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PROBATION ON TRIAL

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Contents

ACQUISITION iii

Preface iii

Acknowledgements v

Executive Summary vii

Chapter I: The Problem of Assessment of Adult Probation 1 48162

Introduction 1

Methods 4

The Assessment Problem 8

Chapter II. Probation and Its Results 27 48163

Clients and Caseloads: Who Does What with What and to Whom? 28

Prediction: Who Succeeds or Fails? 38

Success and Failure: What Does It Mean? 45

Treatment: What Works with Whom, and in What Respect? 56

Overview. Clients and Caseloads 71

Chapter III. Clients and Caseloads: An Assessment of Critical Issues 75 48164

Bernadette A. Fiore

Introduction 75

Review of the Literature on Caseloads 76

Results of Empirical Research on Caseloads 81

Summary and Conclusions on Caseloads 98

Review of the Literature on Management/Classification of Caseloads 99

Results of the Studies on Management/Classification of Caseloads 102

Summary and Conclusions on Management/Classification of Caseloads 111

Review of the Literature on Probation vs. Institutionalization 112

Results of the Studies on Probation vs. Institutionalization 113

Summary and Conclusions on Probation vs. Institutionalization 115

Conclusion 116

Overview. Prediction 123

Chapter IV. Predicting Probation Outcomes: *48165*
An Assessment of Critical Issues 129
Jay S. Albanese

The Nature and Purposes of Prediction 129
Methodological Issues 132
Management Issues 152
Conclusion 169

Overview. Revocation/Recidivism 179

Chapter V. Critical Assessment of *48166*
Revocation/Recidivism Statistics 183
Jerie H. Powell

Introduction 183
Problems and Needs 185
Research Questions 200
Analysis 201
Findings 218
Summary and Conclusion 234

Overview. Treatment 245

Chapter VI. Assessment of Probation *48167*
Treatment Issues 249
Janet R. Storti

Chapter VII. Conclusions and a General *48168*
Recommendation 283

Bibliography 287

Appendix A. Abstracts 311
Clients/Caseloads 313
Prediction 411
Revocation/Recidivism 469
Treatment Modalities 517

Preface

This report is a part of a larger study of adult probation being conducted by the Program for the Study of Crime and Delinquency at Ohio State University. In seeking to contribute to a team effort in that study, it was agreed that the focus of the effort reported here would be limited in order to avoid duplications of effort with other teams. Thus, the present review has considered only studies in *adult* probation, although many investigations of delinquent samples may very well be pertinent to the issues raised.

Similarly, there has been no attempt to survey or assess literature bearing on these issues but reporting studies of samples of parolees. Indeed, there is a comparative wealth of literature concerning parole that provides evidence in many of the questions raised; but the review of these studies was beyond the scope of this report.

It is agreed that an assessment of issues of probation clients and caseloads, recidivism, prediction, and treatment modalities is woefully incomplete without a review and integration of study results with youthful and paroled populations. Similarly, a comprehensive effort to address such issues should include assessments of additional literature, including statements of theory and such concerns as the general state of the art of information system development and of procedures for decision-making in sentencing and probation. Thus, this report cannot be considered to be a comprehensive

study of the issues raised.

In developing materials for use in the larger study, a team approach was used. The co-authors of the report had responsibilities for supervision and coordination, and the contributors had responsibilities for the four specific areas of clients/caseloads, prediction, recidivism, and treatment modalities. It was thought that the variety of perceptions afforded by such a team approach should be useful and that, as an assistance in avoidance of bias on the part of the authors, the contributed papers which are chapters three through six of the report, should not be revised or extensively edited by the authors.

Acknowledgements

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Arminé Dikijian and Jean Scott at the National Council on Crime and Delinquency library assisted in locating further materials for inclusion in the review, as did Professor Robert Martinson; and their help was much appreciated. Cathleen Suarez gave valuable research assistance, and the authors wish also to thank staff members Myrna Cedeno and Rebeca Daniels for their perserverance and care in preparing the various necessary manuscripts, including this one.

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The opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views or endorsements of the U.S. Department of Justice. Persons mentioned above are due credit but not blame for any shortcomings of the report.

Probation on Trial

Executive Summary

This report, part of a larger study, is based upon a review of selected adult probation studies done in the United States since 1950 on four topics: clients and caseloads, recidivism, prediction, and treatment modalities.

Probation is on trial because "experts" claim that it (a) is corrections' best hope, (b) makes no difference, or (c) should be abolished. Critical issues in the four study areas were defined, and available evidence from about 130 studies was reviewed. Using various criteria, 104 studies were selected for analysis.

Commonly encountered methodological difficulties, often militating against generalizations from reported study results, are cited and discussed in Chapter I. In the four study areas, present evidence suggests the following:

Clients and Caseloads

1. Probationers tend, compared with prisoners, to be younger and to be property offenders.
2. "Successful" probationers tend to be employed, married, to have fewer prior arrests than "unsuccessful" probationers, and to be convicted of crimes other than property offenses.
3. Participation in Alcoholics Anonymous has been reported to be associated with success, although

not invariably.

4. Evidence on effects of reduced caseload size is mixed. More intensive supervision may result in more technical violations, but fewer new convictions.

Prediction

1. Methods for prediction of probation outcomes are available, but have been little used.
2. The development of such methods may be useful to both placement decisions and treatment evaluation research, contributing to a probation management information system.

Recidivism

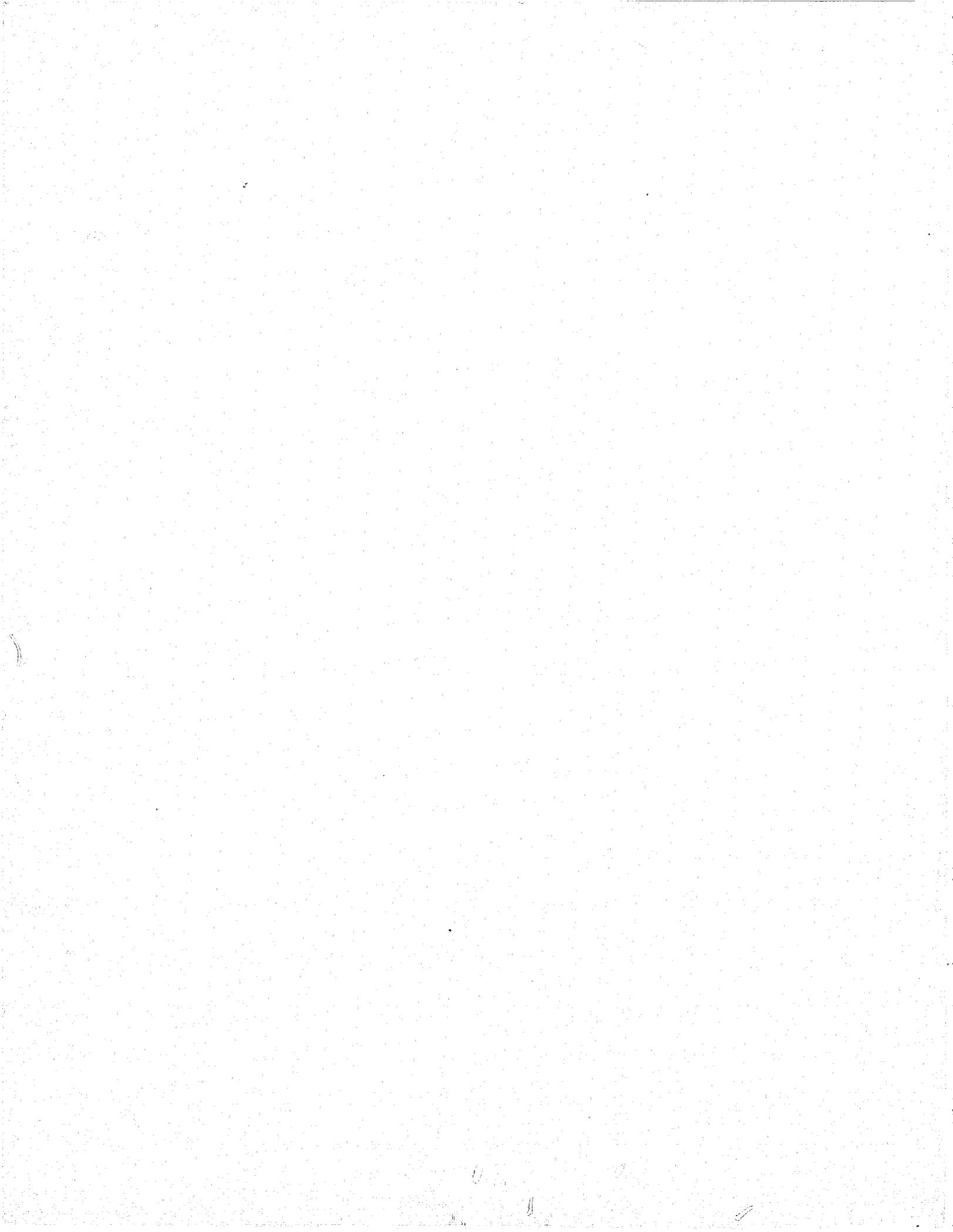
1. There is no commonly used and agreed-upon definition of this concept; thus, the results of ten studies of recidivism cannot meaningfully be compared or combined. No standard rate of recidivism can be cited.
2. A "recidivism" measure considered to be potentially more useful is proposed as part of a needed probation management system.

Treatment

1. Promising results reported include the following:
 - a. Group counseling and therapy methods are reported as effective with sex offenders.
 - b. "Contract" probation is reported as useful toward completion of a probation plan.

- c. Probationer unemployment may be reduced by a program of "vocational upgrading."
- d. Other programs reported as having some success include a methadone maintenance project, a behavior modification program for adult drug offenders, and a specialized program for alcoholic offenders.

In most areas of "critical issues" on the topics studied, the necessary research has not been done. A probation management information system is claimed to be needed, and an outline of such a system is proposed. The program advocated could provide a systematic basis for providing judges, planners, and probation managers with information needed for more rational probation decisions. If probation is on trial, all the evidence is not yet in; but methods for gaining the needed evidence are available and should be used.



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Chapter I

The Problem of Assessment of Adult Probation

Introduction

Probation in the United States now has become so controversial that it is both heralded as the best hope of effective, humane and efficient corrections, and marked as a system that should be abolished. Consider these recent divergent views:

...probation is viewed as the brightest hope for corrections...

National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals¹

Conventional probation -- releasing an offender on the understanding that occasionally he would visit his probation officer -- would be virtually abolished.

James Q. Wilson, Thinking About Crime²

...in the case of treatment programs administered outside penal institutions, we simply cannot say that this treatment... has an appreciable effect on offender behavior.

Robert Martinson, What Works? -- questions and answers about prison reform.³

Even a cursory review of the literature in this field discloses that the precise nature of probation in the future is open to considerable speculation and doubt. On the one hand, the National Advisory Commission in its 1973 report on corrections said:

...it is essential that alternatives to institutionalization be expanded in use and enhanced in resources. The most promising process by which this can be accomplished in corrections -- probation -- is now being used more as a disposition. Even greater use can be projected for the future...

Results of probation are as good, if not better, than those of incarceration. With increased concern about crime, reduction of recidivism, and allocation of limited tax dollars, more attention should be given to probation.⁴

On the other hand, certain influential students of crime and corrections have assumed positions on probation that are at polar extremes with the NAC position. James Q. Wilson advocates abolition of conventional probation, which would be replaced by penalties "that involved a deprivation of liberty, even if brief."⁵ Such deprivation and its length would not be governed by the prospects for rehabilitation. Ernest van den Haag, in his book Punishing Criminals, proposes severely limiting the use of probation by prohibiting "probation or suspended sentences if a defendant is convicted for the second time or had more than three arrests not leading to conviction..."⁶ This recommendation is said to be based upon "the fact that so much crime is committed by offenders out on probation." Norval Morris seems to suggest some support for the institution of probation as a criminal justice system component, while taking a slap at probation supervision, when he remarks that, "One important latent purpose of probation is to allow a judge to give the appearance of doing something while in fact doing nothing."⁷

Some of these positions have been derived from only a limited or cursory review of the state of the art in this field. Another potentially major influence on the future of probation, however, is based upon a careful analysis of systematic empirical knowledge about the success or failure of efforts to rehabilitate offenders. This is the controversial work of Lipton, Martinson and Wilks.⁸ These authors analyzed and summarized 231 studies of correctional rehabilitation. Unfortunately, what can be learned about *adult probation* services in the United States -- the subject of this report -- is limited. Only five pertinent probation studies were included in that review. Four of them assessed recidivism, and one evaluated also the effect of probation on vocational adjustment. One study assessed personality and attitude changes associated with intensive probation services and supervision.

The purpose of this report is to define and discuss some critical issues about adult probation in the United States and to seek out and to review the evidence bearing on these issues. It will focus on current knowledge, i.e., after 1950, about probation activities and outcomes in order, it is hoped, to contribute to an assessment of the effectiveness of probation services. Building on a foundation of empirical knowledge may help ensure that probation may have a more rationally determined future. If we know more about the state of the art and about where we have been, then perhaps we can

know more about where we are going and should be going. Is probation the brightest hope for corrections or should it be abolished? How should we weigh the considerably lessened expense and greater humanity of probation against potentially greater incapacitative and deterrent effects of imprisonment?

Methods

The method used to assess the state of existing knowledge about probation used the aforementioned works as a source for research problems and hypotheses. It is not claimed that these works contain the universe of knowledge about probation, nor even that they are the best available. They were somewhat arbitrarily selected because of potential influence and because they are controversial. Assertions and conclusions have been taken as hypotheses to be subjected to the test of empirical evidence. Attempts will be made to answer some of the questions thus posed. It was assumed that evidence bearing on such hypotheses and questions could add to our knowledge about adult probation services, while areas in which no such evidence is found could usefully pinpoint important needs for research.

The basis for the search for evidence was our review and analysis of about 130 available studies in four related areas: probation client/caseload characteristics, probation prediction, probation revocation and recidivism, and probation treatment modalities.

An attempt was made to find and obtain reports from all

relevant studies conducted since January 1, 1950. Studies were identified from: Criminology Index; the National Council on Crime and Delinquency Library and abstract files; abstracts from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service; the Library of the Center for Knowledge in Criminal Justice Planning; the libraries of Rutgers and Ohio State Universities; and selected bibliographies and literature reviews. A copy of each identified study was obtained for review.

All studies located are listed in the bibliography, but this report is based mainly on the review of a selected, smaller number. The criteria for this selection varied among the four study areas. If any study, reviewed for selection according to criteria for one area but not selected, was pertinent also to another area, that study was next considered according to the selection criteria for the second topic.

Studies in the client/caseload area were selected for further review only if the study reported data for a clearly defined sample of probationers. This seemed necessary because if the sample studied is not clearly delineated, it is not possible to judge the degree to which generalizations to other samples or populations might be warranted. Some descriptions of the offenders under study was also a necessary element for inclusion in the review, since a major interest was in possible effects of varying caseload composition or size. If, however, a study lacked these elements but appeared to present novel implications, such as innovative ideas for

caseload management, it was, nevertheless, included. Thirty-eight studies were thus selected for review in the client/caseload area.

Prediction studies were reviewed for evidence of (i.e., for data concerning) reliability and validity. The importance of these concerns is discussed in Chapter IV. If such evidence was entirely lacking, but the study suggested special promise, such as a novel approach to prediction, it was nevertheless included. If not, the study was not considered further. Thirty-four studies met the criteria for inclusion in the review of the prediction area.

For studies related to probation revocation and recidivism, the presence of definitions of probationer outcomes (i.e., "success" or "failure") and of the sample or samples studied provided the criteria. Absent such definitions, the degree to which warranted generalizations might be drawn from the results of the study is very low. Although this may seem so obvious as not to require mentioning, many reports may be found in which the terms "revocation" or "recidivism" are found to be used with no further definition, and it is then impossible to know what is meant precisely by these terms. Seventeen studies were thus accepted for review.

For the selection of studies in the treatment modalities area, the use of an experimental design (including an element of randomness) or an alternative design intended to deal with the problem of selection bias affecting comparisons

was required for selection for further review. (The latter would include various "quasi-experimental" designs for statistical corrections for bias.) If no such design was reported, the study nevertheless was reviewed for evidence of particularly innovative or unusual treatment techniques. If there were none, the study was not considered further. Fifteen studies met the selection criteria.

An abstract was prepared for each study accepted for further review after considering these criteria. These abstracts have been collected and included in this report, as Appendix A. Each selected study was further examined, in order to assist in a judgment about the confidence apparently warranted to be placed in the conclusions reached. For this assessment, we sought to determine whether or not: the study report presented a clear definition of the problem under study; fundamental assumptions underlying the study (whether implicit or explicit) limit appropriate generalizations from results; the methods used, including sampling techniques and analytic methods, were appropriate to the problem; the stated research plan was followed in its attempted implementation; data are presented that support the results reported; and statements of generalization of reported results appeared to be warranted in the light of these issues.

After this process of identification, selection, abstraction and review, each of four research workers prepared the

papers that are Chapters III, IV, V, and VI of this report. This process is depicted in Figure 1.

The Assessment Problem

Rephrased, a familiar quote from the Watergate era becomes one of the most critical issues confronting present students of probation: "What do we know and how do we know it?" There are reports of research, with conclusions reached. But there are corollary questions that must be considered in seeking to answer the first: To what extent do faults in research designs, difficulties in research implementation, errors of methods, or flaws in logic require that research conclusions must be only cautiously accepted or even discounted? How much reliable information is left?

In correctional research there are many opportunities along the path from the research design to a conclusion for a study to veer off course, which deviation can limit the confidence which may be placed in the findings. Some of these pitfalls with respect to some of the studies reviewed for this report may be examined to illustrate these problems. Research done in action settings is easily criticized after the fact, in the manner of the traditional "Monday morning quarterback." This is not our purpose, and we are aware that many of the faults identified may have been a function of the circumstances of time and place that precluded the use of what we (and perhaps the research workers involved) perceive as better methods. The problems we wish to cite,



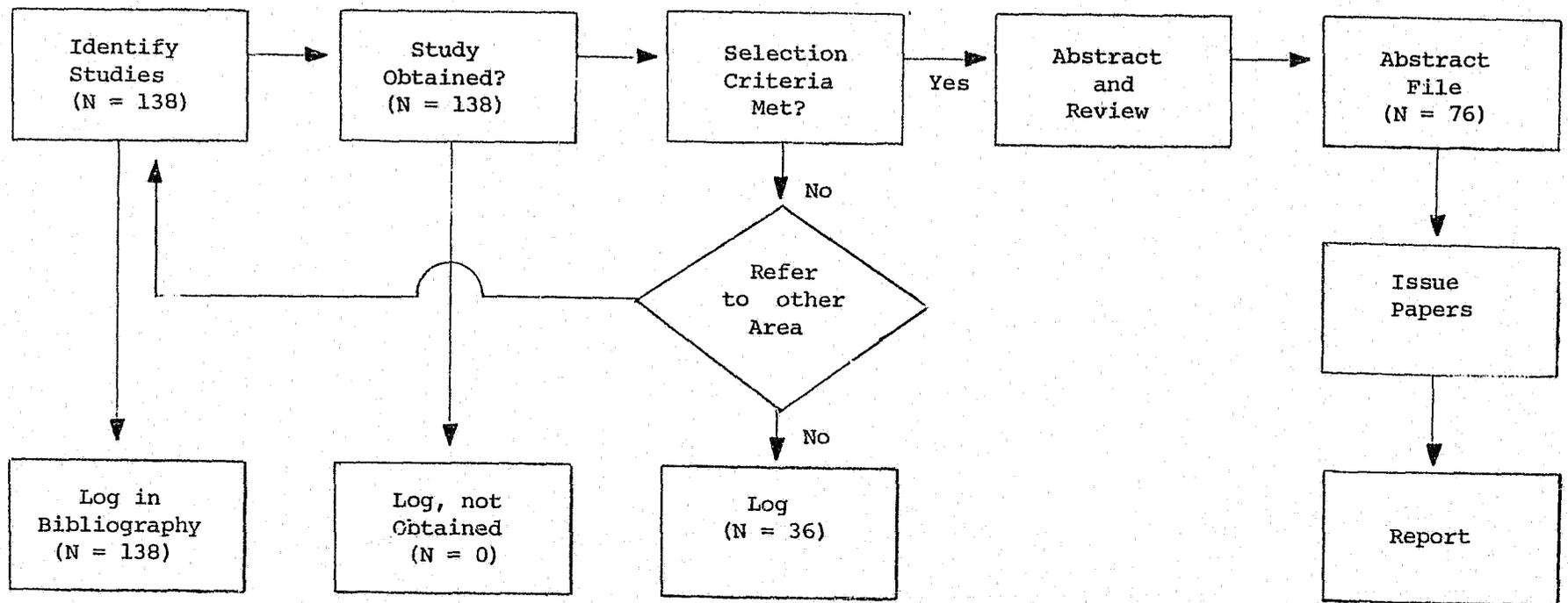


Figure 1

Selection of Studies for Review

however, set limits to the conclusions that can be drawn. As a result, these issues of research methods themselves are indeed "critical issues" for probation. If a review of such issues can serve as a learning tool, the base of knowledge about probation research can be expanded.

It should not be assumed that all the studies reviewed suffered from the problems described, nor that good examples of good research procedures were not found. Rather, it is hoped that it is understood that we wish to highlight some frequently encountered problems that seriously limit what can be learned from the entire set of studies.

An obvious essential first element is the careful formulation of the research design prior to implementation of a study. A carefully-planned research design is important to keep the study on course. The San Francisco Project⁹ provides a useful example of a study which has been criticized for yielding little knowledge, due to a poorly-formulated design. That criticism was that "...method and direction were sought after the research was initiated... The absence of a well-developed theoretical framework resulted in a lack of orientation and loss of efficiency."¹⁰

This criticism asserts also the need for theory, widely urged as essential for the formulation of a research problem.¹¹ O'Leary has stressed the importance of a theoretical basis for research: "Without a theory specifying some causal process, evaluation is frequently blind and dead-end."¹²

Nelson and Richardson add that research without theory does "not promote any understanding of either causes or consequences."¹³

Theory provides the basis for development of hypotheses for evaluating program effectiveness. Martinson elaborates:

It is only with a clear statement of theoretical assumptions that:

1. it can be determined whether or not a treatment program is in fact doing what it is purported to be doing;
2. the kinds of offenders that the program should have an impact on can be clearly specified;
3. the kinds of behavior that can be altered by the treatment can be spelled out;
4. the length of time it should take the treatment to have effect and the length of time treatment effects are likely to last can be specified; and
5. the processes by which restoration of the offender to the community while public safety is maintained can be identified and efforts can be made to expand the implementation of these processes.¹⁴

An important managerial element of the development of a research plan is the ability to anticipate and provide for future contingencies. The absence of such planning may lead to research merely tangential to the main question under study or to a severely limited basis for conclusions about that original issue.¹⁵

Similarly, the social, political, and environmental context of the research should be examined carefully during

the initial planning to identify possible impediments which could throw the study off course. A lack of careful, detailed planning was apparent in some of the studies reviewed. For example, during the data collection for one study it was found that some clients could not complete the testing instrument because they were illiterate.¹⁶ This resulted in missing data and sample shrinkage, with the possible introduction of bias. Examination of the study group prior to data collection or a pre-test of the data collection instrument, could have uncovered this problem; and adjustments in the research plan then could have prevented the loss of important information.

The selection of an appropriate sample (or samples) for study is another critical element of research planning. It is a fundamental point that if a sample is selected for study that is not representative of the population of interest, the findings may not appropriately be generalized to that population. There are techniques available, such as probability sampling, that can ensure that a sample may be considered representative. Commonly, a representative sample is sought by taking a random sample. The criterion of randomness is met if and only if each individual in the population has an equal likelihood of being included in the sample. Unfortunately, this requirement is sometimes not understood. "Random" is equated with "haphazard," or samples are drawn on some basis of convenience, with a consequent introduction

of possible bias.

One study, the results of which cannot be considered conclusive because of a possible selection bias, focused on probation and employment.¹⁷ The sample was a composite of probationers, some of whom participated in a job bank, and some who did not. Since the probationers were not randomly assigned to the experimental group, and no other means of assuring the comparability of the groups was established, the effect of such participation cannot be determined.

In another study, no provision was made to include new probation cases added to the population from which the sample was drawn.¹⁸ Similarly, in another, sample size was reduced substantially due to terminations, absconding, and other transfers during the study period.¹⁹ Failure to provide for such occurrences in the research plan can bias the sample, which then cannot be assured to be reasonably representative of the population.

Sample size is also an important consideration. Large samples require proportional resources and are difficult to manage; this can affect the quality of the data collected.²⁰ Yet, with a very small sample, there is a greater chance that the sample will not accurately reflect the population, since standard errors increase as sample size decreases. It is desirable to have as large a carefully-selected sample as both time and resources permit.

The use of a classical research design generally pro-

vides a very useful procedure in evaluation of program effectiveness; but numerous difficulties often are encountered in attempts to use such designs. This type of plan requires the selection of samples such that an experimental group (treated) and control group (untreated) are created. Subjects are randomly allocated to both. Typically, "before" measures are made of each group to determine a base line against which change can be measured. The experimental group is then exposed to treatment, controlling or restricting the interference of unwanted outside factors. After treatment, an "after" measure is taken in both groups to determine the changes that have occurred. Because of difficulties in implementing and adhering to this type of research design in probation work, compromises frequently must be made in order to conduct the evaluations. Common problems include:

1. There may be inadequate resources to meet needs for data collection, analyses, and related professional research skills;
2. There may be considerations of law and ethics, when establishment of control groups requires withholding program services from some persons, or if establishment of experimental groups includes elements of coercion;
3. Political pressures or administrative concerns may militate against the feasibility of establishing such a design;

4. After the study begins, the condition of random allocation is abandoned for reasons already noted, administrative convenience, or simply error; and selective bias has crept into the design.

A commonly-used but inadequate type of study utilizes an "after-only" design. In such a study, a group receives treatment and then a measurement is made, ostensibly to determine what changes have occurred. No control group is used for comparison, and there is no measurement of the prior state of affairs and no basis for estimating expected outcomes. It is thus not possible to determine the extent to which treatment may be considered responsible for any change.

The "before-after" design may provide better evidence, although a control group is still lacking. A measure of the dependent variable is taken both before and after treatment. Various potential sources of error are inherent in this design, particularly the possibility of selection bias, such that attributing any observed change to treatment is hazardous at best.

A third compromise design incorporates a control group into the "after-only" design. In such a research plan, the control group, which should be as similar to the experimental group prior to treatment as possible, is measured on the dependent variable. The inclusion of such a comparison group strengthens the "after-only" design.²¹

If one asks about the effectiveness of probation, or

of specialized probation services, one must ask, "Compared with what?" The importance of comparisons in probation evaluation research is apparent; yet many of the studies reviewed lacked this vital element. Various studies are reported that lack either a control group in the sense of a classic experimental design, comparison groups considered to serve this purpose, or any statistical correction for known bias entering into the comparison. One such study, for example, sought to evaluate a specialized misdemeanor probation program.²² The program was initiated to reduce recidivism among probationers with numerous prior misdemeanor convictions by reducing caseload size and providing special services. Although this group was not compared with others, the author reported that the recidivism of the specially-treated probationers was reduced. Unfortunately, it cannot be determined whether any reduction in recidivism by clients in the program was greater than that achieved by probationers not assigned to the program. Similarly, it is not possible to determine whether a reduction in recidivism was achieved due to the program, or due to differences in the offenders studied, compared with others.

In the studies where control groups were used, they sometimes differed in composition from the experimental group. In one study, the experimental group was composed of high-risk offenders only, while the control group consisted of persons of high, medium, and low risk levels.²³

Comparisons between the groups must take account of such differences, if such comparisons are to be useful.

Hypotheses, preferably stated in advance of the study, should include terms that are clearly defined. Some of the studies lacked such definition. The operational meanings of critical variables or concepts often was unclear. For example, an important variable not defined in any of the studies reviewed was the concept, "individual counseling." Despite the wide variety of behaviors that may reasonably be considered to fall within this general concept, studies were found that purported to study "individual counseling" without specifying what such treatment entailed.

Although it often is recognized that the sampling of *probationers* is important to generalizations about persons on probation, little if any attention is given to the problem of sampling of *treatments* of a given type. Since, for example, "individual counseling" is not all alike, and indeed may proceed from a wide variety of theoretical frames of reference; the simple, unelaborated characterization of the treatment variable as "individual counseling" clearly will give little if any information about individual counseling in general, no matter how the study comes out. Problems of representative sampling of treatments of a given type are extremely complex; but in any treatment study there at least should be a careful description of the treatment used.

In one study, "counseling" was administered to clients

in regular caseloads in the comparison group to test the effectiveness of a behavior modification program for drug offenders.²⁴ How "counseling" given to persons in the control group differed from the "counseling" which was part of the special services provided clients in the experimental group is not at all clear; the regular caseload counseling was not described.

Inadequate operational definitions of the treatment provided were commonly encountered in our review. From the study reports, it often appears that each staff member may be left to interpret individually the treatment to be delivered. Lack of consistency in the delivery of treatment may affect the results; and certainly it would preclude the rigorous examination of consistent application of the treatment technique.

It is well known that the quality of information obtained is a critical element in all correctional research, and that the most sophisticated analytic techniques cannot compensate for poor quality data. It is well known, too, that care must be taken during data collection to ensure its reliability. Thus, it is surprising that the reliability of data is so rarely assessed and reported. In one exception, a study of Probation Prediction Models and Recidivism, Ford and Johnson reported, "[a] survey of the reliability of offender self-report information about work history revealed that, on the average, offenders overestimated their most

recent wage by 51 cents per hour and their length of employment by 13 weeks..."²⁵ Left undiscovered, such differences could lead to inaccurate conclusions, and the example illustrates the need for systematic assessment of the reliability of the data used.

The issue of reliability should be, but often is not, considered when subjective ratings of sampled probationers (for example, by probation officers) form the data base for determining risk levels or the need for treatment and services. Since the use of such subjective ratings can result in different interpretations by different raters and leaves room for personal bias, the need for reliability measurement is apparent.

Pilot studies, to test the feasibility and potential usefulness of research procedures, could have helped investigators avoid some problems encountered. For example, evaluation of the Inner-City Intensified Supervision Caseload²⁶ was hampered, according to its authors, by some such difficulties. Recidivism was defined as any violation of predetermined infractions listed on the data collection instrument. It was discovered during the study that several possible infractions had been omitted, which could have resulted in missing data. Also, there apparently was some confusion on the part of the persons completing the form about how some circumstances were to be recorded. Both problems left room for inconsistencies arising from individual,

unguided interpretations (reducing reliability). The authors recognized that their results could have been distorted as a result.

A related concern is that the measures used be adequate measures of the concepts employed. For example, in one study, the authors used the proportion of persons not on welfare as the measure of probationer self-support and employment.²⁷ It may be argued that this definition does not yield an accurate picture of probationer self-support, since it cannot be assumed that persons not on the welfare rolls are supporting themselves. Public welfare is but one form of assistance; in addition, self-support could come from illegal means. The figures in the study may reflect the numbers of persons who left the welfare system, but perhaps does not give an adequate indicant of those who are self-supporting and employed.

Not all studies reviewed used appropriate statistical methods in analyzing the data that were collected. The provision of percentages was a popular mode of analysis. Although generally appropriate, the use of percentages may provide little information when based upon small samples, since a small numerical difference may produce a disproportionately large change in percentages. Tests of statistical significance were not always reported.

Except for the multivariate analyses of prediction studies, only two variable analyses were performed. In none of

the other studies were the interrelations among the independent variables related to outcome examined. Further, although appropriate techniques are available, statistical controls were not used to check for spurious associations. Failure to consider such interrelations can produce simplistic or misleading findings.

The results of the analyses of the studies were displayed in a variety of ways, some easier to interpret than others. If a table is too simple, the lack of fine differentiation among categories of variables can result in the loss of subtle information. On the other hand, if a table is too complex or awkward, it may prevent the gaining of knowledge, or receive only scant attention from the reader. In any research report, the reader is entitled to assess whether study conclusions are supported by the data. But when the results of analyses are not displayed, as in examples we encountered, this cannot be determined.

Even when results of the analyses are given, misinterpretations are possible and overgeneralizations are all too frequent. The generalizations warranted by the results may be a function of many of the factors discussed above. Particularly, appropriate generalizations often are markedly restricted by the sampling methods used and by the definitions of critical concepts.

The amount of information missing, relative to a small sample (73 probationers and parolees), was an acknowledged

obstacle to interpreting results of the Post-Prison Addictive Treatment Program²⁸ evaluation. The direction of the bias introduced by non-random missing information was not assessed, so the extent to which the sample did not represent the population of all program participants could not be determined. In addition, no control group was utilized in evaluating the program. Under these circumstances, any conclusion that the program was successful in servicing its clients must be viewed with caution.

Thus, there are many opportunities at each step of a research plan for a study to go astray; and some of the studies reviewed did so to a greater or lesser degree. Each detour from the prescribed path can have serious consequences for appropriate and warranted conclusions and generalizations. Some of the serious research difficulties found in some of the probation studies reviewed for this report include the following:

1. Failure to carefully formulate the research design in advance can lead to research that never quite gets off the ground and contributes very little to our understanding of the subject of inquiry. Valid findings may result from such studies, but they are serendipitous.
2. Failure to select a representative sample for study can produce results that do not provide adequate estimates for the population. Thus,

the results of studies based on biased samples may not be accepted with any confidence.

3. Failure to utilize a control group, other comparison groups, or to employ adequate statistical controls has the result of providing no basis for determining whether any observed changes are a result of the particular program under study.
4. Failure to provide for the collection of reliable data and to demonstrate that reliability can produce inaccurate or misleading results.
5. Failure to use appropriate statistical methods can result in spurious findings.
6. Inappropriate conclusions from the findings of careless studies using inappropriate methods can add misinformation to our presumed "body of knowledge."

Methods are available for the careful formulation of research designs, for ensuring careful and adequate sample selections, for statistical control of "nuisance variables" of selection factors biasing comparisons, for measurement of reliability, and for statistical tests of significance appropriate to the level of measurement possible with the data obtainable. A critical issue for probation is found in how to improve the quality of information about probation and its results.

Footnotes

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48163

Chapter II

Probation and Its Results

Four basic areas of probation study are considered in a summary fashion in this chapter. Within each, an attempt has been made to identify critical, rather global issues, and then to determine what, if any, evidence bearing on these issues has been found from our review.

The first area concerns "clients and caseloads," raising such questions as who is placed on probation, whether caseload size makes any difference to probation effectiveness, and whether placements on probation are in any sense more effective, for any classification of persons, than alternative sentencing dispositions such as imprisonment.

The second field of study addresses the problem of prediction of probation outcomes. Methods available for development and validation of procedures for classification of persons with respect to risk of probation violation are reviewed, and the potential utilities of such procedures are discussed.

The concept "recidivism" is next examined. Although there is considerable agreement that this term is an important one, there is little agreement about its most useful definition. A model is proposed for the use of this concept in probation information systems in such a way that continuous guidance can be given to probation program development and management.

The fourth area of study is that of probation as treatment or as a set of types of treatment. Some promising results may be reported; but our review serves to illustrate the complexities of issues raised in this arena and to show that the area of our knowledge of this topic is small, relative to the extent of our ignorance.

Clients and Caseloads: Who Does What with What and to Whom?

The studies of client/caseload characteristics were analyzed in an effort to determine who are the clients for adult probation services and how they are handled under probation supervision. Of particular importance is knowing how these probationers differ from other adult offenders, particularly those incarcerated.

It is a tenet of faith in corrections that persons on probation are less likely to recidivate than those in prison. There is some evidence that this is true. It has been criticized as biased, however, because judges have (deliberately) sentenced the best risks to probation in the first place. There is evidence that this also is true. As a result, comparisons of probation vs. prison outcomes typically have compared "apples and oranges." Probationers have different characteristics than prisoners -- and these differences seem to influence success or failure (however defined).

Our study search disclosed very little that will add to the little already known about the profiles of the types of offenders who receive probation, and the types who are

incarcerated. Some evidence is provided by a Missouri Division of Probation and Parole study covering the fiscal years 1968 to 1970 in which they compared individuals committed to the Missouri Department of Corrections (3,197) to those placed on probation (5,083).¹ The probationers were mostly young first offenders, without significant alcohol or drug problems. The commitments were older than the probationers (averaging 26 years vs. 21); and, the prison commitments were significantly more likely to be divorced (15 percent vs. six). There were no significant differences in educational level; and there were no differences in racial makeup of the two groups. It was determined that there were some differences in the types of offenses committed by probationers and prisoners. Offenders against the person -- particularly robbers -- constituted a greater proportion of the prison population than the probation population. On the other hand, auto thieves and drug offenders were more frequently placed on probation.

A Wisconsin study by Babst and Mannering compared male offenders who were imprisoned with similar types of offenders who were placed on probation.² The population sampled was all adult males released from a state correctional institution or placed on probation from 1954 through 1959. Three factors were found to be most predictive of violation rates for both probationers and parolees: number of prior felony convictions, type of offense, and marital status at time of

commitment. These three factors were also found to have been most important in the initial judicial decision about whether or not to place the offender on probation. Because of selection bias in the sample resulting from judicial discretion -- the judges tended to place those offenders with low violation rates on probation -- and because of differing surveillance tactics between parolees and probationers, no definitive conclusions could be reached. Even though more than ten years have passed, it seems clear that we really do not know with any degree of confidence whether adults are less likely to recidivate if placed on probation rather than in prison, because the necessary research has not been done. By "necessary research" is meant (ideally for the research purpose) the random assignment of offenders to probation and prison and comparison of the results, or (minimally) careful comparisons of such results with non-random samples with statistical control for offender attributes demonstrably related to probation and parole outcomes. The latter type of research does not require the judge to change sentencing practices, and it could provide more information than now is available.

On a related issue, the results are a little less cloudy and inconclusive. Martinson, on the basis of his research, concluded, "...the personal characteristics of offenders -- first offender status, or age, or type of offense -- were more important than the form of treatment in

determining future recidivism."³ We attempted to determine whether this held true in the adult probation studies that we reviewed.

Certain personal characteristics were found to be positively correlated with successful probation outcomes. Kusuda found that 97 percent of probationers -- employed at least 75 percent of the time, living with their spouse and having non-disreputable associates -- successfully completed probation.⁴ Hopkinson and Adams, in their study of a specialized alcoholic caseload project, found the following:

Three factors were apparently most closely associated with a favorable response to probation service:

- 1) prior arrest history: arrest rates prior to the study were lower for the satisfactory subjects and higher for the unsatisfactory subjects.
- 2) mandatory attendance at Alcoholics Anonymous: a mandatory requirement that the offender attend AA meetings seemed to be an important variable. It was associated with a marked reduction in arrest rates for the satisfactory subjects.
- 3) marital status: the offender who was married appeared most likely to respond favorably to a probation program. Those who are separated but not divorced seemed the least likely to respond favorably.⁵

Irish found that an offender's adjustment on probation was related to type of crime committed; that is, probationers convicted of crimes against persons, drug offenses or other offenses were more likely to make a successful adjustment on probation than those convicted of property offenses.⁶ This result runs counter to the way offenders typically are sentenced (for example, in the Missouri study described earlier)

but, of course, the explanation may be found in aims of sentencing other than management of risk, such as deterrence and retribution.

Kavanaugh examined the effects of employment on probation adjustment and found that unemployment resulted in lower relative adjustment scores and a greater likelihood to engage in criminal activity.⁷ Describing the adjustment scale, he stated:

The "relative adjustment scale" is a new method for measuring overall behavior adjustment of offenders. It assesses not only the negative factors of criminal activity, but also the positive factors which reflect adequate social adjustment and allows for graduated outcome indicators other than the traditional two-valued indicators of "success" and "failure."

In only one instance -- attendance at Alcoholics Anonymous for alcoholic offenders -- was a treatment variable reported to be related to probation outcome. On the other hand, Thompson evaluated a specialized misdemeanor probation program and concluded,

statistically, it would appear that the type of treatment offered clients, be it outpatient referral, Alcoholics Anonymous, in-resident treatment, or frequency of contact with the probation officer, was not significantly related to whether a client recidivated or not.⁸

Thus, the studies reviewed tend to support Martinson's view of the relative importance of personal characteristics of adult probationers; no critical test of this proposition, however, was found.

Another client/caseload issue area involves the manage-

ment of adult offenders once they have been placed on probation. Here we were able to find a relative wealth of information bearing on important probation issues. Is improved performance on probation a function of the number of contacts the probationer has with his officer? Does it depend on the length of time under supervision? Is it the quality of supervision rather than the quantity that makes a difference?

A drug unit caseload evaluation found that nearly five contacts (half in person) per month did seem to have an effect. The in-person visits to the home, school, job, or place of drug treatment particularly resulted in reported dramatic changes.⁹ These included a recidivism rate of 20 percent compared to 32 percent for the general caseload, a reduction in the percentage on welfare from 53 to 28, and an increase in educational program involvement from six percent to 56 percent.

Similar results were reported from several other studies that purported to test the hypothesis that by supervising a smaller caseload, the officer has more time to devote to each client; in addition, according to this hypothesis, any problem areas that surface can be dealt with early in the supervision process, thus avoiding more serious matters. As a result, it is argued, the effective combination of both these elements provides a groundwork for successful completion of probation and less likelihood for recurrence of criminal activity. A Michigan study reported

that reducing caseload size improved the probability of successful probation completion.¹⁰ It was believed that this improvement reflected in large measure the increased time that could be spent with probationers.

The Inner City Intensified Supervision Caseload study reported that reduced caseload size afforded the probation officer the opportunity to provide an increasing degree of service and supervision.¹¹ An evaluation of the Denver High Impact intensive supervision project concluded that one-year rearrest and reconviction rates for regular and intensive samples were 33 percent (rearrests) and 24 percent (reconvictions) and 22 percent (rearrests) and 12 percent (reconvictions), respectively.¹²

Other studies reported contrary, or at least dissimilar, results leading to questions about the relation of caseload size and intensity of supervision to probation outcome. On this issue, Neithercutt and Gottfredson have pointed out, "Perhaps asking a question like 'What size caseload is optimum?' is committing a *reductio ad absurdum*."¹³ To a considerable extent, our review and analysis shows this to be the case. One study, for example, found that as caseload size increased, the supervision given to each client also increased.¹⁴ A preliminary evaluation of the well-known San Francisco Project concluded:

The findings in our preliminary evaluation of intensive, ideal, and minimum supervision caseloads raise some serious questions about the nature and efficiency of the prevailing

models of supervision. We have observed that the probationers, parolees, and mandatory releases routinely assigned to these various caseloads, despite substantial differences in the supervision effort, exhibit violation rates which are not significantly different from one another.¹⁵

Lohman, *et al.*, observed that, "... in the intensive caseloads, despite fourteen times as much attention as provided the minimum supervision cases, the violation rate not only failed to decline significantly, but increased with respect to technical violations."¹⁶ This suggests what may be one of the more important issues in this area. That is, what is the association among intensive supervision, (high?) rates of technical violations and (low?) rates for new offenses?

Martinson has concluded:

... when intensive supervision *does* produce an improvement in offenders' behavior, it does so not through the mechanism of "treatment" or "rehabilitation"; but instead through a mechanism that our studies have almost totally ignored -- the mechanism of *deterrence*.¹⁷

If such an association could be supported by the studies available, this would lend support to the idea that probation, and perhaps other community-based correctional programs, can have a deterrent effect upon criminal behavior, through close supervision and enforcement against rule infractions. Prisons might not then be viewed as the sole or even the primary method for deterring crime. Unfortunately, again only a very few studies shed any light at all on this question. There is a considerable need for research before any definitive conclusions can be reached. The available

evidence, however, does lend some support to the concept of such an association.

The San Francisco Project reported results as follows:

Caseload	Probation Outcomes	
	Technical Violations Percent	New Offenses Percent
Intensive (N = 70)	21.9	15.6
Ideal (N = 119)	2.7	21.6
Minimum (N = 118)	0.0	22.2

These findings indicate that intensity of supervision is positively associated with technical violations and negatively associated with new offenses. The authors generalize from these data that "technical violations are a direct function of the amount of supervision provided."¹⁸ There were proportionately fewer new offenses with intensive supervision, but the differences are not statistically significant.

The aforementioned drug unit evaluation by Kaput and Santese reported that the rate of violation of probation rules exceeded the recidivism rate, 28 percent to 20 percent.¹⁹ The authors concluded that:

This is an indication of the probation officer taking some action as the result of the probationer failing to live up to his probation obligations. This is important because such action frequently has the effect of aborting a trend on the part of the probationer toward negative behavior patterns which would eventually result in new criminal behavior and arrest.

Other studies also provide evidence on the topic of intensive supervision and type of violation. The Inner City project evaluators found higher rates of technical infractions to be associated with lower incidences of criminal violations.²⁰ The authors concluded, "This adds further support to our hypothesis that intensified supervision does have a positive effect on reducing cyclical crime." This study employed random assignment to experimental and control groups, and as a result might be given special credence, despite the fact that the groups were rather small (N = 30). An intensive supervision project in Florida found increased supervision resulted in increased opportunity for observation of technical violations, although there were no significant differences in revocations for experimentals and controls.²¹ This led the evaluators to the interesting speculation that increased contacts may be negatively interpreted by probationers, thus aggravating the incidence of unsatisfactory behavior. Our inclination, however, is to conclude tentatively that intensive supervision does result in more technical violations, known and acted upon, and that this may lead to fewer new offense convictions.

Even when rigorous experimental designs were utilized in the studies of client/caseload characteristics (and that was unusual), the time perspective was generally no longer than the project duration. Without more detailed research, including more extensive follow-up study, it is impossible

to know what it is about intensive supervision or reduced caseloads that is or is not working. It is reasonable to agree with Vetter and Adams that,

The concept of fifty or any other number unit caseload is likely to be meaningless without systematic classification based upon empirically demonstrated criteria and a corresponding organization of caseloads according to variations in treatment, offender, and officer.²²

One possible and fairly common model to be considered for accomplishing this was suggested by Weiner.²³ It encompasses a "vertical" model of caseload assignment, in which individual offenders are rated according to potential for probation adjustment. Those rated as having a high potential for favorable adjustment would be placed in a super-sized caseload requiring minimal or perfunctory supervision. Those rated as having extremely low potential would be placed in small caseloads, receive intensive supervision, and be held strictly accountable for their actions. It is those in the latter group that are the most appropriate probationers for attention from a deterrence perspective.

Prediction: Who Succeeds or Fails?

Perhaps the ultimate ideal in corrections, including probation, is to be able to predict with confidence what will be the results of making particular decisions and taking particular actions with regard to offenders. Judges and probation officers want to know who should be granted probation. Among other concerns, they want to know the risks,

(i.e., the chances for success). The prediction of human behavior is a complex and difficult undertaking but the potential rewards for being able to do so with some degree of validity are large.

The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals indicated that the full potential of probation "cannot be reached unless consideration is given to... the development of a system for determining which offenders should receive a sentence of probation."²⁴ Our review of studies on probation prediction focused on the question, what is the current state of knowledge of probation prediction to assist in the development of such a system? One quick conclusion is that the implementation of prediction tables in probation practice is still rather rare; but it appears from analogous applications, in parole particularly, that prediction methods can assist in selecting individuals for probation. Gottfredson's observation in 1967 that,

Prediction of probation outcomes has received little study, despite the needs for assessment of variations in criterion outcomes associated with probation supervision alternatives,²⁵

seems to hold today.

Some findings and conclusions from the limited studies that could be found are noteworthy. In 1964, George F. Davis concluded after a study of violation rates by a cohort of adult probationers:

Unfortunately, at the present stage of development in probation research, there are no adequate means for truly differentiating between those who will succeed and those who will fail on probation. In the future, some sort of predictive indices must be developed to determine, especially in marginal cases, which defendants would be more likely to succeed than fail.

...Probation officers and judges, with their extensive knowledge of criminal offenders, are using rudimentary predictive indices whenever they make or pass on a recommendation. However, this more or less intuitive experience is not precise enough to be applicable to the large group of defendants who do not possess the more obvious characteristics of success or failure.²⁶

Twelve years later, the situation seemed to have changed somewhat. Golbin said:

One of the main criticisms of probation is that administrators don't utilize the valid predictive instruments available to them. Valid predictive models do exist, and can be effectively utilized for particular populations if administrators are willing to do so. In the final analysis, improvements in treatment, surveillance, and management techniques can be achieved by utilizing the predictive instruments and classification systems that already exist.²⁷

Thus, it seems that although it is true that probation prediction has received too little study, there may be a reluctance to make use of what is already known. This arises in part from the objection to prediction that because individuals are unique, prediction of future behavior is useless. This objection exists in the face of evidence dating at least to the probation study of Monachesi in 1932, which shows that prediction is not only possible but feasible.

What seems to escape or to be unknown to those who are skeptical about prediction is that it is not based upon the uniqueness of individuals, but rather on their similarities. In other words, past experiences with certain types of offenders and their success or failure can be aggregated to determine what the successes have in common and what the failures have in common. This knowledge can then be used to predict the probable probation outcomes for offenders having similar characteristics. It may also escape judges or probation workers who stress a preference to rely on their "experience" that prediction methods do precisely that, but can do so in a more systematic, less biased fashion. To the extent that each person is unique, experience provides no guide.

Another objection to the use of prediction is the labeling or "self-fulfilling prophecy" problem. Of particular concern are the possible negative consequences accruing from designating and treating a probationer as a poor risk. Apart from the concern noted earlier about possibly aggravating the incidence of unsatisfactory behavior, this does not seem to be a potentially serious problem. Predicting future deviant behavior among a group of pre-delinquent children, where the self-fulfilling prophecy is a matter of serious concern, is not at issue. Instead, the interest is in predicting the future conduct of adults who already have been convicted of a crime. The issue is not whether to intervene -- that has

already been decided -- but rather with what and how much intervention is necessary.

There are two primary errors that will be committed in predicting probation outcomes -- some expected failures will become successes and some expected successes will become failures. These two types of error will occur whether the predictions are made by individual subjective judgment or with the aid of prediction methods. Most persons would gladly live with the first type of error, and indeed would hope to facilitate its occurrence, when it refers to an expected failure nevertheless placed on probation who succeeds. If, on the other hand, the incorrectly expected failure is for that reason only (hence incorrectly) imprisoned, a serious issue of fairness arises. This is a central issue in current debates about sentencing, the examination of which is beyond the scope of this report. Suffice it to note that when there is a predictive purpose in arriving at decisions as to sentencing dispositions, the "false positive" issue will arise whether predictions are made with the use of prediction instruments or by subjective judgments.

The second type of error also is troublesome, as for example when an incorrectly predicted success has been assigned to minimal supervision. That is, this assignment could lead to the failure that was considered improbable. The answer to the question, "So what do we do?" seems to

be that prediction is not perfect and, given the nature of human behavior, never will be. In this imperfect world, as Jay Albanese indicates in Chapter IV of this report, we can make

...carefully considered decisions without arbitrary or capricious judgment in determining the future of offenders. Validated prediction tables based on reliable information can be valuable in this respect as they can provide guidelines derived from past experience to assist in minimizing prediction errors.

Perhaps another reason for judicial reluctance to use empirically derived prediction measures stems from a failure as yet to develop models for the probation decision that combine information on risk with other data perceived as important to be considered *simultaneously* with the issue of risk. For example, the evidence suggests that in many (perhaps most) jurisdictions, judgment of the seriousness of the conviction offense is commonly considered in making the probation decision. It suggests also that, in general, the better risks are convicted of more serious offenses. Decision guidelines that provide for assessments of both concerns at once may thus be more useful than any tool addressed only to one of the dimensions deemed important to consider in decision-making.

Another prediction issue that we sought to examine was the issue of probation officer prognosis. Some success in prognostication was reported from the State of Washington.²⁸ A prognosis was made on a five-point scale by the probation officer after an offender had been admitted to his caseload.

The officers correctly predicted success 85 percent of the time--257 of 302 predicted successes actually succeeded. Their record in predicting failure was not nearly as good, however. The accuracy for failure prediction was only 27 percent--21 of 77 predicted failures actually failed. The author noted that supervising officers studied correctly predicted successful outcomes much more readily than they predicted unsuccessful outcomes. Given the "base rate" of success (80 percent), the improvement over random guesses that 80 percent would succeed is not striking.

Classification for purposes of treatment should be distinguished from classification for the predicted outcome of supervision. This necessary classification would require at least two categories--a category delineating need for services or treatment, and a category delineating recidivism risk. This recognizes that high risk offenders might fall into a low "needs" category and low risk offenders into a high "needs" category. This distinction would be useful, since there seem to be probationers who need intensive supervision, but not intensive treatment. As previously indicated, it has been suggested that the intensive treatment given high risk groups might prove disruptive and actually aggravate recidivism likelihood for such cases.

We found a few empirical attempts to explore the feasibility of applications of prediction methods to probation supervision practices. The vertical model of caseload assignment described earlier would be an example of this use of

prediction. Nicholson also found prediction tables useful in classifying high, medium and low "risk" caseloads.²⁹ A General Accounting Office report found prediction tables to be of value in establishing variable supervision caseloads.³⁰ Frease³¹ and Fiore³² also made similar reports.

It seems clear that the success of any probation program will depend not only on appropriate supervision and treatment but also on the characteristics of those placed on probation. Probation systems will depend for their success on the ability to predict probable outcomes based on these characteristics and to manage probationers in such a way that not only expected successes but also expected failures actually succeed. Thus, the general issue of prediction is central to provision of a management system capable of guiding program development for increased probation effectiveness. Before considering this concept in more detail, some other issues of recidivism should be discussed.

Success and Failure: What Does It Mean?

The key measurement in all correctional research, including probation, is the measurement of recidivism. In a general sense, it is the nearly universally agreed-upon criterion for measuring correctional outcomes. Unfortunately, there are serious problems and disagreements in defining and interpreting the concept, recidivism.

- The police often argue for counting recidivism by arrests.

- Corrections personnel usually argue that recidivism should be measured by convictions alone.
- There are questions about how technical (i.e., rules) violations of probation or parole conditions should be treated in the definition of recidivism.
- There are questions about the seriousness of the recidivist event, particularly in the case of a serious offender who later commits another less serious or even minor offense. Is he a recidivist? An improved recidivist?
- There are questions about what length of time offenders should be followed after their release from supervision.
- Defining recidivism in terms of the sentence that the offender receives means that if incarceration were used as the basis of the definition, all non-incarceration sentences would be excluded.
- Different definitions and groupings of crimes across jurisdictions make standardized definitions difficult.

The use of the concept, recidivism, as a measure of effectiveness of probation is complicated also by the fact that its measure ordinarily reflects two sources of variation. One source is the behavior of the probationer; the other is the behavior of personnel in the criminal justice system. That is, most definitions of recidivism reflect not only the probationers' behavior or illegal acts but also the system's

response to that behavior. Recidivism, whether counted by arrests, rules violations, convictions, or combinations of these, commonly reflects the coding of an event which may result from probationer actions, criminal justice system personnel activities, or both.

This does not mean that the concept cannot be a useful one if given a clear operational definition. Indeed, various definitions of recidivism may be useful for various purposes. But, it is clear that the *meaning* of the term is given by the operations performed in arriving at the concept -- so that caution against adding further meanings is in order. Similarly, if different definitions are used, with the same label assigned to what really are different concepts, there is much room for confusion.

Thus, the measurement of recidivism is best looked upon as an administrative tool. The definition of the term may depend upon the purpose to which the measure is to be put; but the limitations of any particular definition must be taken into account when interpretations of the measure are drawn.

The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals stated that "Follow-up studies of probation... indicated that failure ratings of persons on probation were relatively low."³³ This led us to ask the following questions of the revocation/recidivism studies which were reviewed: How are failure rates defined? Are such rates reasonably considered low? Relative to what?

Ten studies of recidivism were selected for review and analysis. Although other studies were reviewed, they were believed to contain sufficiently serious problems of methods that they were not further reviewed.

In the operational definition of "failure," we found substantial variety. An important variable in determining the definition was whether the study covered only the period of time in which the persons in the study sample were actually on probation, the on-probation period and some post-probation period, or only the post-probation period. The failures in the first category were largely administrative or technical failures resulting in probation revocations. The criteria determining these failures included issuance of an inactive letter or a bench warrant,³⁴ violation of probation rules and conditions,³⁵ and absconding.³⁶ Any of these factors could and were used as a basis for revoking probation.

Some unique differences were found within this category. For example, in the California study by Davis, the probationer had to have two or more violations and revocations to be considered a failure; one violation was considered success. In Irish's 1972 study in Nassau County, New York, discharge as "unimproved" constituted probation failure.³⁷ The Missouri study excluded absconding from its definition of failure.

New offenses, including both arrests and convictions, were also a basis for revoking probation, and were a measurement of failure among the on-probation studies. New offenses

were obviously the only important measure of failure among the post-probation studies. Here also, however, there was some variety of definition. The 1972 and 1977 Nassau County studies used arrest as post-probation failure. The Missouri study used both arrests and convictions. Caldwell and England³⁸ in their studies used convictions only. The Comptroller General's study, which encompassed both on-probation and post-probation failures, used only those convictions for which the offender received a sentence of 60 days or more to determine post-probation failure.³⁹

The measurement of success and failure is also a function of the length of time offenders are followed after their release from probation supervision. It is widely believed that the early period following release from custody, for example the first six to twelve months, is probably the most critical to recidivism. The National Advisory Commission recommends a follow-up period of three years for measuring recidivism, but supportive evidence as to the "optimal" length of follow-up for various purposes is scant.

The recidivism studies were compared on the basis of the time dimension used. The on-probation studies, of which there were three, and the on-probation/post-probation studies, of which there were four, used length of probation as their time frame (or at least part of it in the case of the latter studies). The length of probation supervision varied from one month to five years or more. Unfortunately, be-

cause of the way the data were analyzed and reported in the individual studies, it is not possible to aggregate the information for purposes of correlation with the failure rates. Some of the studies reported length of probation in ranges, for example, 18 to 30 months; others in means, mean ranges, or medians; and one did not identify the time of supervision at all. The post-probation studies used follow-up times ranging from six months to 12 years. Again, the individual analyses and reporting of these data do not allow for correlation with failure rates. Thus, although it is reasonable to assume that reported outcome is correlated with follow-up time, we cannot test this hypothesis or obtain an estimate of such correlation using the data available in the studies reviewed.

We also cannot determine from these studies the relation between the seriousness of the initial offense which resulted in an offender's being placed on probation and the seriousness of any recidivist offenses. Seven of the ten studies report initial offenses, but in some cases these are reported as gross classifications of offenses -- property offenses, misdemeanors, etc. The recidivist offenses are reported similarly, or are indicated simply as new offense, minor offense, offense against person, etc. Three studies do indicate that the recidivist offenses were the same as the instant offenses -- but we are not sufficiently confident about the data to reach any conclusion on this issue. We do feel

confident in calling for research to test the question.

Using what Martinson has referred to as the "fruit salad" approach, we analyzed the failure rates reported in the ten studies. Fruit salad is an apt description in this instance, because we are combining different definitions of failure for samples of differing characteristics which were followed for differing periods of time. It should be noted that this approach has nothing to recommend it, but the results nevertheless are given below since they at least show the variation reported in probation failure rates. Also, the results illustrate some of the reasons such averaging should *not* be done.

The ten studies produced 14 failure rates; four of the studies cited failures in both the on-probation and post-probation categories. The on-probation failure rates cited, by author, were reported as follows:

Kusuda	18.3 %
Frease	20.0
Landis, <i>et al.</i>	52.0
Caldwell	19.1
Missouri	20.9
Comptroller General	22.0
Irish (1977)	<u>25.0</u>
Mean failure rate	25.3 %

The mean rate of failure of this particular salad is one in four. The "deviant case" is clearly the Landis study.

The best explanation for that 52 percent may be that the sample of 791 probationers consisted entirely of felons. This contrasts with one of the best rates -- Caldwell's 19.1 percent -- which was achieved with a sample of 1,862 federal probationers, 72 percent of whom had been convicted of internal revenue offenses. The comparison difficulties are obvious.

The post-probation failure rates, also cited by author, were reported as follows:

Caldwell	16.4 %
Missouri	30.0
Comptroller General	26.0
England	17.7
Davis	30.2
Irish (1972)	41.5
Irish (1977)	<u>29.6</u>
Mean failure rate	27.3 %

The mean failure rate from this conglomeration is slightly more than one in four. There seems to be a certain consistency in failure between on-probation rates and post-probation rates. Caldwell's largely internal revenue law violators are clearly the most successful.

How do these rates compare with other known recidivism rates? Believing that such comparisons are meaningless, we can nevertheless provide a context or reference point for our figures. Martinson and Wilks in their paper, "Recidivism and

Research Design: Limitations of Experimental Control Research," calculated a mean recidivism rate of 21.2 percent from 2,116 probation-recidivism rates, and a mean rate of 23.3 percent from their reported total of 7,341 recidivism rates for all correctional outcomes.⁴⁰ Our mean rates are slightly higher, but this could easily change by adding a few more studies with low risk probationers such as internal revenue violators. Anything else that might be said would be pure speculation; and it is to be hoped that no reader will take seriously the averages cited.

These studies collectively provide some evidence as to which probationers succeed. Probationers who are white, have no previous record of arrests, and are convicted of property crimes have the greatest probability of successfully completing their probation term. These same offenders, having been released from probation as "improved," have also the greatest probability of post-probation success. On the other hand, the variables which were most often significantly associated with failure were previous criminal history, youthfulness, not married, and unemployment.

One possible way for making outcome measures more meaningful and for confronting some of the problems that have been described, would be to combine the assessment of success/failure rates with the use of prediction methods. Having identified those independent variables that correlate with success or failure, for example, age, marital status, employ-

ment, it is possible to combine these (by various means) to predict outcomes and to determine the weighted contribution to that outcome from each independent variable. New probationers could then be assigned to success/failure probability classifications such as low, medium, or high risk. This would be determined by the extent to which the offenders possessed relevant characteristics, i.e., those demonstrably related to "success" or "failure." Actual outcomes, including both on-probation and post-probation outcomes, then could be compared to the predicted outcome probabilities for any group of probationers. This would mean that outcomes would not simply be calculated on an all or nothing proportionate basis, that is, the percentage of failures in the total sample, but could be calculated for any classification of probationers in terms of the outcomes *expected* given the composition of the group, and actually *achieved* given any type of probation supervision.

Gottfredson has outlined the requirements for implementing such an outcome measurement system as follows:⁴¹

1. Systematic collection of reliable data when offenders are placed on probation. These data are the independent variables, or predictors.
2. Repeated study of the relations between independent variables, or predictors, and the dependent variable of outcome.
3. Repeated validation of any prediction method used.

4. Periodic determination, based on the prediction method, of *expected* outcomes.
5. Comparison of *expected* outcomes (determined by the prediction method) and *observed* outcomes (in actual practice).
6. Identification of the sources of any discrepancies between *expected* and *observed* results.

Such a system of measurement would not only take into account the variability of probable outcomes among probationers at any point in time, or over time, or across jurisdictions; but it would also make better use of background information on the probationers. The outcome measure would become not *the* recidivism rate, but the difference -- on either the plus or minus side -- between the expected or predicted rate and the observed or actual rate. The system as a whole could provide a useful management tool, furnishing systematic feedback on the kinds of programs that appear to be helpful with respect to various outcome measures. Such a system would provide much more information on this topic than currently is available, at the same time pointing the way toward more efficient use of more rigorous experimental designs when critical tests of treatment hypotheses are found warranted.

Probation officers and departments should be given credit for successes with probationers -- when actual success exceeds expected success. At the same time, failures

with good risk offenders should show that something is amiss. Such a measurement system would recognize the reality that success with those who are expected to fail should count for something.

Treatment: What Works with Whom, and in What Respect?

One of the most popular questions currently being asked in corrections is "What works?" Recently, paternity for this question may be attributed largely to Robert Martinson. Others, however, were examining treatment techniques and modalities long before Martinson became publicly interested in this issue. For example, Schnur stated in 1964,

No research has been done to date that enables us to say that one treatment program is better than another or that enables us to examine a man and specify the treatment he needs. There is no evidence that probation is better than institutions, that institutions are better than probation, or that being given parole is better than escaping... Research could possibly shed some light, but none of the research conducted to date answers these questions.⁴²

Martinson indicated that,

...the most extensive and important work that has been done on the effect of community-based treatments has been done in the areas of probation and parole. This work sets out to answer the question of whether it makes any difference how you supervise and treat an offender once he has... come under state surveillance in lieu of prison. This is the work that has provided the main basis to date for the claim that we do indeed have the means at our disposal for rehabilitating the offender or at least decarcerating him safely.⁴³

We sought from available studies, to answer the ques-

tion of whether it makes any difference how adult probationers are supervised and treated. Our findings are categorized into five broad treatment modalities: group and individual counseling, vocational counseling and employment, voluntary and involuntary treatment, drug treatment, and use of volunteers and paraprofessionals. In each modality, we examined what seems to work, with whom, and why.

In the area of group and individual counseling, a psychiatric services program for sex offenders on probation reported, "Peer confrontation in an open-ended group therapy session, ...far more effective in overcoming the offender's characteristic denial than... individual interview with the psychiatrist."⁴⁴ Group techniques such as guided group interaction have been reported to be not only more feasible, but more effective than individual psychiatric treatment, with most offenders. Olsson reports from an evaluation of an outpatient treatment clinic for special offenders that

group therapy ratings showed significant changes from initial to final ratings in several areas of group behavior. Almost all changes for all groups were in a positive direction except for a few in a negative direction in the assaultive offender group.⁴⁵

The evaluators of this program concluded that mandatory treatment is a practical alternative for special offenders and has a positive effect on recidivism, but that it was more successful in treating adult sex offenders than assaultive offenders.

Contract programs are becoming increasingly popular in both probation and parole. A Multiphasic Diagnostic and Treatment Program found that 75 percent of the offender population achieved success as a result of treatment that required residents to jointly formulate a contract with the staff wherein a treatment plan based on the goals, objectives and needs of the residents was outlined.⁴⁶ Each resident had to participate in group counseling and volunteer work in a community project. Individual and family counseling were available as needed. Graduation was contingent upon completion of the plan the resident designed and had approved by the staff. Success was defined as graduation.

Some of the counseling studies reviewed reported mixed results and/or raised interesting speculations. As an example of the latter, Breer said about probation supervision of the black offender:

If an officer starts out by handling racial factors awkwardly, the rest of his counseling is likely to be shelved as irrelevant. Somewhat related to this last point is the use of the reality principle in casework with blacks. This is probably the best single tool a white caseworker has in working with blacks. Attempts to rebuild the personality structure of the black probationer or really even to try to improve black family life to avoid pressure areas leading to criminal acting out are usually beyond the grasp of the white probation officer.⁴⁷

This comment speaks to a nagging problem in the treatment of offenders, including those on probation. Most probation officers are white and from middle-class backgrounds.

Many, and in some jurisdictions perhaps most, probationers are black or of other minorities, frequently from lower-class backgrounds. This results in a socio-cultural gap in which the officer has difficulty understanding and empathizing with the offender. The officer may face the problem of institutional racism as well as his own racial attitudes. The offender, in turn, has difficulty identifying with the officer. An approach employing the reality principle is suggested as a technique for coping with these difficulties. The reality principle refers to a technique of pointing out immovable reality factors which must be dealt with by the probationer. The probation officer and the offender agree on minimal goals in helping the offender confront these factors.

The Santa Clara County Adult Probation Department tested two high impact short-term motivational treatment programs designed to reduce recidivism among adult felons on probation. The Zzooommm method was designed to change self-image, set goals, and increase self-understanding; the Heimler method used a scale to measure perception of frustration and satisfaction -- followed by a three-month treatment phase called "the Slice of Life." The evaluators of these programs concluded,

The results are sufficiently mixed that no firm conclusion can be extracted from the data that gives one program superiority over the other. Small samples and the absence of an experimental design also hamper clear interpretation of the recidivism and other outcome data.⁴⁸

The difficulties of utilizing and adhering to an experimental design has been an all-too-common problem in studies of the effectiveness of probation treatment modalities conducted to date. As a result, all findings and conclusions must be interpreted cautiously. Very often, the sample integrity was not maintained or samples were too small to allow for meaningful interpretations of the results. These failings leave the state of the art in the treatment of adult probationers in a frustrating position. Promising leads toward potentially effective treatments have been found. Methods are available such that the critical hypotheses could be either supported or refuted. They generally have not been used.

An evaluation of a project to provide vocational upgrading to Monroe County, New York, probationers found that the unemployment rate of the target population could be effectively reduced.⁴⁹ The project evaluators' conclusions seem to be particularly enlightening:

While the results of this evaluation are such as to indicate the MCPP's effectiveness, two cautions are in order. First... a six-month survey of program results cannot be considered conclusive. A second-year evaluation, based upon a one-year follow-up of the project's first year probationers would be required... Second, though the MCPP may be reducing probationer unemployment and recidivism, there is some question as to whether recidivism is being reduced by *means of* employment upgrading. The results provide the basis for an assertion that unemployment is not a major cause of recidivism, and that the project achieved its crime reduction through "human

upgrading," i.e., by: providing success experiences, engendering self-esteem, and alleviating life's problems.⁵⁰

The idea that unemployment is not a major cause of recidivism challenges a basic of folklore in corrections. It suggests on the one hand that simply ensuring that a probationer has a job may not accomplish much by way of preventing recidivism. This does not mean that efforts to provide job training and jobs are not worthwhile, but it implies that the goals for such projects need to be limited and realistic, and that the results should perhaps be measured by criteria other than recidivism. If it is worthwhile to reduce unemployment, there is no need to link it to a reduction in recidivism. The observation about human upgrading suggests a certain "Hawthorne effect," i.e., a response to the experiment itself; but it also supports the view that criminal behavior results from a complex of variables -- and unemployment is only one.

Another project in Monroe County -- the Probation Employment and Guidance Program (PEG) -- had similar results. The "treatment," that is, assessing job desires and practicality of previous experience and available resources, and planning strategies for goal attainment, did not make any fundamental change in the employment behavior of those exposed to it. There were no differences either in the rate of recidivism of the experimental and control groups, as measured by new arrests and convictions.⁵¹

That employment may be a variable relevant to probation success was, however, demonstrated in a Bergen County, New Jersey, Job Bank project which indicated that employment accounted for over half of the variability in probation outcome.⁵² Employed probationers were more likely to have a successful termination ranking.

Another traditional issue in correctional treatment has been that of voluntarism. One of the basic tenets of much social/psychological casework is that the offender must perceive that he or she has a problem and must be self-motivated to seek help. Two treatment studies reviewed -- an outpatient treatment clinic for sexual and assaultive offenders and a casework project with female probationers -- reported that treatment does not necessarily have to be voluntary in order to be successful.⁵³ In the latter project, improvement in the experimental group occurred among those who were encouraged to participate *and* among those who were told it was a requirement of probation.

A number of seemingly successful drug treatment programs involving adult probationers were uncovered. A methadone maintenance project reported that an analysis of the records of 912 patients (parolees and probationers) admitted over a four and one-half year period showed a 90 percent drop in criminal convictions.⁵⁴ The evaluators reported that,

The changes in the methadone patients were sudden and dramatic. Probationers who were previously anxious, unproductive and antisocial when addicted to heroin became normal human

beings and were quickly reabsorbed into the community through employment and healthy social lives.

Polakow and Doctor reported on a behavioral modification program for adult drug offenders.⁵⁵ They found that placement of probationers in a contingency management group successfully decreased the number of arrests and violations while on probation. These probationers also maintained an employment rate higher than that of a control group. Rosenthal evaluated the Philadelphia County Department of Probation Drug Unit and concluded that the "unit is effective in attaining the goal of reducing overall criminal recidivism."⁵⁶ Successful results with alcoholic probationers were also reported. The evaluators of the Los Angeles County Probation Department Specialized Alcoholic Caseload Project concluded:

Despite the unpromising characteristics of the offenders, the general outcome of the project was such as to suggest that use of probation with the alcoholic offender is both feasible and worthwhile. This seems particularly true if caseloads can be reduced appreciably in size and alcoholic caseload DPO's (probation officers) are given an opportunity to explore and develop promising leads in the treatment of such offenders. Of particular interest here are the use of Alcoholics Anonymous, group counseling or group therapy procedures, and family-oriented counseling.⁵⁷

The examination of these studies of treatment modalities in adult probation reinforces the notion of the complex array of issues that must be taken into account in measuring probation outcome. These include the definition of outcome

measures; the characteristics of any study samples used; the nature of the research design and the samples studied; and the length of treatment and follow-up. It suggests also the complexity of the treatment concept and points to the need for documentation of the precise nature of the treatment program under assessment. Perhaps most important, it indicates that the investment of resources to investigate what works, with whom, under what circumstances, and how has been very minor in relation to the investment made in trying various probation treatment alternatives.

Footnotes

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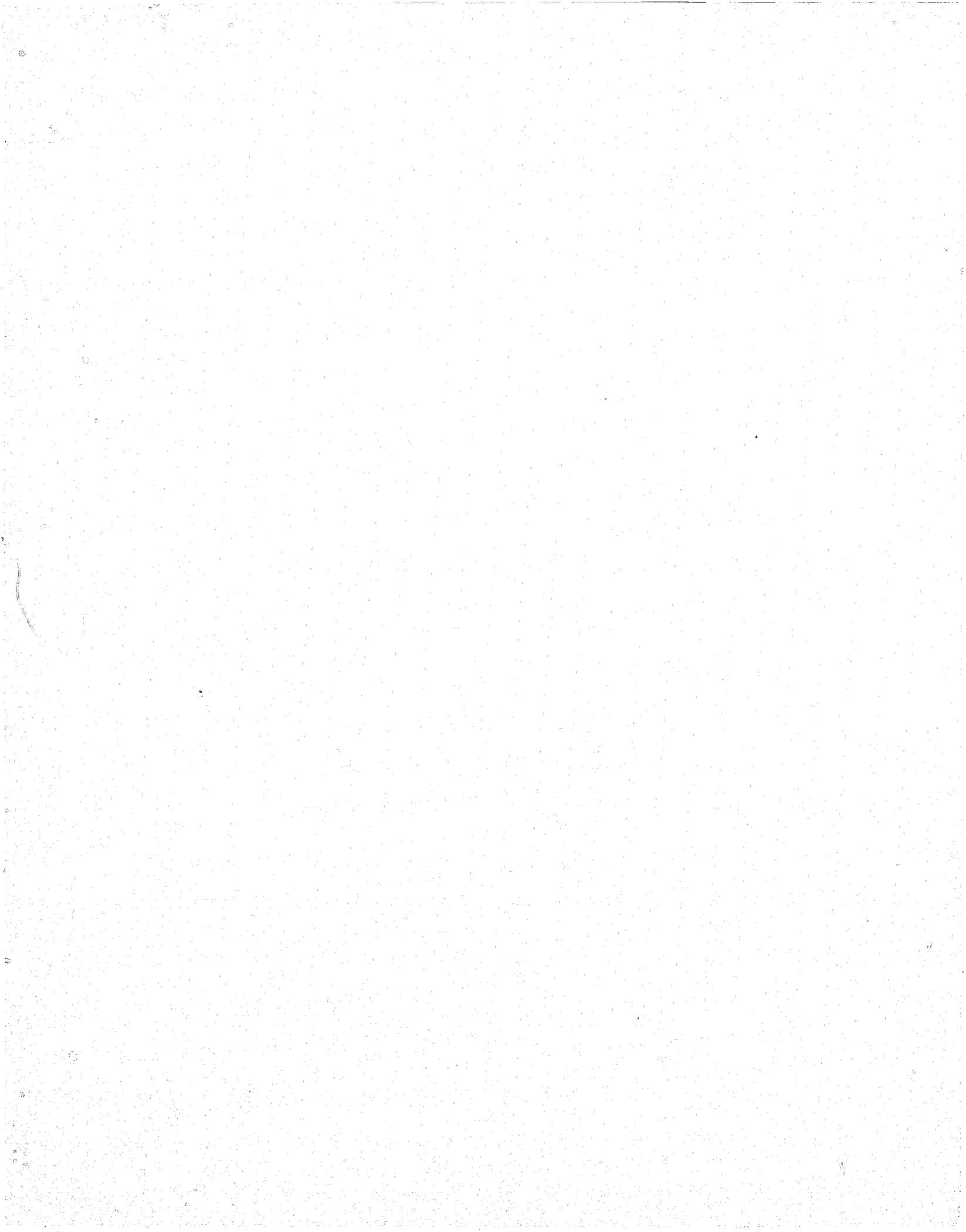
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Clients and Caseloads

The critical issues identified from review of the literature and studies concerning client and caseload characteristics in adult probation services, reviewed in the next chapter, form three general categories of concerns:

Caseload Issues

A problem frequently discussed is the achievement of a manageable workload for probation officers. Oversized caseloads often are identified as the obstacle to successful probation; and indeed, a very large caseload can have serious consequences for both the probation officer and probationer. The probation officer can easily feel overwhelmed in providing supervision and assistance to the offenders comprising his caseload if it is large; and this can affect the quality of supervision and services rendered to them.

Reducing the size of caseloads has been recommended as a means to increase the effectiveness of probation, yet it appears from many studies that achievement of this objective by itself will not assure a reduction of recidivism. There is no single optimum caseload size. Thus far, results from caseload research indicate that smaller caseloads sometimes improve probation performance, sometimes no change occurs, and sometimes probationers in smaller caseloads do worse than those in regular caseloads. The issues of probation effectiveness are complex, and caseload

size questions yield no simple answers.

Other management factors may be more important. The adequacy and general nature of the supervision and the skill with which it is administered may provide a more productive focus for study. There has been little systematic investigation of the problem of an appropriate matching of the probation officer and the offender. The concept of matching adds an additional complexity to the problem, which becomes generally, "what kinds of offenders are best supervised in what kinds of caseloads, with what kinds of treatment, by what kinds of officers."

Management/Classification Issues

Oversized caseloads can impede the delivery of needed services to probationers. As a remedy, workloads rather than caseloads have been proposed for assigning probationers to officers. The workload concept is based on the idea that not all offenders require the same type (or amount) of supervision. A probation officer assigned offenders difficult to supervise or persons in need of multiple or particular special services would then have a caseload smaller in number than the officer assigned offenders requiring only minimal supervision.

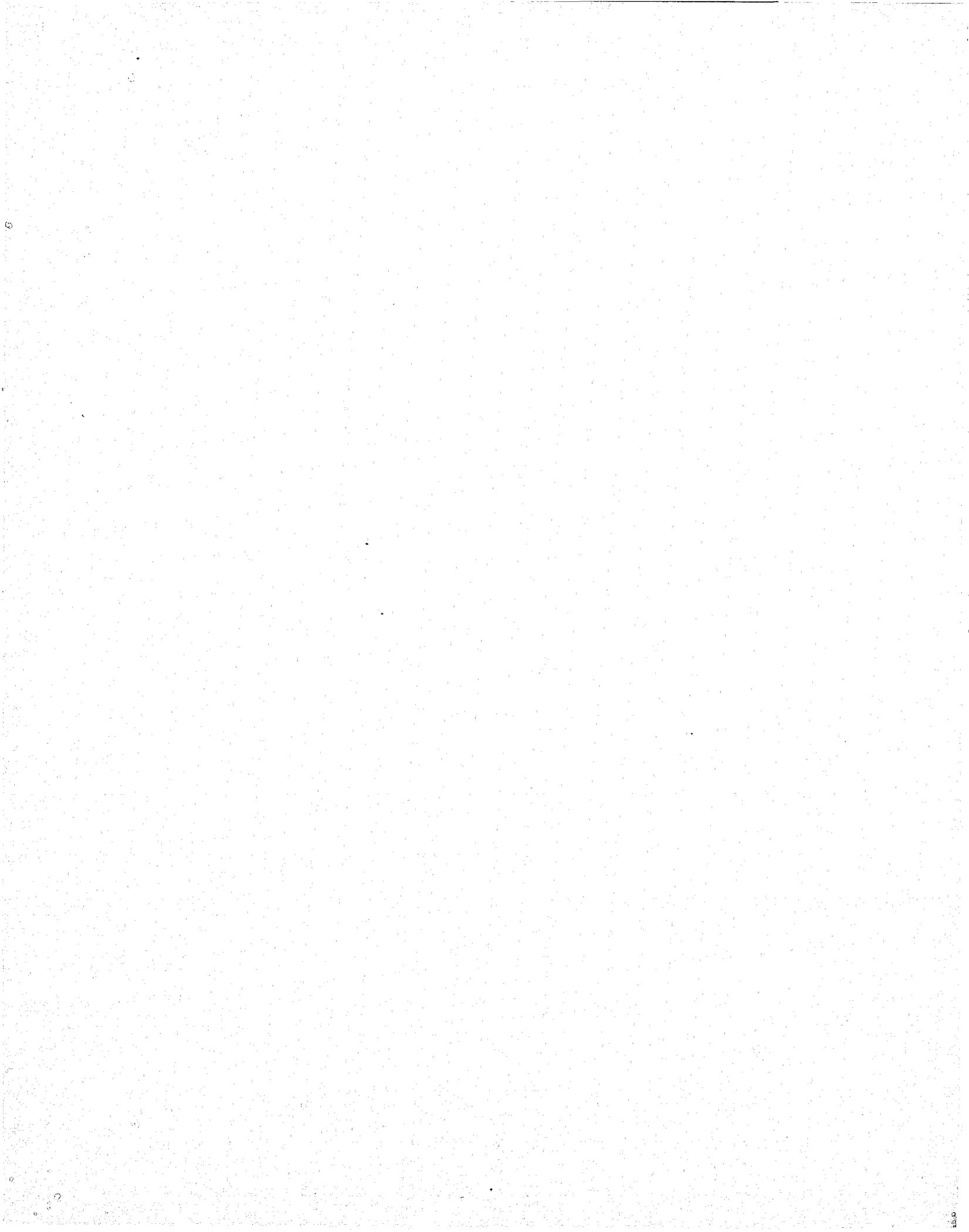
A differential casework approach based on the characteristics of the probationed offenders frequently has been proposed. Under one such model, probationers would be placed under supervision based on judgements of their "risk" (likelihood of violation) and need for services. The intent is to separate offenders

requiring minimal supervision and service delivery from those whose needs are greater, so that available time and resources may be more effectively allocated to probationers most in need. Another type of classification system is based on the matching concept.

Probation versus Institutionalization Issue

Can some offenders now committed to prison be successfully maintained in the community on probation? Some relevant studies are reviewed by Ms. Fiore in Chapter III. In one study, first felony offenders on probation had lower violation rates than those imprisoned and then paroled. If judges sentence persons to probation or prison based in part on expected violations ("risk"), does this suggest a classification system useful for the assignment of a sentence of probation? Can certain offenders be placed on probation instead of in prison if the probation department were staffed with trained personnel in sufficient numbers with manageable caseloads?

These issues of caseloads, workloads, classification, and probation as an alternative disposition to confinement are discussed in Bernadette Fiore's review.



48164

Chapter III
Clients and Caseloads: An Assessment
of Critical Issues

Bernadette A. Fiore

Introduction

Robert M. Carter and Leslie T. Wilkins believe,

In corrections, we try to cope with the problems by taking additional measures, but tend to focus on providing traditional services to the increased numbers of offenders processed through the system.

We cannot continue to employ additional personnel indefinitely, build new institutions, or recreate established programs. The trend in corrections has been quite consistent - to create more of what already exists and to depend upon past experience without much attempted innovation.

In the main, our current and planned correction procedures are determined neither by imaginative and creative thinking supported by the utilization of available technology nor by other new knowledge in the social and behavioral sciences.¹

Lovell Bixby states,

The fact is that too many of our clients continue in their lawless ways both during and after the period of supervision. We find many excuses. We blame poor selection by the courts, excessively high caseloads, lack of job opportunities for probationers, a cold shoulder from the social agencies, lack of psychiatric facilities and so on without end. But, honestly, if all these were bettered would we do much better?²

With such views in mind, it is essential that we examine thoroughly the issues and empirical evidence surrounding client/caseload characteristics. There is an urgent need to evaluate what we know to date, to abandon aspects

of probation supervision that show no obvious merit, to recognize the needs of probationers and the optimal conditions for success, and to pursue the most promising avenues of our present knowledge.

Vital to our approach, and our ultimate success, are good management and efficient and effective implementation and delivery of probation services. Keeping in mind that we want to obtain the most from the probation dollar, it would be negligent to overlook the fact that probation deals with *people* and their reintegration into the community.

The report which follows presents the literature and findings to date, bearing in mind the availability of studies and time limitations. It is the aim of this report to offer information to the probation officer, others in criminal justice, and anyone else interested in probation. The hope is to improve the probation system through the dissemination of knowledge and to further approach the goal of probation - the reintegration of the offender into the community.

Review of the Literature on Caseloads

In its recognition of the problems and issues surrounding client/caseload characteristics, the President's Task Force Report on Corrections states that the administrative problem which has plagued probation officials most has been the achievement of a manageable workload for probation officers. Whenever probation programs are subject to criticism, the oversized caseload is usually identified as the obstacle

to successful operation. Efforts to reduce caseloads have been the source of a continuing struggle between probation administrators and local and state authorities.³

The American Bar Association Project on Standards for Probation recommends that there should be a sufficiently low average caseload to provide adequate supervision and to develop variable caseloads for different types of offenders and assignment techniques which will maximize supervision.⁴

Caseload size is a crucial consideration. If it is large, as is likely the case in most places, the probation officer must be careful not to be spinning his wheels for lack of knowing where to begin. It is easy, if one feels overwhelmed by the magnitude of a situation, to spend a lot of time doing nothing but fretting over what to do first. There is the likelihood that, because there is so much to be done, most things will be done superficially and without meaning merely because that is the only way one can even begin to keep up with the flow of paperwork. This obviously will have serious consequences for the general attitude and approach of the probation officer: he may become very frustrated by not being able to keep up with the work; he may become disillusioned because he is not doing what he thought probation work was all about; he may simply give up the struggle and resign himself to a superficial noninvolvement which keeps the paper moving but does nothing to resolve client problems; or he may quit. All these possibilities indicate

the importance of the issues surrounding caseload size.⁵

It appears from many studies that the simple expedient of reducing caseloads will not of itself assure a reduction of recidivism. Experiments with reduced caseloads have shown that to reduce recidivism requires classification of offenders with differential treatment for each class. The value of differential treatment requires that probation manpower ratios vary directly with the kind and amount of services to be performed. A major requirement for using a differential treatment system is an adequate case analysis and planning procedure. Such planning must determine the kind and intensity of supervision needed by the probationer, the ability to place an offender in the community where he is most likely to succeed, and the determination of the period during which various kinds of probation supervision are required.⁶

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

procedure that results in an offender's being supervised by only one officer.⁷

The effectiveness of probation will by far depend more on the kind of individual being treated and the setting in which the treatment occurs than it will on pure questions of numbers. For some, minimum supervision is sufficient. An important finding made by Carter and Wilkins in their research on caseloads in the San Francisco Project is that the effect of caseload size is more a function of the interaction of several factors such as types of probationers and possibly types of agents rather than a simple function of numbers.⁸

The underlying assumption on which probation must rest is that most probationers need supervision and that the adequacy of supervision and the skill with which it is deployed will in large measure determine the success of the system.⁹

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



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1 OF 6

violating conditions of probation. The report indicated a highly significant statistical relationship between the extent to which probationers received needed services and success on probation; that is, as the probationer received more of the services he needed, he was more likely to complete probation successfully.¹⁰

In a small caseload, the problems include becoming bored with the feeling that there is so little to do. Another problem is busy-work, where the probation officer tries to find things to do to maintain the appearance of being busy. Small caseloads are good as long as the officer is capable of using that involvement wisely to assist the client. There is also the problem of overkill, which exists with small caseloads, where actions are repeated and time is wasted. Finally, an important consideration is that through extensive involvement and supervision, a client may become dependent upon the probation officer, and thus not be able to function on his own in society.¹¹

Richard Sparks, in *Research on the Use and Effectiveness of Probation, Parole and Measures of After Care*,¹² discusses that there are no significant differences in the success rates of offenders on intensive, ideal, normal, or minimum supervision. It is believed that those offenders placed on minimum supervision could be dealt with just as effectively by means of a fine, discharge, or other nominal measure not involving supervision. When examining offenders

on intensive supervision, it appears that probationers do not consider the probation officer a factor in their success, but rather their own (perceived) non-criminal orientation, and the assistance given by family and friends.

Although intensive supervision may increase technical violations due to increased surveillance, it is believed that the increased surveillance also has a deterrent effect and thus decreases criminal activity.

Results of Empirical Research on Caseloads

The Community Corrections Support Program¹³ was based on a perceived need of minority group probationers for special services rendered by people who are familiar with the clients' cultural background and the problems encountered by them. The intent of the program was to reduce Chicano probation violations by 40 percent by providing intensified and personalized services in smaller caseloads. The special services consisted of arranging for jobs and on the job training, for other training and education, and for community contact and support; mobilizing the resources of the community agencies; and providing direct counseling and support.

A control group and an experimental group were established by matching on the variables of sex, prior history, district of supervision, type of supervision, length of supervision, age, and nature of offense.

The two groups were compared and the authors concluded that the Community Corrections Program participants (exper-

imental group) had 24 percent fewer recidivists, that there were 41 percent fewer instances of recidivism, and 32 percent fewer recidivistic offenses. The efforts to provide services under the five areas met reasonable success, although community contact and support was subsequently dropped since it did not appear to meet the needs of the clients.

The Specialized Misdemeanant Probation Program¹⁴ was designed to work with high-risk repeat minority offenders. It was hypothesized that by offering a wide range of probation services to clients with a background of numerous prior misdemeanor convictions and keeping this special caseload to a minimum, the recidivistic nature of these offenders could be impacted. The project was designed to offer its services to a target population comprised of minority offenders and persons convicted while driving under the influence of intoxicants.

The information used in the evaluation was contained within the records of the Whatcom County District Court. The technique used in the evaluation was the seriousness of offense index, an offshoot of the Wolfgang-Sellin seriousness index.¹⁵

Of the 97 clients being provided services, 41 were reconvicted of misdemeanor crimes (42.3 percent). Utilizing the seriousness of offense index, the population had an average seriousness of offense rating of 5.06 for all prior convictions and an average of 1.96 for all subsequent con-

victions. This is a significant reduction in seriousness of arrest for recidivists. In addition, the project collected a sizable amount of revenue in fines and drastically reduced expenditures as regards jail time for clients.

The program failed to conclude whether the reduction in recidivism was due to the amount of contact between the probation officer and the clients or whether positive outcomes were the result of the type of supervision received. The data analyzed were obtained from probation department records. Information obtained in this manner may be subjective on the part of the officer and could very well distort the findings. In addition to these shortcomings, the sample size was small and not randomly drawn and no control group was used for a comparison.

The Intensive Supervision Project¹⁶ was undertaken to study the consequences of intensified supervision with reduced caseloads of high risk offenders. It was thought that probationers exposed to intensive supervision would adjust most favorably to supervision and once released could have a lower recidivism rate than persons in caseloads not receiving intensive supervision.

An experimental and control group was chosen by stratified random sampling. The experimental group consisted of supervising officers with a reduced caseload of 35 clients and three investigations per month. The control group was composed of supervisors with a regular caseload of 70 clients

and six investigations per month.

The authors found that, based upon the subjective ratings of the supervising officers, the experimental group did not adjust as well as the control group. The mean percentage of revocations was similar for both groups, and the mean number of supervisor contacts was higher for the experimental group.

The authors' original intent was to compare how high risk offenders did under intensive supervision to those in regular caseloads, while in reality they compared intensively-supervised high-risk caseloads with regularly-supervised mixed caseloads. The Intensive Supervision Project was considered successful insofar as increased supervision was obtained, but the client-oriented objectives were not attained.

The High Impact Anti-Crime Program¹⁷ conducted five projects throughout the United States: New Pride, Denver; Newark, New Jersey; Portland, Oregon; St. Louis, Missouri; and Los Angeles, California.

From each city a sample was drawn and data were analyzed to answer four questions: were there any significant reductions in frequency and severity of recidivism due to intensive supervision?; what were the relationships between certain client-descriptive variables and the frequency and severity of recidivism?; what were the relationships between client-criminal offense variables and the frequency and

severity of recidivism?; what set of client-descriptive and criminal offense variables serves as the best set of predictors of recidivism?

Three sources of information were employed in the collection of data: personal interviews with offenders, project case files, and juvenile court histories.

Results showed an overall reduction of frequency of offenses of about 50 percent. The overall reduction in average severity of offenses for each client was 45.6 percent. The results indicate that there were significant relations between age and pre-service frequency. The older the client, the lower the pre-service frequency. Baseline frequency proved to be the best single predictor of recidivism in the research.

The major finding of the research was that all projects achieved reductions in recidivism, intensive supervision clients recidivated less at every level of prior offense, and intensive supervision seemed to be beneficial for clients with different criminal and demographic characteristics.

The project staff were aware of their own problems and stated so in the report: lack of control groups from traditional caseloads; large variance between project clientele, staff, and treatment and services; limited resources for data collection; difficulty in qualification of treatment and supervision variables; and lack of parole projects for meaningful comparisons.

The Denver High Impact Anti-Crime Program¹⁸ was designed specifically to reduce the recidivism rate among offenders on either probation or parole with an emphasis on those convicted or arrested for High Impact Crimes. The objectives were designed to give officers reduced caseloads (50:1) and locate them in the community where their clients live so they might give intensive service to their clients.

The goals of the project were: to reduce caseloads, increase diagnostic capability and goal-oriented supervision, improve the referral system, increase community awareness, improve accessibility of services, and improve coordination of services.

Recidivism data on a random sample of offenders convicted in 1968-1970 were collected. A comparison was made between the Project group (intensive supervision) and the Central Office group (regular caseload).

The findings show that there is little difference between revocation rates for High Impact and other probation clients in the Project group (5.12 percent to 4.97 percent). In the Central Office group, High Impact cases had a 9.33 percent revocation rate *versus* 5.18 percent for other cases. The two-year figures showed a rearrest rate of 38.3 percent for the Project group *versus* 51.6 percent and a reconviction rate of 38.3 percent for the Project group *versus* 41.9 percent.

The summary of all the data and analysis reported would

appear to be most clearly stated by pointing to the reduced recidivism rates. From both the quantitative and qualitative data presented, it appears as if the objectives of the project have been achieved although the shortcomings of the project include many losses of clients through termination, transfers and absconding, and no control group or comparative data.

The Phoenix Inner City Intensified Supervision Program¹⁹ was created in 1972 to combat the high incidence of crime in that section of the city. Basic to the program were the ideas that increased supervision would reduce recidivism of the probationers and that work, vocational training and academic pursuits are therapeutic experiences which will also decrease recidivism. The goals of the program were to reduce both the recidivism rate of the probationers and the degree of unemployment within the inner-city caseload. The specific hypotheses tested were: intensively supervised cases will have a lower rate of criminal infractions than the control group; intensively supervised cases will have a greater number of technical violations than criminal infractions; and involvement in work or school activities will decrease the amount of time which could result in criminal activity.

Forty-one cases were randomly selected from inner-city caseloads and assigned to the treatment group and 31 cases similarly selected from regular caseloads became the control group.

The treatment group incurred four times as many technical violations as criminal violations and twice as many technical violations as were incurred by the control group. The control group averaged 15 days of unemployment or absence, while the treatment group averaged 32 days.

The authors concluded that even within the short time span of the program, positive results in reducing recidivism were achieved, a more effective level of services was provided due to the structure of supervision, and supervision techniques could be modified to include greater emphasis on job placement and counseling.

Due to such problems as lack of clear operational definitions, small sample size, and poor sampling method, the results must be viewed with a degree of caution.

The Special Probation Caseloads Project²⁰ was designed to cut down recidivism rates among probationers who had committed target crimes by increasing the supervision given to target offenders by reducing caseload size and facilitating rehabilitation.

The project objectives were to reduce recidivism among Newark target probationers; to achieve more comprehensive probation supervision through assignment of target probationers from large conventional caseloads to small specialized caseloads and assignment of new probationers to small caseloads; and to reduce conventional caseloads and establish ongoing specialized caseloads.

The project achieved a target crime recidivism rate of 29 percent (more than their objective of 19 percent). Caseloads were substantially reduced and probationers were met with more frequently.

The project did not randomly select their experimental group and offered no comparison data from a control group. The project experienced difficulty controlling intake and assignment processes which resulted in target-offender probationers being assigned to conventional caseloads. Because probationers were classified on the basis of the adjudicated rather than the original arrest charges, the project was not receiving all Impact offenders. Results of the High Impact study must be viewed in light of these criticisms.

The main goals of the San Francisco Project²¹ were: to develop criteria for the classification of offenders; to study the effects of varied intensities and types of supervision and caseload size; to develop a prediction table for supervision adjustment; and to examine decision-making in presentence recommendations.

Based on the 50-unit workload concept, four levels of supervision were established - ideal, intensive, normal, and minimum. Selection of clients was based on four factors - offense, prior record, age and psychological testing.

The project made mention of types, kinds, and intensities of supervision, but failed to identify characteristics of differing types of supervision which remained dependent

upon the styles of individual officers.

Excluding technical violations, the violation rate for the minimum supervision caseload was reported as not significantly different from that of other caseloads (22 percent for minimum and ideal, and 20 percent for intensive).

Review of the project reveals that method and direction were sought after the research was initiated. The absence of a well-developed theoretical framework resulted in a lack of orientation and a loss of efficiency. The project is criticized for utilizing a simple concept of conformity as the primary measure of successful supervision. The authors concluded that, because of problems with design and conducting of the project, the results are questionable.

The Connecticut Department of Adult Probation set up an intensive supervision Drug Unit Program²² that addressed the problem that people dependent on drugs are more difficult to handle as probationers than those probationers who are not addicted, and that in order to control the behavior of an addict, more time must be spent supervising him. Two groups of probationers were drawn from the same geographic area to minimize such factors as: availability of drugs, availability of treatment resources, economic, social, and other influences. Comparisons of the two groups were made in the following areas: vocational histories, income status, treatment histories, monthly contacts, violations of probation, convictions, and educational histories.

The results indicate that for the Drug Unit group, 14 percent were employed or in training at the time of referral, 60 percent were employed or in training at the end of the program. At the beginning, 26 percent were self-supporting and at the end 66 percent were. Six percent were in school at the time of referral as opposed to 56 percent at the conclusion of their supervision.

At the start of probation, 54 percent of the General Caseload group were working and at the end 60 percent were working. Self-support increased from 56 percent to 64 percent. There was also a 2 percent rise in the education category during supervision. Recidivism figures show a rate of 20 percent for the Drug Unit and 32 percent for the General Caseload group.

The data point to positive changes in the General Caseload group, but the figures are much more drastic for the Drug Unit group. The authors conclude that intensive supervision is a useful tool in the management of probationers who function poorly because of drug or emotional weaknesses.

The authors themselves point out the problem that more difficult probationers were assigned to the Drug group (biased sample) but then go on to acclaim the objectivity of their sample selection.

For a measure of self-support, the study uses those not on welfare. It is possible that the Drug Units' increase in self-support from 56 percent to 64 percent may only be an

indication of those that dropped from the roles of welfare and not a reflection of those that are employed and self-supporting. The project clearly lacks good operational definitions, has apparent flaws in sampling, and states one objective while it actually pursued another.

The inability of regular caseload agents to cope with the rise in drug related probationers gave rise to the Intensive Supervision High Impact Narcotics Offenders Program.²³ The objectives of the project were: to reduce the number of Impact crimes committed in the Baltimore area, to reduce the use of illegal drugs, to reduce the number of convictions of other crimes by Impact offenders, and to assist Impact offenders in developing stable education and employment habits.

Once the client's drug abuse problem had been stabilized, counseling was focused on the client's vocational and educational adjustment. Caseloads were limited to 35 clients per probation agent. Probationers were randomly assigned to either the experimental group or a control group supervised by standard caseload agents.

A comparison of the first 12 months to the entire 22 months showed that the experimental group experienced a 21.4 percent rearrest rate compared to 29.5 percent for the control group. The experimental group averaged 1.7 charges per arrest while the control group averaged 2.1 charges. The control group was charged with more offenses per arrest and

more serious offenses than those of the experimental group.

The study states that interpretation of data must be considered in light of relatively small control and experimental groups, the possibility of sampling errors, and the differences in supervision techniques. The study concludes that, pending further data from the project, intensive supervision may have an effect on the quality of the services provided and the involvement of the probationer in community resources, but to date, results are inconclusive.

The purpose of the Specialized Alcoholic Caseload Project²⁴ was to learn whether probation supervision, which focused specifically on alcoholic offenders, could effectively aid such offenders.

The Municipal Court referred 197 alcoholic offenders to the specialized caseload. The subjects were divided into groups: A = offenders who made a satisfactory response to probation service; B = a marginal response; and C = an unsatisfactory response to probation service.

Effectiveness of the specialized caseload was evaluated by means of a before-after study in which numbers of arrests in specified time intervals were used as criteria.

Group A (1961) showed .19 arrests per month before the probation grants and .08 arrests per month after the grants. Group A (1962) showed .14 arrests per month before and .04 after. Group B in both 1961 and 1962 showed equal or larger pre-grant arrest rates in comparison with Group A. Post-

grant experiences showed reduction in arrest rates. Group C cases in both 1961 and 1962 showed the highest prior arrest rates and large reductions in arrest during the post-grant period.

Three factors were reported to be related to favorable response to probation service: low arrest rates prior to the study, attendance at Alcoholics Anonymous, and stable marriage.

The study showed several weaknesses in its report. Because many believed the study should focus on different age groups, there was an absence of any real screening process, and cases were entered on many bases. In addition, the probation officer had no specialized training in dealing with the alcoholic offender and perhaps results may have been better if this had been the case. The authors stated that they had difficulty in identifying total arrest information which was their primary measure of effectiveness and the project suffered under poor control and data collection techniques.

The general outcome of the project suggests that although the findings are not outstanding, use of probation with the alcoholic offender is both feasible and worthwhile.

The Hi Intensity Project²⁵ provided supervision for two classes of probationers and parolees: sex offenders and persons placed on psychiatric probation.

Demographically, probationers assigned to the Hi In-

tensity Unit were similar to those in the non-specialized unit. Each probationer was screened and placed into levels of supervision according to need - intensive, moderate, and minimum. The mean number of contacts was 1.48 for the Hi Intensity Unit and 0.75 for the non-specialist units. Base expectancy scores were used to group cases into low, medium, and high risk groups. Rearrest rates were examined for both a three-month and a twelve-month period.

The twelve-month rearrest rates showed a total 12 point difference between the project group and the regular group. The low and medium risk groups showed no difference. Among the high risk cases, more than half the regular unit had been arrested while only about a quarter of the project cases had been arrested.

It is possible, the authors concluded, that the differences in recidivism hold only for certain types of clients. Among psychiatric cases, it is the high risk group and among drug and alcohol cases, it is still unclear.

The Florida Parole and Probation Commission's Expanded Maximization of Probation Project²⁶ was designed to provide intensive supervision of offenders by establishing a staff to client ratio of 1:35. By establishing such a ratio, it was felt that adequate safeguards would be present to protect society and that maximum supervision could be given to offenders to aid in their adjustment to societal norms. The second objective was to evaluate the project's effectiveness to de-

termine the feasibility of releasing high risk offenders to supervision under a reduced caseload size.

Persons before the court for non-capital felony offenses were recommended to the court for participation in the program, if: the defendant would have been sentenced to prison because of an offense against a person; defendant has a history of mental or emotional illness; committed a technical violation while on probation; had a juvenile history of offenses without ever receiving adequate supervision; defendant is a danger to himself or to the community; the judge believes that concentrated supervision would benefit the defendant.

Treatment consisted of a client-centered approach by implementing structured treatment programming with the assistance of community resources.

There were several circumstances which made an evaluation of this project impossible: fragmentation of project implementation due to late receipt of funds; the grant was awarded at a time when the Florida prisons were closed to new probationers, which caused the increased use of probation and parole. There was a financial crisis which resulted in a policy of not hiring for vacant positions, thus experimental caseloads increased to near normal size. Because the objectives of this grant were preempted by unfortunate and uncontrollable circumstances, no meaningful evaluation of the project can be made.

Southfield, Michigan's Probation Improvement Program²⁷ was set up to make available improved probation services with the express desire that these services would lead to a reduced recidivism rate in the community. This objective was based upon the concept that better supervision and counseling of probationers, and a more effective use of community resources would deter greater numbers of offenders from future crime.

Improved services were accomplished through the achievement of three goals: reduced probation officer caseload by adding three additional professional personnel to the staff; increased number of volunteer probation officers working with the court (to 100), which would also reduce probation officer caseloads, leaving more time to work with more intense cases; and the better use of community resources and consultants in the department's rehabilitation efforts.

The recidivism tables indicated an improvement of 7.8 percent for adjourned cases and 8 percent for regular probation assignments. The author felt that the improvement reflected in large measure the increased time that can be spent with probationers as a result of decreasing individual caseloads.

The study does not discuss the specific treatment being used or to what group it was administered. It did not utilize a control group nor randomly select its subjects. The charts presented in the study are somewhat confusing and no apparent

conclusions are made from the data, only ambiguous remarks. Despite these drawbacks, the project was acclaimed as very successful by the court and the community.

Summary and Conclusions on Caseloads

Examining all of the empirical research done on caseloads, some general conclusions can be drawn. Many of the studies suffered from poor methodological design, such as: lack of control groups, no random sampling, either poor operational definitions or none at all, small samples, comparison and analysis of unlike groups, poor data collection, and biased samples.

Much of the data reported in the studies was subjective information reported by probation officers. Data gathered from probation records was biased in part by the attitudes and opinions of the officers and consequently the outcomes and conclusions of the studies must be viewed cautiously. Although some projects started out with good design and good objectives, problems along the way led to failure of goal attainment.

Almost all of the studies on caseloads fail to talk about exactly what sort of treatment is administered under intensive supervision. The question remains, are there more contacts under intensive supervision or is a different type of supervision utilized? When projects are successful in reducing recidivism, we must ask, is it due to the intensity of supervision, is it due to the kind of supervision, or do

other factors such as the matching of probation officer to client contribute to favorable outcomes? Although intensive supervision may increase technical violations due to increased surveillance, are we willing to accept this in light of its deterrent effect?

Thus far, results on caseloads indicate that reduction of caseload size sometimes improves performance, sometimes probation performance remains the same, and sometimes smaller caseloads do worse. There are no magic numbers to caseload size. We can adapt a standard caseload figure yet this does not take into account a particular department's necessities and problems and can only be used as a rough measure. Variables which ought to alter caseload figures are: type of case handled, staff education and experience, travel time to clients, how the personality of the probation officer affects probation outcome, and perhaps other variables that do not center on clients alone.

Because the evidence which exists on caseloads cannot provide any conclusive data, caseloads continue to be an issue of concern for correctional authorities and a variable which commands the attention of those concerned with criminal justice.

Review of The Literature on Management/Classification of Caseloads

The American Bar Association believes that a sound probation service should have the capacity to employ differen-

tial casework based on the characteristics of the probationed offenders, but more attention must be devoted to identification of those offenders most likely to respond to one type of program as opposed to another. Some probationers will fail and some will succeed regardless of supervision effort. And, of course, there is a wide range of individuals in between, for whom a proper allocation of supervision effort can be the decisive difference between success and failure.²⁸

The President's Task Force Report on Corrections goes on to say,

A major requirement for using a differential treatment system is an adequate case analysis and planning procedure. Probably no deficiency is more universally apparent in current programs than the nearly complete lack of careful planning by probation officers, their supervisors, and clinical program consultants, including the active participation of offenders themselves.²⁹

Probation agencies have been known to attempt to increase their staff and reduce the size of the caseload without making any effort to define what needs to be done and what tasks must be performed. When caseloads alone have been reduced, results have been disappointing. Some gains were made when staff members were given special training in case management. The comment has been made that with caseload reduction probation agencies have been unable to teach staff what to do with the additional time available. Agencies should consider workloads not caseloads to determine staff requirements. Specific tasks should be identified,

measured for time required to accomplish the task, and translated into numbers of staff members needed.³⁰

Richard McCleary, in his analysis of structural variables and how they constrain the parole officers' use of discretion,³¹ states that studies have shown that discretionary behavior of parole officers varies from individual to individual and from district to district. Variance is attributed to differences in parole officer types, personality, and philosophy. This supports the idea that officers and clients should be matched to improve outcome. Similar personalities will function better together than unlikes. The parole officer's decision, or his interaction with a parolee, is determined not only by the parole officer's personality, but also by organizational contexts and the cost of alternatives. He often does what he has to and not what he wants to. The major implication of selectivity is that the parole officer must decide which clients to save and which to sacrifice. He may over-represent some and under-represent others. Although McCleary is dealing with parole, the article may have similar implications for probation, and is worth noting.

The underlying assumption on which probation must rest is that most probationers need supervision and the skill with which it is deployed will in large measure determine the success of the system. Probation cannot effectively rehabilitate offenders and protect society as long as problems in delivery of services exist.³²

Results of the Studies on Management/Classification of Caseloads

The Differential Classification for the Supervision of Adult Probationers Design³³ described the development of a classification model for assigning clients to intensive or active probation supervision. Intensive cases were those posing a serious threat to themselves and/or the community, requiring a delivery of multiple services, and having a high probability of recidivism. Active supervision cases were those who generally adjusted to probation, although services were still required, and recidivism was a possibility but generally these cases posed no serious threat to themselves or the community.

A random sample of 720 probationers was selected from a total population of 3,250. Under this system, probationers were assigned to intensive or active supervision, based on the number and degree of involvement on four variables: current offense, psychological instability, prior record, and social instability. Age was also used in assigning marginal cases. The techniques used to analyze data are not described, nor are the results given.

Several considerations were deemed by the author as essential to the operation of a differential classification system. Accurate information and clear operational definitions must be available to ensure reliability and users should be trained in the use of the classification form which must periodically be revalidated and modified to reflect

changes in clients and/or community.

The Adult Probationer Needs Survey³⁴ was conducted to develop a data base to address three concerns of the Santa Clara Probation Department: to determine what percentage of the department's caseload was at different levels of risk; to determine the need for treatment and services of persons on probation; and to determine who should deliver the needed service - the probation department, other public agencies, or community programs.

A random sample was selected for both males and females. Demographic data and probation officer ratings were collected for each probationer. Ratings of personality/behavior characteristics, estimates of the extent to which needs existed, and ratings of the extent to which each need was being met were recorded.

A number of descriptive analyses were undertaken to develop a profile of the probationers and their needs. Specialized caseloads were developed from the ratings of probationers by the supervising officers.

Results were inconclusive in terms of clearly delineating a number of caseload types based on need ratings. Employment emerged as the greatest single need. Survey results suggested that probation as currently defined may be unnecessary for almost half of the current caseload. The authors concluded that treatment engineering is needed whereby someone acts as an advocate for both the offender and for the courts,

to establish the best fit or mix of resources for the individual, and to mold this into a treatment/control plan.

The Probation Officer Case Aide Project³⁵ focused on using part-time, indigenous para-professionals, some of whom were ex-offenders, as assistants to probation officers. It was felt that distance existed between some middle-class supervising officers and their lower-class clientele and that indigenous workers' experiences may be more closely related to the clients', thus facilitating the development of more productive relationships.

The primary goals of the study were to examine the effects of using para-professionals and to develop typologies and matched case assignment schemes for probation officer aides and clients.

To be eligible for inclusion in the study, an offender had to be on probation, parole, or mandatory supervision; convicted of postal theft, interstate auto theft, interstate shipment theft, narcotics violations, forgery, counterfeiting, embezzlement, or bank robbery; sentenced to six months or more; 21 years of age or older; a Negro or white male resident of Chicago; and of lower socio-economic status. Offenders meeting the selection criteria were randomly assigned to either the experimental or control group. The experimental group met weekly with supervising aides and the control group received regular supervision.

Experimental and control group clients were compared on

the basis of outcome variables: recidivism, employment, housing, marital and family relationships, client's relationship with probation officer or aide, and client's personal adjustment. The findings of the study are based on intuitive observation, because empirical data were not available. The study identified three types of aides: inner-oriented, with primary emphasis directed at underlying social and emotional factors; outer-oriented, with emphasis on solving concrete problems; and flexibility-oriented, neither predominantly inner- nor outer-oriented. Four client types were identified: those with internal problems; those with external problems; those with neither internal nor external predominant; and those with no identifiable problems requiring outside help. Because they must wait for more definitive results, the authors could only report that clients were typically responsive, probation aides were involved and enthusiastic, and supervisors were favorably impressed.

The Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare conducted a study on the Relationship of Adult Probation and Parole Experiences to Successful Termination of Supervision.³⁶ It was believed that an awareness of relationships between probation experiences and termination of supervision can assist a probation agent in workload management. Equal supervision cannot be given to all; therefore, knowledge of what types of offenders may be successful will enable devotion of additional time to those most in need.

The study is based on data obtained from the Case Closing Summary, a statistical form completed at the termination of each offender's probation supervision. Factors selected for analysis were those having a substantial relationship to success and those which could be influenced by the agent's supervision, i.e., percentage of time employed.

The findings pointed to two extremes in adult male probationers. One group was: employed at least 75 percent of the time, lived with spouse, and had non-disreputable associates. The other group was: employed less than 75 percent of the time, lived with other than spouse, and had fringe or delinquent associates.

The study indicated that 99 percent of the female probationers with non-disreputable associates successfully completed probation, as compared with 67 percent of those with fringe or delinquent associates.

Because of the small number of cases, a three-way comparison of experiences and successes at completion of supervision was not practicable; therefore, only one factor while under supervision was reviewed.

The study apparently lacked clear operational definitions. The sampling technique was never discussed and living with other than a spouse was considered an unfavorable factor, while in fact this type of relationship may be more healthy and stable than marriage. Apart from its shortcomings, however, the study concluded that favorable probation factors

appear to be related to success.

The Probation Caseload Classification Study³⁷ was initiated in order to obtain information about the offender population under supervision in the Probation Office of the District of Columbia. It was hoped that this information could be applied in devising a more effective case management approach based upon the needs of the offenders as well as on the resources available to the probation office.

The three major objectives of the study were: to classify the entire population under supervision, using a multi-factor instrument designed to predict the outcome of supervision as to success or failure; to attempt to validate the predictive ability of the instrument on the population of offenders by comparing all cases which closed successfully with those which closed unsuccessfully; and to use the data obtained in devising a "vertical" model of caseload management, that is, setting up differential caseload sizes based upon high or low success potential as opposed to those based on numbers.

Phase I of the study included a classification of the entire population under supervision. The Base Expectancy was used as the primary data collection instrument in this study.

Phase II included an analysis and classification of all cases closed during an 18 month period. This was done to validate the predictive ability of the instrument on the

population.

Phase III of the study grew out of information obtained in Phase I, involving caseload classification. It was hypothesized that the probation office staff, as a consequence of their experience, screened out individuals who would normally be rated high risk offenders if rated by the predictive instrument. In order to test this hypothesis, it was decided to compare two groups, one which had been recommended for probation and another group not recommended for probation on the scores obtained.

Of the cases classified, 43 percent were rated "A," suggesting high potential for favorable adjustment; 44 percent were rated "B" or medium potential; and 13 percent were rated "C" or low potential for favorable adjustment. The data indicated the tendency for "A" rated individuals to be terminated early from probation rather than "B" individuals. There was a greater likelihood for the "B" group to close through expiration or violation. In contrast, there was little probability for group "A" to violate probation (7 percent) and less probability for group "C" to have their cases closed through expiration (5 percent) and almost no probability to have them closed through early termination (2 percent).

The following recommendations were made from the data: the BE 61 A scoring instrument should be used for predictive purposes; a "vertical" model of assignment should be employed

rather than a numerical one: different units should be established to handle different risk caseloads; and officers should attempt to develop a network of affiliations with local community groups.

The purpose of the Client-Management Classification Program³⁸ was to develop a case-classification system which could be utilized by probation and parole agents to deal more effectively with the divergent needs of clients.

An interview and classification system was devised to focus on the differences among clients which agents could relate to and have important consequences for an agent's planning with a particular case. An interview utilizing a forced-choice rating instrument was developed to obtain the information needed for classification. The items on the interview were reviewed and only those which proved reliable were retained.

The data indicated that four groups could be discriminated from the structure interview. The groups were identified on the basis of the characteristic supervision functions utilized in working with each group. The four groups included: selective intervention group (35 percent) - needed minimal supervision; casework/control (30 percent) - required a great deal of time, direction and support; environment structure (20 percent) - required structure, support and guidance; and limit setting (15 percent) - for whom strict rules and regulations were recommended.

The Differential Treatment and Classification Project³⁹ was implemented because it was believed that classification systems are useful for assessing risk and for realizing the efficient management of offenders. Under such a system, no offender receives more treatment or surveillance than he requires and each offender is afforded the optimal program of services possible for growth and adjustment in the community. The main goal of the study was to determine the number and concentration of probationers who require intensive supervision, as opposed to normal supervision.

The report classified adult probationers into two main categories: (IS) those requiring Intensive Supervision, and (NS) those requiring Normal Supervision. These categories were developed according to two main considerations: the appraisal of service needs for social reintegration into the community and the amount of accountability required for the protection of the community.

The criteria used for classification were based upon four major variables: current offense, prior record, age, and psychological stability. Of the 720 cases, 49 percent were categorized as IS and 51 percent as NS. About one out of six placed on adult probation needed treatment and required close accountability for serious alcohol abuse. Three out of ten non-narcotic cases needed some kind of alcohol treatment, three out of ten on the narcotics caseload were either enrolled in a program and addicted to Methadone or had been

addicted to opiates during the last five years, and 2 percent during the last five years had been dependent on other hard drugs.

The study strayed from its stated goal and focused more on alcoholic offenders. Also, data were obtained from case material which would be subject to individual interpretation and consequently biased. As a result, conclusions cannot be accepted as final.

Summary and Conclusions on Management/Classification of Caseloads

Empirical studies dealing with Management/Classification for Caseloads are limited; therefore, conclusions can only be based upon this narrow evidence.

Often the techniques used to analyze classification data were not described nor were the results given. One was informed that classification of offenders occurred, but not upon what criteria, nor what implications could be drawn from the operation.

Ratings for classification, when done by probation officers were weakened by the subjectivity of their reporting. As a result, it was not clear whether the findings were based on the subjective perceptions of the probation officer or the author, or upon the actual data.

Again, as with the empirical studies on caseloads, some of these studies suffered from poor methodological design and faulty implementation. Criteria for classification and

success were often shaky and subjective (i.e., living with a spouse) which again leads to only tentative results pending further validation.

Although a portion of the research to date has suffered from poor design and implementation, it cannot be denied that a well-designed, well-administered classification system, with both the needs of the offender and the limitations and the resources of the agency in mind, will help eliminate wasted time and effort on the part of the officer. We can get the most from our efforts by determining who will do better under what circumstances, and consequently spending more time on those most in need.

Review of the Literature on Probation vs. Institutionalization

An article published in *Criminology*, "Who Should Go and Who Should Stay?"⁴⁰ raised the issue that there are a significant number of offenders committed to prison who could possibly be retained in the community on probation.

The article explains that deciding to reduce prison commitment by means of more efficient use of probation services could result in fundamental organizational consequences. The reduction in the number of offenders going to prison can result in a need for fewer staff at the institutional level which could possibly cause layoffs and union discontent. The power structure of the administration, which runs the institutions, may react negatively toward the change in their organization, and probation may experience organizational

stresses, due to the change in the population served, associated with the character and delivery of services.

Results of the Studies on Probation vs. Institutionalization

Probation Versus Imprisonment for Similar Types of Offenders⁴¹ compared male offenders who were imprisoned with similar types who were placed on probation, to determine which program produced less subsequent criminal activity. The study is based upon 7,614 Wisconsin cases statistically comparable in original disposition, county of commitment, type of offense committed, number of prior felonies, and marital status.

Of the first felony offenders, those on probation had lower violation rates than those imprisoned and then paroled. For probationers and parolees with one prior felony, rates were about the same. For those with two or more prior felonies, violation rates were higher for probationers than for parolees.

The frequency with which judges sentenced offenders to probation rather than incarceration varied directly with the extent to which the offenders were likely to violate. That is, judges tended to place those offenders with low violation rates on probation, the major exception being assault cases, where imprisonment was more frequently used.

The Saginaw Project⁴² was an attempt to depopulate the Jackson Prison after the riot of 1952. The National Proba-

tion and Parole Association made a thorough study of probation services throughout Michigan to determine to what extent the use of probation could safely be increased, thus helping reduce prison populations and salvage a large number of offenders at a minimum cost to taxpayers.

It was proposed that the Saginaw Project would show through actual practice in one circuit court in Michigan that if a probation department is staffed with trained personnel in sufficient numbers, with manageable caseloads, working under competent supervision, probation could be used in 70 to 75 percent of the circuit court convictions. It was believed that the success ratio would be at least as good as the previous experience in the court, that this would be accomplished at no greater risk to the community, that a significant savings in public funds would accrue, and that if the results of this project were applied statewide, the state could be saving millions of dollars in construction and maintenance costs for its penal institutions.

During the project, the court disposed of 403 convicted felons. Of that number, 68 percent were granted probation, an increase of 7 percent over the three prior years. About 17 percent were committed to prison, half the number for the three previous years. The other 15 percent were granted other dispositions, consisting mainly of fines or county jail time.

Of the 349 persons discharged during the 33-month period

of the project, 1,790 were committed for violation of probation. This represents a reduction in commitments for violation of probation of 47 percent compared with the three prior years. While 10 percent were discharged without improvement, 73 percent were discharged with improvement, an increase of 16 percent.

The author concluded that millions of dollars annually could be saved by such a program as the Saginaw Project, and this takes no account of the tremendous savings in human lives and families.

Summary and Conclusions on Probation vs. Institutionalization

It would appear from the limited research in this area that from a monetary standpoint, placing more offenders on probation will offer a substantial savings over institutionalization. It is documented that first felony offenders put on probation have lower violation rates than those imprisoned and then paroled, although this does not hold true for offenders with two or more felonies. This would indicate that many offenders placed in prison would do as well if retained in the community and placed on probation.

The notion of placing more offenders on probation may place an added burden on probation departments with respect to manpower and resources. More importantly, we must consider the stigma that imprisonment may have on the individual and the deprivation it may incur, and realize that by assigning more offenders to probation this trauma could conceivably

be evaded.

Conclusion

This review of client/caseload research has disclosed significant information. Even though some of the findings from the studies were disappointing, many studies offer vital information for probation departments. It can be concluded that more research and evidence is needed to further substantiate the data, but probation can now begin to utilize the existing knowledge as guides for present and future operation.

Through the analysis of the studies, general implications and concepts have emerged. It will continue to be important to classify offenders for treatment according to their needs. Particular types of clients require specific types of supervision, and it is vital that this need be recognized early in the probation process. A lack of proper identification of needs may result in a loss of efficiency and effectiveness.

Although only briefly touched upon, the qualifications (and, more importantly, the characteristics) of the probation staff and the interaction between offenders is an area of emerging interest and relevance. It may seem obvious that officers better qualified and those matched by personality types to their probationers would in turn more effectively supervise and consequently have more successful probation completions, but this is an area which has been sorely over-

looked. More attention must be focused on these aspects of probation, bearing in mind the already positive results which matching officer to client and additional training for officers have presented.

For a time to come, the crucial research in probation will be that which deals with the issue of caseloads. There is a variety of factors surrounding caseloads and the interaction among these factors is complex. From the studies which have presented promising results, we can assume, pending further research, that the need for various intensities of supervision can be determined by factors such as seriousness of offense, type of offense, social and psychological stability, age, prior record, etc. Assignment to supervision based on such factors could again improve probation outcome and curtail expended efforts for those probationers least in need.

Research into probation vs. institutionalization has found that many offenders who are sentenced to prison could remain in the community and perform equally well on probation. This appears to be especially true for first offenders, although it does not hold for multiple felony offenders. The importance of this finding lies in the fact that the deprivation, trauma, and dehumanizing conditions that often accompany imprisonment can be eliminated by placing the best risks on probation.

Although the rise in numbers of those on probation may

cause some problems for probation agencies, this approach will require less in the way of dollar expenditures. More important than the savings in dollars that probation can offer is the salvaging of human lives - the ultimate goal.

A final point which can be made from the analysis of the studies on client/caseload characteristics is that the information gathered here can be used to improve probation services. Although no conclusive, explicit plans can be extracted, the data can and should be used to guide and direct both probation officers and administrators to the goal of reintegrating the offender into the community. It is hoped that this report will be an implement to a system of better classification and assignment techniques and an aide to the elimination of arbitrary and capricious practices which too frequently exist.

Footnotes

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Prediction

In criminology, prediction refers to an offender's expected future behavior (or status in the criminal justice system) based on an assessment of present or past characteristics known to be associated with the behavior (or status) to be predicted. In assessing the current state of knowledge in probation prediction, Jay Albanese in the next chapter considers the issues as comprising two general classifications: methodological issues and management issues. A poorly constructed prediction instrument can be of no use to probation personnel; and an efficient, validated predictive device must be correctly applied and its underlying assumptions and limitations fully understood if it is to be useful in practice.

Methodological Issues

Critical to any prediction instrument is reliable, valid information. Thus, the meanings of these concepts are first considered. A closely related issue next discussed, is the question of the relative efficiency of clinical and statistical approaches to making predictions. Evidence is cited that in most cases actuarial predictions are either about the same or superior to those made by clinicians. Statistical predictions are generally more reliable due to the more objective and reliable nature of the information used. Combining both types of judgments is discussed.

Sampling methods are also of prime importance to the development of predictive devices. Samples must be representative of the population to which generalizations are to be made; otherwise, the validity of the prediction model will be reduced when new samples are used. Another requirement is that samples be of sufficient size to draw reliable conclusions. Small samples increase the probability of exploiting chance fluctuations which can produce a considerable margin of error in developing a predictive model.

The base rate refers to the proportion of individuals in a population who fall into the category to be predicted. If we wish to predict probation success, the base rate is the number of probationers who succeed relative to the total number of probationers under study. This becomes a problem, for example, when there are relatively few "successes" (i.e., low base rate) in the population because it then becomes more difficult to find variables which discriminate between the successes and the failures. One of the biggest problems associated with base rates is that they are virtually never reported. This makes difficult the evaluation of the usefulness of the prediction method.

A related issue is the selection ratio, which refers here to the proportion of the number of persons chosen for probation placement to the total number available. The utility of a prediction device for probation selection is a function of the

selection ratio as well as the predictive validity of the instrument.

Prediction instruments usually involve the combination of a number of predictor variables to estimate an expected outcome such as "completion of probation without any new convictions or probation revocation." There are three types of methods for combining predictors: those which use all the predictors equally; those which employ some sort of differential weighting system; and so-called "configural" methods. These methods, and their relative advantages, are discussed.

Empirical comparisons of the various methods of combining predictors are not common. Several such comparisons, however, lend credence to the view that the simple method devised by Burgess (simple, unit weighting) may provide prediction instruments equal or superior to those defined by more complex methods.

There can be no confidence in the utility of a prediction device unless it is validated on new samples. Cross-validation of a prediction device is necessary to identify bias resulting from chance variations in the original sample and to be confident that the method works.

Prediction instruments developed for a specific purpose and population are often assumed to be valid elsewhere. Such assumptions are extremely tenuous, since it has been shown that the validity of prediction models can vary greatly by geographical

area, with changing social conditions, by probation department policy, and over time. This also points to the need for both cross-validation and periodic re-validation of any predictive model.

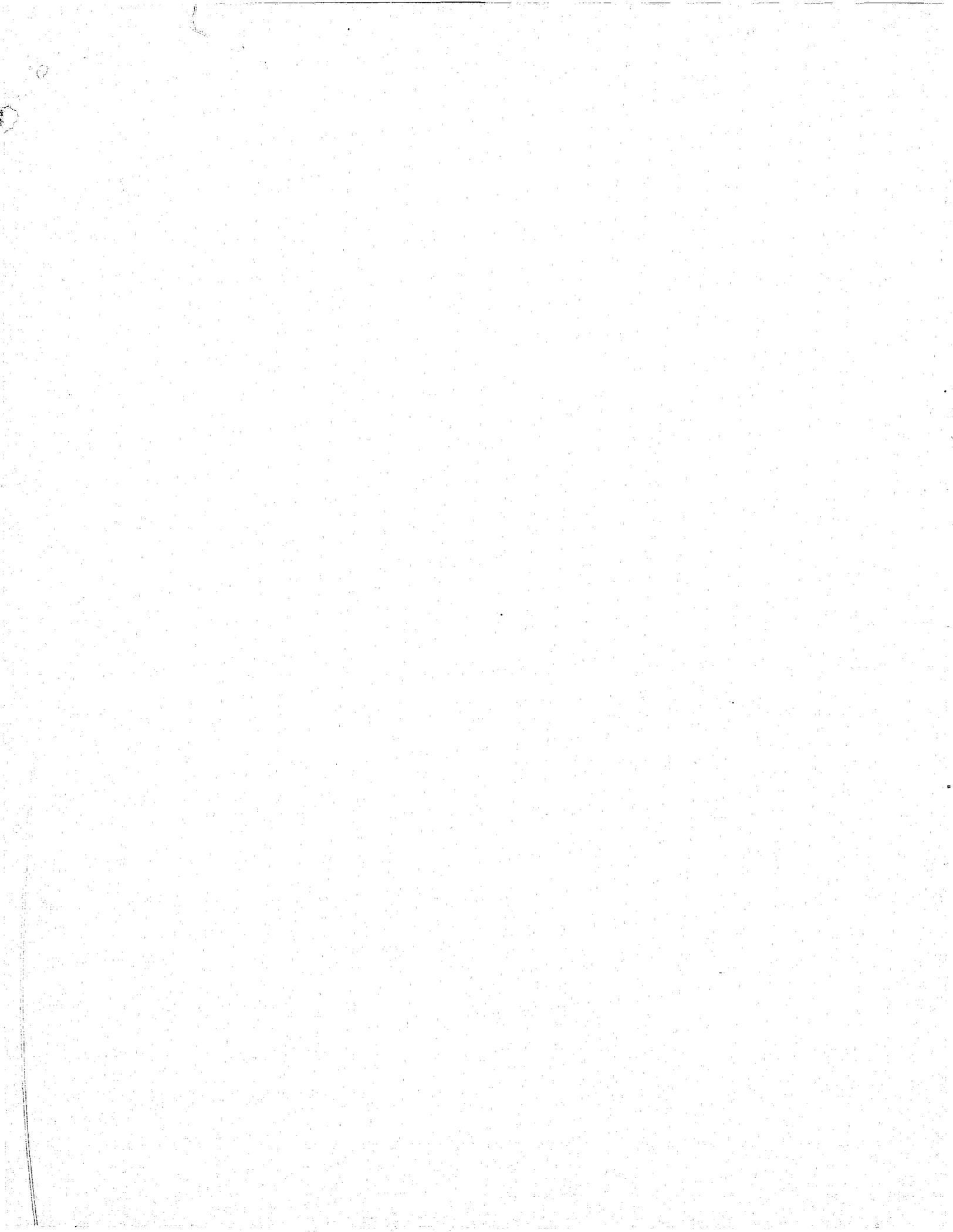
Management Issues

Prediction methods have been shown to be of value in contributing to guidelines for reducing arbitrariness in recommending sentencing alternatives, levels of probation and parole supervision, and in evaluating treatment effectiveness. While the implementation of prediction tables to aid in the paroling decision is still rather rare, it appears that prediction methods can assist in selecting individuals for probation.

Most existing applications of the use of prediction methods in treatment evaluation research have focused on delinquents and parolees. The possible probation applications are analogous, but largely remain to be tested. Experimental design is, of course, the most rigorous method of evaluating a program. Often, however, such a design is not feasible. Prediction methods can provide statistical controls when the use of experimental controls is not possible. They would summarize the expected performance for any set of probationers, based on past experience. If predictions are made before probation treatment begins, establishing the expected performance, these then can be compared with actual outcomes after treatment to determine any significant differences

resulting from treatment.

These issues of prediction method development and of potential applications in probation selection and evaluation of differential probation treatments are next discussed.



Chapter IV
Predicting Probation Outcomes:
An Assessment of Critical Issues

Jay S. Albanese

The Nature and Purposes of Prediction

The prediction of behavior has drawn much attention in criminological research. As a result, an extensive literature now exists consisting of both arguments and evidence regarding the variety of prediction techniques, their practical applications, and the many issues concerning their use and misuse in research and administrative decision-making.

This interest in predicting human behavior is not confined to studies of crime and delinquency, however. Considerable work has been done in attempting to predict many types of personal and social behavior. The prediction of academic performance¹, suicidal behavior², and even marriage outcomes³, are examples of the widespread interest in prediction as a fundamental aim of scientific inquiry. In business as well, prediction is widely utilized as exemplified by insurance companies who base their premiums on predicted life-expectancy or probability of involvement in auto accidents.

In criminological applications, prediction most commonly refers to a person's expected future behavior based on an assessment of present or past characteristics known to be associated with the behavior to be predicted. These characteristics (or "predictors") may be any attribute or quality ascribed to the individual. The future behavior (or "crite-

tion categories") is the particular type of performance we wish to predict. Prediction, therefore, can be expressed as an estimation of the criterion categories from the predictors determined through previous studies of the relations between the two.

In assessing the current state of knowledge in probation prediction it is useful to consider the issues as comprising two general classifications: methodological issues and management issues. A poorly constructed prediction instrument can be of no use to probation personnel, just as an efficient, validated predictive device must be applied correctly and its underlying assumptions fully understood if it is to be useful in practice.

While some of the methodological and management issues are overlapping in certain respects, they will be discussed here in their probable order of application. First, the methodology of constructing a prediction instrument will be considered, with an analysis of the various methods of combining predictors, kinds of predictive information, and an identification of the statistical requirements and assumptions which must be addressed in developing a valid predictive device. A discussion of management implications in the utilization of prediction methods will follow and will include a discussion of the "power" of prediction instruments, their theoretical and practical limitations, and an assessment of their effectiveness for use in probation. Both sec-

tions will be based on a critical review of the probation prediction literature dating back to the first study ever done in this area in 1932.

It should be noted at the outset that the majority of studies in criminological prediction are not in the area of adult probation. As will be seen later during an examination of the various prediction techniques, most attention has been given to predicting the future behavior of parolees and juvenile delinquents.

The literature review conducted for this paper uncovered only 11 empirical studies concerning adult probation prediction since 1932. Of these, only four validated their results. Other methodological shortcomings further impaired the results of even the validated studies to varying degrees. Consequently, little conclusive evidence presently exists to assess the utility of prediction methods for adult probation.

Nevertheless, much can be learned from the extensive work which has been done in parole prediction. Also, the errors and oversights of past probation studies, in addition to some of their strengths and innovative notions, will greatly assist in evaluating the state of the art and provide useful suggestions for future research.

The extensive methodological section is included partially in response to the generally poor quality of the existing studies and should enable the reader to more know-

ledgeably interpret the work of others. The management section will advance many of the theoretical and practical arguments associated with the prediction of performance on probation.

Methodological Issues

Reliability and Validity

"No predictive device can be better than the information from which it is derived."⁴ Perhaps the most vital element to any prediction instrument is reliable, valid information. Reliability refers to the consistency of repeated observations or measurements in producing similar classifications.

Elio D. Monachesi published in 1932 the findings of the first probation prediction study ever conducted in Prediction Factors in Probation. In this first empirical attempt to apply prediction methods to probation outcomes, he realized,

[It is important to know] how reliable the information is and what the probabilities are that individuals classified under certain categories at one time will be classified under those same categories at another time on the basis of the same information.⁵

Validity in the measurement of both the predictors and the criterion categories is closely associated with the concept of reliability. For example, reconviction is a common criterion for success or failure on probation. The validity of such a criterion is reduced to the extent that there

exist innocent probationers among those convicted, or there exist probationers not convicted who have, in fact, engaged in criminal behavior.

Another problem with the reliable and valid measurement of "criminality" is that it does not necessarily refer only to the state of a person, but also to the behavior of others. A probation violation, for instance, depends not only on the actions of the probationer, but also on the supervision practices of the probation department, their definitions of a "violation," and their policies for dealing with them.

Monachesi's study in 1932 included a reliability check of the classification of certain subjective information from probation case files by re-reading and re-classifying a sample of the cases under examination (i.e., "church attendance," "type of neighborhood," etc.). The method used was modeled after earlier work by Vold.⁶ The original and re-classifications were examined for their consistency using Pearson's coefficient of correlation, the coefficient of mean square contingency, and the analysis of scattergrams. The advantages and limitations of each of these measures of association is thoroughly discussed.⁷ While many errors were discovered upon re-classification, "at the same time the percentage of entries in full agreement is throughout better than could be ascribed to chance."⁸

The importance of reliability checks of the information utilized in any study is apparent. This is evidenced,

in part, by the sometimes wide variations in results of studies examining the use of predictive devices, which oftentimes are based on similar predictor variables. Without tests for reliability, an immediate replication of a prediction study can produce incompatible results simply because of errors in data coding and classification.

It has been noted elsewhere⁹ that the interest in prediction is usually focused on how well the method works; and, consequently, the validity of a particular prediction seems of more concern than reliability. Gottfredson's statement in the 1967 President's Crime Commission report, however, still holds true for the vast majority of studies reviewed in adult probation prediction.

The improvement of reliability of predictor variables provides another means for the possible improvement of prediction and therefore deserves much study. Unfortunately, analyses of the reliability of individual predictor items (or of a total prediction instrument) frequently are not reported in delinquency prediction studies.¹⁰

An empirical probation study which did include reliability checks, discovered that,

One needs to firmly establish the reliability of demographic information based on offender self-report. A survey of the reliability of offender self-report information about work history revealed that, on average, offenders overestimated their most recent wage by 51 cents per hour and their length of employment by more than 13 weeks during interviews with Court Services intake personnel.¹¹

They also indicate that perhaps the poor predictive power found in previous prediction studies based on demographic

information may be due, in part, to the low reliability of the self-report background data gathered in constructing the instrument.

Clinical and Statistical Approaches

Closely related to the issues of reliability and validity is the question of the relative efficiency of clinical and statistical approaches to making predictions. That is, can any gain be made in the reliability of predictive information through the use of one of these forms of information and can either approach improve the overall accuracy of predictions?

The literature bearing on this issue is extensive and goes well beyond its criminological applications. The reason for this continuing debate between the inductive, intuitive judgments of clinicians and the use of deductive, objective statistics has been suggested by Mannheim and Wilkins: "People seem to be more inclined to accept the judgment of other people than to trust numerical procedures which appear abstract and impersonal."¹²

A review of the evidence in this area is summarized in classic works by Gough¹³ and Meehl.¹⁴ Meehl has reprised

from 16 to 20 studies involving a comparison of clinical and actuarial methods, in all but one of which the predictions made actuarially were either approximately equal or superior to those made by a clinician.¹⁵

This finding is representative of other comparative studies of these two approaches.^{16, 17} A further advantage to

statistical predictions is that they generally are more reliable due to the objective nature of the information used and the general disagreement often found among even highly qualified clinicians in evaluating the same case.^{18,19}

This is not to say, however, that the judgments of clinicians are without value. Subjective judgments by probation officers and judges will continue to be made, and Glaser and Hangren²⁰ have suggested that an actuarial prediction based on objective items could serve as a point of reference for sentencing recommendations and decision-making. In this way, their subjective impressions of the data could be used to supplement the actuarial prediction and thereby enhance predictive efficiency. As indicated as early as 1941 by Horst, "The statistician and the case-study investigator can make mutual gains if they'll quit quarreling with each other and begin borrowing from each other."²¹

Sampling Requirements

It has been recognized by several authors that samples must be representative of the population to which generalizations are to be made.^{22,23} The reason for this is that systematic biases introduced through non-representative samples will reduce the validity of the prediction model when new samples are used.

Perhaps the best known case of where failure to account for possible sampling bias largely invalidated the findings of a prediction effort is given by the Glueck studies, where

an attempt was made to identify potential delinquents at an early age. It was found that,

The Glueck Social Prediction Table, after nine years of study and experimentation, is showing evidence of being a good differentiator between potential delinquents (serious and persisting) and non-delinquents.²⁴

Strong criticisms of the Glueck findings have been made citing that the research was carried out in a high delinquency area of New York City.^{25, 26} As a result, their success in predicting delinquency was very misleading. Using a non-representative sample with such a disproportionate number of delinquents greatly overestimates the efficiency of a prediction instrument. When applied to a sample representative of the New York City juvenile population, where the delinquency rate will be much lower, the prediction device based on the high delinquency sample will not discriminate nearly as well between delinquents and non-delinquents -- simply because the relative number of delinquents will be much fewer and therefore more difficult to predict.

Another requirement of samples is that they be of sufficient size to make reliable conclusions.^{27, 28} Small samples increase the probability of exploiting chance fluctuations which can produce a considerable margin of error in developing a prediction model.²⁹ The use of relatively large random samples, therefore, helps to ensure both the representativeness and reliability of prediction outcomes.

The Base Rate Problem

An issue associated with sampling concerns is the base-rate problem. The "base rate" refers to the proportion of individuals in a population who fall into the category to be predicted.³⁰ If we wish to predict success on probation, the base rate is the number of probationers who succeed relative to the total number of probationers under study.

This becomes a problem when there are relatively few "successes" (i.e., a low base rate) in the population, as it becomes more difficult to find variables which discriminate between the successes and the failures. As Gottfredson³¹ has said: "It will be more difficult to find useful predictors, because the variation in the criterion is reduced, and it is this variation which must be analyzed in the search for predictors." Meehl and Rosen have shown that to the extent the base rate differs from the chance rate of 50 percent, the difficulty of prediction increases. So the rarer or more frequent an event, the greater the likelihood of an inaccurate prediction.³²

For example, suppose that the base rate for failure on probation is .20. From this information alone, it is possible to make correct predictions 80 percent of the time if we merely predict that no one will fail on probation. It is, of course, also true that we will be incorrect 20 percent of the time. (It should be noted that the base rate alone gives us no indication as to which 20 percent will

fail.)

Next, let us assume that we develop a seemingly powerful predictive model which can correctly predict success or failure on probation 75 percent of the time. When compared to our base rate, this apparently powerful instrument is actually of less utility than simple usage of the base rate. In order for a prediction method to be useful, therefore, it must provide more information than that given by the base rate alone.³³

Among the first investigators of the practical significance of the base rate were Ohlin and Duncan who developed an "index of predictive efficiency" (the percentage change in prediction errors over that given by the base rate alone) to assess the relative utility of prediction instruments.³⁴ A more commonly used statistic in recent studies^{35, 36} is the "Mean Cost Rating" (M.C.R.), developed by Duncan and his colleagues,^{37, 38} since it provides an index which can be used to assess the comparative efficiency of different prediction instruments with specific reference to the base rate. The M.C.R. gives a standardized score which shows accurate prediction above the base rate.

Perhaps the biggest problem associated with base rates, however, is that they are virtually never reported.³⁹ As a result, it makes evaluation of the usefulness of the prediction method difficult or impossible.

The Selection Ratio

In probation, as in all selection problems, some people are selected and some are rejected. The selection ratio refers to the proportion of the number chosen to the total number available.⁴⁰ The importance of the selection ratio to developing valid prediction devices is appraised by Glaser and Hangren.

The objection may be made that it is inappropriate to apply research findings based only on the study of those granted probation to all those to be considered for probation. The persons studied necessarily exclude those denied probation in the period studied, since the outcome of the latter's sentence is unknown, but the persons to whom the research findings are to be applied include all applicants for probation. This could lead to very erroneous predictions, as soon as the findings were applied, if those denied probation in the past consistently were distinguished by some trait highly unfavorable to success on probation, and if this trait were completely independent of the predictors examined in the study.⁴¹

Monachesi has also considered the role of selection in affecting probation outcomes.

Most courts have had experiences with certain types of offenders and on the basis of these experiences may grant or withhold probation. Consequently, this selection is probably reflected in the outcome of probation.⁴²

He adds, however, that it is the purpose of his study (and all prediction studies) to attempt to show how these experiences can be systematized and used to better advantage in selecting probationers. Glaser and Hangren concur with Monachesi by responding to their own objection. They

claim that the potential for erroneous predictions described above is unlikely to occur in a study based on a fairly large sample. Furthermore, any sophisticated study would investigate the significance of all factors presumed by judges to be related to probation outcome. It is also pointed out that few judges base their probation decisions solely on prediction probabilities. This further reduces the likelihood of the selection ratio leading to erroneous predictions due to a lack of consideration of significantly discriminating predictor variables.⁴³

The value of prediction devices in a selection problem depends not only on their power but also on the selection ratio.⁴⁴ Administrators who would use prediction instruments to assist in selecting good risks for probation will find that when confronted with a low selection ratio (i.e., a small number of persons are selected for probation) a relatively weak prediction device may prove useful. Likewise, if few are rejected and many are selected for probation, a much more efficient prediction device is required to achieve the same degree of effectiveness.

Methods of Combining Predictors

A prediction instrument usually involves the combination of a number of predictor variables to estimate an expected outcome. A variety of methods exist for accomplishing this, and an abundance of arguments and evidence have accumulated regarding the relative advantages and disad-

vantages of the various techniques. Fortunately, these methods of combining predictors can be divided into three basic types: those which use all the predictors equally, those which employ some sort of differential weight system, and the so-called "configural" methods.

As noted earlier, the prediction of the outcomes of parolees precedes the applications of these methods to probationers. The literature of probation prediction is also comparatively small in comparison to the voluminous work done in parole. As a result, many of the techniques to be discussed here were originally developed for parolees and later applied to probationers. While no attempt will be made here to review this vast literature which covers approximately a 50 year period, excellent reviews are available.^{45, 46} This examination of the "state of the art" in the methodology of combining predictors will limit itself to those studies which originated these various techniques and those which have made validated comparisons of alternate methods. The techniques will first be described to be followed by empirical evidence bearing on their relative utility.

E. W. Burgess is generally recognized as being the first to employ prediction methods in a criminological application. In 1928, he and his colleagues examined the records of 3,000 parolees released from penal institutions in Illinois and obtained information on 21 factors of their pre-parole life. This information was used to construct expectancy

rates of parole violation.⁴⁷ The method he used (now appropriately called the "Burgess method") was to combine the predictors giving them unit weights. That is, all the predictors were considered equally in determining the outcome. This method has been criticized on theoretical grounds that it ignores possible intercorrelations among the predictors.

Several years following Burgess, the Gluecks published the first in a series of prediction studies.⁴⁸ The Gluecks attempted to improve on the work of Burgess by supplementing the information contained in official records with data gathered from other sources. They analyzed 50 factors in all and, rather than assigning them equal weights, they used a "mean square contingency coefficient" which allowed them to compare the correlation of each predictor with parole success. Each predictor was then weighted according to the strength of its association with the criterion. This method also ignores possible correlations among the predictors, however.

Vold made an empirical comparison of the Burgess technique which uses all available factors with unit weights with the Glueck's weighted contingency coefficients which include only the most significant predictors. He published his results in Prediction Methods and Parole⁴⁹ in 1931 and found very little difference through the use of either technique.

Monachesi published the first prediction study utiliz-

ing probationers the following year.⁵⁰ He duplicated the analyses made by Vold for his sample comparing the Burgess and Glueck methods, and found the Burgess technique to be slightly superior.

Relatively comparable results are obtained by weighting pre-probation factors equally or by assigning different weight values to pre-probation factors. . . More satisfactory results were obtained when all factors are weighted equally since this procedure results in a more distinct discrimination between lower classes of the scoring scale.⁵¹

A theoretically superior method of combining predictors to either the Gluecks or Burgess is multiple linear regression. Regression accounts for intercorrelations among the predictors as well as between the predictors and the criterion. It also allows for a more rational selection of predictors as the contribution of each predictor in adding to the accuracy of the prediction can be readily measured as an increase in the coefficient of determination. (This method of combining information is described in many statistics textbooks.) Limitations of this method include that it assumes linear relations between the predictors and the criterion, and (because the regression weights are derived from the total sample) it is also assumed that these weights are representative of any subgroups within the sample.

Configural methods were developed partially in response to the limitations of multiple linear regression. Their major advantage is that they make no assumption of linearity and allow for heterogeneity within a sample. Predictive At-

tribute Analysis and Association Analysis are two of the most popular configural methods.

Predictive Attribute Analysis was developed by Peter MacNaughton-Smith⁵² and involves the division of a sample into more homogeneous subsamples. This is accomplished by finding the single factor most predictive of the criterion and dividing the sample by the presence or absence of this characteristic. The two resulting subgroups are then examined to find the single best predictor for each group, and they are again subdivided along these attributes. This procedure continues until no further factors can be found which are significantly associated with the criterion.

Association Analysis was originally developed by Williams and Lambert for studies in plant ecology.⁵³ It is actually a classification method rather than a prediction method because it establishes subgroups without reference to the criterion. This technique basically subdivides a heterogeneous sample into more homogeneous subgroups relative to the characteristics under study. This method has been found quite useful as a prediction technique, and Wilkins and MacNaughton-Smith have published a study illustrating the utility of both Predictive Attribute Analysis and Association Analysis in a criminological application.⁵⁴

Empirical comparisons of the various methods of combining predictors are not common. Fortunately, several validated efforts have been made to examine how the theoretical

advantages and limitations of each of these methods affect their utility in practice.

Mannheim and Wilkins in their now classic study, Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal Training, compared multiple regression with the Burgess method in predicting parole behavior, and found multiple regression to perform slightly better.⁵⁵ Frances Simon has conducted an empirical comparison of a greater number of prediction methods than any study has previously, using two samples of young men on probation in England.^{56, 57} Her analyses included (among others) the Burgess method, multiple regression, Association Analysis, and Predictive Attribute Analysis. Although hampered somewhat by the use of relatively small samples, she found:

The general conclusion suggested by those comparisons is that, for practical purposes, there is little to choose between the power of most statistical methods that have been put forward for combining variables into a prediction instrument, in spite of the theoretical pros and cons of each.⁵⁸

Recently, Gottfredson, Gottfredson, and Wilkins completed an extremely thorough and validated comparison of the relative efficiency of the Burgess method, multiple regression, Predictive Attribute Analysis, and Association Analysis. Six data sets were employed involving parole outcomes from the California Youth Authority, Virginia (one- and two-year follow-ups), two data sets from the state of Washington, and the United States Parole Commission. While

the authors state that their findings are not conclusive, "The results lend support to the view that the simple method devised by Burgess may provide prediction instruments equal or superior to those defined by more complex methods."⁵⁹ These somewhat surprising results, which indicate the simplest methods of combining predictors seem to perform as well as the more sophisticated methods, have been assessed by a number of researchers. Some of these explanations will be considered in the following section, on "validation." It is interesting to note, however, that recent research has shown even the use of random regression weights performs better than humans in predicting behavior.⁶⁰ It has also been recently demonstrated through applications of statistical theory⁶¹ that equally weighted models predict as well or better than those developed through multiple linear regression.

The Need for Validation

The construction of a prediction instrument involves gathering information on a certain sample of persons who, in the case of probation, are usually known to have either succeeded or failed on probation. (For our purposes, "failure" will be operationally defined as a probationer who commits a criminal act.) As described in the previous section, items of information which seem to be related to criminality are then combined in any number of ways. The resulting table (or equation) is called an experience table, since it

summarizes the experience of a particular sample. It is not properly called a prediction table until its predictive validity has been tested by applying it to a new sample.⁶² The sample from which the prediction instrument is constructed is appropriately called the "construction" sample. The application of the instrument to a new sample is known as "validation" (or "cross-validation").

Validation is necessary for several reasons. First, some of the associations found between the predictors and criterion (success/failure) are likely to be due to chance, and may not exist in a different sample. Tests for statistical significance can reduce this possibility, but cannot eliminate it. The larger the number of predictor variables, the greater the probability that chance associations are present in the construction sample. Additionally, the particular method used for combining predictors can produce further bias in the apparent relationships between the predictors and outcome. This is especially true in weighted models such as multiple regression which rely heavily on only a few items. If one item is scored incorrectly or the data are unreliable, the resulting prediction can be greatly affected. This phenomenon has been discussed by Wilkins and others.^{63, 64}

Capitalization on chance variations in the construction sample is commonly termed "overfitting" the data to the sample and is a particular problem of weighted models.

This is because the weighted model can easily exploit the presence of data points (outliers) which deviate markedly from the normal (average) relationship between the predictors and criterion. Partially due to the nature of correlational statistics which provide only an average measure of the association between two variables, the existence of these outliers can go undetected. Concise explanations of these statistical concepts exist and the interested reader is referred to them for further elucidation.^{65, 66} The tendency for weighted models to overfit the data is one reason why the Burgess (equal-weights) model performs so well in practice.

Validation on a new sample will bring out any bias resulting from chance variations present in the original sample. The amount of "shrinkage" (predictive efficiency lost due to overfitting on construction) upon validation can be reduced if large samples are used, as they will reduce chance variations obscuring real ones. Shrinkage can also be lessened by not scaling variables according to their appearance in the original sample, which is another source of overfitting.⁶⁷

Validation is also necessary because predictor-criterion relationships will vary over time and by geographical area due to variances in base-rates (discussed earlier), and policy and social changes, which will be addressed as a management issue. Clearly, there can be no confidence in the util-

ity of a prediction method unless it is verified (validated) on a new sample.

Testing for Statistical Significance

It was found that male juveniles had a violation rate of 26.9 percent while females had a violation rate of 35.7 percent, how significant is a difference of 8.8 percent between male and female violation rates?^{6 8}

Monachesi recognized in 1932 the importance of testing for statistical significance. This is due to the fact that, depending on sample size, percentage differences between two results may well be due to chance and upon replication, the observed differences will disappear. The formula to compute statistical significance is in all statistics texts and is routinely computed in nearly all popular computer packages such as SPSS. It simply calculates the difference between two quantities relative to sample size to determine what the probability is that the observed difference cannot be attributed to chance (within certain confidence levels).

Perhaps an example of how the failure to test for statistical significance has invalidated research findings in the past will best illustrate its importance. In 1976, the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) published a Report to Congress, State and County Probation: Systems in Crisis.^{6 9}

This report included a chapter, "Probation Prediction Models: Tools for Decision-Makers," which gives much credence to the application of probation prediction models in assisting probation departments to determine who should receive probation,

how much supervision is needed, and who should be terminated early from probation. Three base-expectancy models originally developed to predict parole outcomes were applied to a sample of 900 cases from three of the four counties studied. It is concluded that the models demonstrate validity in differing geographic settings, in addition to predictive power, and therefore should be utilized by local probation administrators.

Ford and Johnson of the Kane County Diagnostic Center in Illinois have subsequently questioned the GAO's use of prediction models and suggest that their findings and recommendations are premature, at best.⁷⁰ They conducted a re-analysis of the GAO's "best" predictive models and discovered substantial methodological and statistical errors which biased their results.

In their analysis, Ford and Johnson computed tests of statistical significance for the improvement in success rates reported by the GAO (which ranged from two to five percent) when prediction models were employed to determine selection for probation. The authors conclude:

These small increases were used to claim that '. . . Model VI-A demonstrated predictive ability.' First, the gain in percent successfully predicted may well have been due to chance. Non-parametric analyses of the significance of the differences of each pair of percent successful values are non-significant. Further computation suggests that the model's real predictive value varies widely from county to county.⁷¹

This example graphically illustrates that computation of percentage differences is not sufficient to make judgments in comparing differential outcomes. Tests for statistical significance are therefore necessary when comparing research findings to rule out chance factors.

Management Issues

Can We Predict The Behavior of Unique Individuals?

A common objection to prediction is that it is impossible because individuals are unique. In the very first attempt at predicting the outcomes of probationers, Monachesi addressed this issue.

Human beings are usually characterized as highly variable and endowed with a mysterious 'free will.' Such a characterization assumes the impossibility of predicting human behavior under any given circumstances.⁷²

Monachesi used the results of previous parole prediction studies as evidence to the contrary.

Yet in the face of such objections, studies have been made which indicate that predictability of human behavior is not only possible but feasible.⁷³

He indicates that these authors found it possible to predict outcomes of parole, based on a combination of factors in pre-parole life, even though no one factor was significant.

The significant role of prediction in all scientific inquiry was mentioned at the outset. Examples can be given to show that we are not as unique as we think. To greatly

oversimplify the situation, putting men on the moon can be viewed as a highly complex set of predictions of physical science. While human behavior is far less understood (and therefore predictable) than the behavior of less complex forms of matter, the ability to predict it is nonetheless of great importance in the social sciences.

If we could not predict that the majority of drivers will stop at red lights, driving would be hazardous indeed. If we cannot expect that most shoppers will not loot the store, social order would break down as general behavioral expectations (predictions) would no longer hold. In other words, the opposite of perfect prediction is randomness, and while absolute prediction of human behavior is not expected, human behavior is also far from random experience. As a result, some fairly reliable predictions of human behavior are possible in many instances.

But what about those who feel that there is still enough uniqueness in individuals to make prediction impossible? The following published view of a probation officer expresses such a belief:

We have recently begun to make use of elaborate prediction tables, which are really nothing more than dope sheets by which we bet on a probationer the way a horse player figures a race. Prediction tables, like scratch sheets, are constructed so we can feel some certainty that the probationer will win, or at least place or show. . . Heavy reliance on tables for selecting cases would inevitably become mechanical, causing us to lose sight of the unique elements in a particular case.⁷⁴

This view relegates devices to little more than guesswork and overlooks the fact that probation prediction models do nothing more than statistically summarize the characteristics and experiences of probationers. In this way, they function much like experienced probation officers who, based on past experience, attempt to assess the outcome of a probationer. Their actual outcomes are then compared to those predicted and this information is used as the basis for making decisions on the next group of probationers. The major advantage of prediction models lies in their objectivity as well as in their ability to transfer human experience systematically.⁷⁵

This further points to the impertinence of the "uniqueness" argument. That is, prediction is not based on the uniqueness of individuals, but rather on their similarities. Wilkins has said that if a case is unique, what experience can the clinician (or researcher) use to guide him?

If experience of the past is of any value at all, then it can be applied only by observation of similarities not differences. It is not the uniqueness that concerns the clinician but the similarities between the particular case and prior cases in his or other people's experience.⁷⁶

Do Prediction Devices Predict Well Enough to Be Useful in Practice?

The use of prediction methods in probation carries with it the assumption that there is a strong enough relation between factors in the background of an offender and his present behavior that a prediction can be made of his perform-

ance on probation. The recent General Accounting Office Report to Congress correctly pointed out that there has been a reluctance on the part of probation administrators and officers to utilize prediction instruments, partially due to doubts of their predictive power.⁷⁷

Frances Simon, after a review of the history of criminological prediction results and conducting her own study of the many methods of combining predictors in 1971, concluded: "Efforts put into refining prediction studies based on pre-treatment data may have reached the point of diminishing returns."⁷⁸ She goes on to point out that this may be due, in part, to the poor quality (i.e., reliability and validity) of the information used as a basis for most prediction studies in criminology.

While many instruments developed for the prediction of future criminal behavior have thus far only demonstrated relatively low predictive power, no conclusions can be reached regarding their utility to adult probation services. Of the studies reviewed, only Simon's study of probationers cited above was methodologically sound enough to draw inferences as to the possibility of efficiently predicting probation outcomes. Nevertheless, even she recognizes her relatively small sample sizes may have affected her results.⁷⁹

The utility of prediction methods in practice is difficult to assess in any case due to the relative nature of

predictive "power." As mentioned previously, the base rate greatly affects the utility of an instrument, and the possibility of obtaining misleading results without validation on a new sample is extremely great. In other words, only a prediction instrument which meets the methodological requirements described in the first section can hope to be useful in practice. Due to the virtual absence of all but pilot and exploratory empirical studies in probation prediction, conclusions at this point are rather premature.

In spite of this somewhat inauspicious appraisal of the present state of prediction methods as they are applied in practice, evidence does exist regarding the use of prediction for some specific criminological applications. They have been shown to be of great value in providing guidelines and reducing arbitrariness in recommending sentencing alternatives, levels of probation and parole supervision, and in evaluating treatment effectiveness. These issues will be addressed in the following three sections.

Referring again to the general utility of prediction methods in practice, Simon further suggests that the use of prediction should not be abandoned, but future research aimed at improving the overall power of prediction methods should place more emphasis on the study and improvement of treatment itself, and of the environment in which offenders live or to which they return.⁸⁰ Research in these areas should enhance our ability to predict behavior by providing informa-

tion about the offender's milieu and not merely on his background.

Can Prediction Methods Assist in Establishing Criteria for Granting Probation?

Prediction can be useful to judges. . . in making decisions on whether or not to place a particular offender on probation by indicating his risk category.⁸¹

Probation models can assist probation and court officials in recommending sentencing alternatives for individual offenders.⁸²

These statements represent the views of both a researcher and a government report. What evidence exists to support their views?

In 1951, Ohlin published Selection for Parole: (A Manual of Parole Prediction)⁸³ which was an extremely comprehensive work addressed mainly to parole administrators. He discussed the various issues facing parole boards, and the ways in which a prediction table can be of use to them. Some of the uses of prediction tables Ohlin suggests include: provision of objective standards in the selection of parolees, to give the parole board confidence in its decisions, and enable the board to control total violation rates (by releasing more or fewer bad risks as it sees fit). He also emphasizes that the predictive "risk" category where a parole candidate falls is only one consideration in the decision to deny or grant parole. That is, prediction tables should not be mechanically applied without consideration of individual circumstances.

In 1962, Evjen⁸⁴ published the results of a survey of 44 criminologists, parole board members, and penal administrators on the use of prediction instruments in parole decision-making. Arguments both pro and con are summarized, and the author notes that as of 1962, very few states were using prediction tables. Frances Simon noted in 1972, "this still appears to be the case."⁸⁵

Gottfredson⁸⁶ describes an instance where prediction tables have been used as an aid to reduce confinement costs. A large prison population was screened, first by a parole prediction device, and then by additional clinical criteria. This resulted in a small group of men who were referred for parole consideration at a date earlier than originally scheduled. Substantial monetary savings were realized, with no subsequent increase in parole violations. The possibility of analogous applications in probation is apparent and has been expressed by Frease.⁸⁷

Hemple, Webb, and Reynolds⁸⁸ do report, however, that the United States District Court for the District of Columbia has been using a statistical prediction scale as an aid in classifying probationers since 1970. While the utilization of prediction tables in making selection decisions has been demonstrated in parole, similar applications in probation are still rather rare. Nonetheless, it appears that prediction methods can assist in selecting individuals for probation due to their successful use in parole.

Can Prediction Methods Assist in Developing Variable Supervision Caseloads?

A number of authors have discussed the use of prediction tables as an aid in supervision practices. Suggestions have included their possible use: "as an administrative tool to equalize high-risk offenders among various caseloads,"⁸⁹ "to focus services and attention on the probationers who need the most help,"⁹⁰ and to "assist case managers in making decisions about how much time and effort to devote to working with certain groups of persons."⁹¹

Unfortunately, there have been very few empirical attempts to explore the feasibility of these proposed applications of prediction methods in practice. A pilot study by Nicholson⁹², conducted in 1968, found prediction tables to be extremely useful in classifying "high," "medium," and "low" risk caseloads. The prediction instrument he used was a version of a device originally developed for parolees. The previously cited General Accounting Office Report also found prediction tables to be useful in establishing variable supervision caseloads. Other pilot studies by Frease⁹³ and Fiore⁹⁴ have also found prediction tables useful in this regard.

These findings are far from conclusive, however, as they all contain methodological faults which vitiate their results. The most common omission of these studies is their failure to validate their findings on a new sample. The importance of validation, discussed earlier, cannot be over-

stated. As Gottfredson indicates:

Without it [cross-validation] there can be little confidence in the utility of a prediction method for any valid application; nevertheless, applications are often suggested. Those who argue for applications of prediction methods while ignoring this critical step properly should be excluded from the argument until they learn what the first question is. There may be good reasons for not using demonstrably valid prediction methods in any specific application, but there can be no justification for confident use of these methods in the absence of cross-validation studies.⁹⁵

In fairness to the authors mentioned, many of them do recognize the need for cross-validation of their results, but it is only infrequently carried out. Other methodological shortcomings of these studies relate to sampling and many of the issues discussed in the first section. This again points to the pivotal role of sound methodology if prediction devices are to be usefully employed in management applications.

While little evidence presently exists in support of prediction methods for assistance in probation supervision, the initial results of pilot efforts seem promising and await further validation before conclusions can be made.

What is the Utility of Prediction for Program Evaluation?

An experimental design is, of course, the most rigorous method of evaluating a program. Properly administered, the use of experimental "controls" to compare with those involved in some form of treatment is unsurpassed in attempting to determine how well the treatment "works." Such a design

encounters many problems in criminological applications, however, and oftentimes is simply not feasible. The use of prediction methods is perhaps most immediately applicable in treatment evaluation research as they can provide statistical controls when the use of experimental controls is not possible.

A prediction device merely summarizes the expected performance of a group of persons, based on past experience. If predictions are made before treatment begins to estimate this expected performance, these predictions can then be compared with the actual outcomes after treatment, to determine any significant differences resulting from treatment. Stated in another way:

If the outcome following treatment can be predicted not only before treatment but *regardless* of treatment, then it is very hard to argue that this treatment makes any difference with respect to the specific outcome studied.⁹⁶

In this way, prediction methods can provide statistical controls to form a basis for judging the relative effectiveness of treatment.

There exist some complexities in this application of prediction methods, however. The prediction instrument which is used as a statistical control is necessarily constructed from a group of offenders who are receiving some sort of "treatment." That is, all types of court dispositions including probation, incarceration, a sentence to a specialized treatment program, or whatever other alternatives

are available, comprise various forms of "treating" an offender. Therefore, if we wish to compare the success rate of offenders placed in a vocational training program, for example, with that of other offenders, our statistical controls will not actually be "pretreatment" expectancies, but rather the average expectancy of all other "treatments." As Simon indicates,⁹⁷ it is not possible to have a truly "treatment-free" predictor.

Perhaps a more pervasive problem is the separation of the effects of treatment from other unmeasured effects. Of course, this is not a problem unique to prediction, but points to the need for carefully designed research and evaluations so the nature and measurement of treatment is as precise as possible.

Another problem common to all evaluation research is that comparisons are often tenuous between different or even similar groups receiving alternate forms of treatment because of the suspicion of a selection bias. That is, there is usually a reason why one group was selected for vocational training or intensive counseling, while another group received regular probation supervision. Any differences found in the outcomes between these groups may be challenged on the basis that the differences were not due to treatment, but rather due to the type of individual who was selected for each of the various forms of treatment.

The optimal solution to the selection problem would be

to assign similar types of offenders to different treatments at random and then compare their outcomes. The administrative and ethical problems inherent in such an approach are apparent.

In spite of these complications, prediction methods have been successfully used in treatment evaluation research. Most of the existing applications have been in the treatment of juvenile delinquency and parolees,^{98,99} but their possible probation applications are analogous and largely remain to be tested.

Does Labelling Certain Persons as Good or Bad Risks Make Prediction Undesirable?

A criticism of prediction and of other attempts to identify potential future behavior, whether it be probation outcomes, delinquent activity, or other types of human conduct, is the possible consequences of labelling persons or groups of persons as good or bad risks. Grygier has claimed:

From the moment it has been communicated, the mere fact of classification, allocation and regrouping makes good people better and bad people worse.¹⁰⁰

In predicting criminality, he suggests that it is more appropriate to apply prediction tables subsequent to the first appearance in court in order to predict a second appearance. He feels that the resulting prediction will likely be more efficient because the base rate will be nearer 50 percent, and would "interfere with civil liberties of the children and of their parents"¹⁰¹ to a lesser extent. Simon reports,

however, that the Director of Research for the New York City Youth Board feels that the use of prediction tables to identify children at risk involved no stigma, since the children and their families were already well known to social work agencies.¹⁰²

Toby has expressed apprehension of the use of prediction due to the possibility of "self-fulfilling prophecies."

He asks:

How can early identification and intensive treatment programs avoid "self-fulfilling prophecies"? If the treatment program concentrates its efforts on youngsters who are especially vulnerable to delinquency, how can it justify its discriminatory policy except by stigmatizing pre-delinquents? And may the delinquency-producing effects of stigmatizing equal or exceed the delinquency-preventing benefits of the treatment?¹⁰³

Gottfredson addresses this criticism through an examination of the aims and errors encountered in prediction.¹⁰⁴ As noted earlier, perfect prediction of human behavior is not expected. Gottfredson points out that the lack of perfection leads to prediction errors of two kinds. Some persons expected to be delinquent will not become delinquent, while some expected to be non-delinquent will engage in delinquent behavior. The self-fulfilling prophecy argument assumes that the probability of the two types of error may not have equal consequences.

It suggests that it may be much more damaging to treat as delinquents those persons misclassified as expected delinquents than to treat pre-delinquents as if they were not expected to be delinquent.¹⁰⁵

This concern of "pre-delinquent" or "pre-criminal" labelling is of somewhat less concern to probation as the individuals under consideration have already committed criminal offenses. However, their subsequent treatment as "good" or "poor" risks raises similar objections to labelling.

This problem has also been addressed by Wilkins.¹⁰⁶ Both these authors feel that the application of prediction methods in making decisions necessarily involves a weighing of the two types of possible error to determine their relative personal, social, and financial costs.

These arguments regarding the possible effects of labelling individuals as good or bad risks have important implications in probation. The decision to incarcerate an individual rather than granting him probation obviously has personal consequences for the offender as well as financial and administrative (such as overcrowding) consequences for the criminal justice system. This points to the need for carefully considered decisions without arbitrary or capricious judgment in determining the futures of offenders. Validated prediction tables based on reliable information can be valuable in this respect as they can provide guidelines derived from past experience to assist in minimizing prediction errors of both types.

To What Degree Do Changing Social Conditions, Probation Department Policy, and Time Affect The Validity of a Prediction Device?

Prediction instruments developed for a specific purpose

and population are often assumed to be valid elsewhere at other times and under other policies. An excellent example of the fallacy of this assumption is clearly illustrated by Hemple, Webb, and Reynolds in their study of the validity of the statistical prediction scale used as an aid in classifying probationers from the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.¹⁰⁷

Initially, the District of Columbia used a prediction scale recommended for use in all federal probation offices by the Probation Division of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts. Derived primarily from an instrument developed by the California Department of Corrections, the scale was modified according to several subsequent validation studies until a serious fault was discovered. Probationers who had a history of usage of any form of opiate were failing at the same rate (74 percent) regardless of their classification as a high, medium, or low risk. Obviously, the scale was not properly discriminating among those who had used opiates in Washington, D. C.

Research was carried out in 1972, in an attempt to improve the scale by deriving additional variables from criminology theory. Through the work of Cloward and Ohlin,¹⁰⁸ it was predicted that persons with legitimate opportunity in the community should succeed at a higher rate than those without such opportunity. This hypothesis was supported as probationers who had completed high school succeeded at a

rate of 89 percent, regardless of their classification (provided they did not use opiates). Interestingly, the converse was also found to be true, as persons who had good opportunities using illegitimate means (i.e., gamblers) succeeded at a rate of 100 percent.

A modified classification system, utilizing these two variables, was constructed by classifying everyone as low risk if they graduated high school, or were a gambler, and high risk if they had ever used opiates. The California tables were then used to classify everyone else. This resulted in greatly improved predictive efficiency.

However, when the research was replicated in 1975, being a gambler or a high school graduate remained a valid indicator of success, but the use of opiates was no longer a strong indicator of failure. The number of opiate users in the caseload nearly doubled between 1972 and 1975 (20 percent to 37 percent) and the proportion of successes increased from 28 to 55 percent.

This rapid shift in significance of opiate usage as a predictor of probation success or failure illustrates the tenuous nature of what the authors term "pragmatic validity"¹⁰⁹ (i.e., "It worked in the past, it should work now"). They discuss possible reasons for this change in predictive utility citing more lenient laws allowing more opiate users to be placed on probation, the greater availability of drug treatment programs, a large increase in the number of federal

probation officers possibly resulting in more exhaustive presentence investigations (thereby generating more reliable information), and a reorganization of the District of Columbia courts wherein the federal court no longer handles local crimes, thus changing the offender types in their caseloads. Similarly, the authors recognize that there is reason to believe that in a period of high unemployment, a high school education may lose its predictive value for probation success, as it may no longer open the door to employment opportunity.

The authors use the above evidence to assert that prediction scales should be revalidated "every year or two." Noting that social conditions, policy decisions, and organizational practices all affect correctional outcomes possibly unique to particular areas, they conclude:

for this reason, it would seem wise for individual probation and parole officers to do their own evaluation research regarding classification instruments rather than place reliance upon research conducted in other agencies and other locales.¹¹⁰

The same conclusion is also reached by Ford and Johnson in their critique of the faulty methodology and conclusions of the General Accounting Office Report discussed earlier:

. . . the GAO claims that the models are externally valid and can easily be applied in other jurisdictions do not hold up under scrutiny. These criticisms, however, should not be seen as an indictment of the use of probation prediction models in field supervision settings. We argue that, rather than borrowing from outdated and potentially unre-

liable equations, a probation department can easily construct its own predictive tool, based on locally available and relevant variables.¹¹¹

They go on to demonstrate how they developed a prediction model for their own jurisdiction, and clearly illustrate how the seemingly complex techniques required for developing prediction methods can be usefully and understandably applied in practice.

It has been shown that the validity of prediction models can vary greatly by geographical area, with changing social conditions, by probation department policy, and over time, pointing to the need for periodic re-validation of models to ensure their utility in practice.

Conclusion

Perhaps the most evident finding of this review of prediction as it relates to adult probation services is that most of the questions raised remain questions. As the preceding discussion has documented, little work has been done in this area and that which has been accomplished is not conclusive.

The section on methodology pointed to some of the major components required for a valid and reliable prediction device. None of the eleven empirical studies examined contained all of the eight methodological requirements. Some studies were more complete and more fully documented than others, and they were used to illustrate possible uses and

mistakes of prediction instruments in practice. To the credit of many of these authors, they often recognized some of the shortcomings of their research, which detracted from the generalizability of their findings.

The most pressing need of adult probation prediction, therefore, is for more emphasis to be placed on larger-scale studies. On the basis of this research, the results suggested by the many exploratory and pilot efforts may be expanded upon and validated. Much of the groundwork for any such large scale effort can be found in these pilot studies and from the extensive work done in parole. Probation prediction models will only become useful in practice when they are developed properly, with the above concerns in mind.

An expectation of widespread use of probation prediction models in the future is not at all unrealistic, and one only has to look at the progress made in parole to support such a prospect. The best example is provided by the United States Parole Commission who, as a result of a substantial research undertaking¹¹², now utilizes prediction tables as guidelines in making parole decisions. A research unit has since been set up to periodically re-validate the tables, and, as a result, the granting of parole has become a less arbitrary process. The federal parole board now uses these tables in determining how similar offenders (to those now up for parole) have performed on parole in the past. Using this information, together with mitigating or aggravating circumstances known

to the parole board members, the decision to grant or deny parole is now more consistent and fair, benefitting both the parole board and the inmate, as well as serving the interests of the community.

Corresponding applications of prediction methods in probation are well within reach and await only testing and implementation.

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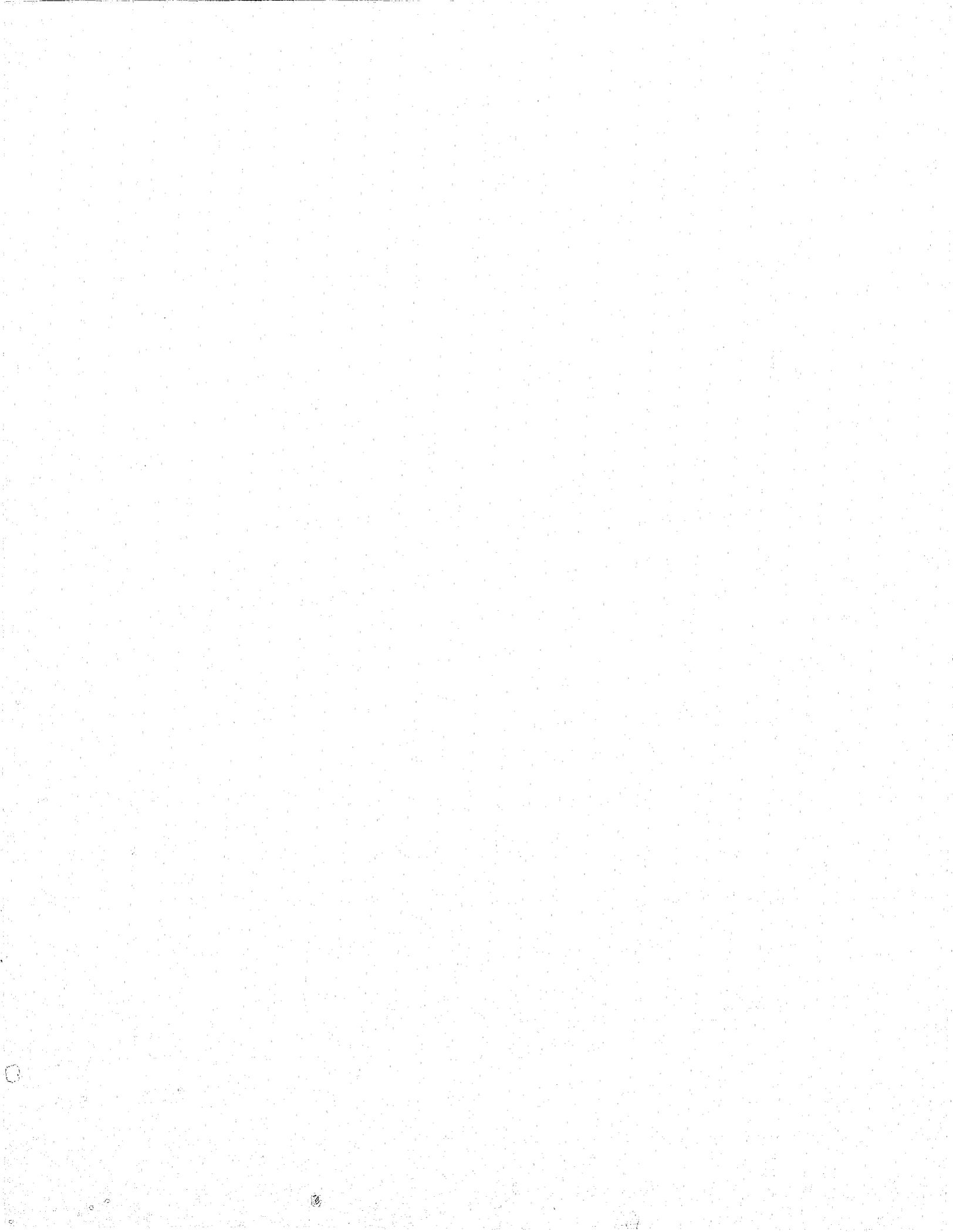
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2 OF 6

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Revocation / Recidivism

Revocation and recidivism rates traditionally have been used in probation as measures of its effectiveness. Problems of using these figures for such purposes are varied and generally recognized, yet an uncritical use of such measures, including unwarranted comparisons, continues.

A review of the problems inherent in these rates in Jerie Powell's essay which is Chapter V suggests that very little about probation and criminal justice system effectiveness can be learned from such rates alone and stresses the need for better measures. Generally, problems associated with these rates and their use as measures of effectiveness may be discussed in terms of three general categories:

Definitions of Probation Revocation and Recidivism

Well-defined criteria for probation revocation decisions do not appear to exist within or among jurisdictions. Statutes pertaining to such revocation provide little explicit guidance on when and how it should occur. Revocation practices vary among jurisdictions and may vary also by judge or probation officer in the same jurisdiction.

Much literature attests to the inconsistencies of recidivism rates as variously defined. Review of studies in this area revealed that a different definition of recidivism was used in each study found. Varying factors have been used to measure

recidivism, within varying time frames, with varying bases for the computation of rates. The inconsistencies in the calculation of recidivism rates make impossible the comparison of outcomes of the various studies and preclude generalizing from the findings of any one.

Revocation and Recidivism Rates as Measures of Probation Effectiveness

The adequacy of these rates in determining effectiveness also has been questioned. Such rates reflect more than the behavior of offenders on probation; it is known that probation violations and other actions are determined to some extent by the policies and practices of probation departments, the judiciary, and other criminal justice system personnel.

While it may generally be agreed that recidivism figures alone do not measure program effectiveness, there is little agreement on either the definition of this concept or on more appropriate measures. Clearly, if knowledge about probation effectiveness is to be increased, more careful attention must be given to the development of appropriate criteria more useful to agency evaluation purposes.

Methodological Limitations of Existing Outcome Studies

Perhaps the paramount purpose of probation outcome studies is to answer the question, "Is probation effective?" This question addresses a much broader issue than "Is a particular program

effective?" Care must be taken to avoid generalizing the results of particular programs to evaluate probation as a whole.

Review of relevant recidivism studies found that they often are based on relatively small samples. Many of the included variables are derived not from objective information, but rather from subjective judgements, with unknown reliability. The authors of the studies reviewed drew their conclusions from examination of two-variable cross-tabulations. None established relations through introducing controlling variables; thus, the degree of association and nature of the interactions among variables found related to outcome were not examined. The results of such limited analytic work must be considered with caution.

Another major limitation of the reviewed outcome studies is the tendency to classify offenders simply as "successes" or "failures." It appears that a more discriminatory system of outcome classifications is desirable.

The need for a coordinated research strategy is evident from the review of the probation revocation and recidivism area. A standard definition of the recidivism concept is needed. If widely accepted and used, this could contribute markedly to an improved ability to share information, experience, and results. At the same time, it is clear that additional measures, more useful for effectiveness evaluations are needed as well.

Evaluation methods which concentrate only on the actions of offenders is naive and myopic and will not enable us to increase our understanding of why certain events such as recidivism occur. The actions of other system participants must also be considered, for Ms. Powell asserts, "without a total systems approach, we will remain forever behind the starting line."

48166

Chapter V
Critical Assessment of
Revocation/Recidivism Statistics

Jerie H. Powell

Introduction

Why another assessment? There is an overabundance of literature on the subject, all ending with the same conclusion: that revocation and recidivism statistics are full of deficiencies. But, out of that pile and furious debate, confusion and frustration, little help has emerged. This statement is not as pessimistic, cynical or destructive as some may think, when we realize that the language used in the Uniform Criminal Statistics Act of 1949--nearly 28 years ago--to state the priority need for uniformity and comparability of published criminal data is yet to become obsolete.¹ The same need remains with us.

And why critical? For too long, we have looked at society and sought solutions for its problems from the "functionalist" perspective. Because we have grown so accustomed and comfortable with that perspective, we have a tendency to rationalize when things do not fit into the traditional pattern, and discard new perspectives without ever finding out why we cannot accept them.

Society from the "functionalist" perspective is seen to exist because of its inherent quality to maintain its equilibrium by the status quo. Its theory is that there is a

common set of norms and values shared by the majority of its members, and those who do not share them are ostracized as criminals or outsiders so that they may not become such a serious menace as to upset the survival of society. Thus, we have sought to "explain the 'cause' of crime by looking at 'who' the criminal is and 'why' he fails to inculcate the prescribed rules."²

The literature search done for this study attests to this observation. Factors associated with the offender or the offender classified as recidivist are extensively analyzed, while factors associated with actions taken by probation officers or with the characteristics of the officers themselves are rarely explored.

The political turmoil in the United States during the 1960's awakened us to look at society, its institutions, the role and function of law from the "conflict" perspective and to question the status quo. Criminality (and repeated criminality) from this perspective is seen as "generating from the system, from the conflict of interests in the society and from the differential ability to label and stigmatize the deviant."³ Thus, the emphasis has shifted to finding the cause of crime in the system and its abuses instead of just looking at the offender and his norm-breaking behavior.

The problem with this perspective is the tendency it has toward an extremist political orientation that is too destructive to be of use. The "conflict" theorists view

our society, in its present democratic and capitalistic form, as "criminogenic" and assert that the only way we can solve our crime problems is to destroy the system and substitute socialism.⁴ Their political naïveté was observed in Paul C. Friday's remark that they are trying to "apply nineteenth century Marxist terminology and conceptualization to twentieth century industrial society."⁵ He recognizes, however, that this perspective has generated "new hypotheses on society, particularly on injustices and incongruencies which should lead to alternative empirical studies."⁶ It seems that such "empirical studies" have already started (e.g., research on sentencing disparity).

Thus, a constructive approach would be to leave out the political rhetoric of the "conflict" theorists but use their method of looking at social problems, and re-analyze the data we have thus far collected on a vast number of offenders. By combining the best of both "functionalist" and "conflict" theories, we will have a new perspective--the tool for the "critical assessment." This hybrid perspective will force us to shift our focus more to offenders and victims, their needs and their perceptions of crime and the criminal justice system rather than on system events, its needs and its perceptions of crime and criminals.

Problems and Needs

Outcome Statistics

In 1953, D. W. F. Coughlan, addressing the American Cor-

rectional Association, lamented that there were less than fifty probation officers serving the adult criminal courts of Canada when at least 700 officers would be needed to give minimum coverage. He concluded:

Accurate facts and figures . . . are of infinite value in 'selling' probation. If we can prove statistically that probation does in fact reclaim a better percentage of offenders than any other medium, then, to that extent, it is the most sure way of effecting the basic purpose of the law, protection of the public, by reducing recidivism. In this way, probation enhances the administration of justice and strengthens enforcement of the law.⁷

In the United States, probation has come to be a "very convenient sentencing alternative" and "probation departments have grown rapidly to accommodate the thousands of men, women, and juveniles assigned to them."⁸ It has "statistically" proven its effectiveness by claiming that the majority of the recidivism rates reported by the researchers "vary from 12 percent to 45 percent, with a guessed mean of between 20 to 25 percent."⁹ Therefore, the failure rate of less than 20 percent generally has been considered relatively low. The validity of such a claim has rarely been questioned.

Today, 136 years after Augustus started his private crusade to help the "drunkards" in Boston, probation is a big enterprise. As a "sub-system" of criminal justice, it operates with salaried officers and professional staff who do program planning and development, and research (in house

or with outside contracts) with various degrees of sophistication. Along with the operational change in probation, change has occurred in the attitude of the public and their legislative representatives. Once they were satisfied with the administrator's speculative explanation on probation effectiveness and impressed with scientific sounding numbers. Now, different questions are asked: "Why is it (or is it not) effective?" instead of "is it effective?" They are finally questioning the validity of so-called "expertise."

The problem we face today is not the "selling," but rather the question of the overuse, underuse, or indiscriminate use of probation. We may be overusing probation if it encompasses more dangerous habitual offenders than the misdemeanants or first-time felony offenders for whom probation originally was designed. Probation may not be ready for such assignments if there is not enough knowledge of behavior nor sufficient money appropriated to do an effective job. Overuse may occur also if offenders who may not need probation at all or who may do better with fines or restitution payments are assigned probation supervision. On the other hand, we may underuse it if we send to prison those who commit serious offenses (i.e., murder between people who know each other), but who, according to research, have the lowest probability of recidivism (although we must consider the theories of general deterrence and retribution). The point of this argument is that we need a better method of

obtaining evaluative knowledge of discriminate and effective use of probation than headcounts of who failed and who succeeded on probation.

Basically, revocation and recidivism statistics which we have been using to determine the "efficacy" of probation are merely headcounts; but worse yet, all of the heads that need to be counted are frequently not included. These figures are like knowing only the final score of a ball game. Unless we were at the game or read a narrative description, we know who won and who lost, but we really do not know how close the game was, how well the teams played, who the outstanding player was, or other minor but interesting details. Revocation and recidivism statistics may be rough indicators of probation effectiveness and efficiency, but certainly they are not determinants. There are many variables that affect probation and postprobation outcomes, such as the rate of unemployment in the community¹⁰ and the quality of an organizational structure (i.e., urban vs. rural probation departments).¹¹ Still other variables remain to be identified.

Then why do we need revocation and recidivism statistics? General opinion is that certain statistics in the criminal justice system, no matter how unreliable they may be, are essential,¹² or the better argument may be that there is no other alternative and that the "state of the art" of evaluation is still underdeveloped. Certain aspects of the criminal justice system are not amenable to quantitative analysis.¹³

How do we measure quality of the interaction between a probationer and his supervising officer? We can measure them in terms of frequency and length of contact, but what does this tell us? We are beginning to realize the "influence of omnipresent human factors"¹⁴ in the system and that the operators of the system are not free from personal biases. Critics contend that we have let numbers become "ends rather than means" in our naive belief in the power of scientific quantification. What we have to do, they claim, is to "expand our analytical perspective to include the assessment of results through qualitative as well as quantitative analysis."¹⁵

Thus, outcome statistics are not evaluative data that can, by themselves, answer "why?"; they can only answer questions such as "how much?" or "how many?" But we must realize that "why?" will follow after "how much?" or "how many?" are answered. The answer to "why?" will be only as good as the answers to the preceding questions. It is essential, therefore, to ensure that the descriptive data provided by the outcome statistics are reliable and valid so that useful, testable hypotheses can be generated. Furthermore, outcome statistics derived by the use of standardized measurement criteria will have utilitarian value in that they can be compared. Presently, we may be measuring the phenomenon called recidivism with too many irregular yardsticks. If our measures are standardized (as in the case of centimeter and inch), we can convert one to the other according to the rules.

But, in our measurement of recidivism, we seem to have no such rules. Currently we have very few luxuries of comparability, generalizability, or the accumulation of knowledge necessary to identify variables, other than the characteristics of probationers, which may be related to outcome.

Resources for an expensive safari expedition in search of a brand new measurement instrument are decreasing while the resourcefulness of persons intent on committing crime is steadily increasing. The basic need, then, is to consider the cost-effectiveness of the research or such an expedition itself. Clear statements of priority needs, alternatives and options available to solve those needs are essential, but "our primary need is for intensely human capacities - to perceive broadly, describe precisely, act purposefully, and judge courageously."¹⁶

We have two options. One, we can go on arguing and exploring what may be the best way to measure recidivism or so-called repeated criminality, as we have done for so long with the "cause" of crime, while we do some superficial rearrangement of criteria for goals and objectives. Or, we can institute a standardized definition for revocation and recidivism, comply with it and see if the expected gain (i.e., comparability and accumulation of knowledge useful for effective management and decision-making) results. This does not mean that we must agree conceptually, or that other definitions may not be studied or adopted if proven more effective. It

does mean that the development of a standard definition will facilitate research to increase our body of knowledge.

There is something un-American about standardizing research methodology and activities, and demanding compliance from researchers. To be American is to come up with new ideas, new theories, new solutions (even though they may be absurd). It seems somewhat un-American to recycle knowledge, replicate someone's work or focus on utility. Options are far too few, however. In correctional administration, options usually are available relative only to cost factors. Benefits resulting from the standardization of probation outcome measures may be greater than a safari hunt or the continuance of interesting but frustrating intellectual discourse. A research strategy and coordinated effort are needed so that (1) eventually an appropriate evaluation model for the administration of probation may be developed and implemented, and (2) we may gradually be weaned from our fixation on the "all-or-nothing" type of one-dimensional outcome measures.

Revocation

Problems with probation revocation are caused by the lack of well-defined criteria for revoking probation, which leads to a significant disparity among jurisdictions and among judges and probation officers within the same jurisdiction.¹⁷ This lack of common definition and clearly articulated administrative procedures for revocation results in an inability to

generalize the revocation statistics of one caseload or department to others.

A 1964 national survey to ascertain federal and state practices of probation revocation resulted in the following findings:¹⁸ Four states had "statutes expressly authorizing revocation without a hearing;" seven states and the District of Columbia had "statutes which do not indicate whether a hearing is or is not required;" the federal system and eleven states had "statutes which imply that a hearing is to be held;" twelve states had "statutes which expressly require a hearing;" nine states had "statutes which expressly provide that a hearing may be 'Summary' or 'Informal';" and eight states had "statutes which expressly guarantee or dispense with certain traditional elements of a fair hearing." The conclusion was that, although many states specified a hearing for revocation, they did not elaborate on the nature of the hearing. There was no evidence of ground rules for the hearing so that the potential abuse of discretionary power might be minimized, if not eliminated altogether. The law in the jurisdictions did not proceed "beyond the bare direction that a hearing be held."¹⁹

The basic problem seems to stem from the traditional orientation of the court and judicial philosophy on probation. The three following theories have been characteristic of court decisions on revocation.²⁰

- (1) The grace theory regards probation as a privilege

not a right, as expressed in Escoe v. Zerbst (1935) by Justice Benjamin Cardozo, who rejected on this ground the notion that the Constitution requires a revocation hearing.

(2) The contract theory asserts that probation is a contract between the state and the defendant, who is bound by its terms and has no right to complain about them.

(3) The custody theory regards a probationer as an inmate serving all or part of his sentence in the community; therefore, he is not entitled to all of the rights accorded a free citizen.

The traditional concepts of probation seem to be fading, on the surface at least. The new trend started in 1967, when the court ruled in Mempa v. Rhay that a defendant has a right to counsel at a probation revocation hearing at which a deferred sentence may be imposed.²¹ In a more recent case, Morrisey v. Brewer (1972), the court outlined in detail the procedural aspects constitutionally required for parole revocation.²² This decision was not readily accepted in probation revocation because of the court philosophy; but in Gagnon v. Scarpelli (1973), the Supreme Court asserted that the above decision should also be applied to probation proceedings.²³

What is still lacking, however, is a set of ground rules for enforcement. We need realistic, practicable, and comprehensive rules that the probation officer can follow in deciding whether a formal revocation procedure should be initiated. A wide void seems to exist between court decisions and prac-

tice in probation departments. Common understanding is that the decisions are interpreted differently by each jurisdiction and department and that much of the granting and revocation proceedings are determined by men, not by law.²⁴

The traditional philosophy of the court on probation seems to have a strong hold still in the daily administration of law. On the alleged violation of probation for a new offense or the technical violation, a probationer is often presumed guilty, or is forced to bargain for revocation in the hope of lenient sentencing from the judge.²⁵ Holding trial to establish a probationer's innocence or guilt is expensive and time consuming; consequently, revocation is frequently used as an alternative to prosecution even for serious offenses committed by probationers.²⁶ There is very little evidence of any system of administrative or judicial review of revocation decisions made by individual probation officers.²⁷ In many cases, revocation seems to depend on which combination of probation officer and trial judge has responsibility for supervising the case.²⁸ What may be concluded is that probation is terminated largely by "judicial fiat," not by law.²⁹ Revocation rates then reflect also the degree of judicial "caprice" and "whim," not merely the rate of violation by probationers.

Yet, all of the above evidence and discussions are criticisms based on idealistic standards. Justice requires discretion, as we often engage in unpredictable behavior. If

no consideration for mitigating circumstances were necessary, then computers could replace judges. Computers could mete out more consistent decisions than the judges, but would they be just? It is commonly agreed that a certain amount of discretion is necessary for the administration of justice and that the limiting of discretion in one area will find another area for its dwelling.³⁰ There is too much evidence, however, that unstructured official discretion renders inferior justice.³¹

How much of that certain amount of discretion is needed for us to administer humane and effective justice? How to achieve the proper balance between administrative flexibility and control through rules of law and formal procedures of decision-making is one of the major issues in the criminal justice system. The need for uniformity in revocation proceedings is clear; only the "how to" is still in the realm of faith healing. Until workable and realistic criteria for revocation can be formulated at policy making and administrative levels, revocation rates will not reflect the extent of criminal re-involvement by probationers. It would seem that such criteria will not be formulated until we learn more "about the decision-making of judges and probation officers in the revocation process."³²

Recidivism

Literature abounds, all attesting to the deficiencies of recidivism as a measure of probation effectiveness. Milton

G. Rector, after reviewing the 146 annual and biennial reports received by the National Probation and Parole Association between June 1, 1957 and May 31, 1958, remarked:

. . . any thought of compiling recidivism data from annual reports for comparative purposes had to be abandoned early because of wide differences in definitions, in methods of computing, and in factors of measurement.³³

All of us probably agree with his assessment, but no one seems to be clear or to agree on which definition to select. There may be some current consensus among researchers that recidivism statistics do not measure probation effectiveness and that the industrial model of cost-benefit/simulation analysis should be used for that purpose; but, again, there appears to be no agreement on what items to include under "cost" and under "benefit."³⁴ All keep on measuring using their own definitions and give professional rationalizations for the choice.

The basic source of confusion and disagreement seems to stem from the difficulty we have in conceptualizing recidivism. Who is called a recidivist? There are multiple definitions, simplistic to complex, reflecting various value systems and theoretical orientations. None seems satisfactory for all purposes; hence, we often do not know exactly what we are measuring or what we should be measuring.

If a person is being sentenced for the first time but has previously committed crimes for which he was not apprehended, is he a first offender or a recidivist? . . . Is a person recidivist if his later crime follows the

termination of treatment for the earlier crime after some prolonged period?³⁵

These are just a few of the many questions that plague us. If a probationer commits another crime that is much lesser in seriousness than the previous offense for which he was convicted and given probation, is he called a rehabilitated recidivist or a minor recidivist? That the dictionary definition is not enough for empirical studies is clear, as is the tendency of corrections to "employ fuzzy terminology."³⁶

How do we determine the degree of seriousness of crime? Should a second crime be regarded more serious than the first although both have the same effect and legal definition? In 1966, Marvin E. Wolfgang, at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, proposed a new method for collecting international criminal statistics.³⁷ His idea was to apply the measurement theory used in psycho-physical scaling to obtain seriousness scores for criminal offenses in various countries. Some of the problems and needs of comparative criminology identified by Wolfgang are applicable in the United States today. They are: (1) what is defined as criminal in one nation may not be defined as criminal in another nation; and (2) penalties for the same acts vary widely. Certainly the cultural differences in one country are not as great as those existing among nations; yet, the concept of utility theory and scaling techniques developed by Sellin and Wolfgang in 1964 has generated very few follow-up studies.

In spite of our confusion and disagreement on the defini-

tion of recidivism, "there is convergence in corrections on the criterion of recidivism, which is relatively easy to measure, has a *prima facie* validity, and is statistically quite stable."³⁸ In the past, some researchers attempted to evaluate probation outcome in terms of "adjustment." They regarded probation outcome as "adjustment" to a number of basic areas of social life. In this scheme, a probationer was considered adjusted if "he has established satisfactory relationships in his domestic and economic affairs and is free from serious physical and mental handicaps."³⁹ This method, however, has proven even less satisfactory than the method of measuring success and failure by system events (i.e., revocation for probation outcome and rearrest or re-conviction for postprobation outcome). The meaning of "adjustment" and "maladjustment" was not clear, and critics contended that it did not "lend itself to the kind of quantification and objectivity associated with quality statistical data."⁴⁰

Also, there is public objection to the criterion of "adjustment" for the same reason that it is not clear or comprehensive. The public is not likely to be convinced that probation is worthwhile unless it brings about a reduction in persistent criminality. Nor is it likely to accept arguments that the probationer's successful adjustment depends largely on variables other than whatever the probation department does; or that probation effectiveness should not be measured with recidivism which reflects only the failure rate,

but rather should be measured by the degree of the probationer's socio-personal adjustment. The manifest desire of the public is often stated in humanitarian terms, but the reality or the latent desire is more likely to be that a citizen wants the offender "rehabilitated" or "re-integrated" (whatever the most popular term may be), so that he can have his personal world of security and happiness.

The National Advisory Commission's Task Force Report on Corrections distinguishes between system review and program review and recommends recidivism as the primary evaluative criterion for system review. Their definition of recidivism is:

Recidivism is 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 violation 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.⁴¹

Undoubtedly, this definition will be unsatisfactory to many. For example, the Comptroller General in his 1976 Report to the Congress, disagreed with this definition and "used a slightly more conservative definition of recidivism . . . because a conviction may include less serious crimes, such as traffic offenses."⁴² In this report, a probationer was defined as a recidivist if he or she either (1) had probation revoked, or (2) was convicted of an offense while still on probation or within a follow-up period (at least a year);

and, further, only those convictions for which the person was sentenced for 60 days or more were counted.⁴³

Perhaps the time has come for practitioners and researchers to communicate with one another and develop a uniform definition of what constitutes recidivism. Without such a collective effort there will not be a "firm base upon which recidivism rates can be determined and compared with any degree of confidence."⁴⁴ We have for too long wasted our effort because of our inability to focus on the priority need and have collected a heap of "material" that contributed very little illuminating the problem of recidivism and the way the system deals with it.⁴⁵

Research Questions

One overall question is: What is the state of research (1950 to present) on probation and postprobation outcome?

Corollary questions are:

1. What is the extent of inconsistency among the researchers on the definition of failure? The term "failure" is used here instead of "recidivism" because of the wide disagreement among researchers on the use of the latter. For example, to some researchers, "recidivism" only applies to criminal re-involvement after the termination of probation. It seems that "recidivism" is generally used in relation to rehabilitation, and, therefore, a probationer who commits another crime while on probation is not counted in recidivism statistics on the understanding that he has not completed

his rehabilitative program.

2. Are there baseline data against which to assess probation effectiveness?

3. What are some of the methodological limitations faced by the researcher?

4. How much knowledge has been accumulated by outcome studies?

Analysis

Ten studies will be divided into six categories reflecting their design and methods of analysis. (See Figure 1 and the listing below it for definitions of the terminology used.)

The data from the ten studies are summarized in four tables attached at the end of this section (pp. 219-222). Often, some important or relevant data are lost in the process of reduction to fit them in a summary table. It is suggested, therefore, that the tables be read with caution and in conjunction with the narrative provided for each study.

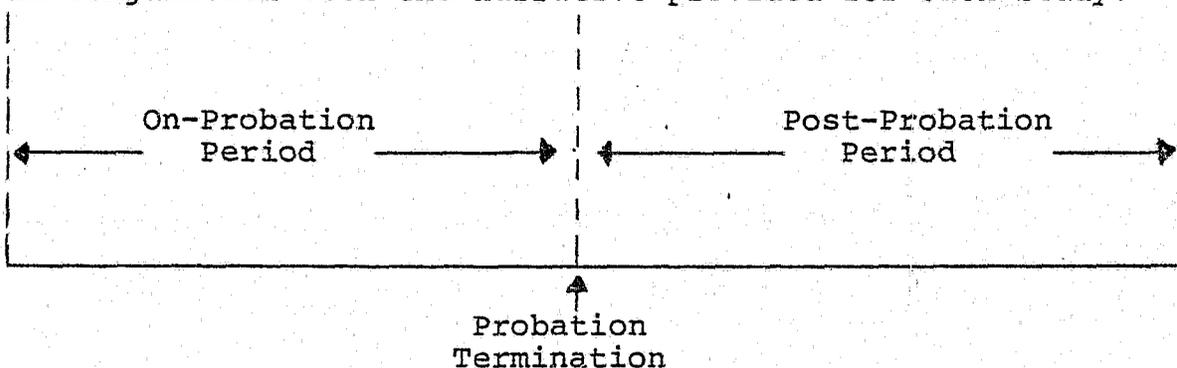


Figure 1
Probation Study Scheme

(A) On-Probation Study: Measures performance of probationers

while they are on probation.

$$\text{Failure Rate} = \frac{\text{Total no. of failures while on probation}}{\text{Total no. of offenders on probation}}$$

- (B) Probation-Termination Study: Measures outcome upon termination of probation.

$$\text{Failure Rate} = \frac{\text{Total no. of failures upon termination}}{\text{Total no. terminated (success + failure)}}$$

- (C) Post-Probation Study: Measures postprobation outcome.

$$\text{Failure Rate} = \frac{\text{Total no. of failures among probationers terminated as "successful"}}{\text{Total no. "successfully" completing probation}}$$

- (D) Probation-termination/Postprobation Study: A combination of (B) and (C). Although this type of study offers a two-part analysis of probation, the majority of the researchers seem to consider the post-probation failure rate to be the measure of the efficacy of probation. Therefore, the definition and the failure rate of post-probation are entered in the summary table (see Table I). One of the three studies reviewed under this category (the Comptroller General's Report to the Congress) used a different definition and combined on-probation failures, unsuccessful terminations, and post-probation failures in the overall estimated rate of 55 percent. Exactly what base was used in arriving at this "estimate" was not clearly stated in the study.

The above indicates that a different definition and method of analysis affect the failure rate, while the actual amount of repeated criminality may not significantly differ from one study to another.

- (E) Cohort/Probation-Termination Study: Traces a group of probationers granted probation in the same year up until their release.

$$\text{Failure Rate} = \frac{\text{Total no. of cohort failures upon termination}}{\text{Total no. of cohort granted and terminated}}$$

- (F) Cohort/Probation-Termination/Post-Probation Study
Traces a group of probationers granted or terminated in the same year beyond their release date.

$$\text{Failure Rate} = \frac{\text{Total no. of cohort post-termination failures}}{\text{Total no. of cohort "successfully" completing probation}}$$

(A) On-Probation Study

Dean E. Frease. "Factors Related to Probation Outcome," Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, State of Washington, April 1964.

1. Study Population: 605 probationers placed on probation during July 1, 1961 - June 30, 1962.
2. Population Characteristics: Predominantly male; educational level of 5-12; no prior felony commitments or probations; resident of the state more than five years; instant offense committed alone or with one other individual; moderate drinking; and likely success predicted.
3. Length of Probation: 18 to 30 months.
4. Definition of Failure: Those probationers who have been served an inactive letter or a bench warrant and those whose probationary status has been revoked.
5. Failure Rate: 20 percent.

6. Major Findings:

(a) Analysis of admissions data showed the following characteristics to be associated with probation success: female; on probation 4-5 years; instant offense committed while accompanied by two or more companions; no prior felony commitments or probations; 5 years or more of residence in Washington; a 4th grade education or less; non-drinking; and predicted success by the supervising officer.

(b) Analysis of discharge data showed the following success variables: positive family support; married; relatively high earnings; no official warning given at the time of release; "cooperative" attitude toward authority; "mature and empathic" interpersonal relationships; and identification with "reputable" persons and goals.

(c) Speculative analysis is provided by the authors on the negative association between success and education. They speculated from Durkheim's "anomie" theory that the offender with a greater amount of education would be faced with the problem of rising expectations, while those with no or very little formal education accepted their way of life and did not set unrealistic goals for themselves.

B. Probation-Termination Study

Judson R. Landis; James D. Mercer; and Carole E. Wolff, "Success and Failure of Adult Probationers in California,"

Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 6 (January 1969): 34-40.

1. Study Population: 791 felons granted probation in Sacramento County between 1956 and 1963. Those who had no complete information, died, or were still under active probation supervision were eliminated from the population.
2. Study Population Characteristics: Predominantly white, low twenties in age, California or Western state native, with less than high school education.
3. Length of Probation: Not identified.
4. Definition of Failure: Revocation resulting from the violation of the probation conditions established by the court or conviction for a new offense.
5. Failure Rate: 52 percent.
6. Major Findings:
 - (a) Analysis of social background variables indicated that the failures were more likely to come from disadvantaged circumstances (lower educational and socioeconomic levels) and were more unstable (marital instability and frequent change of jobs) than successful probationers.
 - (b) Analysis of antisocial behavior variables indicated that probationers with a past history of disciplinary problems in the military, a juvenile record, or an adult record were much more likely to fail on probation than those without a record. As the sharpest differences between the successes and the failures appeared in this

category, the authors concluded that a past history of deviant behavior would be the best predictor of future deviant behavior. The type of offenses committed were property crimes (auto theft, check offenses, and forgery), which, according to many other studies, are highly associated with recidivism, suggesting that the failures were "career" offenders.

(c) Analysis of conditions of probation variables indicated that the imposition of conditions such as jail and restitution increased the likelihood of failure. Based on this finding, the authors suggested, "greater success may result if the courts, when imposing conditions can insure a degree of individualization and flexibility to allow the probation officer greater latitude in his treatment efforts."

Paul H. Kusuda, "1974 Probation and Parole Terminations," Division of Corrections, State of Wisconsin, July 1976.

1. Study Population: 6,195 male and 952 female probationers terminated from the Division of Corrections, Probation and Parole.
2. Study Population Characteristics: Predominantly white; single; self-supporting or partially self-supporting; employed full time; income of \$400.00 a month or more; no disruptive use of alcohol or drugs; having fairly "realistic" goals (as judged subjectively by the supervising officers).
3. Length of Probation: Less than 6 months to 5 years or

more (average 1-2 years).

4. Definition of Failure: Revocation (new offense, rules violations and absconding).
5. Failure Rate: 18.3 percent (19.4 male; 11.4 percent female).
6. Major Findings:

(a) The following characteristics were associated with the non-recidivist: a "productive" and "useful" relationship with the supervising officer; personal goals assessed by the supervising officer as "highly realistic"; on probation for 12 to 18 months; stable marriage; self-supporting; full-time employment; per month income of more than \$400.00; non-use of drugs and alcohol; and probation terminated at age 55 or older.

(b) Of the 19 percent failure rate (male), nearly 57 percent was due to absconding, while conviction for another offense accounted for only 20 percent. In terms of the "seriousness," 62 percent of these failures were for minor offenses (i.e., absconding, concealed weapon, disorderly conduct); 26 percent for property offenses; while only 6 percent was for offenses against persons (i.e., assault and battery).

C. Post-Probation Study

Ralph W. England. "A Study of Postprobation Recidivism Among Five Hundred Federal Offenders." September, 1955.

1. Sample: A regular-interval sample of 500 federal offenders drawn from the universe of all offenders whose

probation terminated between January 1, 1939 and December 31, 1944.

2. Sample Characteristics: Predominantly white, male, considerably older than the criminogenic age of 17 to 25 years ($\bar{X} = 37$), married and living with spouse, laborers (almost complete absence of professional workers), and educational level slightly below that of the general public.
3. Follow-up Period: 6 to 12 years.
4. Definition of Failure: Misdemeanor and felony convictions.
5. Failure Rate: 17.7 percent.
6. Major Findings:
 - (a) Characteristics significantly associated with recidivism were: previous criminal record; youthfulness; personal instability; and lower, urban socio-economic background.
 - (b) Almost 38 percent were already recidivists at the time of instant offense, but over half of this group was convicted only once (very few hardened offenders).
 - (c) Almost 28 percent of initial post-probation convictions occurred in the first post-probation year and more than a half by the third year.
 - (d) Most of the post-probation convictions (73%) resulted from minor offenses involving bootlegging, gambling, theft, and disorderly conduct.

D. Probation-Termination/Post-Probation Study

Morris Gilmore Caldwell, "Review of a New Type of Probation Termination Data Made in Alabama," Federal Probation 15 (June 1951): 3-11.

Probation Data

1. Study Population: 1,862 federal probationers whose probation terminated during the period July 1, 1937 through December 31, 1942.
2. Study Population Characteristics: Predominantly male, white, young, product of a broken home, low occupational status, short employment tenure, irregular employment, and low income.
3. Length of Probation: One to 60 months (median - approximately four years).
4. Definition of Failure: Revocation of probation due to violation of the conditions and termination due to absconding.
5. Failure Rate: 19.1 percent (18.1 percent for revocation; 1.0 percent for absconding).
6. Major Findings:
 - (a) Analysis of 337 probation violators showed them to be younger and have lower economic status than the non-violators, unmarried, widowed, divorced, or separated, combined with a record of recidivism, while their educational achievement was very similar to the non-violators and the general public.
 - (b) Sixty-two percent of the probation violations were

for convictions, 36 percent for rule violations, and 2 percent unknown.

(c) The instant offenses were all federal violations (72 percent against internal revenue laws), while 52 percent of offenses committed while on probation were state offenses (violation of liquor laws).

Post-Probation Data

1. Sample Population: 403 post-probationers selected by stratified and random method from the sampling frame of 994 from the original universe of 1,862 federal probationers who met the study criteria (refer to the previous section).
2. Sample Characteristics: Same as the population characteristics.
3. Follow-up Period: 11 years and 7 months (minimum of five and one-half years).
4. Definition of Failure: Post-release conviction.
5. Failure Rate: 16.4 percent.
6. Major Findings:
 - (a) Factors related to non-recidivism appeared to be high occupational skill, full employment, adequate income, home ownership, marriage, and children.
 - (b) Of the 66 post-probation failures, 58 committed misdemeanors, while only 8 committed felonies.

"Probation in Missouri July 1, 1968 to June 30, 1970: Characteristics, Performance, and Criminal Reinvolvement."

Missouri Division of Probation and Parole, May 1976.

Probation Termination Data

1. Study Population: 5,083 probationers placed from July 1, 1968 to June 30, 1970.
2. Study Population Characteristics: Poor, young, high school drop-out, showing no evidence of drug or alcohol abuse, white (though not predominantly), placed on probation for a first felony property offense.
3. Length of Probation: Average of 18 months.
4. Definition of Failure: Revocation (conviction for a new offense and technical violations, excluding absconding).
5. Failure Rate: 20.9 percent.
6. Major Findings:
 - (a) The data indicated that a probationer usually completes his probation term successfully if he is over 40, has a high school education or above, is married, employed, has adequate income, no prior felony incarceration, and has never used or been addicted to drugs or alcohol.
 - (b) Those convicted of armed robbery and forcible rape among the crimes against person categories and those convicted of motor vehicle theft and forgery in the crimes against property categories appeared to be high-risk individuals.

Post-Probation Data

1. Sample: A random sample of 216 cases selected from

those among population of 5,083 who had successfully completed probation without revocation (80 percent).

2. Sample Characteristics: Same as the population characteristics.
3. Follow-up Period: Six months to seven years (\bar{X} = four years).
4. Definition of Failure: Arrests and convictions.
5. Failure Rate: 30 percent.
6. Major Findings:

(a) The 30 percent breaks down as follows: 22 percent re-arrested, 4 percent misdemeanor convictions, and 4 percent new felony convictions. The re-arrest record revealed that most of the failures had only one arrest, and the ex-probationers' new crimes were very similar to the ones for which they were originally convicted and placed on probation (burglary, larceny, and vehicle theft).

"How Effective is Probation?" In State and County Probation: Systems in Crisis, pp. 10-17. Report to the Congress by the Comptroller General of the United States (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1976).

1. Sample: A random sample of 1,200 former probationers (300 each from four counties in four states).
2. Sample Characteristics: Not given.
3. Follow-up Period: Average of 22 months.
4. Definition of Failure: "Revocation, or conviction of an offense while still on probation or within a follow-up period" (includes only those convictions for which the

person was sentenced for 60 days or more).

5. Failure Rate: Probation failures: 22 percent. Post-probation failures: 26 percent. Estimated overall failures: 55 percent. Apparently, the word "estimated" was added because of the "lack of adequate data from the four counties." This "estimated" 55 percent is indicated to include absconding (about 16 percent); however, their definition of failure is not clear, nor is the method of estimating this figure.

6. Major Findings:

- (a) A comparison of the percent of arrests and convictions of closed cases (1,200) with open cases (200) showed that while the offenders currently on probation had not been exposed as long to the criminal justice system, their rates of arrest and conviction approached the rates shown for past offenders.

- (b) Crimes for which probationers were arrested or convicted were mainly possession of a gun, escape, petty theft, larceny, and alcohol law violations.

- E. Cohort/Probation-Termination Study

George F. Davis, "A Study of Adult Probation Violation Rates by Means of the Cohort Approach," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science 55 (March 1964): 70-85.

1. Sample: A cohort made up of all defendants granted probation in 56 California counties during the years 1956 (3,199), 1957 (3,970), and 1958 (4,469).
2. Sample Characteristics: Mostly from counties with the

largest population; convicted for burglary, forgery, and checks; predominantly white males between 20 and 24 years old; for most, probation was recommended by probation officers; received probation or a combination sentence of probation and jail.

3. Length of Probation: Minimum of four years and maximum of seven years.
4. Definition of Failure: Two or more violations and revocation (with none and one violation classified as success).
5. Failure Rate: 30.2 percent (overall); 26.6 percent (1956), 28.6 percent (1957), and 29.1 percent (1958).
6. Major Findings:

(a) The highest rate of revocation occurred for probationers convicted of forgery and check offenses, while the lowest rate occurred among persons sentenced for homicide and sex offenses.

(b) As in most studies, a high success rate was recorded for women and older people.

(c) There was a significant difference between the recidivism rate of the group recommended for probation and the group not recommended, or those for whom a sentence recommendation was not made at all.

(d) More than half were revoked within 17 months of the judgment date.

(e) Forty-eight percent committed new offenses, while

52 percent were charged with technical violations.

F. Cohort/Probation-Termination/Post-Probation Study

James F. Irish. "Probation and Its Effects on Recidivism: An Evaluative Research Study of Probation in Nassau County, New York, Nassau County Probation Department, 1972.

1. Sample: A stratified random cohort sample of 927 probationers selected from a total population of 1,825 probationers discharged as "improved," "unimproved," or "committed" in 1962, 1965, and 1968.
2. Sample Characteristics: Predominantly white male, average 22 years old, single, either a laborer or a student, below 11th grade level education, on probation for larceny and burglary, with no or minor previous criminal record, and completed probation successfully.
3. Follow-up Period: Minimum of up to four years following release from probation.
4. Definition of Failure: "A real or alleged tendency to relapse into a previous delinquent mode of behavior determined legally and arbitrarily by a set of fixed criteria: pre-probation recidivism - prior arrest or convictions; on-probation recidivism - rearrests or convictions; post-probation recidivism - rearrests or convictions; post-probation recidivism - rearrests or convictions (in the actual study, only arrests were used)."
5. Failure Rate: 41.5 percent (overall); based on four-year follow-up period for each cohort group - 23.6 per-

cent (1962), 26.3 percent (1965), and 40.1 percent (1968).

6. Major Findings:

(a) A significantly greater percentage of those who received no "definite" or "meaningful" recommendations from the Probation Department became on-probation and post-probation recidivists than those recommended for probation.

(b) A significant relationship was found between pre-probation, on-probation, and post-probation adjustment.

(c) Variables significantly associated with recidivism are: prior criminal record; under 18 years of age when first arrested; unemployment; history of prior psychological treatment; marital status other than married; low socio-economic level; education below 12th grade; negative offender-parent relationship; broken or unstable home environment; little parental religious interest, as measured by church attendance.

(d) Recidivists commit crimes similar to the ones for which they were convicted and placed on probation.

James F. Irish, "Probation and Recidivism," Mineola, New York: Nassau County Probation Department, [1977]. (Mimeographed.)

1. Sample: A cohort of a twenty percent stratified random sample (250) selected from a population of 1,250 discharged from probation in 1973 as "improved," "unimproved," or "committed."
2. Sample Characteristics: Predominantly white, male, with

- no previous arrests, convicted for crimes against property, and discharged as "improved" (75 percent).
3. Follow-up Period: Three to four years.
 4. Definition of Failure: Discharged as unimproved or committed for probation failure; arrest for post-probation failure.
 5. Failure Rate: 29.6 percent.
 6. Major Findings:
 - (a) Probation adjustment was related to previous criminal record, race (black or white), and type of crime leading to sentence of probation (crimes against person, property, drugs, and other). Thus, a probationer who is white, has no previous record of arrests, and is sentenced to probation for a property crime seems to have a strong likelihood of success on probation.
 - (b) Post-probation adjustment was related to previous criminal record, type of supervision (regular or drug) for whites only, and type of discharge (improved, unimproved, or committed), for whites only. Thus, a probationer who is white, has no previous record of arrest, has been supervised by the regular unit, and released as "improved" seems to have the highest post-probation success of any type of probationer.
 - (c) The study did not establish the existence of a significant relationship between the following variables:

Probation outcome and sex
 " " " type of supervision

Post-probation outcome and sex
 " " " " race
 " " " " type of discharge for blacks
 " " " " type of supervision for blacks
 " " " " type of crime for which sent
 to probation

Findings

Question 1: What is the state of inconsistency among the researchers on the definition of "failure"?

The summary statistics (Table I describes the range of definitional variation. All, however, use system events: revocation, arrests, and convictions). The follow-up period varies from 20 months to 12 years. The group of ten studies reviewed consisted of one on-probation, three probation-termination and six post-probation studies. The closest in terms of definition, follow-up period, sample size, sample characteristics, and failure rate are the study of federal probationers done by Caldwell in 1951 and another by England in 1955.

Question 2: Are there baseline data against which to assess probation effectiveness?

Most of the studies reviewed here stated that their purpose was to assess probation effectiveness; however, none of the authors explained what was meant by "effectiveness" or how they defined a base against which they compared their findings in order to claim that probation is an effective alternative in treating the offenders. Where absolute measurement is impossible in correctional research, comparisons will



TABLE I
THE SUMMARY STATISTICS

Studies	Failure	Sample	Sampling Method	Follow-up	Failure Rate(%)
Caldwell 1951	Convictions	403 federal, terminated 7/1/37-12/31/42	Stratified-random	Post-probation: 5½- 11½ yrs.	16.4
England 1955	Convictions	490 federal, terminated 1/1/39-12/31/44	Regular-interval	Post-probation: 6-12 yrs.	17.7
Davis 1955	2 or more violations & revo- cation (technical & new offense)	Cohort, placed on prob. 1956(3199), 1957(3970), & 1958(4469)	Total population	Up to termination: 4-7 yrs. on probation	30.2
Frease 1964	Inactive letter, bench warrant, & revocation	605, placed on prob. 7/1/61-6/30/62	Total population	On-probation: 18-30 months	20.0
Landis 1969	Revocation (technical violations or new offense)	791 felons, placed on prob. 1956-1963	Only those with complete info.	Up to termination	52.5
Irish 1972	Arrests or convictions	Cohort, terminated in 1962(199), 1965(288), & 1968(440)	Stratified-random	Post-probation: a minimum of 4 yrs.	41.5
Missouri Div. Prob. & Parole 1976	Arrests & convictions	216, placed on prob. 7/1/68-6/30/70	Random	Post-probation: 6 mos. -7 yrs.	30.0
Kusuda 1976	Revocation (technical violat- ions, new offense, & absconding)	7047, terminated in 1974	Total population	Up to termination: average 1-2 yrs. on probation	18.3
The Comptroller General 1976	Revocation while on prob. & postrelease convictions (sen- tenced to 60 days or more)	1200, terminated in 4 counties in 4 states	Random	Post-probation: average 20 months	55.0*
Irish 1977	Arrests	250, terminated in 1973	Stratified-random	Post-probation: average 3-4 yrs.	29.6

*This is an "estimated" figure given by the author. See the narrative section for the detailed explanation.

TABLE II

MAJOR POPULATION/SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

220

Studies	Prior Criminal	Use of Alcohol or Dru.	School Grade Completed	Socio-Economic Level	Marital Status	Race	Age	Sex
Caldwell 1951	None or minor		5-8	Unskilled/ semi-skilled	Married (54%)	White 75%	Median:29	Male(93%)
England 1955	"		Median-8.3	Laborers	Married (64%)	White (75%)	Mean:37	Male(88%)
Davis 1955						White (78%)	Average: 20-24	Male(90%)
Freaße 1964	"	None to moderate	5-12	Under \$400	Married (43%)			Male(90%)
Landis 1969	"		Below 11			White (82%)	Median:25	Male(100%)
Irish 1972	"	"	"	Laborer/ student	Married (71%)	White (80%)	Average:22	Male(93%)
Missouri Division of Prob. & Parole 1976	"	"	"	Under \$400	Single (52%)	White (58%)	Average: 18-22	
Kusuda 1976	"	"		Under \$400	Single, div. & separated (72%)	White (79%)	Mode:20-24	Male(87%)
The Comptroller General 1976								
Irish 1977	"	"	Below 12			White (77%)	Average:24	Male(89%)

Blank spaces - no data provided in the study.

TABLE III

MAJOR FACTORS CORRELATED WITH FAILURE

Studies	Previous Criminal History	Youthfulness	Status Other Than Married	Unemployment	Low Income Below \$400	Education Below 11th	Abusive use of alcohol or drug	Property Offender	On-Prob. Maladjustment	Imposition of Conditions
Caldwell 1951	Significant correlation	Significant correlation	Significant correlation	Significant correlation	Significant correlation	Significant correlation		*		
England 1955	"	"	"	"	"	"		*		
Davis 1955	"	"						Significant correlation		Significant correlation
Frease 1964	"		"		**	"	Significant correlation		Significant correlation	
Landis 1969	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"		"
Irish 1972	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	*	"	
Mo. Div. Prob/Par. 1976	"	"	"	"	***	"	"	"		
Kusuda 1976		"	"	"	**		"	*		
The Compt. General 1976								*		
Irish 1977	"							*	"	

Blank spaces - no data provided

*In these studies, instant and post-probation offenses committed by probationers were predominantly "property"; however, a correlation between property offense and recidivism was not investigated.

**Correlation only with income between \$100 and \$400; those who made less than \$100 and those who made above \$400 both had an equal probability of success.

***Correlation only with income between \$100 and \$700; those who made less than \$100 and those who made above \$700 both had an equal probability of success.

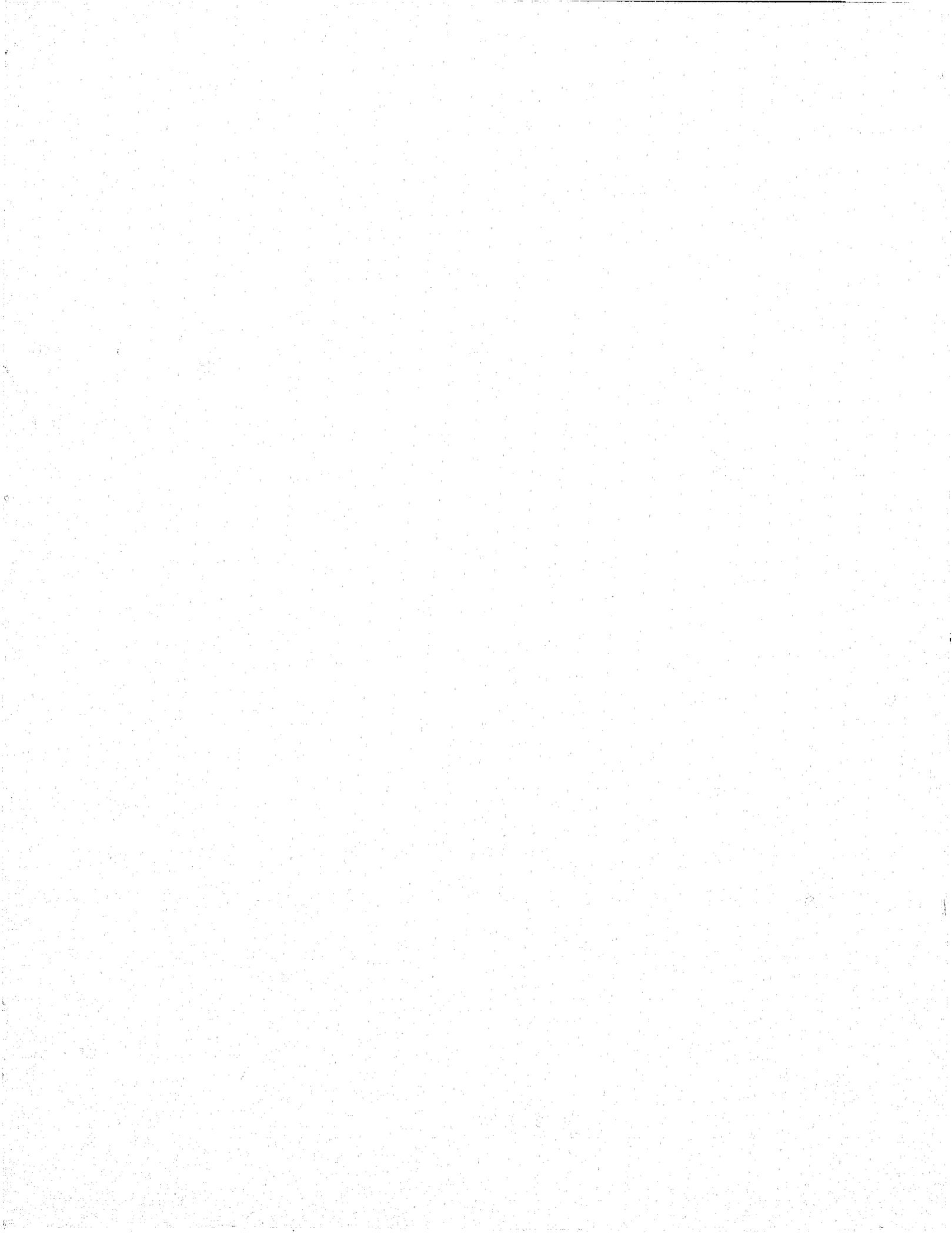
TABLE IV

MAJOR OFFENSE PATTERN

222

Studies	Instant Offense	On-Probation/Post-Probation Offense
Caldwell 1951	Internal revenue laws (72%)	State liquor laws (52%); misdemeanor (12%) & felony (88%)
England 1955	Boatlegging (48%); forgery & counterfeiting (9%)	Liquor & gambling (33%); larceny & disorderly conduct (20%) Felon (26.9%); misdemeanor (88%)
Davis 1955	Burglary; forgery & checks Misdemeanor (51.2%); misdemeanor (48.8%)	New offense (48%); technical violations (52%) Misdemeanor (88%); felon (12%)-convictions
Frease 1964		
Landis 1969	Auto theft; forgery & checks	Same as instant offense
Irish 1972	Larceny & burglary	Same as instant offense
Missouri Div. of Prob. & Parole 1976	Burglary, larceny & vehicle theft	Same as instant offense Arrest (22%); misdemeanor convictions (4%); felon convictions (4%)
Kusuda 1976	Property	Absconding, weapon, disorderly conduct (62%); property (26%); crimes against person (6%)
The Comptroller General 1976		Minor offense: alcohol, technical violations, etc. (60%); property (26%); crimes against person (14%)
Irish 1977	Property	Arrests: property (47%); drug related (30%); other minor crimes (14%); crimes against person (7%)

Blank spaces - data not provided in the study



permit the relative evaluation of one thing against another.⁴⁶ Valid comparisons, however, cannot be made unless the same instrument of measurement is used, because a recidivism percentage by itself is not sufficiently informative. It is only suggestive for the evaluation of probation in providing a justification for the conclusive, experimental or operational research.

The need for a valid base before a researcher could assess the significance of his findings was clearly evidenced in the Comptroller General's 1976 report to the Congress. The statement below is illustrative, (emphasis added):

. . . the estimated overall 55 percent failure rate for persons no longer on probation raises serious questions as to the probation system's ability to help offenders make a positive adjustment in the community. Furthermore, since about 45 percent of the former probationers and 37 percent of current probationers had been convicted of crimes during probation, a lack of control and danger to the public are evident. We question whether society is adequately safeguarded when criminal repeaters continue to return to the community in a probationary status without adequate supervision and control.⁴⁷

The basis for the above claim is not clear. Further, since the definition of recidivism in this study is different from what other researchers used, comparisons cannot be made. A study of halfway houses was cited, which stated that about 15 percent of the offenders who went through halfway houses were imprisoned for improper behavior while residing at the houses, and that in contrast, 22 percent of the 1,200 offenders no longer on probation were incarcerated for improper

behavior while on probation.⁴⁸ How valid and reliable such comparison is to support a claim of probation ineffectiveness cannot be determined from this study.

There is a problem, however, in the statement that society is not "adequately" protected. In the beginning of the report, recidivism is measured by (1) revocation, or (2) conviction of an offense while still on probation or within a follow-up period (includes only those convictions for which the offender is sentenced to 60 days or more). Later, however, another definition of failure is given; it includes "new convictions," "flight," and "probation revocation," and considers absconders as failures, even when no new offense occurs because they are considered to "reject the restrictions placed on them by the criminal justice system."⁴⁹ The problem is not with the reasoning, but with the fact that the rate will change depending on which definition of failure is used.

Another inconsistency found in the claim of probation ineffectiveness appears in a table giving a breakdown of types of crimes for which the 680 probationers were arrested.⁵⁰ According to the table, the largest number of arrests were under the category of "All Others" (possession of a gun, escape, and petty theft), totalling 491. The next three largest were theft and larceny (160), alcohol law violations (155), and drug charges (103). For the rest of the crimes, there were between three and 69 arrests. How serious are

these crimes to the community? The authors "question whether society is adequately safeguarded . . ." Should they worry about some others who might be more dangerous than the 1,200 ex-probationers they studied?

In 1955, England observed in his research on post-probation outcome that:

. . . few of the convictions were for crimes commonly regarded as being serious threats to society. Out of 500 federal probation cases, there were no cases of murder, rape, or arson; besides the ten burglary convictions, there were three for aggravated assault and four for robbery. . . The charge sometimes made by its opponents that probation loosés dangerous predators on society receives little support from these data.⁵¹

This suggests that some ways must be found to determine the degree of reinvolvement, as well as the need for a careful analysis of data before a conclusive claim can be made.

Question 3: What are some of the methodological limitations faced by the researcher?

England commented in his study of 500 federal offenders that the relatively small samples used in most recidivism studies made impracticable the use of partial correlation or other multivariate analyses, and often associations between variables proved to be spurious.⁵² Davis cited three other deficiencies most commonly found in recidivism studies:

(1) a proper base for calculating the rate of violation is not used, (2) accurate follow-up data on defendants released on probation are implied, but rarely evidenced, and (3) court procedures and policies influence results to a degree that is generally not realized.⁵³

A few other researchers also mentioned that the criterion of success or failure on probation was complicated by the fact that there was little control over the statistical data submitted by the local probation departments and, as a result, they could not obtain some data that were essential to their research.

One major problem relates to correlation and causation. Does the association of two variables mean that one has caused the other? In all of the studies, the variables cross-tabulated with outcome were treated as though they were independent; none of the studies examined the degrees of relationship and nature of interactions between the variables that were found to be related to outcome.

Most of the studies, for example, reported that property offenders had the highest recidivism rate and that almost all of the black offenders had committed property offenses and had a higher recidivism rate than their non-black counterparts. These findings were the result of cross-tabulation and the chi-square test of significance. None of the studies controlled for variables that were known to be distorters, such as income, education, employment opportunities, and other social factors. The careless interpretation of such correlations can result in one group of people being singled out and stigmatized. The recidivism rate for the white offenders, in the event all of the known distorters are controlled, might turn out to be exactly the same as that of

blacks.

Another correlational problem is the selection process. For instance, one probation outcome study reported a recidivism rate of 52 percent, while two other studies using a similar definition of failure reported percentage rates of 30 and 31. In the former study, however, the study sample consisted of felons while samples of the two studies were felons and misdemeanants. Most of the studies dealt with samples of white probationers who had no or a minor prior criminal record and who had no drug or alcohol problem; all of these characteristics are highly correlated with successful outcome. The Missouri report examined the characteristics of commitments to the Missouri Department of Corrections and those of the probation population, and found that the Court committed offenders who were single or divorced, and who were slightly older and had a longer history of criminal offenses than those sentenced to probation.⁵⁴ Based on these observations, it is hard to draw a reasonably accurate picture of how much of the success rate is attributable to the judge's selection process. Also, there are variables that are beyond the control of probation, such as employment rates or the changing moral values in the larger society. How much effect do these extraneous variables have on probation outcome? It seems clear that much of the confusion over recidivism figures is related to this "blurring of causation."⁵⁵

The above discussion of problems inherent in correctional research leads to the question of whether explanatory evaluation is possible in probation. Professional opinion seems to be that the typical human service agency is an "inappropriate setting for evaluation that seeks to provide valid and reliable data on causation," but that the management information data can lead to change through feedback on process and impact.⁵⁶ This type of continuous evaluation of probation performance through a "feedback loop," focuses less on causation or the determination of effectiveness but more directly on how to increase probation effectiveness. This approach seems much more realistic and productive than others (e.g., "intensive" evaluation) in a setting such as a probation department.

Question 4: How much knowledge has been accumulated by outcome studies?

With further replication and verification, the following findings may be utilized in management decisions:

(a) England (1955) reported that most of the probation violations occurred after one to 18 months, while most of the post-probation violations occurred within a three-year period.

(b) The Missouri report (1976) stated, "For some unknown reason the 10-18 age group had a considerably higher rate of successful completion." It is common knowledge that this age group is also the most visible to the police. We need to know if they are amenable to probation supervision

or if they are the "self-correcting" type. We need to know for what behaviors they are being apprehended and put on probation. It could be that their behaviors are so minor that probation is not necessary. Or, perhaps, other types of disposition may be more effective or better for them than probation.

(c) Generally, it was reported that a probationer who had better education and higher income had a relatively high probability of success. Frease (1964) and Kusuda (1976), however, reported that probationers with the lowest education (below 4th grade level) and income (below \$100 per month) had as high a probability of success as probationers in the highest education and income groups. Reasons given were that the former had accepted their way of life and did not set unrealistic goals for themselves. The data of Kusuda's study indicated that there was a relationship between "unrealistic goals" (as judged subjectively by the supervising officer) and probation success. We need to know if more education and job training will help those in the middle group, who have relatively adequate education and income, or whether to explore some other type of treatment or counseling that may be more appropriate, as their problems are different from those of people who have hardly any money or education.

(d) Davis (1964) and Landis (1969) reported that those probationers who had more conditions (fines, restitution, jail terms, rules for future daily conduct, etc.) placed on

them had a higher failure rate. We need to know if those conditions are too harsh, if they should be used at all, or if they can be used differentially depending on the probationer's status and need.

(e) Davis (1964) reported that the small differences among the revocation rates of the white, white-Mexican, and "other" racial groups were not statistically significant; however, there was a significant difference in the revocation rate of the black group as compared with the rates for whites, white-Mexicans, and "other" racial groups. We need to find out why such a difference exists, for what reasons the different groups are being revoked, and what their supervision needs are.

(f) Irish (1972) reported that statistically there was no relationship between the "sophistication of the level of the pre-sentence reports" and on-probation adjustment of the probationers as reflected by the discharge status assigned by the probation department. We need further follow-up to determine why and how the pre-sentence investigation affects the outcome. Should this report contain a different type of information to correlate significantly with probation outcome?

(g) Irish (1972) and Davis (1964) reported that those probationers for whom the determination as to likelihood of success (on the basis of their past performance) was not made at the time of sentencing had the higher probability of fail-

ure. We need to find out why the determination makes any difference on the probationer's successful completion and why a determination is not made on certain probationers. What type of probationers are they? How can a probation officer arrive at a meaningful determination for a probationer? Does the officer need professional assistance (i.e., a psychologist) in assessing the future performance of a probationer?

(g) Frease (1964) reported that, "the success rate steadily increased as length of probation is increased up to the five year level," but the "success rate, at the five year point, begins to decline and show a sharp drop for those offenders on probation over five years." Landis (1969), on the other hand, reported, "the longer the time on probation, the greater the probability of failure" and "more failures than successes spent more than two years on probation." Further research is necessary to find out how such variables as length, type of probation, and type of offender affect outcome.

The overall question: What is the state of research done since 1950 on probation effectiveness?

The review of the ten studies demonstrates very little progress made over the years toward the assessment of probation effectiveness. There seems to be an unwritten agreement or "rule of thumb" that a failure rate of about 30 percent or below means probation is effective and anything above indicates its ineffectiveness. Such a tendency is evidenced

in the following comments:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Failure Rate</u>	<u>Comment</u>
1951	Caldwell	16.4%	". . . probation is an effective method of dealing with federal offenders."
1955	England	17.7%	"A reconviction rate of less than one-fifth or one-quarter. . . [is] an acceptable level of performance for a probation service."
1976	The Missouri Report	30.0%	"Probation is an effective and efficient way of handling the majority of the offenders in the State of Missouri."
1976	Report to the Congress	55.0% (estimated)	". . . Probation systems we reviewed were achieving limited success in protecting society and rehabilitating offenders."
1977	Irish	29.6%	". . . supervision program is effectively accomplishing its objective."

The valid base for all of the above claims is yet to be defined. Does a low rate of recidivism indicate probation program success or the judge's ability to select the "right" offenders for probation or the "self-correcting" type who may not need treatment at all? Does a high rate imply probation failure or that too many high risk offenders are being given probation? Most recent studies, such as the Missouri report and the one by Irish, indicated the increased use of probation, in their jurisdictions, for those considered high risks. Assessment of the impact of the increased use of probation will require a much finer basis for determining probation effectiveness. If probation works only for certain types of

offenders, the public and their legislative representatives should know about it. If probation has no effect on the actual recidivism, but its use can be justified because it is more humane than incarceration, they should also know about that. If probation is extended to more offenders than it can handle or to high risk types for whom it is not ready, undoubtedly failure rates will grow unless appropriations and treatment techniques are revised to meet such a demand. The opinion that "barring such change, a backlash effect is possible, with the public's reacting against probation, which they will assume to be ineffectual, and demanding more incarceration"⁵⁷ is a legitimate worry, with which researchers and administrators should be concerned.

On the other hand, there seems to be developing a new consciousness among the contemporary researchers; that is, they are acknowledging the limitations of their outcome studies and interpreting their findings more cautiously than before.

Irish, in his 1972 study, attempted to find the relationship between the probation officer's skill in pre-sentence reporting and probation/post-probation outcome, departing from the traditional study of the relationship only between the socio-personal characteristics of a probationer and outcome. Finding that there was no significant relationship, he made various assumptions and recommendations which could be very useful for management improvement.⁵⁸

Another innovative approach was observed in Irish's study. He found a significant increase in post-probation recidivism rates between 1962 and 1968 and proceeded to document all of the programs the Nassau County Probation Department implemented during this period, resource allocation, and the evidence of professionalism. His effort, as reflected in the following remark, is evidence of a new awareness that is developing in recent studies.

Comparisons with similar departments were futile due to a universal confusion in the reporting of recidivism rates. Further, no research tool has yet been devised which can clearly unravel the effect of a large number of new programs, staff changes, budgets, methods and procedures, the changing social climate, changing court practices and personal motivation factors on the post-probation adjustment of a given number of probationers.⁵⁹

For too long, researchers have been tangled up in the inertia of tradition, unable to face or articulate the significance of the problems. This criticism does not mean to treat the problem of evaluation of effectiveness as a simple subject, but a break with tradition must be made if we are serious about improving the delivery of our human services. We must move ahead with systematic observation of correctional processes, testing of program impact, and measurement of the effects of various treatment modalities such as the matching of a probationer to a supervising officer.

Summary and Conclusion

The findings of this study must be interpreted and gen-

eralized from with caution, because the studies reviewed are relatively few in number and were selected on the basis of availability. With this in mind, they may be summarized as follows:

1. There is a wide disparity in the definition of revocation and recidivism.

2. Revocation/recidivism rates without a standardized definition have little comparative value.

3. A criterion (or criteria) of probation "effectiveness" is not well defined.

4. Revocation/recidivism research requires a longitudinal systems design (e.g., Offender-Based Transactional Analysis) for the understanding of probation effectiveness.

5. There is confusion over the distinction between system reviews and program reviews. Programs are developed and implemented by an agency such as a probation department. Agency review covers everything that is being done by that agency. The question "Is probation effective?" is not the same as the question "Is a drug program effective?"

6. There is confusion over outcome and impact (the significance of outcome). For probation review, the outcome may be defined as the success-failure rate of the probationers upon their release, while the impact may be defined as their post-probation success-failure rate. What is important in this scheme is the link between the outcome and the impact. Does a probationer who has successfully completed his proba-

tion term remain successful on his own? That is the measure of his re-integration, and his re-integration into the community is the goal of probation.

Where do we go from here?

We need a "research strategy" with a clear statement of our objective that comparable recidivism statistics must be developed so that we may eventually have "usable benchmarks which probation agencies can use in evaluating their services."⁶⁰ Measurement of "success" or "failure" are needed which are more precise than the data which indicate nothing more than violation of a condition of probation. In order to attain this objective, we need to adopt longitudinal evaluative statistics instead of "head count" statistics to which we have been accustomed for such a long time.⁶¹

Late in 1967, the first Probation Management Institute was held in three regions for top-level probation administrators to exchange ideas and identify problems and needs. The development of a comprehensive system of collection, storage, and retrieval of information within the field of probation emerged as their highest priority. Subsequently, a tentative model, based upon a uniform data-gathering approach already in use by parole systems across the country, was developed for the purpose of exploring the feasibility of a national program.⁶²

Because of the lack of funds and personnel, the definition for "failure" was decided by the research staff instead

of being developed through communication and agreement with the practitioners, as ideally should be done. Also, because of the same reason, on-site training in data collection for the persons assigned that task in the participating agencies was not done. Instead, a "Letter of Instructions" was sent out to each agency providing guidance on the sampling technique. Altogether, 2,128 cases (mostly adult felons) from 21 agencies provided necessary data to test the feasibility of the data collection model.

The favorable determination of the "feasibility" was mainly on the basis of the recidivism rate (13.4 percent), which the researchers considered comparable to the rates reported by the majority of the probation departments across the country. The authors concluded that a "definitive answer as to the feasibility of uniform probation reporting has not yet been obtained."⁶³ Perhaps an extensive cost-benefit analysis (i.e., the testing of alternatives such as a state-level system) may be required for a "definitive answer."

Recently, the Probation Research and Development Unit of the New Jersey court system determined that the present probation information system was not comprehensive enough to meet the needs of the system. On their contention that comprehensive data, collected on a statewide basis, would be helpful to sound administrative and management decision-making, they developed a three-phased reporting format under

the name of Probationer Management Information System (PMIS).

The PMIS pretest was done in one adult county jurisdiction. The preliminary evaluation of this pretest was positive. Sometime this year, this transactional probationer-oriented data system is scheduled for implementation in two counties. The information and evaluation data derived from this system is expected to be "utilized for planning and evaluation on the state, county or local levels, and provide the basis for increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of probation service in New Jersey."⁶⁴

Whether this system, or any other system, will prove effective in answering many of our "why" questions largely depends on the dedication of the people who operate that system. It is myopic to regard the system as having no value of its own. Many challenges lie ahead. The past research has proven that much of the "success" of probation is related to the characteristics which probationers bring with them. Perhaps it is about time to find out what characteristics of the system and the operators of that system contribute to that "success." Without a total system approach, we will remain forever behind the starting line.

Footnotes

¹Uniform Criminal Statistics Act was drafted by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws at its annual conference meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 21-26, 1946. This Act was subsequently approved by the American Bar Association at its meeting at Atlantic City, New Jersey, October 28 to November 2, 1946.

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⁴Ian Taylor, Paul Walton, and Jock Young, The New Criminology: For A Social Theory of Deviance (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 281.

⁵Friday, p. 164.

⁶Ibid.

⁷D. W. F. Coughlan, "Can We Use Probation More and Prison Less?" in Proceedings of the Eighty-third Annual Congress of Corrections of the American Correctional Association, p. 254.

⁸Donald J. Tippman, "Probation as a Treatment Alternative for the Criminal Offender: An Analysis of Variables Related to Performance on Probation in a Sample of Men Placed on Probation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, 1976), p. 11.

⁹Ralph W. England, "A Study of Postprobation Recidivism Among Five Hundred Federal Offenders," Federal Probation 19 (September 1955): 14.

¹⁰Kirk J. Kavanaugh, "A Twelve-Month Probation Outcome Study: Examining the Effects of Employment on Probationer Adjustment" (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, [1935]), pp. 54-60. (Mimeographed.)

¹¹Alvin Cohn, Emilio Viano, and John Wildemer, "Decision-Making in the Administration of Probationer Services" (Davis, California: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, [1970]). (Mimeographed.)

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in "Performance Measurement and the Criminal Justice System: Four Conceptual Approaches," ed. Alfred Blumstein, et al. (Washington, D.C.: National Technical Information Service, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, [1976]), p. 340. (Mimeographed.)

¹³President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Science and Technology (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 3.

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¹⁵Ibid., p. 417.

¹⁶Bernard P. Donnelly, "Cheap Shots and Costly Pay-Offs: A Plea for Purpose in Public Programs," Public Administration Review 2 (March/April 1977): 184.

¹⁷Eugene C. Dicerbo, "When Should Probation be Revoked?" Federal Probation 30 (June 1966): 432.

¹⁸Ronald B. Sklar, "Law and Practice in Probation and Parole Revocation Hearings," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science 55 (June 1964): 175-198.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 176.

²⁰Elsie Scott, "Legal Considerations," Criminal Justice Issues 3 (February-March 1977): 5.

²¹National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Corrections (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 579.

²²Ibid., p. 140.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Joel Bassett, "Discretionary Power and Procedural Rights in the Granting and Revoking of Probation," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 60 (1969): 485.

²⁵Robert O. Dawson, Sentencing: The Decision as to Type, Length, and Conditions of Sentence (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), p. 143.

²⁶Herbert Jacob, Justice in America (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), p. 159.

- ²⁷Dawson, p. 403.
- ²⁸Ibid., p. 142.
- ²⁹Sol Rubin, "Probation and Due Process of Law," Crime and Delinquency 11 (January 1965): 36.
- ³⁰Dawson, p. 17.
- ³¹Jacob, p. 159.
- ³²Robert H. Vasoli, "Some Reflections on Measuring Probation Outcome," Federal Probation 31 (September 1967): 31.
- ³³Milton G. Rector, "Factors in Measuring Recidivism as Presented in Annual Reports," National Probation and Parole Association Journal 4 (January 1958): 218.
- ³⁴Douglas Lipton, Robert Martinson, and Judith Wilks, The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment: A Survey of Treatment Evaluation Studies (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 607.
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- ³⁶Chester H. Bartoo, "How Measurable is Success?" Crime and Delinquency 15 (January 1969): 519.
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- ⁴⁰Vasoli, p. 27.
- ⁴¹National Advisory Commission, p. 528.
- ⁴²Comptroller General of the United States, State and County Probation: Systems in Crisis (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 11.
- ⁴³Ibid.

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⁴⁵Charles Philip Smith, and Paul Emil Resta, "Integration of Criminal Statistics and Correctional Research with EDP," in Proceedings of the Ninety-third Annual Congress of Corrections of the American Correctional Association, 1963, p. 168.

⁴⁶Daniel Glaser, "Scientific Evidence on the Prison Potential," American Psychologist 12 (November 1957): 676.

⁴⁷Comptroller General, p. 17.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 12.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 15.

⁵¹Ralph W. England, "A Study of Postprobation Recidivism Among Five Hundred Federal Offenders," Federal Probation 19 (September 1955): 15.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³George F. Davis, "A Study of Adult Probation Violation Rates by Means of the Cohort Approach," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science 55 (March 1964): 70.

⁵⁴"Probation in Missouri, July 1, 1968 - June 30, 1970; Characteristics, Performance and Criminal Reinvolverment" (Jefferson City, Missouri: Division of Probation and Parole, [1976]), p. 62. (Mimeographed.)

⁵⁵Gordon P. Waldo, "Myths, Misconceptions, and the Misuse of Statistics in Correctional Research," Crime and Delinquency 17 (January 1971): 65.

⁵⁶David Twain, "Program Planning and Evaluation: Criteria for Choices and Resource Allocation," paper presented at the Region III HEW-Sponsored Conference, Philadelphia, October 20-22, 1976, p. 6.

⁵⁷Frank R. Scarpitti, and Richard M. Stephenson, "A Study of Probation Effectiveness," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science 59 (1968): 369.

⁵⁸James F. Irish, "Probation and Its Effects on Recidivism: An Evaluative Research Study of Probation in Nassau

County (August 1971-July 1972)" (Mineola, New York: Nassau County Probation Department, [1972]), p. 172. (Mimeographed.)

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 164.

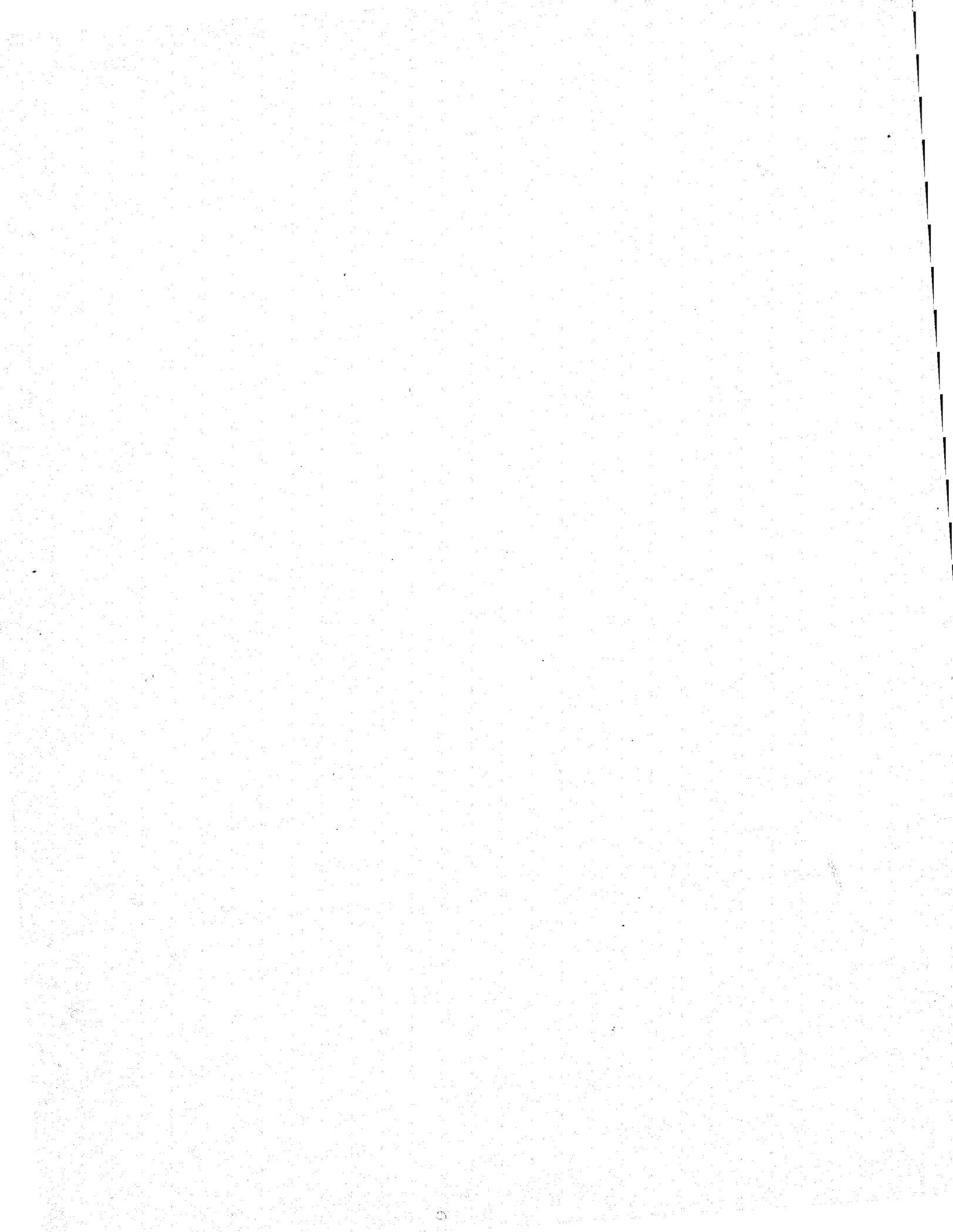
⁶⁰John W. Mannering, "Probation Statistics," in Proceedings of the Eighty-seventh Annual Congress of Corrections of the American Correctional Association, 1957, p. 95.

⁶¹Daniel Glaser, "Correctional Research: An Elusive Paradise," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 2 (1965): 7.

⁶²Peter S. Venezia, and Alvin W. Cohn, "Probation Information: A Tentative Model" (Davis, California: National Council on Crime and Delinquency Research Center, [1968]), pp. 1-123. (Mimeographed.)

⁶³Ibid., p. 53.

⁶⁴"Preliminary Plan for the Development of a Probation Management Information System" (Trenton, New Jersey: Probation Research and Development, [1976]). (Mimeographed.)



Treatment

Probation has the dual responsibility of providing rehabilitation for the offender and protection for the community. A key element reported in the studies of treatment modalities reviewed appears to be the development of a positive self-concept. Feelings of inadequacy and indifference to the possibility of success seem to be shared by many offenders. The treatment techniques that have to date been implemented in adult probation generally seek, through various means, to increase the offender's self-image, self-esteem, and self-confidence on the assumption that in doing so, criminal tendencies will decrease.

Although treatment studies of youthful and of incarcerated samples are more frequent, such studies of adult probationers are relatively uncommon. Rigorous tests are rare.

Ms. Storti's paper, which follows, reviewed available studies in five areas.

Vocational Counseling and Employment

The use of diagnostic services, various instructional programs, counseling, and job referral have been tried, with some promising results.

Group and Individual Counseling

Counseling techniques have been assumed to be an effective and important part of probation. Rarely, however,

have the specific methods used, either in group or individual counseling, been adequately defined. As a result, at the end of a study, we may not only be unable to say whether the treatment "worked," but we may be unable even to describe the treatment.

Voluntary vs. Involuntary Treatment

Some studies of this issue have been reported, but the nature of the evidence is such that questions of effectiveness (as distinct from moral issues) cannot yet be resolved.

Drug Treatment

Alternative treatments advocated for drug abuse are as diverse as methadone maintenance and provision of a therapeutic community. Intensive supervision, counseling, education, and referrals all have been described as necessary for treatment of these probationers. A 24-hour on-call support system has also been suggested for drug offenders in community treatment programs.

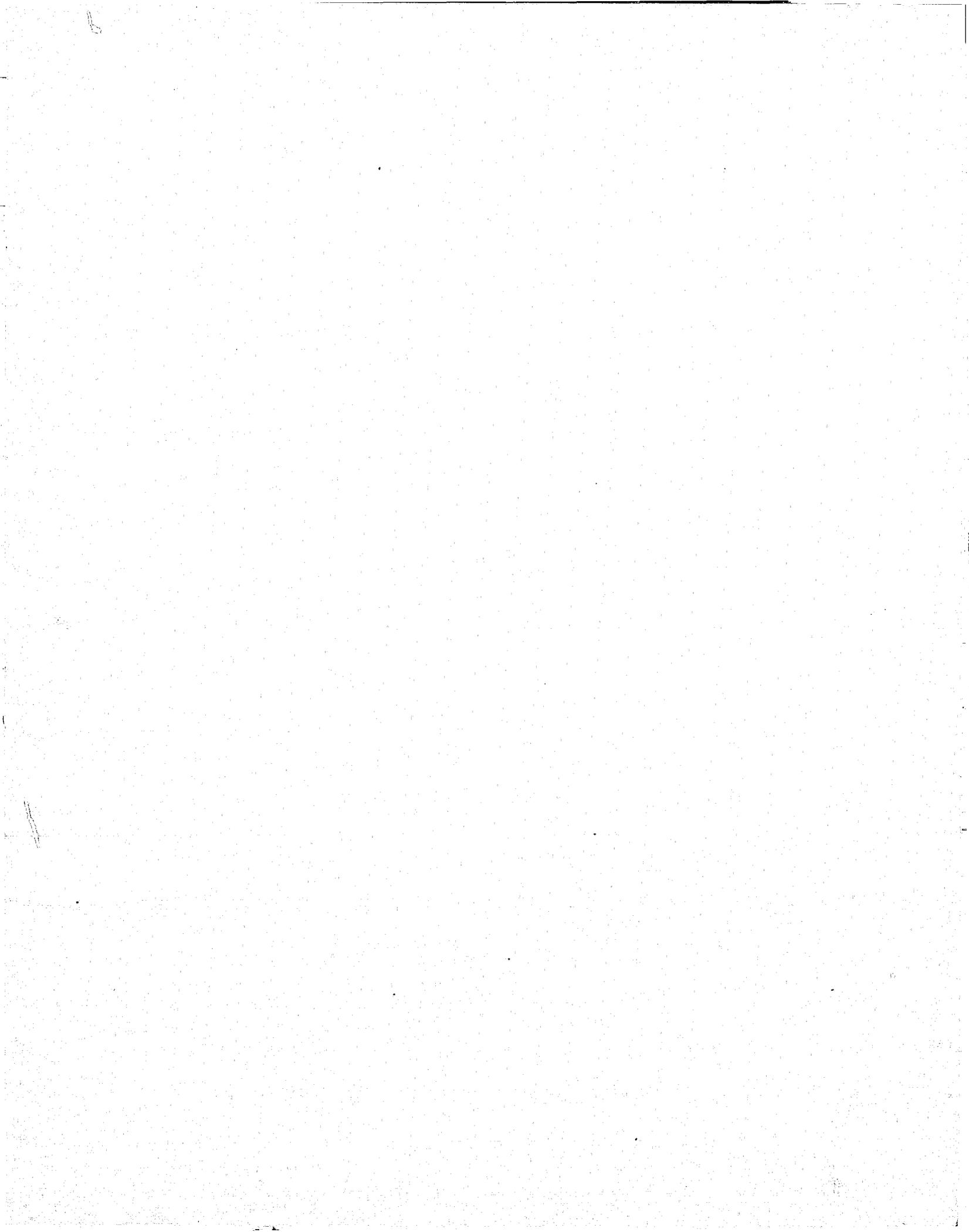
Thus, the studies reviewed utilized methadone maintenance, specialized caseloads of drug offenders, referrals to community resources, and a system of positive feedback as treatment. There is a lack of firm evidence to support any one method. The treatments themselves often are sketchily described; and many studies suffer from circumstances that limit the conclusions that can be drawn with confidence. They do, however, point to a number of drug treatment methods that warrant further investigation.

Use of Volunteers and Paraprofessionals in Adult Probation

The Volunteers in Probation have reported positive effects of using volunteers to supplement the services of the probation department. With the additional manpower of volunteers, perhaps caseloads can be streamlined to allow the officers to devote their available time to the most serious cases. It is argued that costs can be reduced through the use of volunteers, and services may be rendered to a greater number of probationers. Paraprofessionals also can serve to supplement existing probation department resources, lessen the workload of probation officers, and free them to devote more time to the offenders most in need of supervision and services.

The research in this area is, however, quite limited. The conclusions reported from the few existing studies suggest success using volunteers, paraprofessionals, and indigenous persons in probation.

Thus, the research uncovered in the area of treatment modalities in adult probation services was surprisingly limited. Certainly, the investment in careful, rigorous program development and evaluation has been scarce relative to the importance of probation treatment issues and to the investment of time, money, and effort in providing treatments with unknown effects.



Chapter VI
Assessment of Probation Treatment Issues

Janet R. Storti

Probation as a treatment has a dual responsibility: it must provide and implement measures of rehabilitation for the offender and simultaneously provide protection for the community. The existing model in corrections for treating offenders who are classified as "sick" and therefore in need of remedial care, advocates treatment that promises a cure. The treatment must "cure" the backlog in the courts, the crowded conditions in the prisons, provide for an assimilation of the offender into the community, somehow rehabilitate him, and assure the public that this operation is smooth, without repercussion, and actually successful.

Do we want correctional treatment to answer to rehabilitation, revenge, reform, retribution, or resocialization? Probation as a correctional treatment and alternative to incarceration functions, in the eyes of the community, as a rehabilitative measure. The definition of treatment itself is, however, at best confused and applied to behavior patterns that have no definitive source. Whatever seems to produce adequate results is repeated but rarely empirically tested. Performance expectations are not considered.¹

Claude Mangrum suggests that treatment in the probation setting function is a ". . . systematic application of resources to the resolution of the client's problems to the end

that behavior is changed sufficiently to enable him to live in his community without destructive conflict."² Accepting this as a premise from which designs and strategies can be formulated to meet the demands therein and implement the objective to alter an individual's behavior leads us to the very core of probation and the setting within which its functions are performed.

An external view of probation reveals the structural demarcation Reichert calls formal and summary probation: direct supervision distinguishing the former from the latter, with a provision in summary probation allowing the court to sentence the offender for his original offense if he re-engages in any criminal activity.³ The internal view reveals what Cunningham calls a crisis: a crisis situation may have produced the criminal act from the outset, a crisis succeeds upon its discovery,⁴ and the offense is treated with what Mangrum calls a "crisis intervention."⁵ The resolution of the client's problems, altering negative behavior patterns, or establishing clear lines of supervision to execute either formal or summary probation are remotely possible within this framework. The life span of a crisis situation is eternal if it is nurtured; preventative measures to inhibit its regeneration must replace the current haphazard application of probation services.

Implicit in the present idea of correctional treatment is the objective of reducing recidivism. The offender's be-

havior must be reoriented into a socially acceptable and productive life style, amenable to his environment and alien to criminal activity. What is available to the probationer to assist him in this metamorphosis is meager.

Treatment in the probation setting is coercive in that the probationer is mandated by the court to report to his probation officer according to a prescribed schedule; failure to do so might invoke a violation. The very nature of the probationer's relationship with his probation officer is tenuous and the actual time they are exposed to each other is minimal. Therefore, the probability of establishing the kind of rapport that would foster a workable contingency support system is remote. At best, the verbal interplay between the two persons will focus on the probationer's accountability with respect to his family commitments and job responsibilities. The opportunity for the probationer to begin to develop the tools for accepting the responsibility for his actions and thereupon affecting a behavioral change amenable to society's expectations is confined to previous limitations. The pressure to succeed, however, is intense.

A number of treatment modalities have been explored and administered in the probation setting in an attempt to counteract the tentative quality of the officer-client relationship and establish a base for the rehabilitative process. Probation departments frequently use counseling to unmask the client's problems and devise strategies to eliminate them.

The most common techniques within this treatment modality include individual and group counseling, vocational upgrading and job placement.

The assumption that vocational counseling reduces the likelihood of recidivism has origin in the overall stabilizing effect of employment. Employment enables the probationer to experience financial security and develop confidence in his own capabilities and sense of self.⁶ The majority of offenders are unaware of what is available to them with respect to employment opportunities, community resources and training programs, and how to approach a prospective interview to sell themselves.

Essential to the success of vocational counseling is providing a goal that is realistically attainable for the probationer. It is important that he experience results that are immediate and tangible. "Dangling the carrot" or promising glittering opportunities that exceed his reach, or the opposite extreme of insisting that he accept menial jobs, negatively reinforces his feelings of hopelessness.⁷

As the offender searches for employment, he is consistently confronted with having to present a resumé of life experience that is not conducive to much more than what his history indicates: commonly, an individual with low skills, a criminal record, a risk perhaps to the safety and security of the other employees and commodities on hand, and an individual who may be conspicuously "different" from the majority.

Confronted with having to find employment against these odds merely compounds the offender's predicament and deepens his depression.

Vocational counseling should aim not only to improve the employability of probationers, but to elevate how they see themselves within their environment and in the wake of society's competition and expectations. Just having a job will not alleviate the stigma of having a criminal past, nor reform and rehabilitate the offender into a model citizen. The process for change must begin within the offender. Through the help of the probation officer, a survival kit equipped with tools and skills the offender can utilize to secure a job and stabilize his home environment must be an integral part of the process. It is essential that the probationer see the results of his efforts in successive and graduated achievements, so that he will believe he is capable.

The Monroe County Pilot Project (MCP) in Rochester, New York, discovered the importance of "human upgrading" in its attempt to reduce recidivism through vocational upgrading. The researchers concluded that a favorable bias in successful outcomes on probation may be due to factors relating to a probationer's self-concept and suggested a correlation between a reduction in criminal activity and the amount of time a probation officer spends with his client, counseling and working towards improving the client's sense of self. The probationers in their program received low ratings in goal

orientation, motivation, and self-esteem despite their gains in education and employability. A causal relationship between self-esteem and life style was hypothesized.⁸

A probationer is more apt to succeed on probation if he is employed and thus reducing the time he spends in trouble with the law.⁹ (Of course, to conclude that employment is the sole cause of reducing recidivism would be presumptuous.) The Probation Employment and Guidance Program (PEG), like the Monroe Pilot Project, aimed to raise the level of employment in previously unemployed or underemployed probationers and thereby to reduce recidivism. Again, it was reported that the amount of time a probation officer spends with his client administering an increased dosage of attention lessens the time the probationer will spend in trouble with the law.¹⁰

The treatment involved in these projects included a determination as to the type of employment the probationer wanted, an assessment of his previous experience and available resources, and the design of strategies for goal attainment. The Pilot Project used diagnostic services to accomplish this goal, and the PEG employed the services of five volunteers from a rotating pool of twenty-five who comprised their Employment Guidance Council.¹¹

Each project relied on an experimental design to test the effects of its treatment. The treatment for the probationers in the PEG group concentrated on getting the client the "right" job -- not just any job.¹² The Monroe Pilot

Project staff organized three components within their design to effectively upgrade a probationer's employability. The aim of the vocational component was to ensure successful job placement, the education component's intention was to upgrade academic levels, and the counseling sector focused on establishing "job survival skills" and the reduction of communication barriers.¹³

Both projects were successful in significantly upgrading the employability of their clients and in securing job placement. Neither project was able to significantly correlate a reduction in recidivism with vocational counseling and improved employability; however, probationers in both experiments spent less time in trouble with the law. The "employment failures" in PEG's experimental group committed crimes less frequently than their counterparts in the control group. The treatment administered to the experimental group accounted for the observed differences at each level. The differences were significant only in the sense that the probationers would have experienced no increase in employability had they been left alone.¹⁴ Unemployment in the Monroe Project was reduced in the Referral Groups; however, there was no significant difference between them.¹⁵

Employment while on probation was not significantly correlated with a reduction in recidivism, according to the aforementioned projects, but the Job Bank in Bergen County, New Jersey, and the Vocational Rehabilitation Agency in con-

junction with the United States Probation Office in Chicago, demonstrated that employment was an important predictor of outcome success on probation. Other predictors of outcome success for the Job Bank experiment included whether or not the probationer lost his job due to arrest, total convictions and drug counseling.

Assignment to the Job Bank, employment, was the most important predictor of outcome success in the Bergen County study and a determining factor for successful termination from probation. The Vocational Rehabilitation Agency, likening its hard core unemployed offender to a disabled individual, in that both have handicaps that could incapacitate them, witnessed seven out of ten of the probationers receiving their treatment sustain a job or training or a combination of both for a year after the completion of the program.¹⁶

The results of these projects clearly indicate that employment and vocational upgrading are only a part of the rehabilitative process. There is a need for further research in the areas of self-concept, self-image, and self-esteem among the offender population, particularly with probationers, and how their view of themselves affects their reorientation back into society.

Exactly what embodies the catalyst that sparks either the deviant behavior or the change to a more normal behavior pattern is unknown. What is known and obviously shared by the majority of the offenders, however, is an overall feeling

of inadequacy and indifference to the probability of success.

The problem areas of each study are cited in the evaluation results. The Program Employment and Guidance Program revealed that although the experimental group surpassed the control group on each measure of employment success, the effects of the treatment are modest and lessen with time at each interval measure. A twelve month follow-up would confirm the findings relevant to the correlation between avoiding criminal activity and time employed. The speculation was that a "better program" could positively influence recidivism. What is meant by a "better program" is not qualified.¹⁷

Because of a deficit in referrals for the Monroe Project, an equal and random assignment of probationers to the experimental and control groups was impossible. Three problem areas were cited: a low referral rate of total participants, insufficient amount of time to measure program impact, and probationer descriptions and outcome results predicted on different time spans.¹⁸

Random assignments for treatment were not made to the Job Bank nor the Vocational Rehabilitation Agency. In the Vocational Rehabilitation Agency, probation officers were given the responsibility of making the determination for eligibility.¹⁹ The Job Bank clients were existing members at the time of the study. Not having a random assignment to the Job Bank precludes the correlation of intelligence, motiva-

tion and socio-economic factors with outcome success on probation. Success may have been due to specific characteristics of the probationers and not to employment.²⁰

Treatment in probation is not confined to employment and vocational upgrading. Experiments designed to work with the deviant behavior patterns and personality configurations among the offender population have utilized the dynamic of group counseling and the exclusive effects of the one-to-one relationship in individual counseling. Group and individual counseling should create a comfortable milieu wherein the client is able to freely vocalize his problems and fears, and with the aid of his probation officer, begin to confront them and seek solutions.

Group interaction effects a positive change in behavior. The principle responsibility for conduct rests with the group.²¹ Each member of the group operates as an individual as well as an integral part of the collective whole to establish the conduct norms that are acceptable or unacceptable. The rudimentary behavioral changes that originate in the group are nurtured therein in preparation for their ultimate functional test in the community.

The pressure of group attendance is weighted in the direction of social conformity.²² Attendance is mandatory and punctuality enforced. Group stipulations are in concert with what the working world deems unsatisfactory -- poor attendance and tardiness. Intolerable to the group is a par-

participant who embodies apathy and indifference. The group is a model and means for individuals to make constructive changes that will positively alter their lives in the community.

Attitudinal changes are witnessed and comprehensible in the supportive environment of the group.²³ The sexual offender, for example, made positive, significant changes in his social adjustment.²⁴ The group allows social isolation to be overcome more readily. The sexual offender, particularly the exhibitionist, is quick to withdraw as a result of abject humiliation due to his action. Communal acceptance within the group is the beginning of the future and probable re-acceptance of family and society.²⁵

The probationer is able to see and communicate with individuals who have similar problems and histories; the environment fosters the recognition that his problems are not unique.^{26,27} The situational similarities may evoke an awareness in other areas where offenders share common fears and goals, an awareness that will ultimately engender communal support and assistance in establishing goals and realistic expectations.

The basic guidelines for group counseling are as follows: participation is mandatory, less than twenty individuals hold membership, the group meets at regular intervals and specified times, and membership remains unaltered. Adhering to the guidelines is crucial to the establishment of

trust and support among the members, and their responsibility for structuring and maintaining conduct.²⁸ Utilizing this technique, the Special Offenders Clinic, an outpatient treatment facility for sexual offenders and assaultive offenders, sought to resolve the relationship between anti-social behavior and emotional problems through group therapy. The treatment was predicated on a balance between a strict probation approach and therapeutic approach. Weekly group psychotherapy sessions were mandatory.²⁹

Exhibited behavior in each group therapy session was divided into thirty-five measurable categories that were rated by the therapist during the initial phase of the treatment and at the termination level. Probation officers measured each patient in six areas indicative of social adjustment according to the same time contingency. The overall effect of the Special Offenders Clinic with respect to group therapy, recidivism, and social adjustment, is more successful in treating sexual offenders than assaultive offenders.³⁰

Active participation in group counseling was part of the treatment plan that facilitated the process of social adjustment in the Multiphasic Diagnostic and Treatment Program. Offenders were required to jointly formulate a contract with the staff wherein a treatment plan was devised. The purpose of the program was two-fold: to decrease the probability of recidivism and to allow the community to better understand the offender and its own role in the resocial-

ization of the offender. Seventy-five percent of the offender population achieved success.³¹

The group process encourages each member to confront his problems in an environment that is both critical and supportive. The difficulties experienced by offenders are shared to demonstrate that each one is not alone and abandoned in his plight. He is in company with others who empathetically understand, and who are willing to accept the responsibility to change their own negative behavior patterns and those of their peers.

Functioning as a cohesive unit does not occur in the preliminary stages of the group. The Vocational Rehabilitation Agency found that, "Discussions about offenses and similar difficulties with employment seemed to have a very pronounced effect in helping them to function as a group."³² By the end of each four-week session, much concern was demonstrated among them and mutual assistance exhibited. The group was able to help each other develop a vocational plan within realistic expectations and to support members who had experienced rejections with a revised plan and encouragement to begin again.³³

The report in 1967 from the National Council on Crime and Delinquency lists counseling as one of the three major elements of probation supervision and treatment. Based on the report, the University of Maryland, assuming that counseling techniques known to probation are effective, utilized

group and individual counseling as their differential treatment modalities to measure behavioral change and personality factors. Counseling was done in small groups, in a traditional or individual relationship, as part of the treatment, or not administered at all to the control group. The criteria for client change included: employment, absence of arrests, stable family life, and general adjustment to society.³⁴

Data were insufficient to reveal any differences in behavior as a result of the treatment mode. Results were sufficient enough to raise concerns about the expenditure of manpower in conjunction with an assessment of needs. More research within an operating rehabilitative setting was suggested.³⁵

The Santa Clara County Adult Probation Department tested the effect of two high-impact, short-term motivational treatment programs designed to reduce adult (felony) probationer recidivism against what is currently attributed to traditional counseling in their regular division. Two experimental groups and two control groups constituted the four comparison sections. The basic requirements for selection into each of the four programs were as follows: felony probation cases sentenced and released within a particular time frame, and serving jail sentences of at least four months as a condition of probation.³⁶

The control groups received traditional client treat-

ment methods. The experimental groups tested different areas: the Zzooommm program was designed to change self-image, set goals, and increase self-understanding; the Heim-ler Scale measured an individual's perception of frustration and satisfaction, and was followed by a three-month treatment phase called "the Slice of Life."³⁷

The results do not conclusively support the superiority of any of the programs in the following areas: recidivism, employment, and self-concept. The author concludes that small samples and the absence of an experimental design hamper clear interpretation of recidivism and other outcome data.³⁸

Changes in client behavior as a result of personality configurations in combination with the treatment modality and the causal relationship therein were studied. The differential success of treatment on the basis of clients' personality traits demonstrates no greater improvement in one treatment mode as contrasted with the other. No significant correlation between treatment modalities and behavioral change was exhibited.^{39, 40}

Poor research methodology inhibits a clear assessment of any treatment modality. Even the traditional treatment methods are not defined, operationally or in the context wherein they appear. Exactly what constitutes traditional probation is not contained in the studies; however, it is measured, criticized, and utilized as a universally accepted

and comprehensible entity.

Studies that utilize individual counseling as a treatment modality will make no attempt to qualify it; the references to individual counseling are ambiguous and given "when needed," used with matters of "concern" to the client, or as "therapeutic counseling" and "advice giving."⁴¹ The content of these sessions is unknown; the duration and frequency of each is not mentioned. What is expected in terms of outcome results is as nebulous as the treatment modality itself; yet, individual counseling is considered to be an integral part of treatment in probation, used continuously, and billed as an effective technique.

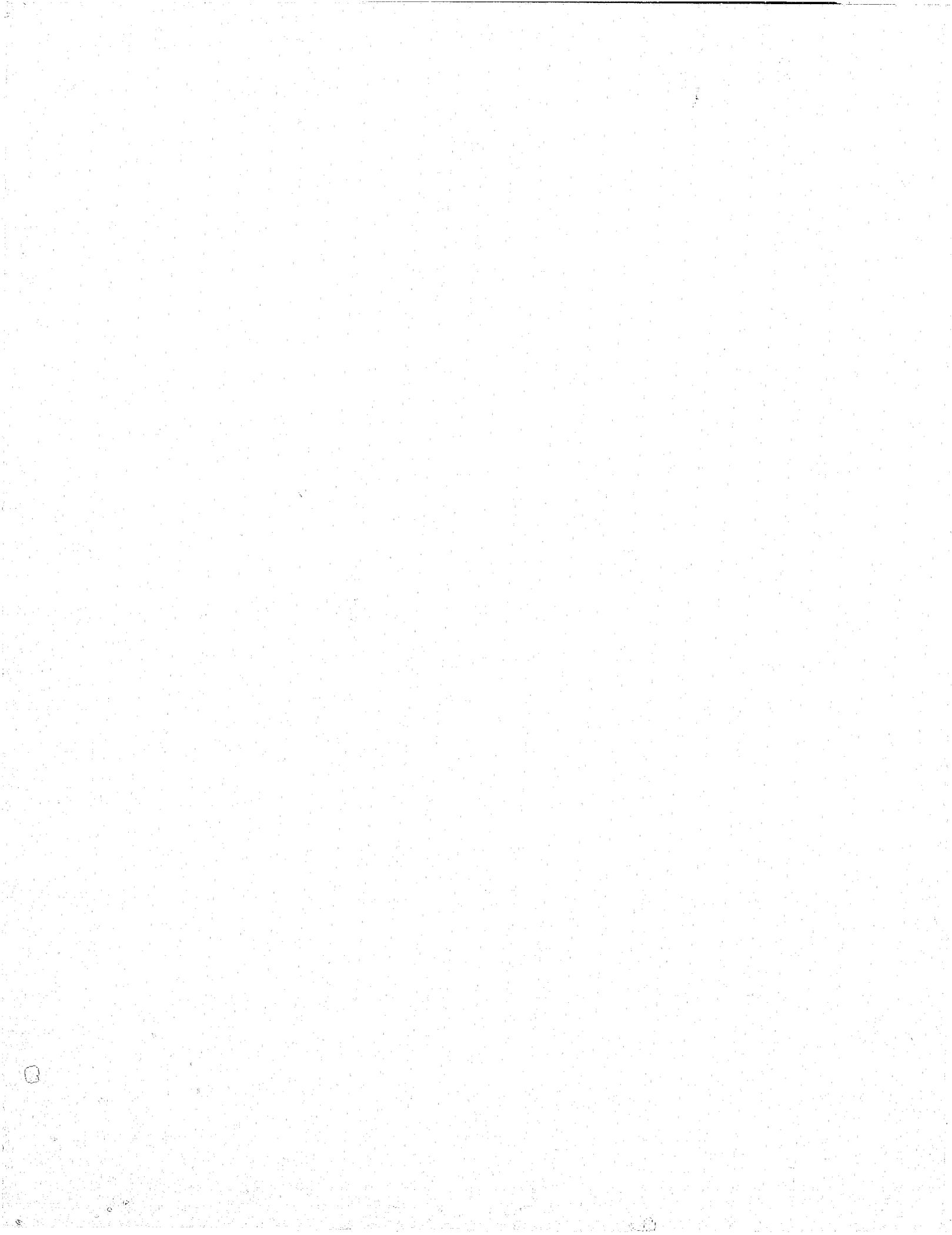
Exactly what we are treating is unknown and yet it must reshape the deviant behavior in the offender and satisfy the public's demand for protection against crime. Individual, group, and vocational counseling seem to account for functional improvements in the offender's life style, but is the success he experiences directly related to the treatment because it was mandated as a condition of his probation, or would he have been equally as successful if the treatment were optional and he chose it freely? It is unlikely that offenders will volunteer for treatment after breaking the law. Accepting the responsibility for one's actions and pursuing avenues to effect a change in that which is undesirable is not common among criminals.

Richard Parlour's contention is that sociopathic clients

who break the law must be coerced into treatment.⁴² Claude Mangrum believes in NTN or No Treatment Needed, based on the assumption that for some individuals, the arrest, initial detention, and appearance in court will sufficiently deter the offender from any further indulgence in crime.⁴³ A brief return to jail as a motivation to prevent recidivism is advocated by Parlour's clinicians who believe it should be incorporated into the treatment process as a device for rehabilitation.⁴⁴ Contained in these theories and assumptions is the effort to distinguish punishment from treatment, fulfill society's expectations and demands for safety, and "cure" the offender of his deviance.

Robison's statement on the matter is somewhat of a rationalization: punishment and treatment are not opposites, but coexist in the correctional setting; there is a need for the restriction of freedom (punishment) to administer treatment.⁴⁵ That assumption is in opposition to the medical-psychiatric model which purports treatment to be useless unless it is voluntary.

Advocates of behavior modification manipulate their system of punishment and reward for negative and acceptable behavior respectively into a concentration on giving positive support and incentives to shape new behavior patterns, and in lieu of punishment, omit the desired result. They believe their premise for operation is an effective alternative to typical counseling and coercion techniques.



CONTINUED

3 OF 6

Success has been demonstrated in programs where each type of treatment, voluntary and involuntary, has been applied. Participation in the Special Offenders Clinic for the sexual and assaultive offenders was mandated as a direct court order. Close probation supervision was administered to maintain regular attendance. The results of this type of treatment positively affected recidivism, measured in the number of convictions and arrests for crimes that were related and unrelated to the offender during and after treatment, and the number of incarcerations that occurred at both times.⁴⁶

The Goals for Girls Project actually tested whether voluntary or mandated treatment affected the results of their experiment in casework with female probationers. Sixty-eight participants were randomly assigned to an experimental and a control group. Probationers in the experimental group met with a Deputy Probation Officer who discussed referral to a private volunteer counseling service. If the probationer resisted, she was encouraged to attend through supportive counseling. A flat refusal made participation mandatory. Probationers in the control group were not directly referred to Family Service, nor encouraged to participate.⁴⁷

Significant changes in conduct with respect to improvement were noted in the experimental group, but not in the control group. The results challenge the assumption that treatment must be voluntary in order to be successful, since

improvement in the experimental group occurred among those who were encouraged to participate in the project and among those who were told it was a requirement of probation.⁴⁸

There are limitations on generalizing the findings, and they stem largely from the research methodology; the absence of a control group in the Special Offenders Clinic, a recognized shortcoming by their evaluators, inhibits the results.⁴⁹

Further research in establishing the premise on which treatment in probation is based is crucial to its survival. One of the inherent conflicts therein revolves around the issue of social work versus social control.⁵⁰ Simultaneously addressing the law enforcement community and the therapeutic community is not always reconcilable. Treatment is neither voluntary nor involuntary, but an adaptation of both when behavior can be shaped by instituting a system where rewards and the absence of rewards serve as the catalyst for change in an environment that is fundamentally coercive. Probation is not a free enterprise. The very question of whether to apply voluntary or involuntary treatment evokes a moral issue that is essentially a realistic one and a challenge to our present correctional institutions and aftercare.

Are we prepared to treat only the offenders who have demonstrated that they have no free will, and therefore are not responsible for their criminal actions, and punish the offenders who commit crimes of their own volition? If that is the intention of the criminal justice community and the

public, then inadvertently we have satisfied both the classical school of thought and the positive school by offering rehabilitation and retribution as a joint package deal.

Jeffery and Jeffery contend that the criminal justice system does not deter and the therapeutic system does not rehabilitate. Essentially, we have no theory of criminal behavior that will allow us to treat criminals and prevent crime; therefore, if treatment is to be a function of criminal law, it should create a model based on the scientific analysis of behavior.⁵¹ Presumably, from a scientific analysis of behavior, effective treatment will come; however, in what context do we apply it? On what grounds do we manipulate and alter someone's behavior, to what degree and with whom?

An example of how the Criminal Justice System works with these issues is visible in the treatment of drug-addicted offenders. The system does not allow an individual to partake in the use of drugs, but will allow the administration of a synthetic drug, methadone, to curb or terminate an existing addiction to the more potent opiate, heroin. At what point do we establish the limits that distinguish the rights of an individual to use drugs and under what conditions? Is drug use sanctioned only when the Criminal Justice System is the donor?

At least two models to treat drug addiction among offenders are available to correctional staff: treating it as

a metabolic disease that requires methadone maintenance or utilizing casework techniques with a comprehensive referral system, with appropriate social services and medical agencies. Adequate case analysis to determine the kind and intensity of supervision needed by the probationer should be a part of each treatment modality.⁵²

Treating heroin addicts on probation and parole with methadone was the subject of a study that wanted to accomplish two goals: to stop criminal behavior and to assist the addict in functioning as a normal, productive citizen in society. The Methadone Maintenance Program established contrast and patient groups that were matched in the following areas: arrest frequencies, age, ethnic background, and month of admission to the program.⁵³

Seventy-two percent of the offenders made good adjustments, were retained in treatment, and eventually were discharged from probation or parole. Approximately seventy percent of the probation-parole patients remaining in the treatment were employed, in school or functioned as homemakers; thirty percent were supported by others, looked for employment, or received public assistance.⁵⁴

The authors conclude that methadone treatment is not a cure-all for the addict; however, they have documented success in the following areas as a result of the treatment: voluntary retention of patients, decrease in criminal activity, and an increase in productive behavior.⁵⁵

Success is also demonstrated in programs that utilized the casework approach, incorporating intensive supervision, counseling, education, referrals, and rehabilitative treatment to aid drug addicted individuals. Supporters of this technique believe that drug abuse is a symptom and a cause of social and personal disabilities that requires a comprehensive treatment of the offender in his environment to stop the criminal behavior.⁵⁶

The Drug Unit in the Philadelphia County Department of Probation experimented with two types of supervision to assist the probationer addict to develop drug-free periods, reduce crime and recidivism among said population, and enhance judicial dispositions by providing pre-sentence evaluations and related services. Random samples of probationers in the following types of supervision were comparatively examined: Drug Unit and General Supervision, both of which contained addicts; and General Supervision, containing non-drug users.⁵⁷

The latter two groups received traditional probationary treatment. The drug unit received intensive supervision, counseling, education, referrals, and rehabilitative treatment. The treatment effectively reduced overall criminal recidivism as compared to the general supervision drug group and non-drug group, and maintained more stability in the community than the general supervision drug sample. The overall evaluation of the Drug Unit reached favorable conclusions in the area of treatment, social service, and administration.⁵⁸

The Post-Prison Addictive Treatment Program for criminal recidivists with drug abuse problems was designed to reduce criminal recidivism by connecting resources for treatment inside the prison with social service agencies in the community. The treatment involves a joint effort to assess the problems and needs of the offender and refer him to the appropriate agency for services.⁵⁹

The results of the follow-up study concentrated on drug use, re-arrest, employment, retention in treatment, and cooperation with supervision. The Post-Prison Program successfully serviced three-quarters of its population in the areas intended and achieved a fifty percent successful outcome rate.⁶⁰

Both of the aforementioned programs achieved success using an adaptation of the casework model to treat drug offenders. The methadone maintenance program also achieved success; however, it was derived on the basis of applying a synthetic drug which in and of itself creates a dependency, treating the symptom and not the cause of the drug addiction.

A third method, based on an empirical set of principles and on a par with the behaviorist school, administered a behavior modification program to adult drug offenders in an attempt to alter their propensity for criminal offense. The program was sectioned into three phases, each one representing a higher level of achievement, wherein credit and verbal

support were given to the probationers if they successfully performed particular graduated behavioral tasks. Each acquisition of positive feedback and credit ultimately resulted in a predetermined reduction in total probation time. The consequences for failure consisted of non-payment of credit or demotion to Phase I.⁶¹

The pilot study designed two formats: an "own controlled" group and a contingency management program that was tested against a regular caseload using "counseling" techniques. The subjects for the experimental testing were randomly chosen from a transfer pool of probationers who were arrested for crimes involving drug abuse and classified by their probation officers as third level or "most difficult cases."⁶²

The probationers in the contingency management group successfully decreased the number of arrests and violations while on probation as opposed to the control group, and demonstrated positive behavior by maintaining a higher rate of employment and attendance at scheduled meetings as compared to the control group.⁶³

There is sufficient evidence to support the positive effects of a one-to-one counseling relationship where clients receive a fair amount of attention and support from probation officers. Undoubtedly, the credit and verbal support given to the probationers in the behavior modification program contributed to their achievement in the program, but "how much"

in a quantitative sense and in what proportion in light of the ultimate goal of a reduction in probation time is unknown. The study does not indicate that the researchers considered how influential the probability of a shortened probationary term would affect the clients' motivation and behavior in the experiment. The environment was conducive to the classic con-game, where the offender will "go along with the program" because the end results will bring precisely what he wants. It may be naive to think that a drug offender's primary concern is treatment and its long-term effects at the time of an impending incarceration. The all-consuming characteristics of the addiction rarely provide the wherewithal for future planning. A well-known characteristic of a drug user is his desire for immediate gratification; however, that does not preclude his ability to allay the intensity of the craving if the pot at the end of the road is near gold.

Correctional workers, particularly those who have a background in social work, tend to believe in an alchemist-like dream that will transform the drug-addicted offender or felon into a model citizen, capable of not only adjusting in society but accepting it. The offender, certainly ripe for a little magic, is only too aware of what that kind of blind idealism can produce. The offender's goals involve the "here and now" reality of his identity and precisely what options are available to him. The probation officer, usually from

a totally different socio-economic background than his client, cannot always relate to his needs or even comprehend their full import.

In recent years, correctional centers have solicited the help of volunteers and indigenous paraprofessionals in greater numbers to help alleviate the marked social distance between the probation officer and his client.⁶⁴ Indigenous workers and probationers share familiar histories and life styles; therefore, it is easier for them to establish a rapport than it is for the professional staff and the probationer. Paraprofessionals have been recruited to assist both the probation officer and the client with apparent success.

The Case Aide Project at Chicago (POCA) tested the hypothesis that offenders are served more effectively by indigenous paraprofessionals working in teams with probation officers. Offenders who met the selection criteria for inclusion in the program were randomly assigned to either the experimental or the control group. The treatment consisted of weekly supervisory meetings with the aides and offenders in the experimental group. The control group received regular supervision. Seven outcome variables pertaining to recidivism, employment, housing, marital and family relationships, personal adjustment, and the client's relationship with the probation officer or aide were the basis of comparison for the two groups.⁶⁵

The findings are successful in that the clients were responsive to the involvement and enthusiasm of the aides, a relationship the supervisors commended; but the absence of empirical data to substantiate the results affects the reliability of the project.⁶⁶

The Mexican-American Case Aide Project polled the opinions of the participating officers and recorded a success rate of 89 percent in favor of the use of case aides. The target population comprised active probationers with Spanish surnames. Fifteen adults were randomly selected to be part of the experimental group, along with juveniles, all of whom were subject to receiving services from the Aides. The control group did not receive the special services.⁶⁷

The goals of the project were met in that the Mexican-American community received an improvement of probation services, the probation staff's awareness of said community increased, and the case aides were promoted to full deputy probation officers; however, like the project previously mentioned, problems with the research design discolored the findings. The sample of adults used in the experiment was exceptionally small. Having the adults and juveniles jointly receive the treatment inhibits a clarification of the causal relationship among the variables.⁶⁸

There is a paucity of empirical research on the use of volunteers in correctional treatment; however, a substantial amount of data exist to demonstrate the promising re-

sults in more than one capacity. The Volunteers in Probation have reported studies to substantiate the positive effects an individual counseling session has on the probationer. The amount of attention he receives instills a support and confidence that generates an actual change in behavior. For every staff hour that is spent with an offender, the volunteer spends an additional ten to twenty hours.⁶⁹ This kind of closeness in a relationship promotes the lessening of anti-social attitudes among probationers. In fact, probationers who are not assigned a volunteer have shown an increase in anti-social attitudes.⁷⁰

Volunteers reduce costs, and with the additional service of the volunteer, manpower within the department can be used more effectively and efficiently. They often come equipped with particular skills and specialties to aid both the offender and the department, as well as assist in routine supervision and administrative duties. What is needed to supplement the use of volunteers and indigenous paraprofessionals is a diagnostic service center that will accurately assess and analyze individual cases so that the appropriate treatment can be applied.

Implicit in the treatment of adult probationers is a threefold objective: a reduction or prevention of recidivism, protection of the community, and rehabilitation of the offender. Taken separately, each part of the objective has emerged in varying measures of success. Employment, counsel-

ing, and the use of volunteers and indigenous paraprofessionals individually and collectively, comprise the treatment which in turn is assimilated into numerous strategies designed to implement the objective. A modicum of success has been achieved and directly attributed to a number of treatment modalities, but not enough to substantiate the promotion of a particular method.

Correctional treatment houses the philosophies and practices of the law enforcement community and the therapeutic community. A synthesis of the two is not always possible and therein lies one of the conflicts of probationary treatment in the criminal justice system. Can the law enforcement official and the counselor work in concert to rehabilitate the probationer when their philosophies are often in opposition?

A solidification of the goals and objectives of the criminal justice system would greatly enhance the implementation of treatment modalities that may be incongruent in nature. A firm base for operations, wherein both schools of thought work towards the goal of rehabilitation, can succeed and provide an environment that is receptive to flexibility and change.

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Chapter VII

Conclusions and a General Recommendation

Is probation the brightest hope for corrections or should it be abolished? Seeking to contribute to a general assessment of current knowledge of adult probation, we sought evidence from available studies bearing on a variety of general beliefs widely held or recently stated by criminal justice scholars or leaders. The most general conclusion reached is that necessary evidence on most of these critical probation issues is not available. Although more than 130 study reports were reviewed, definitive answers to fundamental questions could not be answered with confidence.

If we ask who is placed on probation, some observed differences with selected imprisoned offenders may be cited; but a detailed profile of such differences, generalizable to probationers and prisoners in general, cannot be given. The necessary research has not been done.

If we ask whether probation is more effective as a rehabilitative treatment than is imprisonment, we must respond again that the necessary research has not been done.

If we ask whether the personal characteristics of offenders are more important than the form of treatment in determining future recidivism, we must answer that evidence tends to support this conjecture, but that critical tests of the hypothesis have not been performed.

If we ask whether the size of the caseload makes any difference to results in terms of recidivism, we must answer that the evidence is mixed. From limited evidence, it appears that intensive supervision may result in more technical violations known and acted upon and that this may lead to fewer new offense convictions.

If we ask who succeeds and who fails on probation supervision, we may reply that a useful technology for development and validation of prediction instruments is available, that there is some information on the question (for some jurisdictions), that attempts to develop such instruments for probationers have been rare, and that these attempts have been put to relatively little use.

If we ask what is meant by the term "recidivism," we must answer that there is no commonly understood definition of this widely used concept. Recidivism studies in probation have employed such widely differing definitions that their results cannot meaningfully be combined or compared.

If we ask "what works," out of interest in discovering what forms of treatment and supervision provide more effective results when applied to probationers generally or to any particular classification of offenders, we must reply that there is limited evidence and that it is mixed. However, present evidence certainly does not justify the conclusion that "nothing works."

If these issues are indeed critical to adult probation, the most obvious conclusion to be reached is that too few resources have thus far been applied to providing adequate evidence on the questions raised. Trite as it may be to end a research report with the plea that "further research is needed," this is inescapable.

This is not to say that nothing has been learned, but rather that there have been too few studies of these probationer issues, many of which -- because of the nature of the studies or because of faulty research designs or implementations -- cannot give the definitive, general answers that are sought. As a result, these studies cannot give the needed guidance to planners, judges, or probation managers that could provide a systematic program for increased adult probation effectiveness. We, therefore, propose a model that can be used in any probation system to ultimately provide the answers that are desired.

In any probation system, a management information system is needed. Smaller agencies might have to collaborate or join larger systems in order to develop and use this system. The management information system must be designed to provide feedback on such critical issues as are discussed in this report. This requires the reliable collection of standardized and comprehensive information on the characteristics of probationers at the time of sentence. Also needed is a system of follow-up, with carefully defined and agreed-upon

measures of outcome. Prediction measures, based upon relevant information about offenders, must be developed and tested to assure their validity. Such measures can provide, for any classification of probationers, the expected outcomes (such as recidivism rates) through the follow-up system. Differences between the expected and observed outcomes can then be assessed, to provide some information on the programs that appear to be useful and those that do not -- for what kinds of offenders, with respect to various definitions of "success" and "failure." Those treatment programs identified as apparently effective can then be investigated by the use of more rigorous research designs.

Such a system can provide a continuous assessment of probation programs, making use of presently available technology, guiding the development of probation programs on a much more rational basis than the hit or miss basis that has thus far characterized program development in this field.

If probation is on trial, the evidence is not yet in. Much of the presentation of both the "prosecution" and the "defense" must be regarded as scientifically inadmissible. Methods are available to provide the needed evidence in a systematic management information program. Those who judge probation can then be better informed, and more rational decisions about adult probation may be expected.

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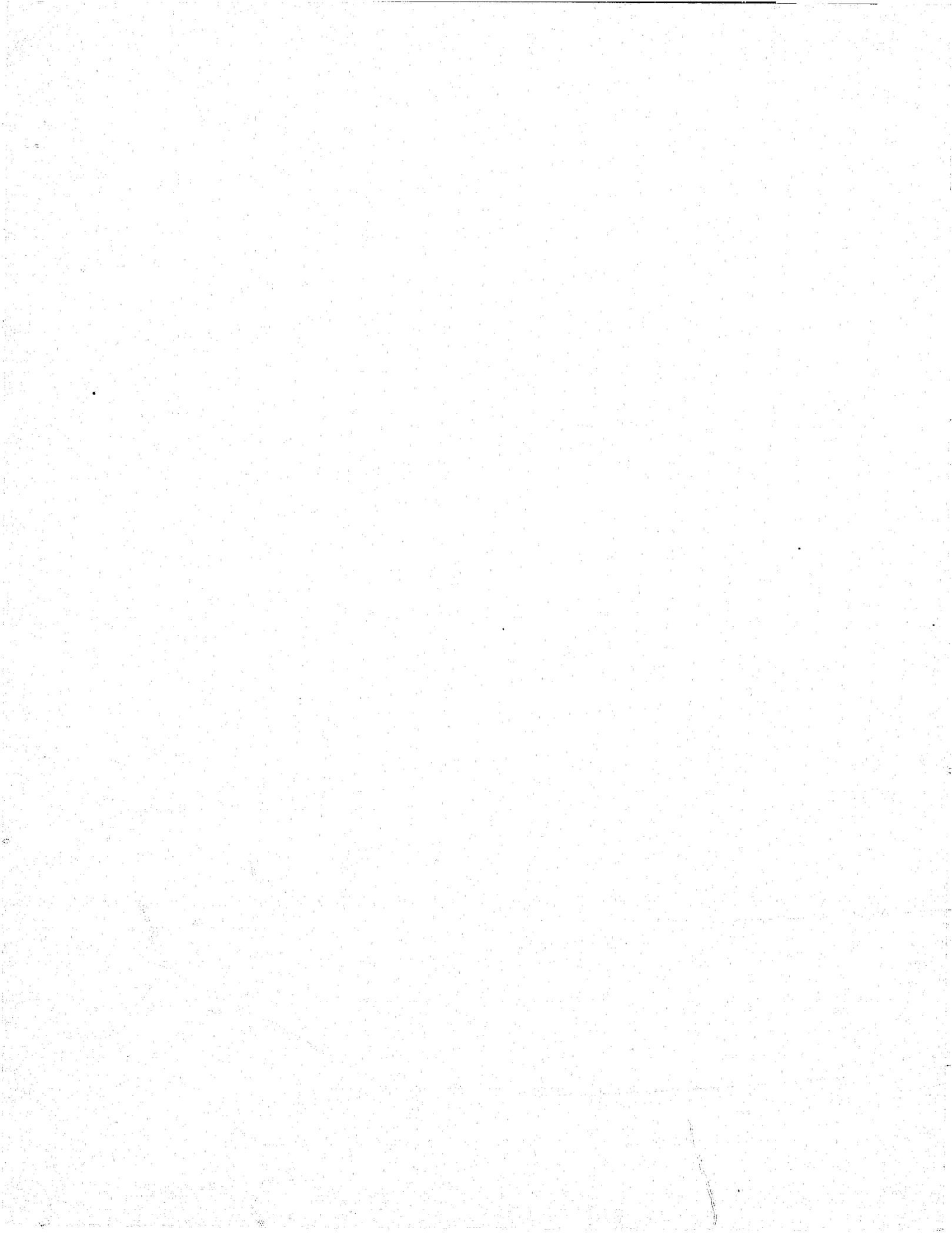
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Appendix A

Abstracts of
Studies Reviewed



Abstracts of Studies on
Clients and Caseloads
in Adult Probation



Adams, Stuart. "Some Findings From Correctional Caseload Research," Federal Probation 31 (December 1967): 48-57.

Correctional administrators in California have long maintained that if caseloads are reduced, corrections will become more effective. While some studies have addressed the issue of numbers only, others have grown out of a desire to achieve specific correctional objectives and therefore caseload size was reduced accordingly.

While most of the studies reviewed here deal primarily with parole and juveniles, this abstract will address only those dealing with adult probation.

The Narcotic Treatment and Control Project (NTCP) I and II involved narcotic offenders in the Department of Corrections. With the establishment of NTCP, 30-man caseloads of former addicts and 70-man caseloads to which some former addicts were assigned provided the data. These phases were inconclusive with respect to caseload size. The third phase made use of 15-man and 45-man experimental caseloads in tests against the conventional 70-man caseloads. The major finding from Phase III was that the experimentals performed better than the controls, but there was no difference between the 15-man and 45-man caseloads.

The San Francisco Project, a study of federal probation and parole, was designed to examine the relative effectiveness of minimum, regular, ideal, and intensive caseloads. New probationers were assigned randomly to these various caseloads. At the end of two years, minimum case performance was not significantly different than the regular caseloads. The regular caseload had a violation rate of 22% and the ideal caseload 24%. The intensive caseloads had a violation rate of 38% (due to the higher amount of supervision provided). If technical rates were excluded, there were no significant differences in any of the groups.

The most recent report on the San Francisco Project suggests that improvement in outcome will perhaps be a function of types of treatment, types of officers, and types of offenders, and not merely a function of intensity of supervision.

The report identifies four factors as critical for the classification of offenders: age, prior record, current offense, and psychological stability. The more difficult the profile or pattern presented by the offender, the smaller the caseload to which he is assigned.

The author points to the fact that all 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 or to produce cost reductions sufficient to justify the heavier staffing.

Some general concepts have emerged from past research that will no doubt be useful in future research: classification of offenders in ways that are relevant to treatment content and form; appropriate kinds of treatment for particular types of clients; qualifications and characteristics of treatment staff and the possibility of interaction between therapist type and offender type; appropriate duration and intensity of treatment; and finally, attention to the locus of treatment, with increasing focus on the possibility that probation and other community procedures will play far more important roles in the total correctional process.

Adams, William P.; Chandler, Paul M.; and Neithercutt, M. G. "The San Francisco Project: A Critique," Federal Probation 35 (December 1971): 45-53.

The main goals of the San Francisco Project were: to develop criteria for the classification of offenders; to study the effects of varied intensities and types of supervision and caseload sizes; to develop a prediction table for supervision adjustment; and to examine decision making in presentence recommendations.

During Phase I, data were gathered on almost all offenders received for presentence investigation and released for supervision from federal institutions. Based on the 50-unit workload concept, four levels of supervision were established - ideal, intensive, normal, and minimum. Clients for various caseloads were chosen from the existing loads and from newly received probationers and parolees randomly. In Phase II, the policy on case assignment was changed from randomness to selection based on four factors - offense, age, prior record, and psychological testing. Since data from the first phase was not definitive, the four factors were decided on knowledge from other sources. Assignment of offender profile groups was made by a single "expert" judge.

The Project made mention of types, kinds, and intensities of supervision but failed to identify characteristics of differing types of supervision. Types or

kinds of supervision remained dependent upon the styles of individual officers. The number of contacts the officer had was documented, but the quality was ignored.

Excluding technical violations, the violation rate for the minimum supervision caseload was reported as not significantly different from that of other caseloads - 22% for minimum and ideal and 20% for intensive.

During the select phase of research, a large minimum caseload was formed with low violation probability individuals. The four-factor profile was used. If the violation index were valid and reliable, the reported 11.5% rate for this group would be meaningless because no control group existed.

Review of the San Francisco Project reveals that method and direction were sought after the research was initiated. The absence of a well-developed theoretical framework resulted in a lack of orientation and loss of efficiency. The project is criticized for utilizing a simple concept of conformity as the primary measure of successful supervision. The assumption that the six to twelve month period following release is critical was never tested.

The San Francisco Project was aimed at determining which probationers require what degree of supervision and who might do well without any supervision. However, the authors conclude that because of problems with

design and conduct of the project, the results are questionable.

"An Evaluation of Expanded Maximization of Probation."
Tallahassee, Florida: Parole and Probation
Commission, [1975]. (Mimeographed.)

The project was designed to provide intensive supervision of offenders by establishing a staff to client ratio of 1:35. By establishing such a ratio, it was felt that adequate safeguards would be present to protect society and that maximum supervision could be given to offenders to aid in their adjustment to societal norms. The second objective was to evaluate the project's effectiveness to determine the feasibility of releasing high risk offenders to supervision under a reduced caseload size.

Persons before the court for non-capital felony offenses were to be recommended to the court for participation in the program if they met the following criteria: defendant would have been sentenced to prison because of an offense against a person; defendant has a history of mental or emotional illness; has committed a technical violation while on probation; had a juvenile history of offenses without ever receiving adequate supervision; defendant is a danger to himself or the community; the judge believes that concentrated supervision would benefit the defendant.

Treatment was to consist of a client-centered approach with the assistance of community resources.

Several circumstances made the implementation of this project impossible: the fragmentation of project implementation because of late receipt of funds; the award of the grant at a time when the Florida correctional system was experiencing a crisis (the prisons were closed to new prisoners which necessitated the increased use of probation and parole); and a financial crisis which resulted in a policy of not hiring for vacant positions, thus experimental caseloads were not created.

Aukschun, Rudolph. "Intensive Supervision - High Impact Narcotics Offenders." Hunt Valley, Maryland: Division of Parole and Probation, [1975]. (Mimeographed.)

The inability of regular caseload agents to cope with the problem of a rise in drug-related probationers gave rise to specialized caseloads for narcotic offenders.

The objectives of the Narcotic Unit Project were: to reduce the number of Impact crimes committed in the Baltimore area, to reduce the use of illegal drugs, to reduce the number of convictions of other crimes by Impact offenders, and to assist Impact offenders in developing stable employment and educational habits.

When a new probationer was referred by the court, screening was conducted by the project staff. If the client met the Impact arrest and drug abuse criteria, the offender was accepted by the unit.

Once the client's drug abuse problem had been stabilized, counseling was focused on the client's vocational and educational adjustment.

Caseloads were limited to 35 clients per probation agent. The target population consisted of males in their early 20's but 10 percent of the participants were female. The total maximum project population was estimated to be 275, but the actual population equaled 78 for the control group and 321 for the experimental group. Drug involvement was mostly with opiates, particularly heroin.

Probationers were randomly assigned to either the experimental group (Narcotics Unit Staff) or to a control group supervised by standard caseload agents. Although the individuals were randomly assigned, the control group was on the average 2.8 years older than the experimental group. Those in control status had shorter periods of assigned probation. The experimental group was made up primarily of Black males. A greater percentage of people in the experimental group were involved in drug treatment programs (29 percent vs. 22 percent).

After three project months, the control group had more persons employed, but this group fell below the experimental group for the last 13 months. The experimental group had a 30.5 percent re-arrest rate and the control group had a 29.5 percent re-arrest rate. A comparison of the first 12 months to the entire 22 months showed that the experimental group experienced a 21.4 percent re-arrest rate compared to 29.5 percent for the control group. The authors stated that the hypothesis that intensive supervision may delay arrests for new offenses rather than curb them could be considered. The experimental group averaged 1.7 charges per arrest, while the control group averaged 2.1 charges. For High Impact and drug offenses, the experimental group had a ratio of .83 offenses per arrest, compared to .91 for the control group. From this data, it would appear that the control group was charged with more offenses per arrest and more serious of-

fenses than those of the experimental group.

The study states that interpretation of the data must be considered in light of the relatively small control and experimental groups, the possibility of sampling errors, and the differences in supervision techniques.

The study concludes that pending further data from the project, intensive supervision may have an effect upon the quality of the services provided and the involvement of the probationer in community resources, but to date, results are inconclusive.

Babst, Dean V., and Mannering, John W. "Probation Versus Imprisonment for Similar Types of Offenders: A Comparison by Subsequent Violations," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 2 (1965): 60-71.

The Wisconsin study compared male offenders who were imprisoned with similar type offenders who were placed on probation--7,614 cases that were "statistically comparable" in original disposition, county of commitment, type of offense, number of prior felonies and marital status. The two groups were compared to determine which program (incarceration or probation) "produces less subsequent criminal activity."

Because of the high cost of incarceration, probation seems a more practical alternative. The issue warranting investigation is, for which offenders is probation practical? This study concentrated on determining "the type of offenders for whom probation or imprisonment is most effective as measured by subsequent recurrence of criminality."

The population sampled was all adult males released from a state correctional institution or placed on probation from 1954 through 1959. In order to achieve maximum comparability, there were categories of offenders who were "intentionally and systematically excluded." Two exclusions were homicides and sex offenses. Most of the cases in this study were crimes against property: larceny, embezzlement, burglary, fraud, and auto theft. The crimes against persons which were included were assault, battery, and abandonment.

Using configural analysis as well as other statistical

methods to develop base expectancy tables, three items were found to differentiate best between violators and nonviolators: number of prior felony convictions, type of offense, and marital status at time of commitment. These items were used to construct criminal classifications for the study.

These three factors were also most important in the judges' decision whether to place on probation or not. The statistics show that the estimate of the judges as to which type of offender was most likely to violate appears good, since they concurred with the results of the violation experience tables. The results from four of eleven comparisons indicated that the parolees' violation rates were significantly higher.

Because of selectivity of the groups through the judges' discretion and differing surveillance tactics used between the parole release group and those on probation, this study offers no conclusive results.

Beless, Donald W., and Pilcher, William S. "Probation Officer-Case Aide Project, Second Progress Report." Chicago, Illinois: U.S. Probation and Parole Office, [1970]. (Mimeographed.)

The Probation Officer - Case Aide project has focused on using part-time, indigenous para-professionals, some of whom are ex-offenders, as assistants to probation officers. It was felt that distance existed between some middle-class supervising officers and their lower-class clientele. The indigenous workers' experiences may be more closely related to the clients', which could facilitate the development of more productive relationships.

The primary goals of the study were to examine the effects of using such para-professionals to supervise probationers and parolees and to develop typologies and matched case assignment schemes for Probation Officer Aides and clients.

To be eligible for inclusion in the study, an offender had to be on probation, parole or mandatory supervision; convicted of postal theft, interstate auto theft, interstate shipment theft, narcotics violations, forgery, counterfeiting, embezzlement (excluding banks), or bank robbery; sentenced to six months or more; 21 years of age or older; a Negro or white male resident of Chicago; of lower socioeconomic status as

determined by the Hollingshead Two Factor Index of Social Position; and a first-time project participant. Offenders meeting the selection criteria were randomly assigned to either the experimental or control group. One hundred sixteen clients were originally assigned to the experimental group, which was subsequently reduced to 80 because of attrition. The experimental group met weekly with supervising Aides. One hundred seven clients comprised the control group, which received regular supervision.

Experimental and control group clients were compared on the basis of seven outcome variables: recidivism, including all new arrests, convictions and violations of probation or parole during the study period; employment, including type of job held at conclusion of one year of supervision, number of jobs held during this period, reasons for job changes, income level, length of time on current job, and job satisfaction; housing, including type, whether owned or rented, and number of moves during the supervision period; marital and family relationships, including marital status, quality of family relationships, and level of satisfaction with the marital relationship; client's personal adjustment, including self-

awareness, ability to cope with personal problems, and feelings toward and relationships with authority figures; and client's relationship with the Probation Officer or Aide, including perceptions of supervisor, evaluation of services given, and perceptions of the officer/aide-client relationship.

The findings of the study are based on intuitive observations, because empirical data were not yet available. The authors at this stage "can only report that clients are typically responsive, Probation Officer Aides are involved and enthusiastic, and supervisors are favorably impressed." They conclude that they must wait for more definitive results.

Typologies for both Probation Officer Aides and clients were developed. Three types of Aides were identified: inner-oriented, with primary emphasis directed at underlying social and emotional factors; outer-oriented, with emphasis on solving concrete problems; and flexibly-oriented, neither predominantly inner- nor outer-oriented. Four client types were identified: those with internal problems; those with external problems; those with neither internal nor external predominant; and those with no identifiable problems requiring outside help.

Caldwell, Morris G. "Review of a New Type of Probation Study Made in Alabama," Federal Probation 15 (June 1951): 3-11.

The author believes, "the real test of the effectiveness of probation lies not only in the result of the probation period, but also in the success and failures of the post-probation period." On this premise, the author divides his research into three parts: Part I, an analysis of 1,862 probationers (the universe) whose probation terminated July 1, 1937 through December 31, 1942; Part II, an analysis of 337 federal offenders (out of the 1,862) who violated probation and were committed to a correctional institution; and Part III, a follow-up study of 403 federal post-probationers selected, by stratified and random sampling, from the universe of 1,862 minus the 337 violators. (The time period for study extended from July 1, 1937 to January 31, 1949 - a maximum period of approximately 11 years and 7 months.)

Part I identifies age, occupational status, number of criminal offenses, number of previous commitments to correctional institutions, and length of supervision period to be closely associated with outcome. Part II describes a probation violator to be a young male, single, divorced or separated, with 5th to 8th grade level education and a record of recidivism. Finally, Part III

identifies the following as success factors: high occupational skill, full employment, adequate income, home ownership, marriage, and having children.

The author concludes that probation is an effective method of dealing with federal offenders because only about 16 percent of the Part III study group recidivated. He cautions, however, that there are some societal factors (e.g., the offender's community economic condition) which may account for the post-probation record of the offenders. The therapeutic effects of probation must be balanced against these other factors.

Capener, Robert J. "Client-Management Classification Progress Report." Madison, Wisconsin: Department of Health and Social Services, Division of Corrections, [1976]. (Mimeographed.)

The purpose of the study was to develop a case classification system which could be utilized by probation and parole agents to deal more effectively with the needs of divergent clients. Classification helps in the following ways: by helping agents achieve a better understanding of the client's needs through a structured interview; by providing an objective evaluation to help the agent rapidly formulate goals at the start of probation; and by providing agents with different supervision strategies appropriate to the different types of clients.

An interview and classification system was devised to focus on the differences among clients which agents could relate to and which have important consequences for an agent's planning with a particular case.

An interview utilizing a forced-choice rating instrument was developed to obtain the information needed for classification. The intent of the interview was to obtain attitudinal and behavioral information through the use of open-ended questions designed to elicit spontaneous and in-depth responses. A factual information section was also developed to accompany the more impressionistic attitudinal and behavioral data.

Taped interviews of new probationers were collected and rated by committee members and other agents. Because this instrument proved unreliable, the entire instrument was revised.

About 80 typed interviews were conducted. The interviews were reviewed and it was determined that satisfactory inter-rater reliability could be obtained.

The validity of the rating form was examined. Each item was reviewed to determine its ability to discriminate between clients, and whether the discrimination fit the expected pattern of the classification system. Only reliable items were retained.

Follow-up data were obtained by asking agents to rate 25 aspects of supervision after clients had been supervised for three to six months. When the percentage of clients exhibiting the listed problems was examined, there was a good match between the predicted problems and those actually encountered in supervision.

The data indicated that four groups could be discriminated from the structured interview. The groups were identified by the characteristic supervision function utilized in working with each group.

The four groups and the percentage of clients in each was as follows: 1. selective intervention group (35 percent) tend to have pro-social life styles, are steadily em-

ployed, are established in a community, and have minimal offense histories; 2. casework control group (30 percent) are instable in their life situation, lack goal directiveness in their lives, and have a considerable number of misdemeanor arrests along with a few serious crimes; 3. environmental structuring group (20 percent) have a lack of social and vocational skills, are highly impulsive, and break the law usually as a result of their failure in the world; 4. limit setting group (15 percent) are comfortable with their criminal lifestyle, are motivated by a desire to "beat the system", and are unmotivated to use their abilities in a prosocial manner.

The supervision of clients in each group was: selective intervention minimal supervision; casework/control - a great deal of time, direction, and support; environmental structure, support and guidance; and limit setting - strict rules and regulations.

Clarkson, S. James. "Probation Improvement Program."
Southfield, Michigan: 46th District Court,
[1974]. (Mimeographed.)

The primary objective of the project was to make available improved probation services with the express desire that these services would lead to a reduced recidivism rate in the community. This objective was based upon the concept that better supervision and counseling of probationers, and a more effective use of community resources would deter greater numbers of offenders from future crime.

The improved services were to be accomplished through the achievement of three goals: to reduce probation officer caseloads by adding three additional professional personnel to the probation staff; to increase the number of volunteer probation officers working with the court to 100, which would also reduce probation officer caseloads, leaving them greater time to work with more intense cases; and to make better use of community resources and consultants in the department's rehabilitation efforts.

The results indicate that reducing officer caseloads improved the probability of successful probation completions. The recidivism results reflected an improvement of 7.8 percent for ad-

journeled cases and 8 percent for regular probation assignments. The author feels the improvement reflects in large measure the increased time that can be spent with probationers as a result of decreasing individual caseloads.

The thrust of the project was to develop a balance of professional and volunteer staff for the improvement of probation services. In 1973, 996 clients were served by the department. In this group, 508 (86.4 percent) satisfactorily completed their program, 80 failed, and 408 were still on probation at the end of 1973.

The high percentages of successful probation completions were taken to indicate that volunteers were very successful in helping their assigned probationer lead a more constructive life.

Overall, the project has been acclaimed as very successful by the court and the community.

Eckman, Paul "Special Probation Caseloads for Impact Offenders." Newark, New Jersey: Essex County Probation Department, [1977]. (Mimeographed.)

The Special Probation Caseloads (SPC) project was designed to cut down recidivism rates (recidivism = rearrest after the imposition of probation) among probationers who had committed target crimes (murder, rape, robbery, atrocious assault, breaking and entry). The SPC project aimed to increase the supervision given to target offenders by reducing caseload size, facilitate rehabilitation, and prevent recidivism. The following objectives were listed: to reduce both juvenile delinquency and adult criminal recidivism among Newark target probationers; to provide more comprehensive probation supervision through assignment of target crime probationers from large conventional caseloads to small specialized caseloads and assignment of new probationers to small caseloads; and to reduce conventional caseloads and establish ongoing specialized caseloads.

The performance objectives listed were: to reduce recidivism among Newark Target probationers by 50 percent; to keep recidivism on the part of project participants to 19 percent of all participants; to contribute to the reduction of overall impact target crime by at least one percent in one year;

and to reduce recidivism by target probationers by providing expanded and innovative rehabilitation efforts.

In the adult male caseloads, there was an average of 110 probationers; female units averaged 105; and juvenile males averaged 75. The SPC project proposed eleven caseloads - five for adult males with 60 assigned to each caseload; five for juvenile males with 50 in each caseload; and one caseload for all female target offenders. Two officers were to be assigned to each caseload to allow more time for each case and to introduce group counseling and group therapy.

The project achieved a target - crime recidivism rate of 29 percent overall, more than the objective of 19 percent (juveniles = 40 percent; adult males = 19 percent; and adult and juvenile females = 9 percent). The project kept its caseloads down to 68 or less in all instances and 60 or less in all but three or four instances. For all the clients assigned to SPC, 39 percent or 239 out of 613 held full-time jobs. The project identified 131 drug addicts, referred 30 others to special drug programs and put 88 more into drug counseling programs. The project recruited and trained 177 volunteers and matched them with proba-

tioners in its caseload. The objectives of five caseloads of male juveniles and one specialized caseload for 60 females were not met.

The Project was supposed to reduce recidivism among all target probationers regardless of whether they were assigned to conventional caseloads or special units. Recidivism data are not available for offenders in conventional caseloads and therefore this objective could not be evaluated.

Special Probation Caseloads did not limit the proportion of all participants rearrested to 19 percent as stated in the performance objectives.

The figures show a decline of 304 target crimes a year over the whole period of the project for an average decline of 1.7 percent per year. This clearly meets the project's one percent figure.

There are no statistics available to relate recidivism rates to the objective of providing expanded and innovative rehabilitation efforts.

England, Ralph W. "What is Responsible for Satisfactory Probation and Post-Probation Outcome?" Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science 47 (March - April 1957): 667-676.

As part of an investigation of recidivism among a sample of adult probationers sentenced in Federal court in the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, a content analysis was made of the closed files of 490 persons who successfully completed probation between 1939 and 1944.

It was discovered that by 1951, 17.7 percent (87) of the 490 persons had again been convicted of felonies or misdemeanors. An attempt was made to evaluate the probation experiences with particular attention to the number and kinds of contacts which occurred between the probationers and their officers, and to the extent to which casework techniques were employed by the latter.

The mean number of contacts for the group was .38 per month, or about one every two and one-half months. This is far below the number recommended by probation theorists, who claim that meaningful rehabilitative efforts cannot be carried on in a program with fewer than one home visit every two weeks.

During the period in which the subjects of this study were being supervised, the individual officer

caseloads averaged between 100 and 150 clients - far above the ideal of 30-50. Overloading caused officers to recommend for early release those cases deemed less likely to recidivate.

The 87 probationers who eventually recidivated were not supervised more intensively than was the group as a whole. The 154 Negroes in the sample were regarded as much poorer risks than the whites, as attested by the respective proportions (20.3 percent and 39.3 percent) granted early release, although mean contacts did not differ.

The author states that in view of the findings, it is difficult to reach any conclusion other than that the 490 probationers were not subjected to intensive, individualized social casework procedures, but were simply exposed to routine surveillance of slightly varying degrees of intensity.

"Final Report: Intensive Probation and Parole Supervision Project." Denver: District Court Probation Department, [1976] . (Mimeographed.)

The main objective of the Intensive Probation and Parole Supervision Project (IPPS) was to reduce the number of recidivists on probation or parole by placing probation officers with low-volume caseloads in high-impact crime areas where they could conduct more intensive services for the high-impact offender within his own community.

Specifically, the project hoped to reduce recidivism by 25 percent over a five-year period by implementing a design which included six objectives.

1. Reduced caseloads.
2. Increased diagnostic capabilities and services provided clients.
3. Improved referral service system utilization.
4. Increased community involvement and education.
5. Improved accessibility of services and extended operating hours.
6. Increased coordination and continuity of the Probation Department and Parole Department.

By more effective use of community supervision for each offender, the project also attempted to reduce reliance on institutional control.

From July, 1973, until the final report of June, 1976, there was little revision in assumptions or methodology and little change in personnel.

Three project "store front" offices were opened in three different areas of Denver, all of which had a high number of high-impact crime offenders either on probation or parole. The data from these offices would eventually be compared to that of the central offices' regular probation system as well as to the figures collected by the Denver Anti-Crime Council.

Assignment of clients was based on the combination of high-impact crime history (assault, burglary, rape and robbery) and/or residence location of the client. The offender to supervisor rate in these three offices was 50:1, while at the central offices this rate was 150:1.

Total IPPS project staff, including nine probation officers, three supervisors, nine parole agents, a psychologist, and employment specialist and an evaluator went through an eight-week training period. Training encompassed areas from police practices to learning skills in counseling clients and their families. An additional 14 hours of training on transactional analysis was provided for the probation officers so they might gain further skills and understanding for future use with their clients.

The base rate for measuring recidivism was obtained from data collected on a random sample of offenders from 1968 through 1970 by the Denver Anti-Crime Council. This sample contained 168 probationers. The authors felt that since re-arrest rates and re-conviction rates were also determined for one and two year follow-up the DACC group was comparable to

the project population.

On all other objectives there is no available baseline for comparison. In the final report, the authors did question the equivalency of samples between those of the project and that of DACC because of the time difference and the selection process--the project population was very selectively chosen while the DACC group was randomly chosen.

The selectivity factor assigned high-impact offenders who were drawn from black, Spanish and Spanish-Anglo sections of Denver to project offices rather than to the central offices. Also, the DACC group were from other states as well as other districts within Colorado; and although some had been convicted of high-impact crimes, there were many convictions for crimes "peculiar" to those in the project areas.

The results showed that the arrest rates decreased for project probationers, although there was no statistical significance in that decrease.

The only significant difference was in the number of clients served by central probation (1 to 3.5) compared to project probationers (1 to 1) in the ratio of high-impact criminal cases.

The total number served in the central office was 4,556 compared to 1,356 in the IPPS group. Keeping the caseloads at a minimum did cause an overload in the central offices. How this affected morale of probation officers, efficiency, and the final statistics was not conjectured.

Subjectively, the personnel in the project all agreed that the part of the design most instrumental in reduction of recidivism was the training session (not an original objective), the community location, reduction in caseloads, and the availability of the psychologist. The importance of the psychologist as well as the "job-finder" cannot be measured, nor their influence extracted from the final statistics.

Due to "largeness" in design, which creates an inability to isolate variables the authors admit that further work on design and analysis is necessary.

Because of the wide variety of criteria, scope size, and diversity in samples, construct validation is made rather doubtful; consequently, it is impossible to secure data which would confirm or reject their hypothesis.

Golbin, James J. "Differential Classification for the Supervision of Adult Probationers: An Operational Design." Yaphank, New York: Suffolk County Department of Probation, [1976]. (Mimeographed.)

This paper describes the development of a classification model for assigning clients to "intensive" or "active" probation supervision. "Intensive Supervision cases" were defined as those probationers posing a serious threat to themselves and/or the community, requiring a delivery of multiple services, and having a high probability of recidivism. "Active Supervision cases" are persons who generally adjusted to probation, although services are still required; recidivism is a possibility, but generally these cases pose no serious threat to themselves or the community. Probationers may also be assigned to "Special Supervision" after a satisfactory period of adjustment in the Active Supervision category, upon recommendation of the Probation Officer with approval from the Supervising Probation Officer.

A stratified random sample of 720 adult probationers was selected from the entire active Suffolk County caseload population of 3,250. Data were collected on a variety of offender variables, including behavioral dysfunctions. The author found a strong need for a differential classification system and also for an

alcohol abuse treatment program.

The classification procedure initially developed from these data was subsequently tested on a validation sample of 627 cases and modified accordingly. Under the system, probationers are assigned to Intensive or Active Supervision based on the number and degree of involvement on four variables: current offense, psychological instability, prior record, and social instability. Age may also be used in assigning marginal cases. Definitions of the variables are included on the classification form. Cases are assigned to supervision according to a score computed from the four variables.

Several considerations are deemed by the author as essential to the operation of a differential classification system. Accurate information and clear operational definitions must be available to ensure reliability. Users should be trained in the use of the classification form, which must periodically be revalidated and modified to reflect changes in clients and/or community.

Golbin, James J. "Differential Treatment Classification and Profile of Primary Behavioral Dysfunctions of Adult Probationers." Yaphank, New York: Suffolk County Department of Probation, [1975]. (Mimeographed.)

Classification systems are useful for assessing risk and for realizing the efficient management of offenders. Under such a system, no offender receives more treatment or surveillance than he requires and each offender is afforded the optimal program of services possible for growth and adjustment in the community. The main goal of the study was to determine the number and concentration of probationers who require Intensive Supervision as opposed to Normal Supervision.

This report classifies adult probationers into two main categories: those requiring Intensive Supervision (IS), and those requiring Normal Supervision (NS). These categories have been developed according to two main considerations: the appraisal of service needs for social reintegration into the community, and the amount of accountability required for the protection of the community.

IS probationers pose a serious threat to themselves and/or the community and have a high probability of recidivism. Members of the NS group have generally adjusted to probation supervision and do not pose a serious threat to themselves or the community.

The criteria used for classification were based on four major variables: current offense, prior record, age, and

psychological stability.

A representative sample of 720 adults receiving probation supervision was selected from each caseload. Cases were analyzed according to the four variables in order to determine whether they needed Intensive or Normal Supervision. All variables were weighted equally and each received one unit measure. Zero or one unit signified NS and two and three unit measures signified IS. Negative marks were given for serious offenses, serious psychological instability, and numerous convictions.

Of the 720 cases, 351 or 49 percent were categorized as IS and 369 or 51 percent were NS. Fifty-nine percent of the Narcotic Caseload compared to 39 percent of the Non-Narcotic Caseload required Intensive Supervision. The results predicted that one out of every six individuals placed on probation required some form of treatment for alcohol abuse. Nine percent of the IS category and four percent of the total population were considered psychologically unstable.

About one out of six placed on adult probation needed treatment and required close accountability for serious alcohol treatment. Three out of ten cases on the Narcotic Caseload were either enrolled in a program and addicted to Methadone or had been addicted to opiates during the last five years. Another two out of ten clients were currently dependent on other hard drugs or had been during the last

five years.

The study concludes by making several recommendations for handling alcoholic and drug addicted probationers and for future research.

Hopkinson, Calvin C., and Adams, Stuart. "The Specialized Alcoholic Caseload Project: A Study of the Effectiveness of Probation with Alcoholic Offenders." Los Angeles, California: County Probation Department Research Office, [1964]. (Mimeographed.)

The purpose of the Specialized Alcoholic Caseload Project was to learn whether probation supervision, which focused specifically on alcoholic offenders, could effectively aid such offenders.

The Municipal Court referred 197 alcoholic offenders to the specialized alcoholic caseload. The characteristics of subjects referred to the specialized caseload presented a low treatment potential: extensive prior arrest histories; scores on psychological testing close to the prison inmate norm; 32 percent previously denied probation; 45 percent having had probation revoked; many having served prison sentences; and many being transient and having few family ties. The treatment consisted of intensive supervision.

The study showed that the alcoholic offender is usually in his late 40's, is a school dropout, has been married and has two children, one still under 18, is an unskilled laborer, and has been arrested about 20 times prior to referral.

For purposes of analysis, the subjects were

divided into 1961 and 1962 intakes, and further subdivided into groups A, B, and C. Group A consisted of offenders who made a satisfactory response to probation service, Group B a marginal response, and Group C an unsatisfactory response. These three groups contained 54, 23, and 94 probationers, respectively.

Effectiveness of the specialized caseload was evaluated by means of a before-after study in which numbers of arrests in specified time intervals were used as criteria. Group A (1961) showed .19 arrests per month before the probation grants and .08 arrests per month after the grants. Group A (1962) showed .14 arrests per month before, and .04 after. Group B cases in both 1961 and 1962 showed equal or larger pre-grant arrest rates in comparison with Group A cases. Post-grant experiences showed reduction in arrest rates although not as large as Group A. Rates for 1961 were reduced from .19 to .13, and for 1962 from .22 to .13. Group C cases in both 1961 and 1962 showed the highest prior arrest rates and large reductions in arrest during the post-grant period (.45 to .18 and .23 to .13).

Approximately 32 percent of the subjects made a satisfactory response to probation supervision;

13 percent made a marginal response; and 55 percent made an unsatisfactory response or could not be evaluated. Three factors were reported to be related to favorable response to probation service: low arrest rates prior to the study, attendance at Alcoholics Anonymous, and stable marriage.

The study indicates that the program did not meet the needs of all alcoholic offenders, particularly the unattached, frequently arrested, chronic offenders. These cases appear to require programs that include a residential treatment phase in a long-range treatment plan.

The general outcome of the project suggests that although findings are not outstanding, use of probation with the alcoholic offenders is both feasible and worthwhile.

Kaput, Thomas A., and Santese, Michael E. "Evaluation of General Caseload Drug Unit." Hartford, Connecticut: Department of Adult Probation, [1972]. (Mimeographed.)

In July 1972, the Connecticut Department of Adult Probation set up a new intensive supervision Drug Unit program patterned after the 1967 Presidential Commission Report recommendation of a probationer caseload of not more than thirty-five probationers per probation officer.

According to the author the problem the program addressed was that people dependent on drugs are more difficult to handle as probationers than those probationers not addicted, and that in order to control the behavior of an addict, more time must be spent supervising him. It appears the study is focusing on intensive supervision as opposed to regular supervision of drug users, and neglects the non-addict population.

Fifteen probation department personnel in the Drug Unit were assigned a thirty-five probationer caseload. After two and one-half years, the effectiveness of the Drug Unit concept was studied through a comparison of the Drug Unit approach and the General Caseload approach.

Two groups of fifty probationers were drawn from the same geographic area to minimize such factors

as: availability of drugs, availability of treatment resources, economic, social, and other influences.

Comparisons of the two groups were made in the following areas: vocational histories, income status, treatment histories, monthly contacts, violations of probation, convictions, and educational histories.

The results of the comparison of the two groups indicate that for the Drug Unit group 14% were employed or in a training situation at the time of referral; 60% were employed or in training at the end of the program. At the beginning of the program, 26% of the Drug Unit group were self-supporting (not on welfare) and at the end 66% were self-supporting. Those on welfare in the Drug Unit group went down from 58% to 28%. With regard to education, 6% of the group were in school at the time of referral as opposed to 56% in school at the conclusion of their supervision.

At the start of probation, 54% of the General Caseload group were working, and at the end 60% were working. Self-support among the Drug Unit group increased from 56% to 64%. There was also a 2% rise in the education category during supervision. An investigation of recidivism (arrest and

conviction on new felony and misdemeanor charges) indicated a recidivism rate of 20% for the Drug Unit and 32% for the General Caseload group. For the Drug Unit, 28% were returned to court for violation of probation and 14% actually had their probation revoked. In the General Caseload group, 8% violated probation and 2% had probation revoked. The data point to positive changes in the General Caseload group but the figures are much more drastic for the Drug Unit group.

It appears that the General Caseload probationer is more smoothly functioning at the time he receives probation and less in need of supervision, while the Drug Unit case is usually the opposite. Intensive supervision brings the Drug Unit case to the same levels that the General Caseload probationer reaches at the time of his discharge.

The authors conclude that intensive supervision is a useful tool in the management of probationers who function poorly because of drug or emotional weaknesses.

Kusuda, Paul H. "Relationship of Adult Probation and Parole Experiences to Successful Termination of Supervision." Madison, Wisconsin: State Department of Public Welfare, Bureau of Research, [1966] . (Mimeographed.)

An awareness of relationships between probation experiences and termination of supervision can assist a probation agent in workload management. Equal supervision cannot be given to all; therefore knowledge of what types of offenders may be successful will enable devotion of additional time to those most in need. The report examines the cumulative effect of selected factors on successful completion of supervision.

The study is based on data obtained from the Case Closing Summary, a statistical form completed at the termination of each offender's probation supervision. The study deals with the experiences of 2,330 adult probationers. Selected characteristics of those offenders were described in an earlier report, "Probation and Parole Experience Report - Division of Corrections 1965 Terminations," Bureau of Research, Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare, June 1966.

Factors selected for analysis were those having a substantial relationship to success, and those which could be influenced by the Agent's supervision, i.e. percentage of time employed was selected because of the direct relationship between employment and successful

completion of supervision, and also because an agent is in a position to assist his client obtain employment.

The findings point to two extremes in adult male probationers. One group was employed at least 75% of the time, lived with spouse, and had non-disreputable associates. This group had a 97% success rate. The other group was employed less than 75% of the time, lived with other than spouse, and had fringe or delinquent associates. This group had a 46% success rate. Between these two extremes were groups which had a mixture of favorable and unfavorable factors.

Case Closing Summaries were submitted for 323 female probationers. Because of the small number of cases, a three-way comparison of experiences and success at completion of supervision was not practicable, therefore only one factor while under supervision was reviewed. The study indicates that 99% of the female probationers with non-disreputable associates successfully completed probation as compared with 67% with fringe or delinquent associates.

Other factors that were analyzed with respect to favorable probation termination include: education, school adjustment, social relationships, residence, use

of alcohol, cooperation, income, a.s.o.

The study concludes that favorable probation factors appear to be related to success.

Lohman, Joseph D.; Wahl, Albert; Carter, Robert M.; and Lewis, Shirley P. "The Intensive Supervision Caseloads: A Preliminary Evaluation", and "The Minimum Supervision Caseload: A Preliminary Evaluation". Berkeley, California: University of California School of Criminology, [1966,1967]. (Mimeographed.)

While the San Francisco Project researched the effects of intensive, ideal, minimum, and normal supervision, this abstract is only of the two preliminary evaluations dealing with minimum and intensive supervision.

The purpose of the evaluation reports was to provide a preliminary analysis of the intensive and minimum supervision cases, and to evaluate the experience of the supervision.

Beginning in September 1964, a random assignment of new probationers was made to the four basic types of caseloads. After two years a preliminary analysis was done.

There were 118 cases available for study in the minimum supervision caseload. Major, minor, and technical violations were grouped together to yield a rate of 22.7 percent for this group (this rate was within the violation rate found in the Federal system).

The group, as a whole, received 978 months of minimum supervision, and there were 122 office visits,



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4 OF 6

162 telephone calls, and 32 other direct contacts.

The findings from the preliminary evaluation indicated that minimum supervision was producing the same results as normal supervision. From a caseload management perspective, the report did not recommend that minimum supervision caseloads become the standard for corrections.

The report dealing with intensive supervision warned that the reader must view the data cautiously, recognizing that a minimum number of offenders had been subjected to intensive supervision, and that the patterns which emerged might or might not be similar to those throughout the U.S.

As of November 30, 1966, 73 individuals had been assigned to the two intensive caseloads. The violation rate (broken contact) for the intensive supervision group was 37.5 percent.

As a group, the intensive caseloads received 699 months of intensive supervision (4.76 personal contacts per intensive supervision month).

The data indicated that the number of contacts between an offender and the probation officer was seemingly unrelated to success or failure under supervision when the assignment of offenders to caseloads

was made on a random basis.

The data from the San Francisco Project suggested that our prevailing supervision models and caseload management principles needed to be re-examined not only in terms of the supervision experience itself, but also from a cost-effectiveness perspective.

Martin, John B. "The Saginaw Project," Crime and Delinquency
6 (1960): 357-364.

Following the Jackson Prison riot of 1952, investigating committees in Michigan agreed that it was essential to depopulate Jackson Prison.

The National Probation and Parole Association made a thorough study of probation services throughout Michigan to determine to what extent the use of probation could be safely increased, thus helping reduce prison population and salvage large numbers of offenders at a minimum cost to taxpayers.

It is believed some persons cannot be helped while they remain in free society and therefore prisons must exist. The courts, who make the decision of who should go to prison, must be informed through a comprehensive presentence investigation, and the effectiveness of the prescription depends on the accuracy of the diagnosis.

It was proposed that the Saginaw Project would show, through actual practice in one circuit court in Michigan, that if a probation department is staffed with trained personnel in sufficient numbers, with manageable caseloads, working under competent supervision, probation could be used in 70 to 75 percent of the circuit court convictions, and the success ratio would be at least as good as the previous experience in this court. This would be accomplished at no greater risk to the community. A significant saving in public

funds would accrue. If the results of this project were applied statewide, the state could be saving millions of dollars in construction and maintenance costs for its penal institutions.

During the period of the project, the Circuit Court in Saginaw disposed of 403 convicted felons. Of that number, 68 percent were granted probation, an increase of 7 percent over the three previous years and nearly 18 percent over the state average. About 17 percent were committed to prison, half the number for the three previous years. The other 15 percent were granted other dispositions, consisting mainly of fines or county jail time.

Of the 349 persons discharged during the 33-month period of the project, 17 percent were committed for violation of probation. This represented a reduction in commitments for violation of probation of 47 percent compared with the three previous years. While 10 percent were discharged without improvement, 73 percent were discharged with improvement, an increase of 16 percent.

The author concluded that millions of dollars annually can unquestionably be saved by such a program as the Saginaw Project, and this takes no account of the tremendous savings in human lives and families.

Nath, Sunil B.; Clement, David E.; and Sistrunk, Frank.
"Parole and Probation Caseload Size Variation:
The Florida Intensive Supervision Project,"
Criminal Justice Review 1 (1976): 61-71.

The Intensive Supervision Project was undertaken to study the consequences of intensified supervision with reduced caseloads of high risk offenders. It was thought that probationers and parolees exposed to intensive supervision would adjust more favorably to supervision and, once released, would have a lower recidivism rate than persons in caseloads not receiving intensive supervision. It was also anticipated that clients under intensive supervision would have more contact with their supervisor.

The experimental and control groups were chosen by stratified random sampling. The experimental group consisted of supervising officers with a reduced caseload of 35 clients and three investigations per month. The control group was composed of supervisors with a regular caseload of 70 clients and six investigations per month. From the population of probationers and parolees classified as "high risk," subjects were randomly assigned to 35-person caseload groups, each of which was then randomly assigned experimental or control status. Control groups were then assigned an additional 35 clients of medium and low risk to bring them up to size. A total of 9,030 clients participated in the project.

"Adjustment" was operationally defined as a rating by the supervising officer on a scale of 0 (excellent) to 7 (returned to prison). The number of revocations was used as the measure of "Recidivism." "Officer contacts" included the number of contacts with the client, his family, and his employer. "High risk" was not operationally defined.

Analyses were performed on information gathered for the 1,497 high risk clients on whom complete data were available. Chi-square and analysis of variance were used, with the Newman-Keuls test being utilized for significant effects found from the latter.

The authors found that, based upon the subjective ratings of the supervising officers, the experimental group did not adjust as well as the control group. The mean percentage of revocations was similar for both groups. The mean number of supervisor contacts was higher for the experimental group. The Intensive Supervision Project was considered successful by the authors in so far as increased supervision was obtained, but the client-oriented objectives were not attained.

Neil, Thomas C. "Who Should Go and Who Should Stay?"
Criminology 12 (1974): 107-113.

In 1972, the Georgia Department of Offender Rehabilitation recognized the need for determining strategies for reducing the commitment rate to the state prison system. The purpose of this study was to provide a bench mark as to the percentage of offenders who might be retained in the community and provide information on the characteristics of those offenders identified as suitable for retention.

Georgia has a diagnostic and classification center which processes almost all felons committed to the state prison system. From all the cases processed (5,689) a random sample of 500 were selected for the study. The prison file was the information source used in rating each case.

Experienced probation supervisors were used as raters. The supervisors were randomly assigned to teams of two for rating purposes. Each reader independently read and rated each case given to his team. The raters on each team compared their ratings and had to reach agreement on each case. In cases of disagreement, another team rated the case. A reliability of 90 percent was obtained.

The cases selected for study were assigned to one of three categories by the raters: probation under normal services, under intensive services, and not recommended for probation.

Of the cases studied, 10 percent were placed in probation under normal services, 34 percent were placed in probation under intensive services, and 56 percent

were in the not recommended for probation category. Offenders placed in the probation group tended to be younger, stayed in school longer, had fewer previous arrests, and had higher IQ scores. Significant differences between the means were obtained on age for all three groups and on highest grade attended and IQ score between the probation and no probation groups. The offense did not have a significant bearing upon placement of the offender in a category.

An analysis was done on race for the three categories. The normal probation group was evenly divided with 25 blacks and 25 whites. The intensive group contained 92 blacks and 75 whites, and the no probation group contained 153 blacks and 125 whites. Race did not appear to have been a factor influencing the raters.

The study tends to support the hypothesis that there are a significant number of offenders committed to prison who could be retained in the community.

Deciding to reduce prison commitments by means of more efficient use of probation services could result in fundamental organizational consequences: reduction of the number of offenders going to prison can result in a need for fewer staff at the institutional level; the community, or the power structure may react negatively; and probation may experience organizational stresses, due to the change in the population served, associated with the character and delivery of services.



Neithercutt, M. G., and Gottfredson, Don M. Caseload Size Variation and Difference in Probation/Parole Performance. Davis, California: National Council on Crime and Delinquency Research Center, [1973] .

Although the report deals with both parole and probation caseload size, this abstract will concentrate only on those aspects of the report dealing with adult probation.

In 1965, the U. S. Probation Office began a five-year project, The San Francisco Project, to explore the effect of reduced caseloads on probation and parole outcome. Cases were assigned to caseloads as: intensive, ideal, regular, or minimum supervision. Assignment was randomly made during Phase I of the project and on the basis of four background factors during Phase II. No significant differences were found between each level of supervision except that the intensive group had far more technical violations. The study concluded that any number designated as an ideal caseload is meaningless without systematic classification which takes into account offender, officer, and type of treatment.

The Oklahoma Department of Corrections conducted the Special Community Supervision Project (SCSP) where 50-man caseloads of randomly selected probationers and parolees were scrutinized. The comparison

was between "mail-in" and "maximum" supervision with the utilization of a control group whose average caseload was 160-170 clients with one contact per client per month. Official results of the study indicate that reduced caseloads showed no significant increase in the success rate compared to the control group.

One study, still in progress as of the preparation of the report, is the Florida Intensive Parole and Intensive Probation Project which calls for an experimental group of 35-client caseloads. The subjects are classified as "high risk," and there are three investigations per month. There are 70-client control caseloads, in which 35 subjects are "high risks" and the others are medium or low risks. These have six investigations per month. The assignment to caseloads is random and risk level is determined on the basis of prior record, offense, institutional history and other history of deviance.

The report states that assessment of the results of caseload size variation studies is difficult. Besides examining the effect of different size caseloads, consideration in assessing projects must be given to other variables such as the matching of staff

and clients, whether differences in experimental and control caseload outcomes are germane to caseload size variation per se, and variations from officer to officer. Caseload size may be only minimally related to violation rate and perhaps only in an instance where a probation/parole officer has so many cases he has no chance to treat any of them.

Further assessments of caseload variation need more perspective. The results thus far indicate that sometimes caseload size reduction yields indications of improved performance, sometimes no outcome changes surface and sometimes the smaller caseloads do significantly worse than the larger. It seems more is at work than is observed. Variables that do not center on clients need research, because merely increasing an officer's availability is not enough.

Conclusions of the authors indicate that there are no magic numbers regarding caseload size. They suggest that a possible approach to caseload size might involve a weighting of case difficulty such as that suggested by Weiner or Nicholson - The Base Expectancy.

It seems imperative to note that a complex question of the type on which the report focuses is very unlikely to be answered in a hit-and-miss, half-hearted, inexpensive, short-term effort.

Patten, Thomas. "Report Numbers 2 and 3 on Special Probation Projects." Lansing, Michigan: Department of Corrections, [1976]. (Mimeographed.)

The Mutual Objective Program (MOP) is designed to foster the diversion of offenders from prison. The implicit assumptions advocate the maintenance of probationers in adequate community facilities thereby expanding the potential use of probation by the courts. MOP is part of the experimental component of the Probation Demonstration Project constructed to implement three goals: evaluate diversion from prison to experimental programs; provide advice on costs and benefits for potential state implementation; and develop recommendations for standard probationary services.

MOP focused on an intensive evaluation of the offender and a contract wherein positive behavioral objectives were identified and agreed upon by the offender and probation officer.

Twelve counties participating in the program, four specifically in MOP, were matched in the following areas: prison to probation ratio based on the mean for three years (1971-3); the mean number of reported Part I Crimes for 1971-3; and general population.

Crimes were categorized into three groups denoting seriousness of offense in descending order beginning with category I. The experimental units were measured within two time frames; the pretreatment condition (T) designated the months prior to program operation, and the experimental condition (T₂) covered the operational phase of the program.

The preliminary data evaluation of six variables for the experimental groups of which MOP was a component, demonstrated the following results:

Diversion Rate:	2 percent increase
Diversion and Recommended Diversion:	2 percent increase
Seriousness of Offense:	3 percent increase (categories II and II)
	6 percent decrease (category III)
Diversion and Seriousness Category:	6 percent (category III)
Workload Units:	No significance
Analysis of MOP Contracts:	26 percent of Contracts for Diverted Cases

The percentage of contracts being written for serious crimes increased in two of the four counties; however, increases in serious offenses

did not always bring about a decreased diversion rate. The analysis of the workload units revealed no significant correlation between monthly diversion and recommended diversion rates, and average monthly workload units.

Pearson, John W., and Taylor, Gary G. "Adult Probationer Needs Survey." Santa Clara, California: Criminal Justice Pilot Program, [1973]. (Mimeographed.)

The Adult Probationer Needs Survey was conducted to develop a data base to address three concerns of the Santa Clara County Adult Probation Department: (1) determine what percentage of the Department's caseload is at different levels of "risk;" (2) determine the need for treatment and services of persons on probation; and (3) determine who should deliver the needed service -- the Probation Department, other public agencies, or community programs.

The project was not designed to test specific hypotheses; rather, it was an attempt to better describe adult probationers in terms of their basic characteristics and to systematically assess their needs. A ten percent random sample was selected from each of the male caseloads (425 men); a 20 percent sample was taken from female caseloads (213 women). Demographic data and probation officer ratings were collected for each probationer. Ratings of personality/behavior characteristics (on a four-point scale), estimates of the extent to which each of 39 specific needs existed (six-point scale), and ratings of the extent to which each need was being

met (on a four-point scale) were recorded.

A number of descriptive analyses were undertaken to develop a profile of the probationers and their needs. Specialized caseloads were developed from the ratings of probationers by the supervising officers: Need Group 0 - "No High Needs;" Need Group 1 - "High Need Being Met;" and Need Group 2 - "High Need Not Being Met." Factor analysis was done on Need Group 2 on the premise that Groups 0 and 1 were not the logical targets of an "intensive supervision" caseload. Results were inconclusive in terms of clearly delineating a number of caseload types based on need ratings. However, one clustering of needs did emerge to support a reduced treatment caseload. These were men and women requiring close supervision, frequent Probation Officer contact, close relationships, and individual and family counseling. Male sample members were also in need of socialization and matching with a Probation Officer. The authors state that further data are needed to refine the Probation Treatment Caseload.

Employment emerged as the greatest single need. Survey results also suggested that probation as currently defined may be unnecessary for almost half of the current caseload. The authors concluded that

"treatment engineering" is needed, whereby someone acts as an advocate for both the offender and for the Courts, to establish the best fit or mix of resources for the individual, and to mold this into a treatment/control plan..

Reed, Hugh P. "Caseloads," National Probation and Parole Association Journal 3 (April 1957): 142-148.

Although it is recognized that heavy caseloads impair the quality of work of a probation officer, light caseloads of themselves do not guarantee a high level of performance. Caseload figures alone are not sufficient basis for measuring how much work a department is doing or how well they are working.

As of 1957, the author stated that no conclusive nationwide survey of caseloads had ever been made and therefore only a generally accepted number of 50 clients per caseload could be suggested. This figure did not take into account a particular department's necessities and problems and could only be used as a rough measure.

The author suggested that a national standard was needed which would provide for a particular department's needs and a typical situation. The author also suggested variables which ought to alter the standard caseload figure when it was applied to a specific department: the scope and type of cases handled - the standard should state specifically the types of cases to which it is being applied and the duties expected for the specific kind of case to which it refers; staff education and experience - different degrees of experience and education can tolerate different size caseloads; geographical area - the factor of travel time to clients must be considered when assigning clients to caseloads; office

space and equipment, and clerical and other supportive personnel - time spent on jobs other than casework must be taken into account.

The method of assigning weights to the several types of duties performed by a department was proposed as a step in the direction of obtaining a standard caseload which could be defended. The most promising efforts have been those which account for the time it takes to do a particular job.

The authors concluded that, "If we hope to achieve our ambition to be a helping profession, we must stop sacrificing quality for quantity and recognize that even the best officer cannot be effective with a large caseload."

Robison, James; Wilkins, Leslie T; Carter, Robert M.; and Wahl, Albert. "The San Francisco Project: A Study of Federal Probation and Parole." Berkeley, California: University of California School of Criminology, [1969]. (Mimeographed.)

The San Francisco Project, through the study of probation supervision, hoped to determine a system for classifying offenders who would most "benefit" from a specific degree of probation supervision. To "benefit" would be to effect a reduction in the violation rates.

Initial framework, divided into two phases, was for the purpose of employing the results of Phase I, the "random assignment phase", in the design of Phase II, "the select assignment phase."

Through data collected on offender characteristics, sentencing dispositions, supervision levels, and violation rates in Phase I, the authors tried to show a relationship between type of offender and violation rate. Using these results they further hoped to prove in Phase II that, the greater the likelihood of violation, the higher the level of supervision would be needed, and that intensive supervision would produce a decrease in violation rates.

It is also assumed that the first 6 to 12 months of supervision is the most "critical" in terms of violation rate, and that the violation rate among those supervised would decline with time.

This would mean, once past the "critical" period, the

chance of a successful termination increased in Phase I. The population was randomly assigned to one of three groups. Using the American Correctional Association's Manual of Correctional Standards as a guideline, a caseload of 50 workload units was considered "ideal" for a probation officer to handle. The "intensive" caseload contained one-half that amount, while a normal caseload was considered twice the ACA's recommended number. The "minimum" caseload was established to provide an alternative in lieu of providing no supervision as a baseline.

With the criteria for performance assessment being terminated supervision through discharge or through violation, the data indicated after a two-year period that there was no difference in violations in any of the three groups. In fact, they were close to what was expected from a "normal" caseload.

From these findings, the authors decided that if there was a positive effect to "intensive" supervision, it was with a "small minority" of cases which needed to be identified. The specific criteria which could identify offenders by breaking them down into further categories were those used by the probation officers in their pre-sentence reports. The chosen four factors, i.e., age, current offense, prior record, and socialization score from the California Psychological Inventory had not been tested in or devised from the

project data. They were selected because separately they were found "associated" with performance in the Federal Probation System or in other correctional systems.

These factors were combined in an ad hoc system devised to provide a profile for each offender. The value of each factor was given a weight ranging from one to three to determine if the offender should be placed in the minimal, normal, ideal or the intensive supervision group.

Characteristics of the types of supervision within each group were not mentioned since they were individualized. It was concluded that because of the time span of Phase II, less than seven months, and the frequent turn over rate of offenders, the results of the San Francisco Project can only "suggest" that in some cases intensive supervision reduces the violation rate. The major finding of the study was during Phase I, where it was demonstrated that it is feasible for a single probation officer to handle a caseload of nearly 300 selected offenders. Also, since minimal supervision of randomly assigned offenders was found to be as effective as intensive supervision, it raises the question of the necessity of any supervision for the majority of the caseload.

Sasfy, Joseph H. "High Impact Anti-Crime Program - An Examination of Intensive Supervision As A Treatment Strategy for Probationers." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, [1975] . (Mimeographed.)

This document presents the methodology and results of four High Impact studies in Denver, Colorado; Newark, New Jersey; Portland, Oregon; St. Louis, Missouri; and of an aftercare program in Los Angeles, California.

Each of the intensive supervision projects were utilized as a sample case in the overall research endeavor. For each sample case, data were analyzed to answer four questions: 1) Have there been any significant reductions in the frequency and severity of recidivism on a baseline versus service period comparison basis? 2) What are the relationships between certain client-descriptive variables and the frequency and severity of recidivism? 3) What are the relationships between client-criminal offense variables and the frequency and severity of recidivism? 4) What set of client-descriptive and criminal offense variables serves as the best set of predictors of recidivism?

Three sources of information were employed in the collection of data: personal interviews with offenders, project case files on clients, and, in some cases, juvenile court histories.

Recidivism measures based on arrest data for the client samples were used as the dependent variable. Three criteria

were used to weight seriousness of offense: consequence to the offender, consequence to the victim, and, nature of the criminal behavior.

Twenty variables were employed in the research analysis. These include: eight client-descriptive variables, e.g. age, ethnic origin, etc.; six criminal offense variables, e.g. number of offenses, frequency, etc.; and six service period variables, e.g. time in service, reduction in frequency, etc.

The statistical analyses performed on the data for the variables used frequency comparisons, average severity comparisons, client-descriptive variables as predictors, criminal offense variables as predictors, and multiple regression analyses.

Results showed an overall reduction of frequency of offenses of about 50 percent.

The overall reduction in average severity of offenses for each offense was only 5.4 percent for all projects.

The overall reduction in average severity of offenses for each client was 45.6 percent. The Case Management Project in Portland was the most effective in terms of reduction of recidivism for its clients.

The results indicate that there were significant relationships between age and pre-service frequency. The older the client, the lower the pre-service frequency. The results

also revealed a tendency for older clients to have committed more serious offenses prior to project entry.

The ethnicity of clients did not prove to be especially predictive of the various indices of criminal behavior. There were significant negative correlations between educational lag and baseline and service frequency.

Clients' attitudes indicated that clients who committed more offenses before project entry or in service tended to express more negative attitudes toward their project, their specific probation officer, and probation officers in general.

Baseline frequency proved to be the best single predictor of recidivism in the research. The study found criminal offense variables far more useful as predictors of recidivism than client-descriptive variables such as age and ethnicity.

The major finding of the research was that all projects achieved significant reductions in recidivism in terms of a baseline to service period comparison. The data indicated that intensive supervision clients recidivated less at every level of prior offenses. Intensive supervision seemed to be beneficial for clients with different criminal and demographic characteristics, although some benefited more than others.

Because of the constraints in the methodology, i.e. lack of control groups, lack of a longer-term perspective, and lack of rigorous quantification of treatment variables, this research cannot provide the kind of results sorely needed in the correctional caseload research area.

Sheppard, David I. "Denver High Impact Anti-Crime Program: Intensive Probation and Parole." Denver, Colorado: Colorado State Judicial Department, [1975]. (Mimeographed.)

The project was designed specifically to reduce the recidivism rate among offenders on either probation or parole with an emphasis on those convicted or arrested for High Impact crimes (assault, burglary, rape or robbery). The objectives were designed to give both parole and probation officers reduced caseloads (50/1) and locate them in the community where their clients live so they might give intensive service to their clients.

The stated goals of the project are: to reduce caseloads, to increase diagnostic capability and goal oriented supervision, to improve the referral system, to increase community awareness, to improve accessibility of services, and to improve coordination of services between probation and parole.

The project consisted of three community offices located in the sections of Denver having the greatest number of residents on probation. Two samples were drawn, one consisting of those who have a one-year history (N = 403) and one consisting of those with a two-year history in the project (N = 67). Only

263 of these cases could be followed up for two years. Recidivism data on a random sample of offenders convicted in 1968 through 1970 were collected (recidivism = revocation of probation or parole or absconding). Rearrest rates and reconviction rates were determined for one and two year follow-up periods. A comparison was made between the Project group (intensive supervision) and the Central Office group (regular caseload).

The findings show that there is little difference between revocation rates for High Impact and other probation clients in the Project group (5.12 percent to 4.97 percent). In the Central Office group, High Impact cases had a 9.33 percent revocation rate versus 5.18 percent for other cases.

Looking at the one-year rearrest rates, the Project group had a rate of 21.6 percent versus a rate of 32.8 percent for the Central Office group. The one-year reconviction rate for the Project group was 12.2 percent vs. 24.2 percent.

The two-year figures show a rearrest rate of 38.3 percent for the Project group vs. 51.6 percent and a reconviction rate of 38.3 percent for the Project group vs. 41.9 percent.

The author concludes that summary of all the data

and analysis reported would appear to be most clearly stated by pointing to the reduced recidivism rates. From both the quantitative and qualitative data presented, he says, it appears as if the objectives of the project have been achieved or are in the process of being achieved. However, he also concludes that "there remains no way to show how the degree of obtainment of which objectives, a combination of objectives, has led to the indicated reduction in recidivism, as they are all rather highly interdependent on one another."

Social Research Associates. "Hi Intensity Unit." Philadelphia: Adult Probation Department, [1976]. (Mimeographed.)

The Hi Intensity project, more frequently known as the Intensive Services Unit (ISU), provides supervision for two classes of probationers and parolees: sex offenders and persons placed on psychiatric probation.

The Hi Intensity Unit supervises approximately 5 percent of the Probation Department's entire caseload. Demographically, probationers assigned to this unit are similar to those in the non-specialized unit. They tend to be young, black males. The Hi Intensity group is, however, slightly older and contains a higher proportion of whites (31 percent vs. 24 percent) than is true of other units.

Each new probationer is screened by an Assessment Team and placed into levels of supervision according to need, i.e., Intensive = weekly contacts; Moderate = two contacts per month; and Minimum = monthly visits. The mean number of contacts was 1.48 for one sample month.

With the exception of the administrative caseload (a large minimum supervision caseload) which averages about 85 people, most officers have approximately 50 people on their caseloads, although the average effective caseload is closer to 30 or 35 people.

A list was compiled of all sex and psychiatric cases assigned ISU cases; 94 cases inadvertently assigned to the ISU;

and 252 cases assigned to regular units. From these three populations, systematic samples were drawn: 25 percent of the proper ISU cases (N = 107); 50 percent of the other ISU cases (N = 47); and 33 percent of the regular unit cases (N = 84).

Base expectancy scores were used to group cases into low, medium, and high risk groups (likelihood of arrest). Re-arrest rates were examined for both a three-month period and a twelve-month period. Because both ISU samples were determined to be similar, they were combined for analysis.

The three-month results for re-arrest show a 7 percent rate for ISU probationers and 12 percent for regular unit counterparts, which was not a significant difference. In the low and medium risk groups there is no significant difference, but in the high risk group the difference (11 percent vs. 24 percent) is significant.

The twelve-month re-arrest rates show a total 12 percentage point difference between the ISU group and the regular group. The low and medium risk groups again show no significant difference. Among the high risk cases, more than half the regular unit have been arrested, while only about a quarter of the ISU cases have been arrested.

In light of the preceding evaluations, the authors draw a few tentative conclusions. The specialized unit tends to be more cohesive, and better motivated. They also appear to be doing a better job with respect to client re-arrest than

generalist units.

It is possible, the authors conclude, that these differences in recidivism hold only for certain types of clients. Among psychiatric cases, it is the high risk group but among drug and alcohol cases, it is still unclear.

Thompson, Conrad. "The Specialized Misdemeanant Probation Program in Whatcom County: An Evaluation." Bellingham, Washington: Whatcom County District Court, [1976]. (Mimeographed.)

The project was designed to work with high-risk repeat minority offenders. It was hypothesized that by offering a wide range of probation services to clients with a background of numerous prior misdemeanor convictions and keeping this special caseload to a minimum, the recidivistic nature of these offenders could be affected.

The goals of the project were to: stop recidivists from reoffending; provide a full-time counselor to work with 35 clients allowing accelerated supervision and follow up; place the individual in work and training programs; develop community treatment programs, and refer clients to in-resident treatment programs when applicable; and reduce the per day population of the target group in the county and city jails by 1/3 based on a man day index.

The project was designed to offer its services to a target population comprised of 1) minority offenders, and 2) persons convicted of driving while under the influence of intoxicants. In addition, prior records of the target population were to be characterized by a history of alcohol related mis-

demeanant convictions.

The information used in the evaluation was contained within the records of the Whatcom County District Court. No comparison group was developed prior to project implementation, but the problem was purportedly overcome by the use of a target population as a comparison group. The technique used in the evaluation was the Seriousness of Offense Index--an off-shoot of the Wolfgang-Sellin seriousness index.

The project offered its services to 97 clients--90 males and 7 females, and 69 known Indians, and 26 whites. The population averaged 35.39 years of age and had completed 10.31 years of formal education. Ninety-seven clients had accounted for 16 prior felony convictions for an average of .165 each. In all, the 97 clients had accounted for 970 prior misdemeanant convictions, an average of ten each. Only four clients had no prior convictions, while one had 53.

In this study, the term "treatment" was used to denote the characteristics of the processing of individual clients through the system from arrest to the point of the probation agreement, as well as the contents of the probation agreement.

The type of treatment offered clients included

out-patient referral, Alcoholics Anonymous, in-resident treatment, and frequent contacts with the probation office.

Probation of 12 months was assigned for 81.4 percent of the sample; 13.4 percent received probation sentences of six months; and five clients received probation of over 12 months. There was no significant correlation between particular crime for which convicted and assigned length of time on probation.

Of the 97 clients being provided services, 41 (42.3 percent) were reconvicted of misdemeanor crimes. Based upon the Seriousness of Offense Index, the population had an average seriousness of offense rating of 5.06 for all prior convictions, and an average of 1.96 for all subsequent offenses.

The most often assigned frequency of contact with the probation counselor was twice per month. Of the 41 assigned to this group, 17 or 41.5 percent were convicted of new crimes.

Of the 23 clients who attended Alcoholics Anonymous (three meetings per week), 30.4 percent or seven were recidivists. Of the entire population going to AA (57), 46.4 percent were reconvicted.

Of the 41 clients referred to in-resident alcohol

treatment centers, the overall recidivism rate was 51 percent. The overall recidivism rate for out-patient alcohol treatment was 45 percent.

The project reduced recidivism for clients to a rate of approximately 42 percent, reduced significantly the seriousness of subsequent arrests for recidivists, collected a sizable amount of revenue in fines, and drastically reduced expenditures for jail time for clients.

Vetter, Harold J., and Adams, Reed. "Effectiveness of Probation Caseload Sizes: A Review of the Empirical Literature;" Criminology 8 (February 1971): 333-343.

Although many studies are reviewed in this article, this abstract will deal only with the literature relating to adult probation.

The most ambitious project concerned with the issue of caseload size is the San Francisco Project. Four specific hypotheses which were to be tested involved number and type of arrest, convictions, violations brought about by the commission of new offenses, technical violations, psychological test scores, number and quality of residence or job changes, and number of months employed, as functions of the type, amount, and intensity of supervision.

Four levels of supervision were identified: ideal (50 workload units); normal (100 workload units); intensive (25 workload units); and minimum (only a monthly report required). Subjects were randomly assigned to each of the supervision levels over a 33 month period at the time of referral.

After two years, it was concluded on the basis of the violation rates and the monthly earnings that: "The available data indicated that the number of

contacts is seemingly unrelated to success or failure when the assignment of offenders to caseloads is made on a random basis."

The report also states that, "The concept of a fifty unit caseload is likely to be meaningless without systematic classification based upon empirically demonstrated criteria and an organization of caseloads according to variations in treatment, offender, and officer."

On the basis of these findings, phase two of the project was initiated in which typologies of offenders were selected for differing size and intensity of caseloads. The variables were age, prior record, current offense, and psychological stability. The original design was not followed and the assessment was made on only three of the four variables (excluding psychological stability). Because of extensive attenuation (31 cases within one caseload size - minimum) a violation rate of 19% after 15 months is subject to considerable qualification, at the least.

The author states the original experimental design was quite adequate even though the project

contributed little to the research question it was designed to answer. The project suffered from a lack of methodological sophistication, acute data collection problems, major alterations in the research design, and a phenomenal attrition rate from $N = 2,000$ to $N = 31$.

The author comments, "That the professional criminologist remains concerned with caseload variables is evident from two highly significant commission reports." The President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia recommended an overall probation and parole officer workload of 1:50 and the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in 1967 concluded that a ratio of 35 offenders to one officer should be considered by all correctional agencies. The latter Commission's specific caseload recommendation was: "Caseloads for different types of offenders should vary in size and type and intensity of treatment. Classification and assignment of offenders should be made according to their needs and problems."

This review of the literature concludes by stating: "We actually do not know what is operating when we provide correctional treatment in varying

degrees of intensity; we do not know whether varying caseload size leads to corresponding variations in intensity; and we do not know the differential effects of such manipulations on any number of potentially significant target variables." Caseload size continues to be an issue of concern for correctional authorities and a variable which commands the attention of criminologists.

Weiner, Ronald I. "Probation Caseload Classification Study in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia." Washington, D.C.: The American University, [n.d.] (Mimeographed.)

The study was initiated in order to obtain information about the offender population under supervision in the Probation Office of the District of Columbia. It was hoped that this information could be applied in devising a more effective case management approach based upon the needs of the offenders as well as on the resources available to the Probation Office.

The three major objectives of the study were: to classify the entire population under supervision using a multi-factor instrument designed to predict the outcome of supervision as to success or failure; to validate the predictive ability of the instrument used on this population of offenders by comparing all cases which closed successfully with those that closed unsuccessfully; and to use the data obtained in devising a "vertical" model of caseload management, that is, setting up differential caseload sizes based upon high or low success potential. The "vertical" model approach has been suggested as a new alternative method to that of the traditional pattern of supervising caseloads which has typically been based on numbers.

Phase I of the study included a classification of the entire population under supervision. Each case was rated on 12 items found to be highly predictive in differentiating

between favorable and unfavorable probation adjustment. The instrument known as Base Expectancy was used as the primary data collection instrument in this study (BE 61 A).

Phase II included an analysis and classification of all cases closed during an 18 month period. This was done to validate the predictive ability of the instrument on the population. Scores were computed for all cases closed by expiration of probation, termination of probation, and violation of probation. The raw scores of these groups were then compared in order to determine if there were statistically significant differences between them which would validate the predictive ability of the instrument for probationers.

Phase III of the study grew out of information obtained in Phase I involving caseload classification. It was learned that a small percentage of the cases were rated in the high-risk category. It was hypothesized that the probation office staff, as a consequence of their experience, screened out individuals who would normally be rated high risk offenders if rated by the predictive instrument.

In order to test this hypothesis, it was decided to compare two groups, one which had been recommended for probation and another group not recommended for probation on the scores obtained. A total of 1,210 cases were classified as follows: 515 cases or 43 percent of the caseload were rated "A," suggesting high potential for favorable probation adjustment; 532 cases or 44 percent were rated "B" or medium potential;

and 163 cases or 13 percent were rated "C" or low potential for favorable adjustment.

Of 278 cases, 132 were closed by expiration of probation, 43 were closed by early termination and 103 were closed or continued as a consequence of violation of probation. The data indicate the tendency for "A" rated individuals to be terminated early from probation. There is a greater likelihood for the "B" group to close through expiration or violation. In contrast, there is little probability for the "A" group to violate probation (7 percent) and less probability for the "C" group to have their cases closed through expiration (5 percent) and almost no probability to have them closed through early termination (2 percent). For the "A" group, 93 percent completed their probation period, while 7 percent failed; 56 percent of the "B" group were successful and 44 percent failed; 17 percent of the "C" group were successful and 83 percent failed.

It is recommended that the BE 61 A scoring instrument be used for predictive purposes and that a "vertical" model of caseload assignment be employed.

Wiersum, Robert R., and Longo, Anthony M. "The Inner-City Intensified Supervision Caseload: An Evaluative Report." Phoenix, Arizona: Maricopa County Adult Probation Department, [1973] . (Mimeographed.)

The Phoenix Inner-City Intensified Supervision Program was created in 1972 to combat the high incidence of crime in that section of the city. Basic to the program are the ideas that increased supervision will reduce recidivism of the probationers and that work, vocational training and academic pursuits are therapeutic experiences which will also decrease recidivism.

Forty-one cases were randomly selected from inner-city caseloads and assigned to the treatment group; 31 cases similarly selected from regular caseloads became the control group. Data were collected for six months on the number of contacts each individual had with the probation officer, the frequency of violations, and the degree of unemployment occurring in both groups.

The goals of the program were to reduce both the recidivism rate of the probationers and the degree of unemployment within the inner-city caseload. The specific hypotheses tested were: (1) Intensively supervised cases will have a greater number of technical violations than criminal infractions; (2) Inten-

sively supervised cases will have a lower rate of criminal infractions than the control group; and (3) Involvement in work or school activities will decrease the amount of time which could result in criminal activity.

"Recidivism rate" was operationally defined as any offense, from a predetermined list of possible infractions ranging from minor traffic violations to incarceration for a subsequent offense. "Normal caseload supervision" consisted of supervision by a probation officer whose caseload exceeded 60 persons, who were seen on the average, once a month. "Inner-city supervision" consisted of supervision by a probation officer whose caseload had a maximum of 40 persons who were seen two to four times a month.

The treatment group incurred four times as many technical violations as criminal violations and twice as many technical violations as were incurred by the control group. The control group averaged 15 days of unemployment or absence, while the treatment group averaged 32 days. The authors found that a "substantial number" of the unemployed were unemployable due to physical disabilities; if these cases were excluded, the unemployment rate would be reduced.

The authors concluded that even within the short

time span of the program, positive results in reducing recidivism were achieved. A more effective level of service was provided due to the structure of supervision. They also noted that the supervision techniques should be modified to include greater emphasis on job placement and counseling.

White, Jack B.; Smith, Cathleen L.; and Turner, Charles W.
"The Mexican-American Community Corrections Support
Program: A Description of Services Provided and
Assessment of Effects on Recidivism During Its First
Year." Salt Lake City: University of Utah, [1974].
(Mimeographed.)

The Community Corrections Support Program was based on a perceived need of minority group probationers and parolees for special services rendered by people who are familiar with the clients' cultural background and the problems encountered by them. The intent of the program was "to reduce Chicano probation and parole violations by 40 percent" by providing intensified and personalized services in smaller caseloads. The special services consisted of arranging for jobs and on-the-job training, for other training and education, and for community contact and support; mobilizing the resources of community agencies; and providing direct counseling and support.

A control group of Chicanos in regular probation caseloads and an experimental group of program participants were established by matching on the variables of sex, prior history, district of supervision, type of supervision (probation of parole), length of supervision, age, and nature of offense. There were thus 70 matched pairs of probationers and parolees in the evaluation sample.

Recidivism was defined as any arrest for which the charges were not dismissed, any orders to show cause or

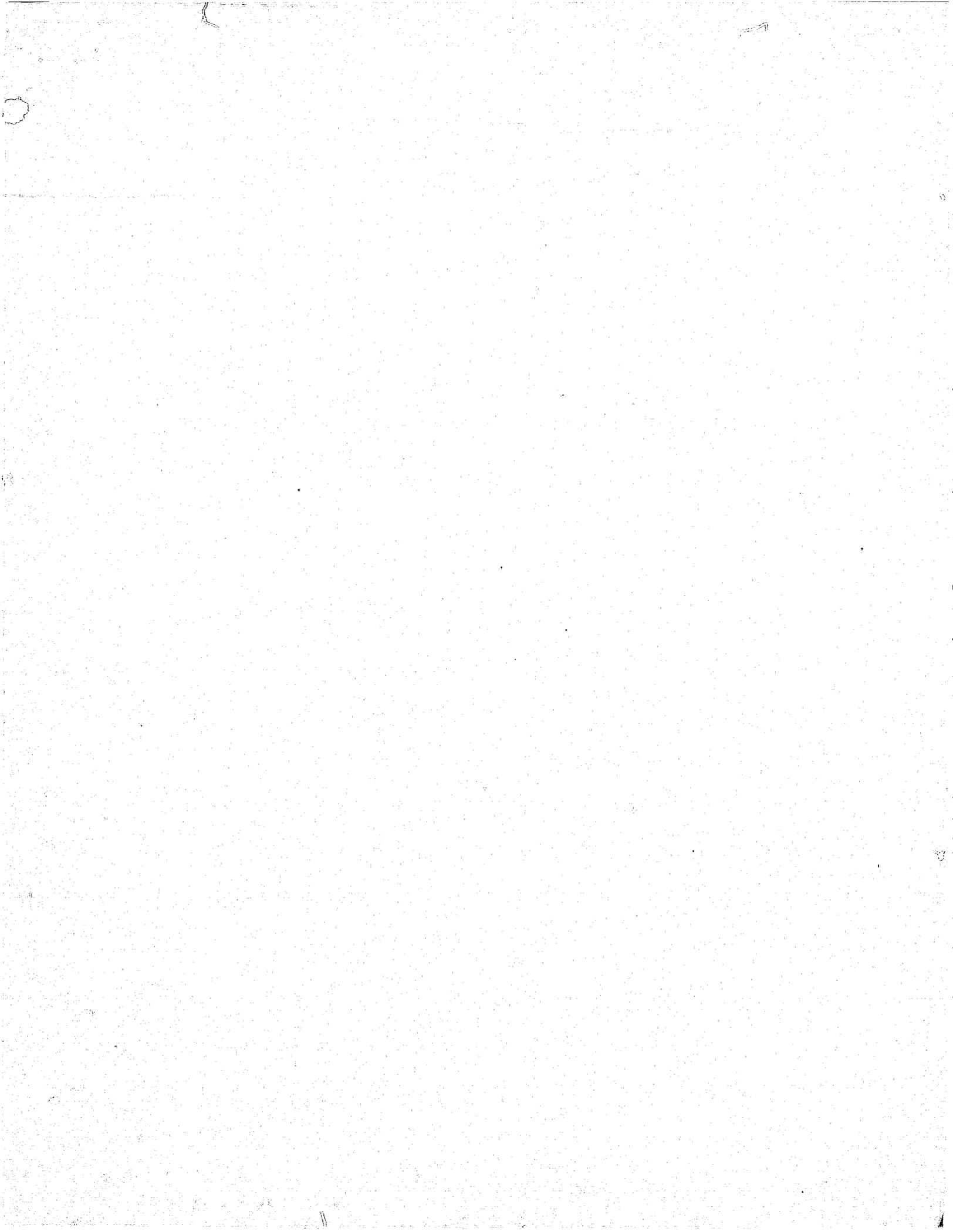
other parole or probation violations, and any issuance of a bench warrant during the course of the study.

Sixteen out of the 70 members of the experimental group recidivated, as did 21 out of the 70 control group clients. No experimental members recidivated more than once, whereas five of the control group did. Counting each offense as an instance of recidivism, the result is 19 instances in the experimental group and 28 in the control group. The authors further stated that the Community Corrections Program participants had 24 percent fewer recidivists, that there were 41 percent fewer instances of recidivism, and 32 percent fewer recidivistic offenses.

With respect to services provided to program participants, six percent of the services were devoted to arranging for jobs and on-the-job training; three percent were aimed at arranging for training and education; ten percent involved mobilizing community resources; and 81 percent entailed providing direct counseling and support. No arrangements for community contact and support were made.

The authors concluded "that the efforts to provide services under the five areas met with reasonable success." The service which was not utilized (community contact and support) was subsequently dropped since it did not appear to meet the needs of the clients. With respect to recidivism,

program participants fared better than their traditionally-supervised counterparts.



Abstracts of Studies on
Prediction



Fisher, Jerome. "The Twisted Pear and the Prediction of Behavior," Journal of Consulting Psychology 23 (1959): 400-405.

Organisms, whose behaviors are studied for the purposes of prediction, often do not conform to the assumed mathematical relationships assigned to them. The appropriateness of these statistical assumptions are questioned in the present study. The proposition is also put forward that, due to certain biological and psychological variants, behavior is predictable in only certain segments of the predictor-criterion relationship.

In analyzing the results of several cross-validation studies of brain pathology which utilize varying diagnostic techniques, the author found that when the scattergram of the predictor-criterion relationship was plotted, a nonlinear heteroscedastic configuration resulted which looked like a twisted pear. This shape indicates that the predictor becomes decreasingly predictive of the criterion as the scores obtained increase from the "poor" to "good" extremes of the predictor, i.e., the relationship becomes increasingly nonlinear and increasingly variable as it approaches the middle and upper extremes. The findings of studies of intelligence, learning, personality, and pathology are presented and discussed illustrating this predictor-criterion variation.

The author points out that when correlation statistics are used to measure the strength of the relationship between the predictor and the criterion, the coefficient gives only the average relationship and does not account for possible variances in the association at different points along the scale. The importance of examining a scattergram of a relationship is emphasized as it can reveal any curvilinear association or unequal variances. The existence of homogeneous subgroups in the sample can also be discovered in this manner indicating a need for differential predictions for these various classes.

Ford, Robin C., and Johnson, Shelley R. "Probation Prediction Models and Recidivism." Geneva, Illinois: Kane County Diagnostic Center, [1976]. (Mimeographed.)

Several conclusions of a recent General Accounting Office, (GAO) report to Congress, titled "State and County Probation: Systems in Crisis" are challenged in the present study. The GAO report analyzed 900 closed cases and several hundred cases still under supervision by four county probation departments with the conclusion that probation is not rehabilitating the offender, or protecting the community.

The report gives much credence to the application of probation prediction models in assisting probation departments to determine who should receive probation, how much supervision is needed, and who should be terminated early from probation. Three base expectancy models developed by California corrections agencies for predicting parole outcomes were applied to a sample of 900 cases in three of the four counties studied and it is concluded that the models demonstrate validity in differing geographic settings in addition to predictive power, and therefore should be utilized by local probation administrators.

The present study examines the GAO's conclusions specifically with regard to their use of prediction models and suggests that their findings and recommendations are

premature, at best. A re-analysis of the GAO's three "best" predictive models points to substantial methodological and statistical errors which biased their results. Non-parametric analyses were performed to evaluate the models' abilities to predict success and failure at significant rates.

The first GAO model was used to predict sentencing alternatives for offenders who received probation in each of three counties. They selected the lowest 10 percent of each group as potentially "high risks" for probation and examined what improvements occurred in the success rates for each county when this 10 percent was removed from the sample. Improvements ranged from two to five percent among the three counties, leading the GAO to claim that this model "demonstrated predictive ability."

A closer examination of these results by the present authors demonstrate that the GAO results are non-significant. Further computation suggests that the models real predictive value varies widely from county to county.

The GAO also presented data to support their contention that predictive models can be used successfully to determine who should receive minimal supervision in a probation caseload. While the report does not state which model was used, they compare the success ratio for the actual minimal supervision group with the highest scoring

10 percent using a prediction model.

Again, non-parametric analyses were performed on the GAO results which indicated that their results could have been due to chance. Further, 25 of the 59 probationers selected by the model had received other than minimal supervision, making the valid application of the prediction model in this instance somewhat suspect.

A final issue addressed by the GAO was the selection of who should receive early terminations from probation. They argued that predictive models could improve on mere probation officer judgement in this area. The GAO fails to specify the particular predictive model they use, but the percentage difference between the efficiency of probation officer judgements versus that of their predictive model are, again, found to be non-significant when re-analyzed.

The third GAO model (association analysis) compares the model's success rate for seven categories of offenders with 1956 data on which it is based. The GAO conclusion that the model is externally valid is not supported. In most cases differential association does not predict better than chance within each county and the model predicts radically different failure rates for some offender categories. The appropriateness of chi-square analyses and biserial correlation in assessing predictive power of the

three models is also questioned.

The authors then applied the three GAO prediction models to a group of 96 federal probationers in their jurisdiction in Illinois. None of the models prove to be significantly more efficient when compared to actual outcomes. However, it is noted that such a sample is too small to make reliable conclusions in the present context.

It is pointed out that the above criticisms should not be seen as an indictment of the use of probation prediction models, but rather that a single set of predictors is not valid in all jurisdictions and a probation department can easily construct its own predictive tool, based on locally available and relevant variables. The authors proceed to illustrate how they developed a predictive model for their own jurisdiction.

As a final methodological note, the authors point to the need for increased reliability of data citing their experience which indicated that merely using offender self-report information without verification yields unreliable results. They also point to the need for validation on a new sample if there is to be any confidence in the results of a prediction model.

Frease, Dean. "Probation Prediction for Adult Offenders in the State of Washington." Olympia, Washington: Department of Institutions, Research and Program Analysis Section, [1965]. (Mimeographed.)

In both probation and parole, prediction tables can be useful in a number of ways. Supervising officers can use them as an administrative tool in equalizing high risk offenders among caseloads, judges can be assisted in making sentencing decisions as to whether or not an individual should be placed on probation, and it is possible to evaluate the effectiveness of treatment programs through the assignment of various types of offenders to particular treatment modalities.

Research is cited showing clinical prediction to be less reliable than statistical prediction, and the author conducts a pilot test of a statistical method of predicting outcomes for probationers in the State of Washington. The study sample consisted of 594 men and women placed on probation during fiscal year 1962. Data for the sample were tabulated in December, 1963, allowing for a period of supervision ranging from 18 to 30 months.

Success was defined as a probationer still under supervision in December, 1963, or who had received a conditional discharge prior to this date. Failures were defined as offenders under inactive letter (usually cases where offender is in an out-of-state institution and therefore impossible to supervise), a bench warrant has been issued for arrest, or any revocation of probation.

Operational definitions were developed and dichotomized for five independent variables selected from 61 items available from probation admission reports: (1) residence in the State of Washington for more than a year, vs. residence for less than a year; (2) one or more prior felony offenses, vs. none; (3) regular moderate drinker with occasional intoxication to an alcoholic, vs. a regular moderate drinker with no intoxication to an abstainer; (4) good neighborhood (urban single dwelling unit area), vs. poor neighborhood (rural skid row, mission, Indian reservation, apartment house area, etc.); (5) high prognosis (categories three through five: 50-50 chance of success, probably will fail, and very likely to fail).

The point selected for dichotomizing each variable was determined empirically as it is recognized that a dichotomous item is most discriminating when 50 percent of the cases fall into each category, and when each category (high or low) shows the maximum difference in percentage of violators or failures.

The results are summarized below as proportions of violators in their respective categories:

	<u>Length of Residence in State</u>	<u>Number Prior Felonies</u>	<u>Drinking Habits</u>	<u>Neighbor- hood</u>	<u>Prognosis by Officer</u>
High	.14	.37	.33	.17	.14
Low	.46	.17	.15	.34	.25

As the results illustrate, the greatest contribution to the prediction of probation outcome is made by length of residence in Washington, followed by the others in the order shown.

Of the 61 items considered for the prediction table, 43 percent were essentially subjective judgments by the officer. Of the five variables used in this study, only "prognosis by officer" was judged subjective in nature and it turned out to be the least efficient of the five predictors selected.

The author concludes that, although his prediction table is not a finished product, "it does suggest ways in which a more refined and statistically validated table may be used for predictive purposes."

Gillin, J. L. "Predicting Outcome of Adult Probationers in Wisconsin," American Sociological Review 15 (August 1950): 550-553.

During the 1920's and 1930's, Wisconsin initiated research reports studying the proportion of successful probationers by area of the state or simply by type of crime which, according to the author, were apparently aimed at justifying probation to the legislators. The author, affiliated with the University of Wisconsin, felt the need for more sophisticated statistical studies to examine the association of failure or success with the background of probationers.

In 1935 he began a retrospective study of 2,819 probationers whose cases were closed during the three year period 1933-1935. Noting that attempts to predict parole outcomes antedated similar work in probation, he applied the methods used in the parole studies for his present effort.

The construction sample consisted of probation cases closed in 1933 and 1934 for which a total of nine factors were found to be significantly associated with probation success or failure. They were marital status, property possessed by the probationer, previous criminal record, crime for which convicted, size and type of community in which convicted, length of maximum sentence, and employment vs. employment at termination of probation, age at conviction,

and usual occupation.

Seven of the nine predictors held up upon validation using the 1935 group. Age at conviction remained significant only for certain age groups, and usual occupation was also not validated.

An innovative feature of this study was a further study of 56 pairs of probationers who did not differ in factors found significantly different between successes and failures, but one of each pair was a success and the other a failure. Additional information was reviewed in an effort to discover other factors which might discriminate among these cases. Five variables were found which proved to be significantly different in these 56 pairs: overt disharmony in the house, degree of participation in local organizations stability of employment, length of time detained in jail, and whether the crime was planned or unplanned.

Another unique feature of the study was that the total sample was subsequently divided into occupational and residential strata, rural-farm, rural-nonfarm, and urban-nonfarm. He found seven of twelve variables considered to be stable among the three strata. The purpose of this comparison was to assist the probation authorities in identifying and managing "danger spots" in rural probation work.

A comparison was also made of the probation prediction results with a study being done by another researcher on

parolees of the same time period. During 1933-34 five of ten factors differentiated equally well when applied to probationers and parolees. However, only one of these five predictors (prior criminal history) was stable throughout the three periods tested in the parolee study.

The author concludes that both his studies, like that of parole, indicated either that (1) the data given in the records do not reveal the real factors affecting conduct, or (2) of the data in the records some factors were more important at one period of time than at another period in their affect on conduct. He notes that probably both are true, and that more subtle emotional and motivational information may be useful in discovering common factors in predicting success on probation and parole. He also recognizes that perhaps no elements will be found common to all, but that they may fall into homogeneous groups making it possible to predict behavior for each group.

Although the study is presented in highly condensed form and no data or prediction tables are presented for possible secondary analysis, the author summarizes his results, as follows: "If one were to reach a conclusion from this study it would be that on the basis of the data to be found now in the records it is impossible to predict future behavior of the convict in Wisconsin, except for one or two categories, and except for a very short period of time."

Glaser, Daniel, and Hangren, Richard F. "Predicting the Adjustment of Federal Probationers," National Probation and Parole Association Journal 4 (July 1958): 259-276.

Predictions of human behavior are important in both the decision to grant probation and in determining supervision policies. Research has repeatedly shown subjective predictions of human behavior, even by qualified clinicians, to be inaccurate more frequently than those based on statistical analyses. This article summarizes an exploratory study of the potential utility of statistical methods in improving the prediction of outcomes of federal probationers.

One hundred and ninety male probationers in Northern Illinois receiving a term of a year or more of probation during 1947 and 1948 were selected, choosing every second case for inclusion in the sample. Each case was classified by background data consisting largely of information shown to have predictive utility in prior studies.

"Unsuccessful" cases consisted of 22 cases who had their probation revoked ("official" failures) and 23 cases whose probation was terminated unsatisfactorily (according to the probation supervisor's log evaluations) although not revoked. The remaining 145 cases were classified as "successful."

In a comparative assessment of predictive efficiency, the authors first examine the accuracy of presentence investigation report recommendations in predicting probation

outcomes. Dividing these recommendations into favorable, unfavorable, or qualified predictions for success if granted probation, it is found that if all presentence recommendations were followed by the court, the total number of "errors" (i.e., favorable probation prognosis to those whose adjustment was unsuccessful, unfavorable prognosis for those who succeeded, and qualified recommendations for those who were successful) would be reduced to 31 "errors" of prediction for the 190 cases, 14 (31.1 percent) less than the total of actual "errors."

Realizing that presentence reports written by different officers can be expected to differ according to their individual orientations, the author indicates that one way to assess the predictive significance of these various orientations is to test each item of fact mentioned in the report as though it were a separate prediction for all cases. The three items of "predominate values" of the offender, his "social development pattern", and the "purposiveness" in how he is organizing his life in a non-criminal direction were selected from the presentence reports and analyzed according to their predictive efficiency. The authors find that these subjective items are more efficient predictors than the presentence recommendations. It is suggested that it may be possible to classify current cases according to these broad classifications and thereby make reasonably accurate predictions of the future

failure rate for the total caseload of a probation officer.

Six objective items were then selected to test their predictive utility: work record, residence stability, dependency, age at first arrest, total previous detention, and previous convictions. While none of these predictors, taken separately, was as efficient as the more subjective predictors; when combined according to an arbitrary scoring scheme, they resulted in 33.3 percent predictive efficiency, about the same as that obtained through the use of presentence report recommendations.

Methodologically, it is recognized that a more sophisticated statistical scoring system such as discriminant function analysis is more desirable than the arbitrary one used here. However, the authors also are aware that due to their small sample size, chance fluctuations would produce a considerable margin of error in any variance weights produced by such an analysis.

It is noted that the objective items can be verified more reliably than subjective information, and it is suggested that an actuarial prediction based on objective items could serve as a point of reference for judges and probation officers, and subjective impressions or other data could be used to supplement the actuarial prediction to enhance predictive efficiency.

The author warns that his exploratory study is based on too few cases to generalize to all probationers, and the fact

that the cases studied are ten years old makes their records inappropriate for the evaluation of current cases. It is also suggested that further research should be directed at how subjective items can become more objective by attempting to increase their reliability.

Gottfredson, Don M. "Assessment and Prediction Methods in Crime and Delinquency." In Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, pp. 171-187. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

A summary of the extensive work done in the prediction of human behavior is presented, focusing on identification of some of the major problems, limitations, and potential of the various methods of predicting delinquency and crime. The prediction methods discussed are those aimed specifically at assessing the expected future behavior of individuals, rather than more global predictions (e.g., estimations of population or crime trends, etc.).

The prediction problem involves two independent assessments of persons separated in time. The first assessment establishes the "predictors", and the second determines the "criterion categories" which classify the behavior to be predicted. Two requirements for any predictor or criterion are "discrimination" and "reliability." Discrimination refers to the proportion of persons in each category of a predictor, i.e., if a sample consists entirely of males, "sex" would be a useless predictor. That is, a classification which assigns all individuals to one class does not discriminate. Reliability refers to the consistency or stability of repeated observations or measurements of the same characteristic.

Validity is another requirement of both the predictors

and criterion. If confinement is the criterion of criminality, for example, those individuals wrongly convicted in the confined population or those engaged in crime but not confined, reduce the validity of the criterion. A discussion of how reliability and validity depends upon the behavior of criminal justice agencies as well as the individual is also presented, i.e., probation violators are identified to some extent by the policies and practices of probation departments.

Steps are then outlined which form the basis for any prediction study: establishment of criterion categories, selection of predictor candidates, determination of the relationships between the criterion and the predictors, verification (cross-validation) of these relationships on a new sample, and application of the prediction method.

The author identifies several assumptions commonly made in prediction studies in order to simplify operational procedures. Numerals are often assigned to qualitative attributes, criterion magnitudes are usually assumed to be linear functions of the predictor variables, and the relations among predictors and between the predictors and the criterion hold for subgroups of a heterogeneous population. While these simplifying assumptions ignore some measurement requirements of statistical theory, the results obtained through such methods have, nonetheless, been found to be

useful.

Five factors which influence the efficiency and utility of prediction methods are also discussed: (1) The selection ratio, (2) The base rate, (3) Methods of combining predictors, (4) Sampling, and (5) Number of predictors. The selection ratio is the ratio of the number who are chosen to the total number available. If the selection ratio is low, as in the case where only a few individuals are accepted for probation, fairly low validity coefficients may nonetheless make a useful prediction device. Likewise, when only a few individuals are rejected, a much higher association would be required to obtain the same degree of effectiveness.

The base rate refers to the proportion of individuals falling in the category to be predicted. Relatively rare occurrences, therefore, have low base rates. This makes it more difficult to find useful predictors because the variation in the criterion is reduced, and it is this variation which is analyzed in finding suitable predictors.

The method of combining predictors also can affect the efficiency of predictions. Several actuarial approaches are briefly described and thoroughly referenced, e.g., Burgess method, multiple linear regression, the Gluecks' contingency coefficients, discriminant function analysis, association analysis, and predictive attribute analysis. The theoretical advantages and disadvantages of each are

outlined.

Sampling can adversely affect the utility of a prediction method if the samples chosen are not representative of the populations to which generalizations are to be made. Also, for stable predictive validity a small number of predictor variables is desirable which are not only predictive but relatively independent of one another.

The author also reviews a number of existing predictive instruments citing their support and criticisms in the literature, as well as some variables which have been shown to be consistently valid predictors in criminological applications.

The comparative efficiency of clinical and actuarial predictions is examined with the conclusion, "when statistical prediction devices are pitted against clinical judgment, statistical prediction has generally fared better." However, it is suggested that a collaborative effort may improve upon the efficiency of either method alone.

Attention is also given to practical applications of prediction methods. The most useful role for predictive devices is felt to be in treatment evaluation research. Due to the difficulty in developing experimental designs in criminological settings, prediction devices can provide a measure of expected outcome to be compared with actual outcomes to determine program effectiveness. Possible

future applications of prediction methods are suggested and specific recommendations are provided for those areas where more research and testing is needed.

Gottfredson, Stephen D.; Gottfredson, Don M.; and Wilkins, Leslie T. "A Comparison of Prediction Methods." In Classification for Parole Decision Policy, pp. 307-347. By Don M. Gottfredson, et al.. Albany, New York: Criminal Justice Research Center, Inc., [1977]. (Draft.)

Problems of prediction in parole and related areas are identified and discussed, and the results of an empirical comparison of different methods of combining predictors are presented.

Acknowledging the central role of prediction in all the behavioral sciences, from predicting the academic performance of college applicants to predicting the future behavior of inmates, the authors cite five major methodological problems of behavioral prediction: (1) the relative efficiency of "clinical" versus "actuarial" methods, (2) the relative efficiency of various actuarial approaches, (3) the base-rate problem, (4) the reliability problem, and (5) the cross-validation of predictive measures.

The authors take the view that the polarizing character of the clinical "versus" actuarial approach is neither productive nor important, as improvements in prediction may be found through either approach. Literature is referenced which shows that actuarial prediction can substantially improve clinical, intuitive approaches.

Given the usefulness of actuarial methods, a discussion of the relative utility of the many types of these

methods is presented. While the most widely used predictive model has been the additive linear model, increasing use is being made of hierarchical grouping, clustering, and categorizing schemes. The statistical and practical advantages and disadvantages of each method is reviewed and referenced.

The base rate is defined as the relative frequency of occurrence of an event in a particular population. It becomes a problem when the events of interest are either very rare or very frequent, i.e., to the extent the base rate differs from 0.5. Examples are given illustrating how results can be misleading when the base rate is ignored, and how predictive validity is jeopardized when a prediction instrument is used on different populations with differing base rates.

The validation problem refers to the fact that there is no way to distinguish, within a single sample, how much of the observed characteristics and associations are unique to that group or how much is shared by other new samples. As might be expected, there is a tendency for "overfitting" characteristics and variations in the original (construction) sample which will be as strong upon validation. This makes validation (or "cross-validation") of a predictive device on a new sample imperative if there is to be any confidence

in the predictive power of a particular equation.

Reliable information is, unfortunately, difficult to obtain in behavioral science research, and a prediction device is only as good as the quality of information from which it is derived. The present study, however, provides indices of one form of reliability in measuring consistency in coding and classifying the variables under study.

Empirical comparisons of the relative efficiency of four actuarial methods (Burgess method, multiple regression, Association Analysis, and Predictive Attribute Analysis) are carried out on six separate data sets. A total of 87 variables was examined as possible predictors, and a thorough discussion of the coding, analyses, and reliability of the information is provided. Tables are also presented detailing the results for each method and data set.

Although it is generally found that the data considered has little predictive utility, regardless of the method employed, problems of shrinkage upon validation and successful prediction relative to the base rate are examined.

The relative magnitude of Mean Cost Ratings are used to estimate prediction relative to the base rate. It is found that the additive linear models (Burgess, multiple

regression) "may perform slightly better than will the hierarchical models." In three of the five samples using configural models, Predictive Attribute Analysis predicts better than Association Analysis, while in no sample did prediction relative to base rate appear "substantially" better with Association Analysis.

Upon validation, regression and Predictive Attribute Analysis suffered much shrinkage suggesting that their predictive power may be largely spurious due to overfitting. The Burgess method and Association Analysis results remained relatively robust when cross-validated, although the overall predictive performance using Association Analysis was much poorer than that of Burgess.

The authors conclude that the preceding analyses seem to suggest that the simple method of combining predictors developed by Burgess may be equal to or superior to the more complex methods, although the results of the analyses are "neither clearcut nor conclusive."

The authors summarize their findings as follows:

"Thus, while we have no 'conclusions' as to the relative efficiency of the four methodologies used, and cannot offer a 'desirability hierarchy' of predictive methodologies, these studies have demonstrated (a) the application of these techniques to a very serious and difficult problem,

and (b) the need for behavioral scientists to give serious consideration to questions of predictive efficiency relative to issues of validation and base rates."

Hemple, William E.; Webb, William H.; and Reynolds, Stephen W. "Researching Prediction Scales for Probation," Federal Probation 40 (June 1976): 33-37.

Probation prediction research conducted from 1970 to 1975 in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia has shown the validity of statistical prediction devices to vary geographically, with changing social conditions, by probation department policy, and over time.

Initially, the District of Columbia used a prediction scale (BE 61 A) derived primarily from an instrument developed by the California Department of Corrections Research Division. This scale was recommended for use in all federal probation offices by the Probation Division of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts. It was modified according to several subsequent validation studies until a serious fault was found with the scale. Probationers who had a history of usage of any form of opiate were failing at a rate of 74 percent regardless of their classification as a high, medium, or low risk. Clearly, the California-based scale was not properly discriminating among those who had used opiates in Washington, D.C.

Consequently, research was conducted in 1972 in an attempt to improve the scale by deriving additional variables from criminological theory. Using the work of Cloward and Ohlin, it was predicted that persons with legitimate

opportunity in the community should succeed at a higher rate. This turned out to be true, as probationers who had completed high school succeeded at a rate of 89 percent regardless of their classification, provided they did not use opiate drugs. Also, persons who had good opportunity using illegitimate means (i.e. gamblers) succeeded at a rate of 100 percent. A modified classification system, utilizing these two variables, was constructed by classifying everyone as low risk if they graduated high school, or were a gambler, and high risk if they had ever used opiates. The California tables were then used to classify everyone else. Tables are presented illustrating the improvement in prediction using this modified system.

However, when the research was replicated in 1975, being a gambler or a high school graduate remained a valid indicator of success, but the use of opiates was no longer a strong indicator of failure. The number of opiate users on the caseload nearly doubled between 1972 and 1975 (20 percent to 37 percent) and the number of successes increased from 28 to 55 percent.

This rapid shift in the significance of opiate usage as a predictor of probation success or failure illustrates the tenuous nature of "pragmatic validity" (i.e., "It worked in the past it should work now"). The author discusses

possible reasons for this change in predictive utility citing more lenient laws allowing more opiate users to be placed on probation, the greater availability of drug treatment programs, a large increase in the number of federal probation officers possibly resulting in more exhaustive presentence investigations (thereby generating more reliable information), and a re-organization of the District of Columbia Courts wherein the federal court no longer handles local crimes. As a result, the composition of offender types in their caseloads has changed (although the overall failure rate remained fairly stable). Similarly, the authors recognize there is reason to believe that in a period of high unemployment, a high school education may lose its predictive value for probation success as it may no longer open the door to employment opportunity.

The authors use the above evidence to assert that prediction scales should be revalidated "every year or two." Noting that social conditions, policy decisions, and organizational practices all affect correctional outcomes and are perhaps unique to particular areas, they conclude, "for this reason, it would seem wise for individual probation and parole officers to do their own evaluation research regarding classification instruments rather than place reliance upon research conducted in other agencies and other locales."

Mannheim, Hermann, and Wilkins, Leslie T. "The Requirements of Prediction." In Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal Training, pp. 137-142. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955.

There are four basic requirements of prediction tables: simplicity, efficiency, repeatability of reliability, and validity. The authors discuss the implications of each.

Simplicity means that the prediction tables should be applicable to all cases without a need for technical skill beyond simple arithmetic. If a complex system is used in obtaining this simple end product, the methods must be understandable at least in principle, so that the limitations of the underlying mathematical concepts are clear. The user of a prediction table must be confident of his ability to apply the table without relying on blind faith in the competence of its originators.

Efficiency is used here to mean that the maximum use must be made of the information available. While this may work against the goal of simplicity, a compromise must be made to use as much data as possible without having to use overly complex final tables. As the authors summarize, "an efficient prediction table is thus one which achieves its purpose with the smallest number of factors which contribute significantly (i.e., above chance variations to the specification). In this case, efficiency and operational simplicity work in the same direction."

Reliability refers to the fact that no variation in pre-

diction results should occur when the computations are carried out by different persons. The authors' research has shown that the subjective judgment of even two highly experienced persons do not agree in their assessments of chances of success for their cases. Where these differences occur, it is only appropriate to use that portion of the judgment about which there is agreement; the remainder should be regarded as individual variation -- or in statistical terms, "error."

A fourth requirement of prediction tables is that they be valid. The authors recognize, "exact prediction of the future behavior of any individual is impossible, but the system of prediction derived from experience tables has got to prove that it can carry out the task of differentiating the likely successes from the likely failures with reasonable validity." Vocational guidance and educational selection are cited as examples of where standardized tests (prediction tables) put the future of the individual at stake as much as in criminological prediction. It is pointed out that people nonetheless seem to be more accepting of the judgments of other people than of numerical figures which appear abstract and impersonal. Research conducted by the authors found statistical procedures to be at least three times as efficient as the subjective judgment of correctional managers and more accurate than a psychologist's prognosis.

The authors explain that "experience tables" and "prediction tables" are no different in content, but only in

their use. Subjective judgments are based on dynamic experience which can change with time, while a statistical model provides only a static experience table. As a result, valid predictions can only be made while the experience on which they are based remains representative of the general population. The authors conclude, "strictly, then, our prediction tables do not predict -- they tell us only what other factors help up to 'specify' success or failure in this sample. . . . We cannot therefore state exactly the validity of the present system, but only the degree of its precision in specification. We know, however, from other work that good specification provides good prediction, and the best prediction is obtained from the best specification."

Monachesi, Elio D. Prediction Factors in Probation.
Minneapolis, Minnesota: The Sociological Press,
1932.

The effectiveness of probation depends greatly on the kinds of persons selected for probation. There now exist no uniform criteria for this selection, although much potentially useful information is gathered by probation offices. This study seeks to ascertain whether the outcomes of probationers can be predicted from this available background data. The methods used in this study are based on similar studies which predict parole outcomes (i.e. Burgess, the Gluecks, and Vold).

Case records of all 1,515 probationers (896 juveniles and 619 adults) handled by the Ramsey County, Minnesota, Probation Office from 1923-1925 were used for study. This period was selected as before 1923 the information kept on probationers was very limited. Also, a consideration of cases after 1925 was impossible as many probationers would still have been under probation supervision at the time of the study which began in 1930.

Data indicate the extent to which probation is used. Probation is used more often for juveniles than for adults (approximately 75 percent of juveniles and 47 percent of adults appearing in court were granted probation).

The author took a random sample of probation case files

to determine the information available and to sort it into a coherent system. A total of 54 items of information was available for each juvenile probationer, and 45 items were collected for adults. The items were grouped into six general categories: Factors associated with (1) Origin and Age, (2) Family and family background, (3) Education and Religion, (4) Social background, (5) Pre-probation criminal (or delinquent) records and factors associated with offense, and (6) Factors associated with the granting of probation.

Two chapters present the distributions and percentage differences for each item and category and their associated violation and non-violation rates for adults and juveniles. Due to the differences between the populations and the information available, juveniles and adults are examined separately in subsequent analyses.

Considerable attention is also given to calculating the statistical significance of the percentage differences for the information described above. While no attempt is made to measure the significance between the violation rates for all items, due to the enormous amount of time and labor it would involve, the author concludes: "Undoubtedly, many of the differences in violation rates of the (items) presented in the preceding two chapters are of no statistical significance, nevertheless there are

many in which the differences obtained are better than that expected by chance."

The reliability of coding and classifying the variables being examined was also tested for those items involving a degree of subjective judgment (i.e. "church attendance", "type of neighborhood", etc.). Using the method developed by George B. Vold in his study of Prediction Methods and Parole, a number of items were re-read and re-classified on a sample of the cases under study and examined for their consistency using Pearson's coefficient of correlation, the coefficient of mean square contingency, and the analysis of scattergrams. The advantages and limitations of each of these measures of reliability is discussed. While many errors were discovered upon re-classification, "at the same time the percentage of entries in full agreement is throughout better than could be ascribed to chance."

The author briefly discusses the skepticism which exists regarding the possibility of predicting human behavior. However, citing previous parole studies which found it possible to predict outcomes on the basis of an accumulation of pre-parole factors (even though no one particular factor was itself significant), the author attempts to find if it is also possible to predict probation outcomes. A description of the Burgess point-scoring system and the

Gluecks' weighting system is provided, delineating the theoretical advantages and disadvantages of each.

Four prediction tables are constructed for the juvenile sample. The first table was based on all 50 items and was scored using the Burgess method. The second table used all items, except those pertaining to the fathers and mothers of probationers, again using the Burgess method. The similarity between the distributions in the two tables was extremely high ($r = + .924$). The third table, also excluding parental information, was developed by assigning arbitrary values to the amount by which the violation rate for each item differed from the average violation rate. This table was highly correlated with the second table ($r = + .885$). The fourth table was based on the same items as in tables two and three, but the Glueck weighting method was used. The resulting distribution was also correlated with the second table with $r = + .865$. Due to the extremely high correlations among the juvenile results (in addition to the time consumed in calculating differential weights), only the Burgess method was utilized in constructing the adult prediction table.

In comparing scoring techniques, the Burgess method proved most satisfactory as it discriminated more sharply than the other techniques especially at the lower ends of the scale. Nonetheless, all techniques indicated that

offenders at one end of the distribution were usually violators of probation, while offenders at the other end of the distribution were very rarely violators of probation.

Addressing the issue of the utility of prediction tables in actual practice, the author concludes: "At the present time no answer can be given to such a question. This study has merely attempted to demonstrate what can be done in order to place the granting of probation on a sounder basis. Whether the procedure indicated in this study will survive a pragmatic test is a question that can only be answered by applying the procedure to future probation cases."

Nicholson, Richard C. "Use of Prediction in Caseload Management," Federal Probation 32 (December 1968): 54-58.

Due to rapidly expanding workloads, probation and parole officers have found it increasingly difficult to adequately supervise their caseloads. More than ever, they have been forced to allocate their supervision time according to subjective assessments of individual probationers and parolees in an attempt to render assistance most productively.

These informal clinical judgements are viewed as a form of prediction as they endeavor to assess expected future behavior of these individuals for present management purposes. The strengths and weaknesses of both clinical and statistical prediction aimed at systematizing this assessment process are outlined based on brief review of the literature.

A description of the Base Expectancy Scoring system (BES) developed by the California Department of Corrections for predicting parole outcomes is provided with acknowledgement of its predictive utility in subsequent validation studies.

The Federal Probation office of the Eastern District of California (headed by the author) concluded that the BES system, with certain modifications, could

be used to predict the outcomes of male offenders placed on probation. This modified version of the BES form is presented, and a pilot study is conducted to test its predictive utility. A sample of 111 federal probationers and parolees is selected whose cases had been closed out by either normal or early expiration due to satisfactory adjustment, or by termination due to a new conviction, revocation, or absconding. (Mandatory releases, violations of immigration and selective service law, and all female and juvenile offenders were excluded from the study).

Of the 111 cases, 71 had been on probation and 40 had been on parole. Ratings were obtained using the modified BES method which divided the sample into three "risk" groups based on potential for successful community adjustment: "A" = High Potential for Success; "B" = Medium Potential; and "C" = Low Potential. The criterion was dichotomized into "favorable" and "unfavorable" community adjustment with "favorable" adjustment indicating no new convictions or absconding during the period under supervision.

Results showed the BES to be efficient in predicting adjustment of persons in two of the three classification categories (A and C). Fifty-five persons in the total group of 111 were classified in the "A" group, of which

53 had favorable outcomes. Fourteen persons were classed in the high risk group (C), and all had unfavorable outcomes. The "B" (medium risk) group had mixed results, with 15 having favorable outcomes of the 42 persons so classified.

The author concludes that current methods of probation supervision (practical casework, vocational guidance, counseling, etc.) should be focused on the "B" caseloads "since these are the persons that may be shifted most readily either way according to the type of treatment they receive." It is also suggested that an important study would be to determine whether or not an "A" caseload needs any supervision at all.

"Probation Prediction Models: Tools for Decision-Makers."
In State and County Probation: Systems in Crisis,
pp. 52-63. Report to the Congress by the Comptroller
General of the United States. Washington, D.C.: U. S.
General Accounting Office, 1976.

Although much research has been conducted regarding the possible use of statistically-based prediction tables to assist probation officials in recommending type of sentence, level of supervision, and length of probation, most probation departments have failed to make use of these predictive models. The authors feel that the reasons for this hesitation on the part of probation administrators to implement these models are: (1) Validity - whether a model developed in one location will be valid in another location for a different group of probationers, and (2) Predictive power - the extent to which predicted outcomes correspond to the actual outcomes of probationers.

This study tests the validity and predictive power of eight existing models by applying them to 900 closed cases of Maricopa County, Arizona; Multnomah County, Oregon; and Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania. These eight prediction models were chosen after a review of many existing models, as the data required for these models was thought to be readily available from the probation case files. Five of the models were originally developed for parolees and three for probationers.

After collecting the necessary data for the sampled

cases, a score (or category) was calculated for each probationer. Cases were classified as successes or failures according to an operational definition of recidivism developed by the authors. Significance tests were then made comparing predicted outcomes with actual outcomes. (It is noted in the appendix that the lack of information needed to compute a prediction score or determine success or failure caused a large number of the 300 cases in each county to be excluded from the tests of most models.)

If at least two-thirds of the cases sampled were included in the statistical test, the authors concluded that the model tested was valid for the entire population under review (not just those probationers whose model scores and outcomes could have been determined). If at least half of the cases sampled were included in the statistical test, it was concluded that the model was probably valid for the entire population. If less than half the cases could be included, no conclusion was made.

Results showed three of the models to be valid in all three jurisdictions citing their overall results as evidence. The authors contend that if more complete information was available, many of the other models would probably be valid in each location, i.e., of 24 possible validations (eight models at three locations), "positive" results were obtained in 46 percent and "probable" results in 29 percent.

Three examples of how the predictive power of models has been utilized in parole decision-making are mentioned, and their possible utility for probation is explored. It is claimed that prediction models can assist probation and court officials in recommending sentencing alternatives for individual offenders. Using California Base Expectancy Form 65A, scores were computed for probationers in each of the three counties. The 10 percent with the lowest scores were then considered as ineligible for probation. It was found that the success rates in all three counties would have improved if the model had been used.

The authors next examine the utility of predictive models in determining the level of supervision a probationer should receive. While the particular model used is not specified, the sample of probationers for whom complete information was available were scored to select candidates for minimum supervision. In each of the three counties, the group of probationers selected by the model for minimum supervision had a lower failure rate than the group actually selected by the probation office. It is noted that part of the lower failure rate of model selections might be attributable to the fact that some of them received more than minimum supervision. However, the combined group chosen for minimum supervision by both the probation office and the model

had lower failure rates than either did alone, implying that selection based on a prediction model in conjunction with the probation officer's evaluation would improve the overall results.

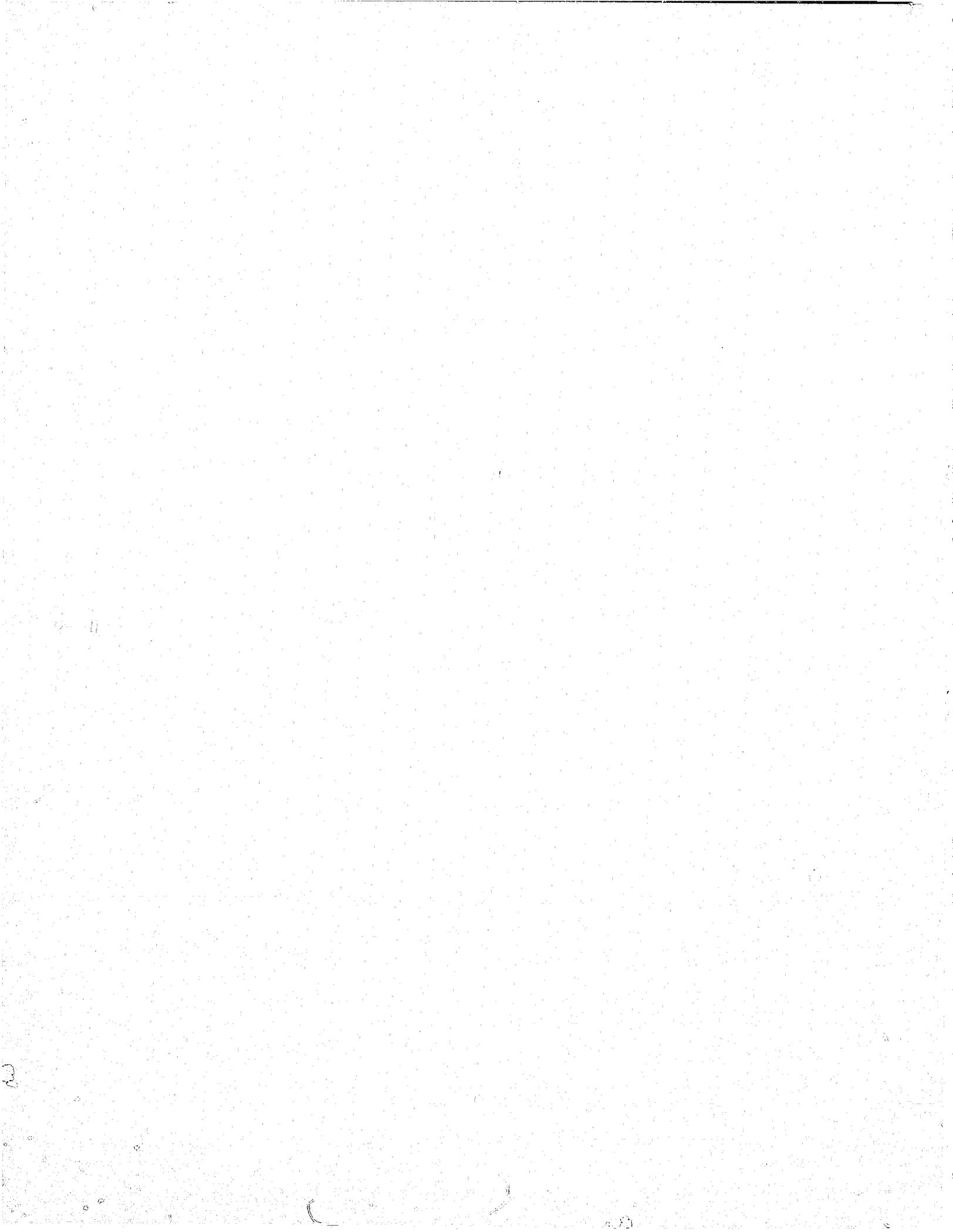
Two of the counties were used to evaluate the model's usefulness in selecting candidates for early termination from probation. Again, those selected by the model had lower failure rates than those actually selected by the probation office, and probationers selected by a combination of both methods had about the same failure rates for one county and a lower failure rate for another. The authors recognize that part of the reason for the model's superiority over probation office selections may be that some of these probationers were not released early, and the extra time on probation might have helped them become successful.

The authors conclude by pointing out that probation models do nothing more than statistically summarize and weigh the experience and characteristics of probationers and function much like experienced probation officials. While the prediction models have been shown to be superior to the intuitive judgments of these individuals, the simultaneous use of both prediction devices and clinical judgments can improve on the use of either of these approaches to the exclusion of the other. Recommendations are made for future research in this area.

Simon, Frances H. "Statistical Methods of Making Prediction Instruments," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 9 (January 1972): 47-53. (This article summarizes some of the work reported in Simon, Frances H. Prediction Methods in Criminology: Including a Prediction Study of Young Men on Probation. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1971.)

A number of prediction studies have made empirical comparisons of alternate statistical methods for combining predictor variables into a base expectancy instrument. Despite some small differences in predictive efficiency, none of the studies have shown any method to be greatly superior to another. During research intended to produce prediction instruments for young male probationers, the author makes a comparative analysis of point-scoring methods, multiple linear regression, several configural techniques, and a centroid predictive method to test their relative utility in predicting probation outcomes.

Two distinct samples of men aged 17 to 21 at the beginning of their probation were selected for study. The 1958 sample (N = 539) was an eight-percent random sample, and the 1964 sample (N = 682) was drawn from seven large cities in England and Scotland. Data collected for the 1958 sample consisted mainly of factual background data, leaving little room for subjective judgment. Conversely, the 1964 sample data were a set of diagnostic judgments made by probation officers regarding their probationers' personal and social problems. Such items as "dependence, "anti-authority atti-



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5 OF 6

tudes," "siblings with delinquent values," and similar types of subjective impressions were each rated on a five-point severity scale. Both samples included only data which applied to the probationer at the time he was granted probation. Information about the treatment itself, or other events during the term of supervision, was excluded.

The criterion to be predicted was reconviction for all but very minor offenses, within a fixed period from the beginning of probation. For the 1958 sample, this period was three years, and for the 1964 sample, one year.

The 1958 cases were divided alphabetically by alternate allocation into a construction sample of 270 and a validation sample of 269. Sixty-one variables were available from the case records for analysis. The variables were scaled for multiple regression, and dichotomized for most of the other analyses, which included: association analysis, predictive attribute analysis, configuration analysis, mean cost rating analysis, the centroid method, and point scores. The analyses utilized various overlapping subsets of the 62 variables appropriate to the particular type of analysis (i.e., the exclusion of obvious intercorrelations for association analyses), and also for their reliability. Each analysis was run on the construction sample, and the resulting instrument (equation or table) was then applied to the validation sample.

The most pervasive result was the severe shrinkage suffered by nearly all the instruments upon validation. The

author recognizes that some shrinkage was to be expected with most of the methods used, as they select the "best" predictor variables and then exploit their relationships in the construction sample, but in this case overfitting was also the result of taking into account reconviction rates in scaling and categorization of some of the variables.

For the 1964 sample, the same set of 61 variables, comprising the probation officers' severity ratings, was fed into each analysis with all dichotomies being made at the same point. For practical reasons, these cases could not be divided into split halves, and the reconviction rate of the construction sample was significantly higher than that of the validation sample. It is noted that this need not invalidate comparisons of the utility of the various analytic methods which for this sample were: multiple regression, predictive attribute analysis, a point-score analysis comprising just ten variables *a priori* for their relation to the concept of deviance, and finally one variable alone - the probation officer's judgment of the probationer's "delinquent tendencies" - was tested for its predictive power.

Upon validation, the same two variables, "has little conscience" and "has delinquent tendencies," were found to be most predictive by the first three of the above methods with the latter variable having at least as much power ($\phi = .26, p < .001$) as any of the three instruments which combined it with other variables.

The author concludes that none of the statistical methods emerged as clearly superior to any other. While pointing out the theoretical advantages and disadvantages of each method used in this study, "the general conclusion suggested by these comparisons is that for practical purposes, there is little to choose between the power of most statistical methods that have been put forward for combining variables into a prediction instrument, in spite of the theoretical pros and cons of each."

Thompson, Margaret, and Adams, Stuart. "Probationer Characteristics and Probation Performance: A Prototype of a Prediction Instrument for Adult Probationers." Los Angeles, California: County Probation Department Research Office, [1963]. (Mimeographed.)

As a first step toward the development of a prediction table or "base expectancy" instrument, this study examines two groups whose probation was terminated by "success" or "failure" in order to: (1) determine the usefulness of available information in differentiating between the groups; (2) identify any existing differences between these groups characteristic enough to be predictors of outcome; (3) locate the variables associated with the highest and lowest success rates and which best discriminate between the two groups; and (4) explore the best possible methods of combining variables to make predictions of outcome most efficient.

A ten percent sample was selected from the 3,805 probation cases of the Los Angeles County Superior Court in 1957 to conduct a pilot study. The 1957 sample was selected from cases terminated through 1962 in order to provide a several year follow-up clearly establishing success or failure. From the 3,805 cases, the first 400 were taken as a "sample". Of these, 25 proved to be without definite termination, leaving 375 cases retained for study.

Success was operationalized to include normal terminations, modification or shortening to terminate, and grants

without supervision or appeal. Failures included all revocations. The success group consisted of 237 cases (63 percent) and the failure group of 138 cases (37 percent).

The available information regarding the probationers consisted primarily of "simple life-history" and experiential variables. The authors found that most of the variables which differentiated between the two groups identified enough persons to make the variables useful as predictors. However, given the exploratory nature of the study, it is stated that the "exact importance of this concept as related to prediction and selection will be taken up in (a future) report on the total (3,805) cohort." Using percentage difference it is shown that conviction offense, probation officer recommendation, probation conditions, and length of probation had the highest degrees of differentiation between success and failure. The lowest degrees were for those of number of children under 19, sex, marital status, and investigating offices. The magnitude of the success rates was highest for length of probation, conviction offense, recommendation, and method of conviction. The lowest were for those of investigating office, marital status, sex, and number of children.

Configuration analysis was used as a method for combining predictors. This form of analysis is described as a simple method of determining the success rates of persons possessing specific combinations or "configurations" of personal and

social characteristics which will best predict behavior when considered simultaneously. (The configuration analysis presented uses only the variables of conviction offense, age, marital status and probation condition due to "lack of time.") When each of the above variables was considered separately, the highest success rate was 87 percent and the lowest 45 percent. The largest and smallest differences between the higher and lower category on the variables was 41 percent and 9 percent respectively. The use of a four item configuration, however, resulted in the highest rate becoming 100 percent and the lowest 32 percent.

The authors state "this report does not attempt to present very technical information, such as measures of reliability or validity, significance levels, etc." It is noted in conclusion, however, that such procedures are necessary and are expected to be carried out in a subsequent large-scale study. It is also recognized that a comparison of configuration analysis with other methods of combining predictors is desirable in order to evaluate their relative accuracy, efficiency, and practicality.

Wainer, Howard. "Estimating Coefficients in Linear Models: It Don't Make No Nevermind," Psychological Bulletin 83 (1976): 213-217.

Upon examination of the findings of several methodological studies of various prediction methods, the author demonstrates that equally weighted linear models predict as good or better than those developed through multiple linear regression.

The general findings of the literature review indicate that: (1) clinical predictions ("humans") are inferior to linear models in optimally combining information, (2) clinical predictions are inferior to linear models even when the regression coefficients are crudely chosen (e.g., set them equal), and (3) equally weighted linear models are often superior to least squares regression weights.

Utilizing an "equal weights theorem" developed by B.F. Green, the author demonstrates that equal weights, substituted for the variable coefficients of multiple linear regression equations, incur very little loss in predictive efficiency.

The problem of shrinkage upon validation, often suffered when using multiple regression is also addressed. Two factors are described which account for this reduction in efficiency: (1) overfitting the original data by capitalizing on chance variations, and (2) the presence of outliers (data points

deviating from multivariate normality) which unduly influence the final equation. The author points out that use of equal weights avoids both of these problems. Since equal weights are not estimated from the data, there is little possibility of capitalizing on chance. Second, the existence of outliers in the original data has no influence on the estimates and therefore cannot pull them away from the correct values. Even in the case where the regression weights being ignored are the correct population values, the author claims that equal weights do not yield a serious loss in accuracy.

It is concluded that, "the equal weights theorem merely proves what many have believed all along; that is, that the resulting prediction is apt to be very close to the optimal one, were the optimal weights known, and often better than one which does not use optimal weights."

Wilkins, Leslie T. "The Unique Individual." In The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, pp. 141-146. Edited by Marvin Wolfgang, et al. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1970.

An objection to the use of prediction is that individuals are unique and their social and psychological make up so complex as to make prediction impossible or at least undesirable. Citing examples in the physical sciences, the author points out that all measurement is approximate (e.g., π), and that the degree of accuracy necessary depends upon the purpose for which it will be used.

In selecting only those items relevant to the purpose at hand, two contingencies must be weighed: (1) the cost of testing the item if false, and (2) the cost (loss) of not testing the item if true. The cost of (1) is usually known with some precision while the cost of (2) is determined by the amount of contribution possible by adding new items relative to the available sample size. It is also noted that prediction methods seek not the explanation, but rather an explanation of a specific, operationally defined, and limited purpose.

Another objection to the use of prediction is that the use of objective methods overlooks many significant intangible personality factors often observed by clinicians,

and that successful prediction requires an assessment of this uniqueness of the individual. However, this argument overlooks the fact that clinicians use the similarities between present and prior cases and not the differences (or "uniqueness"), if their past experience is of any value at all. Statistical prediction methods perform the same task of utilizing past experience to evaluate the present, and have the added advantage of being without subjective bias. Further, statistical procedures can be based on samples known to be unbiased.

The "significant intangible personality factors" which objective prediction methods are said to overlook are also questioned by the author. Particularly, how can "intangible" features be known to exist, and how can the clinicians then take account of them? If they, in fact, can be described in words, then they may be dealt with statistically.

It is recognized, however, that research is aimed at the formulation and testing of hypotheses, and that regardless of the approach, clinical or otherwise, no method should be criticized up to the point where it leads to the formation of a testable hypothesis.

The communication of research findings is also a major part of the research process, as the explanation of results must be clear and concise whether stated in words or symbols.

Here, the symbolic logic of mathematics has the advantage of being highly developed and widely understood without the need for excessive verbal explanation.

Abstracts of Studies on
Probation Revocation and Recidivism



Bates, Fred C. "Recidivism and Rate of Granting Probation,"
National Probation and Parole Association Journal 4
(January 1958): 251-257.

Research to establish a causal relationship between recidivism and the rate of granting probation has been limited by the current state of methodology. Most of the knowledge in this area is the result of speculation by experienced practitioners. In this study, the author uses Michigan's figures on probation practices for five years and selects three counties with similar demographic backgrounds to measure recidivism in relation to the extent to which probation is utilized by the courts. He defines a recidivist as a person who is found by the court to have committed another criminal offense or violated probation rules, and as a result of either of these possibilities, who has had his probation revoked and been sentenced to prison. His assumption is that the courts do not uniformly use probation in all cases.

The examination of state figures from 1953 to 1957 indicates a steady increase in the use of probation. This can be interpreted to mean that the courts have not been disappointed in the results of probation, and that society has not been endangered by an increasing number of probationers.

Using the three county figures for 1954-1957, the author calculates the recidivism rate by using two different base

figures - total discharged and total intake. The following summary table is given:

	<u>County A</u>	<u>County B</u>	<u>County C</u>
Percent Given Probation	81.00	67.70	61.30
Recidivism Rate by Total Discharged (percent)	23.00	22.00	18.70
Recidivism Rate by Total Intake (percent)	15.76	19.36	13.60

The table shows the variation in recidivism rates depending on which base is used, but this variation cannot be explained reliably from the data collected, nor can it be concluded that one county's rate is lower or higher than that of another.

The need for more refined statistics is obvious. Bates lists the following information needs: (1) the prior criminal record, (2) the early psychological background, (3) the type of instant crime and previous crimes, if any, (4) the attitudes of the community and the sentencing judges, (5) the number of each type of offense committed in a county in one year, compared to other years, (6) the status of the offender at the time of conviction, (7) evidence of multiple offenses, (8) the quality of supervision and success rates among counties, and (9) the effect of population movement.

On July 1, 1957, a three-year project was begun in Michigan's Saginaw County Circuit Court. The author believes that this project is designed and planned in such a way that positive results and positive answers will be forthcoming. More research of this type must be carried out to validate scientifically the speculative belief that probation can be granted to a larger number of cases without endangering society. In an area as complicated as human behavior, "common sense" explanations are not enough.

Davis, George F. "A Study of Adult Probation Violation Rates By Means of the Cohort Approach," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 55 (March 1964): 70-85.

The author reports that only a few states are collecting probation statistics, in any comprehensive form, which could be used for recidivism studies. The Bureau of Criminal Statistics in the California Department of Justice has been collecting data on superior court adult probation since 1954, and has been publishing annually a compilation of individual records cards that are submitted to the Bureau by the local probation departments. These statistics, thus accumulated, were used for the Bureau's cohort study of recidivism.

To develop the initial cohort, all defendants (11,638) granted probation in 56 California counties during 1956, 1957, and 1958 were selected. Each defendant's subsequent history through December 31, 1962 (a minimum of four years and a maximum of seven years exposure time to probation) was recorded.

Since there was only a limited amount of control over the statistical data submitted by the local probation departments, some data that are essential to the criterion of success or failure were not always available. Therefore, success and failure were defined in terms of the presence or absence of further criminal conduct, or of conduct inimical to probation rules and regulations. However, instead of a definite

dichotomy of success or failure, each case was classified into four different categories according to the degree of violation: no violations, one violation, two or more violations, and probation revoked.

Data on the violation status of the 1956-1958 cohort were presented in eight tables under these four divisions. (The other two tables are discussed below.) Percentage difference were used for analysis, but in order to determine their significance the chi-square and Spearman rank-difference correlation tests were performed. With one exception (race), all of the differences were significant. Some of the major findings were as follows:

1. The highest rate of revocation was in the forgery and check offenses group and the lowest among the homicide and sex offenses.
2. There is a high success rate for women. This may mean that the female offender is generally treated more leniently by officials than the male counterpart.
3. The revocation rate decreases with an increase in the chronological age of the defendants.
4. There was a significant difference between the recidivism rate of the group recommended for probation (27 percent subsequently revoked) and the group not recommended (37 percent).
5. The revocation rate increases as more conditions are

applied.

6. More than half of the probationers were revoked within 17 months of the date of judgement.

7. Of those revoked, 48.1 percent committed new offenses, while 51.9 percent were charged with technical violations.

The author presents some of his ideas on future studies and urges that a statewide agency and a central nationwide agency be developed for the collection and analysis of probation data.

England, Ralph W. "A Study of Post-Probation Recidivism Among Five Hundred Federal Offenders," Federal Probation 19 (September 1955): 10-16.

This cross-sectional study of recidivism (measured by subsequent misdemeanor and felony convictions) was designed to answer England's two basic questions: (1) To what extent did the 500 ex-probationers remain law-abiding; and (2) What variables were associated with subsequent lawful and lawless behaviors? It specified a minimum post-probation "testing" period of five years for each offender.

A regular-interval sample of 500 federal offenders was drawn from the universe of all offenders whose probation terminated between January 1, 1939 and December 31, 1944, who were not sentenced to imprisonment as part of their sentences or who were not otherwise incarcerated (except for detention purposes) at the time of sentencing, and who were supervised entirely under the jurisdiction of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania probation office. A total of 1,238 met the above conditions, while 609 did not.

The data on these 500 ex-probationers were collected by an "exhaustive search" through the records kept by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and local police agencies. Double-checking and extensive correspondence with law enforcement agencies, including courts, were undertaken for the verification of evidence of their post-probation convictions. Most of

the data, except for a few of the factors associated with recidivism, were collected at the nominal level (e.g., 42 felonies vs. 114 misdemeanors).

The statistical method used for the analysis of descriptive data collected on the 500 ex-probationers was percentage differences (e.g., 26.9 percent felonies vs. 73.1 percent misdemeanors), while chi-square at the .05 level of significance was used for the analysis of 14 personal, social items on 490 probationers (10 died during the testing period) to determine if there was any association with recidivism.

The major findings were:

(1) A post-probation recidivism rate of 17.7 percent was experienced by 490 federal offenders, 37.6 percent of whom were already minor recidivists at the time of their instant probation.

(2) 27.6 percent of the initial post-probation convictions occurred in the first post-probation year; with an accumulation of 79.3 percent by the sixth year, followed by a sharp decline in the succeeding years.

(3) Most of the post-probation convictions (73.1 percent) resulted from minor offenses involving bootlegging, gambling, theft, and disorderly conduct.

(4) Characteristics significantly associated with recidivism were: previous criminal records, youthfulness,

personal instability and lower, urban socioeconomic back-
grounds.

Frease, Dean E. "Factors Related to Probation Outcome."
Washington: Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, [1964].
(Mimeographed.)

This study defined failure on probation as any offender who was in an out-of-state institution and under the circumstances impossible to supervise, had a warrant out for his arrest for a violation of probation, or had his probation revoked by the court. Using these definitions, the violation rate was determined to be 20 percent for 605 probationers (59 of them women) placed on probation during fiscal year 1962.

The data were collected from the probation admission and discharge reports and tabulated in December of 1963, allowing the offenders a period of supervision ranging from 18 to 30 months. Ninety-eight items from these reports were cross-tabulated with probation outcome. Because of the large number of items, however, only those which displayed a ten percent deviance from the group violation rate of 20 percent were considered in this report.

Analysis of admission data provided the following characteristics pertaining to probation success: (1) female; (2) on probation 4-5 years; (3) instant offense committed while accompanied by two or more companions; (4) no prior felony commitments or probations; (5) five years or more residence in Washington; (6) a fourth grade education or less; (7) non-drinking; and (8) predicted success by the supervising officer.

Analysis of discharge data (327 discharged; 278 still on supervision at the time of this analysis) showed the following success characteristics: (1) positive family support; (2) married; (3) relatively high earnings; (4) no official warnings given at the time of release; (5) "cooperative" attitude toward authority; (6) "mature and empathic" interpersonal relationships; and (7) identification with "reputable" persons and goals.

Of the above findings, the researchers concluded that the result concerning education was the most interesting and warranted further study. They speculated on the "anomie" theory of Durkheim that the offender with a greater amount of education would be faced with the problem of rising expectations, while those with no or very little formal education accepted their way of life and did not set unrealistic goals for themselves.

Irish, James F. "Probation and Its Effect on Recidivism: An Evaluative Research Study of Probation in Nassau County (August, 1971-July, 1972)." Mineola, New York: Nassau County Probation Department, [1972]. (Mimeographed.)

This evaluative-type study was designed to determine the effectiveness of probation services in Nassau County and to make policy recommendations based on the statistical testing of twelve hypotheses. These hypotheses were formulated from the specific objectives of the study focusing on an assessment of probation procedures and their relationship to recidivism (i.e., the effects of the pre-sentence investigation report, supervision, new programs, and administrative policy changes on probation outcome).

For the purposes of this study, recidivism was defined as a "real or alleged tendency to relapse into a previous delinquent mode of behavior determined legally and arbitrarily by a set of fixed criteria." The criteria distinguished three kinds of recidivism: pre-probation (prior arrests or convictions), on-probation (re-arrests or re-convictions for felonies, misdemeanors or lesser offenses committed while on probation), and post-probation (re-arrests or re-convictions occurring after release). Arrests without convictions were included in the operational definition of recidivism based on the common assumption among law enforcement personnel that habitually law-abiding citizens were arrested only rarely, although re-arrests did not legally presuppose guilt.

From a total population of 1,825 probationers discharged

as "improved", "unimproved", and "committed" in 1962, 1965, and 1968 by the Nassau County Probation Department, a stratified random sample of 927 probationers was selected. All the females were included in the sample because of their small number. From this sample, complete data from the closed case files were obtained for 842 probationers.

The primary instrument used to collect the data for the recidivism study was a Master Coding Form (MCF) developed by the Probation Department for this project. It was pretested with approximately 60 cases from the 1962 study sample, and a few minor adjustments were made before the final version. The MCF contained 113 items under the following categories: (1) general demographic data, (2) legal data, (3) adjustment on probation, (4) status upon discharge from probation, (5) post-probation criminal record, (6) family background, and (7) evaluation (i.e., an evaluation of the diagnostic skill of probation officers). Data were transferred to a specially designed coding sheet for each case. Another instrument was the Recidivism-Proneness Inventory questionnaire, administered to the investigating officer. Each question on the questionnaire was given a weight, and the sum indicated the degree of the probationer's recidivism-proneness.

Because most of the data obtained were nominal-type data, the proportion differences and chi-square techniques were used for most of the analyses.

Some of the findings were:

(1) A significantly greater percentage of those who received no definite recommendation became on-probation and post-probation recidivists than those recommended for probation. It was recommended that a probation recommendation be made for each probationer with the help of a psychologist or other professional staff person.

(2) Seventeen variables related to personal, familial, social, psychological and legal aspects of probationers were found significant related to their on-probation and post-probation recidivism rates. These factors should be given important consideration in the pre-sentence investigation report.

(3) A significant relationship was found between the pre-probation and post-probation adjustment of probationers. It was recommended that those with prior criminal histories be given special supervision within the differential caseload approach.

On the basis of observations of published departmental materials and interviews with members of the department, the researchers offered some recommendations on administrative matters such as (a) stressing the importance of the client/probation officer relationship instead of counseling methods, (b) creating a cooperative relationship between investigating officers and caseworkers, (c) upgrading the role-identity and self-esteem of the probation officer, and (d) re-evaluating and standardizing probation paperwork.

Irish, James F. "Probation and Recidivism." Mineola, New York: Nassau County Probation Department, [1977]. (Mimeographed.)

The Nassau Probation Report is a follow-up and expansion of an earlier study. Its purpose was to evaluate the effectiveness of probation supervision and to try to determine a relationship between good adjustment and post-probation outcome. The hypothesis was that a good probationer will continue good behavior during the post-probation period.

The measures used were the type of discharge--improved, unimproved, committed--that the offender received upon release from the probationary period. The recidivism rate was used as a measure of success or failure during the post-probation phase.

The author did not define the criteria used in measuring good probation performance. One can only assume the ratings of improved or unimproved are largely discretionary on the part of the probation officer. Also not mentioned was the type of treatment received by probationers, nor by what method and in what ways the programs were "improved in quantity and quality."

The cohort population was a stratified random sample of 20 percent of the original population--selected from the improved (188), unimproved (33), and committed (29). These 250 cases were selected from a population of 1,250 in 1973 and followed for three to four years. The author does not mention

whether the cohort group was representative of the population. in each category.

The author's data indicate that there is a significant relationship between success after probation and the previous arrest record. Most important, "post-probation outcome is very significantly related to adjustment on probation." Inexplicably, this was not true for black offenders. The author concludes that the data derived from a closed-case analysis proved the program effective and the success of the program could be attributed to "upgrading" within the probationary period.

Kavanaugh, Kirk J. "A Twelve-Month Probation Outcome Study: Examining the Effects of Employment on Probation Adjustment." Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, [1975]. (Mimeographed.)

The theoretical basis of this impact study of employment and recidivism is that although probation is a more constructive way of controlling the offender's future behavior than institutionalization, its effect on the offender and society is minimal if high rates of unemployment exist in his community. The research has three stages of data collection, culminating in the final determination of the probationer's overall adjustment.

The "relative adjustment scale" developed and tested for its validity and reliability by the Ohio State University Program for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, was used for this purpose.

It measures eight positive factors of probationer adjustment (a value of +1 assigned to each) and eight negative factors, valued according to the severity and the occurrence of criminal activity. Each probationer was assigned a relative adjustment (RA) score derived by combining positive and negative factor scores.

The first stage included the examination of case records after six months of probation supervision and interview of the supervising probation officer. The analysis of the data revealed that an average probationer was a young drug user, with very

little work skill, poor employment record, and usually unemployed at the time of instant offense.

During the second stage, a structured questionnaire was administered to 105 probationers to assess their attitudes and recommendations. Examination of the data from the questionnaire indicated that a very high percentage of the probationers lost their previously held jobs because of the instant offense. Also, approximately 65 percent of the interviewed probationers felt that the probation officer and/or probation department should take a more active role in the development of employment/vocational placements.

The testing of the research hypotheses performed at the final stage using the probationer's RA score indicated that a probationer who achieved a lower RA score was unemployed longer, was paid lower wages, was less skilled, and was convicted more often than his cohort who had a higher RA score. Another significant finding was that blacks were on average unemployed longer than whites, and that blacks property offenders had more misdemeanor arrests than whites.

Recommended are: (1) provision of financial incentives to employers using the money (i.e., court costs) saved from the probationer's successful adjustment; (2) development of a team approach for probation services; and (3) establishment of a centralized referral service within the probation department for probationers in need of employment.

Kusuda, Paul H. "Report on 1974 Probation and Parole Terminations." Madison, Wisconsin: Bureau of Planning, Development and Research, [1976]. (Mimeographed.)

Information is presented for 9,200 terminations from the Wisconsin Division of Corrections Probation and Parole case-loads for calendar year 1974. Case termination is defined as the ending of supervision by either expiration of sentence or revocation due to violation. Thirty-nine tables, separating cases by adult or juvenile status, by probation or parole program, and by gender, are arranged to relate the outcomes of these major termination groups to various social characteristics, and to characteristics of supervision.

Data relating to adult probation identify those probationers (male) with the following characteristics as non-recidivist:

- (1) a "productive" and "useful" relationship with the agent,
- (2) personal goals assessed by the agent as "highly realistic,"
- (3) on probation for 12 to 18 months,
- (4) stable marriage,
- (5) self-supporting, full-time employment, per month income of more than \$400,
- (6) non-use of drugs and alcohol,
- (7) probation terminated at age 55 or older.

~~It~~ It should be noted that this is not a follow-up study

of cohorts who were terminated at the same time. Although outcomes are related to a characteristic of the offender under supervision and to a characteristic of the supervisory process, "the data do not necessarily permit accurate prediction of individual success on the basis of a single characteristic."

Landis, Judson R.; Mercer, James D.; and Wolff, Carole E. "Success and Failure of Adult Probationers in California," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 6 (January 1969): 34-40.

This paper reports the findings of a study that related a series of background and treatment variables to the likelihood of success or failure on probation for 791 California adult offenders. Failure is measured by revocation resulting from the violation of the probation conditions established by the court or conviction for a new offense. The sample of 791 cases was drawn from all adult felons who had been granted probation by the superior courts from 1956 through 1963 in Sacramento County, California and were still on active probation supervision. The sample characteristics were predominantly white, low twenties in age, California or western state native, and noncompletion of high school education.

Thirteen variables on which the 415 probation successes and the 376 failures differed significantly were divided into three categories: social background, antisocial behavior, and conditions of probation. The greatest differences between the two groups were in the antisocial behavior category. Probationers with a past history of disciplinary problems in the military, a juvenile record, or an adult record were much more likely to fail on probation. The type of crime the failures commit (auto

theft, check offenses, forgery) suggests elements of career offenders. In terms of social background, the failures were more likely to come from the disadvantaged circumstances (lower educational and socio-economic levels). They are also more unstable, as reflected in a high incidence of marital instability and a greater tendency to move from job to job. Finally, certain conditions of probation, especially the ordering of restitution, were more prevalent in the case histories of the failures than of the success.

For future research, the authors recommend that the variables they have dealt with in their study be combined with certain personality variables for more accurate selection of persons who might succeed on probation. They also recommend that a study to identify the positive aspects of conditions of probation as opposed to the negative aspects dealt with in this study.

Moberg, David O. "A New Recidivism Outcome Index,"
Federal Probation 26 (June 1972): 50-57.

Objective measures of recidivism are needed for scientific purposes and for the practical administrative needs of criminal justice system personnel. If developed as indices, they can quantitatively reflect the wide variations among both "successful" and "unsuccessful" subjects of investigation, instead of a simple either-or dichotomy (recidivism-nonrecidivism). Furthermore, they can answer questions other than the quantity and quality of offense patterns. A simple head count of success or failure, no matter how many times this counting is repeated, cannot measure the effectiveness of a certain program or the process of program implementation in relation to outcome. It is essential that criminal justice system personnel free themselves from community pressures which tend to demand the either-or results and adopt a classification scheme that measures the degrees of success or failure resulting from their programs.

A new recidivism outcome index developed in this study to measure parole outcome was primarily based upon the disposition of the offender in terms of Minnesota laws. Official reports and institutional records were the primary sources of information. The index scores

range from zero (the most serious violations) to ten (no illegal activities). In between, there are nine categories differentiating marginal failure and success cases. These scores can be grouped into broader categories such as zero to seven for recidivism and eight to ten for nonrecidivism. Also, the scoring pattern can be reversed depending on the preference of the jurisdiction. This index can easily be adjusted for the measurement of probation outcome.

Independent application of the index by each of the authors of this paper to the 164 parolees who were experimental and control subjects of the project was undertaken to determine the validity and reliability of this index. Both authors reported virtually identical classifications for all parolees. A comparison of the results on this index with those of the California Index of Severity of Offenses (adapted on the basis of appropriate assumptions to fit Minnesota laws) supported the validity of the index. The lack of complete information on numerous details necessary for accurate compilation of the Sellin-Wolfgang Index of Delinquency prevented complete comparisons with outcomes on this index; however, the results of an attempt indicate that the type of dispositions of parole violators are correlated with the severity of the delinquent events responsible for their sentences.

The authors conclude that the Index of Recidivism Outcome developed measures effectively relative degrees of success for comparative purposes and can easily be adapted to measure the criminality of probationers or other offenders who have not been imprisoned. The application of this index to the analysis of recidivism in other jurisdictions by adjusting it to fit the laws and testing the results on alternative indicators and indices (such as the two used in this study) is the priority need for the present.

"Probation in Missouri, July 1, 1968 to June 30, 1970: Characteristics, Performance and Criminal Reinvolvement." Jefferson City, Missouri: Division of Probation and Parole, [1976] (Mimeographed.)

The Missouri report is a follow-up and expansion study of an earlier report by the Missouri Board of Probation and Parole. A population of 5,083 offenders placed on probation during the period of July 1, 1968 to June 30, 1970 are categorized by specific characteristics which are then related to probation performance and further criminal involvement.

All measures and definitions used were those that are considered to be a common frame of reference among participating agencies. The probation population of 5,083 was compared to 3,197 individuals committed to the Missouri Department of Corrections. The authors estimated "some" of those on probation also were part of the 3,197 committed but found it impossible to extract the exact number from the data. Data were collected from probation files, the official court or probation agency, and the Missouri Department of Corrections Division of Classifications.

Whether one was committed or placed on probation was determined by the judge's discretion. A plea of guilty seemed to be a determinant in the judge's decision in favor of probation. In 63.8 percent of those cases a presentence investigation was requested. Obviously, those factors which determined a sentence of probation also determined the "type" of offender, creating a select low-risk popula-

tion, thus "stacking" the sample towards favorable results.

The original probation population was classified by offense into a dozen categories ranging from willful homicide to weapons law violation. Although the study closely compares age, marital status, type of crime, type of plea, race and education between the two populations, probation and incarcerated, there is no follow-up on the group committed for further comparison.

Crimes of offenders in the probation population were broken into two groups: crimes against person (798) and crimes against property (3,277). Success in these groups was measured by "successful completion of probation." The data stressed was that on probation performance defined as "the method by which the individual exited the system," e.g., absconding, revocation, re-arrest and conviction.

The results showed greater successful completion of probation by offenders who committed crimes against the person (83.1 percent) than by those who committed crimes against property (75 percent). In a further follow-up, 13 percent of the "successes" were involved in further criminal activity.

The authors admit to their conclusions' being "speculative," since there are not enough data to draw any firm conclusions. They feel that the study does show that those committing high impact type crimes need not be incar-

cerated. Their statistics indicated that those convicted of armed robbery and forcible rape in the crimes against person category are exceptions and are "high risk" probationers.

The general conclusions show that individuals convicted of manslaughter, sex offenses, assault and other crimes against the person are good risks. From these statistics, it is further inferred that because these crimes were "probably situational" they are less likely to occur again; implying that those who committed offenses "spontaneously" in a very specific situation are "good risks" on probation while those that are "poor risks" are offenders who committed crimes that were premeditated.

Rubin, Sol. "Recidivism and Recidivism Statistics," National Probation and Parole Association Journal 4 (January 1958): 233-240.

By definition, a recidivist is a person who, having been convicted and subject to correctional treatment, again commits a crime. But, is a person a recidivist if his later crime follows the termination of treatment for the earlier crime after some prolonged period? Or, if a person is being sentenced for the first time but has previously committed crimes for which he was not apprehended, is he a first offender or a recidivist? There is no definition that all can agree on and employ for their recidivism studies.

What does the recidivism rate mean? Different rates can be derived by the use of different base figures. The claim, by some authorities, of a "recidivism rate" at 60 percent or more usually means that it is a percentage of prisoners who have previous convictions. If one took as a base the number fined, receiving suspended sentence or probation, or committed locally, there might be a recidivism rate of 20 or 25 percent. Thus, the concept that recidivism is a measure of the success or failure of methods of correcting offenders is misleading. It may reveal something about the administrative policies (e.g., sentencing), but not the effectiveness of a treatment method.

What, then, is a proper test of the success of probation? The author believes that it can be tested by cost-benefit analysis. For instance, the economy and practica-

bility of an increased use of probation can be demonstrated by the reduction of prison population and related expenses. Resources then saved can be used for truly rehabilitative programs.

To be useful, recidivism rates must offer more than what is available today (technical information). They must provide some answers, even though they may be inconclusive, to questions such as "what has caused the failure?", "is it the character of the offender or the quality of the treatment given him?" An increased use of suspended sentences and probation will mean that those remaining to be committed will be the "most serious offenders." Does it mean that those receiving longer sentences are "an increasingly serious type" or that sentencing policy has changed? Recidivism rates are important only to the extent that they shed some light on these crucial questions.

Scott, Elsie. "Legal Considerations," Criminal Justice Issues 3 (February-March 1977): 4-8.

Advocates of probation argue that it is an effective method of rehabilitating offenders since they will be under the supervision of experienced case workers who know how to help them lead law-abiding lives. Opponents counter that they have no such knowledge--no knowledge exists at this time as to the optimum size of the caseload or the type of supervision. Whether probation is rehabilitative as opposed to inherently criminogenic imprisonment, according to opponents, is a question which cannot be determined. The effectiveness of probation also cannot be determined, since probationers are selected on the basis of such success-oriented criteria as "likely to rehabilitate himself without institutionalization," "amenable to supervision," etc.

Critical issues are raised in the following areas, and the courts and the legislatures are challenged to answer them and come up with concrete policy guidelines.

Conditions: Some of the conditions are clearly in violation of constitutional rights. The problem is that they are set by sentencing judges who are under no obligation to adhere to a certain set of guidelines or subjected to judicial review; they exercise wide discretion. Should the offender be punished for a kind of non-criminal conduct an ordinary citizen often engages in? What basic rights should be accorded probationers during the period of their probation?

Pre-sentence investigation report: The report has multiple purposes, but often it carries too much weight in the sentencing process, instead of aiding the probation officer to plan a best course of treatment for the offender. It usually is a subjective assessment of an offender by an investigating officer who may have personal biases, and it stresses the negative personal-social aspects of that offender. Should the offender be given the right to examine his pre-sentence report? Arguments pro and con on this issue are legitimate, but an agreement must be reached.

The right to probation: Constitutionally, there is no right to probation. As with many other rules of probation, judges are free to exercise their discretionary power in awarding or denying it. Recently however, several cases of arbitrary action by trial judges were overruled by appellate courts. Clearly, the structuring of official discretionary power is much needed for the administration of fair justice.

Revocation: Most states and the federal government require a hearing after notice to the probationer, but this still is a new requirement and its practice is sporadic and not yet operationally standardized. Court decisions concerning revocation thus far reflect three traditional theories ("grace," "contract," and "custody"); however, a new trend toward due process is gaining strength since the court ruling in Mempa v. Rhay (1967) that a defendant has a right to counsel at a probation revocation hearing at which a deferred

sentence may be imposed. Still, the question as to whether the right to counsel should be extended to all cases is not resolved in spite of its urgency.

(It should be noted that this newsletter deals also with parole issues. For the purpose of our study, only probation issues are abstracted. As expected, parole and probation share essentially similar issues.)

"Survey Report of Colorado Probation, July 1, 1975 to June 30, 1976." Denver, Colorado: Office of the State Court Administrator, [1977]. (Mimeographed.)

This report describes the structure, processes, and work of the probation departments in Colorado. In addition, it contains a description of the major developments during July 1, 1975 to June 30, 1976 and a brief statistical description of probationers.

To establish a data base for the future assessment of both probation population trends and recidivism rates, a survey of probationer characteristics was made in ten departments. The size of the sample, randomly drawn, varied from district to district. The study period for four sample districts was January 1, 1974 through June 30, 1974; for the others the period consisted of the entire twelve months of 1974.

Data were gathered from either the pre-sentence investigation or the social summary. It should be noted that record-keeping policies and information availability varied between departments, and deferred prosecution and deferred sentencing cases had very little information. The data collected included demographic variables, socio-economic information, and prior criminal history. The author hopes, in the future, to analyze these and other variables correlating with type of probation termination, revocation, and new charges.

Percentage analysis of the variables, measured at the nominal level, reveals that the typical probationer in the jurisdictions studied is male, young, and Anglo, and is usually single with no children. He probably has a high school degree, is a blue-collar worker, and has a job at the beginning of probation. He is usually charged in district court and is placed on probation for theft, serious motor vehicle violations, or drugs. He has few prior arrests, although there is a slightly higher frequency of misdemeanor arrests than felony arrests. He typically has had no prior institutionalization and usually no prior probation terms.

In 1976 the Colorado General Assembly passed two laws which will affect future probation caseloads and create alternatives for offenders going through the criminal justice system. A third law has become a subject of increasing public concern. This law provides for restitution payment to victims of criminal acts. Because the payment of monetary restitution by those persons who cannot afford it may serve as an impetus to further criminal involvement, the concept of "service restitution" has been experimented with on a limited basis in many jurisdictions. It is expected that the idea will eventually become a formalized part of probation.

Thomas, Greg. "Corrections in Monroe County, New York (1970-1973)." Rochester, New York: The University of Rochester Graduate School of Management, Rochester-Monroe County Criminal Justice Pilot City Program, [1974]. (Mimeographed.)

The author regards this study as the first systematic description of corrections in Monroe County. It was done to provide information to the LEAA National Pilot Cities Program for developing baseline data about the criminal justice system of the eight Pilot Cities.

The Monroe County Probation Department classifies failures into three types of cases: first, those released as "unimproved"; second, those with outstanding warrants; and third, those who have had their probation revoked and received an institutional commitment. Failure rates are calculated by comparing the number of failures to the number under supervision in a given year (Rate 'A').

The author finds this method of analyzing and reporting failure rates unsatisfactory and recommends the creation of two rates, Rate 'B' (the percentage of those discharged, evaluated as "unimproved") and Rate 'C' (the proportion of the total under supervision having either warrants outstanding, or probation revoked and committed to a correctional institution). Rate 'A' is the traditional, official rate of failure reported by the department in its annual report.

Analysis of adult probation data showed an increase of about five percent from 1970 to 1971 and a slight upturn in 1972 for Rates 'A' and 'C', while a steady decline for Rate 'B' from 1970 to 1972 was recorded.

The author contends that Rate 'C' is the "best single measure of supervision success because it is more reflective of the probationer's behavior than either 'A' or 'B.'" This is considered to be a promising approach to describing a pattern of recidivism because it is based on the correct risk population.

Vasoli, Robert H. "Some Reflections on Measuring Probation Outcome," Federal Probation 31 (September 1967): 24-32.

The author explores pros and cons of several ways to measure probation outcomes: filing of petition, issuance of a warrant, revocation, recidivism, and an "adjustment" criterion. To him, none of these is good by itself; particularly the "adjustment" criterion, because the meaning of "adjustment" and "maladjustment" are vague (must be operationalized, such as "steady employment," "regular restitution payments," etc.). He favors the use of several measures, presented side by side or incorporated into a composite index with assigned numerical values, which will make in-depth analysis possible.

Next, the Federal Probation System is briefly discussed. The author feels that the reporting system revised in 1963 (the major-minor-technical classification) is far better than the old (no-major-minor violations), but it still does not reveal information as to how many violators are still on probation and how many are in prison, nor how many violations are committed by the same offender. Ways must be found to count violations that are recorded in the probation files but never reported to Washington, and we must come

to some kind of agreement in regard to definitions of revocation, absconding, etc., by establishing firm guidelines.

It becomes clear that to this author the measure of outcome is important because it will provide information on how the system works, how decisions are made by those who have discretionary power - not necessarily how many have recidivated or not. Vasoli defines the purpose of probation statistics - why we must count successes and failures no matter how crude our instruments may be and why we must keep on searching to do better.

Venezia, Peter S., and Cohn, Alvin W. "Probation Information: A Tentative Model." Davis, California: National Council on Crime and Delinquency Research Center, [1968]. (Mimeographed.)

Late in 1967, the first Probation Management Institute was held in three regions for top-level probation administrators to exchange ideas and identify problems and needs. The development of a comprehensive system of collection, storage, and retrieval of information within the field of probation emerged as a high priority. Subsequently, this study, based upon a uniform data-gathering approach already in use by parole systems across the country, was developed for the purpose of exploring the feasibility of a national program.

Twenty-two of the probation agencies represented at the first three of these regional seminars contributed information on 2,228 adult probationers. These city, county and state probation jurisdictions, from various parts of the nation, forwarded their data to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency Research Center where statistical analyses were performed and the results were interpreted.

Because of funding and personnel limitations, on-site training in data collection for the persons assigned this task in the participating agencies was not done. However, a "Letter of Instructions", sent out to each agency, provided rough guidelines as to the method of population sampling, asset of standardized definitions and a coding system for reporting the

data. Only information contained in official agency records was used, while personal knowledge or judgments about the probationers were excluded. Included were identification data, items considered by the research staff to be related to probation outcomes, and criteria for probation performance.

This joint effort by probation practitioners and research personnel demonstrated that uniform data can be collected simultaneously from a number of probation agencies, and that knowledge useful to the management can be generated from these data. Several findings were:

(1) Significant relationships exist between probation outcome and twelve probation characteristics. (This result was consistent with that of the Uniform Parole Reports, indicating comparable reliability in data collection.)

(2) Individual agencies differ significantly in the proportions of probationers displaying these characteristics. Agency "success rates," therefore, are not sufficient bases for inter-agency comparisons of effectiveness.

(3) Substantial disagreement exists about which probationer characteristics are associated with favorable probation performance.

(4) Research based upon uniformly collected data provides information which probation personnel may use to test their assumptions about important aspects of their field.

Several preparatory steps must be taken prior to the inauguration of a national probation information system:

(1) Assistance must be provided to the many agencies lacking adequate record keeping systems or trained personnel.

(2) Differing laws, policies and information needs pertaining to adult felons, misdemeanants, and juveniles require the development of a tri-partite information system.

(3) A national probation information system must involve probation practitioners in the planning, development, and implementation phases if information needs are to be met.

Waldo, Gordon P. "Myths, Misconceptions, and the Misuse of Statistics in Correctional Research," Crime and Delinquency 17, (January 1971): 57-66.

The heaviest blame for the "unhealthy state of affairs" of correctional research, notwithstanding the shortage of both funds and competent personnel, falls on the researchers themselves. They have allowed myths and misconceptions to prevail among the practitioners and have engaged in some misuse of statistics. They must stop this practice if they want their research findings to be utilized for decision-making and for system management.

Listed as the myths and misconceptions are:

1. "Other programs are suitable for evaluation; ours is not."
The author argues that any program can be evaluated if the research design is properly conceived and maintained.
2. "We obtain suitable evaluation by informal methods."
If the main criterion of effectiveness is reduced recidivism, an "informal" evaluation is grossly misleading.
The author cites the case of the Cambridge-Somerville project evaluation which concluded that no measurable impact in reducing delinquency occurred in spite of the contrary claims by everyone involved, from administrators to participants.
3. "We do not need a comparative base in evaluation programs."
The author argues that without a valid base a program's effectiveness cannot be measured. For example, a lower

recidivism rate may signify the success of the selection process, not the effectiveness of that particular program.

4. "Random assignment means that we place any inmate in a program and it is an injustice to some inmates."

The author argues that an inmate is selected from those who have met the sampling criteria, and as to injustice, it is "less onerous than the injustice already present in the criminal justice system."

5. "All evaluations result in viewing a program as either a total success or a total failure."

An adequate research design can provide qualified answers as to why a program has failed or succeeded.

For example, a well designed research and analysis may indicate that a program is a total failure for property offenders but a total success for personal offenders; this is the kind of information useful to administrators who must select the proper offenders for the program.

6. "Correctional knowledge grows by leaps and bounds."

Knowledge is built by hard work; serendipitous discoveries rarely happen.

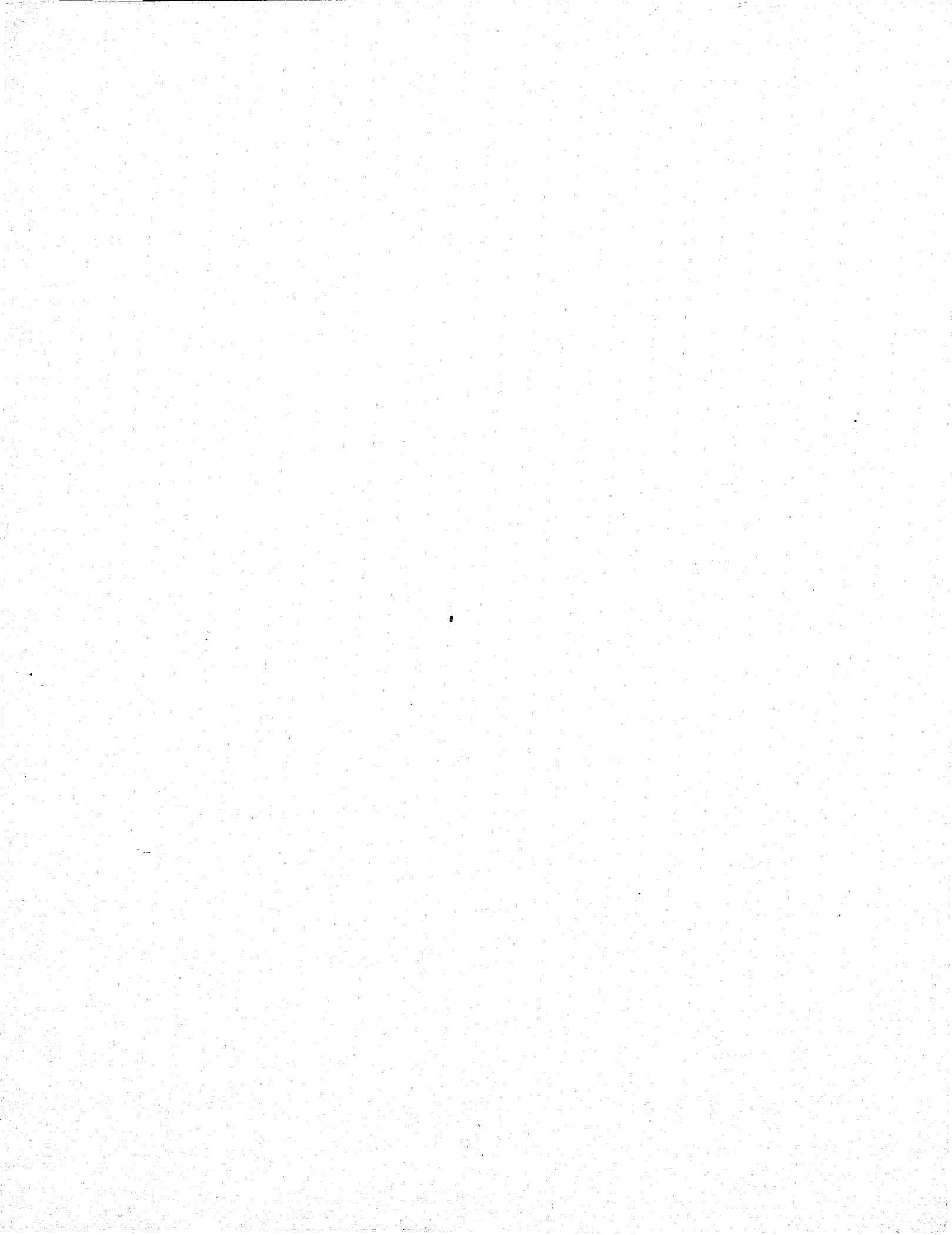
7. "Research costs too much."

Research costs less in the long run by keeping money, time and energy away from those programs that are not achieving the goals of the system.

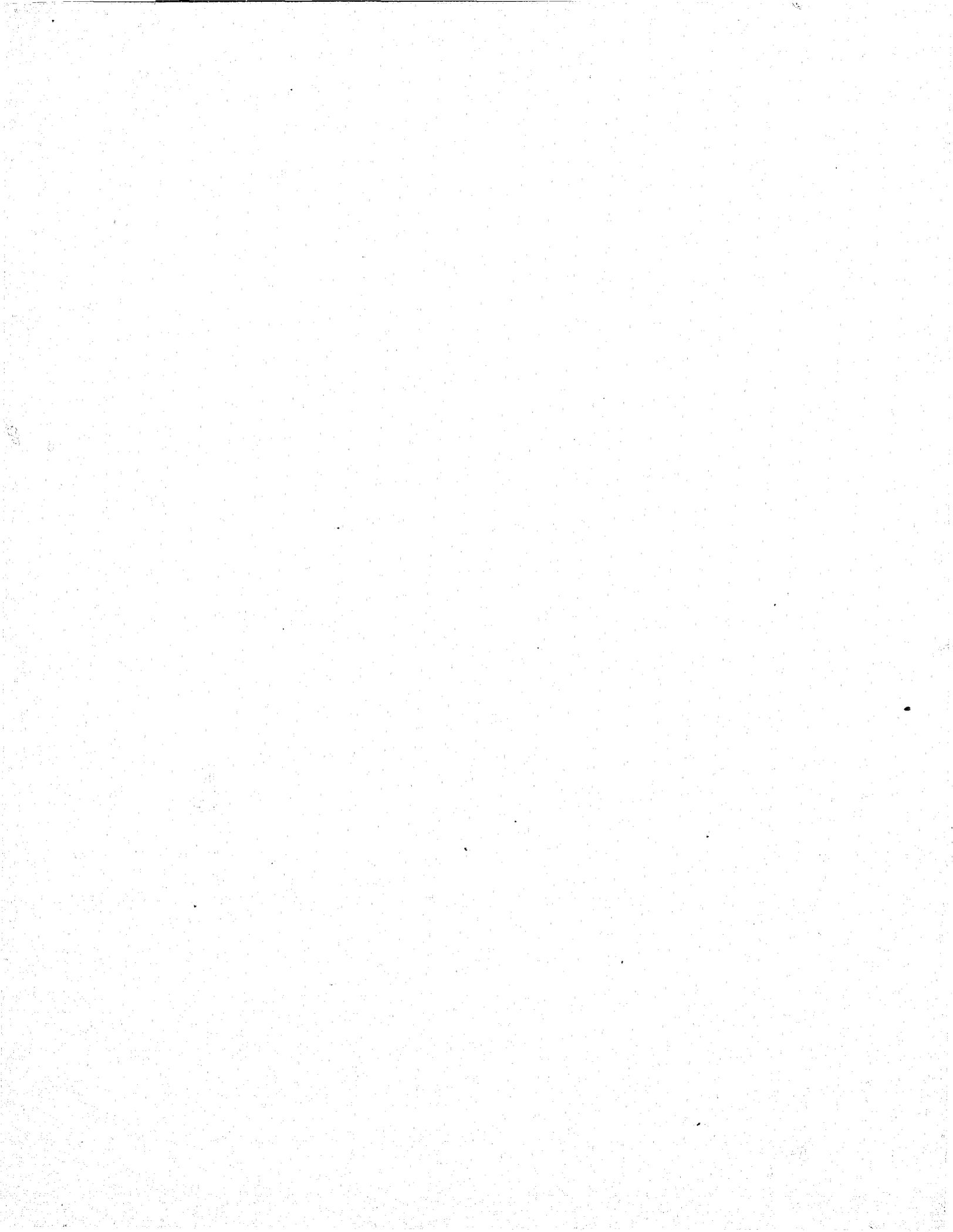
Among the misuses of statistics are: Statements concerning the "average" inmate, the improper use of samples, mislead-

ing statements concerning the "availability" of the programs, and confusion between correlation and causation. The author contends that the statistics are valid; the problem is with the researchers who do not know how to use them correctly.

Waldo offers three pieces of advice to practitioners and administrators who do not have adequate training in research methodology. First, identify the qualifications, credentials, and affiliation of the person making a certain pertinent statement; second, identify his "vested interests" in the claim; and finally, ask basic questions concerning the proper use of statistics and interpretation of findings.



Abstracts of Studies on
Treatment Modalities
in Adult Probation



"A Two-Track Demonstration Project to Reduce Probationer Recidivism." San Jose, California: Santa Clara County Adult Probation Department, [1973]. (Mimeographed.)

Zzooommm and the Heimler Method are high impact short-term motivational treatment programs. Four comparison groups were created to measure the effects of a two-track demonstration project designed to reduce adult (felony) probationer recidivism. The underlying objectives of the program include a comparison of two methods, Zzooommm and Heimler, against traditional client treatment methods with respect to cost effectiveness and the effectiveness of each method. Supervised training was provided for the probation officers working in the Heimler Method; successful results would insure the continuation of the training program.

A quasi-experimental design was used to compare the four groups. The experimental groups, each comprising 33 probationers, participated in the Zzooommm program and the Heimler Method program. Two units in the Probation Department were used in the control (comparison) groups. The Special Supervision Unit, in existence before the project began, contained 33 probationers who met the selection requirements for participation. The regular supervision group contained 43 probationers who were eligible for the Zzooommm and Heimler Method programs, but were assigned to the control group for different reasons.

The basic requirements for selection into each of the

four programs were as follows: felony probation cases sentenced and released within a particular time frame, and serving jail sentences of at least four months as a condition of probation.

The control groups received traditional client treatment methods. The Zzoommm program was designed to change self-image, set goals, and increase self-understanding. The Heimler Scale, which measures an individual's perception of frustration and satisfaction, and how it corresponds to work and interest, finance, family relationships, friendship, and intra-personal life experience, was followed by a three-month treatment phase called "the Slice of Life."

The data collection for all groups included probationer characteristics, such as ethnic composition, employment and education; short term recidivism; and pre- and post-testing to analyze the difference among the groups and between the two treatment modalities.

The results do not conclusively support the superiority of any of the programs in the following areas: recidivism, employment, and self-concept. The author concludes that small samples and the absence of an experimental design hamper clear interpretation of the recidivism and other outcome data.

Regular Supervision in the control group over a long period of time resulted in the greatest economy in terms of "capital outlay" of costs and "on-going" costs. The Zzoommm and Special Supervision techniques were the least economical.

Dole, Vincent P., and Joseph, Herman. "Methadone Patients on Probation and Parole," Federal Probation 34 (June 1970): 42-48.

In this study, treating heroin addiction with methadone was the foundation for accomplishing two goals: to stop criminal behavior and to assist the addict in functioning as a normal productive citizen in society.

The methadone maintenance program at the Health Research Council solicited the impartial help of the Columbia University School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine to verify data and evaluate the results with a patient population, of which 11 percent were probationers and parolees. These patients were compared with a group at the detoxification ward of Beth Israel's Bernstein Institute. Prior to admission, the contrast and patient groups had identical arrest frequencies and were matched in age, ethnic background, and month of admission to the program. They were followed for six years. The project studied employment, education, crime, patient retention, discharges, medical safety, and mixed drug abuse.

Rates of arrests and incarcerations (rate per 100 man years) of the methadone group before and after treatment for a thirty-six month period illustrated successful reductions in each area as compared with the untreated contrast group.

The parole and probation groups were treated as one entity within the total patient population since age, ethnic

background, criminal history, and length of addiction were similar. Of the offender group, 72 percent made good adjustments and were retained in treatment. They were eventually either discharged from probation or parole. Approximately 70 percent of the probation-parole patients remaining in the treatment were employed, in school or functioned as homemakers; 30 percent were supported by others, looked for employment, or received public assistance.

The authors conclude that methadone treatment is not a cure-all for the addict. They stress the necessity of securing a qualified staff to administer the treatment and the importance of an impartial evaluation of the entire program. The methadone program has had a documented success in the following areas: voluntary retention of patients, decrease in criminal activity, and increase in productive behavior.

"Final Report on the Evaluation of the Post-Prison Addictive Treatment Program." Philadelphia: Temple University Center for Social Policy and Community Development, [1974]. (Mimeographed.)

The four goals of the Post-Prison Addictive Treatment Program for criminal recidivists with drug abuse problems were to reduce criminal recidivism, connect resources for drug treatment and social services inside the prison with community agencies, facilitate the utilization of the resources, and provide intensive supervision, support and referral services.

Two units comprised the project: the Post-Prison Program and the Prison Addictive Treatment Program. Referrals from the latter had to be eligible for release within a month's time.

The Post-Prison Counselors were responsible for the initial interview and evaluation of the prospective client. The counselor made an assessment of the client's needs with respect to alcohol and drug abuse, and contacted the appropriate community treatment agency to schedule an appointment for screening. Preparations to expedite the clients admission into the program upon his release from prison might include a petition for Release on Recognizance (ROR), a conditional release, bail reduction, or the removal of a detainer. The counselor made recommendations for judicial dispositions or accompanied a client to court to present an evaluation of treatment results.

Seventy-three participating individuals in the first year

of the program (December, 1973 to October, 1974) were evaluated by the Center for Social Policy and Community Development (CSPCD). Evaluation data came from on-site interviews and observations, monthly client progress data, and client follow-up outcome data.

Of the 73 clients, 67 percent were male and 33 percent female; all were between the ages of 19 and 47. Twenty-five percent were on parole, 50 percent on probation, and the remaining 25 percent released on conditional release, ROR, or bail reduction. All of the offenders had at least one prior arrest and records indicating drug abuse, 90 percent of which was caused by an involvement with heroin.

The results of the follow-up study concentrated on drug use, re-arrest, employment, retention in treatment, and cooperation with supervision.

Fifty-three percent of the clients were drug free four months after release from prison, and 45 percent remained drug free until October 31, 1974. Thirty percent under Post-Prison supervision or services, were re-arrested, a significantly lower rate than clients under General Supervision for a sixth month period. Ten clients were placed in jobs immediately on release and 34 percent obtained employment during the course of the treatment. The majority of unemployed clients were still in drug treatment programs.

Eighty percent of the referrals accepted the treatment

and 50 percent continued in treatment for four or more months. Seventy-seven percent cooperated with supervision in terms of adhering to schedules and soliciting help with drug problems.

The Post-Prison Program successfully serviced three fourths of its population in the areas intended and achieved a 50 percent successful outcome rate.

Hansen, J. Alan. "Summary Evaluation -- First Offender Project." Omaha, Nebraska: Omaha Awareness and Action, Inc., [1976]. (Mimeographed.)

The First Offender Project was designed to provide the Nebraska Criminal Justice system with an alternative treatment for first offenders apprehended for a drug-related crime, on the assumption that such offenders will benefit from a program of group and individual therapy. A one-year contract for program participation is made between the client and counselor. Phase I of the program is intake, which was not included in this study. Client evaluation occurs in Phase II and active counseling in Phase III. Phase IV is an inactive status when counseling is no longer needed, but follow-up is maintained.

The project has two goals: (1) to insure that participating drug dependent persons become self-sufficient and law abiding citizens who are a supportive asset rather than a liability to the community; and (2) that this alternative program be formally accepted and utilized by the Criminal Justice system. Several objectives were set for each goal to serve as specific measures of goal achievement.

Goal 1: Program completers will be in school or employed full time when observed quarterly; program completers are drug free when observed quarterly; program completers have not had a new Criminal Justice system contact because of

their dysfunctional behavior when observed quarterly; after being accepted into the program, 90 percent of the active participants will remain until the participant and the counselor agree to move the participant into the inactive phase; appointments for urine analyses will be kept in no less than 90 percent of the agreed-upon number of monthly appointments (less excused absences); and each active participant will average less than 10 percent monthly absence (less excused absence).

Goal 2: The Douglas County (Nebraska) Criminal Justice system, when requested to formally support the First Offender Project, will respond positively in writing; and, this county's Criminal Justice system will include the First Offender Project as a remedial alternative to their appropriate procedural documents.

The First Offender Project was evaluated by examining the behavior of the 336 program participants in relation to the objectives of Goal 1 and by contacting Municipal and District Court judges for the objectives outlined for Goal 2.

A control group had originally been established, but due to a change in Nebraska law during the project period (which now requires all first drug offenders to participate in programs such as the First Offender Project), continued assignment of persons to the control group was not possible.

"Program completers" were defined as participants who

had progressed to the inactive stage (Phase IV). "Drug free" was determined by a negative result of the urine analysis. "Criminal Justice system contact" was not operationally defined.

The author found that except for the following, most of the objectives were met. The criterion of 90 percent absence of new Criminal Justice system contacts was not achieved. Both the control group, while it existed, and the program completers had about 25 percent re-involvement with the system during the active phase of the project. Thirteen percent of the completers had new contacts since completing the program. Another criterion which was not met was attendance at scheduled appointments for urine analyses. Overall, only two out of three were kept, which was far short of the 90 percent level. The author felt that a participant could be skipping appointments when there was uncertainty about testing successfully. Further, there was an unexcused absence rate of 25 percent for Phase II, 19 percent for Phase III and 5 percent for Phase IV. Attendance improved from phase to phase, and completers had substantially better attendance than active participants.

The author of the evaluation report concluded that program completers met the criteria of being occupied (work or school) and being drug free, but the re-arrest rate exceeded the criterion level by 3 percent. The movement of participants through the program was about one-third of what was

expected; this was attributed to clients "being more difficult than had been anticipated."

The evaluator further concluded that judges and other persons in the Criminal Justice system supported the project. In addition, treatment such as the First Offender Project is now required by law for drug offenders, and the evaluator thus concludes that the two objectives of Goal 2 have been met.

Klocksien, Kenneth L., and McGinnis, Robert D. "Report to the Bergen County, New Jersey Probation Department: Probation and Employment." Ramapo, New Jersey: Ramapo College, [1976]. (Mimeographed.)

The report presented a two-fold theme: What factors influence the success or failure of probationers serving sentences in Bergen County, and does the Job Bank affect the probation outcomes of its clients?

The sample was a composite of probationers who were not in the Job Bank and Job Bank clients. The Job Bank clients were significantly different from other probationers in the following areas: they were younger, had more education, were involved with drugs more than alcohol, and received drug counseling twice as many times as the non-Job Bank clients. The groups did not significantly differ in the total number of convictions and level of job skills.

The purpose was to determine the effect of a number of variables on the success of outcome with each probationer. The emphasis was on the differences between probationers. Multiple regression was the statistical analysis used to measure the causal relationships between variables and outcome. The percentages for outcome variation for each variable were indicated.

Employment, assignment to Job Bank was the most important predictor of outcome success (52 percent). This positive relationship was a factor in determining successful termination from probation. The remaining predictors of out-

come success according to percentage of variation in rank order are: Whether or not the probationer lost his job due to arrest, total convictions and drug counseling. These four variables measured account for a total of 87 percent of the variation in probation outcome. All the variables measured account for a total of 37 percent of the variation in probation outcome.

The study demonstrates the effectiveness of the Job Bank in promoting employment for probationers. The outcome of success for the probationer is significantly related to employment while on probation.

Marx, George L.; Giblette, John F.; and Stockdale, Jane A. Counseling in Probation and Parole: A Research Report. College Park, Maryland: University of Maryland, 1969.

The Probation Office for the United States District Court for the District of Columbia designed a research project to test the effects of differential treatment, individual and group counseling on the configuration of particular personality traits among offenders.

Phase I consisted of a nine-month study of clients' behavioral change as a result of their experience with group counseling, individual counseling, both treatment modalities, or the interaction of personality traits between the probation officer and the client during individual or group counseling treatments. A sample of eighty-seven clients was randomly assigned to either the individual or group counseling units, both of which were administered by probation officers.

Treatment consisted of weekly group meetings lasting one and a half hours and conducted according to the personal style of each probation officer, and weekly appointments with each individual counselee, the frequency and duration of each session dependent upon the probation officer. The criteria for client change consisted of: employment, absence of arrests, stable family life, and general adjustment to society.

No significance was noted in Phase I; however, the following modifications for Phase II were put forth: a control group and test-retest procedures were established, the research

data collection system was revised to minimize loss, and a follow-up study to measure behavioral change in clients in Phase I was implemented.

The results of Phase II indicate a failure of the data to reveal any differences in the treatment made and the configuration of the client's personality, a no treatment condition, and behavioral changes as a result of the interaction of client and probation officer personalities.

The authors note the variations in the philosophy and methodology of corrections and how this factor affects movement in rehabilitation. They suggest a continuous assessment of the expenditure of manpower and further research in an environment where rehabilitative processes are functioning.

Nath, Sunil B. "Evaluation: Multiphasic Diagnostic and Treatment Program Planning and Evaluation." Tampa/Miami: Florida Parole and Probation Commission, [1975]. (Mimeographed.)

The Multiphasic Diagnostic and Treatment Program (MDTP) was designed as a diversion program for offenders. The evaluation procedure covers a time period of 22 months and a population of 103 offenders. The purpose of the program was two-fold: to decrease the probability of recidivism and allow the community to better understand the offender and its role in the resocialization of the offender.

Two residential centers were constructed in Miami and Tampa for male offenders between the ages of 17 and 25 who were either on probation or parole having committed either a technical violation or a criminal offense, other than a crime against a person or homosexuality. Referrals were made by Criminal Justice agencies and private sources. Personal interviews with the prospective resident and staff members were conducted, and background information secured to determine acceptance. An advisory board representing the community and offender population worked with the staff to implement the program.

Residents were required to jointly formulate a contract with the staff wherein a treatment plan based on

the goals, objectives, and needs of the resident were outlined. Each resident had to participate in group counseling and volunteer work in a community project. Individual and family counseling were available when needed. Graduation was contingent upon a plan the resident designed and submitted to the staff for approval.

Success was defined as completion of the residential program and graduation from that program. The success rate was measured by comparing the number of successful clients who were arrested after the completion of the program with those who were not. Seventy-five percent of the offender population achieved success.

Two problems affected the progress of the program at the outset: the original target area concept was abandoned and an evaluation plan was not written into the grant. As a result, an inefficient data collection system developed.

It is contended that a follow-up study would be necessary in order to measure the actual effectiveness of the program.

Olsson, James. "Final Evaluative Report: An Outpatient Treatment Clinic for Special Offenders." Hunt Valley, Maryland: State Division of Parole and Probation, [1975]. (Mimeographed.)

The evaluation measures the effectiveness of the Special Offenders Clinic (S.O.C.), an outpatient treatment facility for sexual offenders and assaultive offenders. A balance between a strict probation approach and a therapeutic approach was sought to accomplish two objectives: (1) resolve the relationships between anti-social behavior and emotional problems through treatment, and (2) test the successful results of outpatient group therapy used with sexual offenders on assaultive offenders.

During the three year period of operation, 50 patients were selected from the sexual and assaultive offender population to constitute a treatment group, each category containing 29 and 21 members respectively. A control group was not established; the absence of this factor was recognized as a shortcoming by the evaluators.

Referrals for S.O.C. were made by judges and agents of probation and parole. Each referral was subjected to a psychiatric interview and a case review by the staff.

The treatment consisted of mandatory participation as a direct court order, close probation supervision to maintain regular attendance, and weekly group psychotherapy.

The effectiveness of the program was evaluated in four

areas: recidivism statistics, group therapy ratings, social adjustment ratings, and psychological tests.

Recidivism was measured by the number of convictions and arrests for crimes that were related and unrelated to the previous offense during and after treatment, and the number of incarcerations that occurred at both points in time.

Exhibited behavior in each group therapy session was divided into 35 measurable categories that were rated by the therapist during the initial phase of the treatment and at the termination level. Probation officers measured each patient in six areas indicative of social adjustment according to the same time contingency. Significant changes in each rating device were measured at the .05 and .01 level of significance.

Four psychological tests were given to the treatment group at the beginning and end of the program, as well as at six month intervals, to test the possible correlation between group therapy and improvement in behavior.

The assaultive offenders were arrested and convicted more than the sexual offenders. Their new offenses were related to aggression, whereas less than one-half of the new offenders in the sexual offender group were non-sexual. Three times as many convictions occurred during treatment as after treatment. Ten percent of the treatment group were incarcerated for new crimes.

Sexual offenders made positive, significant changes in psychotherapy and social adjustment, whereas assaultive offenders made both positive and negative changes in the first category and less significant changes in the second. Neither group made significant changes on the psychological tests.

The evaluators conclude that mandatory treatment is a practical alternative for special offenders and has a positive effect on recidivism. The overall effect of the S.O.C. with respect to group therapy, recidivism, and social adjustment, is more successful in treating sexual offenders than assaultive offenders.

Phillips, James E. "Report on the Probation Employment and Guidance Program: An Evaluation of Impacts on Employment and Recidivism." Rochester, New York: Monroe County Department of Probation, [1975]. (Mimeographed.)

The Probation Employment and Guidance Program (P.E.G.) was designed to explore the relationship between unemployment and recidivism. Through "employment counseling", the program aimed to raise the level of employment in previously unemployed or underemployed probationers, thereby reducing their rate of recidivism.

Out of 161 referrals, 62.1 percent participated in the experiment. Eligibility for referral included offenders who were serving a sentence of probation, unemployed or underemployed, at least 18 years old and not presently involved in an educational program.

Probationers were informed of P.E.G. through their probation officers. Upon their agreement to participate, they appeared before a Review Panel, three volunteers representing local industries and agencies, who were responsible for screening and assessing "job-readiness." Qualified probationers were randomly sampled into an experimental (treatment) group and a control group.

Involvement in the program for the control group ended at this point. The experimental group began their actual treatment with the Employment Guidance Council (E.G.C.), composed of five volunteers from a rotating pool of twenty-

five, in addition to the Program Coordinator and Personnel Expert. The E.G.C. was responsible for determining what type of employment the probationer wanted, assessing the practicality of his previous experience and available resources, and planning strategies for goal attainment.

A follow-up interview with the personnel specialist re-evaluated the process with the E.G.C. and designed a more detailed implementation of goal attainment based on client motivation and interest.

The differences between the groups were measured using criteria of employment success: "portion of follow-up employed," "employment status change," and the measurement of income. Recidivism was measured in terms of re-convictions and arrests. Data were collected monthly, and the probationers' employment performance and contacts with the law were monitored. Profile and contrast analyses were made of the experimental and control groups at six and nine month intervals.

At the six month interval, the experimental group showed improvement in the employment-success criterion. The differentials between groups for the same criterion at the nine month level were reduced.

The achievements in employment status did not reduce the rate of recidivism; however, the researchers observe a strong relationship between time working and success in

avoiding trouble with the law. The speculation is that a "better program" could positively influence recidivism. The "employment failures" in the experimental group committed crimes less frequently than their counterparts in the control group. The researchers attribute this factor to the increased amount of "attention" the experimentals received.

Polakow, Robert L., and Doctor, Ronald M. "A Behavioral Modification Program for Adult Drug Offenders," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 11 (1974): 63-69.

The Behavior Modification Program for Adult Drug Offenders offers an alternative approach to the typical "counseling" and coercion techniques probation officers utilize. Positive support and incentives to shape new behavior patterns based on an empirical set of principles are employed.

The pilot study designed two formats: an "own controlled" group for a sample of 26 subjects who served an average of 12.5 months on probation, and a contingency management program that was tested against a regular case-load using "counseling" techniques. The subjects for the experimental design were randomly chosen from a transfer pool of probationers who were arrested for crimes involving drug abuse and classified by their probation officers as third level or "most difficult cases." Police and court officials were not aware of the random assignment nor of the pilot study.

The program was sectioned into three phases, each one representing a higher level of achievement, wherein credit and verbal support were given to the probationers if they successfully performed particular graduated behavioral tasks. Each acquisition of positive feedback and credit ultimately

awarded resulted in a predetermined reduction in total probation time. The consequences for failure consisted of non-payment of credit or demotion to Phase I.

Four objective sources of data were measured in each group: the proportion of time a probationer was employed, the number of violations on probation, the number of arrests while on probation, and attendance at scheduled meetings. The t test was used to measure the differences in the mean scores of the first three objectives; percentages were used to comparatively analyze attendance.

The probationers in the contingency management group successfully decreased the number of arrests and violations while on probation as opposed to the control group, and demonstrated positive behavior by maintaining a higher rate of employment and attendance at scheduled meetings as compared to the control group.

A systematic means of handling violations and arrests while on probation was not developed, since it was assumed that positive changes in behavior would accelerate and would ultimately become incompatible with criminal behavior, which would decrease.

The implications for affecting a positive behavioral change in an environment that is not subject to strict controls reinforces the idea, importance, and practicality of a community-based intervention program for drug and

criminal offenders. A two year follow-up study to test the long range effects of counter-conditioning with drug and criminal behavior is in process.

Rosenthal, Seymour J. "Report on the Evaluation of Philadelphia County Department of Probation Drug Unit." Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Center for Social Policy and Community Development, [1974]. (Mimeographed.)

The goals of the Drug Treatment Unit were designed to assist the probationer addict develop drug-free periods, reduce crime and recidivism among said population, and enhance judicial dispositions by providing pre-sentence evaluations and related services.

During a five month program evaluation, random samples of probationers in the following types of supervision were comparatively examined: Drug Unit (40 addicts); General Supervision (51 addicts); and General Supervision (60 non-drug users).

The latter two groups received traditional probationary treatment. The Drug Unit received intensive supervision, counseling, education, referrals, and rehabilitative treatment.

The following outcomes were measured for each sample: rate of recidivism, variation in crimes for all subsequent arrests, comparative results of supervision treatment of drug addicts, and degree of residential stability. Recidivism was measured by subsequent arrests within a six-month "at risk" period. The average number of arrests in six crime areas for each group was compared in percentages. Residential stability was defined as living at the same address for one year.

Data for the outcome measures were collected from "criminal abstracts" in the Police Department and case files at the Probation Department.

The Drug Unit effectively reduced overall criminal recidivism by 32.3 percent, as compared to the General Supervision Drug Group and the non-drug group whose rates were 52.0 percent and 16.7 percent respectively.

The recidivist drug groups averaged similar numbers of arrests per person; however, the General Supervision drug sample accounted for more arrests than the Drug Unit. Drug Unit probationers produced the highest arrest rates for property crimes, whereas their counterparts were more prone to drug charges.

Drug Unit probationers maintained more stability in the community than the General Supervision drug sample, demonstrating a comparative rate of 25.5 percent vs. 7.5 percent respectively.

The evaluation of the Drug Unit reached favorable conclusions in the areas of treatment, social service, and administration. Recommendations include: reduction in caseload and probationer processing time, diagnostic assessment training for probation officers, treatment manuals for the judiciary, adequate counseling space, dictating machines, and the purchase of services from Genesis II, a residential therapeutic treatment program in the community.

Webb, Allen P., and Riley, Patrick V. "Effectiveness of Casework with Young Female Probationers." Pasadena, California: Foothill Family Service, [1969]. (Mimeographed.)

The Goals for Girls Project (GIGI) at the Foothill Family Service was created to test the effectiveness of the combined resources of the Probation Department and a private volunteer family service agency on the life adjustment of female probationers. Second, it was to test whether voluntary or mandated treatment affected the results.

Sixty-eight female participants from the Pasadena office of the Los Angeles County Probation Department, between the ages of 18 and 25, were randomly assigned to an experimental and a control group as they were placed on probation for a minimum of one year. Variable factors affecting the rate of attrition resulted in 26 women participating in the experimental group and 32 in the control group.

Counseling at Family Service was available to all of the probationers. The treatment included individual casework consisting of a psycho-social diagnosis and treatment planning.

The probationers in the experimental group met with a Deputy Probation Officer (DPO) who discussed referral to Family Service. If the probationer resisted, he was encouraged to attend by the DPO through supportive counseling. A flat refusal made participation mandatory. Probationers

in the control group were not directly referred to Family Service nor encouraged to participate.

The researchers devised eight hypotheses to measure the life adjustment of the probationers before they entered the program and one year later. Direct behavioral data were obtained through rating sheets the researchers prepared to measure conduct. Probation officers completed each rating sheet at the time the probationer entered the program and a year later.

The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory and a form of semantic differential were used to measure the scores of each group. The psychological tests indicated significant changes in the experimental group on each of the eight areas, whereas no comparable changes occurred in the control group. A comparative analysis of the rating sheets indicated a marked improvement in the conduct of the experimental group but not in the control group.

The results challenge the assumption that treatment must be voluntary in order to be successful, since improvement in the experimental group occurred among those who were encouraged to participate in the project and among those who were told it was a requirement of probation. Demonstrated in the project is the positive effect of the cooperative efforts of the Probation Department and Family Service combining their expertise to provide rehabilitative services to probationers and the community.

Venezia, Peter S. "Report on: The Effect of Vocational Upgrading Upon Probationer Recidivism: a One-Year Evaluation of the Singer Graflex Monroe County Pilot Probation Project." Davis, California: National Council on Crime and Delinquency Research Center, [1972] . (Mimeographed.)

The Monroe County Pilot Probation Project (MCP) was designed to improve the employment status of probationers through job placement and thereby to reduce recidivism.

The Probation Department selected the target population for the experimental design (Group Y). The 360 chosen probationers who met the criteria for program inclusion were: (1) inadequately employed, (2) between the ages of 18 and 35 inclusive, (3) without major mental or physical handicaps, and (4) expressed interest in the program.

Because of the deficit in referrals, an equal and random assignment of probationers to the experimental and control groups was impossible. To satisfy program capacity, all available referrals were allocated to the Experimental Group (Group A), constituting an N of 310, leaving 50 in the Control Group (Group B). One hundred and fifty-one probationers who were adequately employed were used as the Comparison Group (Group K) against the combined results of Groups A and B. Data descriptive of the probationers in each group with respect to age, sex, race, and prior offense were among the variables provided. Diagnostic services were utilized to glean information from the Probation Department to assess each probationer's academic achievement, vocational abilities

and aptitudes, and personality traits. Treatment for the experimental group encompassed three areas: counseling, education, and vocational evaluation. The intention was to improve employability. Clients received a weekly stipend of \$30.00 for expenses, that was contingent upon attendance and adherence to time restrictions.

Probation officers completed two sets of forms, Basic Data and Probation Follow-up, for all probationers in Groups Y and K.

Three forms relating to job placement and performance were individually and appropriately completed by the probationer, his supervisor, and company personnel. Counselors submitted an evaluation of each probationer. Comparative results within the Experimental Group were measured in percentages, and as combined totals against the Comparison Group.

Probationers in the program received low ratings in goal orientation, motivation, and self-esteem. An average of one academic cycle was gained for each participating probationer.

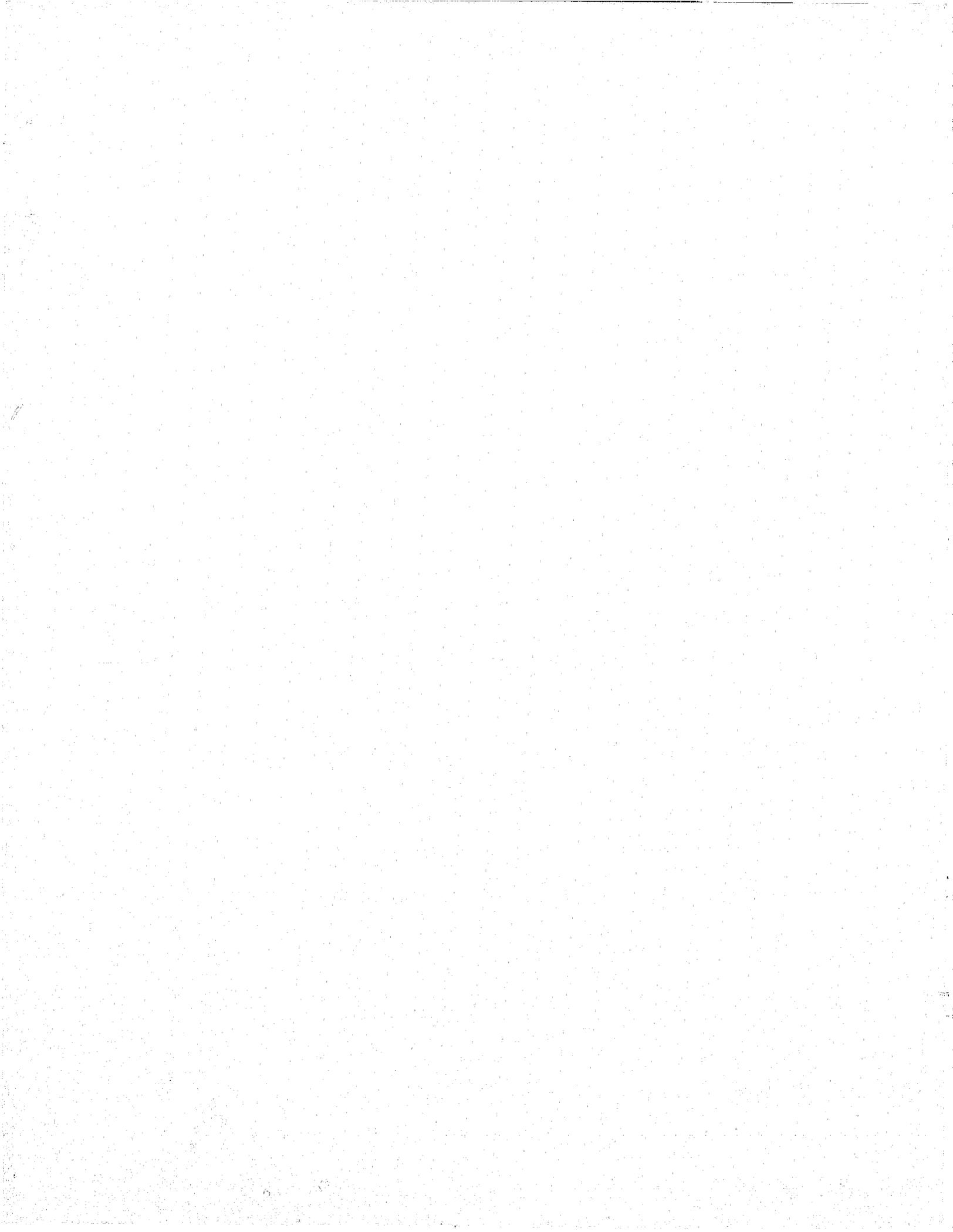
Unemployment was reduced in the Referral Groups to 49.2 percent; however, there was no significant difference between them and the comparisons (49.6 percent vs. 46.3 percent). The employment rate in Group K (94.9 percent) remained significantly higher.

No significant differences were indicated among reduced recidivism rates for any of the groups:

Group A:	6.9
Group B:	14.6
Group C:	5.4

The author concludes that a reduction in recidivism is not necessarily a result of employment upgrading, but is correlated with "human upgrading." They attribute a causal relationship to self-esteem and life style.

Three problem areas were cited in the evaluation results: probationer descriptions and outcome results predicated on different time spans, the low referral rate of total participants, and the insufficient amount of time to measure program impact.



END