



American Probation and Parole Association

Winter 1995

PERSPECTIVES

Community Involvement:

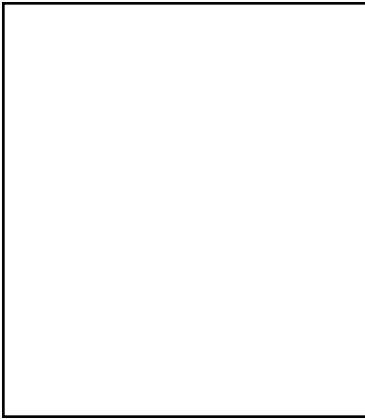


Building for the Future



APPA's Professional Development
Series: Details Inside

Guest Editorial:
"Recidivism - Let's Get Rid Of It!"



Alan M. Schuman

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The 19th Annual Training Institute in Phoenix, Arizona in September exceeded all of our expectations. My only regret is that every member of APPA was not present at this "happening." We had the greatest membership attendance in our history thanks to the outstanding efforts of our colleagues in Arizona, and the highest turnout of out-of-state participants at an annual conference. The most important result of this Institute was the enthusiasm, dedication and commitment to a united and vision-driven direction for APPA's membership and the community corrections profession in general.

We accomplished a major goal of developing a vision statement for APPA. Over the last 18 months, 1,800 of our colleagues participated in one- or two-day workshops sharing their vision of community corrections. We compiled that information and had over 50 APPA board members spend the Saturday before our conference reviewing the material and developing our vision statement for presentation at the conference. It was startling to discover how similar our vision is in every geographic region of the country and in urban, suburban and rural settings. It clearly reinforces a united direction and consistency about what our profession represents.

Our vision statement will be the driving force behind APPA activities now and in the future. We will continue to create new visions and revisit our premises. For the 20th Annual Institute in Dallas, Texas August 27-30, 1995, I have asked our program committee to offer workshops that will enhance and provide specific training on reaching our vision goals. Our technical assistance, regional trainings, *Perspectives* articles and grant efforts will be directed at providing you with the knowledge and skills to obtain our visionary goals. This will help us all to march in the same direction, to the same tune. This will be the driving force for positive change in community corrections. This will be the voice that will be heard in the future.

Our success as a profession will be determined by our ability to influence legislation and provide the necessary resources to accomplish our missions and goals. We cannot afford to put this responsibility in anyone else's hands. If positive change is going to occur, we are the professionals who are going to make it happen.

It is important to examine the recently enacted Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 and to measure its impact on community corrections. The Act has been described by many as an ounce of prevention, a pound of cure and a ton of politics. I do applaud the effort to provide treatment services for the substance-abusing offenders through court-supervised drug treatment programs, but any examination of the Act recognizes the disproportionate amount of money directed at prison construction.

Five or ten years in the future, the public will realize that they cannot afford to pay the tab for this policy decision. We already have many prison facilities unoccupied because of the inability to raise operating funds to staff these facilities. Facilities without outcome-measured programs that lead to productive lifestyles at release will only exacerbate our current problems. When our communities realize the enormous costs and the minimal benefits, they will again look to us for more cost-effective and productive solutions. Our vision will serve us well when that day comes.

The quarterly magazine of the American Probation and Parole Association. Points of view or opinions expressed in this magazine are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of APPA or its staff.

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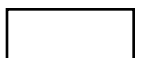
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President's Message from page 2

An editorial published in the October 3, 1994 issue of the *Washington Post* discusses who is serving time in federal prisons. The statistics are surprising and forebode the same results for state prison systems. As of 1991, 58 percent of all federal inmates were serving time for drug offenses. The comparable figure for state inmates is 21 percent. It is very alarming when we realize this percentage has increased to 62 percent in 1994. It is easy to pinpoint the reason for these high federal figures. First, Congress abolished parole as of November 1, 1987, and limited good-time credits to 54 days a year. Prisoners sentenced after that date are serving close to full sentences with no early parole possible. In 1986, Congress began to require high mandatory minimum sentences in drug cases so that even first-time offenders were being sent to prison for long terms instead of being placed on probation. About 70 percent of all first-time offenders in the federal prisons are serving drug sentences. This includes 66 percent of the female population.

This is simply unacceptable federal or state policy when we have seen the positive results of treating this population in

the community with comprehensive drug treatment services. APPA has provided state-of-the-art drug treatment programs through the National Narcotics Intervention Project, specialized drug treatment caseload training, and state-of-the-art drug testing practices that have had a major, positive impact on treating the substance-abusing offender in the community. There certainly is room for a balanced program that recognizes the need to incarcerate the violent offender and treat the substance-abusing offender in the community.

We can never let another federal bill be enacted in the criminal justice arena without including the necessity of resources for community corrections. The only way we can influence such legislation is through a strong, united voice from community corrections. We will be working toward staffing a local presence in Washington, DC to educate the Congress on the importance and positive impact of community corrections. We can only accomplish this with everyone's 100 percent effort. Our goal is to have the next enacted major federal bill be entitled, "The Community Corrections Act." Together, we can reach this goal. □

Request for Site Proposals *Bids are open for the* APPA Annual Training Institute 1999

Any board member, affiliate group or state agency wishing to request consideration of a particular city for the APPA Annual Training Institute 1999 must complete an application to host it. In order to be considered by the Board of Directors, completed applications must be received at APPA by July 21, 1995.

The site will be selected by the Board of Directors at their meeting in Dallas, Texas, August 27, 1995.

Further information and applications may be obtained from:

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Information For *Perspectives* Contributors

The American Probation and Parole Association's publication, *Perspectives*, disseminates information to the Association's members on relevant policy and program issues and provides updates on activities of the Association. The membership represents adult and juvenile probation, parole and community agencies throughout the United States and Canada. Articles submitted for publication are screened by an editorial committee and, on occasion, selected reviewers, to determine acceptability based on relevance to the field of criminal justice, clarity of presentation, or research methodology. *Perspectives* does not reflect unsupported personal opinions. Submissions are encouraged following these procedures:

Articles should be submitted in ASCII format on an IBM-compatible computer disk, along with five hard copies, to the chairman of the editorial committee (refer to the "Letter from the Editors" for address) in accordance with the following deadlines:

Spring 1995 Issue January 12, 1995
Summer 1995 Issue March 21, 1995
Fall 1995 Issue June 21, 1995
Winter 1996 Issue September 20, 1995

Unless previously discussed with the editors, submissions should not exceed 10 typed pages, numbered consecutively and double-spaced. All charts, graphs, tables and photographs must be of reproduction quality. Optional titles may be submitted and selected after review with the editors.

All submissions must be in English. Footnotes should be used only for clarification or substantive comments, and should appear at the end of the text. References to source documents should appear in the body of the text with the author's surname and the year of publication in parentheses, e.g., (Jackson, 1985). Multiple references to sources by the same author should be labeled alphabetically with each year, e.g., (Jackson, 1985a). If the same source is cited more than once, indicate the various pages of the source with each reference, e.g., (Jackson, 1985: 162-165). Alphabetize each reference at the end of the text using the following format:

Anderson, Paul J. "Salary Survey of Juvenile Probation Officers." Criminal Justice Center, University of Michigan (1982).

Jackson, D.J. "Electronic Monitoring Devices." *Probation Quarterly* (Spring, 1985): 86-101.

While the editors of *Perspectives* reserve the right to suggest modifications to any contribution, all authors will be responsible for and given credit for final versions of articles selected for publication. Submissions will not be returned to contributors.

Letter from the Editors

by Robert E. DeComo, Chairman, Editorial Committee

Welcome to the Winter 1995 issue of *Perspectives*. Among our regular features in this issue, the Guest Editorial has been contributed by Barry Nidorf, Chief Probation Officer of the Los Angeles County Probation Department. Chief Nidorf opines that for too long, recidivism has been allowed to serve as the all-important, live or die measure of performance by which community corrections has been assessed. He argues that recidivism is a problematic outcome measure and is, therefore, inappropriate for this purpose. Instead, recidivism should be replaced with a range of other outcome measures that better acknowledge the full scope of community corrections work. For additional information on this topic, you may contact the APPA staff in Lexington to obtain information and reports from its Alternative Outcome Measures project.

Our FORUM submission comes from Carl Wicklund, Court Services Director, Rochester, Minnesota. He has developed his piece in anticipation of the theme for our next Annual Institute in Dallas entitled, "Restoring Hope: Community Justice and Safety for All." Mr. Wicklund encourages us that we can and must support our colleagues in maintaining and restoring hopeful attitudes by reminding each other that we can and must make a difference in the lives of offenders. In his view, to do otherwise diminishes ourselves and our profession.

The NIC Update has been contributed by Ken Carpenter, Correctional Program Specialist and a familiar person to any of us who have ever been involved with obtaining technical assistance from the Community Corrections Division. This update informs us of the availability of funds to assist correctional systems in improving their performance relative to offenders diagnosed with

mental illness. This funding and other assistance activities are provided under an interagency agreement between NIC, NIJ and the Center for Mental Health Services within the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

The NIJ column completes our regular features for this issue and has been contributed by Ed Zedlewski. This column is instructive in helping us begin to unravel the complexity and enormity of the recently enacted Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act which will provide the single largest infusion of criminal justice resources in modern history. Further, this column suggests specific strategies that state and local community corrections agencies should initiate in order to effectively position themselves to benefit from the provisions that relate to our field.

Turning to our special features, our first has been contributed by Kevin Courtright from the Department of Criminology at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. His article deals with the subject of the privatization of probation and parole services. While much has been written about privatization in institutional corrections, this article contributes to a much more limited body of literature about the issues that privatization presents for community corrections. After evaluating what literature is available on the subject, Courtright provides recommendations in support of a conservative approach to privatization in our field.

Our next special feature has been contributed by Renee Bergeron, Director of Staff Development and Training for the South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole and Pardon Services; and Bruce Gibson, Director of the Adult Probation Department of the Clermont County Common Pleas Court in Ohio. Their article is based on the "Outcome

Based Training" workshop they conducted in Phoenix, and discusses the APPA accreditation process as a means for facilitating continuous quality improvement within a community corrections organization.

Completing our special features in this issue is the article on sex offender treatment by Robert McGrath, Director of Sex offender Treatment in Addison County, Vermont. Finding effective ways to deal with sex offenders is certainly a priority goal for community corrections agencies. McGrath's article is helpful in this regard by evaluating the available research on the effectiveness of various treatment approaches.

In closing, I encourage you to submit your comments and contributions by contacting members of the Editorial Committee.

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GUEST EDITORIAL

Recidivism—Let's Get Rid Of It

by Barry J. Nidorf, Chief Probation Officer, Los Angeles County Probation Department

Last Winter's issue of *Perspectives*—"Living and Dying Through Recidivism"—made clear just how difficult an issue this is to address. As practitioners of community corrections we know we need to have measurements by which we can evaluate the success of our work. On the subject of recidivism, though, we almost have to be of two minds:

- On the one side, we wish it would go away because traditionally it has been considered the most difficult performance measure we have to deal with and try to explain.

- On the other side, we suspect it won't go away. Not only does it fixate the attention of the public and politicians on a single aspect of what we do, but it fascinates us out of all proportion to its real significance.

Something underlies this ambivalent attitude of ours toward recidivism: a suspicion that, as a valid measure of our performance, recidivism does not make sense.

Recidivism and Reality

Community corrections has made a substantial effort over the last decade or so to deal with the stifling effect that such fixation on recidivism can have on our work. Some of the efforts have aimed to integrate recidivism into a range of other performance measures where it can be viewed as one measure among many. Other efforts have sought to reduce the relative importance of recidivism as an indicator of success or failure, if not to supplant it with other kinds of performance indicators. Viewed perhaps too simply, some of these efforts have smacked of an attempt on our part to wish recidivism away.

From the point of view of a practitioner who deals daily with politicians and constituents, this is not realistic. Recidi-

vism is and will remain the primary concern that politicians and the public have about our work unless we are able to redefine the significance of recidivism differently from how it has been traditionally perceived. Recidivism, *by itself*, will *always* outweigh any accumulation of other kinds of performance measures we can amass unless we are able to substantially change the perception of its place and its importance in what we do. The current rush to "3 Strikes, You're Out" legislation attests to this compellingly.

To Change a Perception

To effectively change the perception that recidivism is the measure by which we must live or die, several things need to happen: first, we need to free ourselves from a "recidivism trap" that is at least partially of our own making; second, we need to put recidivism into its proper context; and third, we need to develop an approach to measurement which accords to recidivism its full significance, but nothing more.

- *Freeing ourselves from the "recidivism trap."* As a first step, we need to acknowledge the degree to which we practitioners have contributed to creating the prevalent fixation on recidivism as an all-important performance measure. During the formational era of community corrections and for sometime afterward, we greatly overestimated our potential for changing the behavior of criminals. We promised far too much, and created unrealistic expectations among the politicians and public. We have backed off a lot from this, but we still suffer from those early claims and have not yet developed an effective approach for responding to those enduring expectations. To address this, we need to put the issue of recidivism into a proper context in which it can be viewed in relation to public policy re-

garding crime and society's effort to control it.

- *Recidivism in context.* Recidivism cannot be considered apart from our society's public policy for dealing with crime. Recidivism is, in fact, the result of a public policy that historically has been—at least in intent—especially humane and hopeful in the way it sanctions criminals. It has been our public policy to profess an official belief that individuals—including criminals—can change. Probation originated in the United States and, although we have one of the highest incarceration rates in the world, nearly 80% of convicted offenders serve most of their sentences in the community rather than in prisons. Such public policy creates a presumption—proven by experience—that some incidence of recidivism is inevitable in our society and will always be prevalent, short of adoption of a policy to do the unthinkable (execute all criminals) or attempt the undoable (permanently incarcerate all criminals).

Recidivism by criminals is a given in our society. Any real issues about recidivism are issues only of degree: what incidence of recidivism society will tolerate; what resources it will provide to maintain recidivism's incidence at the tolerated level; and what expectation it will have of us in community corrections to address the problem of crime. Of course, society draws the line at allowing certain kinds of criminals to have the freedom of life in the community. It intends that serial killers, repeat rapists, child molesters and the like will be imprisoned and not on the streets. But even these may not be incarcerated for life and, when released, may recidivate. Increasingly, we are having to deal with more and more dangerous criminals in the community and the consequent likelihood of recidivism.

• *An Approach.* Fairness dictates that, because public policy makes recidivism a given in our system of justice, this one measure cannot be singled out as the all-important indicator of outcome. Other measures need to be considered which—in juxtaposition with recidivism—can be used to evaluate the success with which we address the problem of crime. Simple juxtaposition of additional outcome measures will not be sufficient, however. To fully integrate recidivism into a comprehensive measurement process, several things will be necessary: (1) advertence to a distinction that is essential for understanding what is being measured; (2) review of the traditional community corrections approach to dealing with crime; and (3) introduction of a modified model for crime control.

Approach to Measurement: A Difficult But Essential Distinction

We know we should not give recidivism more importance than it deserves, but we are often tempted to do so. When recidivism rates fall we are tempted to take credit; when they rise we are tempted to assume blame. We should not do either because by doing so we accept recidivism as a measure of the outcome of our effort and invest it with a relevance to our work that it does not have. Recidivism *is* a measure of something, but *it is not* a measure of our performance.

To understand this, we need to begin with an essential distinction; that between a direct result of our activity and an indirect consequence. A direct result is something we actually cause to happen and for which we take credit or blame. For example, we cause a direct result when we physically deliver a probationer to a drug program and enroll him there. An indirect consequence, on the other hand, is something which we do not directly cause. Rather, it is accomplished by someone else, and we do not take credit or blame. To continue our example, after the probationer is enrolled in drug program, he swears off drugs and never touches them again. We may think we can take credit for our

probationer's new found abstinence from drugs, but we cannot. His abstinence is a direct result of his action; it is only an indirect consequence of ours. The importance of this distinction becomes clear when we change the scenario. Once again, the probationer is enrolled in the drug program. But instead of complying, he drops out of the program immediately and continues to use drugs. Whose responsibility is it for the probationer's failure to control his drug habit? Ours? Or his? The answer depends on our ability to distinguish between a direct result and an indirect consequence of our action. Too often we want to take credit or are willing to accept blame for consequences which are not of our causing.

What Does Recidivism Measure Anyway?

I focus on this distinction for what it tells us of the role of recidivism as a measure for judging our performance. At most, recidivism is an indirect consequence of our effort to impact crime. We work to impact crime, basically, through two actions designed to interfere—at some level of intensity—with the criminals' ability to commit crime. First, we intervene in their lives to establish an intrusive presence coupled with effective scrutiny. Second, we enforce the orders of the court requiring law-abiding behavior in place of criminal activity.

To the degree these two interference-oriented actions are more or less intense, the rate of measured recidivism may fall. Or it may rise. Or it may just stay level as some criminals abandon lives of crime but others, who do not, are caught more often in violations of their court-imposed restrictions. The direct result of these actions will be some level of interference in the life of a criminal so that continued criminal activity becomes more difficult, less inviting, and more costly in its consequences. The indirect consequence of our activity may be rehabilitation, but it may equally well be recidivism. The choice is not ours, but the criminal's. And responsibility for either one or the other is the criminal's as well.

The Challenge of Honest Measurement

To some it may seem we are trying to have the best of both worlds: claiming to have an impact on crime, but putting the blame for recidivistic behavior so squarely on the criminal that we absolve ourselves of all responsibility for what they do. Nothing is further from fact. In reality, by challenging the relative importance of recidivism, we are actually challenging ourselves to greater effort.

To put recidivism into its proper measurement context we will have to base our crime reduction efforts more solidly in reality, and will have to work harder and more systematically than ever. We will need to develop strategies, services, and programs that can demonstrably induce probationers and parolees to substitute law-abiding conduct for their criminal activity. We will have to create programs that will earn public support because they are realistically conceived, systematically planned, effectively operated, honestly measured and, as a result, responsive to community expectations.

What Does the Community Expect?

While the community expects us to do something effective about crime, it may not have a very clear sense of what this ought to be. It is probably safe to say the community no longer expects us to "cure" criminality as we used to suggest when we espoused a medical model. But the community does expect some real result from what it pays us to do. And, in the popular mind, that expectation almost certainly includes some notion that we should impact recidivism. What, then, can we tell the community about our work that will address a universal concern about recidivism without giving this single measurement factor a greater significance than it should have?

• *A perspective on crime: pragmatic activity requiring pragmatic response.* At a minimum we need to counter the perception that community corrections is somehow "soft" on crime. There is no better way to do this than to recognize that crime in its true sense—intentional

commission of actions prohibited because they either invade personal rights, or disrupt public order, or in some way compromise the common goods — essentially a pragmatic activity.

To put recidivism into its proper measurement context we will have to base our crime reduction efforts more solidly in reality . . .

The criminal chooses, generally for reasons of self-gratification, to commit acts not tolerated by society. Whatever all our research suggests about the nature and causes of crime, the community sees crime as a pragmatic activity and criminals as disrupters of public order who choose to make life miserable for law-abiding citizens. The community's expectation of us must be that we somehow interfere with the ability of criminals to exercise that choice; that we induce them to stop their disruption.

- *What can we do about crime?* When asked what we do about crime, we often respond by identifying a welter of services and programs that are supposed to impact crime. These range from self-esteem training to incarceration, and can include just about anything else imaginable in between: "midnight basketball," parenting classes, job training, rope climbing, and so much else. Not surprisingly, the community is often confused by this mixture of seemingly conflicting approaches, and is sometimes openly skeptical that we know what we are doing and that our programs are worth funding.

If we are to be able to tell the public convincingly that what we do actually interferes with criminals' ability to commit crime and induces them to change, we will have to do better than this. There are three basics we need to attend to:

- First, we need to identify a common thread of purpose, design, and activity that runs through all the services and programs we develop, no matter how different they may seem from one another. Such pur-

pose, design, and activity need to be demonstrably related to impacting the intent and ability of probationers and parolees to keep committing crimes.

- Second, we need to be able to show that we can measure the aptness and effectiveness of all our services and programs against a uniform standard which derives from a clearly determined commonality of purpose, design, and activity.

- Third, we need to make clear that wherever we find no such commonality of purpose, design, and activity we will discontinue existing programs which do not measure up, and will not fund new ones unless they do.

An "Interference Model"

Such a uniform standard of measurement needs to be based on what we might call an "interference model" which comprises two elements characteristic of our work: intervention and enforcement. Already alluded to, these elements—which are common to all forms of corrections work from prevention through incarceration—are doable, effective, and measurable.

- *Intervention.* Webster defines sanction, in its legal sense, as "coercive intervention annexed to a violation of a law as a means of enforcing the law." Consistent with this, the first element of an interference model must be the kind of intervention that establishes in the lives of offenders an intrusive "presence" sufficiently intense to keep them aware that they can be subject at any time to some level of scrutiny.

- *Presence.* To be effective in our work and credible to the community, we need to rethink our idea of what "presence" between probation officer and probationer, parole agent and parolee, means. Given the prevalence and seriousness of modern crime, we cannot focus too narrowly on traditional kinds of presence which have been based largely on personal contact. Rather, we need to act on the premise that in this age of technology, "presence" can take many forms: mail, fax, phone (including

automated phone telephone reporting and recording); Kiosk reporting; probationer "smart card" identification and record keeping; electronically monitored "house arrest"; and even global positioning satellite (GPS) tracking. Some of these forms of "presence" are actually more effective because they can be more frequently and systematically used than older forms. The *form* of our presence is far less important than the *fact* of an actual, regular, and intrusive presence in the life and consciousness of probationers and parolees.

- *Scrutiny.* Knowing that a sense of being scrutinized can affect the way people think and feel, and can be a powerful deterrent to anti-social action, we need to utilize all the ability we have to create scrutiny of our probationers and parolees sufficient to cause them to think many times more than twice before reoffending. The intensity of such scrutiny will vary from one offender to another but at a minimum we need know, with as much certainty as possible, two things: the true identity, and the actual residence of our probationers or parolees. At a time when high population density affords ready anonymity to the criminal and modern transportation offers instant mobility, this will not be easy to do. But if there is any single, reasonable expectation the community can have of us, it is that we devise ways to know who we have on probation and where they can be found. In addition to traditional methods, we will need to rely on other techniques such as automated fingerprint identification, electronic monitoring, surveillance teams, neighborhood watch programs, and violation reporting "hotlines."

- *Enforcement.* Enforcement of court imposed conditions must be as swift and sure as possible. We need to develop accelerated violation procedures that can get a probationer before the court immediately, or even directly into jail if local custody officials can be authorized to effect immediate "roll up" of non-compliant probationers. To do this we will need to rethink the separate roles of the courts, probation, and the jails, and create local corrections consortiums able to apply sanctions for

violation much more flexibly and quickly.

In addition, we need to develop in-house alternatives to incarceration that can free us from reliance on overloaded courts and overcrowded jails as the only vehicles for sanction. It is critical that we retain an ability—or reconstitute it where it has been lost—to effectively sanction those who reoffend while under the jurisdiction of community corrections. To this end, we cannot give way to any defeatist notion that, because judges may no longer be able to impose jail time for violations in many cases, we are powerless to act.

As alternatives to incarceration, residential violation and restitution centers have proven effective in some jurisdictions but, because of cost, may not be feasible in many places. Less expensive methods can be devised, however, which utilize work programs, community service, or even a regimen of very frequent in-person reporting for recalcitrant probationers or parolees.

Intrusive presence. Effective scrutiny. Swift and certain enforcement. These elements need to be at the core of all our strategies, services, and programs if we are to be responsive to community expectations and effective in interfering with criminal activity.

Prevention and “Pork”

The need to be able to demonstrate the effectiveness of our strategies was never clearer than on the night of August 11, 1994, when a majority in the House of Representatives was able to defeat the Omnibus Crime Bill largely by labeling prevention programs as “pork.”

The paradox of this is, that at a time when the fallacy of a “lock ‘em up” approach is becoming ever more clear and the need for early and effective prevention is becoming more certain, a few tired clichés were able to temporarily derail, and then permanently gut, the first prevention-oriented federal assault on crime in years.

With prevention the only realistic way to impact crime, it is imperative we devise programs that really are preven-

tive and that can be shown to work. To do this, we need to create a standard against which to measure the effectiveness of all our programs, not only after they have been implemented but even as they are being designed. With the interference model, creation of such a standard can be readily accomplished, as the following short “case study” will show.

An “Interference Model” Program

Almost certainly, every community corrections practitioner can name at least one, perhaps several, programs which fit the “interference model.” One such program, which has been thoroughly assessed and precisely measured for impact on criminal activity, stands out as an early example of the “interference model” in action.

Nearly ten years ago Dr. Leo Schuerman of the University of Southern California researched the impact of the Los Angeles County Probation Department’s Narcotic Testing Control Unit (NTCU) program. This program had been implemented in 1965 to impact and change the criminal behavior of drug users. NTCU was designed to provide specialized supervision for probationers who were convicted of major crimes (not necessarily drug arrests) and who had a history of opiate usage and addiction. The program was staffed by probation officers trained in specialized narcotic detection and control techniques. The most important control and detection aspect of the program was randomly conducted urinalysis testing. The random assignment process was designed to assure that the probationer could not defeat the testing procedure. The process was so effective, Schuerman found, that it created an intense “self-surveillance.” Failure to appear for testing would result in issuance of a bench warrant. Failure to pass a test would result in return to court for imposition of the appropriate sanction.

Schuerman sought to determine the effect of such intrusive intervention and enforcement on criminal activity as measured through comparison of probationer arrest rates before, during, and

after program participation. The study found—in both an NTCU cohort and a control group—a pattern of decreasing arrest rates. It noted that felony arrests were reduced effectively and substantially while probationers were under supervision, and were reduced somewhat less so and less consistently after they had left the program (Schuerman, 1985).

This program and its evaluation are significant for demonstrating that interference-based programs are doable, effective, and measurable. Also, NTCU gives an especially clear illustration of the distinction between a program’s direct result and its indirect consequence. NTCU’s direct result (highly intrusive intervention; scrutiny so intense it could be labeled “self-surveillance”; sanction-oriented enforcement that is swift and certain) virtually forecasts its effectiveness—even before the fact. This program is clearly not meant to be just a “slap on the wrist,” and anyone who understands its purpose, design, and activity will have no thought that the effectiveness of community corrections is suspect, or that its practitioners are soft on crime.

As for realizing the intended indirect consequence of NTCU (reduction of recidivism through detection and deterrence of narcotic use), the study documents a positive response by a category of offenders often deemed least amenable to our crime control efforts. Yet, one former NTCU staff member recalls that during her years with the program early in its history, not one participant was lost to death by drug overdose.

Measuring Outcomes

The experience of a program like NTCU suggests that recidivism can be a valid outcome measurement of our effectiveness if it is properly integrated as one element among several in a comprehensive measurement approach. With the interference model, efforts to measure program effectiveness can be much less tentative and narrowly focused than efforts based primarily on recidivism. While recidivism is necessarily limited because it is an “after the fact”

measurement of outcome, an interference model approach incorporates a "before the fact" measurement capability as well.

The outcome measurement process for an interference model program will have two elements. The first will be a before-the-fact measurement of the program's intended direct result, i.e., its potential for creating a condition capable of inducing a criminal to substitute law-abiding conduct for criminal activity. The objective of this part of the measurement process will be to produce a before-the-fact assessment such that any reasonably informed person—advised of a program's purpose, design, and activity—can make a sound judgment as to that program's potential to impact criminal activity.

The second element of an interference model-based process will be an after-the-fact measurement of the indirect consequence of the program, i.e. the criminal's response to the condition which the program creates. In this element of the process, recidivism—qualified by a number of variables—can

come into play both as a measurement of the criminal's susceptibility to be influenced by the program's direct result, and as a measurement of the intensity of the program's intervention and enforcement activities.

Through the tracking of these results over time, a third measurement element will evolve as interaction between the first and second elements, providing data by which to measure such things as: aptness of various program designs for widespread or limited use—or even nonuse—among probationers and parolees; practitioner skill in matching criminals to programs that are appropriate to offender risk and need; criminals' susceptibility to being influenced by participation in programs of different kinds and intensity levels; and lack of amenability of identified offenders for any community corrections programming at all.

Such a measurement approach should equip us to design programs that not only respond to expectations from the community, but demonstrably impact the crime that is occurring there.

Conclusion: Let's Get Rid of Recidivism

For too long, recidivism has been allowed to serve as the all-important, live or die measure of performance by which community corrections has been inappropriately assessed. Because it is such a problematic outcome measure, it has sometimes confused us in our commitment and distracted us from productive work. It is time now to analyze recidivism as carefully and critically as it can be, accord it the importance it deserves, and get on with our work.

But it is also time to do more. It is time to replace recidivism as we have known it with a range of outcome measures that comprehend the full scope of our work. It is time to get rid of recidivism.

Reference

Schuerman, Leo A. "Drug Abuse Treatment and Subsequent Criminal Activity." Social Science Research Center, University of Southern California (1985). □

Call for *Perspectives* Submissions Special Issue: In Defense of Parole

Articles are requested on the following:

- why we need a strong system of discretionary parole release
- an examination of the impact that abolishing parole has had in those states where parole has, in fact, been abolished
 - implications of a weakened parole system on parole supervision staff and other criminal justice system components
 - costs associated with parole abolition
- how abolishing parole erodes the concept of community corrections
 - the importance of aftercare for juveniles

Authors should contact Bob DeComo or other members of the Editorial Board to discuss parameters of potential articles before submitting.

Deadline for submission: March 21, 1995

F O R U M

Hope: Dousing the Fire of Despair

by Carl Wicklund, Court Services Program Director, Rochester, MN
and Co-Chair, APPA Juvenile Justice Committee

The title of the 1995 Annual Training Institute to be held in Dallas is "Restoring Hope: Community Justice and Safety for All." The restoration or, at least, maintenance of hope in our profession is vital to successful outcomes.

Our business of corrections often falls prey to the ruinous forces of cynicism and despair. After all, the people that we are responsible for supervising and changing represent much of what is wrong with the world around us, and they aren't exactly poster children. We find ourselves working, if you will, in the cancer ward of social and behavioral sciences. We often watch offenders continue the same self-defeating or hurtful behaviors that lead them down a path of self-destruction which threatens the security and safety of others. The media, legislature and the public are quick to point out our failures. When they do this, it can be disheartening and can create a sense of hopelessness. It is during these times that we may hear or say: "It's not our fault, they were going to do it anyhow;" or "You can't expect to change 20 years of learned behavior;" or "We don't have enough time or resources to do much of anything with these people;" or "Our job is to watch them, not fix them." Yet, many of the offenders with whom we work can and will grow out of their destructive behaviors and/or learn more appropriate ways of dealing with their world. Unfortunately, we are all prone to focus on the negative, to allow our failures to forge our attitudes for future actions. It is easy to feel hopeless when working with people who have little hope that their lives will ever improve, or see time as something you do rather than a concept used to measure a degree of accomplishment.

It is well documented that a positive attitude—one with hope—can slow and sometimes eliminate cancer. I have to

believe that an attitude of hope when working with offenders can also bring about remission or elimination of the social malady of crime. I am not so naive as to believe that hope is the only ingredient required to bring about positive change within the people with whom we work. We must also provide programming that has proven to be effective in reducing criminal behaviors. However, it is highly unlikely that effective programming options will work unless they are delivered by people who believe in an offender's ability to change and a program's ability to help bring about that change.

A sense of hope is rarely developed in a vacuum. It is nurtured in our attitudes through experiencing a modicum of success, a supportive work environment, an act of charity as giver or receiver or by simply engaging in discussions about the morality of what we do.

It seems that we no longer take the time with much frequency to ask ethical questions of each other. Questions like: What are we doing? Why are we doing it? Should we be doing it? Is what we are doing right? I fear that our correctional systems are so inundated and overloaded that we more often than not find ourselves just trying to get by or relying on rote responses to daily challenges. We end up just doing what we know. Therein lies the danger of not asking some of those previously listed questions. Not expanding our knowledge will only limit our success and erode our hope. We must continuously allow for inquiry in our daily dealings and not become too complacent with the status quo. Merle Curti once wrote in his book, *Probing Our Past*, "I believe that we should make room in our outlook for tested knowledge about human nature and social behavior. But, if we are wise, we shall also provide for the revision of

this knowledge—for what we know, or think we know, is not the last word."

As we become busier — trapped by the demands of our jobs and as budgets become tighter, we often find ourselves isolated from our communities and from our peers in corrections and other service delivery systems both locally and nationally. We don't speak in significant depth about our profession to the person in the next office, let alone civic leaders and professionals from around our states or from other parts of the country. Isolation from our communities and peers creates an unhealthy solitude often void of hope. In the book, *The Shoes of the Fisherman*, Morris West wrote, "Then I began to understand something. If I lived for myself and with myself I should always be hollow, always in solitude." Isn't it therefore unfortunate that, with more frequency, meetings and conferences must be justified through quantifiers? Mental stimulation, philosophical debate and camaraderie is not enough for the bean counters, watchdogs or ourselves. We feel and are told that we can ill afford the time or expense for such frivolous ventures. As a result, we fail to challenge each other, to seek and vanguard solutions, to encourage risk taking, to recognize the human qualities of offenders or peers or cultivate hopefulness. We find ourselves in a circular bucket brigade while the fire of despair rages on. This conundrum creates the result that the people most often asking the ethical questions **and** answering them are people outside our field such as politicians and the media. We are losing the power to direct our efforts, and this powerlessness is breeding hopelessness.

Researchers and accountants are busy trying to justify our every move. They are performing an important role ensuring that we are accountable to the policy makers, the public and each other.

They are measuring whether we are doing things right. However, there is another side to this issue which often gets lost among the empirical data and budgets. We go to meetings with staff, policy makers and the public with our outcome data and cost-saving schemes under our arms, but we are afraid to bring to the table the ethical question of, "Is what we are doing right?"

Successful outcomes and increased budgets can instill hope in our ranks, but it is a false hope if the end result was not reached through ethical means. For example, Aldous Huxley could have been speaking of all the new corrections gizmos developed to monitor offenders when he stated in his book, *Ends and Means*, "Technological advance is rapid, but without progress in charity, technological advance is useless. Indeed, it is worse than useless. Technological progress has merely provided us with more efficient means of going backwards."

I believe that to instill hope into our ranks we must develop the strength and competence to speak privately and publicly to the ethical side of what we do in the criminal justice system. There must be more to what we do than controlling behavior or punishing acts. Where is the hope in that? We *should* be comfortable about discussing the efficacy of empowerment, human capacity development and rewards without the fear of being called idealistic, soft, or a bleeding heart - as if those are terrible traits to avoid! We *should* be taking the time to understand the behavior of an offender, not just relegating it as a crime that must be fol-

lowed by a punishment. We *should* be trying to understand why we want to — and often do — react to transgressions with retribution rather than restoration. We *should* be probing not only offender motivations, but our own motivations.

I sincerely hope that, as corrections professionals, we can and will support each other in maintaining and restoring hopeful attitudes by reminding each other that we can and should make a difference — that every interaction with an offender, colleague or our community members can have a positive, or negative, impact of varying magnitude. Cynicism and despair within our ranks are more destructive to our ability to help bring about positive offender and social change than media sound bites and headlines, lack of resources or an apathetic client or public. All of us will have many moments of disappointment in our work. Often it may not be apparent that our efforts are appreciated by anyone — offender, public or others. We are in essence an isolated minority in our attempts to rehabilitate criminals (There! I said it! The "R" word). Yet, the hope of the world is, and always has been, in dedicated minorities. We should remind ourselves that an offender's failure diminishes all of us in corrections, while an offender's success enlarges all of us in corrections. What we need is a committed altruism which recognizes this premise and the infinite hope that we will make a difference. The late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. perhaps said it best, "We must accept finite disappointment, but we must never lose infinite hope." □

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Request for Information Office Security Guidelines or Procedures

The APPA Health and Safety Committee is seeking information on office security guidelines or procedures.

Any individual who is aware of the existence of such guidelines should submit these to the committee for their review and consideration. Your help is greatly appreciated.

Please send information to the attention of:

Joe Papy, Chair, APPA Health and Safety Committee, 3309 Ivy Street, Tampa, FL 33607-1524

A Rational Examination of the Policy Issues Surrounding the Privatization of Probation and Parole Supervision

by Kevin Edward Courtright, Doctoral Candidate, Department of Criminology, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

According to recent figures of the Bureau of Justice Statistics (1990:5) there were an estimated 4,349,817 adults on probation, in jail, in prison, or on parole, representing 2.35% of the adult resident population. In 1985, the same total was 2,869,836, representing 1.6% of the adult population (BJS, 1985:5). In other words, in five years, our correctional populations have almost doubled. Inmates are often times, double or triple bunked and community supervision agents are being forced to supervise more and (in some cases) more dangerous offenders. Correctional agencies are currently in a unique decision making position. Some believe the answer to this problem lies within the realm of privatization. A debate has commenced among criminal justice practitioners and academics alike over whether or not the privatization of correctional services represents a just, cost-effective, and ethical alternative to the troubled public sector.

The literature examining the privatization of prisons and other correctional institutions abounds. Research, however, examining the privatization of community supervision has not been as abundant. This is somewhat surprising for two reasons. First, the probation population has increased by 800,000 from 1985 to 1990, whereas the prison population has "only" increased by approximately 240,000 within the same time period (BJS, 1985:5; BJS, 1990:5). Second, it seems that, with the current thrust toward community supervision and alternatives to incarceration (e.g., electronic monitoring, house arrest and shock incarceration), the research examining the privatization of community supervision (probation/parole) would be much more abundant.

The two reasons, noted above, have provided the impetus for examining the various policy issues surrounding the privatization of probation and parole services. Why haven't we witnessed greater amounts of privatization in this and other areas? What information do we have at the present time that is favorable or unfavorable to such implementation? Before policy makers can examine such a new area, they must be armed with the relevant information in which to make rational and informed decisions. In order to answer these and other questions, it will be helpful to place these issues into a systematic framework. This article will use the framework of Gottfredson and Gottfredson's (1988) "Rational Decision Making Model." This model involves the following four steps: 1) goal establishment, 2) an examination of various alternatives, 3) the establishment of sufficient information, and lastly, 4) the preparation of policy control guidelines.¹ This article examines the privatization of community supervision as one alternative to the exploding correctional population. Since we have already identified the problem, we must now examine the goals.

The first (and perhaps most important) step in Gottfredson and Gottfredson's model is for the decision maker to establish goals. These goals must be effective, efficient, equitable, and just. What are the goals of probation and parole? Public agencies have varied and often contradictory goals (Dilulio, 1986:4). Community supervision has not been exempt from these varied and certainly contradictory goals, e.g., simultaneously being a "cop" and "social worker." Punishment philosophies aside (e.g., deterrence, incapacitation and rehabilitation), there are three goals of community supervision

that are assumed to be of importance, and they are as follows: 1) treatment, 2) control, and 3) organization maintenance (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988:176). The goals of community supervision are thus threefold — to provide the offender with rehabilitative and/or reintegration services, without unduly jeopardizing the safety or protection of the community, in the most effective and cost-efficient manner possible.

What are the goals of the correctional private sector? Although some variation exists in answers to this question, there appears, at the same time, to be some consensus — "...to save money, reduce capital expenditures, provide more effective and efficient services, and bypass the rigidity, slowness, and lack of responsiveness of public bureaucracies" (Demone & Gibelman, 1990:11).² The problem, as Demone & Gibelman point out, is that the privatization of corrections has stimulated additional concerns. Without a doubt, the importance of the profit motive and the potential trading of quality for quantity are at the top of the list of these concerns.

There are three general alternatives involved in this model.

- First and foremost, we can illicit the services of the private sector, or
- We can choose not to, allowing the current method of service delivery to continue unchanged.

Should we choose to privatize, we would want to know how effective such a choice would be. Specifically, we would want to know how it would help us to realize the goals that were discussed above. We would need to know how it could improve upon our present system, being particularly interested in whether or not privatization could increase effectiveness and/or reduce our correctional

budget. We would also want to know the issues surrounding the privatization movement including such issues as ethical considerations, liability and accountability.

- As a third alternative we could also improve our present system so a change would not be warranted.

Perhaps there is no need to implement a new system if changes could be made to our existing system or way of doing business. In order to make a rational and informed choice between our three alternatives, we must now examine the relevant information regarding the effectiveness of non-public correctional services and the ethical and constitutional issues surrounding the privatization of probation and parole.

Effectiveness

How effective is community supervision? In inspecting the effectiveness of probation and parole supervision in general, Gottfredson & Gottfredson (1988) note that the studies have traditionally been plagued by several methodological shortcomings such as a lack of a carefully planned research design, lack of an appropriate sample and/or comparison group i.e., unrepresentativeness, the use of an "after only" design (with no pre-test to measure change), and a lack of clear definition of critical terms and inadequate operational definitions.

An examination of the research that has been conducted on the effectiveness of probation and parole supervision (as compiled by Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988:198), reveals that at the present time, it is virtually impossible to assess the effectiveness of community supervision with any degree of accuracy because of the above mentioned shortcomings. In other words, the necessary research that would give us this information has not yet been done. "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" (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988:199). In essence,

policy makers and planners have been unable to arm themselves with the appropriate *information* in which to make adequate decisions.

Research on the effectiveness of privatization (especially in dealing specifically with community supervision) is still in its infancy. DiLulio (1986:2) candidly admits that "...it will be some years before there is a sufficient empirical basis for hard-and-fast comparisons of public versus private sector performance in corrections." Although the above statement was made in 1986, it still holds true today. There presently exists a myth that the privatization of corrections is being used (at least in some places) a great deal. In discussing institutional corrections, Demone & Gibelman (1990:9) help put this myth of widespread privatization to rest when they note that "One firm about which much has been written is the Correctional Corporation of America which, as of this writing, has yet to secure a contract to operate an adult correctional facility for male felons." Camp & Camp (1985), did however, find that there was much more activity in correctional contracting, finding that twenty-nine juvenile and thirty-seven adult agencies in thirty-nine states purchased thirty-three types of services and/or programs from the private sector. For the most part, these programs were human service programs such as health, mental health, education, community treatment centers and drug and alcohol treatment. Some (Demone & Gibelman, 1990:10) note that the trend is toward more contracting for correctional services. Only time will tell whether our reliance on privatization will grow, by how much, and in what areas.

For our evaluation, effectiveness will be comprised of two separate but important components - recidivism and cost-effectiveness. One should keep in mind that research on actual cost-effectiveness is scant.

DiLulio (1986) briefly documents the early history of the privatization of prisons and demonstrates how dismal this performance was, suggesting what a poor combination of prisons and profits can be. With such a bleak past history,

DiLulio (1986:5) suggests great caution with privatizing punishment related types of services. Like several other authors, he is concerned about the moral and ethical considerations of privatization and feels that the answer to our present problems should be addressed by the government, which possesses the unique authority to punish and control the liberty of others.

The private sector has traditionally been involved in non-incarcerative programs (Durham, 1989:56). The literature describing and evaluating the effectiveness of private treatment providers (i.e., health care and drug and alcohol treatment/counseling) is certainly more abundant. Vito (1989) describes and evaluates a private program to treat probationers and parolees — the Kentucky Substance Abuse Program. One often cited reason for using private contractors to deliver services to correctional clientele is the increased ability to financially control the quality and effectiveness of the service. For example, "Control of the purse strings will give probation departments a voice in terms of the type, manner and, most importantly, the quality of services provided by social service agencies for the probationers" (Vito, 1989:66). Clearly another advantage of privatizing these types of services is the avoidance of bureaucratic inertia and red tape, should the services not be adequately provided.

Vito (1989:69) found that clients referred to the Kentucky Substance Abuse Program (KSAP) represented a higher risk type of offender, meaning that the KSAP clients had more severe alcohol problems and were more likely to have been in treatment before. Based upon these characteristics, one would expect their recidivism rates to be higher than that of the comparison group. This finding runs contrary to the belief that private contractors only deal with the less serious offenders, thereby boosting their rates of effectiveness while decreasing their chances of liability and/or the costs of unique or special services. In examining recidivism rates, Vito (1989:70) found that:

The KSAP graduates had a significantly lower arrest, conviction, and incarceration rate for a new felony than either the KSAP exits or the members of the comparison group. In fact, none of the KSAP graduates were convicted or incarcerated for a new felony. Among those cases incarcerated on a technical violation, the KSAP graduates still had the lowest rate (3.6 percent).

The KSAP graduates, however, had a significantly higher rate of arrest and conviction for misdemeanor offenses (Vito, 1989:70). Vito concluded that the program was successful in providing services to this high risk population, thus preventing them from returning to prison.

Another function of the probation department has become an issue of debate - the completion of pre-sentence investigations. Due to backlogged courts and overworked and understaffed probation departments, some judges must now wait an inordinately long time for these reports to be completed.³ Some agencies have looked to the private sector for the completion of this function. Others question whether the private sector has a legitimate role in the judicial function of sentencing (Hoelter, 1984:64). Proponents say that the function of the PSI is only to *assist* the court in its sentencing function. Personal past experience, however, would seem to indicate that sentencing judges concur with the PSI's sentencing recommendation nine times out of ten. Evidence seems to support this (Cromwell & Killinger, 1994:56). Judges admit that they don't know the defendant and therefore rely on the PSI to make their decision. Once again, the argument becomes an ethical one.

One area that has been developing at a particularly steady rate in regards to privatization, is the area of juvenile institutionalization. Shichor & Bartollas (1990:286-87) note the following trend:

From 1975 to 1984, admissions to public juvenile facilities decreased from 641,189 to 527,754, a decline of 18%. But

during this sametime period, admissions to private juvenile facilities increased from 56,708 to 101,007, an increase of 78%.

Amidst this increasing trend have come charges that private agencies "cream" or highly select their clientele. Once again, data on the *effectiveness* (as measured through recidivism) is not contained in their report. Instead, Shichor & Bartollas (1990) were interested in comparing the characteristics of youths sent to public facilities with those sent to private ones. Using data collected from one southern California county *only*, the authors attempted to examine whether or not "...private facilities are receiving youths with different delinquent and social backgrounds than are public institutions" (Shichor & Bartollas, 1990:287). By using various indicators, they found that the public placement juveniles had more delinquent "qualities" than private placement juveniles, although these differences were not statistically significant. They did find a true difference, however, in that the family problems of the juveniles placed in private facilities were greater than the youths who were placed in public institutions. In discussing their findings, the author's note that "This distinction may indicate that the probation department screens delinquent youths for its own institutions and sends youths with other problems to the large variety of public facilities that claim psychological expertise and that supposedly provide special treatment intervention" (Shichor & Bartollas, 1990:294-95). They conclude by noting that private placements were not more selective than public placements in their intake policies.

Shichor & Bartollas (1990:295) report other findings that will provide useful information regarding the utilization of our model. Interviews with officials at the private placement facility revealed that the special programs they operate do not always have the "qualified professionals" required, or they may not have them for the required amount of hours. Such a practice would undoubtedly lower their operating costs. Another problem that was encountered was the

inability on the part of the probation department (public agency) to appropriately monitor the private institution to ensure that certain conditions were being met by the various providers. The qualifications of staff members has also been called into question. Finally, the author's call into question the efficacy of the use of private placements and suggest caution in moving in this direction in the future, especially without a nationwide effort to evaluate private facilities (Shichor & Bartollas, 1990:297).

Although the contracting out of certain correctional services have been more abundant, there are, however, a handful of studies that have examined the effectiveness of privatizing general probation and parole supervision, and *not just select* types of services. The U.S. Department of Justice in cooperation with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention recently funded \$1.7 million to study the feasibility of having the private sector provide juvenile probation services to individual probation departments in five different states (U.S. Department of Justice, 1989:1). The states selected for participation were Utah, Ohio, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, and California.

The program in Utah provided short-term intensive supervision for ninety days. The U.S. Department of Justice (1989:3) reports that "The results have been very positive, with recidivism rates lower than anticipated since the intensive contract supervision program began." The question becomes "What was the *anticipated* level?"

In Cleveland, a private agency was selected to supervise two hundred juveniles who were on probation. They supposedly realized a cost savings of approximately \$400 per juvenile because the cost per youth was \$800 compared to \$1,200 for the public sector involvement. The following results were reported:

An independent consultant conducted a formal study of phase 1 and found that although the county spent less money on case management, the recidivism rate of the status offenders did not go up after privatization. Delinquents'

recidivism rated *did* rise, however. (U.S. Department of Justice, 1989:3)

The author of the present article is unaware of what comprised a "delinquent" offender. The report simply states that the delinquents were not status offenders, but gives no specific information as to their arrest charges and/or history. The department therefore recommended that the privatization of these services be limited to status offenders only (U.S. Department of Justice, 1989:3). The other states did not report information concerning their effectiveness and/or efficiency, probably due to their infancy.

Perhaps one of the largest probation related privatization efforts is employed in the state of Florida. As of 1985, the Salvation Army Misdemeanor Probation Program (SAMP) employed approximately 200 counselors and provided the vast majority of the programming for offenders convicted of misdemeanor offenses (Roberts & Powers, 1985:96). Writing in 1980, Lindquist (1980:59) noted that SAMP, which started in October of 1975, provided over 90 percent of all probation supervision for adults convicted of misdemeanors in the state of Florida, thus serving over 7,800 clients per month. Lindquist (1980:60) describes the program as follows:

Under the SAMP structure, the Salvation Army supervises an active monthly caseload of over 7,800 clients in 34 counties. Often maintaining a permanent liaison officer within each county court, SAMP relies on both professional, correctional counselors and regular Salvation Army staff to supervise clients.

Besides providing counseling and supervision, SAMP acts as a referral agency — channeling individuals with special needs into various programs — and also plays an active role in the area of restitution and payment of fines.

Although dealing with misdemeanants, the SAMP program boasted a revocation rate of just 6.3%, which is exceptionally low based upon any standard. In 1978, the Salvation Army estimated its daily cost of supervision (per client) to be \$0.37, which is less than the state's cost of \$1.00 per client (Lindquist,

1980:62).⁴ Lindquist concludes by suggesting that correctional practitioners keep an open mind regarding the potential utilization of the private sector. Recent communication with the Florida Department of Corrections Director of Probation and Parole Services revealed that the Salvation Army was no longer involved in felony probation supervision, but do remain quite active in the supervision of misdemeanants (Dodd, 1993). In addition to there being a state prohibition against the practice, the Director noted that his agency had "certain concerns" about the privatization of felony supervision for "reasons which are somewhat complex" (Dodd, 1993).

Ethical and Constitutional Considerations

The goals of our decision must be just and equitable. Our policy decisions and their implications must also be ethical. The biggest argument against privatization has been in this area and because of this, we will need to examine some of the core ethical issues. The question most people ask is "Does an entity, other than the state, have the right to punish or control its citizens?" In other words "Is it so precious a medicine that nobody else has the right to administer it?" (Dinitz, 1992). DiLulio (1986:5) notes that even John Locke himself, a proponent of free enterprise and limited government, "...insisted that government can and should perform three main functions: defense from attacks by foreign enemies, maintenance of a few vital public works, and the administration of justice." Like several other opponents of the privatization of corrections, Locke seemed to realize the dramatic difference between trash collection and the deprivation of liberty. For some, the privatization argument ends here. Some feel that only the state has the right to punish, and believing this, they refuse to consider the other arguments for or against privatization.

To date, the courts have never ruled that privatization is unconstitutional. The question becomes one of liability and accountability. Robbins (1986) notes that the courts have been consistent in

their rulings that the state still maintains responsibility and therefore incurs liability. This has particularly been the norm in cases of involuntary confinement. The issue of vicarious liability could cause tremendous problems for the privatization movement. Here, liability can be imposed on an employer (or in this case the monitoring or public agency) for the illegal acts of their employees committed during the course of their employment (Inciardi, 1993:51). Private companies, however, purport to include liability insurance in their per diem cost estimates for potential liability problems. According to Maghan (1991:145), however, private companies have been found to grossly underestimate their provisions for liability coverage.⁵ Court involvement and time will be the future tests for this issue.

Perhaps the most substantial ethical dilemma involved in the privatization movement is the profit motive. The "bottom line" in private enterprise is profit and to ensure the continuation of profit, one needs to ensure the availability of an applicant pool—in this case, criminal offenders. The profit motive (for the private sector) and cost-effectiveness (for the public sector), is, without a doubt, of most importance to both sectors. It is cost-effectiveness that occupies the minds of federal, state, and local governments, especially come budget preparation and/or re-election time. Rehabilitation is nice, but it is not of utmost importance to correctional officials and politicians. Perhaps due in large part to a conservative political ideology, the public sector has not been in the business of rehabilitating criminals. Regardless of whether one believes such a statement, one must certainly agree that the public sector has not been inordinately effective in this area. Even highly specialized and overly financed programs have met with (at best) minimum effectiveness. We are, however, willing to implement new programs and spend millions of dollars to do it, if we are able to (1) not unduly jeopardize the safety of the community, while (2) realizing substantial cost savings. It would appear that cost has surpassed all other correctional goals in im-

portance. The question then becomes, "If we (the public sector) have been unsuccessful in our rehabilitation efforts for the last one hundred years or so, why should we expect the private sector to do any better?" Is there not the danger that "...states will turn to private vendors not to enhance the quality of treatment services but to supply such services more cheaply?" (Cullen, 1986:14).

To date, the courts have never ruled that privatization is unconstitutional.

Proponents, however, feel that this *can* be checked by the contract monitoring process, and is indeed considered by many to be an advantage of privatization (see, for instance, Crants, 1991). If it is believed that the private contractor is no longer providing adequate or necessary services, the state or public agency can modify or choose not to renew the contract. Cullen (1986:13) notes that "With profit motives on the line, vendors will have clear incentives to develop more effective treatment modalities." The majority of individuals who have written about the privatization of corrections have emphasized the significance of the contract monitoring process. In addition to ensuring quality of service, the monitoring process also has other advantages. As stated earlier, public correctional agencies typically have vague, contradictory, or simply non-existent goals. The contract process requires the state or county to discuss what its goals actually are, in addition to formulating criteria that will be used in evaluating whether or not those goals have been achieved (Merlo, 1992:31). The issue becomes whether or not this monitoring will take place. After all, successful monitoring is an investment of both time and money - a deficiency of both being what pushed the public sector into the contract with the private sector in the first place.

The "competition as incentive" argument has also been seen by many to be an advantage of privatization. The idea here is that competition will allow for not

only the betterment of services, but also the delivery of those services at the lowest possible cost. This sounds good in theory, but may not be the case in practice. In discussing this point, Merlo (1992:26) reminds the reader that a large amount of capital is often required for involvement, thus, there are often times only one or two companies that have the resources and willingness to submit a proposal, "Thus, the diversity envisioned through privatization may be illusory."

There is also the issue of net widening. Palumbo (1986:605) notes that "A recent study by Abt has shown that the major variable that determines the number of offenders being incarcerated is the size of prisons and number of beds available." The logic here is that the more beds you have, the more likely you are to fill them. The same argument could certainly hold true for community supervision, especially since it is now well known that probation officers are sometimes being asked to supervise two to three hundred offenders. Because of caseload size, many now see probation as a joke. This ineffectiveness due to caseload size could make judges less apt to sentence offenders to a period of supervision. Should judges be afforded the luxury of having other agencies (meaning private agencies) within the community who provide supervision services, the possibility of net widening undoubtedly exists, especially when private vendors make claims of greater effectiveness and cheaper costs.

Although the literature examining the ethical issues of privatization has been more predominant in the area of detention and institutionalization, the ethical considerations of privatizing both probation and parole supervision, as well as service delivery areas, should not be minimized. Decisions, actions, and recommendations from both probation and parole agents and treatment providers can also result in the loss of liberty. Why haven't the ethical issues surrounding the privatization of probation and parole and their various services been as abundant as they have with incarceration? Part of this answers lies in what von

Hirsch (1990) calls the "anything-but-prison theory." According to von Hirsch (1990:165), this theory is a "...version of the wider misconception that an individual cannot complain about how he or she is being punished if there is something still worse that might have been done instead." He goes on to argue that a sanction should be justified in its own right, not merely in comparison to another, perhaps more punitive one. Probation and parole is thought of as a privilege, not a right. Perhaps appraisers of the privatization movement are simply less concerned with those punishments that don't severely restrict one's freedom of movement or cause a certain amount of pain and suffering. This of course, as von Hirsch points out, can be a dangerous philosophy.

Methodological Concerns and Problems

Roberts & Demone (1985:96) state it best when they note that:

With this proliferation of private initiatives in what has traditionally been a public monopoly, there emerges the obvious need for evaluative research to assess the relative effectiveness of these two ideologically different approaches to the delivery of correctional services. Unfortunately, there is very little empirical evidence to help inform the debate which surrounds the whole privatization movement.

The same methodological problems that have plagued public sector probation and parole research have also greatly hampered private sector evaluation efforts. A specific example will help to illustrate the problems in private sector evaluation. In 1982, the state of Florida decided to privatize the Okeechobee School for Boys (a 400 bed, secure facility for adjudicated juvenile delinquents), to be run by a not-for-profit agency—the Eckerd Foundation. A year after the Eckerd Foundation assumed operational responsibility for running the facility, the National Institute of

Corrections awarded a grant to the American Correctional Association to conduct an evaluation of this transfer (Roberts & Powers, 1985:97). From the onset of the evaluation, there were methodological problems. Perhaps the most monumental problem was that "...there was insufficient baseline documentation available to utilize a "before and after" comparison design which would have enabled the Okeechobee School to serve as its own control" (p. 97). Demone & Gibelman (1990:21) note that the private program appeared to be equal in quality to that provided by the state, with no significant reductions in operational costs. In conclusion, the results of the evaluation did not reveal tremendously strong support for the utilization of private agencies as an alternative strategy (Demone & Gibelman, 1990; Levinson, 1985).

Some of the same methodological constraints also make it very difficult to appropriately compare the costs of private versus public agencies. Logan & McGriff (1989) note two major problems in comparing the costs of public versus private prisons. Although not specifically dealing with community supervision and/or correctional services, their research sheds valuable light on our present analysis, as their issues they raise seem rather generic. One problem lies in the hidden costs of corrections. They note that virtually no correctional budget shows all of the direct and indirect costs and that these "Costs omitted from correctional budgets can amount to one-third the value of those that are included" (Logan & McGriff, 1989:2). According to the authors, some of the hidden costs of corrections include capital costs, opportunity costs, employment benefits, external oversight costs, legal services costs, general liability costs, etc. The second shortcoming is the "apples and oranges" problem - meaning that the programs and/or facilities being compared are not sufficiently similar to make a straight dollar comparison fair (Logan & McGriff, 1989:6). Despite these problems, the authors found that the county under examination had received more and better prison services at a decreased cost.

Conclusions

The last phase of the decision making model is the preparation and implementation of policy control guidelines. Since the privatization of community supervision was examined in general, these guidelines will take the form of recommendations fueled by the information and issues contained in the above analysis.

Privatization is heralded by some to be the "cure" for our correctional woes. What is interesting is that the jury is still out with regards to its effectiveness, meaning *general* effectiveness (usually measured through recidivism), and *cost* effectiveness. It is also somewhat ironic to note the failure of evaluation efforts in determining whether or not privatization is one potential cure. Some recommendations, based upon the utilization of the rational decision making model, seem to be in order.

(1) *Correctional agencies, whether public or private, non-profit or for profit, should establish clear and concise goals.* Agencies should know what it is their attempting to do. Without knowing this, all evaluation efforts and methodological comparisons will be futile. As I have pointed out earlier, the public sector has not been immune to the problems that have afflicted the private sector. How can we realistically assess the effectiveness of the new movement when we really don't have the accurate and methodologically sound information in which to compare it to? The evaluation effort of the Okeechobee School for Boys provided an example of this.

(2) *These agencies must have in place, not only the goals, but objectives so they will be informed as to their progress and success or failure in meeting their agency's goals.* How can we know whether or not privatization can provide us with advantages if our present agencies are unsure whether or not they themselves are effective in realizing their goals and objectives? To go ahead and blindly implement privatization without first having some baseline comparisons from the public agency is simply to waste time and

money — something that the whole privatization movement is supposed to save.

(3) *Agencies considering privatizing would do well to remember that the evidence supporting the effectiveness (both cost and program effectiveness) has not (as of yet) been very promising, and in most cases, valuable information has been non-existent.*

(4) *Agencies should remember that they are the ones who are legally and financially responsible and in this sense, there are no truly private programs.* In fact, the public agency must take on an additional role — that of monitor. Monitoring expends both time and money which are, once again, things that privatization are supposed to reduce. As Demone & Gibelman (1990:16) point out "One distinctive character of the ideal-type private sector organization, its independence of government control or financing, simply does not and cannot apply. It is thus unlikely that rehabilitation or any other criminal justice programs can be truly private." Along these same lines, and for the same reasons, it is entirely possible that the monitoring of these private agencies may be sacrificed due to a lack of financial resources that led to the privatization of the service or agency in the first place. The private agency could also have a financial incentive *not* to adequately monitor their performance. Monitoring also translates into money which, for them, is of even greater consequence.

Monitoring expends both time and money which are things that privatization are supposed to reduce.

If the above recommendations are implemented and substantial problems still exist, then privatization could exist as a viable alternative. In reviewing the relevant research, it is clear that, should privatization be implemented, officials should proceed very cautiously and slowly and the contract monitoring and renewal process should be based upon performance standards.

At the present time the disadvantages of privatizing the *general* functions of probation and parole agencies would seem to outnumber the advantages. There does, however, seem to be some indication of both the appropriateness and successfulness of contracting out *highly professionalized* types of services, such as health care and specialized treatment and educational services. Such services have a long history in corrections and their importance should not be minimized.

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Endnotes

¹ The author would like to thank Professor Vernon Wherry of Mercyhurst College for this specific interpretation of Gottfredson & Gottfredson's (1988) work.

² It is quite interesting to note that the goals of the private sector are strikingly similar to that of the public's.

³ Thus, there is also an assumption that these reports, coming from overworked and possibly understaffed agencies, lack quality.

⁴ It is unknown what this very rough estimate of cost takes into account and, therefore, might not be accurate or adequately comparable.

⁵ For an excellent discussion of various constitutional and legal issues surrounding privatization, see Robbins (1991).

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APPA's Accreditation Process: The Bridge to Quality

by Renee Bergeron, Director, Staff Development and Training, South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole and Pardon Services and Bruce Gibson, Director, Adult Probation Department, Clermont County Common Pleas Court, Ohio

The Trend

The American Probation and Parole Association's Accreditation process could be a useful way to facilitate continuous quality improvement within an organization. The APPA Accreditation and quality improvement processes, in many respects, mirror one another. Both processes "focus on fundamentals such as knowing your purpose, knowing your customers, meeting or exceeding customer expectations by designing quality into . . . products [and services] and making measurable, continuous improvements" (Markley, 1994). "Re-engineering" an agency can provide for a well trained staff to be empowered to make operational decisions and can lead to down-sizing while maintaining quality services (Markley, 1994). The connection of Quality Improvement to the APPA Accreditation process is obvious — the process of Accreditation of training can help to link an organization's training program with the overall mission or strategic plan. High quality training can be the "vehicle" that drives the agency to its new destination by bridging the gap of new learning that is necessary to move the organization from its current position to a more desirable one.

The APPA Accreditation process is a way to "benchmark" an organization's training program. "Benchmarking" is a continuous process by which an organization compares its performance in key areas with that of other organizations. Developing plans for good training, that include mechanisms for continual assessment and evaluation, are factors that lead to accreditation of training curriculum and programs (Gibson, 1994).

Many organizations have recognized the need to set and exceed predetermined standards, sometimes called benchmarks. Accredited programs provide examples or models of what works so others may better be able to use the information and improve their processes.

The Quality Link

Training accreditation criteria are derived from program criteria that represent what the Internal Association for Continuing Education and Training considers necessary for accreditation of training. When the criteria are viewed as a comprehensive process, rather than individual components, they can complement and support Quality Improvement efforts. Let's take a closer look at each component and how it can be linked to quality processes.

1. *Needs Identification:* In a Training Needs Identification or Assessment, we examine the gap between what a learner knows and what he or she needs to know. The process involves analysis of the issues or problems of individuals, groups or organizations (APPA — Policy on Continuing Education and Accreditation). This is accomplished using surveys, interviews, or focus group discussions.

When an organization begins to implement Quality principles, a similar process, "Gap Analysis", provides similar results. The "Gap Analysis" examines questions such as; "Where are we now?", and "What do we need to get us to where we want to be?" When conducting a "Gap Analysis", similar tools such as the surveys, interviews and focus groups used in a Needs Assessment, determine the answer to these questions.

The data gathered from the "Gap Analysis" is then used to help improve the processes linked to the achievement of the organizational mission.

2. *Learning Outcomes:* Learning outcomes are measurable, performance based statements which are the foundation of a quality training program. A training program's content and instructional strategies revolve around the learning outcomes. The outcomes focus on the intended growth or change in the learners' knowledge, skills, and ability during and after the training program. Learning outcomes are a means by which to measure the success of a training program. If the ultimate goal of a training program is to change the learners behavior back on the job in a way that will help to accomplish the organizational mission, then it would be advantageous to ensure that each learning outcome can be linked back to the organization's mission or strategic plan.

In a "Total Quality" organization each work group has set "Performance Indicators" to help measure the success of their jobs in promoting the overall organization mission. Performance Indicators are like learning outcomes in that they describe the critical processes, or future organizational goals, in measurable, performance based terms.

3. *Content and Methodology:* When conducting a training program, the use of a variety of instructional strategies that embrace the different learning styles of individuals is an example of another quality technique used in the accreditation process. In quality teams, as in learning groups, it is necessary for individuals to embrace the benefits of diverse perspectives.

Some examples of tools that can be used in both training and quality teams are: Brainstorming, Nominal Group technique, and structured problem solving.

Employees must be kept up to date, they must learn how to deal with constant change to remain job ready.

4. *Assessment of Learning Outcomes:* This process involves administering the tool you have chosen to assess your learning outcomes. Some examples are: performance tests, work samples, observation, facilitated group discussion, simulations, interviews. In a Quality Improvement "Gap Analysis", you might use a survey, focus group or other forms of interviews or facilitated discussion.

5. *Instructors:* Instructors should be properly trained and capable of doing the job. They need to be able to communicate with the participant at an adult learner level and be able to demonstrate effective instructional strategies (APPA, Policy on Continuing Education and Accreditation). For example, at the South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole and Pardon Services the certification criteria includes successful completion of: a forty hour "Basic Training for Trainer Skills", a thirty two hour "Facilitation Skill" program, a thirty two hour "Quality Teams and Tools" Course; and annual "In-service Training". Each Trainer must also provide a minimum of 12 hours of instruction annually.

Training is such an integral part of the success of quality improvement in an organization that the training process itself must model the use of quality tools and techniques. The tools and techniques used in quality improvement are not

new to the skilled Trainer. Trainers may use quality tools, perhaps without even realizing it. Some typical examples are: force field analysis, gathering facts and data through brainstorming, cost-benefit analysis, and group facilitation skills.

6. *Program Evaluation:* Program evaluation helps to ensure "continuous improvement". In most organizations, the fundamental purpose of training is to improve job performance. Like other processes, training has inputs (the content) and outputs (changes in performance). As with other processes, a training program can improve its product through continuous evaluation and feedback. When training fails to produce the desired output, evaluation can help to discover possible reasons.

If employees existed in a vacuum, training would be simple—if we wanted to improve certain performance output, we would arrange for proper training input. But the world of performance is not just skills and knowledge in, performance out. Reality enters the picture. The process level—how the work flows, management support (or non-support) all enter to complicate the picture. Consequently, an evaluation must consider more than "successful or satisfactory completion of training". This necessary first step only tells us that the learner is able to perform the behaviors taught in a session. Chances are, one classroom session won't effect a dramatic change in behavior once the learner is back on the job. The organization's management staff and processes must support the behavior change.

Why Concern Yourself With Accreditation?

Using the Accreditation process can help meet identified customer needs, through a training needs assessment, and the end product (produced through the Accreditation process) will have measurable outcomes (the learning ob-

jectives). Incorporation of an evaluation component will help ensure continuous improvement.

The pace of change is accelerating daily. The break neck pace of change increases the importance of the already critical role of training within your organization. Employees must be kept up to date, they must learn how to deal with constant change to remain job ready. A training program must be linked to the organizational mission and geared towards continuous quality improvement to meet these challenges. A Training program, like a quality improvement program, is a dynamic, on-going effort that evolves and grows, building on an organization's experience. Using the APPA Accreditation process to improve by striving to reach their "benchmark" can help meet these challenges.

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Sex Offender Treatment: Does It Work?

by Robert J. McGrath, M.A., Director of Sex Offender Treatment, Counseling Service of Addison County, Vermont

A young man was walking beside a river when he noticed a child struggling half-submerged in a series of rapids. He quickly jumped into the water and rescued the child. As he was administering first aid to the child, he looked upstream and saw several other children and a few adults who were also struggling in the swift current. Fortunately, many passersby noticed what was happening and joined his rescue efforts. As the young man surveyed the suffering that surrounded him, the focus of his attention shifted and he began running upstream. A rescuer, seeing the young man pass several victims in need, shouted over to him, "Where are you going. These people need your help!" The young man shouted back, "I'm running up-stream to do something about the person who's throwing all these people in the river." (Unknown)

Probation and parole officers who supervise sex offenders face the critical and challenging task of protecting past and potential victims of sexual violence. This responsibility is more important now than ever before. The number of sex offenders on the case loads of community corrections professionals continues to increase and there can be no question as to the severe consequences of sexual violence to victims and the community.

The criminal justice system's response to sex offenders typically involves punishment and incapacitation. These strategies, when they include incarceration, eliminate offenders' access to potential victims and thereby prevent re-offenses. Yet, almost all sex offenders eventually return to the community. To address this reality, community corrections programs increasingly require sex offenders to undergo treatment. This article analyzes the effectiveness of these treatment ef-

forts. Case examples from model programs in Vermont are used for illustration. The following three questions concerning sex offender treatment effectiveness are addressed:

1. Is treatment effective in reducing re-offenses?
2. Is treatment cost effective?
3. Is treatment effective in addressing the needs of victims?

Is Treatment Effective in Reducing Re-Offenses?

Considerable public attention has focused on the question of whether sex offender treatment reduces recidivism rates. Professional debate has also concentrated on this question (e.g., Furby, Weinrott, and Blackshaw, 1989). Fortunately, a careful analysis of the sex offender treatment literature, especially recent outcome studies, leads to very optimistic conclusions about the efficacy of treatment.

Over the last fifteen years, at least seven research groups have analyzed sex offender treatment studies and all but one (Furby et al., 1989) have found overall positive treatment effects. Alexander (1993) has conducted the most recent and largest study of sex offender treatment outcomes. Her findings are worth examining in some detail.

Figure 1 illustrates Alexander's (1993) analysis of sex offender outcome studies which examined up to 68 studies in each of the following comparisons. She found that the recidivism rate of treated offenders was 10.9% vs. 18.5% for untreated offenders. Offenders who were mandated into treatment had slightly lower recidivism rates than offenders who entered treatment voluntarily (10.5% vs. 12.4%). Not surprisingly, offenders who completed treatment re-offended at a much lower rate than those who

dropped out of treatment (10.4% vs. 18.4%). Two findings lend support to the notion that recent improvements in treatment techniques are resulting in better treatment outcomes. The recidivism rate of offenders who participated in treatment studies conducted before 1980 was 12.8%, whereas the recidivism rate among offenders treated in studies after 1980 was 7.4%. In addition, offenders treated with recently developed relapse prevention interventions in combination with behavioral or group treatment had significantly lower recidivism rates than offenders who received a combination of behavioral and group therapy (5.9% vs. 13.4%).

Treatment outcome also seems to be related to the type of offense that an individual commits. Alexander's (1993) and other recent studies suggest that, as a group, men who molest children tend to be fairly responsive to treatment. The efficacy of treatment for men who rape is still equivocal. Other types of sex offenders who tend to be resistant to the effects of treatment include those who have multiple sexual offense convictions, fixated deviant sexual arousal patterns, or severe psychopathic personality traits (McGrath, 1991).

Because not all treatment is equally effective, nor are all sex offenders equally responsive to therapy, community corrections professionals should choose treatment programs carefully. Fortunately, the types of programs that seem most effective are the types of programs that are most common. Almost 60% of the 1500 adult and juvenile sex offender treatment programs recently identified by Knopp, Freeman-Longo, and Stevenson (1992) use a cognitive-behavioral or relapse prevention treatment model. In addition, group therapy is the preferred primary method of treatment in 98% of these programs.

Successful treatment programs also have similar treatment goals. These typically include accepting responsibility for offenses, developing victim empathy, controlling deviant sexual arousal, improving social competence, and developing relapse prevention skills.

Is Treatment Cost Effective?

Although reducing human suffering is the primary goal of sex offender treatment, fiscal realities cannot be ignored. The financial impact of sexual aggression on society is enormous. Table 1 estimates the average cost of one re-offense based on current approximate costs in Vermont. Offender-related re-offense expenses include pretrial investigation, court costs, incarceration, incarcerated treatment, and parole supervision. Victim-related expenses involve the department of social services, hospital and medical expenses, and victim evaluation and treatment services. Because not all victims require out of home placements or medical services, or seek mental health treatment, victim related expenses were averaged.

The other important fiscal variable is the cost of treatment services designed to prevent sex offender re-offense. Although the focus here is on outpatient treatment, other researchers have analyzed the cost-effectiveness of incarcerated sex offender programs (e.g., Prentky & Burgess, 1990). In Vermont, probation and parole officers refer all sex offenders to specialized outpatient sex offender treatment programs. Probation and parole pays contracted treatment providers, on average, \$346 per offender per year to conduct this treatment. In addition, each offender contributes to the cost of his treatment based on his ability to pay and billing of available third party insurance. Given that each offender receives on average about three years of weekly group treatment, the total cost of treatment to the state is about \$1,038.

A cost-benefit model, based on these figures, examining savings for 100 treated versus 100 untreated sex offenders is shown in Figure 2. The current 6% re-offense rate of treated sex offenders in

Vermont (Vermont Treatment Program for Sexual Aggressors, 1992) is used in this model. When there is no difference in the recidivism rate between treated and untreated offenders, the cost to the state is the \$103,800 of treatment funds (\$1,038 x 100 offenders) allocated to the treatment group. In this example, treatment neither reduces recidivism nor is it cost effective. However, when the recidivism rate of the 100 untreated offenders is 7%, expenditures are \$138,828 for each of the seven re-offenses, for a total cost of \$971,796. Expenditures to the treated group are again \$103,800 in treatment funds plus \$138,828 for each of six re-offenses, for a total cost of \$936,768. Thus, a 1% decrease in recidivism among treated sex offenders results in a cost savings of \$35,028 to the state. When the recidivism rate between treated and untreated offenders is 8% or greater, cost savings in excess of \$1,000,000 are realized.

Clearly, outpatient treatment that is even minimally effective at reducing recidivism rates can be cost-effective. Fortunately, specialized sex offender treatment as practiced today generally meets and exceeds this low threshold for cost effective practice. In fact, differences in recidivism rates between treated and untreated offenders of over 10% are achievable and result in enormous cost savings to the state.

Is Treatment Effective in Addressing the Needs of Victims?

Sex offender treatment providers should not ignore the present day struggles of past victims. Financial restitution paid by offenders to victims is an important step. Offenders can also provide emotional restitution to their victims as illustrated in the following adapted case study.

As Sam progressed in treatment, he began to accept full responsibility for raping his ten year old niece. When treatment staff consulted the victim's mother to ask if an apology from Sam might be helpful to her daughter, she said that any communication with the abuser would be harmful. But she volunteered, "You know, my husband (who divorced her

before the abuse) used to visit her (the victim) about once a week. He hasn't seen her since this happened. She misses her dad. He thinks that it's her fault. I don't suppose there's anything you can do about that?" In response, Sam and his counselor met with Sam's brother, the father of the victim. In an emotional meeting, Sam apologized to his brother for what he had done. More importantly, however, Sam described how he tricked and frightened his niece into intercourse and convinced her that she would get in trouble if she told. Within days of this meeting, the victim's father contacted his daughter, apologized for his absence, told her that he knew the abuse was not her fault, and began visiting her regularly.

Others had tried unsuccessfully to convince the father of this victim that the abuse was not her fault. Although nothing can undo the damage that this offender had already caused his brother and niece, through treatment he helped facilitate their important reconciliation.

Perpetrators can help their victims in a variety of ways. Some victims want to express anger or other feelings directly to a perpetrator. Other victims want to ask offenders questions about the abuse, such as, "Why did you do it?", "Was it my fault?", and "Will you do it again?" Some victims want to meet with offenders face-to-face and others want to communicate through letter, audio-tape, or video tape. Many victims do not want to have any contact with their perpetrator. These wishes need to

Table 1: Financial Cost of a Re-offense

Offender Related Expenses	
Pretrial Investigation	1,200
Trial Costs	4,010
Incarceration (5 years)	111,235
Incarcerated Treatment (3 years)	12,813
Parole (2 years)	1,170
Total Offender Expenses	130,428
Victim Related Expenses	
Department of Social Services	5,000
Hospital/Medical	325
Victim Evaluation	825
Treatment (1 year)	2,250
Total Victim Expenses	8,400
Total	138,828

Figure 1
Sex Offender Recidivism Rates:
Alexander's (1993) Analysis of Outcome Studies

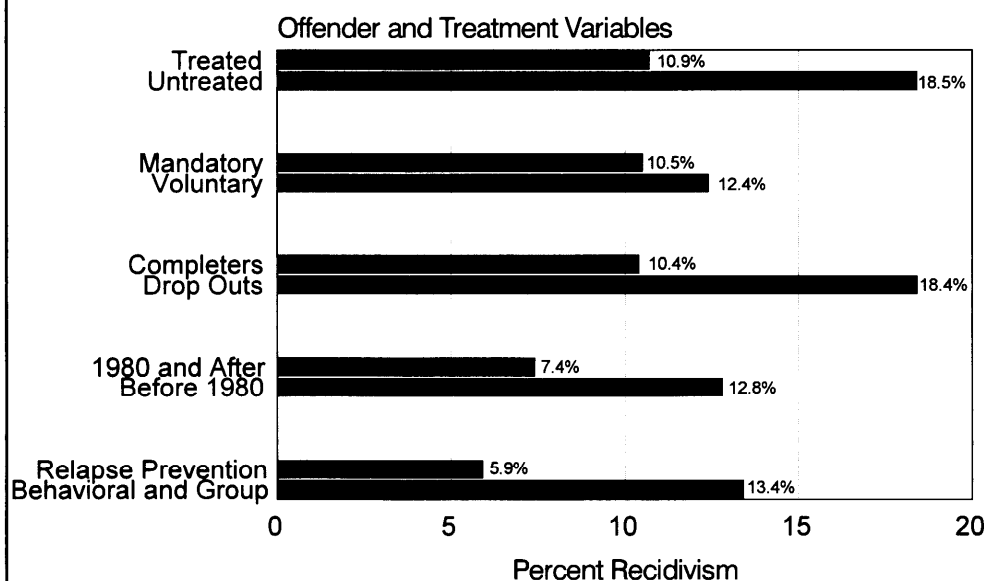
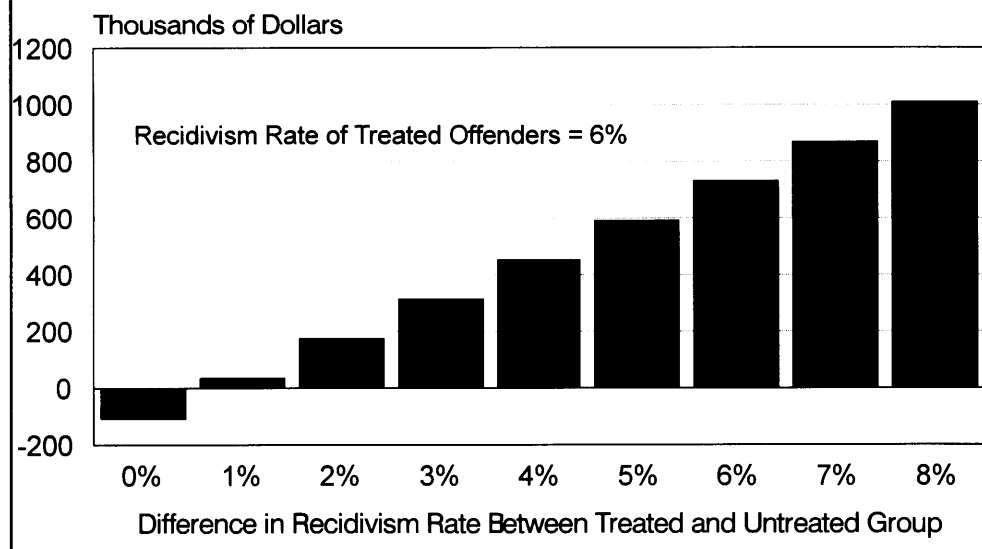


Figure 2
Estimated Cost Savings of Treatment:
100 Treated vs. 100 Untreated Sex Offenders



be respected. Unwanted contact generally does more harm than good. Nevertheless, offenders, treatment specialists, and community corrections specialists should make themselves available to victims when appropriate.

Conclusion

Treatment works. It does not work with all offenders, and all treatments do not work equally well, but treatment does work. Treatment can reduce recidivism rates, especially cognitive-behavioral and relapse

prevention based treatments with child molesters. The efficacy of rehabilitation efforts with rapists is more uncertain. Treatment can be cost effective, especially when it is community based. Even small reductions in recidivism rates can generate large financial savings. Finally, sex offenders can assist victims. Under the right conditions, treated sex offenders can help victims and others appropriately place blame for sexual violence where it belongs, on the offender.

Community corrections professionals are pivotal change agents in society's struggle to combat sexual victimization. They have the power to prioritize this problem, the power to allocate financial resources, and the power to select and shape treatment services. The beneficiaries of their important work are not only offenders, but victims and society as well.

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Robert J. McGrath is Director of Sex Offender Treatment at the Counseling Service of Addison County in Middlebury, VT. He also serves as a consultant to the Vermont Department of Corrections and the National Institute of Corrections. □

NIC UPDATE

by Kenneth S. Carpenter, Correctional Program Specialist, National Institute of Corrections

The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) reports that correctional populations have increased over the last several years. Since 1983, jail populations have increased 35.6 percent and prison populations have increased 40 percent. In addition, it is estimated that three million offenders are under probation and parole supervision. This means that 75 percent of all committed offenders are being supervised in the community.

Similarly, as correctional populations have exploded, the number of persons with mental illnesses in the community has risen. Current estimates show that six to eight percent of the correctional population suffers from mental illness. Those incarcerated eventually end up on community supervision. Often, these individuals require a full range of mental health services, but there are very few resources available from the community for those individuals. Without appropriate case management services available in the community, this group is at risk for further decompensation and criminal activity.

Since individuals admitted to jail are often released after a short period of time, linkages for services at the pre-trial and post-adjudication stage are imperative. Linkages with mental health at the jail and community corrections level is essential to ensure that these individuals are provided with the necessary mental health services. Often, the court orders people to receive services, and these services are not always readily available.

Further, it is important that pre-sentence investigations adequately identify mental illness and recommend available sanctioning options that both hold the offender accountable and reduce the likelihood of other criminal activity. To achieve this, it is essential that the individual with mental illness who is involved in the correctional system become the responsibility of the community.

While corrections must meet the legitimate medical and mental health needs of individuals under supervision,

they should not be performing these services in isolation from the community. The correctional system is part of the community, and the clients of the correctional system are also citizens of the community. Therefore, it is essential that community mental health and corrections come together to address this issue and to develop collaborative solutions to assist the citizens of their communities.

Recognizing the need to provide leadership at the national level, in January of 1993 the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) entered into a Memorandum of Understanding with the National Institute of Justice and the Center for Mental Health Services (CMHS), U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, to develop joint strategies and initiatives for dealing with the mentally ill in the criminal justice system. The first efforts focused on the mentally ill in jails. As part of this effort, NIC assigned a staff to work with CMHS and several initiatives were developed for jails. The programs developed included resource centers, workshops, and funding for technical assistance to jail administrators to have staff visit the resource centers or for them to have resource center staff visit their respective facilities. It soon became apparent to both NIC and CMHS that this initiative needed to be expanded to include community corrections. In the proposal that NIC submitted to CMHS, the following goals were highlighted:

....to foster the linkages necessary to develop or enhance mental health services in the jail, at the community corrections stage;

....to assist the community in recognizing that corrections is part of the community and the mentally ill individual is, in fact, a community issue;

....to introduce other jurisdictions to mental health service options through technical assistance;

....to foster the networking and peer training between agencies through peer training, newsletters, technical assistance and workshops; and

....to disseminate information on different programs.

These goals are an integral part of the legislative mandate establishing the CMHS and which required that CMHS provide a report to Congress within 18 months of its establishment on the "most effective methods for providing mental health services to individuals who come into contact with the criminal justice system, including those individuals incarcerated in correctional facilities (including local jails and detention facilities), and the obstacles to providing such services."

75 percent of all committed offenders are being supervised in the community.

On September 30, 1994, an Inter-agency Agreement was signed between NIC and the CMHS which provides funding to assist county jails, sheriffs, jail administrators, community corrections and parole and probation specialists, and related providers to improve systems performance through an integrated technical assistance services network. The development of this network will be directed at the felt needs of these providers for assistance in dealing effectively with those individuals diagnosed with mental illness in the criminal justice system who are also: (a) substance abusers; and (b) women and women with children (especially those needs related to victimization from violence and sexual assaults).

Additional information may be obtained about this funding and related activities by contacting:

Ms. Susan Salasin, CMHS, 5600 Fishers Lane, Room 16C-17, Rockville, MD 20857;

Mr. George Keiser, Community Corrections Division, NIC, Washington, DC 20534;

Mr. Michael O'Toole, Jails Division, NIC, 1960 Industrial Circle, Suite A, Longmont, CO 80501. □

NIJ NEWS

What Does The Crime Act Tell Us?

by Ed Zedlewski, Acting Director, Adjudication and Corrections Division, National Institute of Justice

The summer witnessed the passage of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (P.L. 103-322), aka the "Crime Act." Those of us who served over the past year to help frame the final compromises were finally able to put our feet up and rest—for the day or two before implementation activities began. The hiatus allowed me a brief moment to try to grasp the significance of the Act. I'd like to share my thoughts on its passage and what my experiences suggest about how it's likely to affect community corrections.

The first thing one notices about the Act is the money. Quite simply, it's the greatest single infusion of criminal justice resources in modern history. Semi-official estimates of the police portion of the Act gauge the growth in cops on the beat at about 17 percent nationwide; more pessimistic guesses would still suggest an increase of roughly 10 percent. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) in its heyday never topped \$1 billion in annual expenditure. The Crime Act will put out about \$5 billion a year (after 1995) in its many directions.

The Act's complexity is not only an outgrowth of its size but also the political process that spawned it. The Act grew out of a six-year political process which saw multiple Congressional committees in continual conflict. Not surprisingly, the result is a potpourri of loosely related and sometimes contradictory directives.

A casual reader of the legislation would surely conclude that hard times were ahead for the criminals. There is a massive infusion of cops on the beat, sixty new death penalties, large scale prison expansion, and a wide-ranging initiative to combat violence against women. (Add funding details here). Dig a little deeper and a much more complex message appears. We see kinder, gentler cops in community policing, full-service prison facilities with a pronounced reha-

bilitative bent, drug courts, and collaborations with other social service components in the urban infrastructure. Dig deeper still and you get downright confused by the Act's contradictions. We get community police who will "get in touch" but we also get new police command and control technology. We find the prohibition of Pell grants for inmate college education but the strong encouragement of high school education. There are restrictions on judicial remedies for prison crowding and "truth in sentencing" incentives, but also funds for drug treatment and the preservation of family unity in incarcerative settings. Funding mechanisms are also varied. The police portion of the Act is discretionary funding: all interested police departments must apply. The prisons program is mostly formula—(FBI Part I Violent Crime) based and states must apply after somehow consulting with localities. Funds for the Certainty of Punishment of Young Offenders (which are non-prison in nature) are allocated on the basis of the number of young offenders(!) in each state. Only police, prosecutors, and victim services groups may receive funds under the Violence Against Women initiative, but only states may apply for the money, which is allocated by a population formula.

The Clinton Administration, largely through the Department of Justice, had moved into implementation planning well before the Act passed and these meetings have helped guide the current regulatory and organizational decision processes. It seems safe nonetheless to say that—despite rather vigorous efforts to implement the Act swiftly and smoothly—it will take a while before state and local offices understand even their particular portions of the Act. The Act is just that large and complex.

What should corrections communities do in the meantime? To be on the safe

side, listen to the rhetoric of the Act. The broad political winds suggest that the public is both frightened and angry about crime, especially violent crime. If just one outcome were to occur under this Act, it would be the imprisonment of violent offenders with greater certainty and for longer periods. Now is not the time to start those violence control counseling sessions in your community's neighborhoods. Secondly, community corrections leaders will need to support the big buck topics. If you find that cities are going heavily into community policing, start thinking about neighborhood linkages with police. Think hard about how you are managing the community's risk and especially higher risk populations. Think twice about community-based programs for sex offenders.

The Act does have its non-incarcerative pieces. Two that will directly impact community corrections are the Drug Courts programs and the Certainty of Punishment (non-prison) for Young (under 22 years) offenders. Probation and parole executives, depending on jurisdiction, should start now to plan for these funds which will mainly arrive in FY96 and beyond. It's a good time to revisit your intermediate sanctions options and how to better shape them to meet the mood of the country as well as the needs of the client population.

Another area that will involve community corrections is family violence—spouse and child abuse. The Act encourages a presumption of arrest and thus increased court presence of these cases. It's a good time to think about linkages with counseling services and other family support groups. Work with police and prosecutors—who will receive funds to prevent violence against women—to develop batterer monitoring programs and enforce civil protection orders.

And, of course, there's the prisons portion of the Act. Basically, there's a lot

of money for states to expand capacity in order to lock up violent offenders. That's the key—create space for violent offenders. Community corrections managers need to work with the jails and prison people to free up bed space currently being used for non-violent, relatively low-risk (drug?) offenders. States will be required to develop fairly substantial plans that examine current space utilization, provide for both incarcerative and aftercare services, and reflect consultation with local authorities. It's a good time to have some chats with your state's prisons and jails executives.

Lest you think you're going to have all the fun, I will mention that Janet Reno has given the National Institute of Justice primary research and evaluation responsibilities for programs supported by the Act. This means a lot more research and even more program evaluation. NIJ staffs, which are already *under*-staffed, have been working hard on implementation issues. They are now also working on major new demands upon our research and evaluation missions. I'm really proud of the uncomplaining effort that they've put forth under formidable workloads and deadlines.

In closing, I'd like to introduce Jeremy Travis, our new Institute Director. Having survived the twists and turns of the presidential appointment process, Jeremy is poised to take on the relatively stress-free challenges of the Crime Act. He comes to the job from diverse experiences in criminal justice research, law, teaching, police, and Capitol Hill. He is an attentive listener and a thoughtful speaker, and he favors research that's "close to the ground." I am confident that all organizations under the criminal justice umbrella will enjoy meeting Jeremy and working with him. □

Forging Community Partnerships

by Patricia Wack, Research Associate, APPA

Instead of calling it the criminal justice system, perhaps we could call it the *community* justice system. If language conveys the values inherent in a culture then we opt for the change from criminal justice to community justice. Why? Because the criminal justice system acting alone cannot significantly decrease crime.

The following statistics reveal the costs of continuing business as usual:

- the United States spent \$25 billion on corrections in 1992 with state and local governments paying most of that amount (Edna McConnell Clark Foundation [EMCF], 1993)
- the United States has the highest rate of incarceration than any other industrialized nation (EMCF, 1993);
- in 1992, nearly one-third of all jails in the country were under court order to reduce crowding or improve conditions (EMCF, 1993);
- this has contributed to the fact that over 2 million adults are on probation and over half-million are on parole (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994).

The resources that go into corrections are resources that *do not* go into educating our children, providing social services, or developing our communities. Add to that the public's dissatisfaction with government in general, and the criminal justice system in particular, and the view of criminal justice in America is distressing. There are many reasons for community corrections to form partnerships with the rest of the community: public accountability, public support for services and funding, reintegration of offenders, and the need for public education beyond the usual negative media coverage are but a few.

Crime is a social as well as a personal problem and it must be dealt with by society in general. The community must be given the opportunity to become

equal partners in the justice system. Likewise, the community must recognize not only its right to safe streets and homes but also its responsibility for creating them. These sentiments portray an *us versus them* relationship, but nothing could be farther from the truth; we are all members of the community as well as participants in the criminal justice system. We are at once the system and its constituency.

Community as used in this article means all of us: community corrections professionals, other criminal justice system participants, public and private agencies, professionals, survivors of crime and other lay citizens. There are a myriad of indicators that point to our need, our desire and our ability to change our relationship with the communities in which we work and live. There were at least eleven sessions at APPA's 19th Annual Institute which touched on community involvement. From the intensive workshop on developing a pro-active press campaign to serving crime victims to coordinating community resources for special offender populations to the press conference on community corrections impact on reducing violent crime, the call for reaching beyond traditional relational boundaries was heard. Many probation and parole professionals not only see the need to involve the rest of the community in their work but they actively desire such involvement.

This article will describe some of the ways in which we are forging new relationships to reduce crime. This information has been gathered through research conducted for APPA's *Community Involvement* initiative. Research for this project has included a review of the literature on the topic of community involvement and related subjects; a national survey of community corrections

interests in this area; a nationwide search for innovative community involvement programs; and interviews with administrators, line staff and volunteers within those programs. This project is on going and will culminate in the publication of a *Community Involvement Handbook* for probation and parole professionals.

Legislation Supports Collaboration in Enid, Okla.

In addition to those commonly espoused reasons for community partnerships, another reason exists which has the potential to develop into a trend and which requires specific and immediate relational changes. It is the legal mandate. It must be noted that, ironically, mandates may come because of individual, voluntary efforts within community corrections to define and strengthen community relationships. One such program can be found in the town of Enid in Garfield County, Oklahoma. Oklahoma has gained some dubious distinctions that the citizens of Garfield County want to change. Oklahoma ranks fourth in the nation in the proportion of its population that is functionally illiterate; and it ranks third in the nation in per capita incarceration rates. District V Probation and Parole, the local community corrections office, encompasses 24 of the 77 counties in the state. Recognizing a need to develop alternatives to incarceration, District V applied for and received a grant to fund a community based literacy program targeting offenders under community supervision. Around the same time, the Enid Metropolitan Area Human Service Commission conducted a community needs assessment focusing on the needs of young families. The result of the survey showed a large number of young families in a particular census tract in need of coordinated and comprehensive social

services. District V was able to identify a large number of its probationers/parolees from that same area.

A "union of missions" occurred. The Family Center was established to strengthen families and neighborhoods by connecting them with activities and services that address their needs. Services include: child health care, child care assistance, neighborhood organization, family counseling, information and referral, and resource coordination. The Community Learning Center, established by the District V grant, is a community based literacy program for both offenders and area citizens which is located within the Family Center.

Positive media attention, community enthusiasm, and the support of a state representative living in the area resulted in a legislative proposal requiring the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of Safety and Security, and the Secretary of Education to submit a plan to the Governor for the development of family service centers throughout the state.¹ The centers are to serve local residents and offenders being supervised in the community by coordinating services of the Department of Human Services, the State Department of Health, and the Department of Corrections. The legislation has passed in the House and is currently being studied by the Senate.

An earlier resolution (which was passed by the Oklahoma legislature a year before the Family/Learning Center was developed) required

the Department of Corrections to attempt to negotiate with the Department of Mental Health and Substance Abuse Services, the State Department of Education, the State Department of Health, the Department of Human Services, the State Department of Vocational and Technical Education and other governmental agencies...for a comprehensive, coordinated, multi-disciplinary and intergovernmental agreement which will *not cost the state* (em-

phasis added) of Oklahoma any additional funds but rather reallocates, redistributes, or procures federal funds . . . to provide . . . services to prisoners . . . (House Resolution 1028; Senate Resolution 16; 1993)

Although this is only a resolution and therefore does not carry the force of law, it is noteworthy for a couple of reasons. First, resolutions are often a prelude to statutory mandates (as may prove to be the case in Oklahoma). Second, mandates are a forceful tool for breaking down the turf barriers between public agencies and the rest of the community that often thwart coordinated, community responses to crime control.

Developing community responses to crime requires collaboration by diverse agencies and individuals. Because of budget pressures, duplication of services, and territorial paralysis, mandates may emerge to force interagency agreements even if this falls short of cooperation. The Family/Community Learning Center provides a positive example for all of us.

Departmental Restructuring Enhances Community Relations in Los Angeles

Chief Probation Officer Barry Nidorf sought and created opportunities for his community, Los Angeles, California, to become involved with community corrections. Drawing on his experience with community reclamation projects, Mr. Nidorf knew the potential benefits of involving his community. In 1992, after gathering feedback from within and outside the department, Mr. Nidorf reorganized and redirected the probation department with one of the guiding forces being the recognition that "probation must be community-oriented" (B. Nidorf, department memorandum, May 22, 1992).

Implementing community involvement had to start at the beginning—defining the community. Los Angeles County is a large geographic area which is home to a very diverse population. Some 104 different dialects and lan-

guages are spoken in the jurisdiction. Like many other jurisdictions, the county faced very tight budget constraints. The department was regionalized and hiring practices began focusing on individuals who had an ability to relate to members of the larger community by speaking the language and understanding local culture. Additionally, the Community Relations Office of the Probation Department was created.²

Crime is a social as well as a personal problem and it must be dealt with by society in general. The community must be given the opportunity to become equal partners in the justice system.

The Community Relations Office has three goals: increase community involvement, increase support for early intervention and prevention programs, and increase public support for the department. The work of the office focuses primarily on juvenile services. The staff of the office provide the main link between the probation department and the rest of the community. Staff initiates community contacts and projects as well as responds to requests for support from community leaders and organizations. Support comes in the form of technical assistance, committee membership, public education, developing networking opportunities, sponsoring community events, and getting volunteers for community activities. The office is currently experimenting with the assignment of probation officers as community resource specialists for each region and developing community advisory boards to oversee specific programs. The goal for the future is to give more responsibility to communities for program development and oversight and further develop the Community Relations Office into a support mechanism for community initiatives.

Town Hall Meetings Promote Partnerships in Humboldt County, California

The Humboldt County Community Congress demonstrates our ability to become empowered community partners in a very fundamental and intimate way. Through the process of "town hall meetings" diverse groups and individuals are coming together to identify problems, develop action plans for resolving those problems, and implementing those plans to reclaim their communities, strengthen families, and prevent juvenile crime.

The Humboldt County Community Congress is a private, nonprofit organization which was founded in 1988.³ When the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Commission sat down to discuss juvenile crime prevention strategies, the conversation quickly moved to the need to strengthen families and communities. Superior Court Judge John Buffington and Chief Probation Officer Dave Lehman, who helped found the organization, began meeting with other interested citizens (often over a cup of coffee in a local diner for what became known as "vision meetings") to confer and debate different methodologies for achieving their goal. The group decided on the town hall meeting model for implementing their social development strategy.

Members of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Commission and the Community Congress developed the following process for facilitating town hall meetings:

- key community leaders are identified;
- they, in turn, involve other concerned citizens and youth;

- a series of town meetings with various community groups are held in which concerns, needs, and possible solutions are brainstormed;

- brainstorming information is recorded and presented back to community participants;

- the final community meeting involves clustering and prioritizing needs, lobbying, voting, and developing a preliminary action plan;

- follow-up meetings are planned; and

- success is celebrated (Community Congress, 1992).

The accomplishments of these meetings vary as much as the communities from which they originate. Community action has included such things as building a teen center, getting a local prosecutor to re-open a murder case which was ultimately resolved, removing junk cars, and closing a bar. Whatever the issue, whatever the desired result, the role of the Community Congress is to *facilitate not dictate*, a key to positive community relations.

How does community corrections utilize such an organization? Chief Probation Officer Dave Lehman sees his voluntary involvement not only from the perspective of his personal sense of community but also as part of his Department's mandate to give attention to crime prevention measures. Partly because of his enthusiasm and support, Mr. Lehman has line officers who, voluntarily, help train town hall meeting facilitators and participate in specific activities to improve their communities. As it is with other dreams, "if you build it they will come." Resistance to change on the part of personnel can be overcome.

Summary

Community corrections has long recognized its dependence on the community for placing offenders, getting services for offenders, and reintegrating them into our communities. But the vision of the people of Enid, Chief Probation Officer Barry Nidorf, and Chief Probation Officer Dave Lehman move us away from merely community placed corrections towards a recognition of our interdependency and our communal responsibilities. Taking proactive measures to form community partnerships is the only way crime can be impacted significantly.

** If you know of legislation in your state which requires interagency cooperation and/or substantial community involvement in the provision of correction services, please call Patty Wack at APPA (606-244-8216).*

EndNotes

¹For more information on the family centers legislation contact: Rep. Sean Voskuhl 1-800-522-8502; for information about the Family/Community Learning Center contact: Mr. Paul O'Connell, State of Oklahoma Department of Corrections (405) 242-6600.

²For more information on the Community Relations Office of the County of Los Angeles Probation Department, contact Mr. Robert Sainz, Director, at (310) 940-2527.

³For more information about the Humboldt County Community Congress, contact Chief Probation Officer Dave Lehman at (707) 445-7401. □

Death of a Probation Officer

by Rick Faulkner, Correctional Program Specialist, National Institute of Corrections



Nancy Gahl and sons, Christopher and Nicholas.

Thomas E. Gahl was the first United States Probation Officer to be murdered in the line of duty. His widow, Nancy L. Gahl, spoke at the American Probation and Parole Association's Annual Training Institute in Phoenix, Arizona this September. As the featured speaker for the NIC-sponsored workshop, "Death of a Probation Officer," she told the tragic story of her husband's murder on September 22, 1986 in Indianapolis, Indiana.

This was the first time Nancy had ever addressed an audience. Her story was heartening to those probation officers who heard it. She was very well accepted and received two standing ovations from an overflow crowd of more than 150 people. Many of the participants at the workshop spoke with her after the program and

wished her well, and some related their stories regarding the death of loved ones.

Nancy is a very special person who has been an inspiration to many of us working on the issues of staff and officer safety. The outpouring of affection by those in attendance was most gratifying and will always be remembered.

Nancy demonstrates daily that she is more than just a victim of crime. She is someone who has found within herself the strength to move her life and family forward. This past summer, the U.S. Probation Office in Indianapolis dedicated their new probation office to Thomas E. Gahl. It was also timely that the APPA recognized Nancy and her two sons, Christopher and Nicholas, at its Institute in Phoenix.

To all of those who heard and met Nancy Gahl, she wishes you the very best, and for those that did not have the opportunity to meet her, you can read the story of Thomas E. Gahl's murder in the book by Alec Wilkinson entitled, *A Violent Act*. □

