be more important than the officer's sex. [54] Phyllida Parsloe, Professor at Indiana University, states that the issue is whether an individual client is more likely to succeed with a worker of the same or of a different sex or whether other things such as age or skill in the worker are of greater importance than the sex of the worker. [74]

The charge, that women can't cope with the more aggressive male offender, is disputed by a 1966 West German study by G. Wunder which showed that aggressive male offenders tend to lose their aggressiveness when dealing with a female probation officer. In an October 1970 survey by Washington State Office of Probation and Parole, there were no reports of female officers being threatened physically; even from those agencies where no distinctions were made in case or field work assignments. "Precautions were taken by most agencies, but the information suggests that female officers are in no more danger of being physically assaulted by their clients or others than their male colleagues are." [54]

Two of thirteen agencies, that routinely assign female officers to male offenders, reported in the Washington survey that women officers occasionally had problems making arrests, transporting violators, and gaining admittance to jails, but these were considered to be of minor consequence. In general, the administrators of these thirteen agencies asserted that women can supervise male offenders as well as men.

There would appear to be no more reason to assume women would be less objective in case decisions, where men were concerned, than to assume that men would be less objective in case decisions involving women clients. Probably the accusation is based on the stereotype of women as more emotional than men; and, thus, less objectively implied.

Fears expressed about sexual difficulties are by no means entirely fantasies, although officers said such situations occurred less frequently than they had feared. It should be pointed out that "similar situations presumably arise between male officers and their female clients, but because of cultural attitudes towards sexual relationships they get discussed rather differently." It would appear that feelings officers attribute to clients, which may be accurate, are, frequently, also a reflection of the officers' feelings. [74] As one woman officer in the Connecticut Department of Adult Probation expressed it, "The only problem I encountered initially in dealing with male clients was my own apprehension." [54]

In addition to sex, age, education, training, and organizational influences, it is claimed that personal attitudes as well as the personalities of the probationer and probation officer interact in ways which influence outcome. Further, the views each has of the other could affect whether or not change occurs. Actions on the part of the probation officer which are described as essential elements of a "helping relationship" may not be so viewed by the offender. [149] The difficulty is that all of these possibilities exist, but the degree to which they do affect success has not been substantiated.

The situation is complicated further by the variety of interactions which can take place between the officer and probationer, and between the officer and other individuals and groups who can impact upon service delivery and treatment effectiveness. The relationship of the officer to the judge is important. For example, the officer's subservient role to the judiciary and need to meet deadlines often dictate that the courts needs are served rather than the needs of the individual offender. [60]

Disparity of Sentencing. There are several issues that are less directly connected to the central question of what method(s) should be used for whom under what conditions to produce what results. One of these concerns the effects of

disparity in sentencing on the success of probationers. It is widely believed that the disparity which exists from judge to judge and from jurisdiction to jurisdiction has a negative impact on the "success" of probationers. "An offender who believes he has been sentenced unfairly in relation to other offenders will not be receptive to reformatory efforts on his behalf." [27] Efforts to correct disparity are outside the pursuit of ISP projects and therefore, will not be discussed. It is, however, of concern to ISP projects to the extent that it affects ISP probationers' receptivity to reform.

Placement Issues. A set of issues concerning organizational placement is of concern to ISP projects to the extent that such placement affects project management, delivery of service, or outcomes. These issues include:

- Placement of the probation system in the judicial versus the executive branch of government
- Placement of probation administration at the state or local level
- Geographical location of services
- Placement of an ISP project within a specific organizational structure.

Judicial versus Executive Branch. In the debate over the appropriate governmental branch for the probation system, those who favor the judicial branch give the following rationale.

1. A shared knowledge of function and communication about program content that is not found elsewhere in the correctional apparatus frequently exists when probation is administered immediately by a judge, [46]
2. Probation would be more responsive to court direction. Throughout the probation process, the court could provide guidance to probation workers and take corrective action when policies were not followed or proved ineffective.

3. This arrangement would provide the judiciary with an automatic feedback mechanism on effectiveness of dispositions through reports filed by probation staff. Judges, it is urged, may place more trust in reports from their own staff than in those from an outside agency.
4. Courts have a greater awareness of needed resources and may become advocates for their staffs in obtaining better services.
5. Increased use of pretrial diversion may be furthered by placing probation in the judicial branch. Courts have not been inclined to transfer authority and therefore may set more stringent limitations on the discretion of nonjudicial personnel to release or divert than on judicial staff.

Those who oppose placement of probation within the judiciary argue that:

1. Under this arrangement judges frequently become the administrators of probation in their jurisdictions--a role for which they usually are ill-equipped. The current trend toward use of court administrators reflects the belief that judges cannot be expected to have the time, orientation, or training to perform two such distinct roles.
2. When probation is within the judicial system, the staff is likely to give priority to services for the courts rather than to services to probationers.
3. Probation staff may be assigned functions that serve legal processes of the court and are unrelated to probation, such as issuing summonses, serving subpoenas, and running errands for judges.
4. Courts, particularly the criminal courts, are adjudicatory and regulatory rather than service-oriented bodies. Therefore, as long as probation remains part of the court setting, it will be subservient to the court and will not develop an identity of its own.

Another class of arguments supports placement of probation in the executive branch of government, rather than merely opposing placement in the judicial branch.

1. All other subsystems for carrying out court dispositions of offenders are in the executive branch. Closer coordination and functional integration with other corrections personnel could be achieved by a common organizational placement, particularly as community-based corrections programs increase. Furthermore, job mobility would be enhanced if related functions are administratively tied.
2. The executive branch contains the allied human service agencies including social and rehabilitation services, medical services, employment services, education, and housing. Where probation also is in the executive branch, opportunities are increased for coordination, cooperative endeavors, and comprehensive planning.
3. Decisions involving resource allocations and establishment of priorities are made by the executive branch. It initiates requests to the legislative bodies, either local or State, for appropriation of funds, and by so doing sets priorities for allocating limited tax dollars. When probation is included in the total corrections system, more rational decisions about the best distribution of resources can be made.
4. Probation administrators are in position to negotiate and present their case more strongly, if they are in the executive branch. When probation is part of the court system the judge, not the probation administrator, is responsible for presenting the budget request and acting as negotiator. The latter is not a role traditionally undertaken by the judiciary.

State versus Local Administration. Those in favor of local administration advance the following reasons:

1. Local programs develop better support from local citizenry and agencies.
2. Employees of local jurisdictions usually have greater identification and ties with their communities, hence, greater access to local resources.
3. Local operations are smaller than state operations and thus, more flexible and less bound by bureaucratic rigidity.
4. Larger state organizations are more of an administrative burden as well as posing a greater risk if their power is misused.

Those in favor of state administration present the following arguments:

1. There is a greater probability that the same level of services will be provided to all areas and clients if probation is state administered.
2. There is a greater likelihood that policies will be uniform. [However, according to the Corrections Task Force of National Advisory Commission on Standards and Goals, attempts by states to bring about some degree of uniformity have been limited. The degree to which local probation systems have complied with state standards has depended upon the state providing rewards or sanctions in the form of revenue or manpower].
3. State administration increases the possibility of combining probation and parole services or at least coordinating so that continuity of service is provided. Combined services also offers economy in the distribution of services since one officer can service parole and probation cases in sparsely populated areas.
4. County agencies are often small and lack resources for staff training and development, research and program planning, and more basically, services to probationers. A state administered system by virtue of being larger would have more flexible use of manpower, funds, and other resources.

5. Under state administration less variation is apt to exist in terms of leadership, number of staff employed in counties of similar size, qualifications of personnel employed and relative emphasis on services to courts and probationers.
6. A state administered system can organize more easily around the needs of a particular locality or region without having to consider local political impediments.
7. Historically, state agencies have developed innovative programs, demonstration projects, and correctional research. Extensive research and demonstration have been almost non-existent at the local level.

Geographical Location of Services. Intensive Special Probation projects, as well as reducing caseload, may involve decentralization of services to the neighborhood level. This, generally, connotes locating satellite offices in the community. Those who favor decentralization feel that probation services should be based in that part of the community where offenders reside and near other community services in order to be readily accessible to probationers. This has the advantage of minimizing agent travel time, thus, providing maximum time for client supervision. [88] They also contend that staff serving probationers should be removed from courthouses and separated from staff providing services to the courts. [27, 79] It is felt that this creates a more personal, client-oriented service delivery system. [88] Opposition might stem from the possibility that coordination and control problems might increase under a decentralized system.

The unique characteristics of rural areas may necessitate a different organization than that of urban areas. Some maintain that due to travel time, a geographical organization of caseload is the only practical alternative for rural areas, while specialization may be preferred in urban areas. [98] Some feel services to probationers in rural areas should be organized on a regional

basis, utilizing mobile units in outlying districts. Others prefer the traditional county basis. [27]

Decentralization is a feature in both the Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole's "Establishment of a District Office and Outreach Centers in the Philadelphia Area" and the Cleveland Impact Cities "Community Based Probation Project". [88, 94] Both projects claim success. The Pennsylvania project's interim conclusion was that a localized service delivery system enhanced the effectiveness of client rehabilitation, and, consequently, lowered recidivism. [88] As a result of the success of the Cleveland project, all three participating agencies sought local funding to continue operations after the termination of Impact funds. [94]

Placement Within a Specific Organizational Structure. The level of placement in an organizational hierarchy is usually reflective of the degree of authority and responsibility accorded. Since the degree of authority possessed can certainly affect the ability to "get things done" and thus, performance, the level of placement of an ISP project within an organizational hierarchy becomes an issue of practical concern.

Placement can also affect communications. As Alex Almasy, (Corrections Program Chief, Law and Order Section, North Carolina Department of Natural and Economic Resources), points out, "The line of communications to implementing personnel may be so complex to the point that misinformation is received." [215]

Placement is also of concern when project goals or implementation procedures clash with unstated organizational goals. Potentially, a situation similar to the one that developed in the Newgate projects could develop in ISP projects.* "The end result of the success of the Newgate projects was to cause these programs to run headlong into insurmountable barriers inherent in correctional system operations;" [205] The system's unstated goals were to (1) ease employee's

* OEQ funded between 1967-69 at Oregon State Prison, New Mexico State Prison, Minnesota State Reformatory, Pennsylvania State Prison, and the Federal Youth Center at Ashland, Kentucky. Involved college courses, individual and group counseling and therapy, after-care support in college upon release.

work routines, (2) reduce outside criticism (3) maintain moral superiority over prisoners (4) maximize the autonomy of the bureaucracy. Rehabilitation in this environment meant conformity stated as helping the individual to "adjust".

Rehabilitation in the Newgate projects meant improving the quality of the offender's life and society by reshaping him into an effective, self-sufficient, self-actualized, socially aware and involved individual. As these qualities were achieved the offenders became more prone to question, to be assertive, etc., which, in turn, produced conflict with the correctional organization's unstated goals. All of the Newgate projects went through a period of open conflict and accommodation.

As the system's goals began to dominate, satisfaction of the participants with the ability of the program to meet their needs was reduced. This was true for participants who entered in the accommodation phase and was not a function of exposure to previous perceptions. [205]

The Volunteers in Probation Project of the Delaware Council on Crime and Justice, Inc. is another example of difficulties of comparable nature. As reported in their October 1975 evaluation report, "From their perspective, the project has not met the Department's needs and problems, yet they were unwilling to take the necessary steps to see that internal problems were resolved and external benefits were accrued." [162]

A similar development can occur when organizational procedures are violated, such as the chain-of-command. If the project is placed high enough in the hierarchy the perceived need for circumventing the chain-of-command is minimized. It was felt lower placement led to such a situation with the Atlanta Impact Program Outreach project, and, thus, became an implementation barrier.

The experience of the North Carolina Adult Intensive Special Probation Project was analogous in several respects.

"In the planning stage and on the drawing board and in the selection of team cities, there was no observable problems; however, when top administrators first learned that each team would be an autonomous body we had immediate problems. It was difficult to overcome the rigidity of the bureaucratic structure as found at that time in the North Carolina Probation Commission.

Another component of the teaming process which later ran into organization troubles was the establishment of satellite offices in ghetto areas, black communities and rural communities away from the governmental complexes where probation offices were located. They were open at night, on weekends and at all times when it might be most convenient for the client to visit. Staff people manning the satellite offices were allowed to wear clothes which were informal and by working at night and at other odd times they were not required to be in the regular team offices during the rigid 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. schedule. This was never fully accepted by staff people who were non-team members." [220]

Being by their nature different from the normal treatment, Intensive Special Probation projects increase the potential for conflict with the organization. Almsy alludes to this problem when he mentions that, "agencies may adopt rigid policies; so that despite verbalizations of innovation or progress, traditional working environments persist." [215]

Another practical placement issue is cited by Dr. Thomas C. Neil, Department of Corrections, Illinois State University. In his opinion, if organizational placement of an ISP results in the project merely being an appendage to an existing program, several negatives follow. Such placement generates lack of support by all staff, the special emphasis isolates ISP staff which makes sustaining the program difficult and integration of the program into total probation services even harder. There is a tendency to treat such a project as a fad which must only be contended with for a short time. [218]

Considering the frequency with which the experts whose opinions were solicited mentioned, in some form, the issue of placement within a specific organization and its potential for directly affecting ISP project operations; this issue is certainly of prime concern in ISP projects,

Costs. Cost is a significant issue in ISP's from the standpoint of its ability to influence design, operations, and continuity of the project. In proper planning, the design of the project should be determined and then the cost computed. In reality, the process often works in reverse.

Cost, combined with economic realities of the moment, also affects the degree to which a project is implemented and continued. ISP's have a more difficult time than many other projects in that, by their nature of reducing caseload, the costs of providing services increase. Delmar Huebner (Director, Bureau of Probation and Parole, State of Wisconsin), considers the budget implications of an ISP project to be a primary issue and potential problem area. [217]

ISP's can allude to justification on the basis of the commonly cited 10 to 1 ratio of probation costs versus incarceration, but at best this is a weak position as it is not a comparison of ISP costs with anything. A review of cost literature through 1973, and an in-depth cost comparison for the State of Texas, on probation in general, and in relationship to incarceration, was prepared by the Institute of Contemporary Corrections and the Behavioral Sciences. [194] Review of evaluation past findings in the topic area lends little insight into cost considerations. One of the few estimates of cost "savings" comes from the California Subsidy Program, which might be considered special but not intensive. That estimate was a net saving of \$126 million. [10]

As an alternative, ISP projects could attempt to argue cost away as an important factor. The plea could be the old "You can't attach a dollar cost to human 'savings'."

Several of the experts whose opinions were solicited listed the lack of substantive data with which to support positions with funding bodies as an issue for ISP's. Giles Garmon, Chief Adult Probation Officer, Travis County, Texas, was one of these. [222] If reliable data documenting effectiveness with confidence

was available, funding justification would be a possibility, even if the cost were judged high. At present, however, ISP's are not in that enviable position.

Source of funding can also be a problem when the source has been federal and is switching to local. Philadelphia, for example, has questioned its ability to afford to continue many federally funded projects. [140]

Potential time lapses in funding processes create difficulties for ISP projects in that such lapses, or uncertainty about whether they will occur or not, typically result in staff turnover, morale problems and can result in the project not being sustained.

CHAPTER IV

MEASUREMENT AND EVALUATION ISSUES

In Chapter III the problems and controversies which affect the design and operation of intensive special probation programs were presented and discussed. Attention centered on the theoretical justification for various types of probation programs, and on past findings which tend to support or refute those justifications.

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

This section discusses what measures have been proposed and which have actually been implemented in dealing with these methodological questions. Frequent references will be made to the summary of evaluations shown in Exhibit IV-1. The material in Exhibit IV-1 is greatly abbreviated to enable as much information transfer as is possible in a compact manner. The first portion of the Exhibit refers to identifying information. The project description discusses the modus operandi in a very few short statements. The evaluation design indicates the baseline for comparison and the methods used in the evaluation. The process

and outcome measures are then presented. The outcome measures include any analysis of cost that may have been conducted. Lastly, the findings are presented.

The Exhibit was compiled by reviewing evaluation reports from recent projects involving intensive or special probation of adult offenders. The reports selected were those which had been obtained by Georgia Tech through the literature search outlined in Chapter I. Thus, they do not represent any sort of scientific example, but it is believed that they do span the range of probation evaluation and measurement practice in the United States. It is also important to note that the entries in Exhibit IV-1 were derived by the investigators solely on the basis of information provided in the evaluation reports. Since many of the reports are unpolished, working documents, not intended for broad circulation, there are almost certainly cases where project methods were misinterpreted. Similarly, any erroneous or self-serving remarks in the evaluations would probably not have been detected because no attempt was made to verify the reliability of the data or analyses presented in the reports. Such independent verification is an important objective of the upcoming telephone and site survey tasks in later tasks of Phase I.

Process Measures

One important class of measures of probation projects includes those which document the process or activities of the project. Such process measures do not measure the impact of the project on the probationers, surrounding community, or the society as a whole, but they do provide valuable information concerning what takes place in the course of the project. First, process measures serve as the basis of day to day project management. For example, the numbers of different sorts of activities provide managers with information about appropriate staff assignments. In addition, process measures play an important role in longer terms review and evaluation of projects. Before it can be claimed that a project

EXHIBIT IV - 1
SUMMARY OF EVALUATIONS

PROJECT TITLE: Volunteers in Probation	LOCATION: Delaware	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Delaware Council on Crime and Justice, Inc.
NUMBER OF STAFF: 163 volunteers	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: Unknown	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 8-74 through 7-75
SPONSOR: LEAA	EVALUATOR: Division of Adult Corrections	CODE: DL-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Provide a one-to-one volunteer counseling relationship designed to assist the state probation staff.	EVALUATION DESIGN: No comparisons drawn. Selection: Low risk cases predominantly	
PROCESS MEASURES: Number of volunteers compared to number of clients available.	OUTCOME MEASURES: Interview data from judges, volunteers, DCCJ, and Department of Pardons and Parole concerning project merits.	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Evaluation unable to determine the project's effectiveness in reducing crime or improving the criminal justice system, adaptability to other jurisdictions, indications of achievement, and ability to demonstrate cost-effectiveness. Difficulties in coordination between DCCJ and the Department of Probation and Parole and the Municipal Court.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE: Intensive Supervision Project	LOCATION: Florida	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Florida Parole and Probation Commission
NUMBER OF STAFF: 75-100	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 9030 total cases within year	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 11-71 through 11-72
SPONSOR: LEAA	EVALUATOR: Project Staff, assistance from Florida State Univ.	CODE: FL-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Measure whether success of high risk parolee and probationers is improved by reducing caseloads.	EVALUATION DESIGN: Results for regular group compared to those for a control group with higher caseloads (70 work units vs. 50 work units). Criminal history and demographic characteristics of two groups were extensively compared to assess comparability of groups. Analysis restricted to 1500 cases with 10 months in program and high risk characteristics.	
PROCESS MEASURES: Average cases per supervisor. Number of contacts with client, family, and employer (by worker or by para-professionals). Time supervisors spent with clients, family, and employer.	OUTCOME MEASURES: Subjective measure of overall adjustment done by supervisor. Fractions of cases not revoked and not absconding. Cost: not analyzed.	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Experimental and control groups were statistically significantly different on 14 of 23 measured characteristics. Poorer project group scores on adjustment measure may have been an unintended consequence of closer supervision. Number and time of contacts inadequate to document character. Some problem in assuming clients would truly not have otherwise been on probation		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE:	LOCATION:	ADMINISTERING AGENCY:
NUMBER OF STAFF:	NUMBER OF CLIENTS:	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT:
SPONSOR:	EVALUATOR:	CODE: FL-1, Cont'd.
PROJECT DESCRIPTION:	EVALUATION DESIGN: Selection: Random selection in geographic areas of parolees and probationers who would ordinarily be considered too risky to release.	
PROCESS MEASURES:	OUTCOME MEASURES:	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: or parole. Evaluation generally inconclusive.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE: Probation and Parole Reorganization	LOCATION: Kentucky	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Kentucky Department of Corrections
NUMBER OF STAFF: 80	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: Unknown	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: Fiscal year 1974 (second year of two)
SPONSOR: LEAA	EVALUATOR:	CODE: KY-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Reduce recidivism by better informed corrective officers; by reduced caseload; by better use of community resources; by systematized reporting system by supervisors; by upgrading staff qualifications (and salaries).	EVALUATION DESIGN: Previous year's recidivism rates. No controls. Selection: Regular state probation and parole operations.	
PROCESS MEASURES: Participation in staff training programs (hrs./person); college attendance by officers (5); 50-point workload with points assigned for Max, Med, Min supervision levels and pre-sentence reports: measured actual point load of officers; starting salaries average education levels.	OUTCOME MEASURES: Recidivism - failure rate based on fiscal year 1973 data only (first year of project)--not explicitly defined. Cost: Total grant amount.	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Believe drop in recidivism attributed to upgrading staff. Reported that a comparative study in relation to National Advisory Commission standards recommended for probation and parole has been done. With advent of a Kentucky Criminal Justice Information System, statistics regarding inactive cases may include information heretofore unavailable, therefore they emphasize active caseload recidivism rates only.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE: Intensive Supervision High Impact Narcotics Offenders	LOCATION: Baltimore, Maryland	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Baltimore, Maryland Division of Parole and Probation
NUMBER OF STAFF: 7	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: Experimental group averaged about 200 clients	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 10-73 through 7-75
SPONSOR: LEAA	EVALUATOR:	CODE: MD-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: To reduce number of convictions for Impact crimes committed while under supervision. To reduce use of illegal drugs. To reduce convictions for other crimes committed while under supervision. To assist in development of stable em- ployment and/or education habits. Maximum caseload of 35 and specializa- tion. Only narcotics unit officers handled these cases.		EVALUATION DESIGN: Probationers who meet project criteria are randomly assigned to either the experimental group (narcotics unit staff--80%) or control group (20%). Also, draw comparisons between 1974 and 1975 efforts. Monthly evaluation comparisons made. Selection: Impact crime committed, drug user-- target population is males in their early 20's.
PROCESS MEASURES: Demographic, personal history data. Number of urinalysis tests. Number with documented performance in a treatment program. Number employed. Number of monthly contacts per case (experimentals and controls).		OUTCOME MEASURES: Number arrested monthly/monthly popula- tion (experimentals and controls) Number and seriousness of offenses (experimentals and controls). Number of cases terminated for various reasons. % of positive urinalysis results. % of employed full and part time; (ex- perimental and control groups). Cost: total project cost/average case- load.
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Project in City Probation Department at its onset; the Department became part of the Maryland Division of Parole and Probation 7-73. Due to change in testing arrangements, second year urinalysis were more sensitive. Caseload of general officers (and these control cases) increased almost 200 per agent. Much tighter scrutiny over arrests in experimental group.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE:	LOCATION:	ADMINISTERING AGENCY:
NUMBER OF STAFF:	NUMBER OF CLIENTS:	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT:
SPONSOR:	EVALUATOR:	CODE: MD-1, Cont'd.
PROJECT DESCRIPTION:		EVALUATION DESIGN:
PROCESS MEASURES:		OUTCOME MEASURES:
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Relatively small sample sizes, possibly of sampling errors, and the differences in supervision techniques should be considered in interpretations of data. Too few instances of termination to interpret yet.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE: Intensive Differentiated Supervision of Impact Parolees and Probationers	LOCATION: Baltimore, Maryland	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services
NUMBER OF STAFF: 25	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 700 total in 2 years	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 9-73 through 9-75
SPONSOR: LEAA	EVALUATOR:	CODE: MD-2
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Reduce stranger-to-stranger crimes of homicide, robbery, rape, aggravated assault, and burglary committed by youths (ages 18-26) by intensive supervisory services to youthful offenders with specific problems of addiction (drug or alcohol) and unemployment through limited caseload (target level of 20 per officer) and "buddy" system for agents and a team approach. Develop a profile of specific Impact offenders and corresponding treatment plan.	EVALUATION DESIGN: Comparative re-arrest analysis with control group assigned to regular supervision caseloads. Selection: Youthful (18-26 years) Impact Crime Offenders - parole and probation - Baltimore.	
PROCESS MEASURES: Number of offenders supervised/agent. Monthly employment rate. Record known drug abusers. Demographic data being collected along with documentation of the individual treatment plans.	OUTCOME MEASURES: Number returned to institutional confinement. Total number exiting the program. Rearrest data for Impact and other crimes by actively supervised clients, also tabulated by felony or misdemeanor. Cost: Project amount/client capacity/year.	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: No impact yet noted on the prison population of Maryland. Report concludes that the project is functioning well but that no standards exist to decide effectiveness based on the recidivism rate for the time-period under study.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE:	LOCATION:	ADMINISTERING AGENCY:
NUMBER OF STAFF:	NUMBER OF CLIENTS:	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT:
SPONSOR:	EVALUATOR:	CODE: MD-2, Cont'd.
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Develop cost effectiveness analysis.	EVALUATION DESIGN:	
PROCESS MEASURES:	OUTCOME MEASURES:	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT:		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE: Special Offenders Clinic	LOCATION: Maryland	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: University of Maryland hospital
NUMBER OF STAFF: 9	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 50 total (3 years)	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 1972-1975
SPONSOR: Maryland LEAA block grant	EVALUATOR: Member of project staff	CODE: MD-3
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Improve the probation success of sexual offenders and assaultive offenders by providing intensive probation super- vision and group psychotherapy	EVALUATION DESIGN: Control groups planned, but comparisons actually made only on basis of the time evolution of project clients. Selection: Offenders with qualifying offenses who were accepted by staff after psycho- logical testing.	
PROCESS MEASURES:	OUTCOME MEASURES: Recidivism = % of clients rearrested, % reconvicted, % incarcerated during treatment and after treatment. Time evaluation of subjective judgments of progress in group therapy. Time evolution of subject measures of serial adjustment. Time evolution of standard psychological tests including MMPI. Cost: Not analyzed.	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Originally planned comparisons to a control group were not possible because court and clinic personnel continued to select clients for the project's psychotherapy in non-random basis. Pre/post psychological testing complicated by illiteracy, by early patient termination, and by patient apathy on post- testing. Evaluation inconclusive.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE: 46th District Court Probation Improvement	LOCATION: Southfield, Michigan	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: 46th District Court of Michigan
NUMBER OF STAFF: 3 2 part time 1 volunteer	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 1000 per year	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 12-73 through 11-74 (second of three years)
SPONSOR: LEAA	EVALUATOR: grantee staff	CODE: MI-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Improve success of probation by expanded use of presentence investigations. Reduced caseloads (to 75) through the use of volunteer caseworkers and in- creased the amount of contact between workers and clients.	EVALUATION DESIGN: Limited comparisons drawn with past experience of same court. Selection: Misdemeanant offenders in the 46th District.	
PROCESS MEASURES: Number completing program. Average monthly load per officer. Number of hours per month provided by volunteers. Distribution of supervision time over various functions.	OUTCOME MEASURES: Recidivism as measured by % of closed cases with violations. Cost: Not analyzed.	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Extensive problems with a computerized data collection scheme invalidated some data. No real evaluation - only analysis of data.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE: Intensive Supervision Services	LOCATION: St. Louis, Missouri	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Missouri Board of Probation and Parole
NUMBER OF STAFF: 25-30	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: average of 500/month	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 5-74 to 9-74 (Phase II of three-year project)
SPONSOR: LEAA - Impact	EVALUATOR: St. Louis Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement	CODE: MO-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Reduce future criminal activity of clients most likely to commit future crimes through reducing caseloads to a value between 25 and 40. Increasing the number of contacts with clients. Providing increased educational and vocational testing. Recruit and train volunteer workers.		EVALUATION DESIGN: Previous phase compared results to a control group of similar offenders. Selection: Clients in the St. Louis area who need intensive supervision (with preference to Impact crime offenders).
PROCESS MEASURES: Average number of cases per worker. Number contacts. Number tests administered. Number volunteers recruited and trained.		OUTCOME MEASURES: Recidivism as measured by the rate of revocation, absconders, and the rate of new convictions. Cost: Not analyzed.
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Interim evaluation provides only sketchy information.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE: Probation Employment and Guidance Program	LOCATION: Rochester (Monroe County), New York	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Monroe County Probation Department
NUMBER OF STAFF: 2 1 analyst	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 321 clients screened and appeared before the Guidance Council in 19 months	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 11-73 through 5-75
SPONSOR: LEAA	EVALUATOR: Administering Agency	CODE: NY-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: To maximize employment for unemployed and underemployed probationers, and thereby reduce recidivism through utilization of skilled community volunteers to assist in solving employment problems.		EVALUATION DESIGN: Job ready clients were randomly assigned to control (given a few suggestions and told to report back to their probation officer) or experimental group. Selection: Monroe County unemployed and underemployed probationers age 18 and older.
PROCESS MEASURES: Demographic, personal history data on clients. Full description of client flow through the employment guidance program.		OUTCOME MEASURES: 6 and 9 month follow-up following the session with the guidance council. 12 month follow-up measured portion of the follow-up period worked and number moving to higher employment status (e.g., part to full time). Number involved in educational or training programs. Aggregate income earned. Number of new arrests. Separate data for adult and family court (minor offense) probationers
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Project modifications occurred in the second phase (6-74 through 5-75). In addition, Monroe County Probation merged Family Court and adult probation departments. At the time of this report, insufficient time has elapsed to evaluate the second phase outcomes.		

PROJECT TITLE:	LOCATION:	ADMINISTERING AGENCY:
NUMBER OF STAFF:	NUMBER OF CLIENTS:	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT:
SPONSOR:	EVALUATOR:	CODE: NY-1, Cont'd.
PROJECT DESCRIPTION:		EVALUATION DESIGN:
PROCESS MEASURES:		OUTCOME MEASURES: involved in the project. Cost: Total operational costs/clients screened.
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Data demonstrate a relationship between employment and recidivism, but not a causal direction. Evaluation able to conclude that project effects on employment were too slight to significantly affect recidivism. Forthcoming 12-month follow-up results on employment appeared more promising.		

PROJECT TITLE: Community-Based Probation Project	LOCATION: Cleveland, Ohio	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Cleveland Municipal Court Probation Department
NUMBER OF STAFF: 20	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 4000 (2 years)	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 2-73 through 3-75
SPONSOR: LEAA-Impact	EVALUATOR: Impact Staff	CODE: OH-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Reduce impact criminal activity by establishing 3 satellite offices to supervise probationers and parolees. Installed a needs classification system to increase interests of clients in services.		EVALUATION DESIGN: Compared only to quantitative goals and objectives set by Impact staff. Selection: Offenders in the Cleveland area who either committed or were likely to commit Impact crimes.
PROCESS MEASURES: Number and minutes of individual counselling, group counselling, family counselling, home visits, contacts with outside services per month.		OUTCOME MEASURES: Recidivism = $\frac{\text{No. Arrests of Clients}}{\text{No. of Clients}}$ % of clients employed in vocational training, and in educational training, per month. Cost: not analyzed.
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Original plan to link activities directly to crimes was abandoned. Evaluation successful only in comparing the objectives.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE: Burglary Offender Project	LOCATION: Oregon	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Oregon Correction Division
NUMBER OF STAFF: 4	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 180	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 1974 through 1975
SPONSOR: LEAA	EVALUATOR: State Criminal Justice Planning Agency	CODE: OR-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Reduce burglaries by providing intensive probation to burglary offenders in 4 district offices. Reduced caseloads to (30-35 clients). Increased presentence investigations. Increased employment, educational and other support activities.	EVALUATION DESIGN: Compared to results for burglary-related clients in 4 offices. Target and comparison groups checked for similarity of age, sex, ethnic group, education level, employment history, alcoholism, drug usage, and prior criminal history. Selection: Burglary-related offenders who were assigned to the district offices where special counselors were located.	
PROCESS MEASURES: Mean number of contacts per client per month. Number of investigations.	OUTCOME MEASURES: Recidivism as measured by % of clients having new arrests during time on project. Arrests distinguished for felonies, misdemeanors and burglary related offenses. Termination as measured by the % of clients terminated from supervision for various causes. Cost: not analyzed.	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Clients in comparison groups had typically been under supervision longer and thus were more "exposed" to recidivism.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE: Philadelphia Out-reach Sub-offices and Chester District Office	LOCATION: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole
NUMBER OF STAFF: 35	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: Average 400-500 per month	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 1974 (4th year of continuing program)
SPONSOR: LEAA	EVALUATOR: Administering Agency	CODE: PA-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Improve effectiveness of probation and parole in Philadelphia by opening 5 outreach and 1 district offices to decentralizing operation. Reduced caseloads to 50 clients.	EVALUATION DESIGN: Compared to main caseload of Philadelphia district after subtracting clients of some special programs. Selection: Probation and parole clients living in areas of decentralized Philadelphia facilities.	
PROCESS MEASURES: Subjective measure of agent. Average monthly number of cases per agent. % of defined client needs not met at end of month. Number of contacts with referral agencies.	OUTCOME MEASURES: Recidivism as measured by % of cases closed successfully. Number of arrests ÷ average number of clients. % of cases classified as unconvicted violators. Employment success as measured by % employed full or part time. % on public assistance. Cost: Not analyzed.	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Numerous programs working on the Pennsylvania caseload simultaneously produced some confounded effects. Main caseload of district decreased significantly due to implementation of several special programs. Different distributions of parole and probation clients affect outcomes. Economy affects employment success.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE:	LOCATION:	ADMINISTERING AGENCY:
NUMBER OF STAFF:	NUMBER OF CLIENTS:	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT:
SPONSOR:	EVALUATOR:	CODE: PA-1, Cont'd.
PROJECT DESCRIPTION:		EVALUATION DESIGN:
PROCESS MEASURES:		OUTCOME MEASURES:
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Evaluation was deemed conclusive.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE: Intensive Services Unit	LOCATION: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Adult Probation Department (Philadelphia Court)
NUMBER OF STAFF: 30	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 833 probationers and parolees as of 6-75	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 2-75 through 6-75
SPONSOR: Federal Government and City	EVALUATOR: Human Systems Institute	CODE: PA-2
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Reduce recidivism through intensive supervision. Make out individual treatment plans based on 6-8 week assessment process.		EVALUATION DESIGN: Three intensive supervision groups: 1) sex offenses, 2) psychiatric conditions for probation/parole, and 3) "high risk" clients formed by screening prospective participants. (Hypothesis: intensive supervision will have greatest impact on high risk group.) Attempt to establish control groups for sex, psychiatric, and high risk groups which do not distinguish treatment and compare with intensive supervision groups, controlling for predicted risk of recidivism
PROCESS MEASURES: Number of client contacts. Caseload. Number of community agency referrals.		OUTCOME MEASURES: % of clients arrested. Average number of arrest-free days for clients arrested at least once. Total number of rearrests. Cost: total project costs
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Have questions concerning the accuracy of the data because reports are not filled out daily, but rather at the end of the month. Research responsibility changed from an R & D Unit back to project staff in 8-74.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE: 1) Caseload Management 2) Addition to Supervision	LOCATION: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Adult Probation Department (Philadelphia Court)
NUMBER OF STAFF: 50	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 3700-4300	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 1-74 through 9-75 (grants (1) and (2) have been operating for several years)
SPONSOR: Pennsylvania Governor's Justice Commission	EVALUATOR: Social Research Associates	CODE: PA-3
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Probation officers to handle a full range of clients whereas other units in the department have more homogeneous caseloads (e.g., same sex, specialized teams for alcohol, drug, sex and psychiatric cases). Test of generalized supervision.		EVALUATION DESIGN: <u>Field Study:</u> Follow-up study after 10 months of probation between project and other units and those not placed on probation or parole. Study of relation of caseload size to rearrest within the project as well as 7 of 20 district offices are part of the project. <u>Selection:</u> Probation clients living in parts of Philadelphia serviced by project offices
PROCESS MEASURES: Workload based on classification of Intensive, Moderate, Minimum supervision needed. Caseload defined as number of cases. Number of client contacts/month. Number of client referrals per month and whether these were to outside community agencies. Proportion of clients by sex and sex of officer. Officer attitudes toward cross-sex assignments surveyed.		OUTCOME MEASURES: <u>Field Study:</u> Rearrest data: average number of arrests within 10 months of release from prison. % arrested within 10 months of release from prison. Average monthly rearrest rate over a 6-month period, in correlation between caseload size and rearrest rate. <u>Cost:</u> cost-benefit considerations discussed under assumptions that costs per supervision unit are equivalent
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Probation followed prison for many in the field study described. Separate study affirmed that a prediction device for the determination of case risk had validity. Results of evaluation not conclusive.		

EXHIBIT IV - 1, Cont'd.

PROJECT TITLE: 3) Maintaining Quality Probation Services	LOCATION:	ADMINISTERING AGENCY:
NUMBER OF STAFF:	NUMBER OF CLIENTS:	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT:
SPONSOR:	EVALUATOR:	CODE: PA-3, Cont'd.
PROJECT DESCRIPTION:		EVALUATION DESIGN:
PROCESS MEASURES:		OUTCOME MEASURES: across different treatment schemes.
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT:		

PROJECT TITLE: Comprehensive Drug Control Project	LOCATION: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole
NUMBER OF STAFF: 17	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: Average of 650	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 1974 (3rd year of a continuing project)
SPONSOR: LEAA	EVALUATOR: Administering Agency	CODE: PA-4
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Improve the effectiveness of probation and parole of drug addicts by establishing 2 narcotics units to provide comprehensive drug control supervision.		EVALUATION DESIGN: Performance compared to experience with similar drug units in other cities and (on a limited basis) to the general Pennsylvania caseload. Selection: Probationers and parolees in Philadelphia who are drug addicts.
PROCESS MEASURES: Identified client needs not met at end of month. Quarterly averages of cases per supervisor. Number of contacts per month with clients not committed or absconded. Number of urinalyses run on clients. Survey job satisfaction of agents. Number of guided group sessions.		OUTCOME MEASURES: Recidivism as measured by % of cases closed successfully, % of caseload arrested per month, % of cases as "unconvicted violators" per month. % of clients employed full or part time, or on public assistance. % of clients showing drug use via urinalysis. Cost: not analyzed.
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Very difficult to identify a suitable control group so comparison to similar programs used as alternate. State of economy strongly affects employment success of clients. Proportion of parolees in a project biases outcome measures against one with many parolees. Evaluation deemed conclusive.		

PROJECT TITLE: Development of Specialized Units	LOCATION: Philadelphia and Pittsburgh Pennsylvania	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole
NUMBER OF STAFF: Unknown	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 700 per month	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 1974 (4th year of continuing report)
SPONSOR: LEAA	EVALUATOR: Research unit of administering agency	CODE: PA-5
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Improve probation and parole success by providing a number of specialized units including 3 intensive supervision units and 4 pre-parole case analysis units. Included is a reduction in the caseload of the intensive units.		EVALUATION DESIGN: Comparison to the general caseload of the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh districts (less clients of several special programs). Selection: 1 intensive unit has high risk parolees other 2 intensive units took representative loads in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.
PROCESS MEASURES: Surveys of the information collected and reported by pre-parole analysts. Average number of cases assigned per agent. Average number of office and field contacts per client.		OUTCOME MEASURES: Recidivism as measured by the % of cases closed successfully. % of average cases closed successfully each month. Number of arrests ÷ average caseload. Number of clients classified as "unconvicted violator". Client employment success as measured by % employed and % on public assistance. % of parole cases approved by parole board. Cost: not analyzed.
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Court specified the intensive probation unit in Philadelphia on many high risk cases. General caseloads in Philadelphia also decreased with the advent of several special programs. Client transfer between units complicate statistics and generally early transfers out of successful cases.		

PROJECT TITLE:	LOCATION:	ADMINISTERING AGENCY:
NUMBER OF STAFF:	NUMBER OF CLIENTS:	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT:
SPONSOR:	EVALUATOR:	CODE: PA-5 Cont'd.
PROJECT DESCRIPTION:	EVALUATION DESIGN:	
PROCESS MEASURES:	OUTCOME MEASURES:	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Employment results are affected by general economy. Evaluation results are not conclusive.		

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

PROJECT TITLE: Regional Office- Suboffice	LOCATION: Pennsylvania	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole
NUMBER OF STAFF: 275	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 1500 per month average	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 1974-1975 (last 18 months of a 4 year effort)
SPONSOR: LEAA	EVALUATOR: Administering Agency	CODE: PA-6
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Improve law abiding behavior and economic integration of parolees and probationers by establishing 9 sub-offices in smaller cities to decentralize supervision and reduce caseloads. Emphasizes family and group interaction.		EVALUATION DESIGN: Comparison to performance before program was implemented and to performance of similar clients handled by district offices and by special offices for alcohol/drug abusers. Selection: All probation and parole cases in geographic area of sub-offices.
PROCESS MEASURES: Proportions of clients served who live in same county as the local office. Average number of cases per supervisor with adjustments for absconders and other inactive cases. Number of agent contacts in office, in field or with collateral persons. Number of active counseling groups.		OUTCOME MEASURES: Recidivism as measured by % of cases not closed successfully, arrests ÷ average caseload per period. New classification as "unconvicted violator" ÷ average caseload per period. Employment success measured by % partially or fully employed during each month. Cost: Compared total annual costs per client from direct and indirect project costs,
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Program was implemented at same time as others so effects could not be distinguished. Rearrest data on sub-office group was found to include different mix of technical violations than district group. District offices being in urban and sub-offices in small city locations may have introduced differences in character of clients.		

PROJECT TITLE:	LOCATION:	ADMINISTERING AGENCY:
NUMBER OF STAFF:	NUMBER OF CLIENTS:	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT:
SPONSOR:	EVALUATOR:	CODE: PA-6 Cont'd.
PROJECT DESCRIPTION:		EVALUATION DESIGN:
PROCESS MEASURES:		OUTCOME MEASURES: estimated costs of detention of arrested clients, welfare costs of unemployed clients, taxes paid by employed clients.
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Rearrest data includes more than one arrest per client in some cases. District offices having higher proportion of parolees may have biased recidivism against sub-offices. Evaluation sufficiently definitive to research some conclusions.		

PROJECT TITLE: Field Services	LOCATION: Tennessee	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Tennessee Department of Corrections
NUMBER OF STAFF: 285	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: Increase from 1100/month probationers average in 1969 to 3500/month in 1974	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 1970 through 1974
SPONSOR: LEAA	EVALUATOR: Department of Correction/Tennessee LEPA Staff	CODE: TN-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Reorganization of State Supervision Programs to affect caseload, services to the courts, and recidivism.		EVALUATION DESIGN: Ex post facto - changes in Tennessee over 5 year period. Selection: All probation/parole in the State of Tennessee.
PROCESS MEASURES: Caseloads. Work time allocation of officers. Number of probationers, institutional population.		OUTCOME MEASURES: Cost: Savings of probation compared to institutionalization (diversion)/month. Annual funding levels.
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT:		

PROJECT TITLE: Increase Adult Probation	LOCATION: Dallas County, Texas	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Dallas County Probation Department
NUMBER OF STAFF: 80; 200 volunteers	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 6200 average	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 1-74 to 12-74 (2nd year)
SPONSOR: LEAA - Impact	EVALUATOR: Dallas Area Criminal Justice Council	CODE: TX-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Reduce criminal activities by more Intensive Supervision and provides expanded and innovative rehabilitative programs. Conducts pre-sentence psychological testing and interviews. Provides computerized reporting capabilities and region-wide notification of probationer's arrest. Improves skills of probation officers in supervising probationers.		EVALUATION DESIGN: Same department in previous years with 1972 as baseline. Selection: Full Dallas County felon probation program.
PROCESS MEASURES: Number of offenders/officer. Number of job referrals and placements. Dropout rate from employment assistance program. Number of volunteers and cases handled. Program dropout rate. Number of participants and certificates obtained. Total hours of training. Workshops attended by counselors.		OUTCOME MEASURES: Probation failure rate = Revocations/Cases closed in period. Revocation rate = Revocations/Number of probationers at end of year period. Recidivism rate = Number of probationers arrested/Number of probationers under supervision during the period. Special program's dropout rate. All of the above are recorded by component sub-programs as well as in total.
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Changed classification of marijuana offenders from felony to misdemeanor in 1974 and also, redefined felony theft. Generally, all the threats of history; e.g., changes in economic climate, type of cases handled, etc. are present. Determined external GED program inadequate on basis of certificates obtained, so they established new internal GED program during 1974. GED participants were tracked as community resource participants.		

PROJECT TITLE:	LOCATION:	ADMINISTERING AGENCY:
NUMBER OF STAFF:	NUMBER OF CLIENTS:	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT:
SPONSOR:	EVALUATOR:	CODE: TX-1 Cont'd.
PROJECT DESCRIPTION:		EVALUATION DESIGN:
PROCESS MEASURES:		OUTCOME MEASURES: Cost; Direct expenditure per quarter/probationer.
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: This study attempted to sort out the effects of the various sub-programs. No baseline data available on recidivism rates or special program dropout rates.		

PROJECT TITLE: Harris County Model Probation Project	LOCATION: Harris County, Texas	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Harris County Department of Probation
NUMBER OF STAFF: 70	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 1000 felon + 500 misdemeanors/month	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 7-72 through 11-73
SPONSOR: Texas Criminal Justice Council	EVALUATOR: Sam Houston State University	CODE: TX-2
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Reduce the number of convicted criminals incarcerated by providing a full service probation function in Harris County including added offices, satellite offices, presentence investigations, and community resource usage.		EVALUATION DESIGN: Number of cases assigned to probation compared to experience before project. Selection: All criminals assigned to probation in Harris County.
PROCESS MEASURES: Average monthly caseload per supervisor. Number of probationer visits to office. Number of supervisor field visits. Number of presentence investigations completed. Number of community resource referrals.		OUTCOME MEASURES: Success Rate = (Number of revocations during period) ÷ (Number of cases during period). Number of cases assigned to probation (under assumption that they would otherwise be incarcerated). Cost: not evaluated for project.
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Report is not an evaluation.		

PROJECT TITLE: Mexican-American Community Corrections Support Program ("SOCIO")	LOCATION: Utah	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: SOCIO (a community organization) with Utah Division of Corrections
NUMBER OF STAFF: 3	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: 103 total	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 9-73. to 9-74
SPONSOR: Utah LEAA	EVALUATOR: Dept. of Psychology; University	CODE: UT-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Reduce Chicano probation and parole violations by: Arranging for jobs and on the job training. Arranging for training and education. Mobilizing resources of community agencies. Providing direct counseling and support. In theory, SOCIO counselors supplemented regular P.O./parole officers, but in practice came closer to replacing them.	EVALUATION DESIGN: Chicano group receiving regular P.O. services were non-randomized "matched" individually with SOCIO clients (70 matches of 103 possible). Matched on age, date of probation or parole, nature of offense. Perfect match on probation district, sex, history of previous offenses (repeat or not), parole or probation. Conservative match on rated probability of recidivism. Compared Chicano crime base rates with Black and White base rates.	
PROCESS MEASURES: Number of contacts, employment data, and wages for some offenders. Number of arrangements for training. Number of arrangements for community contacts (they abandoned this dimension). Number of contacts with community agencies. Number of counseling contacts.	OUTCOME MEASURES: Number of instances of recidivism (arrest for which charges were not subsequently dismissed, orders to show cause or other parole/probation violations, and any issuance of bench warrant.) Interviews with SOCIO clients and comparison group clients were conducted to determine their assessments of program effectiveness.	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Identification of Chicanos fallible, they estimate that they missed 25%. Recidivists had fewer jobs, but received more efforts from counselors. Abandoned objective of community contact as clients actively resisted. Provided useful services to other people in the Mexican-American community as well as indicated somewhat lower recidivism than in control group and provided process services with reasonable success, although specific process objectives		

PROJECT TITLE:	LOCATION:	ADMINISTERING AGENCY:
NUMBER OF STAFF:	NUMBER OF CLIENTS:	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT:
SPONSOR:	EVALUATOR:	CODE: UT-1, Cont'd.
PROJECT DESCRIPTION:	EVALUATION DESIGN: Researched Chicano base recidivism rates. Selection: SOCIO clients are fairly representative of Utah Chicanos on probation/parole, but imperfectly so (neither fully random nor comprehensive selection).	
PROCESS MEASURES:	OUTCOME MEASURES:	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: were set unrealistically high in the grant. Noted difficulties in cross-ethnic comparisons (e.g., different crimes and different resultant sentence distributions). Intended to get counselor reports weekly, but actually got them quarterly.		

PROJECT TITLE: Community Correctional Programs and Services for Adults	LOCATION: Richmond, Virginia	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Richmond Community Correctional Center
NUMBER OF STAFF: 8	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: Average occupancy about 17 men	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: Fiscal year 1975, first quarter fiscal year 1976
SPONSOR: Virginia Division of Justice and Crime Prevention	EVALUATOR: PRC/Public Management Services	CODE: VA-1
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: Halfway house, accepting both state and federal probationers and parolees.	EVALUATION DESIGN: Selection: A mix of 5 sources; probationers from court or from caseloads, parolees from prisons or from caseloads, federal cases.	
PROCESS MEASURES: Subjective notation of community interactions. Employment data on current residents only.	OUTCOME MEASURES: Failure rate = Number rearrested, absconded, or program standards violaters/total discharged from program. Cost: net costs/client/year	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Comparison of failure rate with other programs is difficult due to the variety of high-risk clients served.		

PROJECT TITLE: Probation and Parole Demonstration Project	LOCATION: Norfolk, Virginia	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Division of Probation and Parole Services - Norfolk
NUMBER OF STAFF: Added 14 probation and parole officers to previous 8	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: Average of 500 probationers and 275 parolees during 1974	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 1972 through 1974
SPONSOR: Virginia Division of Justice and Crime Prevention	EVALUATOR: PRC/Public Management Services	CODE: VA-2
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: To increase the efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery to probationers and parolees by reducing caseload to 60 work units per officer, by procuring psychological consulting services, by improving service to drug-dependent clients through maximum use of community drug treatment facilities, and by using one ex-offender as a probation and parole aide.	EVALUATION DESIGN: 1971 Norfolk data used as base of comparison for 1972, 1973, and 1974. Selection: Norfolk, Virginia regular probationers and parolees (felons).	
PROCESS MEASURES: Number of average work units/officer. Weights pre-sentence investigation 5 units, other investigations 3 units, and supervision, a weight of 1. Number of psychological consultations procured.	OUTCOME MEASURES: Average number of offenders on probation (but no way to relate to overall court dispositions) as an indicator of the division's service capacity. Rate of recidivism including technical violations, new felonies and absconders/average caseload. (Separate probation and parole data kept.) Cost: Total grant costs.	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Administering agency declines to draw inferences from recidivism statistics, but evaluator believes favorable inferences are reasonable. Drug-treatment portion of the program was undermined by upheavals in the community agencies. Evaluation points out the flows of attaining numerical caseload goals.		

PROJECT TITLE: Probation and Parole Demonstration Project	LOCATION: Northern Virginia metropolitan area	ADMINISTERING AGENCY: Division of Probation and Parole Services of Northern Virginia
NUMBER OF STAFF: Added 15 probation and parole officers to previous 13	NUMBER OF CLIENTS: Average of 900 probationers and 300 parolees during 1974	TIME PERIOD OF REPORT: 1972 through 1974
SPONSOR: Virginia Division of Justice and Crime Prevention	EVALUATOR: PRC/Public Management Services	CODE: VA-3
PROJECT DESCRIPTION: To increase the efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery to probationers and parolees by establishing community services coordinator. Reduced caseloads to 60 and used 3-man teams to specialize in ideal, normal, and intense offenders. Uses student interns as probation and parole aides. Provide and service to courts not of record in addition to courts of record [i.e., work with misdemeanants].	EVALUATION DESIGN: 10-year time series data in percentage of revocations for this probation and parole division. Selection: Northern Virginia regular probationers and parolees (felons) plus some misdemeanants (from courts not of record).	
PROCESS MEASURES: Number of referrals handled. Team approach with specialization by type of offender abandoned in practice. Student interns met with subjective approval.	OUTCOME MEASURES: Percentage of revocations = Number of revocations/Average monthly caseload. Average number of offenders on probation = An indicator of the division's service capacity. Judge's expression that service has improved and increased the number of presentence investigations requested.	
STATED OBSERVATIONS ON EVALUATION AND MEASUREMENT: Drop in revocation rate commenced a year and a half before the grant, but no conclusions are possible in regard to grant's effect on this. Discrepancies in caseload definition (as to whether a weighted caseload counting is used) between documentation provided, the semi-annual report, and interview information provided to the evaluator.		

produced some outcome, it must be established that the project carried on some related activity. Conversely, if a project seems to have produced some particularly good or bad outcomes, it is important to know what activities were carried on in order to determine how to reproduce or improve those outcomes.

By their nature process measures tend to be project-specific. For example, it makes sense to measure the number of volunteers recruited only when volunteers were recruited. And the number recruited must be weighed against specific project needs and capacities in context with prior efforts and community sentiment and resources. However, the review of recent evaluations summarized in Exhibit IV-1 identified several process measures and measurement problems that recur in intensive special probation projects. The following sub-sections present and discuss the major categories.

Caseload/Workload Measures. In many intensive probation projects the main process objective is to increase the amount of probation supervision provided clients by reducing the caseload of probation supervisors. Thus the average caseload per supervisor becomes an important process measure and it is desirable to make the measure correspond closely to the amount of supervision provided.

In most cases presented in Exhibit IV-1, caseload was estimated by the simple formula

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{Average} \\ \text{Caseload} \end{array} \right) = \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{Average Total Num-} \\ \text{ber of Active Cases} \end{array} \right) \div \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{Number of Proba-} \\ \text{tion Supervisors} \end{array} \right)$$

However, some problems did arise in defining elements of the formula. One problem, the definition of the number of supervisors, arises in projects which make extensive use of volunteers and/or paraprofessionals. If these auxiliary personnel are counted equally with regular supervisors, the average caseload will be misleadingly low. On the other hand, volunteers do provide supervision service that may or may not lessen the workload for regular supervisors. None of the projects in

Exhibit IV-1 appeared to have a satisfactory solution to this estimation problem, though one did attempt to record the level of volunteer activity by tabulating the number of hours worked by volunteers. [103, 104]

Another problem of definition arises in determining the number of active cases. At any given time the number of cases nominally assigned to a supervision unit typically includes a number of clients who have absconded or are otherwise not receiving active supervision. Thus the nominal number of cases is somewhat larger than the number actually receiving supervision. In an effort to adjust for such cases, many of the studies reviewed in Exhibit IV-1 measured active cases as the number of assigned cases that had not been classified as absconded/committed or otherwise officially inactive. However, less formally inactive cases remain in the measured caseload, and, of course, all active cases do not require, or receive equivalent attention.

A more sophisticated approach is the workload scheme employed in one Pennsylvania study. [92] Supervisor workload in that study was assumed proportional to the number of required probationer contacts per month. Thus, cases required to report only monthly or quarterly were counted less heavily than those reporting weekly. To the extent that required reporting times are kept up-to-date with the amount of supervision required, this approach would seem quite accurate.

A related idea is the classification scheme used. In a project operating in Kentucky, cases were classified as requiring "maximum," "medium," or "minimum" supervision, and workload was measured as a weighted sum of such cases. [157] Again, the validity of the measurement rests of the accuracy of the classification.

Another workload issue is how to account for non-supervisory activities of probation officers. Presentence investigations, management of volunteers,

and similar activities can consume substantial officer time. The American Correctional Association's Study on Standards and Goals has recommended that presentence investigations be counted as five cases in determining caseload. [210] However, only a few of the reports, evaluations, or studies reported in Exhibit IV-1 used such a measurement standard. In fact, only a few of the studies employed any estimation scheme to adjust for non-supervision duties.

Case Contact/Supervision Measures. Even though caseload is the variable probation managers can most easily manipulate in intensive special probation problems, it is at best only an indirect measure of the quantity of supervision provided clients. Thus it is natural that projects should seek to obtain more direct measures of the supervision provided.

The studies reviewed included many attempts to keep statistics on the amount of supervision provided -- typically by logging the amount of contact between the supervisor and individuals connected with the case. The simplest and most widely used approach is to record the number of contacts with the client, the client's family, the client's employer, etc. However, many of the evaluators commented in their reports that they considered the number of contacts a very inadequate measure. Typical is Adams, Chandler, and Neithercutt's comment that use of the number of contacts, "...not only failed to deal with quality but provided a poor measure of quantity..." [7]

Beyond this conceptual problem with the number of contacts as a process measure, there are obvious questions of the reliability of the numbers reported. Overworked probation officers might be expected to skimp on the "paperwork" of logging contacts. Reliability is particularly troublesome in attempting to draw comparisons between different probation programs wherein the officers recording contacts have differential interest in the statistics collected and the evaluation objectives.

To obtain at least a better indication of the quantity of contact, a few studies have augmented records on the number of contacts with statistics on the time of contact. While such statistics may be better measures of the quantity of contact, they are still subject to all the reliability concerns just mentioned. In fact, the problems may be more serious because the record-keeping burden on probation officers is greater and because officers might feel the need to make sure that all their on-duty hours are counted.

Only two of the studies reported in Exhibit IV-1 reported any serious attempts to measure the quality of the supervision provided probationers. Both these studies employed a survey of supervisor and client opinion about various dimensions of the effectiveness of supervision. While both studies appeared to gain useful information from the surveys, it does not appear feasible to use such surveys on any large scale. [7, 79]

Other Activity Statistics. As indicated in the "Process Measures" column of Exhibit IV-1, numerous statistics are compiled by special probation projects which reflect activities other than client supervision. Examples include the following:

1. Urinalysis run (in connection with drug offender projects)
2. Client referred to community agencies (in connection with efforts to expand use of community services)
3. Presentence investigations performed (in connection with projects providing more extensive presentence investigations)
4. Group counseling sessions held (in connection with projects employing group counseling)
5. Volunteers recruited (in connection with volunteer projects)
6. Tests administered (in connection with projects completing assessment and classification of offenders).

Measurement of such activity statistics is direct. An important measurement issue is whether the procedures for collecting the statistics are reliable.

Because the number of factors impinging upon project processes is so great, any attempt to compare different intensive special probation projects on these bases must be done with extreme caution. For instance, possible nuances in caseload measures have been discussed. In addition, an evaluator attempting to categorize projects on the basis of caseload should consider a whole range of inter-related factors such as type of client served, community resources available, socio-economic milieu, and so on.

Outcome/Success Measures

The second major class of measures of probation projects are those which seek to document changes in probationers that may have been caused by project activities. These outcome/success measures are thus related more to the project goals than to project activities. If a project can show no improvement in outcomes, then the project must be deemed ineffective. On the other hand, if a reliable outcome measure does indicate improvement during the period of the project, and the improvement cannot reasonably be attributed to causes other than the project, then the project can be considered at least partially successful.

The issue of evaluation designs for attributing outcomes to projects is addressed in a later section. The present section considers the equally formidable problems in obtaining reliable outcome measures. These problems are more severe than those connected with process measures because the items being measured are much less under control of project management. However, nearly all the evaluations summarized in Exhibit IV-1 attempted some form of outcome measurement. The next several subsections discuss the most important classes of measures employed.

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

One important controversy deals with the choice of the negative behavior which should be counted as recidivism. Among the possibilities commonly discussed are:

- 1) Unsuccessful probation termination defined as termination of probation by absconding, being revoked and committed to prison, or being convicted of an additional crime.
- 2) Rearrest defined as being arrested for an additional crime during the period of evaluation.
- 3) Reconviction defined as being convicted of an additional crime during the period of evaluation.

For each of these there are many variations, including distinguishing between "technical violations" of probation and actual crimes, and attempting to weight the seriousness of the crimes involved in arrests/convictions. Virtually all of these possibilities were used in some form by at least one of the evaluations reviewed for Exhibit IV-1.

The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals has recommended that recidivism be measured by "(1) criminal acts that resulted in conviction by a court, when committed by individuals who are under correctional supervision or who have been released from correctional supervision within the previous three years, and by (2) technical violations of probation or parole in which a sentencing or paroling authority

took action that resulted in an adverse change in the offender's legal status. Technical violations should be maintained separately from data on reconvictions." [27] The logic behind this definition is that a reconviction is a well-defined legal event which admits to less bias and variation than arrests or technical violations, and that the period of three years after supervision is long enough to include crimes committed by most offenders who will reëidivate at all.

In a few of the reports summarized in Exhibit IV-1 references were found to standards like this one, but almost all real analyses used other measures. The reasons given for not using the standards are a whole series of practical problems with measuring re-conviction recidivism in an operating intensive special probation project.

One important problem is timing. Project evaluation reports are intended to give periodic information about the progress of the project, so that activities can be redirected as necessary, and the impact of innovations assessed. The long time delays inherent in convictions--particularly if a several year follow-up period is included--almost assure that no useful reconviction recidivism data can be available before the end of a 1 to 3 year project. Unsuccessful terminations and arrests provide much more timely information. In addition, few projects have any real capability to follow the history of a client after he has been released from supervision. Follow-up studies are slow and costly, complicated by the high mobility of offenders and the lack of effective criminal information systems. Thus the more timely measures of arrests during the probation period and terminations are attractive because they are more likely to show meaningful results within the period of project review.

Even when the more rapid measures of recidivism are employed, the fact that at any point in a project, cases will have been on probation for different lengths of time complicates estimation. In the evaluations reviewed

many different forms of standardization were used to account for such variations in the time probationers were "at risk" for recidivism, but no entirely adequate scheme was identified. Perhaps the most common was the use of the "violation index" defined as follows:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Violation} \\ \text{Index} \end{array} \right] = \frac{\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Number of Cases Term-} \\ \text{inated Unsuccessfully} \end{array} \right]}{\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Total Number of Cases} \\ \text{Terminated} \end{array} \right]}$$

Observe that this index is a valid basis for comparing probation programs only if the length of time before normal terminations is equal among the programs being compared. As the length of time to normal termination is decreased, the violation index will also decrease because the chance of unsuccessful terminations decreases. Intensively supervised cases often have different rates of early termination; in some instances, probationers may be "terminated" via transference to a regular probation program. (Further confounding the measurement problems if comparisons are being attempted between the respective programs).

Such difficulties with the violation index are an example of another recurring difficulty with recidivism measures in intensive probation projects--interactions between the level of supervision and the measured recidivism.

In several ways increased supervision can unintentionally result in an increase in measured recidivism. Adams, Chandler and Neithercutt observed in reviewing the well-known San Francisco project that higher rates of technical violations among persons under intensive supervision may have been a consequence of closer supervision monitoring of the probationer's activities. [7] Several other studies included in Exhibit IV-1 found increased rates of technical violation among intensively supervised cases. While not documented in studies, it might at least be suggested that a supervisor's knowledge of rearrests or reconvictions might also be increased when clients are supervised intensively. Again an increase in measured recidivism would result.

Employment Success Measures. The only outcome measure besides recidivism which was reported in any substantial number of the evaluations shown in Exhibit IV-1 is client employment success, i.e., the degree to which probationers were able to obtain and retain employment. Among the measures employed were the following:

1. Average percent of clients employed full-time
2. Average percent of clients employed part-time
3. Aggregate dollars earned by clients
4. Average percent of clients receiving various forms of welfare.

However, there is no uniformity of definitions for these measures and very little discussion of the problems in implementing the measures.

One of two procedures was typically used to obtain employment data. In some evaluations, probationers or supervisors reported employment history often at termination of probation. In others, employment status was determined by a follow-up study in which project research staff interviewed clients.

Neither of these techniques would appear very reliable. Any method which depends on reporting by clients or supervisors would be subject to biases, high variability, and to interactions between the level of supervision and the level of employment reported. For example, a supervisor who is working intensively to find employment for his clients might be expected to over-report any employment actually obtained. Follow-up studies and reporting at termination of probation risk a different form of bias. After any substantial time of project operations, some clients would have absconded or otherwise gone beyond reach of a survey. Thus, they cannot be included in statistics, and, ignoring such persons could tend to make projects with high recidivism appear to be doing well on employment. The number of clients reporting employment would be compared to a reduced total.

Other Outcome Measures. Though there is no consistency between projects, some of the evaluations summarized in Exhibit IV-1 did record outcome measures other than recidivism and employment success. Some such measures dealt with specific elements of the project. For example, two projects dealing with drug addicts used the percent of clients showing drug use in urinalysis as a measure of failure to stop drug use. Other outcome measures involved subjective judgments by the supervisor on the degree of social adjustment exhibited by the probationer at termination or judgments on the project's effectiveness obtained through clients.

There is little discussion of the methodological problems of using these measures in the evaluation reports reviewed, but it would appear that the problems would be quite similar to those discussed above for other measures. For example, urinalysis data would be subject to most of the measurement problems and interactions with intensive probation that were presented in the discussion of recidivism.

Cost and Cost/Benefit Measures

Process measures describe project activities, outcome measures describe project successes, and the relation of these measures to cost defines project productivity. Thus, costs are very important in determining the overall value of an intensive special probation project.

In view of this importance it is somewhat surprising that only two or three of the evaluations reviewed made any serious analysis of costs. Most reports did not mention costs at all (except occasionally to comment that cost analyses should have been made). Studies which did mention costs typically limited analysis to the calculation of the ratio of total project budgets to the number of clients served.

The most serious analysis of costs and benefits contained among the evaluations of Exhibit IV-1 was performed in connection with a Pennsylvania project. [92] Total annual costs per client were estimated as the sum of the following:

1. Direct and indirect costs of operating the project
2. Costs of detention of arrested clients
3. Welfare support costs of unemployed clients
4. Tax revenue paid by employed clients.

Since this measure of costs includes some effects of recidivism, employment success, and the investment in the project, it was possible to make rather complete comparisons between the project group and a comparison group. Of course, the development of the costs used in the comparison involved data from a number of sources and various assumptions and reductions. Thus, the reliability of the analysis poses a serious question.

Some experts in the field of correctional evaluation have advocated the use of even more complete measures of costs and benefits. For example, Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks commented that,

"There are at least three types of costs that should be included in a determination of economic benefits of treatment programs. The first type is direct program costs. Such costs include staff salaries, physical facilities, court costs, police processing costs, and detention costs. The second type is indirect costs to government. Such costs include loss of revenue derived from state income and sales tax paid by offenders, and welfare costs paid to offenders' dependents. The third type includes social costs. Social costs include wages lost by the victim, the loss of money by a robbery or a burglary victim, and the human damage done by an opiate addict to himself." [146]

A study comparing costs of incarceration with a model probation program for Texas covered the first type in some depth, the second in part, but did not venture into the third. [194]

Evaluation Design

Every evaluation has or should have a research design, i.e., a plan of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to research questions. In intensive special probation projects the design usually seeks to determine whether a change in outcome measures during the time of the project can be attributed to the activities of the project. A design which can make such a determination satisfactorily is said to be valid. In the next several subsections, the validity of evaluation designs used in probation is classified and analyzed.

Validity of Evaluation Designs. The validity of an evaluation design is a direct consequence of the degree to which causes other than the project treatment which might produce a change in outcome measures have been controlled by the design. Campbell and Stanley in their classic work on quasi-experimental design, and Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks in their study of correctional treatment provide a classification of designs according to what is controlled. [208, 146] In an effort to gain some insight about evaluation practice in intensive special probation, the studies reviewed in Exhibit IV-1 were classified along similar lines. The number of studies included in each category is shown in Exhibit IV-2.

The least valid form of evaluation is an after-only study which merely reports various items measured during the project. With such designs it is not even possible to determine if outcomes changed let alone whether changes were caused by the project. Only three of the studies in Exhibit IV-1 fit the after-only classification.

A much more common evaluation form is the before-after approach which compares outcome measures produced by the projects to similarly calculated ones before the project was implemented. A total of nine of the studies in Exhibit IV-1 took the before-after approach. In some cases, "before" data

EXHIBIT IV-2

Classification of Evaluation Designs

Classification Used in Intensive Special Probation	Number
After-only	3
Before-After	9
Group Comparison	10
Control Group	6

were based on a city- or state-wide baseline analysis of the situation when the project was implemented, and in others comparisons were drawn directly with past performance of the probation or parole agency housing the project.

Before-after analyses are able to detect changes in outcome measures, but they are seriously lacking in validity because they are unable to control many alternative explanations of the changes. Several of the before-after evaluations of intensive probation projects experienced such problems. One example is a Virginia study which reported being unable to determine if revocations were diminished by project activity -- because there had been a long term trend toward fewer revocations in the agency housing the project. [57] In a Dallas study, reclassification of marijuana possession as a misdemeanor in the middle of the project's operating period substantially changed the mix of offenders being served by the project. Again, a change in recidivism cannot be convincingly attributed to the project. [95]

These limitations of the before-after design were often recognized by the authors of evaluations. However, many commented that the environment of their projects did not permit any better controlled evaluation. In some cases the project provided probation service in an area where it had essentially not existed before. There was no similar group undergoing a different type of probation with which the project group might be compared. In other cases the specialized nature of the project population (e.g., drug addicts) made comparison to another probation program essentially meaningless. In conjunction with a special probation program for Chicanos in Utah, a statistical analysis demonstrated the non-comparabilities between Chicanos and any other ethnic offender groups (a comparison group of Chicanos was devised). [144] Finally, some projects set out to classify offenders and assign the highest

risk clients to the project. Thus, if the classification were successful, the project group would not be comparable to other probation programs.

When some separate, but relatively comparable group is available, the research design is called a group comparison. This design approach cannot rule out all differences in outcomes that may be caused by differences in the project group and comparison group populations, but it allows stronger inferences than a before-after comparison. Changes in the external environment and consequences of historical trends are reasonably well controlled.

Among the evaluations reviewed in Exhibit IV-1, group comparisons were the most popular design. A total of ten studies used the approach. The typical choice for a comparison group was probationers being supervised under the usual probation system in the same jurisdiction as the project. For example, a Pennsylvania project which involved decentralization of probation services to five neighborhood offices was compared to normal supervision of the probationers remaining under the control of the downtown office. [88]

Since comparison groups in the group comparison design are not randomly determined or exactly matched to the project group, some group differences prior to project participation which might account for outcome differences are bound to be present. In many cases the evaluations performed some analysis of such differences in the two groups. Among the items which seemed to introduce serious group differences were the following:

1. Different mixes of probationers and parolees (parolees appear to be higher risk offenders)
2. Higher proportion of high risk offenders in the project group when it is selected by locating neighborhood supervision offices in high crime neighborhoods

3. Lower proportion of high risk offenders in the project group when it is selected by locating offices in suburbs or rural areas and compared to statewide figures, heavily weighted with central city offenders.

The most valid designs used in the special probation evaluations summarized in Exhibit IV-1 entail comparisons drawn to a scientifically chosen control group. Control group designs operate either by matching clients in the project group to those in a control group on the basis of personal characteristics likely to be associated with their supervision needs, or, preferably, by creating a pool of qualified clients and randomly allocating them to project and control groups. In either case the fact that the characteristics of the project and control groups are quite similar leads to stronger conclusions than those which can be drawn from the group comparison design.

Six of the projects reviewed in Exhibit IV-1 used the control group evaluation design, two with matched control groups and four with random allocation. In all cases a number of demographic indices were recorded on clients in the two groups and compared after the groups had been selected. In at least the case of a Florida study such a comparison showed the groups differed on fourteen of 23 characteristics compared. [93] Such differences made the evaluator question whether the allocation process had been as random as intended in the research design. In other studies, the differences were not as severe, but still raised doubts about the evaluation. However, no case was found where the evaluator made a systematic attempt to correct for group differences, e.g., by the analysis of covariance techniques.

Problems in Implementing Designs. The validity of the best evaluation design can be defeated if the research plan implicit in the design is not properly implemented. In common with many other corrections researchers, the evaluators whose reports are summarized in Exhibit IV-1 encountered numerous practical problems in carrying out their original designs.

The most common problem of this type arose from conflicts between the service function and the research function of the probation project being evaluated. For example, judges sometimes chose to specifically order that particularly high risk offenders be assigned to a project-operated intensive probation unit. Such decisions defeat a control or comparison group design conceived around the assumption that clients of the project group are fairly typical of the overall probation population.

A related difficulty was reported in some Pennsylvania projects. In an effort to gain maximum benefit from an intensive probation unit which had been established, a system of transfers was used. Any client of the intensive unit who had completed several months without incident was transferred to routine, less-intense supervision so that more persons could be handled by the intensive probation unit. Such a transfer threatens a comparison group design which measures differences between the intensive unit and regular probation because some clients are moving back and forth between the two groups.

Another common problem arises when several different services are introduced into a jurisdiction at the same time. Many of the projects listed in Exhibit IV-1 simultaneously undertook to reduce caseload, increase contacts with community agencies, introduce group counseling, decentralize supervision offices, etc. In other cases each project had a single function, but several were simultaneously instituted in the same jurisdiction. Both

these approaches may be the result of very sound program planning. However, no research design can make it possible to distinguish between the effects of the particular program elements unless they are not all applied to the same population. In one case, a Texas study attempted to compare the effectiveness of several independent sub-programs by computing separate recidivism rates for each. [95]

A final set of recurring problems in implementing evaluation designs arises when the operation of the intensive special probation project affects the level of service provided by normal probation. An example is a group of projects implemented simultaneously in Philadelphia. All these projects used as a comparison the normal probation supervision provided by a central Philadelphia office. However, the cumulative effect of all the special probation projects was to substantially reduce the number of clients to be serviced by the central office. Thus, caseloads in the central office were substantially reduced, and it became questionable in some cases whether supervision was actually more intense in the projects. A Maryland project illustrates the complementary problem -- in maintaining the special project caseloads at a low level, the supposed control group was forced to operate with caseloads considerably greater than normal. [163]

Conclusive evaluation is not simple to attain. In conclusion, there are a number of threats to validity, even for the control group design, including the following:

1. Changes in outcome measures may take place during a study, such as, revised criminal statistics accounting, changes in revocation standards, or reclassification of offenses.
2. Demonstration of statistically significant outcomes is more difficult given problems of measurement reliability, wide ranges of clients served by a project, and variation in actual treatment implementation (for instance, it is easy to imagine volunteer supervisors' actions varying greatly from one to another) -- such factors make the evaluation "noisier".

3. Localized influences may cloud interpretation -- for instance, special projects may be implemented at a very few offices while a few other probation offices constitute the control groups. In such a situation, anything affecting a particular office will seriously affect one of the groups and not the other. Or, in some cases the number of supervisors participating is so low that their individual personalities may be critical to observed project outcomes.
4. The independence of the special project and control groups may come into question when these are organizationally and geographically connected. For instance, a special listing of available community services prepared for a project might become available to the control probation supervisors. Or control-group supervisors not chosen to be in the special project may exert extra effort to show up the special project; conversely, they may become demoralized by their lack of attention, special resources, or lowered caseloads. To prevent such demotivation, program directors may attempt to compensate, giving other special inducements to the "normal" probation groups. In any of these instances, the usefulness of the comparison between the special project and control group is in doubt.
5. Evaluation itself may affect activities and outcomes -- heightened expectations may motivate probation supervisors and probationers, the novelty of specialized treatment may encourage special performance ("Hawthorne effect"), or apprehension of evaluation may lead to subversion of data collection or even project implementation.
6. The generalizability of evaluation findings is naturally a function of the special treatment or combination of treatments used, the

particular client population served, the project environment, and¹²³
the period of history in which the study took place. In addition,
results may reflect only particular treatments and measures and might
not affect other measures similarly. Because a caseload of 50 does
not lead to a reduction in revocation rate may not imply that a case-
load of 35 would not lead to a lowered post-probation conviction rate.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Many issues surround intensive special probation. In this presentation the issues have been presented in two categories: (1) theoretical and operational, and (2) measurement and evaluation. One of the primary theoretical and operational issues is the inability to guide intensive special probation projects on the basis of theoretical certainty. Lack of concrete evidence on effectiveness contributes to this uncertainty. The resulting dubiousity, considerably complicates effective design and operation of ISP's.

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

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

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

The use of volunteers has extended service to probationers and reduced the caseload of probation officers. Lack of success is attributed more to managerial problems than to an invalid concept. The issue is in operationalizing the

volunteer programs to insure effectiveness. Important words in success are coordination and supervision of the volunteers.

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

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

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

The conditions under which ISP projects exist include the very large area of caseload size. There are those who believe that asking caseload questions without other considerations is a worthless venture. In favor of caseload reduction is the intervention hypothesis that says

that more time will be available for the probation officer to devote to the probationer, thereby building a more personal relationship which will reduce recidivism. Contrary to this notion are many studies which have rendered the hypothesis inconclusive. One reason for increased recidivism in caseload reduction projects is the increased surveillance of the probationer. Contrary to this argument, if probationers are given intensive supervision of one hour per week, their activities for the other 167 hours are unobservable. The studies that have been conducted point to a need to determine the effects of graduated caseloads on the range of offender types and treatment methods.

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

At issue is the relationship between the probationer and the probation officer. Since the probation officer can recommend revocation of probation, much power is present. The probation officer has to weigh the generation of a trusting relationship to responsibility for reporting revocable acts to the courts. Thus, recidivism can largely be a function of the personality of the probation officer, and particularly

the probation officer's values. These values vary with age, race, sex, education, agency policy, and so on.

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

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

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

Cost is a significant issue in intensive special probation as it influences design, operations and continuity. Cost analyses always

show ISP to be cheaper than incarceration but, at best, this is a weak argument. The funding question associated with costs is forever lurking. Many ISPs have received short term funding and their continued existence is an annual nightmare.

Quite a different set of issues is the one related to measurement and evaluation. One important class of measures is that which concerns processes such as caseload or workload. Neither caseload nor workload is defined in a standard manner. The numerator in determining average caseload contains the average number of active cases. Determining this number creates problems since some clients may have absconded, some may be on mail-in report only, or other status. When determining workload, credit is given for presentence investigations. The ratio of credit given varies from 5 active cases equals one presentence investigation all the way to 14 active cases equals one presentence investigation.

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

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

crime. This listing could continue, but the point is that there are many variations of what constitutes recidivism.

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

Designs used by projects that recently underwent evaluation were studied. The after-only design is the least valid form, and was only used in three of 28 cases. A much more common design was the before-after comparison with nine of 28 cases using this approach. Unfortunately, before-after designs fail to control for a number of threats to validity (history, instrumentation, and maturation, for example).

Ten of the 28 evaluations used a group comparison. This was the most popular design. Since comparison groups are not randomly assigned, some group differences may account for differences in outcome. However, the group comparison is superior to the before-after design. Six of the 28 evaluation designs employed a control group. Many of the evaluations indicated problems with the control groups not achieving the randomness desired.

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

Another common implementation problem occurred when several projects operated in the same jurisdiction at the same time. However, no research design can make it possible to distinguish between the effects of the particular program elements unless they are not all applied to the same population. A final set of recurring problems in implementing evaluation designs arises when the operation of the ISP project affects the level of service provided by normal probation. One community had so many ISPs underway that the normal probation achieved a marked caseload reduction and also became an ISP.

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250. David I. Morgan, Letter on Issues in Effective Probation Supervision, Probation of Youth Offenders, South Carolina Department of Correction, Columbia, South Carolina, February 16, 1976.
251. Professor Norvell Morris, Letter on Issues in Effective Probation Supervision, University of Chicago Law School, Chicago, Illinois, February 16, 1976.
252. Telephone Conversation of February 18, 1976, Between Investigator and Edward Docekal, Law Enforcement Specialist, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, for Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Grant Number 76-NI-99-0045.
253. Professor Daniel Glaser, Letter on Issues in Effective Probation Supervision, Department of Sociology, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, February 16, 1976.

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