

INTERIM EVALUATION RESULTS: MINNESOTA RESTITUTION CENTER

MINNESOTA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS

MAY 1976

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SUMMARY

ACQUISITIONS

- 1) Between May 1972 and March 1974, a total of 144 men admitted to the prison met the program criteria established by the Restitution Center. Of this population, 69 men were randomly assigned to the control group and remained in the prison to complete the regular program prior to release on either parole or flat discharge.
- 2) A total of 75 men were randomly assigned to the experimental group and of this group, 4 men declined the opportunity to develop restitution agreements with their victims and 9 men were denied release to the Restitution Center by the Parole Board. The 62 members of the experimental group actually admitted to the Center constitute the major focus of this report.
- 3) The largest proportion of experimentals and controls had been committed from the metropolitan area of Minneapolis-St. Paul; were White; had been committed for burglaries; had a large number of prior felony convictions; and were thirty years of age or younger.
- 4) The 62 offenders admitted to the Center had a total of 221 officially listed victims with the largest proportion being individual citizens followed in decreasing proportions by a variety of commercial businesses.
- 5) The largest proportion of monetary restitution obligations held by the experimental group members admitted to the Center totaled \$200 or less; the total obligated amount of monetary restitution was \$16,934.99 and of this amount, \$9,459.10 was paid as of August 1, 1975, while 1,084 hours of symbolic (community service) restitution was obligated and 372.2 hours completed as of August 1, 1975.
- 6) A larger proportion of control group members as compared to experimentals had received parole discharge and new court commitments 18 months following prison admission while a larger proportion of experimentals had been returned to prison on technical parole violations. Because the members of the two groups had variable at-risk periods of time in the community, the differences noted here may, to a large extent, be a function of time in the community.

- 7) Experimentals as compared to controls served significantly shorter periods of time in prison and significantly longer periods of time on parole as of August 1, 1975. For the experimentals and controls discharged from parole as of August 1, 1975, the experimental group members had served significantly longer overall (prison and parole) time periods under supervision than had the controls.

Introduction

The Minnesota Restitution Center is a community-based residential corrections program operated by the Minnesota Department of Corrections. The program was originally funded for a three year period under a grant from the Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control of the State of Minnesota. The three year federal funding for this program terminated in the Summer of 1975 and, since that time, the program has been totally funded and operated by the Minnesota Department of Corrections.

As originally designed, the Restitution Center was to function as a diversion alternative from the State Prison for a specified population of inmates who had completed four months of their sentences at the Prison. During the second year of the program, the population base for the Center was expanded to include clients from the State Reformatory for Men. The present report provides information on clients selected for the program from the State Prison during the first two years of program operation. The vast majority of the clients admitted to the program had been received from the State Prison and it is only with this population that rigorous evaluation procedures were instituted. This group of State Prison releases will be the sole focus of this report.

This is the second in a series of research reports to be issued on the program of the Restitution Center. The first report issued in the Fall of 1974 contained basic characteristics information on the clients admitted to the Center along with victim information and the results of a matching study completed on the first fifteen residents admitted to the Center. A further report will be issued in late 1976 or early 1977 and should contain extensive follow-up information on clients accepted into the program and members of the control group who remained in the conventional prison program.

The Concept of Restitution

The term, "restitution", refers to payments made by the offender to the victim on crime. While somewhat similar to the idea of "victim compensation", the concept of restitution clearly relates to the individual offender (as opposed to the State) paying back the victim for the damages incurred as a direct result of the victimization. Quite clearly, the use of restitution is contingent on the apprehension and, in most cases, the conviction of the offender. The payment of restitution may be made in the form of money or service, but in either case is aimed at restoring the victim and aiding in the rehabilitation of the offender. Within the Minnesota Restitution Center program, the use of restitution can -- at least in some part -- be viewed as both a part of the offender's criminal penalty as well as a goal of the corrections process.

Historical Background

Restitution as either a sole or partial penalty imposed upon the wrong-doer is an ancient concept which appears to have been generally ignored in contemporary corrections work. Personal reparation to the victim by either the offender or the offender's kin group is the basis of the Anglo-Saxon law and until the 12th century in England an elaborate system of tariffs existed which were based upon the nature of the crime and the age, sex, and rank of the injured party. With the establishment of Kingship as a strong central authority in the later part of the 12th century, the use of restitution declined and was substituted with a fine, the proceeds of which went to the State. While suggestions for the use of offender reparation can be found in the works of such writers as Jeremy Bentham, and Herbert Spencer, serious consideration of restitution as a corrections tool was not given until the late 19th century in the work of the Italian positivists, R. Garofalo and E. Ferri.

Suggestions for the use of restitution have been proposed by more recent writers. In the 1940's Irving Cohen suggested that restitution was potentially therapeutic in the work with offenders; a similar view was provided by Albert Eglash during the 1950's. More recently, Steven Schafer and Kathleen Smith have advanced extensive proposals for the use of restitution as a major focus of corrections program. While these proposals appear to have received considerable attention in criminological circles, few system attempts have been made to implement them in corrections systems. Consequently, the contemporary use of restitution has been primarily as a probation condition. The concept has not been systematically implemented and empirically assessed and generally seems to be viewed as ancillary, if not incompatible, with other, more explicitly, "treatment-like" corrections approaches. The Minnesota Restitution Center was, perhaps, the first attempt at implementing restitution within a residential, community corrections context.

Purpose

The purpose of the Minnesota Restitution Center is to provide a diversionary residential program which functions as an alternative to the continued incarceration of selected property offenders. The focus of the Center is placed on the concept of offender restitution to victims of crime. In this respect, the Center attempts to provide the necessary assistance in order to enable the offender to meet the conditions of his parole agreement and his restitution contract.

Program Objectives

Among the objectives listed by the program are the following:

- 1) To provide assistance to the offender in achieving the means by which he may compensate his victims for their material loss due to his criminal action.
- 2) To provide intensive personal parole supervision to program clients.
- 3) To provide the offender with information about his behavior and offer him the opportunity to resolve personal problems and continue to develop personal strengths and inter-personal skills through regular and frequent group and individual counseling.
- 4) To disseminate information regarding the restitution concept and the Minnesota Restitution Center to other criminal justice agencies throughout the country as well as to the general public.

Program Assumptions

Five assumptions related to the use of restitution have been listed in support of using restitution as a suitable penalty for certain criminal offenses:

First, the restitution sanction is rationally and logically related to the damages done. This is not the case when the offender is housed in a cage and the victim ignored by the corrections system.

Second, the restitution sanction is clear and explicit with the offender knowing at all times where he stands in relation to completing restitution objectives. Again, this is not the case when offenders are placed in the prison setting and the goal of "rehabilitation" is at best vague, and at worst, misleading.

Third, the restitution sanction requires the active participation of the offender who is not placed in the position of being the passive recipient of either "therapeutic" or "punitive" approaches to changing his behavior. In turn, the offender's active involvement in undoing the wrong done will increase his self-esteem and self-image as a responsible and worthwhile member of society.

Fourth, the restitution sanction provides a concrete way in which the offender can atone and make amends for his wrong doing and should provide a constructive and socially useful method for him to deal with any guilt that may have been generated from his wrong doing.

Finally, the restitution sanction should result in a more positive response from members of the community toward the offender. The offender will be perceived as a person who has committed illegal acts and is attempting to undo his wrong and will not be viewed as either "sick", "sinful" or irretrievably "immoral".

Operational Procedures

Inmates at the State Prison are carefully screened for admission to the Restitution Center program. The major criteria which must be met by all residents for admission is that all present offenses must be crimes against the property of others. No person with a recent history of acts of violence or for whom the present commitment is a result of either crimes against the person of others or for "victimless" crimes can enter the program.

To establish how the restitution is to be made, a contract is worked out between the offender, the victim(s) of the offense(s), and the staff of the program. The contract must be agreed to by each of the participants. It is then brought before the Minnesota Corrections Board (Parole Board) at the offender's initial hearing at the Prison and is reviewed by the Board. If the Parole Board is in agreement with the contract, it is made a condition of the parole agreement and the offender is released to the Center in order to complete the provisions of the agreement. This means that those inmates who are selected, choose to take part, and work out a contract are released on parole to the Center approximately four months following admission to the Prison.

Initially upon release from the Prison to the Restitution Center, the parolee is expected to live at the Center under the supervision of the staff. To make the restitution which has been agreed upon, staff are available to help the offender in finding meaningful employment. It is not necessary to have a job to get into the program but it is necessary to find one following admission in order to complete the agreed-upon restitution. From the money which is earned, each resident is expected to pay some amount toward board and room as well as the agreed-upon amount for restitution.

The residents in the program are on parole status. The staff of the Center function as parole officers and are there to help the residents complete their individual parole agreements. This means that the staff are expected to help residents in obtaining work, making use of community resources that are required, and help residents solve problems that may be interfering with their fulfillment of the agreed-upon restitution/parole agreement. Both the length of time that residents reside in the Center, as well as the length of time on parole, depends largely on the behavior of the resident in completing the restitution contract as well as in meeting parole obligations. Any major violation of the parole agreement results in the return of the offender to the State Prison. Clearly, the completion of restitution does not necessarily terminate the parole status of the offender. Information to be presented in this report will relate directly to this point.

Program Components

The major program components of the Restitution Center as noted in the program literature are as follows:

- 1) offenders selected for the program reside in a community corrections center while making restitution to their victims;
- 2) the restitution program is an alternative to the regular prison program and, in order to ensure that this is the case, offenders selected for the program are drawn from recent admissions to the Prison;
- 3) the payment of restitution by the offender to the victim is the primary, not sole, "treatment" approach used at the Center;
- 4) the contracting process is basic to the program. Offenders selected for the Center are expected to develop a clearly stated written restitution agreement with the victims of their offenses. The contracting process between victims and offender is at the State Prison. Upon formulation of the restitution agreement, the offender is brought before the paroling authority and if the contract is regarded favorably, the offender is released on parole to the Center four months following admission to the Prison.

The above points relating to the components of the Restitution Center program need to be amplified and meaningfully related to evaluation research efforts on the relative outcome effects of program clients.

First, the program is residential in nature - i.e., residents sleep in the facility and are accountable for their comings and goings. Because only relative freedom is characteristic of the status of the residents, freedom can be lost or taken away by program staff in accordance with program policies and rules. Because the natural tendency appears to be that social control measures tend to increase in relative proportion to one's proximity to law violators and one's investment with authority, residential corrections programs frequently suffer from a tendency towards an over-reliance on formal rules. In turn, a natural tendency then exists within such types of programs to make use of some particular treatment methodology to reconcile the rule breakers with the rules, or vice versa. This, then relates directly to the third of the previously listed program components.

Offender restitution to crime victims has not been a sole focus of the Restitution Center program. Twice weekly, one to two hour group counseling sessions are mandatory for all residents following admission to the program. Occasionally, counseling sessions are also held between program staff and residents and their spouses. Work related problems have also been a target of counseling sessions and attendance at Alcoholics Anonymous meetings have on occasion been required of residents. In short, the program of the Restitution Center has been a mixture of presumed active (i.e. causal) ingredients. The implications of this for evaluating the relative effects of the program are considerable. Most obviously, because the program of the Restitution Center is not a unitary phenomenon, it is extremely difficult to determine which - if any - of the presumed active ingredients of the program (independent variable) have a relative impact upon the various measures of the dependent variable (parole outcome, return to prison, and so on). For evaluation research purposes, the Restitution Center program (as the independent variable) is a "black-box" which may or may not significantly impact upon the various indices of program "success". As a result, the research evidence to be presented in this report will not answer questions concerning the relative effects of using restitution as a criminal sanction. At most, evaluation evidence has relevance only to the relative effects of this particular constellation of program ingredients at this particular time. While the

generalizability of evaluation research results across programs or projects may never be technically correct, for this project and this research, the proposition most definitely applies.

One further point having implications for the evaluation research conducted on the Center concerns the nature of the residential program and the close supervision offered the residents. The highly intrusive character of a residential corrections program coupled with the fact that program clients are released from the prison on parole to the Center four months following admission to the Prison, helps to ensure that considerable staff attention is given to actively supervising program residents -- i.e., direct and indirect talking with or about the client concerning varied aspects of his contemporary or historical life situation with particular attention to program rule violations, inclusive of the larger societal sanctions against criminal behavior.

On the one hand, relatively intensive parole supervision could have potentially negative effects on the measures used to assess program effects. For example, from relatively more intensive degrees of parole supervision, one might expect some corresponding changes in parole revocation rates. The logic is that relatively close supervision affords the parole officer greater amounts of time and energy to give to learning about the activities of the offender. In addition, there may be a tendency on the part of staff within a recently opened community corrections center to be particularly vigilant about the specific mental and physical location of each resident. Furthermore, such a program may be particularly concerned with demonstrating credibility to the referral source (Parole Board) as well as to present and future clientele by recommending that parole be revoked for certain non-conforming clients.

An alternative and quite different view of the likely effects of close parole supervision within the context of a residential community corrections center follows from the logic inherent in the crime control through deterrence argument. Thus, the close supervision afforded Restitution Center residents could have a potential deterrent effect upon their individual susceptibilities to commit crimes. Putting this in treatment terms, the close supervision provided in the combined form of counseling or treatment techniques and surveillance activities act as a specific form of deterrence on the offender's tendency toward committing criminal acts.

Regardless of whether the offender is to be regarded as "cured" of the purported irrational motives lying behind manifestations of criminal behavior or whether he has been deterred through fear of criminal sanctions, a deflationary effect on official indices of criminal behavior for the recipient of intensive parole supervision is likely to result. Given the relative lack of documented outcome effects of corrections programs, perhaps the most significant point in support of the notion that intensive parole supervision leads to relatively deflated indices of parole failure is the point most convincingly presented in the paper by R. Martinson, G. Kassenbaum and D. Ward, "A Critique of Research In Parole", and documented especially well in Paul Lerman's analysis of the California Community Treatment Project ("Community Treatment and Social Control"). These writers have convincingly noted that both parole officers and parole boards exercise their discretionary authority to recommend parole violations in a variable manner in relation to a host of criteria. Predominant among these may be the nature of the program context within which parole supervision is being dispensed. Operating within the context of an "experimental" program, parole officers are less likely to recommend parole revocation for particular forms of misbehavior than are their counterparts assigned parolees designed to receive the conventional form and amount of parole supervision. In short, a Hawthorne effect can be attributed to the experimental program. The result for evaluation research is that the parole outcome measures of the experimental group as compared to the controls is to some undetermined extent a function of the interaction of parole officer behavior and parolee behavior and not solely one of a neutral parole officer objectively and consistently responding to actual parolee behavior.

In summary, logical argumentation and empirical documentation can be used to support notions about the relative measured effects of providing intensive parole supervision. As a result, the question as to whether the measures of parole outcome performance used in this report are inflated or deflated cannot be clearly answered. The discretion of the police officer to arrest or not and instead take the presumably offending program resident back to the Center; the discretion of the prosecutor to prosecute or to plea bargain in a differential way according to whether or not the accused is a resident of the Center; the discretion inherent in judicial dispositions; all tend to affect problems of the validity and reliability of official statistics when used as proxy outcome measures of program success.

Evaluation Research

The initial research design used in assessing the outcome effects on the first two years of admissions to the Restitution Center was an after-only field experiment as this involved the random selection of control (prison program) and experimental (restitution program) groups from a specified population, of recent prison admissions.

The original agreement between the paroling authority and the program was to proceed with the random selection of clients for the program from September, 1972, through July, 1974. It was then agreed that as of August, 1974, inmates would begin to be selectively chosen for this program on other than a random basis. The rationale was that two years of experience with random selection should provide sufficient numbers in the experimental and control groups to give an adequate basis for assessing the outcome effects of the program as compared to the alternative of remaining within the prison until release on conventional parole. Clearly, however, in reaching the original agreement to proceed with random selection of program eligibles, the paroling authority did not agree to provide automatic parole to all randomly selected experimental cases brought before them. The reservation was made - and has been subsequently exercised - that in some cases, the paroling authority would not concur with the release of randomly selected offenders falling within the experimental group.

In fact, nine inmates who were randomly selected - agreed to participate in the development of a restitution agreement with their victims, and developed such an agreement, when presented to the Parole Board were denied release on parole to the Restitution Center. During the same time period, (September, 1972 - July, 1974) however, the Parole Board released 62 other randomly selected experimental group inmates on parole to the Center. In short, nine (12%) out of 71 offenders randomly selected for the Center and appearing before the Parole Board for release were denied parole.

Reasons given by the Board for these denials were varied in nature. Clearly, however, all inmates brought before the Board for release to the Center met all criteria which had previously been agreed upon.

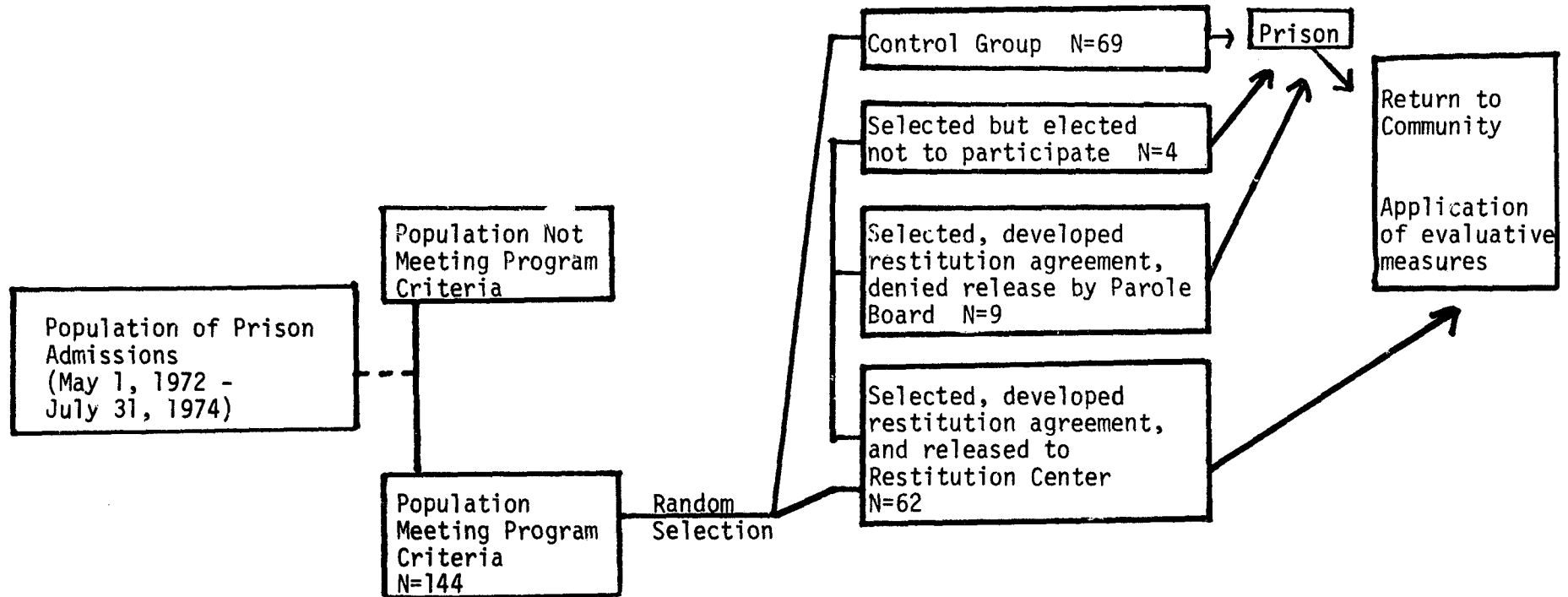
From a stringent research perspective, the action of the members of the Board in denying release to 12% of the randomly selected experimental group members brought before them was, to put it mildly, unfortunate. Not only did this result in smaller numbers to the experimental group members actually admitted to the Center, but, more importantly, the external validity of the findings has, as a consequence, been jeopardized. The parameters of the study population will be discussed in the next section of this report and at this point it need only be noted that because nine randomly selected inmates were rejected by the Board, the outcome findings to be reported here are - to some undetermined extent - not totally generalizable to the larger population. In short, the random nature of the experimental sample has been biased and differences, in addition to those which can be expected by chance, will exist between the experimental and control groups.

Several points need to be considered in relation to the actions of the Parole Board in denying parole release to the nine potential Restitution Center admissions. First, the Board did not violate any agreement with the Restitution program. As was previously noted, the original agreement between the Board and the Center left open the Board's prerogative of denying parole release to any particular inmate brought before them. A second point to be considered is that in the State of Minnesota in 1972, and, to a lesser but still considerable extent in 1973, community corrections programs designed to deal with both half-way in and half-way out adult felons were a relative novelty; few existed and those that were operating had only brief histories. The credibility of these programs with the Parole Board, therefore, had to be limited. The restitution program was not only a community corrections residential program and, thus, open to being viewed as in a class with other programs, but, of even greater importance, this program was geared to admitting residents from a population of property offenders who had served only four months of their commitment sentence. Given that the average sentence received by this population of randomly selected experimental group members brought before the Board approximated five with a range of from one year and one day to ten years and given also that these inmates were selected on a random probability basis from a population of recent admissions to the Prison, and given the - by necessity - highly political nature of parole board release decisions, it is to be expected that potential Restitution Center residents would have been denied parole release to

the Center. One might even suggest that the Parole Board did a highly creditable job in keeping to the original agreement with the Restitution Center.

The original research design for the Restitution Center along with the members in each group is represented schematically in Figure I.

FIGURE 1 - EVALUATION RESEARCH DESIGN



Population and Sample

The study population to which the results of this research were to be generalized is as follows:

- 1) Male offenders admitted to the Minnesota State Prison on property sentences;
- 2) prison commitment from within the seven county, St. Paul-Minneapolis Metropolitan area;
- 3) all present offenses leading to the Prison admission involved property offenses (excludes crimes against the person or victimless crimes);
- 4) no felony convictions for crimes against the person during the preceding five years of community living (exclusive of time spent in prison);
- 5) no possession of a gun or knife at the time of committing the conviction offense leading to the present prison admission;
- 6) no detainers on file;
- 7) the most recent prison admission did not result from a parole violation but was, in fact, a new court commitment (excludes inmates returned to the Prison as parole violators).

The target population for the Center was limited to commitments from the seven-county metropolitan area of St. Paul-Minneapolis in order to facilitate the active personal involvement of both the victim and the offender in the development of a restitution agreement. Only offenders sentenced to the Prison on their present commitment for property-type offenses were considered for the Restitution program for two reasons: Diverting them from Prison at the end of four months would be less likely to create public turmoil and arouse fewer conflicts with the Parole Board and its vulnerability to publicly and privately communicated community attitudes. Secondly, the harm done by property offenders can be more easily

assessed in monetary terms than harm done by offenses against the person. Parole violators (unless being returned on the status of a new court commitment) were excluded from the study pool because of the difficulties involved in defining and attaching monetary damages to harms resulting from technical parole violations.

Figure I should be read as follows:

A. Population Meeting Program Criteria:

The total volume of new court commitments to the State Prison from May, 1972 through March, 1974 meeting the program criteria were randomly assigned to either experimental or control status. From September, 1972 through July, 1974, a total of 144 men admitted to the Prison met the program criteria.

B. Control Group:

Of the 144 eligibles, 69 men were randomly assigned to the control group. This group of men remained in the Prison and, for the most part, completed their sentences on regular parole. Information will be presented in later sections of this report on the length of the Prison terms actually by members of this group.

C. Experimental Group:

A total of 75 men were randomly assigned to experimental status. In turn, these inmates were offered an opportunity to develop restitution agreements for presentation to the Parole Board. This total group of 75 experimentals was reduced to 62 actual prison releases to the Center.

- a) 4 experimentals declined the opportunity to develop restitution agreements with their crime victims and therefore remained in prison
- b) 9 experimentals developed restitution agreements but were denied parole release to the Center by the Parole Board

Offender Characteristics

Information to be presented in this section summarizes personal characteristics of the 62 experimental group members who were formally admitted to the Restitution Center between September, 1972 and July, 1974, as well as the control group members randomly selected during the same time period. Table 1 presents information on county of commitment for the experimental and controls:

TABLE 1: COMMITTING COUNTY

<u>County</u>	<u>Experimental Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Anoka	2	3	5	7	7	5
Carver, Scott			1	1	1	1
Dakota	2	3	1	1	3	2
Hennepin	33	53	41	59	74	57
Ramsey	23	37	18	26	41	31
Washington	2	3	3	4	5	
TOTAL	62		69		131	

As is evident from the information presented in Table 1, over ninety percent (90%) of the experimental group commitments and eighty-five percent (85%) of the control group commitments were from the two large counties of Hennepin (Minneapolis) and Ramsey (St. Paul) with only very small proportions of this population committed from the remaining five counties of the metropolitan area of Minneapolis-St. Paul. No major proportionate differences appear to exist between the two groups in relation to county of commitment.

Table 2 presents information on the ethnic or racial background of the 62 experimental group members admitted to the Restitution Center and the 69 control group members who remained in the prison program. Clearly, the vast majority of both the experimental (77%) and control (85%) groups are composed of Whites with somewhat larger proportions of Blacks and Native American Indians in the experimental as compared to the control group. It is interesting to review this information in light of the fact that during the first year of operation of the

Restitution Center, some questions were raised of the Program in relation to the perceived discriminating effect the program criteria had for ethnic minorities. When the information presented in Table 2 is considered in relation to the fact that the Black population of the Prison in 1972-1974 approximated fourteen percent of the total population, the admission criteria to the population pool for the Restitution Center do not appear to have had a profoundly discriminatory effect upon the admission of minorities into the Center.

TABLE 2: ETHNIC BACKGROUND

<u>Race</u>	<u>Experimental Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
White	48	77	59	85	107	82
Black	8	13	5	7	12	9
Am. Indian	6	10	5	7	12	9
TOTAL	62		69		131	

Tables 3 and 4 present information by group on commitment offenses. Not all members of the experimental and control groups have been convicted of more than one offense on the present commitment and, therefore, large numbers are apparent in the category "None" in Table 4. Inspection of these Tables reveals that on the first commitment offense, only slight differences are apparent in the relative proportions of offenders having been convicted of specific property type crimes. Thus, approximately six percent of the control group as compared to two percent of the experimental group had received a primary commitment offense for receiving stolen property while twenty-three percent of the experimental group as compared to fifteen percent of the control group had received a primary commitment offense of forgery. Similarly, with respect to the second commitment offense as noted in Table 4, approximately eight percent of the experimental group

as compared to two percent of the control group had received their second commitment offense for forgery while approximately 81% of the control group as compared to 68% of the experimentals did not receive a second commitment offense.

TABLE 3: COMMITMENT OFFENSE 1

	Experimental Group		Control Group		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Receiving Stolen Property	1	2	4	6	5	4
Theft	15	24	16	23	31	24
UUMV	6	10	8	12	14	11
Forgery	14	23	10	15	24	18
Burglary	26	42	31	45	57	44
Total	62		69		131	

TABLE 4: COMMITMENT OFFENSE 2

	Experimental Group		Control Group		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Receiving Stolen Property	1	2	1	1	2	2
Theft	3	5	3	4	6	5
UUMV	2	3	3	4	5	4
Forgery	5	8	1	2	6	5
Burglary	6	1	3	4	9	7
Other	6	10	2	3	5	4
(None)	42	68	56	81	98	75
Total	62		69		131	

Several points need to be considered in relation to Tables 3 and 4. First, the ordering of commitment offenses on commitment papers would appear to take place on essentially a random basis. Secondly, because of plea bargaining, the relationship between the officially labeled commitment offense and the actual criminal behavior is - if not consistently remote - sometimes distant. Consequently, this information may, in fact, be more characteristic of the operational processing of the criminal justice system than of the offender's original criminal activity.

Table 5 provides information by group on the statutory maximum sentence received on the present commitment as well as the modal and mean sentence in years. As is apparent from this Table, approximately ninety percent (90%) of the combined groups received sentences of five years or less with approximately eighty-eight percent (88%) of the experimental group members and ninety-two percent (92%) of the control group having received such sentences for their present commitments. The mean average sentence received by the experimentals was 4.2 years while the mean for the controls was 3.9 years. In short, the members of the experimental group had slightly lengthier overall average sentences than the members of the control group.

TABLE 5: TOTAL YEARS TO BE SERVED ON PRESENT COMMITMENT

	Experimental Group		Control Group		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 year & 1 day	5	8	12	17	17	13
2 years	8	13	5	7	13	10
3 years	14	23	13	19	27	21
4 years	-	-	4	6	4	3
5 years	27	44	29	42	56	43
6 years	3	5	1	1	4	3
7 years	2	3	-	-	2	2
10 years	3	5	4	6	7	5
Unknown			1	1	1	1
Total	62		69		131	
Mode	5		5		5	
Mean	4.2		3.9		4.1	

Table 6 presents information by group on the total number of prior felony convictions received by members of the population. The range is from zero for those offenders with no history of prior felony convictions to two offenders with nine and ten prior felony convictions. Quite clearly, the population of men who met the criteria for the Restitution Center have fairly extensive conviction records with slightly over one-third of each group having had three or more felony convictions prior to the convictions leading up to the present commitment. Because offenders who commit crimes against property and are convicted and received at the State Prison have the greatest probability of any class of inmates of being returned to the Prison, the lengthy prior conviction records of this population should not be a surprise. By having higher rates of re-imprisonment, property-type offenders will tend -- other things being equal -- to skew the population of the Prison at any one point in time.

TABLE 6: TOTAL NUMBER OF PREVIOUS FELONY CONVICTIONS

	Experimental Group		Control Group		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	23	37	27	39	50	38
1	17	27	16	23	33	25
2	10	16	11	16	21	16
3	8	13	6	9	14	11
4	1	2	4	6	5	4
5	2	3	1	1	3	2
6	-	-	1	1	1	1
7	-	-	2	3	2	2
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	1	2	-	-	1	1
10	-	-	1	1	1	1
Total	62		69		131	
Mode	"None"		"None"		"None"	
Mean	1.35		1.55		1.46	

Table 7 presents information by group on the highest academic grade completed by members of the experimental and control groups.

TABLE 7: HIGHEST ACADEMIC SCHOOL YEAR COMPLETED

	Experimental Group		Control Group		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	1	2	-	-	1	1
2nd	1	2	-	-	1	1
5th	1	2	1	1	2	2
6th	-	-	1	1	1	1
7th	2	3	2	3	4	3
8th	3	5	6	9	9	7
9th	5	8	13	19	18	14
10th	11	18	9	13	20	15
11th	1	2	9	13	10	8
12th	29	47	23	33	52	40
Post High School	8	13	5	7	13	10
Total	62		69		131	
Mode	12		12		12	
Mean	10.89		10.49		10.68	

As is apparent from Table 7, the proportionate distributions of the groups by academic grade level are generally comparable with a mean average of 10.89 years of academic schooling completed for members of the experimental group and a mean of 10.49 for members of the control group.

Table 8 presents information by group on marital status at time of admission to the Prison:

TABLE 8: MARITAL STATUS

	Experimental Group		Control Group		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Single	16	26	24	35	40	31
Married	22	36	17	25	39	30
Annulled	-	-	1	1	1	1
Legally Separated	-	-	3	4	3	2
Non-Legally Separated	4	7	4	6	8	6
Divorced	18	29	18	26	36	28
Non-Legal Assoc.	2	3	1	1	3	2
Unknown	-	-	1	1	1	1
Total	62		69		131	

Table 9 presents information on the age of the experimental and control group members at time of admission to the Prison on the current sentence:

TABLE 9: AGE AT PRESENT SENTENCE

Age	Experimental Group		Control Group		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
21-25	23	37	27	39	50	38
26-30	14	23	20	29	34	26
31-35	9	14	9	13	18	14
36-40	7	11	5	7	12	9
41-45	6	10	6	9	12	9
46-50	3	5	1	2	4	3
51-52	-	-	1	2	1	1
Total	62		69		131	

From Table 9, it is evident that both groups are composed overwhelmingly of younger-aged offenders. Furthermore, as would be expected from random assignment, both the experimental and control groups are very similar in the proportion of offenders falling within the different age categories. Thus, while thirty-seven (60%) of the experimental group members were thirty years of age or under at the time of sentencing, forty-seven (68%) of the control group members were in this age range. Conversely, twenty-five (40%) of the experimentals and twenty-two (33%) of the controls were over 35 years of age at the time of prison admission.

Information presented in this section has summarized the county of commitment, ethnic or racial background, commitment offenses, sentence in years, number of prior felony convictions, academic standing, marital status, and age at Prison admission for the experimental and control group members. For the most part, the two groups have been found to be equivalent. This is a relatively young population, committed to the Prison primarily for the crime of burglary, largely White, and with a relatively extensive prior felony conviction record.

VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS & INDEMNIFICATION

Information in this section will deal with characteristics and amounts of indemnification provided to the officially defined victims associated with members of the experimental group actually admitted to the Restitution Center. In fact, however, it should be noted that "officially defined" victims bear no necessary relationship to actual victims. There were a large number of other, actual, but not official victims directly associated with the 62 offenders released to the Center. Plea negotiations and lack of sufficient evidence will, in most cases, account for the missing, actual victims.

Table 10 presents information on the characteristics of the total number of victims of the 62 offenders admitted to the Restitution Center between September, 1972 and July 31, 1974.

TABLE 10: VICTIM TYPE

	No.	%
I. <u>Individuals</u>	79	36
II. <u>Sales Organizations</u>		
1) <u>Sales (Retail):</u>		
Clothiers	13	6
Boat & Auto Sales	9	4
Grocery Stores	9	4
Drug Stores	3	1
Jewelry Stores	3	1
Hardware Stores	2	1
Parts	1	1
Hobby	1	1
Sub Total	41	19
2) <u>Sales (Large Scale, Wholesale, etc.)</u>		
Department Stores	16	7
Discount Stores	8	4
Wholesale Co.	5	2
Manufacturing	5	2
Sub Total	34	15
3) <u>Sales (Service-Oriented)</u>		
Gas Stations	11	5
Banks	5	2
Construction	4	2
Music Stores	3	1
Transportation	3	1
Hotel & Motel	2	1
Laundromat	1	1
Upholestry Shop	1	1
Sub Total	30	14
4) <u>Sales (Entertainment Type)</u>		
Bar	21	10
Liquor Store	3	1
Restaurants	3	1
Resort	1	1
Sub Total	28	13
III. <u>Non-Utilitarian Organization</u>		
School	3	1
Hospital	3	1
Church	1	1
Public Library	1	1
County Office	1	1
Sub Total	9	5
TOTAL	221	

As is evident from this Table, the 62 offenders admitted to the Restitution Center had a total of 221 official victims. The largest proportion of these victims were private individuals (36%) followed by retail sales establishments (19%), large-sales organizations (15%), service oriented establishments (14%), entertainment-oriented facilities (13%) and human service-oriented organizations (4%).

Table 11 presents information on type of offense by type of victim -- individual or corporate.

TABLE 11: TYPE OF VICTIM BY OFFENSE

Offense	Individual Victim		Corporation Victim		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Burglary	40	51	40	28	80	36
Theft	12	15	38	27	50	23
Forgery	1	1	48	34	49	22
UUMV	18	23	6	4	24	11
Rec. Stolen Property	8	10	10	7	18	8
Total	79		142		221	

From this Table, it is evident that over one-half of the offenses committed against individual victims were for burglary with decreasing proportions of such offenses as unlawful use of motor vehicles, theft, receiving stolen property and forgery. With the corporate victims, however, the proportions are somewhat different with forgery the most common offenses leading to victimization followed closely by burglary and theft.

Table 12 provides information on the amount and type of restitution obligation assumed by the 62 men admitted to the Center between September 1, 1972 and July 31, 1974. "Symbolic restitution" in this context refers to restitution made by the offender in non-monetary forms such as services to "hot line crisis centers" in the community.

TABLE 12: AMOUNT AND TYPE OF RESTITUTION OBLIGATION

<u>Restitution Obligation</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Symbolic Only	9	14
\$1 - \$50	10	16
\$51 - \$100	8	13
\$101 - \$200	15	24
\$201 - \$300	2	4
\$301 - \$400	7	11
\$401 - \$500	2	4
\$501 - \$1000	4	6
\$1000 - \$2000	4	6
Over \$2000	1	2
Total	62	100

As this Table demonstrates, 33 (53%) of the monetary restitution obligations totaled \$200.00 or less and 44 (72%) totaled \$500.00 or less. While these figures may appear to be low, it should be noted that these include all out-of-pocket expenses incurred by victims as a direct result of the criminal offense. In short, full restitution as opposed to partial restitution was stipulated in the restitution agreements signed by the 62 residents of the Center. As noted previously, restitution obligations are a direct function of plea bargaining; the fewer official -- as opposed to actual -- victims, the less restitution that can be obligated as out-of-pocket expenses associated with the criminal offense. To some considerable extent, then, more widespread use of restitution as a criminal sanction could have serious -- if not terminal -- effects on the practice of plea negotiation.

At the same time, however, it should be noted that the size of victim loss noted in the above Table is quite comparable to other sources of information on size of criminal victimization. For example, the 1973 Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports indicates that the average dollar loss incurred by victims of burglary was \$337.00 and for theft - larceny, \$140.00.

Table 13 summarizes information on restitution obligations and payment by the 62 residents admitted to the program as of August 1, 1975. As is evident from this Table, the total financial obligation of the residents totaled \$16,934.99 and, of this total amount, \$9,459.10 (56%) was paid, leaving a balance of \$7,475.89. Of this balance, \$4,882.77 (29% of balance) will not be paid due to residents being returned to prison, or deceased in the program, while \$2,593.12 (15% of balance) is expected to be paid on an on-going basis by residents still remaining in various stages of the program.

Table 13 also summarizes information on symbolic restitution (restitution made primarily in the form of community services). Such restitution contracts were developed in the Center either when the victim suffered no out-of-pocket losses or when the victim refused to become involved in the contracting process and would not accept monetary restitution payments. Most of the symbolic contracts entailed the offender completing a specified number of hours of work at human service agencies -- drug counseling, "hot line", telephone programs in crisis centers, and so on. A total of 1,084 hours of symbolic restitution was obligated by residents in the program and, of this total amount, 373.2 hours have been completed, leaving an obligation balance of 711.8 hours. While 77 hours remain of symbolic restitution to be completed by residents remaining in the program, 634.8 hours have been forfeited by residents returning to prison.

TABLE 13: RESTITUTION OBLIGATION AND PAYMENTS

	Restitution Comm. <u>(A)=(B)+(C)</u>	Restitution Paid <u>(B)</u>	Restitution Balance <u>(C)=(D)+(E)</u>	Individual Unable to Pay <u>(D)</u>	Possible Payment <u>(E)</u>
(1)					
Monetary Restitution					
Dollars	\$ 16,934.99	\$ 9,459.10	\$ 7,475.89	\$ 4,882.77	\$ 2,593.12
Percent	100%	56%	44%	29%	15%
(2)					
Symbolic Restitution					
No. of Hours	1,084	372.2	711.8	634.8	77
Percent	100%	34%	66%	59%	7%

Table 14 presents further information on restitution obligations, restitution paid, and restitution forfeited by parole status of the members of the experimental group as of July 31, 1974.

TABLE 14: BREAKDOWN OF RESTITUTION OBLIGATION AND PAYMENT

Obligation and Payment Nature of Restitution	Restitution Due (A)=(B)+(C)	Restitution Paid (B)	Restitution Balance (C)=(D)+(E)	Individual Unable to Pay (D)	Possible Payment (E)
I. Monetary Restitution (Dollars)					
Not Revoked	\$ 9,597.87	\$ 7,004.75	\$ 2,593.12	-	\$ 2,593.12
Revoked	6,601.12	1,813.35	4,787.77	\$ 4,787.77	-
Deceased	187.00	150.00	37.00	37.00	-
Sub-Total	16,385.99 (100%)	8,968.10 (54.7%)	7,417.89 (45.3%)	4,824.77 (29.5%)	2,593.12 (15.8%)
II. Symbolic Restitution (Hours)					
Not Revoked	163 hrs.	86 hrs.	77 hrs.	-	77 hrs.
Revoked	616 hrs.	156 hrs.	460 hrs.	460 hrs.	-
Sub-Total	779 hrs. (100%)	242 hrs. (31.1%)	537 hrs. (68.9%)	460 hrs. (59.0%)	77 hrs. (9.9%)
III. Mixed Restitution					
Not Revoked					
Monetary Restitution	\$ 451.00	\$ 451.00	-	-	-
Symbolic Restitution	101 hrs.	101 hrs.	-	-	-
	(100%)	(100%)			
Revoked					
Monetary Restitution	\$ 98.00	\$ 40.00	\$ 58.00	\$ 58.00	-
Symbolic Restitution	204 hrs.	29.5 hrs.	174.5 hrs.	174.5 hrs.	-
Sub-Totals					
Monetary Restitution	\$ 549.00	\$ 491.00	\$ 58.00	\$ 58.00	-
Symbolic Restitution	305 hrs.	130.5 hrs.	174.5 hrs.	174.5 hrs.	-
	(100%)	(42.8%)	(57.2%)	(57.2%)	
IV. Total					
Monetary Restitution	\$16,934.99 (100%)	\$ 9,459.10 (55.9%)	\$ 7,745.89 (44.1%)	\$ 4,882.77 (28.8%)	\$ 2,593.12 (15.3%)
Symbolic Restitution	1,084 hrs. (100%)	372.5 hrs. (34.4%)	711.5 hrs. (65.6%)	634.5 hrs. (58.5%)	77 hrs. (7.1%)

Inspection of Table 14 reveals the following:

a) Monetary restitution: the 27 residents who did not have their paroles revoked, contracted for a total of \$9,597.87 to be paid as of July 31, 1974 had completed \$7005.75 of this obligated amount. This leaves a balance to be paid of \$2,593.12. The 24 residents who had their paroles revoked completed \$1,813.35 of a total amount of restitution owed of \$6,601.12, leaving a balance of \$4,787.77 that will not be paid. Finally, the two deceased residents owed a total of \$187.00 and completed \$150.00 of this total obligated amount prior to their death.

b) Symbolic restitution: as of July 31, 1974, the residents who did not have their parole revoked and who were obligated to complete 163 hours of symbolic restitution had completed 86 hours, leaving a balance of 77 hours. For the residents who did have their paroles revoked as of July 31, 1974, a total of 156 hours of symbolic restitution had been completed of a total obligated amount of 616 hours, leaving 460 lost hours.

c) Mixed restitution: members of the experimental group were obligated to complete both monetary and symbolic restitution. Of this group, the residents who did not have their paroles revoked completed the total obligated amount of \$451.00 and 101 hours by July 31, 1974. The residents who had their paroles revoked completed \$40.00 and 29.5 hours of a total of \$98.00 and 204 hours, leaving a balance lost of \$58.00 and 174.5 hours.

In summary, a total \$16,934.99 was obligated with \$9,459.10 paid as of July 31, 1974. This left a balance of \$7,475.89, with \$4,882.77 of this balance lost due to residents being returned to prison. \$2,593.12 is expected to be completed by residents remaining in the program. Similarly, while a total of 1,084 hours of symbolic restitution have been obligated, 372.5 hours had been completed as of July 31, 1974. This left a balance of 711.8 hours with 634.5 hours of this balance lost due to residents being returned to prison. 77 hours remain to be completed by residents remaining in the program.

Table 15 presents summary information on restitution obligations and proportionate payments made by parole status of the experimentals as of July 31, 1974. This Table essentially summarizes in proportionate terms the information presented in Table 14.

Inspection of Table 15 reveals that as of July 31, 1974, members of the experimental group who did not have parole revoked had largely completed their monetary or symbolic or mixed monetary-symbolic restitution obligations. Those experimentals who had parole revoked as of July 31, 1974, had completed varying amounts of monetary, symbolic, or mixed monetary-symbolic restitution obligations.

TABLE 15: PERCENT OF RESTITUTION PAYMENT MADE BY EXPERIMENTAL GROUP

<u>PERCENT PAID</u>	<u>NON-REVOCATION</u>								<u>REVOCATION</u>							
	<u>Monetary Restitution</u>		<u>Symbolic Restitution</u>		<u>Mixed Restitution</u>				<u>Monetary Restitution</u>		<u>Symbolic Restitution</u>		<u>Mixed Restitution</u>			
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Mon. Rest.</u>	<u>Symp. Rest.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Mon. Rest.</u>	<u>Symp. Rest.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Never Paid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	36.4	4	57.1	-	-	1	33.3
1% - 20%	1	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	18.3	1	14.3	1	33.3	-	-
21% - 40%	2	8.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	13.6	1	14.3	-	-	2	66.7
41% - 60%	2	8.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	13.6	-	-	1	33.3	-	-
61% - 99%	1	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4.5	-	-	1	33.3	-	-
100%	19	76.0	2	100.0	3	100.0	3	100.0	3	13.6	1	14.3	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	25	100.0	2	100.0	3*	100.0	3*	100.0	22	100.0	7	100.0	3**	99.9	3**	100.0

*Indicating 3 subjects with the status of "Non-Revocation" who were paying mixed restitution (both monetary and symbolic restitutions).

**Indicating 3 subjects with the status of "Revocation" who completed mixed restitution.

Follow-Up Information

This section will present information on the legal status of the members of the experimental and control groups 18 months following admission to the Prison. Clearly, the tables to be presented in this Section should not be read as indicating more than they do, in fact, present. Because inmates randomly assigned to experimental and control status were admitted to the Prison at different times between May, 1972 and March, 1974 and because they were randomly selected from the monthly population pool of eligibles, the "at-risk" period will have the effect of inflating the parole violation or return to prison rate of the experimentals relative to the controls. Members of the experimental group, it should be remembered, were released from the Prison after only four months of confinement on their sentences. In contrast, however, the members of the control group served much lengthier portions of their sentences prior to release to the community. In short, Figure 2 essentially presents a slice-in-time picture of the Prison, parole, and free-citizen, situation of the experimental and control group members 18 months following prison admission.

Figure 2

A. Population Meeting Program Criteria

A total of 144 men admitted to the Prison between May, 1972 and March, 1974 met the program criteria. This monthly population pool of inmates were then eligible for random assignment to the experimental and control groups.

B. Control Group

- 1) Of the 144 program eligibles, 69 were randomly assigned to control group status and remained in the regular prison program.
- 2) Of the 69 men assigned to the control group, three had not been released from prison eighteen months following admission.
- 3) Fifty-five men assigned to the control group had been released from prison on parole at the end of 18 months following their admission to the prison, the status of these men were as follows:

- a) 19 men remained on parole status;
 - b) 13 men had been discharged from parole;
 - c) 13 men received new court commitments and were recommitted to the Prison;
 - d) 3 men received technical violations of parole and had been returned to Prison;
 - e) 6 men had absconded from parole and their whereabouts were unknown;
 - f) 1 man had a court case pending.
- 4) Two members of the control group were on escape status.
 - 5) One inmate assigned to control group status committed suicide while in Prison.
 - 6) Eight men had received flat discharges from Prison within 18 months of admission. Of these men:
 - a) 3 were free of any further criminal charges at the end of 18 months following their previous prison admission;
 - b) 2 had court cases pending;
 - c) 3 men received new convictions and had been recommitted to the Prison.

C. Experimental Group

- 1) 75 men were randomly assigned to experimental group status and offered an opportunity to develop a restitution agreement with their crime victims. In turn, this total group is subdivided into the following major categories:

- a) Sixty-two men assigned to the experimental group agreed to take part in the development of a restitution contract, completed such a contract with their victims, and were paroled by the Minnesota Corrections Authority (Parole Board) to the Restitution Center;
 - b) 4 offenders were selected by the random procedures but declined the opportunity to participate in contract development with their victims;
 - c) 9 men were randomly selected for the program and completed a restitution contract with their victims, but were not released by the paroling authority.
- 2) Of the 62 members of the experimental group who were formally admitted to the Restitution Center, Figure 2 reveals that as of 18 months following admission to the Prison:
- a) 21 men remained under the supervision of the Restitution Center;
 - b) 9 men had been discharged from the program and free of any further involvement with the courts;
 - c) 2 men had died as a result of accidents while in the program;
 - d) 6 men had been returned to prison as new commitments;
 - e) 22 men had been returned to prison on the grounds of violating technical conditions of parole;
 - f) 2 men had absconded and their situation was unknown.

Figure 2

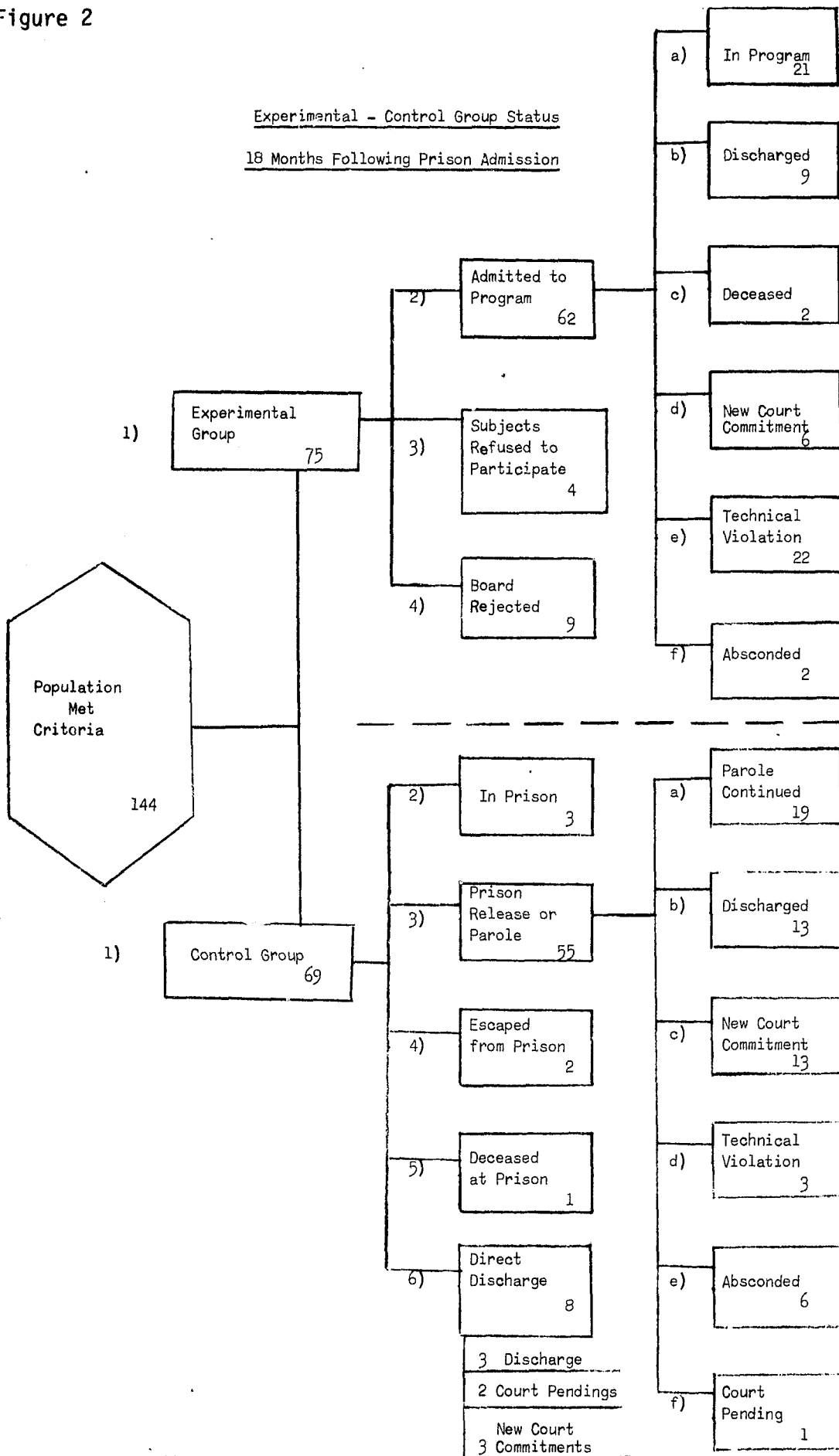


Table 16 essentially summarizes the information presented in Figure 2 dealing with the legal status of the members of the experimental and control groups 18 months following prison admission. Again, caution should be exercised in interpreting this Table. Keeping in mind differences in the community-at-risk periods of the two groups, several tendencies are displayed in Table 16:

- 1) A larger proportion of controls (24%) as compared to experimentals (15%) had received parole discharge 18 months following prison admission. This is particularly interesting in light of the fact that the Restitution Center residents had been released from prison onto parole four months following prison admission. In contrast, the members of the control group served significantly longer prison terms for their sentences. In short, while released from prison after only four months, members of the experimental group appeared to have received relatively fewer parole discharges. Information will be presented in later sections of this report to substantiate this finding and show that offenders released from the Prison to the Restitution Center at the end of four months in the Prison program were maintained on parole supervision for a longer period of time than those offenders in the control group who completed the regular prison program and then were released to parole status.
- 2) A larger proportion of controls (24%) as compared to experimentals (10%) had been returned to prison on the basis of new court commitments eighteen months following prison admission. These parolees would have returned to prison as a new commitment. It should be noted that the discretion exercised by prosecuting attorneys and data clerks may account for between-group variations in recommitment and parole violation rates. Thus, if the parolee admits to the impending charge, on some occasions the parole may be revoked and the offender returned to prison and officially counted as a "parole violator" rather than a "new court commitment." In some cases, charges may never be officially brought on the grounds that the offender was returned to prison. In other cases, if charges are officially brought, the offender will negotiate a plea with the sentence to run concurrent with the unexpired portion of the original sentence. In either case, the probability is that the return to prison will be counted by the Department of Corrections as a "parole violator" and not as a "new court commitment."

- 3) Somewhat relevant to the prior point, a significantly larger proportion of experimentals (35%) as compared to controls (5%) had been returned to prison on technical violations of parole 18 months following prison admission. The earlier discussion of the potential effects of relatively more intensive degrees of parole supervision is pertinent here. The relatively greater degree of parole supervision provided to the residents of the Restitution Center as compared to the members of the control group released to conventional parole would most probably account for this variation in type of parole violations. Chronic rule violations in the Center often coupled with outright defiance of these rules became grounds for parole violation. Again, however, some of these cases of technical parole violation may have resulted from the discretion exercised by officials within the criminal justice system. In some experimental group cases, it is plausible to expect that offenders were returned to prison on what were officially classed as "technical" parole violations but which, if left to the different parts of the criminal justice system to play out their roles, would have been classed as "new court commitments".
- 4) A larger proportion of control group members (9.5%) as compared to experimental group members (3.2%) had absconded and their situation was unknown at the end of 18 months following admission to the Prison.
- 5) Grouping together offenders in the experimental and offender groups who had received either a new court commitment or technical parole violation or had court cases pending or who had absconded 18 months following prison admission, approximately the same proportions are evident between the two groups with 30 (48.4%) of the 62 experimental group members and 28 (44.5%) of the control group members falling into this category.

TABLE 16: EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUP STATUS
18 Months Following Prison Admission

	<u>Exp.</u>	<u>Control</u>
A. Number Released to Parole	62	55
<u>Status of Parole Releases</u>		
a) in-program (exp. or control)	21 (34%)	19 (34%)
b) discharged	9 (15%)	13 (24%)
c) recommitment	6 (10%)	13 (24%)
d) technical violations	22 (35%)	3 (5%)
e) absconded	2 (3%)	6 (11%)
f) court case pending	0	1 (2%)
g) deceased	2 (3%)	0
	<u>62 (100%)</u>	<u>55 (100%)</u>
B. Number Released on Flat Discharge	0	8
<u>Status of Flat Discharges</u>		
a) court cases pending	0	2 (24%)
b) new court commitment	0	3 (38%)
c) discharged and still out with no charges pending	0	3 (38%)
	<u>0</u>	<u>8 (100%)</u>
C. Number Still in Prison		
<u>Status of Non-Releases</u>		
a) in prison (still serving time)	0	3 (50%)
b) escaped from prison	0	2 (33%)
c) deceased in prison (committed suicide)	0	1 (17%)
	<u>0</u>	<u>6 (100%)</u>
SUMMARY I (A and B) - Community Phase		
a) Recommitment	6 (9.7%)	16 (25.4%)
b) Court Pending for Felony (only)	0	3 (4.8%)
c) Absconded	2 (3.2%)	6 (9.5%)
d) Technical Violation	22 (35.5%)	3 (4.8%)
e) Discharged, in Program, or on Parole	30 (48.4%)	35 (55.5%)
f) Deceased	2 (3.2%)	0
	Sub-Total:	63 (100.0%)
	62 (100.0%)	63 (100.0%)
SUMMARY II (C) - Prison Phase		
g) Non-Releases	0	6
	TOTAL:	69
	62	69

Inspection of Table 17 reveals that a relatively clear relationship exists between months to return from prison release and control or experimental group status. In common with other information that has been presented up to this point, experimental group members are more likely to be returned to prison at an earlier point in time following parole release than are members of the control group. Thus, information presented in Table 17 shows that 26.7% of the experimentals as compared to 17.4% of the controls were returned to prison within the first six months following release. During the second six month period following release, the proportionate differences between the groups had decreased with 13.3% of the experimentals as compared to 11.1% of the controls having been returned to prison. Finally, 10% of the experimentals as compared to 12.7% of the controls were returned to prison one year or more following release.

Because of the close supervision provided to experimental group members admitted to the Restitution Center program, there is a clear trend for members of this group who are returned to the prison, to be returned at an earlier time period following release than the members of the control group. Thus, while the proportionate number of experimentals and controls returned to the prison are relatively similar as of August 1, 1975, prison returns for members of the experimental group clearly tend to occur sooner following release. Therefore, as the lengths of the follow-up period are extended into time, one would expect that the relative differences between the groups will increasingly favor the experimentals.

Table 18 presents information on the number of prison days served on present commitment by members of the experimental and control groups as of August 1, 1975. It is important to note that only the 62 experimental group members who were actually released to the Restitution Center is included in this Table. Excluded are the four randomly selected experimentals who declined to participate in the development of a restitution agreement as well as the nine inmates who were denied release to the Center by the Parole Board. All 69 randomly selected control group members are included in this Table. Because three members of the control group still remained in prison at the cut-off date of August 1, 1975, this has the effect of increasing the overall length of stay for members of this group.

Up to this point, information has been presented dealing with the legal and corrections status of experimental and control members at particular points in time following release. Table 17 presents information on the corrections status of experimentals and controls by month from prison release to return to prison as of August 1, 1975. Both parole releases and direct discharges from prison are included in this table.

TABLE 17: Months to Return From Release - As of August 1, 1975

	1-3		4-6		7-9		10-12		13-16		16 & Over		Not Returned		TOTAL	
	No.	Raw%	No.	Raw%	No.	Raw%	No.	Raw%	No.	Raw%	No.	Raw%	No.	Raw%	No.	Raw%
Experi- mental Gp.	9	15.0	7	11.7	5	8.3	3	5.0	4	6.7	2	3.3	30*	50.0	60	48.8
Control Gp.	5	7.9	6	9.5	4	6.3	3	4.8	2	3.2	6	9.5	37**	58.7	63	50.4
TOTAL	14	11.4	13	10.6	9	7.3	6	4.9	6	4.9	8	6.5	67	54.4	123	100.0

*Excluding two deceased.

**Excluding six subjects: three subjects who were in prison, one deceased in prison, and two who escaped from the prison.

Looking first at the experimentals and controls who had actually been released on parole status as of August 1, 1975, information presented in Table 18 shows that the 62 members of the experimental group served a mean average length of 121 days in prison with a range of from 120 to 150 days while the 55 members of the control group who were released on parole served a mean of 408 days in prison with a range of from 127 to 679 days. With the exception of two members of the experimental group who were released five months (150 days) following prison admission, the remaining 60 experimentals were released to the Restitution Center at the agreed-upon time of four months (120 days) following prison admission. These two members of the experimental group were released one month later than would ordinarily be expected as a result of particular difficulties associated with securing their release to the Center.

In addition to the 55 control group members who were released on parole after having served a mean of 408 prison days, 8 control group members were released on flat discharge from the prison after having served an average of 309 prison days with a range of 180 days to 629 days. The two control group members who escaped from prison during their confinement and were then reconfined served an average of 450 prison days as of August 1, 1975. The one control group member who died while in prison had served 644 days and the three members of the control group who remained in prison as of August 1, 1975 had served an average of 688 prison days.

Comparing the 62 members of the experimental group who were actually released to the Restitution Center and the 69 members of the control group who remained in the prison program until release on conventional parole, reveals that as of August 1, 1975 the members of the experimental group had served a mean average of 121 prison days as compared to an average of 408 prison days for the control group members. Breaking these figures out by total days and putting them as of August 1, 1975 or until release on parole or direct discharge from the institution, Table 18 reveals that the experimentals had served a total of 7,440 days in prison as compared to 28,002 prison days served by the control group members.

Figure 3 provides information in graphic form concerning average length of stay in prison by specific categories of experimental and control groups.

TABLE 18: LENGTH OF STAY IN PRISON - AS OF AUGUST 1, 1975

	Number of Inmates		Average Length of Stay (days)		Range of Days Stayed		TOTAL DAYS	
	Exper. Group	Control Group	Exper. Group	Control Group	Exper. Group	Control Group	Exper. Group	Control Group
Paroled	62	55	121	408	120-150	127-679	7,440	22,406
Direct Discharge	--	8	--	309	--	180-629	--	2,470
Escape From Prison	--	2	--	450	--	134-705	--	899
Deceased	--	1	--	644	--	644	--	644
Still in Prison	--	3	--	688	--	648-728	--	1,583
TOTAL	62	69	121	406	120-150	127-728	7,440	28,002

Table 19 presents information on length of stay in the community following prison release or discharge for members of the experimental and control groups. Essentially, information presented in this Table complements information presented in the previous Table dealing with length of prison stays.

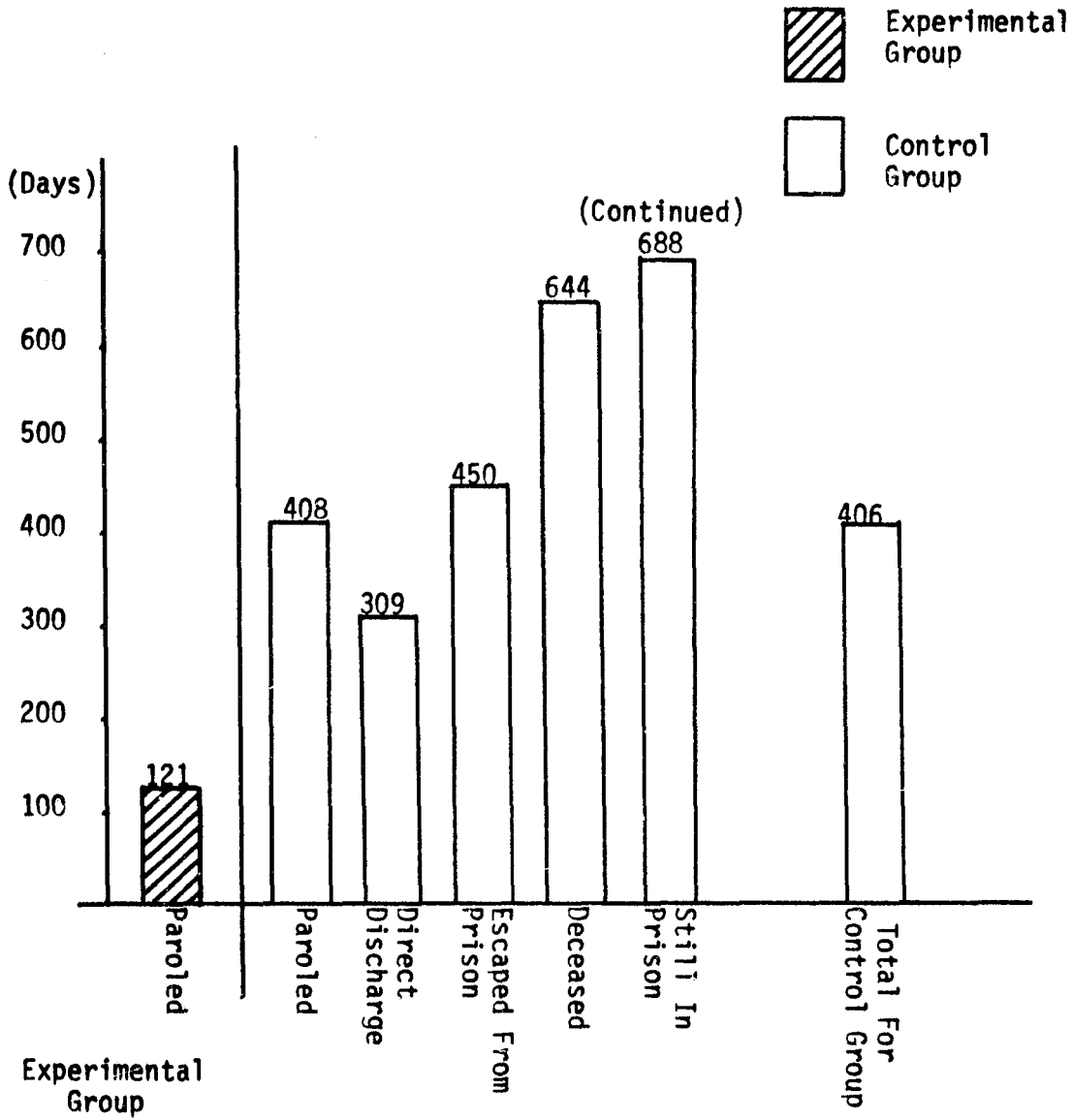
TABLE 19: LENGTH OF STAY IN COMMUNITY - AS OF AUGUST 1, 1975

	<u>Number of Subject</u>		<u>Total Days</u>		<u>Average Length of Days</u>		<u>Range</u>	
	<u>Exp. Group</u>	<u>Control Group</u>	<u>Exp. Group</u>	<u>Control Group</u>	<u>Exp. Group</u>	<u>Control Group</u>	<u>Exp. Group</u>	<u>Control Group</u>
Parole Continued	21	19	10,968	6,928	522	365	137-1,048	77-680
Discharged	9	13	6,413	3,232	713	249	363-1,017	133-423
Deceased	2	--	428	-----	214	---	180-248	-----
Parole Violated	30	23	5,800	5,858	193	255	16-709	10-639
Direct Discharged; Continued	--	3	-----	1,279	---	426	-----	213-756
Direct Discharged; Violation	--	5	-----	2,113	---	423	-----	144-705
TOTAL	62	63	23,609	19,410	381	308	16-1,048	10-756

Inspection of Table 19 reveals that as of August 1, 1975, the 62 members of the experimental group released on parole to the Center had served a mean average of 381 days with a range of from 16 to 1,048 days up until either parole violation, death, or parole discharge. Similarly, as of August 1, 1975, the 63 members of the control group who had been released on parole or directly discharged from the prison had completed a mean average of 308 days in the community with a range of from 144 to 756 days prior to either parole discharge or parole violation.

Further inspection of this Table reveals that the 9 experimentals who had been discharged from parole status as of August 1, 1975 had completed a mean average of 713 days and had served approximately three times the length of time on parole status as the members of the control group who had been paroled from prison. Similarly, this Table reveals that the twenty-one members of the experimental group and the nineteen members of the control group who were continued on parole as of August 1, 1975, had completed quite different lengths of time on this status. Thus, as of August 1, 1975, the experimentals had completed an average of 522 days on parole as compared to an average of 365 days on parole for members of the control group. Furthermore, this Table indicates that the 30 experimentals as compared to 23 controls returned to prison on parole violations had completed an average of 193 days of parole prior to revocation as compared to an average of 255 days. Again, the close parole supervision provided to members of the experimental group would most probably account for this variation in days to return on parole revocation.

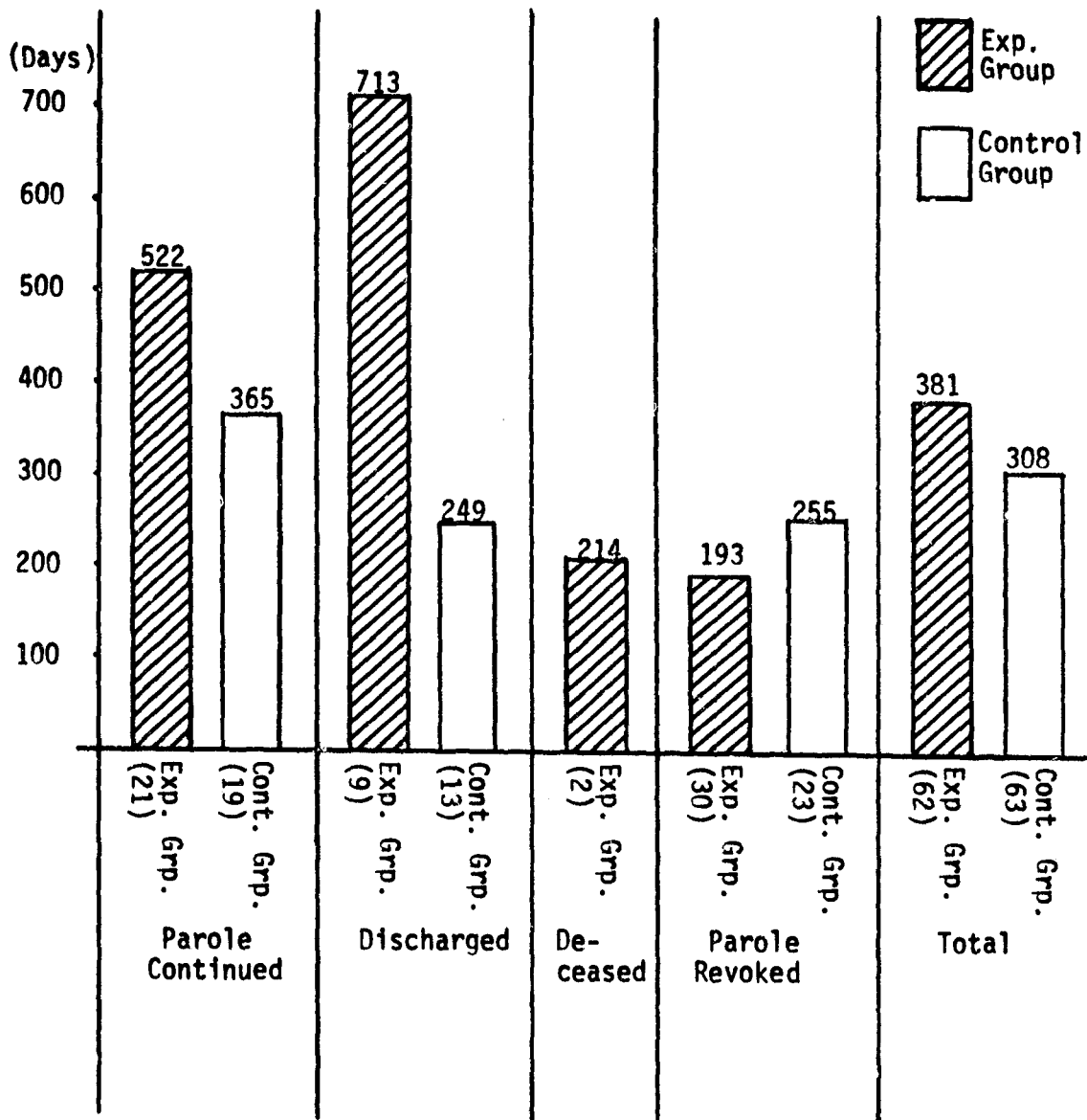
FIGURE 3: AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY IN PRISON (AS OF AUGUST 1, 1975)



In summary, information presented in Table 19 indicates a relatively strong relationship between length of time on parole within the community and experimental group status. Thus, members of the experimental group released to the Restitution Center served considerably longer average periods of time on parole as compared to members of the control group who were released on parole supervision.

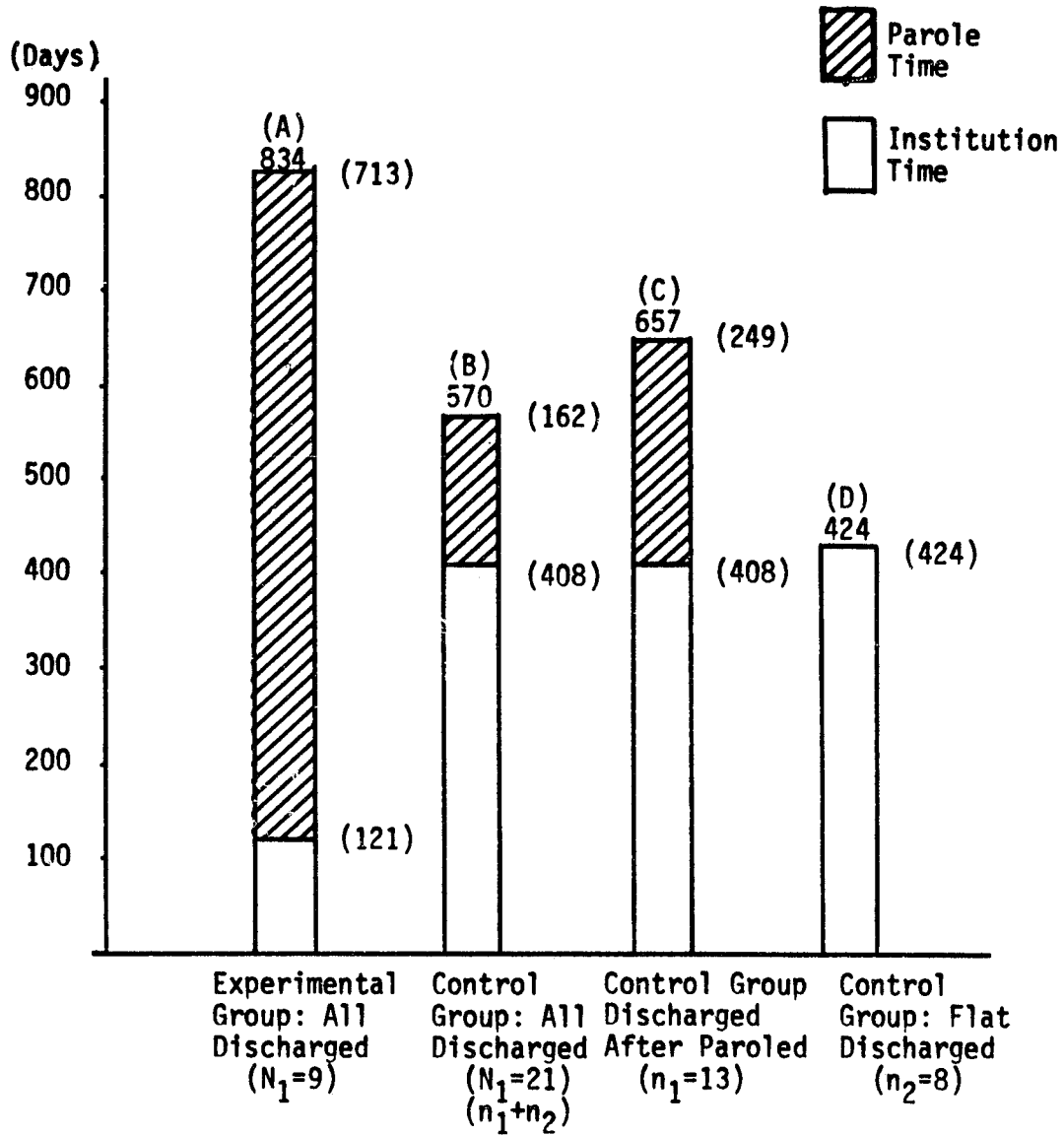
Figure 4 presents in graphic form a summary of the information concerning average length of stay within the community for members of the experimental and control group as of August 1, 1975. Clearly, this simply puts in graphic form the information previously presented in Table 19. Because many members of the experimental and control groups remained in the community under parole supervision following August 1, 1975, one can expect that the average length of stay in the community under supervision will continue to increase beyond August 1, 1975, until the parolee is either discharged or returned to the institution.

**FIGURE 4: AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY IN COMMUNITY SUPERVISION
(AS OF AUGUST 1, 1975)**



Because many of the experimental and control group members remained either under parole supervision or within the prison as of August 1, 1975, it is difficult to assess the total average amount of time served. Consequently, in order to assess the relative lengths of time spent under supervision by the two groups, information will be presented here on the experimentals and controls who terminated from prison on parole supervision. Figure 5 presents information on the total average length of time in days served under custody in either the institution or on parole status for the 9 members of the experimental group and 21 members of the control group who had received either parole discharges or flat discharges from the institution as of August 1, 1975.

**FIGURE 5: AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAYS FOR 30 SUBJECTS DISCHARGED
(AS OF AUGUST 1, 1975)**



Inspection of Figure 5 reveals the following:

- a) the 9 experimentals and 13 controls released on parole and discharged from parole as of August 1, 1975 had served quite different average lengths of time under institutional and community forms of supervision. Experimentals had completed an average of 121 days in prison and 713 days on parole prior to discharge while the controls had completed an average of 408 days in prison and 249 days on parole prior to receiving parole discharges. In short, the experimentals spent an average of 177 additional days under supervision as compared to the controls paroled from the prison and discharged as of August 1, 1975.
- b) the 8 members of the control group who received flat discharges from the prison spent an average of 424 days under custody;
- c) the combined control groups (parolees and flat discharges) had completed an average of 570 days under supervision.

The information presented in this section dealing with the time under supervision experienced by experimentals and controls raises a significant issue about community corrections programs, and especially, a program such as the Restitution Center which was designed as a partial diversion from the prison. What appears to be happening in this program is that a short four month stay in the prison is supplemented by an extended period of time under close parole supervision so that the total time under correctional supervision is longer than would otherwise be the case if the offender were to simply remain in the prison and experience the usual release procedures. In other words, the prison sanction is being significantly supplemented by the sanction of parole supervision within the context of a residential community corrections program. The results of this alteration in relation to cost, outcome effects and humaneness for the clients served are, at best, open to question.