

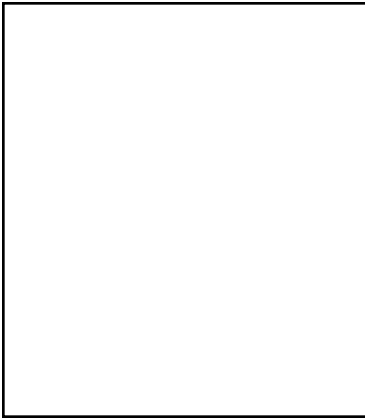


American Probation and Parole Association Spring 1995

PERSPECTIVES

OUR VISION

We see a fair, just and safe society where community partnerships are restoring hope by embracing a balance of prevention, intervention and advocacy.



Alan M. Schuman

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The 1995 Winter Training Institute in Charleston, South Carolina will be remembered for its outstanding training sessions, great hospitality from our host committee, tremendous cooperation and work from our many volunteers and most importantly, determining the next step of our Association's VISION. As I stated in my last message, "our success as a profession will be determined by our ability to influence legislation." We are in the middle of a national, state and local political crisis that could impact on community corrections and community justice for decades.

A special meeting of the Board of Directors was held at the end of the Charleston meeting. I called for this meeting because of new proposals being presented in Congress to modify the Omnibus Crime Bill. The changes in the bill will abolish all prevention and treatment money designated for court-supervised drug treatment programs. Congress has pledged to pass this new bill in the first 100 days. The exclusive thrust of the modified crime bill will focus on prison construction and additional police officers as the federal solutions to crime issues. This shortsighted and single-minded narrow approach will have major negative impact on community corrections and the entire criminal justice system for many years.

Each member of APPA was contacted by mail and asked to register concern and educate their federal, state and local legislative representatives on the negative impact of such a narrow approach to combating crime. Now is the time for you to be heard! Ironically, police, sheriffs, judges and prosecutors all around the nation are calling for a balanced approach that includes prevention and treatment of substance-abusing offenders. If the public were educated about the immediate and long-range costs and the projected results of a massive, nationwide prison construction effort, they would vote against this narrow "hock the future" approach.

Our VISION demands that we educate the citizens of our communities. The Commonwealth of Virginia and many other states are good examples of this point. There is a proposal before the Virginia legislature to approve 2.2 billion dollars for prison construction. The ongoing operating costs of these new facilities are budgeted at \$800 million annually. This price tag results in a projected reduction in recidivism of 2 percent. With a plus or minus 3 percent error rate, it is probably that no reduction in recidivism will take place. The money to fund this effort will come from budgets for higher education, institutional treatment programs including drug counseling, sex offender and education programs, and reduced human services for low income people. In addition, taxes to local jurisdictions will increase. Reduced programs in our institutional settings will increase the risk of recidivism for the vast majority of offenders who will eventually be released to the community regardless of the sentencing structure. An educated citizenry would never agree to this shortsighted, superficial strategy that will impact on everyone's quality of life. In addition, this approach will place enormous future tax burdens on our children and grandchildren. As professionals in this field, we must be the public educators!

APPA has formed partnerships and has met on several occasions with many of the major substance abuse treatment associations and professionals to plan a strategy to educate Congress and express our opposition to the proposed reduction in

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Board of Editors

Robert E. DeComo, Chairman
Dan Richard Beto
Arthur J. Lurigo
Faye S. Taxman

Publication and Advertising Coordinator

Pat Bancroft

Typographer

Connie P. LaVake

Editorial Assistant

Margaret Haertzen

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Published four times yearly by APPA through its secretariat office in Lexington, Kentucky.

Communications should be addressed to:
Pat Bancroft

APPA Staff

c/o The Council of State Governments
3560 Iron Works Pike
P.O. Box 11910
Lexington, KY 40578-1910
(606) 244-8205

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The Council of
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President's Message from page 2

federal prevention and treatment monies. We have written President Clinton to express our strong desire to have the support of the White House to defeat any reductions. We also stated the fiscal and human resource benefits of increasing appropriations.

In March, the major corrections associations met to discuss immediate and long-term strategies for being a united voice to influence future policies and legislation that impact on the justice system. One of our goals is to educate our leaders to the importance of measuring the effect on the entire system when money is allocated to only one segment of the justice system. What will be the impact of 100,000 new police officers on the prosecutor, defense bar, judiciary, probation, institutions and parole? We are interrelated parts of a larger system which means that a breakdown in any

part will result in reduced overall efficiency, eventually greater costs and reduced citizen confidence.

The corporate members of APPA have been a major asset in developing strategies to influence legislators. Their lobbying skills at the federal and state level and their willingness to share resources play a major role in our ability to quickly mobilize for action. We may or may not be able to influence the new directions of this Congress, but we have now created the mechanism and process to be heard in the future.

This is part of the APPA VISION to empower each of us to influence the direction of community corrections. We all have to pledge to take action and do our share. We are a strong and powerful voice when we act together in our mutual interest to create a community justice system that reflects our vision. □

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:

Summer 1995 Issue March 21, 1995

Fall 1995 Issue June 21, 1995

Winter 1996 Issue September 20, 1995

Spring 1996 Issue December 12, 1996

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 Spring issue of *Perspectives*. It is with an extra measure of pride about our membership and our organization that I am reviewing the contents of this issue.

First, I am extremely pleased to direct your attention to our NIC Update which announces the appointment of Barry J. Nidorf as Chairman of the National Institute of Corrections' Advisory Board. From his position as Chief Probation Officer for Los Angeles County, Barry Nidorf established himself as a leader among his peers, designing and implementing innovative programs and management techniques and freely sharing these experiences with his colleagues. He has also contributed his leadership skills and services to APPA as a long-time member of our Board of Directors as well as to the entire field as a member of the Advisory Board at NIC. On behalf of the Editorial Committee we extend our congratulations for this well deserved recognition, our thanks for his many contributions and best wishes as he guides the future of NIC which has been so instrumental in the evolution of community corrections.

Completing the NIC Update for this issue, David Dillingham announces the forthcoming publication of "Community Corrections Approaching the 21st Century" by Vincent O'Leary and Todd Clear. This is an update of their earlier text, "Directors for Community Corrections in the 1990s," which introduced the concept of limited risk management. This new text re-examines their concept in light of recent changes in our field. NIC also announces its intention to conduct seminars across the country to instruct policymakers in using this text as a guide to correctional policies and practices in the decade ahead.

In addition, this issue contains descriptions of the processes and products of several of APPA's most important projects in recent years. Among the special features devoted to APPA's project work, the first is entitled "APPA's Vision"

which presents the results of its Community Justice Leadership Project which has been conducted over the last 18 months. The primary purpose of this project was to develop a vision for what community corrections should be in the future and for developing strategies to move our field from its current reality to this brighter future. The vision statement contained in this article is intended to set the direction for our field into the next century and represents the best thinking of hundreds of our colleagues who participated in the visioning process directed by APPA.

Our next special feature contributed by APPA project staff is entitled "Dancing With Elephants" by Patricia Wack and Betsy Fulton. Their article is about effectively managing change in community corrections organizations. In my mind, this article is very timely as recent political changes on all levels of government portend substantial changes for criminal justice in general and community corrections in particular for the remainder of this decade and beyond.

The third special feature devoted to APPA project work is by Betsy Fulton, Paul Gendreau and Mario Paparozzi. Their article details the results of APPA's three-year initiative to develop a model or prototype for intensive supervision programs. Based on extensive research on ISP practices across the country, this article addresses how future programs can be more effective by refining goals and objectives, incorporating the principles of effective correctional interventions and properly approaching critical elements in program development. This article is a synopsis of a recently published monograph which is available to members interested in the details about the ISP prototype.

Also related to the subject of change is our NIJ column which has been contributed by Edwin Zedlewski. Mr. Zedlewski discusses the prospects for significant revisions to the Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 and offers

advice to community corrections managers on how to strengthen the position of community corrections in light of the changing politics of criminal justice in this country.

Our fourth and final special feature has been contributed by Dennis Maloney and Mark Umbreit. The authors discuss their concept of a balanced and restorative justice model for community corrections. They offer us their vision for probation services in a new political environment which is based on delivering customer services and products.

The Guest Editorial for this issue represents the remarks of Virginia Congressman Robert C. Scott, delivered as the keynote address at APPA's Winter Training Institute in Charleston, South Carolina on January 8, 1995. I think you will find that this is a remarkably cogent and creative statement on the need for prevention services as part of an effective national crime control policy.

In closing, let me encourage you to contact the Editorial Committee with your comments and contributions and to share this issue with your colleagues.

Robert E. DeComo

NCCD
685 Market St., Suite 620
San Francisco, CA 94105
(415) 896-6223

Dan Richard Beto

Director
Correctional Management Institute of
Texas, Criminal Justice Center
Sam Houston State University
Huntsville, TX 77341-2296
(409) 295-8138

Arthur J. Lurigio

Dept. of Criminal Justice
Loyola University of Chicago
820 N. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, IL 60611
(312) 915-7564

Faye S. Taxman, Ph.D.

Faculty Research Associate
Dept. of Criminology & Criminal Justice
Room 2220, LeFrak Hall
University of Maryland
College Park, MD 20742-8235
(301) 405-4781

APPA'S VISION: Welcome to the Land of OZ... Where Dreams Can Come True

Lost in a strange land filled with lions and tigers and bears, Dorothy and Toto have just one thought — going home. Wicked witches and evil flying monkeys make this hope seem insurmountable, but Dorothy never loses sight, she never gives up. She is compelled toward achieving the impossible and leads her entourage to the land of OZ, where dreams come true.

This article is about striving for the impossible in community corrections; about having the courage to hope and dream for what we want; and about finding in the end that the power to achieve lies within each and every one of us. It is about imagining a world where all is fair, just and safe.

APPA recently conducted the *Community Justice Leadership Project*. The primary purpose of the project was to develop a vision for the future of community corrections and strategies for lifting the current reality to merge with that vision. Just as Dorothy had some amazing revelations throughout her trip away from reality (better known as Kansas), so too did community corrections practitioners who participated in this project. This article will describe factors leading

to this visioning initiative, steps in the visioning process, and the extraordinary outcomes of the project.

The Big Shake Up

Well, it could be confused with a tornado. Over the past several decades, practices in community corrections have been driven by strong outside forces including politics and crowded prisons. Trends of increasing violence and drug abuse, bulging caseloads, and scant budgets have added to the demands of community corrections agencies and professionals who have been charged with the supervision of two-thirds of the nation's criminal offenders. The search for affordable solutions has resulted in two conditions: on the one hand, because of the increased knowledge and experience that comes with new challenges, community corrections has grown in terms of integrity and professionalism; on the other hand, when their heads stop spinning, practitioners begin to question what it is that community corrections is, or should be, trying to accomplish, and the best strategies for getting there. The challenges, extreme workloads, diverse ideologies, and the general unknowns of crime have contributed to an overwhelming state of confusion.

Adding to this state of confusion is a sense of personal fear and sadness. Not only are we bombarded by statistics and crises in the work place, but we are reminded constantly of the problems of crime within our communities — as we hear about another shooting on the local newscast; as we watch our children walk through metal detectors to get to school; as we worry about our loved ones during the course of a day. Every time you turn on the television, Ted Koppel or Connie Chung is telling the

world about our nations' decline at the hands of crime and the failing efforts of government intervention. Party talk these days centers around the ills of the world and the devastating effects that crime has on our peace of mind, on our sense of community. It touches each and every one of us . . . everywhere. Our personal stake in developing a safer community adds to this state of professional confusion and to the sense of urgency behind our ongoing quest for solutions. The vision process, as described below, provided an opportunity to harness the energy generated from this confusion and quest for solutions, and to support the continued growth of the community corrections profession.

Searching for Answers— Sometimes You Have to Leave Home to Find Them

As you may recall, it was a long and winding road to OZ. Dorothy and her gang had to ask questions, gather information, look at things in a new way. Difficult choices had to be made. Self-exploration and an assimilation of information guided them to OZ. But the primary reason for their success in getting to OZ and finding the wizard, was Dorothy's vision of where she wanted to be and her conviction to get there. Likewise, the search for solutions in community corrections will be ineffectual until a decision is made about the ultimate destination. That is what vision development is all about — determining what we want our future to be.

Seventeen state, regional and local jurisdictions, as well as, several hundred attendees at APPA's Annual Institutes participated in a visioning process over the last twenty months to develop the agency's vision for community corrections — to answer the question "if this

This article is based on materials developed by Fahy "Skip" Mullaney for the Community Justice Leadership Project, including a final report which provides a summary of the data collected from all participants throughout the visioning process. APPA would like to thank Mr. Mullaney for guiding us through this challenging process.

Betsy Fulton, a Research Associate with APPA, and an active participant in the visioning process, wrote this article on behalf of the 2000 community corrections professionals who participated in developing the vision and the implementing strategies.

agency had the power to create the most desirable community corrections for this area, what would it look like?" APPA's Board of Directors also participated in this visioning process. Through the use of exercises and group discussions, an interactive training program guided participants through the following topics:

- the nature of vision development;
- mapping the environment;
- vision what community corrections should be; and
- implementing strategies.

The Nature of Vision Development. Everyone has heard of, or participated in, strategic planning. But what is vision development? And how can vision development benefit an organization and its members? Figure 1 begins to answer these questions by depicting the differences between strategic planning and vision development.

Vision development is designed to take people and agencies beyond the boundaries; to test limits; to let imaginations run free; to renew and energize. Vision development is about painting an abstract picture of a bright and hopeful future. Even the language associated with vision development evokes excitement and a sense of personal power to create the impossible.

The turmoil described earlier in this article, may cause people to question: "Why now? This visioning process seems larger than life; don't we, as a profession, have enough to worry about without imagining the unrealistic, the unachievable?" Experts in organizational development suggest that organizations in this combined state of growth and flux are prime for vision development. These organizations are in need of clarifying their aim, re-focusing their values, getting all of the staff to work on shared beliefs. An organization in this state of confusion typically experiences anxiety. Jannsen, a Scandinavian psychologist, says "anxiety is latent energy looking for a place to express itself." There is ample energy within the community corrections profession, just waiting for a plan or vision or steps for action.

Broad participation is essential to the visioning process. The 2000 persons

Figure 1	
<u>Strategic Planning</u>	<u>Vision Development</u>
1. directional	1. end-state oriented
2. linear	2. a snapshot (holistic)
3. a reaction to environment	3. a desire to create
4. work toward the future	4. work backward from future
5. have to know how to get there	5. unclear how to get there
6. language is cool, rational, bureaucratic	6. language is hot, intuitive, poetic

involved in APPA's *Community Justice Leadership Project* represented every level and function of probation and parole agencies. Every person in an organization sees a part of the organization's universe in a unique and important way. Until we hear from everyone, we do not see all the reality of that universe. And, as described below, a long, hard look at reality is the first step in vision development.

Mapping Key Forces in Community

Corrections. The primary focus of the visioning process is on the future, but it is useful to take stock of the present. The questions used to encourage the exploration of the current context of community corrections were:

- What forces influence community corrections?
- What is it about your agency that makes you sorry?
- What is it about your agency that makes you proud?

Twelve primary forces, or trends, im-

Figure 2	
<u>Trends to Resist</u>	<u>Trends to Support</u>
1. <i>The use of incarceration is increasing</i> , with longer terms and an increasing emphasis on punishment.	1. <i>The responsible use of technology (especially information technologies) is increasing</i> leading to enhanced efficiency and expanded supervision capability.
2. <i>Caseloads are becoming increasingly overloaded</i> due to the increasing length of supervision, a larger pool of offenders, and a demand for specialized supervision.	2. <i>There is an increase in interest in restoration of offenders.</i> This restoration theme includes education, victims and community.
3. <i>Media sensationalism of crime is increasing.</i>	3. <i>Community partnerships are increasing.</i> These partnerships are being established with other players in the criminal justice system, with human resource agencies and with education systems.
4. <i>Internal conflict in community corrections is increasing.</i>	4. <i>Awareness of diversity is increasing.</i>
5. <i>The role of politics in community corrections is increasing</i> and leads to the exploitation of crime for the sake of winning elections.	5. <i>There is an increased awareness of the role of prevention</i> in probation and parole work.
	6. <i>There is increased concern for staff safety.</i>
	7. <i>The role of politics in community corrections is increasing</i> and leads to an increased awareness of the vital need for the work of probation and parole.

pacting community corrections were identified through this process. The APPA Board of Directors examined these key trends in terms of which should be supported or resisted by APPA professionals (Figure 2).

Several key themes emerged during the discussions on the trends and forces impacting probation. Participants believed that the combination of the increasing use of incarceration, the increasing emphasis on punishment, and overloaded probation and parole caseloads are a recipe for hopelessness. Hope was found, however, in the theme of restoration. Cognitive restructuring was mentioned as an example of a program that has proven effective in changing offender behaviors. Community education was seen as essential to counteracting the negative influences of the media and politics; both tend to exploit and sensationalize crime for the sake of

ratings and votes. The media and politics, instead, should be used to raise awareness of the vital need for the work of probation and parole. These trends, and methods for resisting or supporting them, are reflected in the vision and the implementation strategies discussed later in this article.

The "prouds and sorries" reflect the current climate of community corrections. It seems crucial that all professionals in the field have an awareness of this climate. Summary lists of the prouds and sorries representative of the field appear in Figures 3 and 4.

Participants were asked to examine these lists and consider: 1) what strikes you? 2) if a person from Mars walked in and saw these lists, what would he/she surmise about the agency? Readers of this article are encouraged to do the same. Strong messages about where the profession is, and where it should be, are hidden among the identified prouds and sorries.

The APPA Board of Directors identified several implications through a detailed examination of the "prouds and sorries." The primary implication drawn from the list of "proudest prouds" is that the atmosphere is ripe for the success of offenders and programs. The prouds also reflect a high level of professionalism and dedication among community corrections staff. A review of the "sorriest sorries" suggests several important implications. First, there is a need to prioritize limited resources and to explore innovative/alternative funding options. Second, it is essential that community corrections staff are empowered by involving everyone in decision making, recognizing exceptional performance, and providing incentives. Third, effective communication must occur across all lines. Lastly, the sorries suggest that a vision and strategies devised to keep it alive must be created.

Imagination Can Take You Anywhere—Even Over the Rainbow

At this point, the stage is set to begin visioning about the future of community corrections. As implied previously in the

differences between strategic planning and vision development, visioning calls for a distinct way of thinking about the future. There are three ways to view the future:

1) the future as what *will* be — this way of thinking sees the future as being in the hands of others. Decisions and conditions are "dropped" on us; things are done *to* us. Our role is merely to react. This way of thinking represents a fatalistic view and a "victim" posture.

2) the future as what *can* be — the future, viewed in this manner, is seen as being shaped largely by others. While we have limited ability to influence things, we can make some impact on our future. This way of thinking represents a "coping" posture.

3) the future as what *should* be — this frame of thought assumes that we take responsibility for our future and we, therefore, must know what kind of a future we want. Furthermore, it assumes that we can do all within our power to seek that future, recognizing that we may not have things come out exactly as we wish. This is an "empowered" or "self-directed" posture.

Clearly, the purpose of this vision process was to guide participants to an "empowered" or "self-directed" posture; to view the future as what *should* be.

Vision What Community Corrections Should Be. During the vision development sessions, participants were asked to go to year 2005 and imagine that the agency has become all that they thought it should be. Then they were asked to look around and see: What is being done? How are people treating each other? What is happening? They then shared their personal visions with a small group which collectively identified several vision elements. This same process was then completed with the entire group of participants. Each training session culminated in a list of powerful vision elements for community corrections. It was then the task of the APPA Board of Directors to develop an inspirational vision statement that encompassed all of this valuable input. The following vision statement is the product of this work.

Figure 3 The Proudest Prouds

1. Innovative and creative people in the field.
2. Probation and parole really makes a difference.
3. More opportunities presented to offenders for change and success.
4. Staff are professional and caring.
5. Programs that work.
6. Partnerships with other disciplines and the community.

Figure 4 The Sorriest Sorries

1. Lack of resources.
2. Lack of shared decision making within our organizations.
3. Inadequate and ineffective communication.
4. Power struggles.
5. Hopelessness.
6. Lack of effective treatment for staff and offenders.
7. Lack of personal satisfaction.
8. Lack of leadership.
9. Lack of empowerment.

Our Vision

WE SEE A FAIR, JUST AND SAFE SOCIETY WHERE COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS ARE RESTORING HOPE BY EMBRACING A BALANCE OF PREVENTION, INTERVENTION AND ADVOCACY.

We seek to create a system of Community Justice where:

- **A FULL RANGE OF SANCTIONS AND SERVICES** provides public safety by insuring humane, effective, and individualized sentences for offenders, and support and protection for victims;
- **PRIMARY PREVENTION INITIATIVES** are cultivated through our leadership and guidance;
- **OUR COMMUNITIES ARE EMPOWERED** to own and participate in solutions;
- **RESULTS** are measured and direct our service delivery;
- **DIGNITY AND RESPECT** describe how each person is treated;
- **STAFF ARE EMPOWERED** and supported in an environment of honesty, inclusion, and respect for differences; and
- **PARTNERSHIPS WITH STAKEHOLDERS** lead to shared ownership of our vision.

Interpretive comments. The following interpretive comments represent the discussion points that drove the vision's development:

- *A full range of sanctions and services*—Participants imagine the future of community corrections as having abundant resources for meeting the varied needs of offenders, victims and communities. These resources appear in the form of a continuum of sanctions and services that permits the imposition of the least intrusive sanction for addressing the individualized risks and needs of an offender and balances it with the well-being of the victim and the community. A range of sanctions and services facilitates program matching between offenders and services to appropriately address their risks and needs and maximize the use of resources. It also gives community corrections more control over offenders' movement from one sanction to another as these risks and needs change.

- *Primary prevention initiatives*—Prevention surfaced as a major focus for the future of community corrections. A new paradigm seems to be emerging that views our work as shaping the future

(preventing crime), in addition to responding to the past (sanctioning past crime).

- *Our communities are empowered*—The view is incredibly strong that the future calls for a high level of community involvement. Community corrections agencies are committed to investing significantly more energy in building community partnerships through ongoing education and collaboration. Informing and engaging the community will lead to a broader sense of ownership of community justice and the effective coordination of community services. It will contribute to prevention, promote communication and enhance the visibility and understanding of community corrections' mission.

- *Results*—Community corrections professionals emphasize the continuous need to measure results as a means of enhancing our knowledge about effective programming. There is wide-spread sentiment that given the high stakes nature of our work (in terms of safety and intrusion into the life of an offender), and the limited resources available, we must increasingly know and do what

works. Research and evaluation are a priority for the future, and findings will drive decision-making.

- *Dignity and respect*—This vision element depicts community corrections as a place where the culture and norms reflect respect for others, including staff and offenders, based on their inherent worth and dignity. All staff are seen as members of a team with common goals and visions. Diversity in people and ideas is sought and celebrated to enrich our service. Each person is recognized for their expertise. Open communication contributes to a feeling of trust and harmony.

- *Staff are empowered*—Reflecting the revolution in thinking about what makes for highly effective organizations, the participants cast a vision which challenges the traditional hierarchical organization. Instead, the future is seen to include broad involvement in decision making and shared responsibility for the health and effectiveness of the organization. High morale and positive attitudes exist among all staff. Personal and professional development is encouraged and supported. Staff are recognized for their competence and are provided with

the means to accomplish the agency mission. Commitment and excellence is fostered through a high degree of participation and teamwork. Risk taking and innovation are encouraged and staff are compensated for their success.

• *Partnerships with stakeholders*—The message is clear: the future must include an integrated and unified approach to problem-solving and service delivery. Mutual respect, open communication and collaboration characterize our relationships with other system components and community services. By banding together we will become an effective and powerful influence on public policy.

The vision depicts an honest, open and caring environment where all persons are respected, and empowered to join us in striving toward our vision.

This vision statement represents the collective hopes of community corrections professionals from across the nation. It reflects the power and will to achieve by negating all barriers and by stating with confidence that we *can* prevent and intervene with offenders to create a society that is fair, just and safe. The vision depicts an honest, open and caring environment where all persons are respected, and empowered to join us in striving toward our vision. It stretches beyond the traditional roles of community corrections and includes prevention as a primary focus. It extends itself from making things better for community corrections to making a better world for everyone.

With this inspirational vision guiding our attitudes and actions, the question changes from “*can* we get there,” to “*how* can we get there?” The next section of this article offers suggestions for making our vision a reality.

Follow the Yellow Brick Road

Visions need ways to become reality. Dorothy had two definite strategies for

getting home: 1) following the yellow brick road to the Land of OZ; and 2) finding the Wizard. Having these strategies gave Dorothy hope; it made her feel that it *was* possible to get home. Community corrections needs implementing strategies for bringing this powerful vision to fruition.

If we stand at the year 2005 and find that Community Corrections is what it should be, the question arises: what must have happened for us to have arrived at this desired future? Asking the question in this way is called “Apollo Planning” Rather than saying how do we get to the moon, we place ourselves on the moon and ask: “What must have happened for us to have arrived here?” Scientists asked this question and started listing — a solid fuel rocket must have been developed; several moon orbit missions must have occurred first, etc. This list was worked and re-worked and became the strategies employed to get to the moon. The following represents the participants’ initial recommendations for implementing strategies that support the vision. A major task of the APPA leadership and community corrections professionals across the nation will be to refine these strategies so that organizational structures at the national and local levels reflect and support the vision.

National level implementation strategies. The following key areas and methods were identified as ways in which the Vision should be integrated into APPA:

• *APPA governance and structure*—APPA is a membership organization governed by a Board of Directors and an Executive Committee, which establish the policy and the agenda of the Association. There are six officers on the Executive Committee, and two Executive Committee at-Large members. Each of the six officers has oversight responsibilities for a cluster of committees. All elected officers adhere to a Constitution and set of By-Laws. Members who serve on the Board of Directors are comprised of regional representatives and affiliate representatives. There are 17 regions within APPA. Each member in APPA

has voting privileges and opportunities to become further involved in the organization through an extensive committee network within the association. The following strategies have been suggested as possible ways to begin molding the organization’s structure to reflect and support the vision:

1) Future elections — it is hoped that a demonstrated commitment to the vision will be included as a criteria for nomination and election to the APPA Board of Directors and Executive Committee.

2) Committee goals and activities — the standing committees could be modified to more clearly reflect the vision and its elements. At a minimum, committee goals and activities will be revised to support the vision.

3) Membership responsibilities — membership involvement will be sought and encouraged to the fullest extent. Members will be encouraged to incorporate the vision and its specific elements into their agencies’ policy/program development and operations.

4) Relationships will be fostered with other organizations — additional affiliate memberships will be sought with organizations who are aligned with the beliefs and values reflected in the vision, and more involvement from affiliates will be encouraged. This strategy reflects the importance of involving a broader spectrum of people and organizations in the mission of community corrections.

• *APPA programs* — APPA’s two annual training institutes, specialized training programs, publications, and grant programs will be designed to promote and support the vision. Specifically, the following strategies have been suggested:

1) Annual Training Institutes — the themes of training institutes will reflect the overall vision. Workshops will be offered that facilitate the development of policies, programs, and practices that reflect specific vision elements (e.g., developing a range of sanctions and services or result-oriented measures).

2) Specialized training programs — the content and design of training pro-

grams will enhance knowledge and skills required to support a balanced approach of prevention, intervention and advocacy. Training programs offered will be based on the needs of the APPA membership and will be of the highest quality.

3) Publications — APPA's quarterly journal, *Perspectives*, will serve as a primary avenue for keeping the vision fresh in our minds and for informing the profession on national, state and local programs and activities being implemented to support the vision. Other APPA publications (e.g., manuals, policy papers, program briefs) will include credible, state-of-the-art information on programs and practices that are known to work. APPA publications will be disseminated as widely as possible.

4) Grant programs — public and private funding sources will continue to be explored for research, training and technical assistance resources. Grant development activities will be aligned with membership needs as they relate to implementing strategies that support the vision. APPA's Board of Directors and the general membership will be involved in identifying and supporting grant opportunities.

The vision represents the collective hopes and desires of over 2000 community corrections practitioners. The extent to which we work together to develop and implement strategies that support this vision will determine the extent to which it can be achieved. The structure and programs of APPA are designed to support the shared values and beliefs of its members and provide a unified voice for the community corrections profession.

State and local level implementation strategies. Initial implementation strategies were suggested for moving toward the vision at state and local levels. These strategies will require more specificity and refinement, but they represent the profession's collective ideas on how community corrections can achieve the vision and its elements. While the specific tasks involved in the implementation strategies may differ from element to

element, they can basically be categorized into seven steps.

1) Engage staff, offenders, stakeholders and communities — the participants in the vision process placed a high priority on engaging the community and key stakeholders in the mission of community corrections through ongoing education and collaboration. Specific strategies designed to engage these individuals and groups include:

- exploring community safety as a broader initiative to include the community, victim, and family;
- identifying key stakeholders and educating them on the mission, goals, and activities of community corrections;
- developing public relations strategies;
- developing partnerships with individuals and organizations;
- developing interagency agreements; and
- conducting focus groups to discuss common issues.

2) Empower staff, offenders, stakeholders and communities — a recurring theme in the vision statement and the implementation strategies is the concept of empowerment. Once engaged, the community, key stakeholders, staff and offenders must be empowered to identify and own both the problems and solutions associated with creating a fair, just and safe society. The strategies outlined above for engaging these individuals and groups in the mission of community corrections is a necessary first step toward empowerment. The following strategies were also suggested as a means to promote honesty, inclusion and respect:

- developing agency policy which clearly articulates expectations that everyone is to be treated as persons of worth and treated with respect and dignity;
- ensuring that staff at all organizational levels are involved in decision-making;
- assisting and expecting offenders to own and participate in their future;
- recognizing and supporting people who accept responsibilities and take risks;

- listening to stakeholders;
- building consensus among criminal justice agencies, judiciaries, policy makers, the legislature and service providers; and
- developing a state or local jurisdiction planning force which assists with financial development and the implementation of a range of sanctions and services.

3) Develop policies/programs — written policies should be developed which clearly articulate and demonstrate a commitment to the vision and its specific elements. Programs and services must be developed which allow community corrections agencies to address the varied risks and needs of offenders and to support and protect victims and com-

The vision represents the collective hopes and desires of over 2000 community corrections practitioners.

munities. The following developmental strategies were recommended:

- articulate, in policy, the concept of fairness and justice;
- provide supervision commensurate with the risk of the offender;
- properly manage community corrections programs with community safety in mind;
- develop a comprehensive, coordinated and integrated system of service, sanctions and rewards within the control of community corrections;
- develop an expansion of one-stop shopping through the human services community;
- gather data/research indicating the value of prevention;
- start pilot prevention programs; and
- develop more “front end” intervention programs, particularly those aimed at families.

4) Train all personnel — training personnel is a necessary extension of the empowerment strategies outlined above. Staff at all levels of the organization must be provided with the knowledge and skills needed to perform their jobs. Specific training suggested to support the vision included:

- staff safety training;
- training community corrections professionals in working with the community;
- training on interpersonal communication skills that elicit the preferred behavior of treating each other with respect and dignity; and

5) Model the vision and related policies through effective leadership - in other words, “talk the talk and walk the walk.” The quickest way to undermine a vision is for management to behave in ways that are antithetical to the beliefs and values reflected in the vision. Specific strategies for ensuring that the vision is modeled through leadership include:

- providing leadership training;
- engaging in open, honest communication with staff, offenders, stakeholders and the community;
- conducting fair and objective performance evaluations; and
- taking risks and responsibility for outcomes.

6) Measure results by developing and implementing performance-based measurements—community corrections is committed to discovering what works and to improving individual and organizational performance. Strategies for increasing our knowledge base and for measuring results include:

- developing short, intermediate and long term goals;
- developing outcome measures for

each program/practice;

- collecting data to measure outcomes; and

- analyzing data and reporting results.

7) Improve programs and policies - this last strategy is critical. Community corrections must become a “learning organization” by applying what is learned through monitoring programs and measuring results. Specifically, it is suggested that community corrections:

- implement information-based decision making; and
- expand sanctions and services with demonstrated results.

Engage, empower, develop, train, model, measure and improve! These strong, action-oriented words demonstrate the power and momentum of a unified approach toward creating a fair, just and safe society. These strategies represent the beliefs and values of the community corrections profession—they are forward moving, inclusive, and quality driven.

Each and every community corrections professional must take personal responsibility for first, believing in the vision and second, making it happen. As the profession continues striving to merge reality with the vision, please remember: “Attitudes are contagious. Make sure yours is worth catching.”

Coming Home

Yes, it is sadly true that, in reality, we

do not magically wake up in our warm, cozy beds having escaped the dangers of the world; nor does wizardry turn lions and tigers and bears into caring, loving and concerned people. But there are many lessons to be learned from the “Wizard of OZ” that bear repeating:

- “Imagination can take you anywhere—even over the rainbow;
- Sometimes you have to leave home to find it;
- Follow the yellow brick road—but always be ready for a detour;
- Faith, hope and love can work wonders, (but ruby slippers can’t hurt either);
- When friends stick together they can work miracles;
- Having the courage to ask for what you want is half the battle; and
- All you need is right there inside of you” (source unknown).

Let us all remember these lessons as we search for answers in community corrections and strive for a world that is fair, just and safe. For we can each be wizards in the land of OZ and *make our dreams come true.*

APPA would like to thank the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) for supporting and participating in this project. This support is reflective of the visionary leadership that NIC provides to professionals and organizations for the betterment of community corrections programs and practices. □

Share the Vision with your colleagues!

They can join APPA today by completing and returning the Membership card inserted in this issue!

For further membership details, call (606) 244-8207

Dancing With Elephants

by Patricia Wack, Research Associate, APPA and Betsy Fulton, Project Director, APPA's Community Involvement Initiative

This article is based on a book entitled Teaching the Elephant to Dance by James Belasco (1990). Mr. Belasco likens organizational resistance to change to teaching an elephant to dance. By chaining an elephant to a stake, you can train the animal to stay in place. Even when the chain is removed and the elephant is free, it will not wander.

This article is about change. It is about embracing change and managing it. The importance of envisioning change will be briefly discussed followed by an outline of basic steps for implementing change.

Anyone in an organization can be an agent of change and ultimately everyone will be, the source of the change notwithstanding. Change is inevitable, never ending, and everywhere. What's more, the pace of change in our society is escalating. For example, the Sony corporation introduces over one-hundred new products every six months and IBM averages four new products every business day (Belasco, 1990). In the field of community corrections, professionals are being

asked to serve victims as well as perpetrators of crime, and domestic violence offenders are now candidates for intensive supervision rather than administrative probation. Public agencies are competing for ever shrinking dollars and private companies are now in on the bidding. If change is inevitable, then the next question is — how can it be managed?

Step 1: Create a Vision

The first step is to know where you want to go; to create a vision for change. Change is more than rearranging; it is also redirecting one's actions and consciousness towards a predetermined goal. "Vision is a statement of what you want your organization to be. It is a simple-to-understand, inspirational, focusing statement" (Belasco, 1990). A vision statement must be clear enough to guide the decision-making of others and inspiring enough to empower them to deliver. Additionally, a vision should add value to staff, to those served and to the community. Following are some classic

vision statements which are clear, inspiring and value-adding: "Don't ask what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country" (Pres. John F. Kennedy); "Be all that you can be" (U.S. Army); "[w]e hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" (United States Declaration of Independence); and "Just do it" (Nike, Corp.).

The Georgia Department of Corrections has the following vision statement: "[t]he Georgia Department of Corrections will become a primary partner in a collaborative effort among all criminal justice entities, human service providers, educators and the community in effectively and efficiently preventing and reducing crime in the state of Georgia."

A mission statement and set of stated beliefs begin to operationalize the vision statement. Missions set forth, in broad language, the organization's ultimate purpose; its reason for being. A mission

Georgia Department of Corrections

Mission Statement

The mission of the Georgia Department of Corrections is to protect the public and staff by managing offenders either in a safe and secure environment or through effective community supervision according to their needs and risks. In collaboration with the community and other agencies, we provide programs which offer offenders the opportunity to become responsible, productive, law-abiding citizens.

Beliefs

We the members of the Georgia Department of Corrections believe that . . .

1. Every member of the Georgia Department of Corrections team has value and uniquely contributes to our overall success.
2. Our ultimate success depends upon working as a team in an environment of openness, inclusion, honesty, integrity and commitment.
3. All managers and supervisors are responsible for creating and maintaining a positive work environment involving both high standards and staff support by promoting broad-based teamwork.
4. Leadership is a responsibility shared by all: as leaders we model appropriate behavior by consistently acting in a professional manner.
5. We are responsible for providing to offenders a broad range of services and programs according to their individual needs and the risk they pose to our staff and the community.
6. Many offenders, if given the opportunity, have the potential to make positive changes in their attitudes, life skills and conduct.
7. We must play an instrumental role in helping the community recognize its responsibility as a partner in helping offenders in becoming productive, law-abiding citizens.
8. It is our duty to be truly accountable to ourselves and the public for the effective and efficient use of our time and all available resources to accomplish our mission.
9. Innovation and creativity are critical to adjusting to our rapidly changing environment and we encourage continued efforts to shape our future through new and innovative ideas.
10. Our pride and confidence in the Georgia Department of Corrections is strengthened as each of us acts in accordance with these beliefs.

clarifies an organization's strategic intent by indicating the general methods to be used for reaching and supporting the vision. Beliefs are currently held convictions about what is true or important (Mullaney, 1994). The mission statement on page 14 describes, in broad terms, the role of the Georgia Department of Corrections in supporting their vision of "preventing and reducing crime in the state of Georgia." The beliefs suggest what the Georgia Department of Corrections sees as being most important to the pursuit of that vision and mission.

The mission of the Georgia Department of Corrections is to protect the public and staff by managing offenders either in a safe and secure environment or through effective community supervision according to their needs and risks. In collaboration with the community and other agencies, we provide programs which offer offenders the opportunity to become responsible, productive, law-abiding citizens.

Vision in public organizations is complicated by the duty to serve often conflicting constituencies and to assure compliance with laws, regulations and court orders. Therefore, vision is supported most when it is created through collaboration. Organizational leaders must "clarify the predominant public needs in the mission of the agency" and "identify as compliance issues only those that are essential to maintaining the integrity of the system" (Smith, 1993). Thereafter, vision statements which are created by those who must live it will be more easily understood and empowering to participants. As agents of change, the job will be to keep the big picture in focus and manage the changes to come.

Step 2: Build a Sense of Urgency and Provide Guidance

The second step in managing change, according to James Belasco, is to build a sense of urgency and then provide guidance. Change is uncomfortable. The tendency is to stick with the old ways because it feels more secure, but the most significant learning experiences are created by difficult situations (e.g., a severe illness, death of a loved one, a divorce). By building a sense of urgency, others come to realize that the old ways must go. Urgency can be created by posting complaints and bad press, giving

staff budget information (especially what it costs to do their job), and by circulating information on what other organizations are doing. The downsizing that occurred in probation and parole during the early 1990s certainly built a sense of urgency — budgets were being cut and jobs were on the line. It served as a wake up call to the profession, pointing to the need for community corrections organizations to justify their existence by documenting departmental activities and results.

Beware, however, **urgency does not equal crisis**. This is a process which stimulates much emotional reaction; it takes careful planning. Once people recognize the need for change, they need careful guidance to make the desired change. They need to know not only what needs to go, but also what should replace the old behavior. This is done by giving permission to experiment with new behaviors and, most of all, by modeling them. "Information is valuable — action is invaluable" (Belasco, 1990:16). A supervisor who gets out of the office and joins others on the line will be seen, heard and respected. A supervisor who treats employees with the same dignity and respect with which officers are expected to treat offenders will be more successful in promoting the desired behavior. Modeling the vision is a powerful way of instructing others without the need to criticize or be criticized for lacking the knowledge of "what it's really like out here."

Step 3: Anticipate Obstacles

Next, obstacles must be anticipated because they too are inevitable, although survivable. Belasco lists five common obstacles:

- 1) lack of patience;
- 2) exaggerated expectations;
- 3) carping skeptics;
- 4) procrastination; and
- 5) imperfection.

Patience

Change takes time (often years) and it always takes longer than originally thought. Is this really surprising for a profession whose ultimate goal is a less violent society? The larger the organization, the longer it takes; changes in community corrections means changes in the criminal justice system as a whole. But

just as one small pebble can eventually rock the entire lake, so can individuals' everyday actions.

To keep the vision alive, people need continuous short-term validation. Community corrections, however, is often judged solely on the basis of recidivism which is a long-term, ultimate outcome. Unable to see positive change due to a failure to measure more short-term immediate results, a probation or parole officer's dedication to the change, or vision, may begin to falter. When this happens, change and vision will be seen as just more talk. Devise methods for measuring short-term alternative outcomes such as "days drug free" or "increased levels of employment." Circulate and post every success no matter how small. Have a motto for the organization's vision; use it in all communications and communicate often.

Exaggerated Expectations

The best example of exaggerated expectations in community corrections can be found in the ambitious goals of Intensive Supervision Programs (ISPs). Many ISPs promise *increased* public protection, rehabilitation of the offender *and* the provision of an intermediate punishment, all while reducing prison crowding and saving money (Clear and Hardyman, 1990; Tonry, 1990). Unfortunately, because of the conflicting nature of these goals, a no-win situation has been created. The more stringently ISPs impose the punitive conditions (as a means of providing an intermediate punishment and increasing public protection), the more they exacerbate prison crowding and approach the costs of imprisonment (Turner and Petersilia, 1992). Additionally, the claim of reduced costs underestimates the increased level of staffing required, surveillance costs, and the expansion of social service resources needed to achieve the rehabilitative aims (Cochran, 1989). While the ambitious goals of ISP are commendable, it must be recognized that no component of the system can do it all. There are no instant cures and nothing cures everything. Base expectations in reality. Be honest with yourself and others and "check your ego at the door" (Belasco, 1990: 37). Let others take responsibility for implementing the vision in their departments and set up regular lines of com-

munication that encourage broad-based input and initiative from all levels of the organization.

Carping Skeptics

"That's all well and good but . . ." goes the chorus of the carping skeptics. Know they are there, know what they are saying, and if they have valid points, act on them. It is best to keep the skeptics at the table, than to have them raising doubts in the halls. Counter their "buts" by pointing to successes and enlist them in any way possible.

A common example of a skeptical remark in probation and parole is "we cannot make people change, they have to want to change." This statement is in direct conflict with the emerging vision of community corrections which emphasizes restorative justice and organizational/officer accountability for promoting positive change. But it does have some validity. True, we cannot *make* people change. The question then becomes, what *can* we do to facilitate change? And then, how can we measure that change? Perhaps once these skeptics see that their actions do impact offender behavior and facilitate positive behavioral change, they will jump on board. A supervisor's job is to make believers out of these skeptics — show them, educate them, and reward them.

Procrastination

Procrastination is another classic obstacle. Often people do not see the new way as part of their "real job." APPA's vision includes building community partnerships as an element that is essential to protecting the public. Networking with community members and organizations, however, is a time consuming task that sometimes seems removed from the day-to-day management of offenders. To demonstrate a commitment to this vision element, that differs from traditional probation and parole work, managers must create a vision-supporting environment. They can suggest activities which are doable and simple; support people when they take these steps; and make sure it is recognized in performance evaluations. Agencies could set up a reporting system to track what steps are being taken and "flood the organization with information

about the vision's successes" (Belasco, 1990: 45).

Imperfection

Remember the words of Don Shula, coach of the Miami Dolphins, "success isn't final, and failure isn't fatal." The goal should be constant improvement, not perfection. We will never achieve 100 percent success when dealing with human nature as we do in probation and parole. We all make mistakes. Personal and professional growth comes about by recognizing them, learning from them and discussing them in a supportive environment.

Step4: Evaluate Performance

The last step in the process of managing change is to evaluate the organization's performance in light of its vision. Develop performance standards and measurements that reflect the vision and use this information regularly to evaluate what is working and what is not. Being able to report on progress helps to keep people motivated. Progress needs to be measured by short-term outcomes as well as long-term outcomes. Using the previous example of building community partnerships, an organization could use the following performance-based measurements to indicate the level of success at achieving this vision element:

- an increase in the number of volunteers working with the agency;
- increased volunteer retention;
- the quality of interagency agreements;
- an increase in community services developed for offenders; and
- reduced crime rates in a specific neighborhood.

Performance in community corrections is often measured by time, money and/or number of contacts with offenders. Although this data is essential for budgeting, it is of little value in gauging customer satisfaction (Smith, 1993: 60). Whether "customers" are defined as offenders, the community or the courts, factors such as responsiveness to problems, outcomes which demonstrate progress, service availability, courtesy and timeliness are what are important to individuals. Belasco says that *all* activities are quantifiable (Belasco, 1990: 152). The more people are involved in developing mechanisms for evaluating their performance, the more committed

they will be to maximizing performance and realizing goals.

Summary

This is a brief outline on how to manage change. It must be noted that this process never unfolds in a neat little sequence. The process is cyclical rather than linear. Two steps backward will be taken for every three steps forward. But with broad-based deliberation, activities calculated to support a predetermined vision, and institutionalized support, change can be managed. There is an abundance of information and examples of individuals and organizations embracing and managing change, but all too often others are facing an uphill battle against institutional inertia. Inevitably, the process of change will win. Heed Mr. Belasco's advice and *teach the elephant to dance*.

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About the authors

Patricia Wack is a research associate and Betsy Fulton is the project director for APPA's Community Involvement Initiative. (Some of their favorite dancing partners are elephants.) Their project work has led to the recognition that embracing change is always a first step. □

GUEST EDITORIAL

Let's Build Some Fences

This editorial represents the remarks of Congressman Robert C. "Bobby" Scott, delivered at the keynote address at the American Probation and Parole Association's Winter Training Institute held in Charleston, South Carolina on January 8, 1995.

The agenda that APPA has set is an agenda that, frankly, Congress would do well to consider. You emphasize prevention and rehabilitation; and from a review of the available evidence, prevention and rehabilitation programs best serve to reduce crime when compared to incarceration.

And we know how to prevent crime; all studies show that a continuum of services, beginning with teenage pregnancy prevention and prenatal care, parental training for teen parents, Head Start, quality education, recreational programs, drop-out prevention programs, summer jobs, job training and guaranteed college scholarships, drug rehabilitation, prison education and training will significantly reduce the incidence of crime.

Head Start programs, for example, have been studied and have demonstrated their effectiveness; those with the Head Start opportunity have higher high school graduation rates, lower teen pregnancy rates and **lower involvement in crime**. Similarly, Job Corps programs deter crime; about 75 percent of Job Corps participants move on to a job or full-time study; they earn about 15 percent more than those who do not participate in the program; and, not surprisingly, Job Corps participants are about **one-third less likely to be arrested than non-participants**.

Incredibly, these programs not only reduce crime, they save money. Studies of the Head Start program, for example, estimate that \$4.75 is saved for every \$1 spent on Head Start by reducing future costs of remedial education, welfare and crime. And studies of the Job Corps estimate that \$1.45 in future expenditures on participants are avoided for every \$1

spent on Job Corps. Programs that work and save more money than they cost . . . and yet, we only reach one-third of the Head Start eligible students, and only 6 percent of those eligible for the Job Corps.

So, we know that improvements in education and training are, therefore, important components of good crime prevention, particularly in a time in which decent jobs require skills and education; and we see evidence of the correlation between crime and education when we find that two-thirds of all of our prisoners are high school dropouts; and, in one prison study in Virginia, 75 percent of the inmates were found to have reading achievement levels of fourth grade or worse.

Education and training are also important when you consider that today, 40 percent of all 18-24 year-olds working full time don't have the skills necessary to make more than a poverty wage — that's a national figure — we can only imagine what the number is in high crime areas. When there is *no* hope for decent jobs, and when kids can earn an estimated \$10 to \$19 an hour or more selling drugs, compared to only \$4 to \$5 on a minimum wage job (if they can find one), we can't be surprised that some choose to resort to crime. Prisons don't deter those without hope and nothing to lose . . . we have to provide education and jobs.

We also have to provide drug rehabilitation, because drug rehabilitation will also reduce crime. A recent study conducted by the California Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs estimated that \$1.5 billion in savings resulted directly from the \$209 million the state spent in drug treatment programs. That

Rep. Robert C. "Bobby" Scott

As a representative of the Third Congressional District of Virginia, the issue of crime is a major issue to me. In my community, 11-year-olds are planning their funerals, and 25 percent of young black men are under the control of the criminal justice system. Three cities within my district are among the 30 cities with the top murder rates in the United States. In the month of October, there were three separate incidents of mass murder in one week's time. It has gotten so bad that the murder of just one person is no longer newsworthy. If we continue along this path of destruction, we can expect one in 25 of young black males now in kindergarten to be murdered by a handgun by the time they are 18 years of age. Given this, I am sure you can understand why crime prevention is of such importance to me.

As we address this issue, I first would like to mention that after perusing the information provided to me by APPA's leadership, I am both impressed and hopeful about APPA's goals and initiatives. As a proponent of community partnerships, early intervention and prevention strategies to address crime, I can fully support your goals, including the system of community justice you have outlined.

A FENCE OR AN AMBULANCE

by Joseph Malins

*"T'WAS A DANGEROUS CLIFF, as they freely confessed,
Though to walk near its crest was so pleasant;
but over its terrible edge there had slipped
A duke and full many a peasant.
So the people said something would have to be done
But their projects did not at all tally;
Some said, "Put a fence around the edge of the cliff,"
Some, "An ambulance down in the valley."*

*But the cry for the ambulance carried the day,
For it spread through the neighboring city;
A fence may be useful or not, it is true
But each heart became brimful of pity
For those who slipped over that dangerous cliff;
And the dwellers in highway and alley
Gave pounds or gave pence, not to put up a fence,
But an ambulance down in the valley.*

*"For the cliff is all right, if you're careful," they said,
"And, if folks even slip and are dropping,
It isn't the slipping that hurts them so much,
As the shock down below when they're stopping."
So day after day, as these mishaps occurred,
Quick forth would these rescuers sally
To pick up the victims who fell off the cliff,
With their ambulance down in the valley.*

*Then an old sage remarked: "It's a marvel to me
That people give far more attention
To repairing results than to stopping the cause,
When they'd much better aim at prevention.
Let us stop at its source all this mischief," cried he,
"Come, neighbors and friends, let us rally;
If the cliff we will fence we might almost dispense
With the ambulance down in the valley."*

*"Oh, he's a fanatic," the others rejoined.
"Dispense with the ambulance? Never!
He'd dispense with all charities, too, if he could;
No! No! We'll support them forever.
Aren't we picking up folks just as fast as they fall?
And shall this man dictate to us? Shall he?
Why should people of sense stop to put up a fence,
While the ambulance works in the valley?"*

*But a sensible few, who are practical too,
Will not bear with such nonsense much longer;
They believe that prevention is better than cure,
And their party will soon be the stronger.
Encourage them then, with your purse, voice and pen,
And while other philanthropists dally,
They will scorn all pretense and put up a stout fence
On the cliff that hangs over the valley.*

*Better guide well the young than reclaim them when old,
For the voice of true wisdom is calling,
"To rescue the fallen is good, but 'tis best
To prevent other people from falling."
Better close up the source of temptation and crime
Than deliver from dungeon or galley;
**Better put a strong fence round the top of the cliff
Than an ambulance down in the valley.***

means that for every dollar spent on drug and alcohol treatment programs, taxpayers are saving \$7 in future costs of crime and welfare. An interesting finding of that study was that treatment is highly effective, regardless of drug type or racial and socio-economic lines. Such drug rehabilitation must be made available for prisons.

Interestingly, a recent news report regarding the institutional policies of Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), the private corrections folks, noted CCA's policy of promoting rehabilitation programs in penal institutions it operates as a management tool. CCA observed that not only were inmates more manageable, but recruitment of security personnel was much easier when rehabilitation programs are available for inmates. Of course, you have known and clamored for this all along; with it now coming from the private sector, maybe it can receive new-found attention.

We have also had success in Virginia with rehabilitation programs. Virginia Community Action programs run a program to help prisoners adjust to their release; support services being six months pre-release and continue for six months to a year after release. They experience a 25 percent reduction in recidivism and save as much in reduced future prison costs as they spent on the program.

So we know how to reduce crime: prevention, early intervention and rehabilitation. They work, and they are cost-effective. The problem we have, however, is epitomized in the poem "A Fence or an Ambulance" by Joseph Malins. Let me take a moment to read the poem, because it capsulizes our problem better than anything I have heard (see boxed copy).

And so we have politicians who actually know that the best way to effectively reduce crime lies in addressing the root causes of crime; it's as simple as building fences around the edge of a cliff. Unfortunately, there is no issue we face where the difference between responsible governing and political popularity is so great. In the **politics** of crime, the right thing and the politically popular thing are totally opposite. Just as in the poem, am-

bulances are more popular than fences; the best politics in crime involves not prevention, but the **emotional** appeal: mandatory minimum sentences, life without parole, no probation, no rehabilitation, no color TV, no weight training, more death penalty provisions, and put them to death quicker by cutting out the appeals. Those initiatives appeal to emotion and help politicians get elected, but they do nothing to reduce crime in the streets.

Yet, emotional appeals form the basis for much of today's public policies. You see, in Congress, when you try to do something effective and intelligent, nobody wants to listen. Instead, everybody seems to want simple-minded sound bites or slogans which pander to the emotions of the day. So in making policy in a political arena, you first come up with a good vote-getting slogan or sound bite and then come up with a policy that fits it. The last election cycle was full of examples: "three strikes, you're out" and "abolish parole" for crime policy; "two years, you're out" and "end welfare as we know it" for welfare reform; "throw the bums out" for term limits; and "balanced budget amendment" as the answer to deficit reduction. All are appealing for about 15 seconds, but are totally devoid of any real substance.

Incredibly, simple-minded slogans and sound bites are dominating public policy debates. Politicians are getting elected and re-elected by successfully using the emotional appeal of ambulance buying. And the intellectual level of the crime debate is an embarrassment; all across the nation we have politicians, victims of crimes, average citizens in communities, and political scientists as major commentators for what they think and feel about this complex subject merely because it has massive emotional appeal. The problem with using these opinions is that they are always off the cuff, and are perspectives without any basis in research or well-thought-out rationale. Until there is complete and thorough coverage given not of Gallup Polls, but the findings of the Sentencing Commission, research findings at universities, groups like APPA, and the opinions of criminologists and mental health profes-

sionals—persons who study research and trends and draw educated conclusions—until those groups are routinely quoted in the crime debates, we will never make progress on crime. Although most of the political debate is focused on more incarceration, the fact is that these expert representatives will tell you that, after a point, increasing incarceration will do nothing to decrease crime.

It is important to note where we are as a result of years of emotional appeals and the ambulance strategy in the crime issue. If you read headlines and listen to political speeches, you would think that we lock up very few people in America. Nothing could be further from the truth; most countries lock up about 100 people per 100,000 population. Japan locks up 36, Mexico 97, Canada 116. Only three countries lock up more than 300. South Africa is third in the world at 368; the United States and Russia trade first place from year to year, with Russia currently in first place at 558 and the United States in second place at 519.

My state of Virginia currently locks up over 600 people per 100,000 and that's before the recently passed legislation to abolish parole and lock up even more. In inner cities across the United States, and in Virginia, the rate is in excess of 3,000 per 100,000. So, for every person behind bars in Japan, we already lock up 100 in our inner cities.

We must also be reminded that this "ambulance" strategy is not free and it is helpful to see what we are now spending to codify all of these sound bites. In Richmond, Virginia, for example, if we locked up people as they did in apartheid South Africa, the taxpayers would be spending about \$15 million a year on jails and prisons for criminals convicted and sentenced in Richmond courts. In fact, we now spend not \$15 million, but \$60 million. And for those who propose more incarceration as an answer to crime, we ought to have a little "truth in legislating" to go along with "truth in sentencing." For example: a 20 percent increase in incarceration, increasing an average five-year to a six-year sentence, an increase so small that experts will tell you that it will have zero effect on the crime rate . . . that increase of 20 percent re-

sults in a \$12 million hit on the taxpayer without an effect on crime. To put \$12 million in perspective, Richmond could pay college tuition for all of its children who cannot afford to go to college, provide a summer job to virtually every teenager in the city and double funding for Head Start—all for about \$7 million.

And yet, we still hear our politicians screaming about the need for more prisons. In Virginia last year, we elected a candidate for Governor who promised to, and did, abolish parole. The House of Delegates estimates the cost of that sound bite to be \$2.2 billion in construction and \$800 million in annual operations. There are 2,000 precincts in Virginia, each with only 1,500 to 3,000 voters; for this amount of money, we could build a \$1 million Boys and Girls Club or family resource center in every precinct with over \$200 million left over.

With \$800 million annually in general fund appropriations, we can double the amount of money provided for local mental health services (\$160 million), perpetually run the 400 (ten in each Senate district) Boys and Girls Clubs or family resource centers (\$80 million), fully fund child care subsidies to low income working families (\$80 million), hire 50 additional community police officers for each district (\$60 million), fully fund a guaranteed college tuition plan for poor kids who can get into a Virginia college or university (\$50 million); provide summer recreation and job opportunities for every low income youth in the state (\$50 million), double job training under JTPA (\$52 million), double Head Start (\$30 million), increase funding for drug rehabilitation (\$30 million), quadruple dropout prevention initiatives (\$20 million) . . . so far we are up to \$610 million . . . then we could spend the almost \$200 million left over on as many more parole services as you could dream of.

This is the amount of money Virginia has committed to spend on the slogan "Abolish Parole." And for what? Even if it works perfectly, the proponents only PROMISE a 2 percent reduction in crime . . . every day we read about political polls; they have a margin of error of plus or minus 3.5 percent . . . the promise is

therefore statistically insignificant.

And even the 2 percent is overly optimistic because abolishing parole only punishes those who would have made parole! When everyone serves the **average** sentence, the most hardened criminals, those who would never have been let out on parole anyway, now will serve LESS time in prison as a result of abolishing parole and, out earlier, they will be able to commit more crimes. Furthermore, when you eliminate the major motivating factor for prisoners to participate in education and job training programs, you will consequently have more inmates being released as dumb and unskilled as they came in—and they will commit more crimes.

Although most of the political debate is focused on more incarceration, the fact is that these expert representatives will tell you that, after a point, increasing incarceration will do nothing to decrease crime.

When you add in these additional crimes that will be committed as a direct result of abolishing parole, it is unclear whether or not crime will go DOWN or UP! You know better than I do that this initiative would therefore be of dubious value if it were free!

Let's talk about parole for a minute. In the present parole system, people receiving a 20 year sentence get out anywhere from three years to 20 years; those who get their GED and some job training, line up a job and talk their family into taking them back and, therefore, have somewhere to go and something to do; they get out in three years. The next group saw their friends do right and get out, so they their GED and some job training and line up a job and talk their families into taking them back and in about six years, they get out. The final group looks you dead in the face and tells you in this psychotic tone of voice, that they can't wait to get out to return to their old life of crime and the only lesson they learned for their experience is that they should have shot the witnesses; they, of course,

stay the full 20 years. So when you abolish parole and give everybody the same average sentence, the less dangerous criminals serve more time, and the most dangerous criminals serve less.

There is no instance where vote-getting slogans and simple-minded rhetoric had more influence on policymaking than with the recently passed federal crime bill.

An example of what is wrong with this approach is the case of Richard Allen Davis in California who was in prison on a six month to life sentence. He was clearly a danger to society, and he was denied parole on several occasions when the California legislature "cracked down on crime" and abolished parole. His sentence was recalculated and he got 7.2 years, which he had already served, so he was out the next day. He committed another heinous crime and received his truth in sentencing: "you get eight years, you serve eight years." Well, he served eight years, got out, and then kidnapped and murdered Polly Klaas. Never fear, the ambulances are on the way; as a result of the public outcry over Polly's death, California is now in the process of spending several billion dollars funding a "three strikes and you're out!" law. If they had considered building fences instead of codifying slogans, Richard Allen Davis would still be in prison serving time on his first crime.

So instead of investing in proven crime prevention initiatives, we will pay billions of dollars over the next few years for this good vote-getting sound bite, "Abolish Parole" — a program that would make questionable sense if it were free. And in the next few years in Virginia, we will watch the General Assembly cut funding for fences, so it can fund this broken down ambulance.

Federal politicians have not been above buying ambulances either. There is no instance where vote-getting slogans and simple-minded rhetoric had more influence on policymaking than with the recently passed federal crime bill. The

federal crime bill has a number of awful provisions: massive prison expansion and incentives to abolish parole; 60 new death penalties; the three strikes and you're out — life without parole budget buster; treatment of 13 year olds as adults; and finally, the ending of Pell grants for prisoners.

As far as the Pell grants are concerned, I don't support Pell grants for inmates because they deserve them; I support them because studies have shown that those inmates that receive higher education recidivate at a rate of 10 percent as compared to 50-70 percent for those who don't. Thus, substantially more is saved in prison costs than is spent on college enabling funds such as Pell grants. So, programs such as Pell grants not only save money, but they also have the added advantage that law-abiding citizens like you and me are less likely to be victims of crime if inmates get Pell grants than if they do not.

The "three time loser" provision was the most popular vote-getting ambulance in the federal crime bill. But will it have any effect at all? The Federal Sentencing Commission told us that the present federal sentencing guidelines already provide for a 30-year sentence, without parole, for those who would be eligible for the three-time loser bill. Violent inner city youth, who perceive their life expectancy to be about 24 years, and who are not already deterred by a 30-year sentence, will not be deterred by the possibility of life without parole. And as for protecting society from repeat, violent offenders, you know that the repeat offenses are committed between the ages of 16-24, so society is not protected when we jail 80-year-old men that can't get up and down the cell block without a walker, for crimes they committed over 50 years ago. Finally, in light of the notoriously discriminatory application of death penalties and mandatory minimums, we can expect "three-strikes" to be applied in a racially disparate manner. It is, therefore, an insult to even consider something like a three-time loser bill.

By the way, where did this idea come from? If the idea provides no deterrence and no protection, and is expensive and will be applied in a racially disparate

manner--where did it come from? Did someone do some research and discover that those with one or two offenses were statistically less likely to be recidivists, while those with three offenses would virtually always commit subsequent crimes, leaving life without parole the only appropriate sentence? No. We got three strikes from baseball, and it scored well in political polling.

And so, politicians: start with the slogan and try to make public policy out of it; some have said the three strikes ought to be applied to this, but not that, or that it ought to be "narrowly applied;" unfortunately, when you legitimize the idea, it WILL be expanded to the absurd, just as it was on the floor of the House when non-violent drug offenses were added as strikes, and just like the death penalty is expanded every election year. Sometimes you have to act like the little boy in the story about the emperor with no clothes; you remember — when everybody was praising the emperor about his nice new suit, the young boy innocently announced that "the emperor has no clothes." And, rather than trying to figure out how the three-strike idea ought to be applied, it would be refreshing to hear organizations like APPA to announce that the three-time loser bill is a simple-minded waste of the taxpayers money only designed to help politicians get elected.

The federal crime bill did contain a little money for effective prevention programs, especially youth development programs, and drug rehabilitation initiatives including in-prison drug rehabilitation and drug courts. And the drug court provision included significant funding for local services.

We will be sure to revisit the crime issue as a result of the recent election. The "Contract With America" is a list of ten bills the Republicans plan to pass their first 100 days in control of Congress. The portion of the "Contract" which deals with crime is clearly headed in the wrong — but politically correct — direction. As I mentioned earlier, one of the few beneficial aspects of the crime bill is the prevention package--about \$6 billion dollars for proven programs to prevent crime. The "Contract" promises to take

out the beneficial prevention initiatives — the part that will work — in favor of more incarceration; in other words, more ambulances and fewer fences.

It is clear that prevention, early intervention and rehabilitation are the sensible methods to bring about actual crime reduction. We have limited resources and it is imperative that we use the resources we have available as intelligently and effectively as possible. However, with the "Contract" and the prevailing mood of Congress, the prospects that federal crime policy will reflect such sensibilities seem dim for the next few years. Unfortunately, without a concerted effort on the part of people and organizations such as APPA who know the importance of pushing for policies which emphasize

building fences over buying ambulances, it is unlikely that it will happen. Therefore, I call upon you to flex your political muscle, to join with other organizations and individuals, to assure that research and reason replace emotion-based sound bites as the basis for public policies, particularly crime policy.

So, remember that:

*...[But] a sensible few, who are
practical too,
Will not bear with such nonsense
much longer;
They believe that prevention is better
than cure,
And their party will soon be the
stronger.
Encourage them then, with your*

*purse, voice and pen,
And while other philanthropists dally,
They will scorn all pretense and put up
a stout fence
On the cliff that hangs over the valley.*

*Better guide well the young than
reclaim them when old,
For the voice of true wisdom is calling,
"To rescue the fallen is good, but 'tis
best
To prevent other people from falling."
Better close up the source of
temptation and crime
Than deliver from dungeon or galley;
**Better put a strong fence round
the top of the cliff
Than an ambulance down in the
valley.**□*

American Probation and Parole Association Corporate Members

BI Incorporated

David Page, Vice President of Marketing
BI Incorporated
6400 Lookout Road, Suite 101
Boulder, CO 80301
(800) 241-2911
Fax (303) 530-5349

Digital Products Corporation

Richard A. Angulo, President
Digital Products Corporation
800 N.W. 33rd Street
Pompano Beach, FL 33064
(305) 783-9600
Fax (305) 783-9609

National Curriculum and Training Institute

Gary Bushkin, President
4949 E. Lincoln Dr., Suite D
Paradise Valley, AZ 85253
(602) 956-6601
Fax (602) 852-0300

PDLA - An EDITTEK Company

Michael A. Terretti, Vice President and General
Manager
PDLA — An EDITTEK Company
100 Corporate Court
South Plainfield, NJ 07080
(800) 237-7352
Fax (908) 769-2444

Roche Diagnostic Systems

Robert L. Aromando, Jr., Marketing Manager
Roche Diagnostic Systems
1080 U.S. Highway 202
Branchburg, NJ 08876
(908) 253-7720
Fax (908) 253-7645

For information on Corporate Membership, please contact:

Pat Bancroft, APPA
c/o The Council of State Governments
P.O. Box 11910
Lexington, KY 40578-1910
(606) 244-8205

NIJ NEWS

Risky Business

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

The ink had barely dried on the Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 when the November elections rolled around. The results, which produced a clear Republican majority in both Houses of Congress, will have strong implications for federal departments. They may also have subtle implications for state and local correctional systems.

I wrote in an earlier commentary about the "get tough" tone of the new Crime Act. Early indications are that the new Congress will try to replace that legislation with an even tougher stance that reduces federal funds for prevention activities, reinforces police and prisons as funding priorities, and adds some new mandatory minimum sentences. Whether the new Congress will be able to craft a bill that successfully averts or overcomes a White House veto will be revealed in due course. Forward-thinking community corrections managers will not wait for that outcome to consider their response. Rather, they will treat this legislative aftershock as a seismic reinforcement of public sentiment about offenders, and revise their postures accordingly.

While public fear and anger have fueled a bipartisan push for greater prison and jail capacities, both parties have been silent on the large numbers of offenders that remain in the community. This silence cannot continue. After new commitments of confinement resources are defined, lawmakers will surely discover that the vast majority of convicted offenders are still "running loose." If community corrections professionals don't fashion a politically satisfying management posture, I believe that they will soon find less informed voices proposing alternatives. Community corrections needs to act now to define the appropriate leadership and resources needs to relay public concern.

Consider two possible vision statements for community corrections. Option 1:

Community corrections supervises

and monitors offenders in community settings. It provides services to improve offenders' reintegration into society. When necessary, it recommends revocation of those who violate conditions of community release.

Professional terms, but unlikely to soothe a fearful public. Option 2:

Community corrections manages the risk of unconfined offenders. It does this by eliminating factors in offenders that pose risks to the community. If it cannot reduce the risks posed by certain offenders, it takes steps to protect the public by using the tools of incarceration, electronic monitoring, drug testing, day center programming, etc.

I propose that the professionals in the field adopt not only the vocabulary of Option 2 but also a management posture consistent with the rhetoric. Focus on risk. Manage risk. Identify risk factors. Work on risk factors. Use your tools to manage risky behavior. Revoke unacceptable risks. Report on risk. In other words, manage your resources according to the risk factors of the offender and the aggregate risks to the community.

Adopting a risk management orientation is not simply political expediency. It's responsive government. It highlights public safety as a dominant concern of probation and parole agencies. It replaces the image of community corrections as the provider of resources to an undeserving population with that of a portfolio manager who knows how to protect its interest. Why are prisons getting all the new corrections dollars? In part because they punish. But predominantly because they reduce the probability of harm to the public. To compete for that dollar in budget processes, community corrections need to trade in the same currency.

Probation and parole agencies need to adopt a series of measures—many of which are already part of current practice—that link staff function directly to risk

management. The first step is to measure risk in the community through baseline assessments of the population under supervision. You can't manage what you haven't measured. Using any one of several prediction tools, create individual and aggregate estimates of the number of offenders who will be arrested for new crimes in the next year. Decide on a number of management actions that will reduce that number. Implement those actions. Periodically reassess the portfolio's risk.

Having established a baseline, here are a few management actions to consider.

Orient staff toward risk management as a goal. Provide each supervisor with an estimate of the risk in his client portfolio. Make supervision plans that attack specific risk factors (drug abuse, employment, literacy, emotional stability, etc.) in a client's profile. Measure—and reward—improvements in portfolio risk.

Identify the one or two biggest risk factors in a population. Drugs will probably be one and jobs another likely candidate. Channel resources toward changing that factor across the target population. In the case of drugs, an invigorated combination of testing, treatment and punishment might be the plan. In the case of employment, try enlisting private sector support, bonding clients for losses, job search training, etc. Measure progress in the forms of positive drug tests or jobs obtained. Measure results in terms of recidivism and revocations.

Above all else, focus on results. Don't get bogged down in bean counts of tests given, hours of contacts and referrals made. What matters is crimes committed. Consider relaxing agency policies that encourage preoccupation with process, and institute policies (such as pay raises and bonuses) that reward outcome. Use a results-oriented vocabulary when communicating to legislative and budgetary officials.

Risk is a four letter word. Reduce it. □

APPA's Prototypical Intensive Supervision Program: ISP As It Was Meant To Be

by Betsy Fulton, Research Associate, APPA, Paul Gendreau, Ph.D., University of New Brunswick at Saint John and Mario Paparozzi, Assistant Chief, Bureau of Parole, New Jersey Department of Corrections

Introduction

Intensive Supervision Programs (ISPs) in probation and parole emerged in the 1980s as a promising solution to prison crowding. Numerous variations of these programs exist across the nation, but the common elements include reduced caseloads and high levels of surveillance. Varying degrees of treatment and services are offered to offenders in ISPs, but intervention has generally taken a back seat to surveillance and enforcement components.

After a decade of experimentation with ISP the results are in. The research suggests that ISPs are not achieving their stated goals of alleviating prison crowding, reducing costs or enhancing public safety. They are, however, providing a sentencing option for the courts and an intermediate punishment.¹

Despite these mixed results, probation and parole practitioners firmly grasp on to what they believe to be a "new and improved" form of community supervision; ISPs are thought to be what probation and parole ought to have been all along. Additionally, the judiciary, parole boards, prosecutors and law enforcement all support ISPs. Never before has a probation and parole program enjoyed this high level of support and commitment from such a broad constituency.

Because of this commitment and the fact that ISP is fulfilling a very practical need within the criminal justice system, it is believed that ISP has a place in correctional programming. What is needed, however, is to find a way to modify ISPs so that they positively impact recidivism rates. Only through recidivism reduction will we enhance public safety and reduce the prison population and correctional

costs. The purpose of this article is to provide guidelines for developing a prototypical ISP that achieves this end.

Problem and Answer

Problem. Millions of dollars have been funneled into intensive supervision programs (ISPs) as a means to alleviate prison crowding, reduce costs and manage offenders safely within the community. In an attempt to gain legislative support and public acceptance for these programs, the initial public relations strategies were to emphasize punishment, deterrence and incapacitation. Program designers attempted to establish "prison-like controls" over offenders within the community. This translated into a high number of supervisory conditions, an increased level of surveillance and a quick and stringent response to technical violations.

It should be no surprise that the number of technical violations increased with this higher level of supervision. Program designers argue that the increased ability to detect and respond to these violations provides crime control because high-risk offenders are removed from the community and further criminal activity is avoided. In the meantime, however, the prison population remains at crisis levels and correctional costs continue to be exorbitant, meaning that the very goals that served as the impetus of ISP are not being achieved. Of more concern are the research results that reveal no differences in the rate of new arrests between offenders under regular supervision and offenders in ISP.

If these results are acceptable to the public and to local policymakers then perhaps ISPs should maintain the status

quo. If however, what these stakeholders truly want is a safer community, ISPs must adopt a new way of doing business. If ISPs are to achieve enhanced public safety, programs must be based upon research which demonstrates the best hope for long-term, positive behavioral change for offenders. As recent ISP research has shown, intensively "watching" offenders does not answer this call.

Answer. It is the responsibility of correctional practitioners, researchers and policymakers to continue the process of discovering the nexus between correctional practices and recidivism reduction. This is a long-term effort that, once achieved, will turn a decade of spending into a worthy investment in public safety.

A knowledge base has now been established from which probation and parole agencies can enhance their programs and begin achieving their stated goals. Recent research on correctional interventions suggests that participation in rehabilitative programming does reduce recidivism. The recent ISP research also suggests a possible relationship between rehabilitative programming and recidivism reduction. These combined bodies of research provide a powerful agenda for correctional programming.

What is suggested is that ISPs remain intact but that they change the way in which they are intensive by shifting the emphasis of ISPs from exclusive incapacitative and punitive measures to a more integrated approach of interventions and risk-control strategies. By modifying and retesting model programs the chances for effectiveness will be increased. The remainder of this article describes a prototypical ISP and steps for its development.

ProgramDevelopmentProcess

ProgramDevelopmentModelfor aPrototypicalISP

Many of the shortcomings of current ISPs may be attributed to the program development process. ISPs were introduced when correctional systems were in a state of crisis (i.e., prison crowding). Probation and parole were more responsive to this crisis than any other correctional component (Clear and Hardyman, 1990). In return, they received an influx of resources and the revitalization of probation and parole (Tonry, 1990). These outside pressures, however, caused agencies to develop ISPs more as a matter of public relations than of careful program planning (Clear and Hardyman, 1990). They evolved as short-term solutions to system needs rather than as long-term strategies to reduce recidivism and enhance public safety.

In her article, *Conditions that Permit Intensive Supervision Programs to Survive* (1990), Joan Petersilia states "research on innovation and change suggest that how a program is developed and instituted affects its survival as much or more than its content does" (p. 127). Program development must be guided by objective knowledge about what is effective. The following model depicts the development and implementation process for a prototypical ISP. The remaining narrative explains this model and the steps that are critical to ISP's success.

ProgramPurposeStatement: ISP'sRoleinFulfillingthe AgencyMission

At the core of every successful probation and parole agency is a mission statement that clearly defines the agency's purpose and encompasses the values and beliefs of the organization. The standard mission of probation and parole is to protect society and rehabilitate the offender. The necessary first step in program development is the articulation and understanding of the agency's overall mission and the specific role of ISP in achieving this mission.

ISP should be viewed as a tool to assist agencies in achieving their overall mission. ISP is *one* component of a probation and parole system that addresses a specific need. ISP operations must

PurposeStatement—PrototypicalISP

The ISP is a community-based intervention program designed for high risk/need offenders. The program provides intensive intervention, surveillance and enforcement to offenders as a means of promoting long-term behavioral change and enhanced public safety.

coincide with the agency's basic principles of conducting the business of probation and parole.

The purpose statement for any program should clearly state the primary purpose of the program and the population for whom it is designed. It should also include a very brief and general description of the services it will provide.

Conceptual Framework for a Prototypical ISP

The next step in program development is determining the best approach for fulfilling the stated purpose. There are four major tenets that provide the theoretical foundation for the prototypical ISP. These tenets are based on lessons learned through research and practice. They serve as guidelines for developing programs designed to achieve long-term behavioral change and enhanced public safety.

Tenet #1: Focus on the provision of intensive services. ISPs are currently intensive in surveillance, control and punishment. This reliance on incapacitative and punitive techniques as a means of crime control usually stems from misperceptions about what the public wants and demands. Public opinion polls suggest that policy makers vastly overrate the public's desire for punishment (Gottfredson and Taylor, 1983; Doble, 1987). What the public seems to want is public safety which can be achieved through better risk control.

Considering the research findings that suggest correlations between participation in rehabilitative programs and recidivism reduction, a more meaningful form of risk control seems to be the provision of assistance and services that meet the offenders' needs, particularly in the areas of employment and substance abuse.

Tenet #2: Prioritize offender needs. Most of today's ISPs were developed in response to three conflicting trends: prison crowding; fiscal constraints; and a perceived increase in the public demand for punishment. The result was a demand for incarceration which exceeded capacity. Accordingly, the focus of these programs is on short-

term solutions to system needs (i.e., prison diversion, cost reduction, a tough on crime posture). Offender needs (i.e., individualized intervention, rehabilitation) were not given priority.

Unfortunately, the research results suggest that the current approach is not meeting either the system needs or the offender needs. An alternative approach is to focus on the effective management of the current probation and parole population by developing programs that meet its needs. Because other system improvements (including the alleviation of prison crowding) are dependent on the effective management of the probation and parole population, the entire criminal justice system will benefit from this shift in priority in the long-term.

Tenet #3: Exercise a balanced approach to supervision. Although this *article* advocates a focus and emphasis on treatment and services, ISPs must provide the full range of probation and parole activities which are designed to meet the objectives of risk-control and reform. These activities and objectives can generally be categorized as intervention, surveillance and enforcement. Within this context, intervention includes the entire gamut of treatment and services provided to offenders. As was just discussed, the provision of treatment and services is an effective means of control and behavioral reform. Surveillance involves those activities which relate to monitoring offender activity as well as the social environment of the offender. The importance of monitoring the social milieu rests on the potential positive/negative effect on the offender of factors such as family problems or shifts in employment trends. The enforcement component speaks to the need to hold offenders strictly accountable for their actions. To meet this need there must be a wide range of responses, including custody.

The key to a balanced approach is the sequence in which each component is applied. Current ISP practices center around surveillance and enforcement activities and occasionally interject treatment and services. A more proactive approach is the identification of, and intervention with, offender needs as a

means of promoting behavioral change. If successful with intervention, as ascertained through monitoring and surveillance, the application of expensive enforcement strategies becomes unnecessary.

Intervention, surveillance and enforcement are the conceptual frameworks within which probation and parole can address the public's concern for feeling safe. A firm, fair and accountable approach to ISPs can provide short-term control of offenders and long-term behavioral reform.

The standard mission of probation and parole is to protect society and rehabilitate the offender.

Tenet #4: Focus on results versus activities. Currently, most standards of supervision are quantitative. The standards say nothing about the purposes or the desired outcomes of contacts. If the performance of line officers is measured by activities rather than results, corrections managers will continue to get what they are asking for—numbers. The number of home visits, the number of treatment referrals, or the number of drug tests conducted do little in the way of demonstrating positive results. They simply tell us whether or not an officer is complying with standards.

In times of fiscal constraint and public demand for accountability in government, ISPs must prove their worth. A first step toward demonstrating positive results is to focus on the achievement of such results, rather than the activities performed to get there. Centering management on activities rather than results allows ISP to lose sight of its ultimate goals and does not adequately serve its population; thus putting the community, offenders and the organization at risk. Later in this article are examples of result-oriented goals and objectives for which all organizational levels should be held accountable.

Critical Factors in Program Development

Activities undertaken during the program development stage should not

only ensure that the program supports the agency's overall mission, but also that it fits within the agencies' organizational structure and capabilities. Careful consideration of each of the following issues will enhance the program's ability to meet jurisdictional needs and to gain support from agency stakeholders.

Needs assessment. ISPs are high maintenance programs that must result in visible benefits that address deficiencies within the local criminal justice system. While agency and stakeholder needs are important (i.e., the need for diversion, sentencing options or funding), when developing an ISP, top priority should be given to offender needs. This requires an examination of the offender pool and a determination of which offender needs, that are not currently being met through traditional caseloads, can be met through the implementation of an ISP. Many agencies are turning to specialized intensive supervision caseloads that deal with specific types of offenders and offenses, such as chemically dependent offender caseloads or sex offender caseloads. The narrow focus of specialized caseloads allows officers to develop expertise and a network of treatment resources in the area of need. Specialized caseloads are an effective intervention strategy, but their development is dependent on an agency's fiscal and human resources.

An important aspect of the needs assessment is the examination of funding and community resources to ascertain if the identified offender needs can be met with existing resources or if the development of the resources is feasible. A program that can realistically address a specific and important need can then be established.

Staffing. An important aspect of program development is creating an agenda for the recruitment and hiring of personnel. A recent article by Todd Clear and Judith Rungay (1992), in which United States and British probation practices are compared and contrasted, depicts an *absence* of an agenda in the general hiring practices of U.S. probation. For example, while British officers have common grounding in social work training,

the backgrounds and skills of officers in the U.S. varies from agency to agency; and while British probation officers have a cohesive identity as social work professionals, U.S. officers select from a variety of orientations.

Hiring practices must be mission driven. A movement to a program focused on rehabilitation and behavioral change requires the acquisition or development of new skills and attitudes toward the supervision process. Cochran (1989) suggests that the focus on surveillance-oriented elements has "deskilled" probation and parole officers. Agency administrators can demonstrate their commitment to the proposed shift in ideology by hiring ISP officers who meet specified qualifications or by investing in professional development for current officers so that they are equipped to address offender needs. At a minimum ISP officers should:

- believe in, and be committed to, the possibility of behavioral change;
- be skilled at behavioral change techniques;
- possess good interpersonal communication skills;
- adopt a balanced approach to supervision;
- be skilled at both support and control tasks; and
- have extensive knowledge about the community and the resources available.

The use of team and individual caseload supervision is equally divided across the nation. Agency experience with team supervision suggests that role overlap and role reversal often occur when teams are divided according to assistance and authority functions creating internal conflict and confusion for the offender (Erwin and Bennett, 1987). Because the prototypical ISP focuses on a balanced approach to supervision, it is recommended that decisions regarding team or individual supervision be made according to logistical needs rather than function. The chain of events in supervision produces opportunities for both roles. Recent research conducted by Clear and Latessa (forthcoming) suggests that although officers may prefer one role, this preference does not inhibit

them from performing other tasks as required by the chain of events in supervision.

All of these human resource issues must be considered prior to program implementation. Without a sufficient level and quality of staffing, ISPs will have difficulty achieving their goals.

Funding. Several areas regarded as critical to the success of ISP *may* increase costs: the high risk/high need population requires a wide range of interventions and enforcement strategies; agencies may need to cultivate additional services which address the various needs of the offender population; small caseloads necessitate an increased level of staffing; and the desired skills and knowledge for ISP officers suggest that increased compensation is in order.

The additional costs may be counteracted, however, with the potential cost savings associated with the proposed shift in orientation. Many of ISP's financial and human resources are now consumed by surveillance oriented program components such as electronic monitoring, house arrest and drug testing. When making cost comparisons the two-fold purposes that services such as employment readiness programs or substance abuse treatment programs fulfill must be considered: they address offender needs associated with criminal behavior; and they simultaneously provide a means of monitoring offenders' behaviors.

There are also potential intangible financial benefits of this prototypical ISP including: a reduction in the costs associated with arrest, incarceration, and court processing due to possible long-term reduction in recidivism; a reduction in direct economic losses to crime victims; and the savings associated with offenders being able to remain in the community, maintain employment, support themselves and their families and pay taxes.

It is crucial for administrators to be able to articulate the benefits and costs of ISP in relation to other correctional options. Benefit/cost analysis is quite complex due to the difficulty in measuring some concepts. Its strength is in providing a framework for evaluating programs and their alternatives in dollar terms;

something that has become critical in this austere financial climate. Benefit/cost analysis is best viewed as a decision-making tool rather than being the sole criterion on which to base a decision.

Engaging stakeholders. ISP is not an isolated entity, nor should it be. Its survival is dependent on working with community corrections stakeholders (i.e., other criminal justice programs, the public and policymakers in the jurisdiction) toward a common mission. These internal and external forces impact ISP's operation and its ability to take independent actions (NIC, 1991). How ISP personnel manage these forces will determine their ultimate success or failure. Proactive strategies are particularly important for gaining public acceptance for placement of ISP offenders in the community.

Before attempting to gain external support for ISP, the agency should undergo an internal values clarification process. Once they have clarified their function and are able to present a united front to external stakeholders there are several key strategies for gaining support.

- Tap agency resources — agency staff most likely have many ties with community groups, churches, or businesses which are potential sources for volunteer services or job opportunities for offenders (CPPCA).

- Establish a working task force — this is a common strategy used by criminal justice agencies. Task force members generally include local judges, prosecutors, law enforcement personnel and community members who are involved in the development and implementation of ISP. This teamwork approach provides a means for gaining and maintaining support.

- Public relations — public relations efforts need not be expensive or time-consuming and they can draw on the natural talents present within the ISP. Some basic strategies include: maintaining a customer service orientation; developing a speaker's bureau; developing specific public relations material such as brochures or posters; press releases; and news conferences. Public relations must be an ongoing effort to inform the public about ISP's purpose and operations.

Networking with community service providers. During the planning stage, program personnel must identify, assess and cultivate services that meet the needs of the offender population. A major barrier to effective intervention is the lack of community resources for ISP offenders. Furthermore, many of the resources that do exist, are not effective.

Many probation/parole offices contract with outside services making them customers with certain demands and expectations. This reality provides probation/parole authorities with a powerful mandate. They must be proactive and make funding for these services contingent upon them reaching certain standards. Probation and parole agencies can ensure quality services through contracting for services, evaluating the services and taking steps to maintain the partnership once established.

Program monitoring and evaluation. Program monitoring and evaluation should begin with the development of realistic goals and objectives. Evaluation should occur on an annual basis at the very minimum. The ISP should then be modified accordingly.

Traditionally, recidivism rates, as measured by technical violations and new arrests, have been used as the primary, and often the sole, measure of ISP success. ISP has enormous potential to benefit both the offender and the community. However, other indicators of success have been neglected in evaluations. While not all inclusive, the following list includes potential alternative outcome measures:

- number of offenders in drug treatment;
- number of days drug free;
- reduction in drug use;
- number of offenders participating in basic education courses;
- number of offenders who obtained their GED;
- reduction in risk levels; and
- amount of restitution paid.

Program evaluation and modification demonstrate a commitment to achieving program goals. It is essential to marketing effective programs and securing the necessary funds to ensure their continued existence.

ISP Target Population

Defining, identifying and selecting the target population is one of the most problematic areas of ISP and, therefore, requires a separate discussion. The inappropriate selection of offenders has numerous ramifications including net widening and the ineffective allocation of resources. Effective offender selection policies are an important first step in ISP development. At a minimum they should clearly state the target population for whom the program is designed and the methods for identifying that population.

High risk/need target population. Most ISPs exclude certain types of offenders (i.e., violent offenders) to the extent that the target populations of ISPs have been reduced to low risk offenders (Clear and Hardyman, 1990). The ramifications of this practice are twofold. First, because of this exclusionary criteria, many high risk/need offenders are placed on regular supervision caseloads and, therefore, do not get the necessary level of supervision and services. This increases their propensity for becoming involved in further criminal activity (Clear and Hardyman, 1990). Second, research has indicated that the prospect for positive change through the provision of intensive supervision is greater for a high risk/need population than it is for a low risk/need offender population (Gendreau and Ross, 1987; Andrews, Bonta and Hoge, 1990). Furthermore, Andrews et al., (1990) note the possibility of an "interaction effect" occurring when ISPs target low risk offenders, with the additional controls actually being harmful to them.

In addition to increasing program failures unnecessarily, by mistakenly targeting low risk/need offenders, valuable ISP resources are squandered and the goals of ISP become difficult to achieve. For these reasons, it is important that ISPs have a clearly established high risk and/or high need target population.

ISP offender selection process. The following elements are essential to ensuring that the appropriate target population is identified and that the ISP achieves its stated goals.

Reliable risk/need assessment instru-

ment. The high risk/need population should be defined by a reliable risk/need instrument. Risk/need instruments should include dynamic variables which are amenable to change, such as the degree of substance abuse, academic competence, or criminal thinking in addition to traditional, static risk factors. Risk/need instruments that include a number of dynamic factors in their protocol are most closely linked, theoretically and practically, to a model of behavioral change (Gendreau, 1994). It should also assess those factors most related to criminal behavior. Gendreau et al., (1992) found that "the categories companions, behavioral history, personal anti-social factors, problems in the family of origin, and cognitive factors were the strongest predictors of recidivism" (p. 12).

There are many benefits to using statistical prediction including:

- studies show that statistical predictions of recidivism are actually superior to clinical predictions (Glaser, 1987; Clear, 1988; Andrews, Bonta and Hoge, 1990);
- the statistical assessment process provides a systematic and objective method of allocating resources (Clements, 1986; Eisenberg and Markley, 1987; Clear et al., 1989; Burke, 1990);
- statistical assessment provides managers with a tool to be used for quality control and performance evaluations (Burke, 1990);
- statistical assessment provides an objective method of measuring offender improvement in targeted areas (Clear and O'Leary, 1983; Andrews, Bonta and Hoge, 1990);
- a reduction in the level of risks/needs as identified through an objective assessment provides officers with tangible proof of their effectiveness which could lead to personal satisfaction and increased confidence (Burke, 1990); and
- changes in the level of risks/needs as identified through an objective assessment provides proof of job performance based on something other than the number of contacts.

The risk/needs assessment process

must be perceived as a useful, efficient tool. Only then, will its use be consistent and effective.

Impact points: In line with the recommendation for ISPs being developed as a means to effectively manage the existing probation and parole population, it is recommended that ISP placement occur at the point of probation/parole intake, after the court or parole board has made a decision for probation/parole placement; or throughout the period of supervision where an offender's reassessment indicates a level of risk/need that requires intensive supervision. When the decision to place an offender in ISP is made after placement on probation/parole, ISP has less chance of becoming: an issue during plea bargaining; a means of relieving crowded court dockets; or a decision based on public sentiment or political motivations.

Authority over ISP admissions: In an ideal world, ISP placement should rest solely in the hands of probation/parole personnel. However, since ISPs do not exist in an ideal world, ISP personnel should be responsible for providing comprehensive education to those who influence the placement of an offender into ISP (i.e., the judiciary, prosecutors, defense attorneys, paroling authorities). These educational efforts will facilitate appropriate program placements.

Refining the Goals and Objectives of ISPs

The next step in program development is the establishment of realistic goals and objectives that support the agency's mission and ISP's purpose given the target population and available resources. Program goals serve to map out the future and provide a measure of success. They should clarify the intentions of the program and direct program activities. Program objectives operationalize program goals by describing the mechanisms and strategies used to accomplish those intentions.

ISP Goals. The commonly stated goals of today's ISP are:

- increased public safety;
- rehabilitation of the offender;
- the provision of an intermediate

punishment;

- a reduction in prison crowding; and
- a reduction in cost.

These ambitious goals are often conflicting. For example, the more stringently ISPs impose punitive conditions (as a means of providing an intermediate punishment and increasing public protection), the more likely they are to exacerbate prison crowding and to approach the costs of imprisonment (Turner and Petersilia, 1992). Additionally, if ISPs fail to divert offenders from prison, they also fail to reduce costs (Clear and Hardyman, 1990). Finally, the claim of reduced costs underestimates the increased level of staffing required, surveillance costs (i.e., equipment), and the expansion of social service resources needed to achieve the rehabilitative aims (Cochran, 1989). The overly ambitious and conflicting nature of the goals of ISP create a no-win situation. One goal may be achieved at the expense of another. To avoid the above-mentioned situation, it is recommended that agencies apply the following three guidelines when developing ISPs goals:

1) Carefully select the goals of ISP based on prioritized needs and available resources — prioritizing needs according to their prevalence and the agency's ability to address them, given the available resources, enables agencies to develop realistic goals that address a specific and important jurisdictional need.

2) Differentiate short- and long-term goals — differentiating between short- and long-term goals reflects the importance of both in-program crime control and long-term behavioral change and clarifies what the program can be expected to accomplish within specified time frames.

3) Develop goals that clearly fulfill either intervention, surveillance or enforcement purposes — developing goals that clearly fulfill these purposes demonstrates the important role that each component plays in public safety.

The goals listed on the following pages are very similar to those of traditional probation and parole. The distinguishing characteristics between ISP and traditional probation and parole lie in the high risk/need population and the provi-

sion of intensive services, not in the stated program goals. The similar goal statements reiterate the fact that ISPs should be developed to support the overall mission of probation and parole.

ISP Objectives. Several objectives should be assigned to each major goal area. They are crucial to program evaluation. Effective program objectives are:

- specific;
- measurable;
- achieved within a limited time; and
- identified with an actual result.

The objectives on the following pages are examples only. The point to be made here, is that these objectives are measurable. Realistic and achievable objectives must reflect jurisdictional differences and the target population being served by the ISP. For instance, a jurisdiction with a very high unemployment rate may be setting the program up for failure if they establish the objective of an eighty percent employment rate for ISP participants. Likewise, an ISP targeting offenders with serious drug and alcohol problems may be overly optimistic to set an objective stating that forty percent of the ISP participants will remain drug free. Establishing reasonable objectives will require more work during the planning and development stages to ascertain what improvement rates are achievable given the program aims and resource.

Principles of Effective Correctional Interventions

While the aforementioned steps are critical to the success of ISPs, they are inconsequential if effective strategies are not applied to the day-to-day supervision of offenders. The focus of research conducted by Paul Gendreau and Don Andrews (1990) and Andrews et al., (1990) was to look within the "black box" of programs to determine what factors differentiated the successful programs from the failures. They concluded that there are several basic techniques that have proven effective in promoting positive behavioral change in offenders.² Several principles of effective correctional interventions are outlined below.

1) Intensive services, behavioral in nature, are provided to higher risk offenders.

ISP Short-Term Goals and Objectives

Goal: *Improve the level of education, employment and substance-abuse of ISP participants, as determined by the risk / need factors, through the provision of intensive educational services, employment assistance programs, vocational training and treatment.*

- Objective 1: 15% of the ISP participants who are not high school graduates will obtain their GED in FY 1992.
- Objective 2: 90% of all unemployed ISP participants will complete the job readiness course in FY 1992.
- Objective 3: 70% of all employable ISP participants will maintain or obtain full-time employment during FY 1992.
- Objective 4: 50% of ISP participants will complete the four week drug/alcohol education program during FY 1992.
- Objective 5: 30% of ISP participants will complete an outpatient/inpatient drug/alcohol treatment program during FY 1992.

Goal: *Maintain public safety by monitoring offender behavior, participation in treatment services and progress through the development and maintenance of contacts with the offender, his / her family, employer, treatment providers and other community members involved with the offender.*

- Objective 1: Only 10% of ISP participants will be arrested for further criminal activity during FY 1992.
- Objective 2: 40% of ISP participants will remain drug free throughout FY 1992 as evidenced by frequent drug testing.

Goal: *Reinforce the offender's positive behavior through the use of increased privileges and rewards and hold offenders accountable for their actions by imposing appropriate sanctions ranging from an increased level of supervision to incarceration.*

- Objective 1: For each 30 days of compliance with the conditions of ISP, the offender will be granted three days good time off of the program duration.
- Objective 2: For each 30 day period of uninterrupted, full-time employment, participation in an educational program, or combination of both, each ISP participant will earn \$10.00 off of the monthly supervision fees.
- Objective 3: An appropriate sanction will be imposed within five working days of each violation of ISP conditions.

Goal: *Promote long-term behavioral change of ISP participants.*

- Objective 1: Drug use among ISP participants will decrease by 75% from FY 1992-FY 1995.
- Objective 2: 60% of all ISP participants will maintain full-time employment from FY 1992-FY 1995.

Goal: *Reduce the recidivism rates of ISP participants.*

- Objective 1: The recidivism rates among ISP participants will reduce from 40% in FY 1992 to 20% in FY 1995.
- Objective 2: 80% of revocations of ISP participants from FY 1992 to FY 1995 will be due to technical violations.

a) Intensive services occupy 40-70 percent of an offender's time and are three to nine months in duration.

b) There are three types of behavioral programs. Type I programs focus on discrete, observable behaviors. Types II and III emphasize the restructuring of attitudes, thoughts and feelings.

Type I: Radical behavioral—these programs are based on classical conditioning or operant conditioning. Operant programs are much more common. They are based upon schedules of reinforcement and involve prompting, shaping, fading and stimulus control strategies that are directed to the specific behavior to be changed. Token economies and contingency management programs are also widely used operant strategies.

Type II: Social learning—these programs use modeling and behavior rehearsal techniques to engender self-efficacy or feelings and skills of competency.

Type III: Cognitive behavioral—common techniques used in these programs are cognitive therapy, cognitive skills training, problem solving, rational-emotive therapy, self-control techniques, self-instructional training and stress-inoculation training.

c) The determination of high risk is based on reliable, standardized, objective measures that sample a wide range of dynamic (criminogenic needs) and static risk factors that are predictive of recidivism.

2) The program is highly structured and program contingencies (e.g., attending program sessions, getting to work on time) are enforced in a firm but fair way.

a) Staff (with meaningful input from offenders) design, maintain and enforce contingencies.

b) Contingencies are under the therapist's/officer's control.

c) Internal controls are established to detect possible anti-social activities of clientele (e.g., urinalysis for substance abusers).

d) Program activities disrupt the delinquency/criminal network and prevent negative peers from taking over the program.

3) Positive reinforcers outnumber punishers by at least 4:1.

4) *The responsiveness* of offenders to different styles and modes of service is taken into account.

a) The treatment approach is matched with the learning style and personality of the offender.

For example, offenders with a low conceptual level and sociopathy in behaviors will respond best to a highly structured program (e.g., a token economy). Offenders with psychiatric histories will function better in low-stress environments. Poorly motivated types may require more than the usual legal contingencies attached to the therapeutic program.

b) The personal characteristics and relationship styles of the therapist/officer are matched with those of the offender.

For example, highly impulsive or lower functioning probationers will function better with someone who is firm but fair and prefers to operate with a good deal of structure. High anxiety offenders respond best to higher levels of interpersonal interaction. Some personal characteristics that should be noted are: age, conceptual level, gender, life experiences, professional orientation and training level. Relationship styles that are important are: clarity; empathy; fairness and firmness without being confrontational; problem solving; and spontaneity.

c) The therapist/officer are matched with the type of program.

Therapists/officers who have a concrete conceptual level of problem solving will function best in a radical behavioral or a social learning program.

5) Therapists/officers relate to offenders in interpersonally sensitive and constructive ways, and are trained and supervised appropriately.

a) Therapists/officers have an undergraduate degree or equivalent with training on the theories of criminal behavior, and the prediction and treatment of criminal behavior.

b) Therapists/officers receive three to six months of formal and on-the-job training in the general application of behavioral interventions and those specific to the program.

c) Therapists/officers are re-assessed periodically on the quality of

service delivery.

6) Therapists/officers monitor offender change on intermediate targets of treatment.

7) Relapse prevention is employed in the community to:

a) monitor and anticipate problem situations that will lead to crime;

b) train offenders to rehearse alternatives to antisocial behavior;

c) encourage offenders to practice new pro-social behaviors in increasingly difficult situations, and reward offenders for demonstrating improved competencies;

d) train significant others in the offender's social circle to provide positive reinforcement for pro-social behavior; and

e) provide booster sessions where the potential for relapse exists and re-enroll the offender into the treatment program.

8) High levels of advocacy and brokerage occur if community services are based on the types of principles outlined in this section.

The principles are powerful. The principles should not only be applied within the ISP itself, but also to outside services to which offenders are referred. These principles provide information about "what works" in correctional interventions and a basis for improving ISP practices. Those programs that have followed the "principles" to a reasonable degree have demonstrated reductions in recidivism on the average of fifty percent.

Critical Elements for Program Implementation

The following program elements are viewed as essential to the effective implementation of the ISP proposed herein. Their implementation supports the goals of rehabilitation and reduced recidivism through the provision of intensive services and interventions augmented by surveillance and enforcement strategies; not vice versa as in today's ISPs. The inclusion of these key elements conforms to the principles of effective intervention.

Small caseloads. In ISP manuals reviewed by the American Probation

and Parole Association, the hours assigned to the supervision of a high risk/need case ranged from three to eight hours per month, with the mode being four hours per month. In the past, ISPs have been surveillance and activities-oriented. The new generation of ISPs proposed within this report, focuses on interventions supported by surveillance and enforcement strategies; is results-oriented rather than activities-oriented; and is working with a higher risk/need population. These factors suggest that to implement this type of program, time becomes even more of an issue; one that necessitates small ISP caseloads.

The diversity and pluralistic nature of the probation and parole field makes it difficult to state a standard caseload size that can apply uniformly to all probation and parole agencies. It is recommended that ISP caseloads range from 20 to 30 offenders per officer depending on the following jurisdictional factors:

- their basis for classification (risk, needs, offense);
- contact standards (type and frequency);
- hours of work, leave policies;
- collateral duties; and
- demographic factors (i.e., population density; the size of the geographical area).

There is no magic number that provides for optimum supervision. Other factors including officer skills and quality of supervision must be combined with small caseloads to achieve effective supervision.

An available range of correctional interventions. ISPs should possess an array of correctional interventions that focus on rehabilitation and reintegration. The needs assessment process conducted during the program development stages should indicate the specific services required to meet offender needs. It is important to remember that "one size does not fit all." Therefore, several options should be available to address a specific need. If a jurisdiction is limited to one service provider ISPs should take measures to ensure that they are responsive to individual offender characteristics. Services should be assessed against the previously out-

lined principles of effective intervention. The results of these assessments should guide improvements in existing services or the cultivation of new services.

Providing for treatment and reintegrative services that address substance abuse and employment problems, in particular, are essential to the effectiveness of the ISP. These problems are prevalent among high risk/need offenders. Furthermore, research suggests a correlation between improvement in these areas and reduced recidivism.

Substance abuse: Given the link between drug abuse and crime, substance abuse treatment is an essential part of ISP. In their evaluation of California ISPs, Petersilia and Turner (1990) find that substance abuse treatment is "particularly important for ISP" (p. 101) and call for a greater emphasis being placed on this component. According to Petersilia and Turner (1990), research indicates that ISP may provide an effective context in which drug treatment can take place considering the research findings show that legally coerced clients (e.g., probationers) benefit from treatment as much as other clients (Anglin and Hser, 1990).

Employment and education: Offenders are frequently confronted with problems involving employment and education. Society will increasingly demand greater educational attainment to become employed and increased earning power to purchase basic necessities. Unless these issues are addressed, the possibility of the offender's reintegration and rehabilitation is greatly reduced. A study of Massachusetts' ISP indicated a substantial drop in the rates of recidivism for probationers who reached an employment-ready status (Byrne and Kelly, 1989). Cochran (1989) views job training and adult literacy programs as "essential resource requirements" (p. 59) for probationers.

Objectives-based management system. Objectives-Based Management (OBM) is a management system designed for human service agencies. It is akin to Management By Objectives (MBO), but diverges from MBO in its focus on provision of services versus traditional productivity measures. The or-

ganizational purpose is fulfilled through the establishment of measurable objectives at each level of the organization. The following is a condensed version of the steps in the OBM process as discussed by O'Leary and Clear (1984).

The needs assessment process conducted during the program development stages should indicate the specific services required to meet offender needs.

1) The agency articulates its mission — In order to use OBM the organization must clearly articulate its purpose. Here, the purpose of ISP is to provide intensive intervention, surveillance and enforcement to offenders in an effort to promote long-term behavioral change that leads to enhanced public safety. This purpose then drives the development of goals and objectives.

2) Specific, measurable objectives are established for each offender — Through an interactive process between the officer and the offender, a case plan is developed which specifies results oriented objectives. The plan also outlines activities to be performed by the offender and the officer, and the resources to be used. The activities of line officers are structured around addressing offender needs. This process requires that officers articulate in "clear, unambiguous language the goals they are seeking with each offender and the actions they are planning to take to achieve those goals" (p. 22). This allows officers to plan supervision strategies that support the agency's mission, rather than use the traditional "seat of the pants" supervision methods.

3) The supervisor monitors, reviews, and provides feedback on the objectives - When providing feedback to line officers, the supervisor acts as an interpreter of organizational policy. By reviewing objectives and monitoring the actions taken by line officers to achieve those objectives, supervisors are able to:

- a) assess the fairness accorded each offender;
- b) assess the relationship of objectives to the agency mission;
- c) evaluate the officer's supervision

strategies and resource utilization in light of the established case objectives; and

d) allocate resources based upon which officers seem better equipped to deal with a particular problem area.

4) The administrator reviews aggregated information on officer caseloads. Automation allows for the aggregation of information on objective-based case plans including the objectives, themselves; the types of resources being used by the agency; and the success of the resources in meeting the objectives. This powerful tool permits administrators to engage in informed planning activities for the future needs of the organization and its constituents and also serves as a means of evaluating the agency's performance.

OBM focuses every aspect of the agency on its intended purpose. It provides for continual organizational feedback, evaluation, and planning. The nature of ISP requires that OBM be included as an integral component of ISP operation. The ISP population requires a continual focus on addressing offenders' risks and needs in an effort to achieve long-term behavioral change and enhanced public safety.

Systematic case review. There are three distinct stages in the case supervision planning process: 1) assessment and development; 2) implementation; and 3) evaluation. It is the evaluation aspect of case planning that is often overlooked. It is suggested that case plans be reviewed and updated approximately every six months and in the case of a crisis (Palmer, 1984). Many agencies have turned to the use of a management information system as a built-in mechanism for case review; while management information systems can alert the officer of the need to update a particular case, it cannot identify that a crisis has occurred or that the life circumstances of an offender have changed. This identification depends on an ongoing relationship between the officer and the offender.

Involving the offender in the case planning process contributes to its success. The case review should include a reassessment of the offender's level of

risk and need. Observed improvements or a lack of progress should guide changes in the case plan.

In addition to enhancing the case plans of individual offenders, systematic review provides officers with feedback on their performance and case supervision techniques. It also provides agencies with a means of measuring program effectiveness and the quality of services.

A system of positive reinforcement. Positive reinforcement is a potent mechanism for promoting behavioral change. In the broader world of behavioral change (i.e., therapy, educational settings), positive reinforcement is used much more frequently than punishment. On a small scale, institutions use a system of positive reinforcement; those inmates who comply with institutional rules are granted additional privileges and receive time off of their sentence. This notion of reinforcing positive behavior has not been adopted so readily within probation and parole settings. This may be attributed to two factors: 1) the perceived difficulty in delivering reinforcement outside of a clinical or controlled setting; and/or 2) the natural tendency of the criminal justice system to focus on, and respond to, negative behaviors.

What is needed is a framework for applying positive reinforcement that will encourage prosocial behaviors and the achievement of individual case objectives. Much of the following was adapted from *Behavior Therapy: Techniques and Empirical Findings (Third Edition)*, Masters et al., (1987) and represents an overview of the key concepts associated with the effective use of positive reinforcement.

The purpose of positive reinforcement is to promote, or increase the frequency or intensity of, a desired behavior. Within this article, "positive" reinforcement is used generically, but there is an important distinction between "positive" and "negative" reinforcement. Positive reinforcement is "the occurrence of a reinforcing event following the performance of a desired behavior" (Masters et al., 1987; p. 553). Negative reinforcement (not to be confused with punishment) is "the termination of an aversive event following the performance of a desired behavior" (Masters et al., 1987; p. 553).

Both serve the same purpose and have the same effect, but it is important to recognize the technical difference.

Specific types of reinforcers and practical applications for adult offenders include:

- **material reinforcers**—tangible rewards (e.g., coupons to local stores, restaurants or recreation; certificates; recognition paraphernalia such as stickers, posters, or buttons);

- **social reinforcers**—social events involving nearness, smiles, praise, physical contact (i.e., meetings with an officer, judge, therapist; graduation/program completion ceremonies);

- **activity reinforcers**—the privilege to perform preferred activities or behaviors upon the completion of less preferred activities or behaviors (e.g., upon attainment of a GED or a job offenders are granted curfew extensions or travel permits);

- **token reinforcers**—an object with redeemable value that can be traded for an "actual" reinforcer of another type (e.g., offenders earn points for days drug free which can then be exchanged for extra privileges or for reducing the number of community service hours or amount of fines); and

- **covert reinforcers**—"the thoughts and self-evaluations that an individual may engage in contingent upon his own behavior" (Masters et al., 1987; p. 552; e.g., the pride an offender feels upon receiving his/her first paycheck).

The suggestion of reinforcing positive behaviors through extrinsic rewards, is often met with apprehension (i.e., Why should offenders be rewarded for performing/behaving as they should in the first place? Won't the changed behavior be short-lived if driven by external rewards?). Masters et al., (1987) make two points to counteract this skepticism: 1) external reinforcement occurs frequently, and effectively, in response to everyday, "normal" behaviors; and 2) if used appropriately, and withdrawn gradually as the behavior becomes established, the reinforcement then becomes intrinsic (i.e., the offender begins to feel pride, a sense of accomplishment) and the desired behavior continues.

To be effective, however, external re-

wards must be delivered in conjunction with teaching and modeling on the part of the officer, and learning on the part of the offender. In this manner, officers can facilitate the movement from extrinsically rewarding behaviors to intrinsically rewarding behaviors. This framework of applying reinforcement fits nicely with the objectives-based case management system referenced previously. The mere establishment of an achievable goal can train or encourage offenders to monitor their own behavior and to refocus their attention on their positive achievements.

Another important point about the effective use of reinforcement concerns its timing. "The longer the time between the completion of a behavior and the delivery of a reinforcing consequence, the less effect the reinforcer will have" (Masters et al., 1987; p. 554). One example of delayed reinforcement is the phase system common to current ISPs. A minimum duration in each phase is often specified and offenders experience the same conditions and restrictions until the conclusion of that period, regardless of their behavior. They are then moved into a subsequent phase that provides for more freedom. While the phase system itself is suitable, this delayed reinforcement dilutes its effect. Changes in supervisory conditions should be directly related to individual offender behaviors and applied as soon as possible after the desired behavior occurs. The immediate application of reinforcement can be facilitated by programmatic flexibility. Since, in a natural setting, reinforcement is sometimes delayed, it is important to restate, specifically, why the reinforcement is being delivered.

Lastly, to effectively deliver positive reinforcement officers must be familiar with what motivates each offender; e.g., social attention may be a powerful reinforcer for some and not for others (Gendreau, 1993). During the interactive process crucial to effective case planning, officers can begin making this determination.

As suggested, the criminal justice system tends to focus on negative behavior and treats positive behavior with indifference. While many officers currently practice the creative use of positive rein-

forcement, it is suggested that it be institutionalized as a matter of policy. Just as many offenders must be trained to focus on positive achievements, so must ISP personnel.

A system of control and accountability. As indicated, a balanced approach to supervision is a key principle of the prototypical ISP. To fulfill the balanced approach, enforcement strategies must be in place as a means to control offenders in the community and to hold them accountable for their behaviors.

Possible enforcement strategies/sanctions include but are not limited to:

- increased surveillance contacts;
- community service;
- drug testing;
- curfew;
- house arrest;
- electronic monitoring;
- short-term detention; or
- revocation and incarceration.

The process of imposing sanctions may be by administrative hearing or formal court proceedings. A progressive program gives the probation/parole officer the discretion and the authority to impose intermediate sanctions in response to violations without having to return to court or to the parole board. As with the application of positive reinforcement, immediacy is crucial to the effectiveness of enforcement strategies.

The agency must have clear and realistic policies to guide the probation officer in the imposition of a sanction. Officers should base the sanction to be imposed on the nature of the violation, the defendant's attitude, and the level of risk the violating behavior creates. The selected sanction should be the least restrictive sanction that will induce the desired behavior, enforce program conditions and maintain public safety.

Current ISPs impose many of the above listed conditions on every offender regardless of their individual circumstances and characteristics. This typical "laundry list" of conditions may very well set the program and the offender up for failure: these conditions are difficult to enforce; and they establish unreasonably high expectations of the offender (NCCD, 1990). As these stringent controls and conditions are increased, so is

the likelihood for technical violations; each requiring a response. The result—twenty to thirty percent of the prison populations across the nation are individuals reincarcerated for technical violations. For these reasons, and the considerable expense associated with the imposition and enforcement of these conditions, it is recommended that the above elements be assessed on a case by case basis and reserved as a means for controlling offenders who are not complying with their case plan. If ISPs hope to have any impact on the prison population they must carefully impose offender-specific conditions and adapt their responses to violations.

Victim restitution. Harland and Rosen (1987) conclude that victim restitution is a defensible part of ISP because of the "virtually universal agreement in our society that victims of crime deserve to be compensated for their losses" (p. 36). They further state that "the fundamental fairness of compensating victims" (p. 36) should not be confused with risk-control strategies. Evaluations of restitution programs suggest that they have minimal effect on recidivism rates (Gendreau and Ross, 1987). It is recommended that restitution not be used as a means to deter criminal behavior or reduce recidivism, but that it be used, at face value, as a means to justly compensate victims.

Victim restitution is not without benefit for the offender. Through the payment of victim restitution, offenders acknowledge their wrongdoing and take responsibility for their actions. This is an important part of the reintegrative aspect of ISP that can benefit both the offender and the community or victim (Scheff, 1992). Agencies considering restitution as an element of ISP should examine their ability to enforce restitution conditions. If unable to enforce restitution conditions, the meaning and purpose of the order is called into question as well as the integrity of the entire program. ISP officers should work with the offender to develop a plan of payment that is feasible for the offender to pay and does not unduly burden the victim. There must be alternative means of compensating victims and the community for those offenders

who do not have the capacity to pay monetary restitution. One possible alternative is community service.

There must be alternative means of compensating victims and the community for those offenders who do not have the capacity to pay monetary restitution.

Community involvement. Although the number of offenders placed under community supervision has increased at an alarming rate over the past decade, the *community* aspect of this supervision remains elusive. The fear and apprehension associated with crime and its processes, and the closed system approach taken by most criminal justice agencies combines to alienate ISPs from the very people they are designed to serve: the community. The community must be made aware of the benefits associated with successfully managing offenders within the community and of their important role in that success.

Offender change is dependent on internal motivation. But by providing assistance, advocacy and opportunity, ISPs and the community can facilitate this change. To do so, however, ISPs must begin tapping valuable community resources and make *community* corrections a reality.

Involving the community in ISP serves two major purposes: it expands the services, resources and support available to offenders and probation and parole agencies; and it provides an informal mechanism of control within the community. Through volunteer services, ties with local businesses and neighborhood awareness programs, probation and parole agencies can facilitate offender reintegration and enhance their chances of achieving their ultimate goals.

Aftercare. A common phenomenon is for offenders who successfully complete ISP, to fail once transferred to a regular supervision caseload or terminated from supervision altogether. This, of course, speaks directly to the need to

provide intensive services aimed at long-term behavioral change. But this problem may be halted if ISPs possess an aftercare component to facilitate the transition from the highly structured ISP to a less restrictive program. Aftercare can be provided through a transfer to a regular probation/parole caseload or it can be built into the ISP itself. Officers should ensure that offenders continue to receive the necessary services and provide offenders with support and assistance throughout this adjustment period.

Program Experience

The following programs have experienced some measure of success in reducing recidivism rates. Their common ingredient is the emphasis placed on intervention components.

New Jersey—Administrative Office of the Courts

Program description. New Jersey implemented an ISP in 1983. New Jersey developed a back-end program to ensure true diversion from prison. The following information was taken from a 1992 progress report from New Jersey's Administrative Office of the Courts and the ISP program operations manual.

Statement of Purpose. ISP is a component of the Probation Services Division of the New Jersey Administrative Office of the Courts. ISP was created to:

- 1) reduce the number of offenders serving state prison sentences by permitting them to be resentenced to an intermediate form of punishment;
- 2) improve the utilization of correctional resources by making additional bed space available for violent criminals; and
- 3) test whether or not supervising selected offenders in the community is less costly and more effective than incarceration.

New Jersey describes their ISP as a "realistic and unique form of punishment, designed around a concept of social control within the community" (p. 3).

Offender selection. Only those offenders sentenced to a state prison term are eligible for program consideration. Offenders convicted of a homicide, robbery or sex offense are ineligible. The program is geared toward offenders with self-moti-

vation who are willing to make a personal investment in the program. To ensure that they capture the appropriate population, New Jersey has implemented a stringent selection process as outlined below.

Applications stating basic identifying information and the offender's plans upon their release, must be submitted 30 to 60 days after execution of an offender's custodial term. Upon receipt of the application, ISP staff review the offender's presentence report to ensure eligibility based on the nature of the crime. Once eligibility is determined, applicants are interviewed by program staff. Program staff then contact various parties to gather and confirm information and to invite recommendations. Based upon the compiled information a case plan is devised and an assessment report is prepared. This information is provided to the *ISP Screening Board* which consists of a representative of the Department of Corrections, the Director of ISP and a public member appointed by the Chief Justice. After determining eligibility based on the written materials, the Screening Board conducts an interview with the offender to ascertain their sincerity and motivation. If the offender is still deemed appropriate for the program, the materials are forwarded to the *ISP Resentencing Panel* which includes three judges appointed by the Chief Justice. Once the panel has determined the offenders' appropriateness for ISP they have the authority to conditionally release the offender from prison and place him/her in ISP for a 90 day period. If successful during that 90 day period, the offender is granted another 90 day trial period. If again successful, the Resentencing Panel resentences the offender to the original sentence of incarceration minus time served; suspends the imposition of the sentence; and officially places the offender in ISP.

This complex process is designed to ensure the selective placement of offenders in ISP. The two 90 day trial periods give the offender an opportunity to prove that they can safely function in the community and achieve their personal objectives. If at any time during this process the offender is deemed ineligible or

fails to comply with the conditions of ISP, the motion for release is denied or the offender is returned to prison.

ISP staffing: One probation officer is responsible for all case activities. Officers must be available on a 24-hour basis. ISP officers are actively involved in screening offenders for program participation and in determining their eligibility.

Program components: New Jersey's ISP focuses on a high level of control. The standard program components include: 16 hours of community service per month; a minimum of two drug screens per month; required employment and verification; a curfew of 10:00 p.m.; twenty supervision contacts per month; the use of a community sponsor and network team; required treatment or counseling; and the occasional use of home detention.

New Jersey's ISP places an emphasis on meeting treatment needs and working with community members to enhance the offenders' chances for successful reintegration. Counseling is described as the cornerstone of the program. Offender needs assessments and referrals to counseling are ongoing processes for all ISP participants.

Community sponsors and network teams are unique to New Jersey's ISP. ISP offenders must identify an individual within the community to serve as their community sponsor and other citizens willing to assist them who become part of a network team. The goal of involving these citizens is "to help the participant achieve his or her goals, make the plan of supervision a reality, and assist the ISP officer in ensuring that the objectives of the program are met" (p. 21).

All violations are reported to the resentencing panel to determine the appropriate action. The most commonly applied sanctions are increased curfew restrictions, additional community service hours, increased treatment requirements, home detention and short-term incarceration.

New Jersey has developed re-entry guidelines that slowly reduce the controls and restrictions placed on the offender. This re-entry process is designed to wean the offender off of the system and to ensure successful reintegration.

Program evaluation. Frank Pearson (1987) from the Institute for Criminological Research at Rutgers University conducted an evaluation of New Jersey's ISP.

Program implementation: After monitoring ten program components from the program's inception, Pearson concluded that the actual program operation closely matched the original plans. "The intensity of the supervision of program participants by ISP officers has met or exceeded the program objectives" (p. 3).

Use of correctional system resources: The New Jersey ISP was developed in response to prison crowding. Therefore, a major research question concerned the effect the program had on the availability of prison space. To determine this, ISP cases were compared to a matched sample of approximately 100 felons who were sentenced to prison for ISP-eligible crimes (before the program was instituted) and who then served a period of parole. The ISP group served an average of 109 days in prison per person. The comparison group served an average of 308 days in prison per person. Pearson therefore concluded that ISP saves about 200 prison days per participant or about 62,000 offender-days of prison time per year based on the 311 offenders entering ISP.

Cost savings: The evaluator calculated the average cost per ISP offender, including 109 days in prison and 449 days in ISP, to be \$13,000. The average cost for the comparison group, including 308 days in prison and 896 days on parole was approximately \$20,000. This translates into an estimated savings of \$7,000 per offender.

Pearson also discussed other possible cost benefits. 93.3 percent of the ISP offenders were employed producing increases in the payment of taxes, child support, and restitution.

Rates of recidivism: Twelve percent of the offenders in ISP were convicted of a new crime at the end of two years, compared to 23 percent of the offenders in the matched group. Pearson acknowledges that because they were unable to randomly assign offenders to an experimental or control group, it is difficult to

determine whether the results were truly because of the intense supervision and treatment provided by ISP or because of the selective screening process of ISP. Considering these limitations, Pearson concludes that ISP at least did not increase recidivism rates.

Massachusetts

Program description. The Massachusetts Intensive Probation Supervision (IPS) was designed as a probation enhancement program. Thirteen pilot programs were implemented across the state in 1985. The following information was taken from *Research In Corrections* (Byrne, Lurigio and Baird, 1989).

Statement of purpose: The purpose of Massachusetts' IPS is to provide better supervision to high-risk offenders already on probation. It is an administrative model designed to provide a case management/risk control technique.

Offender selection: Offenders placed on probation in Massachusetts are placed in one of four supervision levels based on a risk/needs classification system. To be placed in IPS probationers must rate "high-risk."

IPS Staffing: Like New Jersey, one probation officer is responsible for all duties associated with their caseload. These duties include assessment, referral and surveillance.

Program components: The Massachusetts IPS stresses both strict enforcement of conditions and referral for services to address offender needs. Officers are required to conduct a full investigation of each offender during the first 30 days on probation. Personal interviews with the offender and collateral contacts are conducted to determine the offender's needs. Specific problem-oriented case plans are then developed which include referrals to services for all identified high need areas. Officers are required to have ten contacts per month with each offender and to conduct a record check every 30 days. Mandatory case review occurs four and ten months after IPS placement. Needs assessment, referrals to services and follow-up are emphasized in three main areas: substance abuse, employment and counseling. The Massachusetts IPS uses a strict four-step revocation process requiring

administrative review and judicial sanctions for noncompliance.

Program evaluation. Byrne and Kelly (1989) conducted an evaluation of Massachusetts' IPS as described in Chapter I-1. The evaluation focused on the degree of program implementation and the program's impact on recidivism. The evaluators also examined which elements were most closely related to reduced recidivism. To examine these research questions the evaluators compared practices and outcomes in courts with IPS to those in courts without IPS both before and after the implementation of IPS.

Program implementation: An examination of probation officer contact chronologies revealed that the program was not fully implemented as designed. "Only 27.2 percent of the IPS offenders were supervised in a manner which reflected a high degree of compliance with the original program model" (Byrne and Kelly, 1989). Although the program was not fully implemented, the data suggested that the quantity and style of supervision changed significantly from before IPS implementation to after program implementation. This change did not occur in courts where IPS was not implemented. An important finding concerned the sentencing practices within courts with IPS: a larger proportion of IPS offenders received split sentences, and IPS offenders were more likely to receive two or more special conditions.

Recidivism: No overall differences were found in offender recidivism between the experimental and control courts. However, data revealed that as the level of supervision increased, recidivism was found to decrease significantly in both courts.

Elements related to reduced recidivism: To examine factors contributing to this reduction in recidivism, the researchers measured offender change by comparing the probation officer's initial assessment in the areas of substance abuse, employment, and marital/family relationships with an assessment at the end of a one-year follow-up period. Those offenders who showed initial improvement in employment and substance abuse had lower rates of recidivism. The evaluators concluded that IPS

had an indirect impact on recidivism through its direct impact on offender change. Byrne and Kelly suggest that these findings "offer strong support for crime control through treatment."

Colorado

Program description. The Colorado Judicial Department's Specialized Drug Offender Program (SDOP) is operational in 16 of the 22 judicial districts.

Statement of Purpose: The SDOP is designed to provide an alternative form of probation supervision, treatment and education for identified high-risk drug users, whose probability of failure on probation is significant.

Offender selection: Offenders are referred to the program at the presentence phase or prior to revocation actions. An internal screening board assesses the appropriateness for the program. The program staff then complete the Addiction Severity Index and analyze prior treatment efforts, psychological information, and educational data to determine whether the offender is appropriate for placement within the program.

ISP Staffing: Officers supervise caseloads of 40 offenders. Officers perform both assistance and surveillance tasks. Officers also conduct cognitive groups two times per week.

Program components: The SDOP emphasizes drug screening and primary treatment referrals. It involves two phases each consisting of 120 days. The second phase is less restrictive. Offenders are assigned to either an intensive supervision component or to a cognitive reasoning and rehabilitative group. Both groups are subject to two drug screens per month, one home visit per month and weekly treatment monitoring. Three face-to-face contacts per month are required for the offenders in the intensive supervision component. Offenders in the cognitive group attend two group sessions per week. These two-hour sessions focus on problem solving skills, social skills, negotiation skills, management of emotions, creative thinking, values enhancement, critical reasoning and cognitive exercises. These sessions are designed to impact the offender's thinking.

Program evaluation. Johnson and Hunter's (1992) evaluation of Colorado's SDOP compared three types of offender treatment within two county probation departments: regular probation; SDOP, non-cognitive (i.e., the intensive supervision component); and SDOP with cognitive. Eligible offenders were randomly assigned to one of the three treatments. The evaluation focused on loss rates (i.e., revocations granted or pending; absconsions; and warrants) and the program's ability to meet offender needs. In order to analyze these factors the evaluators pre-tested each client shortly after assignment and tested them again approximately five months later. The testing instrument asked offenders to report the frequency in which they committed twenty offenses in seven major categories; included ten measures of factors associated with law-abiding behavior; and included eight measures of factors associated with criminal behavior. Evaluators also examined offenders' risk/need scores, case management classification, and scores from the Addiction Severity Index. The findings are reported below.

Loss rates: The researchers found that both SDOP treatments resulted in lower revocation rates, with the cognitive group having slightly lower loss rates. The SDOP non-cognitive appeared to be more effective with younger, anti-social offenders who had high needs assessment scores. The SDOP with cognitive seemed more effective with offenders who had an extreme drug or alcohol problem and offenders who were at least thirty years old.

Meeting offender needs: Offender needs were determined by pre-test scores on positive and negative attributes. The positive attributes (i.e., those associated with law-abiding behavior) included:

- belief that criminal behavior/drug use is wrong;
- favorable attitudes toward police;
- favorable attitudes toward courts and judges;
- belief that your probation officer is supportive;
- belief that others regard you positively;

- perceived prospects for achieving life goals;
- problem-solving ability;
- empathy for others;
- awareness and sympathy toward victims of crime; and
- self-control.

The negative attributes (i.e., those associated with criminal behavior) included:

- acceptance of rationalizations for criminal behavior;
- tolerant attitudes toward drug use;
- sense of powerlessness/fatalism;
- normlessness/accepting illegitimate means;
- susceptibility to peer influence toward deviance;
- general susceptibility to external influence;
- exposure to criminal friends; and
- access to criminal resources.

An offender identified as having a specific need was presumed to have that need met if he or she was not revoked *and* if he or she scored within an acceptable range on that same measure in the post-test.

There was considerable variation in the extent to which the three types of treatments met offender needs. For 16 of the 18 dimensions, the success rates of the two SDOP treatments surpass those of regular probation. Most notably, cognitive treatment appeared to reduce offenders' susceptibility to external influence. Success on the dimensions most associated with some form of drug use are far higher for both SDOP treatments than for regular probation.

New Jersey Department of Corrections

Program description. The Intensive Surveillance Supervision Program (ISSP) was implemented in 1986. The program was developed to provide the State Parole Board with a mechanism for releasing certain inmates on parole who would otherwise not be released. The intention of the ISSP was to reduce prison crowding and, at the same time, maintain a cost-effective alternative to incarceration.

Statement of Purpose. The ISSP is administered by the New Jersey Bureau

of Parole within the Division of Operations in the Department of Corrections. The major mission of the ISSP was to control offender behavior in the short term and to achieve longer term behavioral reform over offenders. The strategies used in the ISSP involved treatment services, surveillance, and law enforcement. An integration of these three components was deemed essential in order to satisfy the wide ranging concerns of the public and the criminal justice system.

Target Population. The ISSP targets inmates who are high risk by virtue of significant needs deficits. Needs deficits include physical and emotional factors, lack of social support in the community, extensive substance abuse history and extensive criminal history (of ten or more years). ISSP parolees remain in the program for approximately six to nine months. However, there are many ISSP parolees who remain in the program for the duration of their parole due to their significant needs deficits.

ISSP Staffing. There are 13 district parole offices in the state of New Jersey and there is one ISSP officer assigned to each district. ISSP caseload ratios are one officer to a maximum of 25 parolees. The integrity of the caseload cap has always been, and continues to be, maintained. ISSP staff vary their hours of work to meet the needs of the cases assigned to them.

Program Components. The ISSP focuses on controlling and changing of offender behavior. While contact standards exist, officers are required to pay strict attention to the results achieved. The contact standards for the ISSP are:

- one positive home visit every two weeks;
- one positive contact per week with the parolee; and
- two collateral contacts per week (school, employment, law enforcement agency, etc.).

Office reporting is not necessarily required. Parolees may or may not be required to report, depending on the assessment of the case by the officer.

Program evaluation. The ISSP was the subject of an in-house program evaluation conducted by the program administrator. The program evaluation,

while limited, provides useful insights into the effect of the ISSP on recidivism. The program evaluation was conducted based upon a one year follow-up of ISSP subjects and a matched comparison group.

Recidivism. It was found that the recidivism rates of ISSP subjects were 20 percent lower than the rates of subjects in the comparison group. Of significance is the fact that ISSP subjects received twice as many treatment referral services as the matched group.

Cost Savings. The ISSP was very cost effective when compared to traditional incarceration in the state of New Jersey. Currently the ISSP costs approximately \$9.00 per day, per offender. The cost of incarcerating an offender in New Jersey is \$58.00 per day, per offender.

Conclusion

When research results are discouraging, as is the case of the most recent ISP research, the tendency is to discard the whole concept and begin anew. While innovation is to be applauded, it often occurs at the expense of a systematic approach which builds on experience and accrued knowledge. A haphazard approach to research and development circumvents any chance for success.

This new model of ISP offers hope for achieving reduced recidivism and public safety because it incorporates lessons learned from recent research and practice. Agencies that have incorporated the basic philosophy and components of the prototypical ISP are experiencing success as indicated by initial research results. Achieving the stated goals of ISP depends on continued evaluation and program modification.

For more in-depth coverage and analysis on the issues outlined in this article, please see "Restructuring Intensive Supervision Programs: Applying 'What Works,'" available through APPA.

Endnotes

¹The references to research findings are based upon ISP research conducted on various programs across the nation since 1987. For more detailed information see: Baird, S.C. & D. Wagner

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The principles of effective intervention are based upon research that traces the developments within the offender rehabilitation agenda from the "nothing works" era (R. Martinson) to the present. The principles reported within this article were adapted from Gendreau (1993). For more information see: D.A. Andrews, I. Zinger, R. Hoge, J. Bonta, P. Gendreau and F. Cullen (1990). "Does Correctional Treatment Work? A Clinically Relevant and Psychologically Inferred Meta-Analysis." *Criminology*, 28, 369-414; Cullen, F. & P. Gendreau (1988). "The Effectiveness of Correctional Rehabilitation." In L. Goodstein & D.L. MacKenzie (eds.), *The American Prison: Issues in Research Policy*, (pp. 23-43). New York: Plenum; Gendreau, P. (1993); Gendreau, P. & D.A. Andrews (1990); and Gendreau, P. & R.R. Ross (1987).

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AMERICAN PROBATION AND PAROLE ASSOCIATION

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Managing Change: Toward a Balanced and Restorative Justice Model

by Dennis M. Maloney, Director, Community Corrections Department, Deschutes County, Oregon and Mark S. Umbreit, Ph.D., Director, Center for Restorative Justice & Mediation, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, St. Paul

Management in the juvenile justice system is no easy task. Compare the clarity of purpose between a small business owner and a juvenile probation chief and one finds that the differences are quite pronounced. The small business owner focuses all attention on the satisfaction of the consumer purchasing the firm's goods or services. If the customer is pleased, more orders will be made and the business prospers. Internally the primary tasks are to keep quality up, costs down and the bottom line in the black. Success or failure is clear. When setbacks occur, the business owner can gather staff to hone the firm's attention to the customer's needs and wants, adjust production and soon gauge the impact of the changes.

Not so in the juvenile probation department. Here we find a manager with very diverse customers who often express conflicting interests. Law enforcement and prosecutorial customers seek expedient incarceration. Defense customers seek a lenient response. Victims stake a claim for restitution. Offenders resist intrusion. County commissioners demand budget constraints. Legislators seek quick fix solutions. And judges remind the probation chief regularly that they are the only customer that the chief really needs to worry about. Beyond customer conflict, the probation chief faces continued debate over the actual products sought by the juvenile justice system. The product seems to swing from wielding a dose of sanctions, to providing a therapeutic intervention, to arranging compensation, to imposing some form of punitive measure. To make matters worse, the probation chief, for the most part, carries out decisions made by someone else, be that overseeing the terms of negotiated pleas or judicial dispositional orders. Thus, the chief has little authority to make decisions that could bring some clarity to the situation.

As to gauging success; with so many competing interests, it is no wonder that the word success is rarely ever heard around the halls of a juvenile probation department. There may be isolated discussions about a probationer or two who "made it". However, in most places the criticism generated by the collection of customers is so persistent that many probation chiefs have become conditioned not to proclaim "success". It is no wonder then that many a chief survives by following the cardinal rule, "Regardless what goes on around here, just make sure you keep the judge happy." Thus, we find a system managing to survive rather than managing to succeed.

In this article, we will address the issue of promoting and managing change within juvenile probation departments that can lead to greater success with a broader range of customers. Specifically, we will focus upon: (1) bringing clarity to the mission and purpose of probation; (2) building system and community support for that mission; and, developing a management approach that brings some sanity and hope to the probation system.

Clarifying Mission and Purpose

In 1988, the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges published a journal entitled "Juvenile Probation: The Balanced Approach". In this special issue of the journal, we find the authors (Maloney, Romig, and Armstrong) making an attempt to bring clarity to the purpose and mission of the juvenile probation system. The authors build an argument that the mission should be built upon a set of very succinct and direct principles.

These principles are:

- The community has a right to be safe and secure
- When an offense occurs by the offender, an obligation incurs by the offender to the victim that must be fulfilled

- Youth who become involved with the probation system should leave the system more capable to live responsibly and productively.

- Each offender brings with them a unique set of circumstances that brought about the offense behavior and these unique circumstances must be addressed if the delinquent behavior is to be ameliorated.

From these principles a mission for all delinquency proceedings, not just probation can be derived. The mission of the juvenile court in delinquency proceedings should be to restore peace. Restore peace in the community, restore peace among the offender and the victim and restore the offenders ability to thrive peacefully in the community. The process of juvenile justice then becomes a process of restorative justice.

The concept of restorative justice has been receiving an increasing amount of attention in North America and Europe (Bazemore, 1994; Galaway and Hudson, 1990; Marshall and Merry, 1990; Messmer and Otto, 1992; Umbreit, 1989, 1991, 1994; Umbreit and Coates; Wright, 1991; Zehr, 1990). Restorative justice views crime as a violation of one person by another, rather than against the state. Dialogue and negotiation are normative, with a focus upon problem solving for the future rather than establishing blame for past behavior. Severe punishment of the offender is less important than providing opportunities to empower the victim in their search for closure, to impress upon the offender the real human impact of their behavior and to promote restitution to the victim. The Restorative Justice philosophy is perhaps best described in the work of Howard Zehr (1990) in his book *Changing Lenses: A New Focus for Crime and Justice*. Zehr notes that instead of ignoring victims and placing them, as well as offenders, in a passive

Table 1: Customer and Productivity Clarity in Juvenile Probation

<i>Customer</i>	<i>Products Sought</i>
Community	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Measurable reduction in recidivism of probation clients. 2. Measurable benefits from court ordered service that clearly improves public safety. 3. Visible involvement of juvenile probation in community delinquency prevention initiatives.
Victim	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Access to skilled mediation, resulting in satisfactory level of victim participation and victim compensation. 2. Timely payment of restitution orders. 3. Victim satisfaction with experience during interface with justice system. 4. Increased confidence that the victim will not suffer a subsequent offense involving the same offender.
Offenders	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Assurance of due process. 2. Demonstrated improvement in living, learning, working and cognitive abilities. 3. Timely case closure and record expungement when appropriate. 4. Connection with community resources offering long term support.

role, restorative justice places both the victim and offender in active and inter-personal problem-solving roles.

The Balanced Approach and Restorative Justice mission join forces in a special initiative funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. OJJDP has commissioned Florida Atlantic University to deliver the initiative known as the Balanced And Restorative Justice Project (BARJ). To find out more about BARJ contact Dr. Gordon Bazemore at: Florida Atlantic University, School of Public Administration, 220 SE 2d Ave, Ft Lauderdale, FL 33301, Phone (305) 760-5663, Fax (305) 760-5673.

With these principles and mission in mind, then, we begin to see a narrowing of focus as to the real customers of the juvenile probation system. It is proposed here that the three primary customers of probation are the community, the victim and the offender. As to the police, the prosecutor, the defender, the judge and the probation staff; these actors really must become part of the team that embraces community, victim and offender customership. It can be predicted that some system personalities may have difficulty accepting this customer clarity, particularly if they're accustomed to being treated as a customer themselves. Regardless of individual resistance the process of gaining clarity about the real customers of the juvenile court is abso-

lutely essential if the system is to become more effective at delivering tangible results. After all, how can there be hope for productivity if we never sort out the customer's product needs? With no clear customer there will never be hope for a defined product. When there is consensus about customership there is a commensurate opportunity to gain agreement on system-wide measurable products to be sought.

Table 1 illustrates specific products that can be pursued for each category of customer.

With such clarity of purpose then, the probation manager can begin to align resources, both capital and human in ways that are most likely to deliver the products sought. Furthermore, the manager can begin to seek system-wide understanding for the importance of probation to focus on these products and gain support by system actors who previously viewed themselves as probation customers. The mandates are clear; the goals of probation are public safety, offender accountability to victims and offender competency upon completion of probation. The customers then become community members, victims and offenders on probation.

Management Implications

With such a clear mandate, the probation manager can begin to assess how well the department's resources are

aligned to carry out this new sense of customership. Listed below are examples of duties that correlate with customer clarity in probation.

A. The Community

- Providing regular reports to the community as to recidivism rates, restitution fulfillment rates and values of community service provided by probation clients.

- Seeking input from the community regarding the preferred community service projects to be undertaken.

- Situating probation offices in precincts and requiring probation officers to carry out their duties in neighborhoods to add to a public safety atmosphere.

- Soliciting input from community members as to potential sanctions for probation violators.

- Focussing community service projects on efforts that prevent crime such as Habitat for Humanity, construction of neighborhood parks to replace crack cocaine lots.

- Referring younger siblings of offenders to preventive programs to break the delinquency cycle.

- Encouraging probation staff to volunteer on community crime prevention campaigns.

- Distributing crime reduction articles and research to schools, youth centers, churches, etc..

- Encouraging community groups to utilize available and appropriate meeting space.

B. The Victim as Customer

- Making certain that all victim contacts are positive, sensitive and empathetic.

- Offering help to victims to assess actual loss or damages caused by the crimes suffered.

- Arranging a safe, secure and comfortable victim waiting area separate from offenders.

- Providing highly skilled victim support services, keeping the victim aware of trial dates, offender status, dispositional decisions, and timely restitution payments.

- Offering a positive atmosphere for victims to participate in victim-offender mediation and then following through with the highest quality mediation services while assuring victim safety.

- Allowing victims to be involved in determining the nature and location of

community service by offenders, i.e. the victim's favorite park, pathway or charity.

- Completing victim follow-up to determine if full restitution was provided.

C. The Offender as Customer

There is understandable concern among some as to the appropriateness of treating offenders as customers. We must remember however, that most states still have a juvenile code preamble that states, "It is the purpose of this court to carry out due process, duties and responsibilities that are in the best interests of the child". Therefore; the decision, as to whether the offender is a customer or not, has been made for us by such legislation. The key requirement is to keep in mind that the primary outcomes of offender customership are to provide services that result in reduced crime, increased accountability and increased competency. Thus, treating offenders as customers in that approach is compatible with community and victim customership. There needn't be conflict.

- Assuring the offender is afforded due process.
- Assuring that expectations are clear and literacy level appropriate.
- Assuring restitution and community service levels are achievable.
- Providing resources that reduce offense behavior, increase likelihood of restitution payment and community service fulfillment and increase offenders ability to become successful taxpaying citizens.
- Providing appropriate support services to increase likelihood that the disposition will be successful.
- Providing an atmosphere that promotes success and whenever possible recognizing successful behavior changes.

Personnel Implications

There are certain implications for staff when the probation department clarifies its' mission, purpose and customership. A probation department operating in such clarity will employ staff that demonstrate the following traits and attributes.

- Treating all customers; the community, the victim and the offender with dignity and respect. This trait should be apparent from the time our customers first approach the front counter, to the point when the case is closed. Staff should remain attentive, polite, cheerful

and constructive.

- The staff's grasp of mission and purpose should be apparent and staff should take the time to introduce the department's mission to first time visitors.
- Staff should be visible to the community. If in fact the mission of probation is met in the community, then staff should be expected to carry out their duties in the community.
- Customership by its very nature demands attention to delivering tangible products. Staff should focus on providing measurable outcomes for the full range of probation customers.

Program Implications

Clarification of mission, purpose and customership surely warrants a full review of probation's program functions. This review is sure to yield very significant changes in the practice of probation. The primary reason for this is simple. Probation has become primarily a practice of deploying staff to monitor the compliance of offenders to a set of probation conditions set by the court. The probation officer meets with offenders on a case load to review the offenders adherence to the court's conditions. This review typically occurs in the probation department. The frequency may escalate as the risk presented by the offender increases. The expectations of the offender are relatively passive as the conditions most often seek to have the offender cease a set of behaviors.

This practice raises serious questions in light of a new sense of mission, purpose and customership for probation. Where are the products for the community, the victim and the offenders? Such a practice is removed from the community and only adds to the public's criticisms of juvenile probation. Probation practiced in such a manner really doesn't serve the community, the victim or the offender in tangible ways. We must admit that casework probation; practiced by monitoring offender compliance to court orders is by design a system that treats the court as our only customer.

If the victim, the community and the offender are truly the primary customers of probation then we must search for programs that do in fact deliver tangible results to these customers. The challenge to probation managers is to make the necessary adjustments from a case

monitoring approach to an outcome driven customer service approach. This implies a reduced emphasis on office visits and an enhanced emphasis on community-based customer-centered services.

Three programs warrant close review by probation chiefs to be integrated into virtually every probation department. These programs by their very nature offer far greater hope to satisfy customer needs than the current reliance on office visit probation services.

Victim—Offender Mediation

Victim/Offender Mediation offers the greatest opportunity to align services with genuine victim needs. In victim/offender mediation a skilled mediator facilitates a meeting between a victim and an offender. The victim is allowed to articulate the full toll of their loss and lay out expectations for restoration. The offender experiences first hand the affect of their actions and subscribes to a plan to restore the victim. Properly mediated sessions certainly offer the victim the truest sense of being "attended to". Follow-up surveys confirm that victims gain far more satisfaction with the justice system when they are afforded skilled mediation. One of the most practical resources for probation chiefs is the recently published book entitled "Victim Meets Offender: The Impact of Restorative Justice and Mediation" (Umbreit, 1994) available through Criminal Justice Press in Monsey, NY.

Community Service

In community service programs offenders provide unpaid work to the community as a sanction and as a measure of accountability to the community.

When it comes to treating the community as a customer of probation one would be hard pressed to find a program superior to community service. Not only does the community receive tangible benefits from the offenders work but they also experience improved public safety due to the face-to-face surveillance of offenders and reduced recidivism capability achieved with comprehensive community service programs. The Spring 1994 issue of Federal Probation included an article by Dr. Gordon Bazemore and Dennis Maloney articu-

lating the inherent attributes of comprehensive community service.

CompetencyBasedInterventions

A full range of counselling and therapeutic interventions have been attempted in the probation system. A solid body of research completed by Carkhuff/Berendgen and later by Dennis Romig sets apart the value of these efforts in very clear terms. Those interventions that advance offender's real life competencies provide long-term benefits to youth and reduce the likelihood of recidivism.

Those interventions that depend on insight oriented counselling fail to deliver tangible benefits and have a poor history of impacting recidivism. Therefore, when regarding youth in the juvenile justice system as customers deserving tangible benefits, probation chiefs would do well to evaluate their programs to make certain they are competency based.

SystemicChange

This paper offers a suggestion that if probation is to thrive in an environment of clarity and support then we must determine our true customer base. The authors argue that these customers should be victims, communities and juvenile offenders. Program concepts have

been offered to help guide the probation system toward delivering tangible customer products. The charge to probation chiefs is to initiate genuine systemic change by aligning all activities of the probation department to pursue this mission. The most established tradition of probation, office visits to monitor compliance, demands the most critical review. To effectively develop a more balanced and restorative juvenile justice system, probation staff need to be reallocated to become increasingly involved, with community volunteers, in proven and exciting customer centered services such as victim/offender mediation, community service and competency based interventions.

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Request for Site Proposals

Bids are open for the following APPA Training Institutes:

APPA24thAnnualTrainingInstitute1999

Completed applications to host this Institute must be received by **July 21, 1995** in order to be considered. The Board of Directors will select this site at their meeting in Dallas, Texas, August 27, 1995.

APPAAWinterTrainingInstitute1999

Completed applications to host this Institute must be received by **December 15, 1995** in order to be considered. The Board of Directors will select this site at their meeting in Portland, Oregon, February 4, 1996.

Any board member, affiliate group or state agency wishing to request consideration of a particular city for either of the above Institutes must complete an application to host that Institute. In order to be considered by the Board of Directors, completed applications must be received at APPA by the deadline specified above for each of these Institutes.

Further information and applications may be obtained from:

Yolanda Swinford
American Probation and Parole Association
c/o The Council of State Governments
3560 Iron Works Pike, P.O. Box 11910
Lexington, KY 40578-1910
(606) 244-8194

NIC UPDATE

The Future of Community Corrections

by David Dillingham, NIC

Nearly ten years ago, the National Institute of Corrections published a document by Vincent O'Leary and Todd Clear titled: "Directions for Community Corrections in the 1990s." It put forth a new concept, later labeled "limited risk management," as an organizing principle for community corrections. What was then a new and yet untried notion has since become a significant and influential approach shaping the practice of community corrections in the United States. A number of major agencies have experimented with limited risk management and have developed policies, programs and practices which reflect the ideas put forth by O'Leary and Clear. Their experience became the basis for a series of seminars in 1992 and 1993 at the Institute's Training Academy in Colorado.

Based on the discussion with practitioners at these seminars, the authors were asked to revise their document in light of the developments and environmental changes which have shaped the field in the last ten years. Scheduled to be published by the Institute in the spring of 1995, the new text, "Community Corrections Approaching the 21st Century," retains the core concepts of the original work but also incorporates interests such as intermediate sanctions and the emerging body of knowledge about effective behavioral interventions for dealing with offenders. More than anything else, it is a guide to policymakers and practitioners in thinking about correctional policy and provides a framework for practice as we enter the 21st century.

This is critical as our field is moving into a third major phase in the last 50 years defining correctional practice. The first with its emphasis on treatment and

rehabilitation was preeminent through the fifties but gave way to a new philosophy for dealing with crime in the sixties. Official punishment moved to the forefront. Over the past 30 years, punitive sanctions increased both in duration and in breadth of use. Where they formerly played a largely symbolic role by expressing society's displeasure with those that broke its laws, punishment, usually incarceration, took on more utilitarian functions to the near total exclusion of other strategies. By locking someone up it was believed that the offender himself would be prevented or deterred from further criminal behavior. Others, future potential offenders, would also think twice about committing a crime as they viewed the consequences for illegal behavior.

Despite a sanctioning rate (the combined incarceration/community corrections rate per 100,000) that jumped 600 percent between 1973 and 1992, crime patterns are basically unchanged and public concern continues to grow. The major change appears to be the costs involved which are forcing a re-evaluation of correctional practice. As a result, it now appears that we are entering a third phase of correctional practice — termed "Limited Risk Management." It recognizes two primary societal goals for corrections. The first is carrying out symbolic punishment as a way of expressing moral indignation for law violations. This we do in response to sentences imposed by the courts.

This part of our practice is largely non-utilitarian in that we do it for its own ends and not because of what it will accomplish. It acknowledges that part of what we do when we sanction offenders is

saying, "you can't do that and get away with it." We also say to other potential offenders, "crime doesn't pay." It is these messages that have driven our response to crime for the last two decades.

But the second and equally important goal with limited risk management is utilitarian — engaging in activities managing the risk of future criminal behavior by offenders. Society wants those who have committed a crime and who have been through the correctional system to come out "better" for the experience. They want them to stop being criminals — or at least to stop engaging in criminal behavior. While there is a natural tension between these two ends, limited risk management seeks a balance.

Through much of the seventies and eighties, the second end — controlling or managing the risk for future criminal behavior — was either ignored or pursued solely through incarceration. Applying external controls that incapacitate and prevent the individual from engaging in criminal activity was the only "correct" approach. Usually this involved incarceration — a total loss of freedom — which, for a period of time, prevented criminal behavior. However, other less comprehensive forms of incapacitation such as electronic monitoring, curfews, intensive supervision, etc. were also pursued. All are designed to diminish the offender's capacity to commit another crime.

It is only in the last few years that we again paid serious attention to looking at other ways of decreasing recidivism. This second strategy, risk reduction, relies not on external controls but on developing internal controls. Through purposeful intervention in the offender's life we seek

to reduce the propensity to engage in criminal conduct. Future criminal behavior is reduced because the individual no longer wants to violate the law. To the extent that these interventions are successful, the need for incapacitation or other external controls are reduced.

Fortunately, there is a growing body of knowledge identifying effective correctional interventions. Successful interventions rely on: 1) identifying and serving those with the greatest risk of re-offending; 2) targeting criminogenic needs, e.g., working on those characteristics, attitudes, behaviors and circumstances that are linked to criminal behavior; and 3) delivering these interventions in ways

that are appropriate for the individual involved. In this regard, the evidence presented by such researches as Dr. Don Andrews and Dr. James Bonta is clear — punishment without accompanying correctional service interventions that adhere to these principles does not work.

To help promote these ideas, the Institute's Community Corrections Division is co-sponsoring with various organizations a series of 2½ day regional workshops and one-day seminars in conjunction with professional conferences. They will be presented at various locations around the country and will: 1) promote understanding of limited risk management for defining the goals of

corrections; 2) explore the empirical basis for correctional interventions in managing risk and promoting public safety; and 3) examine the implications of the interventions for correctional management and programs.

Individuals interested in attending these sessions are encouraged to contact their professional associations to see if they are sponsoring one of these programs. They may also contact David Dillingham at the National Institute of Corrections, 320 First Street N.W., Washington, DC 20934 for further information and a schedule of workshops and seminars being offered. □

Barry Nidorf Elected Chair of NIC Advisory Board

by Craig Levy, Media Relations Officer
Los Angeles County Probation Department

Being honored by your peers has to be the best form of recognition one can obtain. Being recognized by national leaders in probation and corrections across the country is not too shabby, either. While important individually, the accolades are compounded when the recognition comes from both groups. This recognition has recently been given to Los Angeles County Chief Probation Officer, Barry J. Nidorf. Nidorf has been elected Chairman of the National Institute of Corrections Advisory Board.

Initially appointed to the advisory board in 1990 by then U.S. Attorney General Thornburgh, and asked to continue his role by Attorney General Janet Reno, Nidorf has projected his vision of the future of probation and community corrections across the country. Nidorf recently celebrated his tenth anniversary as the Chief Probation Officer. During his tenure he has been responsible for the probation

department's many new and innovative programs, including the introduction of the nation's first juvenile boot camps, a domestic violence monitoring program, an Office of Prevention Services, and electronic monitoring for individuals placed on probation and pre-plea releases.

With a vision focused on prevention, Nidorf is spearheading a comprehensive study to identify factors of juvenile delinquency, and how various government and private agencies can intervene or prevent these young people from becoming involved in the juvenile justice system. While individually honored by this selection for this prestigious position, Nidorf's primary mission remains the continued development and enhancement of the Los Angeles County Probation Department and its role in enforcing court orders, ensuring public safety and maintaining an organization of proud and dedicated employees.