

PERSPECTIVES

the journal of the American Probation and Parole Association



Volume 28

Number 1

Winter 2004

Parole Violations:

An Important Window on Offender Reentry

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

It is my pleasure to write this first message as your President. I will tell you that being elected President of the American Probation and Parole Association was a truly humbling experience for me. I consider it a tremendous responsibility and honor to be the elected leader of APPA. This association has grown in many ways since its inception over 28 years ago, and it will continue to grow and will remain the strong voice it has become for probation, parole and community corrections professionals.

I want to first tell you a bit about myself, as I think it important that the members of an association know who their leaders are. I am originally from Long Island, New York and in 1971 attended college in Virginia at James Madison University. I have remained in Virginia since. I have worked as a Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime case manager, state probation and parole officer, special programs manager for state probation and parole, and criminal justice analyst concentrating on community corrections. My total time in probation, parole and community corrections is over 26 years. I have two grown sons. I am a runner, coach for a Special Olympics soccer team, and I serve on the Social Work Department Advisory Group at James Madison.

Recently I was asked the question: Describe, in one word, what you bring to the probation, parole and community corrections profession? My response was quick and without hesitation: passion. If I was to be asked the same question about what I bring to APPA, my response would be just as quick: passion. I have a passion for both the profession and APPA, and neither has ever wavered.

Now it is time to talk a bit about APPA. It is important to note that APPA does face some difficult situations. We, like many professional associations, face a difficult budget situation. When agency budgets are reduced, as they have been across the country, APPA feels a direct impact. Members are limited in their ability to travel to APPA training institutes and other training events, agencies must make difficult decisions regarding lay-offs and hiring freezes, overall spending can be drastically cut. All of these actions have a direct impact on our revenue which over time could affect our ability to deliver services. However, the leaders of APPA are working diligently to address the budget challenges in a proactive manner, and we are prepared to make difficult decisions to meet the demands of a reduced budget. We are also prepared to make decisions to increase our revenue in new and exciting ways that will also maintain or increase our membership benefits. I am confident that we will survive this situation and continue to offer our members the quality services they have come to expect and deserve. It will take time, it will take an effort by everyone (members and leaders alike), but APPA will be successful.

We also face the challenge of growing and retaining our membership. This is never easy when budgets are cut. Members have to make financial decisions regarding association memberships, agencies and affiliates have to make the same decisions, and our membership turns over more rapidly than we would like. The APPA leadership, along with assistance from all aspects of the membership, is also addressing this situation. It is important that every member of APPA, no matter your role in the association, extol the virtues of APPA membership to everyone in our field, as well as those outside of our profession. APPA has a seat at the table in almost all instances of national consideration when public safety and community corrections matters are discussed. We have both an international and national voice, and the respect we have is unparalleled. In addition, APPA is very fortunate to have an excellent staff in Lexington, Kentucky supporting APPA initiatives, and the staff continues to provide great professional services to our members.

APPA is seeking new members on a regular basis, and in addition we are seeking new leaders. It is important for any association to grow its leaders from within. To that end, we have an Executive Committee that is truly diverse in its makeup and has wonderful enthusiasm for the tasks at hand. APPA has some new members on the Board of Directors, and they also bring enthusiasm into their roles. APPA has tasked the Executive Committee, Regional



Andrew Molloy

Representatives, Committee Chairs, Affiliate Representatives and others to bring solid, year round leadership to the association. It will be up to the members to ensure that we follow through on our tasks. In addition, it will be up to the members to become active in the association through committee work, participation in revenue projects, contacts with the leadership, and overall support of APPA. This is a combined effort – leadership and membership – and in combination we can enhance and grow APPA leadership and its voice in probation, parole, community corrections and criminal justice initiatives and activities.

As we proactively and positively address the matters of the budget, growing and retaining the membership, and being active leaders and members, we will be able to focus on the issues facing our profession. By proactively addressing those issues we will be better situated to serve our communities, supervise our offenders, assist our victims, work with field and support staff, develop and enhance partnerships, endorse prevention and intervention activities that work and ensure that "community justice and safety for all" remains a priority.

Again, I am both humbled and honored to serve as your President. I look forward to a productive term of office working closely with APPA leadership, members and staff to ensure that APPA remains the leader for probation, parole and community corrections on a national and international level.

Please feel free to contact me. And may our field staff always be safe.



Andrew Molloy

Constitutional Amendment

Note: The following constitutional amendment was passed by the board meeting on August 24, 2003 and subsequently passed at the Membership Meeting on August 26 during the APPA 28th Annual Training Institute in Cleveland, Ohio. Questions regarding this amendment can be directed to Gary Yates, Constitutional Review Committee Chair at (513) 785-5815.

Article V, Section 13

To inserted after the 2nd paragraph

In the event that one or both of the Board of Directors' selected candidates for executive office determines that he/she can no longer run for office, the Board of Directors will be notified of the candidate vacancy and be asked to submit nominations for the position within ten (10) working days. The Board of Directors will then be apprised of the newly nominated candidates and given ten (10) working days to cast their ballot. Should no nominations be offered, the lone remaining candidate will run unopposed. If two candidates are needed and no nominations are offered, a special election must be conducted utilizing the procedures outlined in the proceeding paragraph. The aforementioned procedures will be conducted electronically through use of such methods as email or fax. In the event that one or both of the candidates drops out of a race for office ninety (90) days or less prior to the next annual meeting, a special election will need to be held utilizing the same procedures as outlined in the proceeding paragraph.

American Probation and Parole Association



Associate Members

Corporations with an interest in the field of probation, parole and community corrections are invited to become APPA associate members. Like corporate membership, the goal of associate membership is to engage our corporate friends in association activities and to share information with each other.

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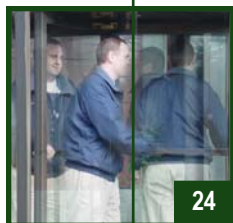


Volume 28

Number 1

Winter 2004

FEATURES



- 24 **PAROLE VIOLATIONS: AN IMPORTANT WINDOW ON OFFENDER REENTRY**
by Peggy B. Burke
- 32 **ENCOURAGING STUDENTS TO PURSUE CAREERS IN COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS**
by John M. Paitakes
- 34 **LESSONS LEARNED ABOUT SUPERVISING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE OFFENDERS ON PROBATION**
by Andrew Klein
- 37 **COMMUNITY CORRECTION'S RESPONSE TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: GUIDELINES FOR PRACTICE**
by Ann H. Crowe
- 42 **COMMUNITY JUSTICE AS PUBLIC SAFETY**
by Todd R. Clear and Christina Pratt

DEPARTMENTS

- 2 **President's Message**
- 7 **Editor's Notes**
- 12 **NIC Update**
- 14 **Technology Update**
- 16 **Spotlight on Safety**
- 18 **Research Update**
- 40 **Book Review**

PLUS!

- 3 **APPA Associate Members**
- 8 **APPA News**
- 10 **APPA Executive Committee**
- 11 **APPA Regional Representatives**
- 16 **Job Announcement**
- 17 **APPA Corporate Members**
- 19 **Sponsors - APPA 28th Institute**
- 20 **2003 APPA Award Winners**
- 21 **2004 APPA Award Nominations**
- 49 **Calendar of Events**
- 51 **APPA Winter Training Institute - Reno, NV**

Instructions to Authors

PERSPECTIVES disseminates information to the American Probation and Parole 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 corrections 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 MS Word or WordPerfect format on an IBM-compatible computer disk, along with a hard copy, to Production Coordinator, *PERSPECTIVES* Magazine, P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, KY, 40578-1910, or can be emailed to smeeks@csg.org in accordance with the following deadlines:

Summer 2004 Issue – February 19, 2004 • Fall 2004 Issue – May 20, 2004 • Winter 2005 Issue – August 21, 2004 • Spring 2005 Issue – November 11, 2003

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. Notes 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: 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.

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The Council of State Governments

APPA *We see a fair, just and safe society*

vision

*where community partnerships are
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balance of prevention, intervention
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We seek to create a system of Community Justice where:

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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.

APPA is an affiliate of and receives its secretariat services from the Council of State Governments (CSG). CSG, the multibranch association of the states and U.S. territories, works with state leaders across the nation and through its regions to put the best ideas and solutions into practice.



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Association of Women Executives in Corrections
CA Probation, Parole & Corrections Association
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EDITOR'S NOTES

This first issue of Perspectives for 2004 (can you believe we're in the fourth year of the new Millennium?) is chock full of interesting and thought - provoking materials. As I reviewed the issue, it struck me that the articles and features pose some very tough questions and issues for our field to wrestle with and resolve. They also reveal some aspects of the issues that are not well known or widely understood.

In our lead article, Peggy Burke takes a close look at the issue of parole violations and re-entry. The issue of parole (and probation) violations has been the dirty little secret of jail and prison crowding for many years. A large portion of new prison admissions are the result of revocation of parole or probation, and many times that is for technical violations. Nationally, 35 percent of new admissions are parole violators. What we do in field supervision and how well we do it has an major impact on our prisons and jails.

In their article "Community Justice as Public Safety," Todd Clear and Cristina Pratt provide a thoughtful and insightful analysis of community justice. They note that many hold a view of community justice as somehow less tough on crime than the predominate public safety model, and thus a less desirable way to achieve safe communities. Their article delves deeply into the competing views of how to achieve public safety and provides a more complete accounting of the community justice paradigm. The reader is left with a much better understanding of the contribution that community justice can make and is making to public safety.

One of the more daunting challenges facing probation staff and organizations is the supervision of domestic violence cases. Andy Klein and his former probation staff in Quincy, MA were among the first to tackle this difficult challenge. His article provides some important lessons learned from that experience. These are complex cases with the potential to blow up at any time. And as Klein notes, there are far more of them now as society and the justice system have increased the awareness and priority. While the effectiveness of the batterer intervention programs is not what we would like to see, Klein notes how they can still be of use to the probation officer. I think the Quincy experience shows not only what a challenge these cases are, but also how creative and resourceful probation staff can still find ways to have an impact.

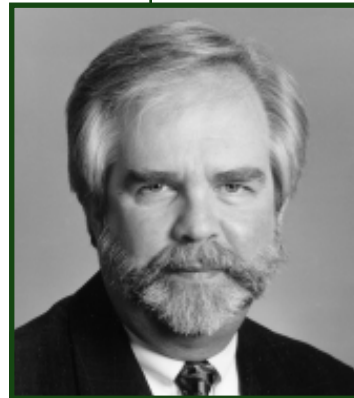
In her companion piece, APPA staffer Ann Crowe describes the work that your association has been doing to improve the practices of community corrections agencies and staff to the challenge of domestic violence. This is an important and very timely project. I encourage you to visit the website about the project and attend the workshops at the Institutes if you can. You will come away with a new respect for the issue and the work that APPA is doing in this area.

One area where our field has not done a very good job is the development of our future workforce. Former probation executive and now faculty member John Paitakes describes some of the practices that he has put in place in undergraduate courses to raise the awareness of college students about community corrections and the career opportunities that exist. Some of the strategies involve collaboration with community corrections agencies through internships, service learning and volunteer work. Such collaboration can benefit both the educational institutions and community corrections agencies. I encourage you to consider reaching out to your local educators to explore the possibilities.

In this issue, we are pleased to introduce a new feature, the Research Update. Prepared by David Karp of Skidmore College, it will be a regular feature and will provide summaries of significant research of interest to our field. We hope you will find this helpful in keeping up with the latest information in our field.

The Spotlight on Safety addresses a difficult subject, the loss of probation and parole officers in the line of duty. We can take some solace from the fact that the numbers are low, but we can never forget that the potential for danger is always with us. Safety, in the form of awareness, training and equipment must be also.

In this issue, we welcome our new President, Drew Molloy and the first of his President's Messages. Your association faces many tough challenges, but I know that with Drew's leadership, the support of the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors, and the untiring work of the staff, APPA will continue to thrive. As you read through this issue, give some thought to how you might get involved. After all, the association's greatest strength is its members!



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Resolution Regarding the Justice System's Response to Individuals with Mental Illness

WHEREAS, although approximately 5 percent of the U.S. population has a serious mental illness, a report issued by the U.S. Department of Justice in 1999 found that about 16 percent of the state prison and local jail inmate population has a mental illness. Juveniles involved in the justice system have similarly high representation of mental health issues;

WHEREAS, many of the individuals with mental illness in contact with the criminal and juvenile justice systems are clients of the mental health system who have failed to gain access to effective mental health treatment;

WHEREAS, criminal and juvenile justice professionals agree that they have inherited a problem of enormous scope and complexity, and their system's current response to people with mental illness often fails the person who suffers from mental illness and his or her loved ones;

WHEREAS, elected officials need to have constructive options available to make thoughtful policy decisions, especially in the wake of well-publicized tragedies involving individuals with mental illness who fluctuate between the court systems, juvenile detention, local jails, state prison, and psychiatric hospitals;

WHEREAS, law enforcement officials in urban and rural jurisdictions alike are concerned about the increasing percentage of public safety resources allocated to calls for assistance involving persons with mental illness;

WHEREAS, court officials, already overwhelmed by crowded dockets, struggle to respond appropriately to defendants and juveniles with mental illness, who often cycle through the courts repeatedly, requiring court time while providing minimal assistance with their mental illness;

WHEREAS, the growing number of adults and juveniles with mental illness involved with the justice system, and the lack of appropriate resources in jail, prison and detention to screen, assess and treat these individuals, weaken staff morale, jeopardize the safety of staff and detained individuals alike, and exacerbate jail, prison and detention overcrowding and the cost of operating corrections systems;

WHEREAS, despite the strong connection the public assumes between mental disorder and violence, the results of several large-scale research projects conclude that only a weak statistical association between mental disorder and violence exists, and that people with mental illness are more likely to be victims of crime than people in the general population;

WHEREAS, representatives of the American Probation and Parole Association have been part of the Criminal Justice / Mental Health Consensus Project, a national effort led by the Council of State Governments, together with the Police Executive Research Forum, the Pretrial Services Resource Center, the Association of State Correctional Administrators, and the National Association of State Mental Health Program Directors, to bring together police chiefs, prosecutors, defense attorneys, judges, institutional and community corrections administrators, mental health state agency directors, mental health treatment providers, victim advocates, mental health advocates, consumers, clinicians, and Republican and Democratic state legislators from across the country; and

WHEREAS, the 100 policymakers and practitioners serving on advisory boards to the Consensus Project developed 46 policy statements and hundreds of recommendations -- a bipartisan consensus identifying steps that state and local government officials can take to improve the response to people with mental illness who come into contact with the criminal justice system;

WHEREAS, the Criminal Justice/Mental Health Consensus Project specifically addresses concerns with the criminal justice system, this resolution recognizes and is inclusive of the juvenile justice system and juveniles with mental illness who, if served adequately by the mental health systems, may avoid further involvement with the justice systems;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the American Probation and Parole Association urges its members to improve the response to people with mental illness who come into contact with the criminal or juvenile justice systems by developing and promoting programs, policies, and legislation that accomplish the following goals:

- Improve collaboration among stakeholders in the justice and mental health systems;
- Integrate mental health and substance abuse services to address the needs of individuals in contact with the justice systems who have co-occurring substance abuse/dependence and mental health disorders;
- Develop designated responses by law enforcement, courts, corrections, and community corrections agencies, and provide the necessary training to these justice system personnel to familiarize them with mental illness and the mental health system;
- Focus the efforts of the mental health system more directly on this population, and provide the mental health system with the resources and training concerning the justice systems to do so effectively;
- Recognize the extent to which the success of an initiative that seeks to divert someone with mental illness from the justice systems into community-based programs depends on an effective and accessible mental health system; and
- Measure the cost-effectiveness and the impact on individuals with mental illness of any new initiatives that criminal and juvenile justice or mental health agencies develop to improve their response to this population;

AND, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the American Probation and Parole Association recommends that Congress and officials from the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) work with state and local government officials across ideological and partisan lines to accomplish the following:

- Assist states and local government officials interested in developing local solutions to the complex problem of people with mental illness in contact with the juvenile and criminal justice systems;
- Increase the flexibility of existing DOJ and HHS grant programs to enable states to use these funds for efforts that target people with mental illness and people with co-occurring substance abuse and mental health disorders who are in contact with the juvenile and criminal justice systems;
- Collect information and improve research regarding individuals with mental illness who come into contact with the criminal and juvenile justice system; and
- Facilitate partnerships between criminal/juvenile justice and mental health agencies and organizations.

SPECIAL TRAINING.....

Web-Based Safety Workshop

The American Probation and Parole Association (APPA) is pleased to announce the availability of an online workshop, "Basic Safety for Probation and Parole Officers." The workshop is intended to serve two purposes: as an introduction to safety issues for the new employee and as a refresher course for more experienced employees.

For a variety of reasons, new probation, parole or community corrections officers may not receive traditionally delivered safety training before assuming their job duties. This workshop will be readily available, and it can provide the new officer information to prompt consideration of safety issues. It is not intended to replace onsite safety training, but to precede it and to supplement it. For experienced officers, the online workshop can provide a reminder of safety issues.

There is no fee to participate in the workshop. From the APPA home page www.appa-net.org select "Workshop on Safety" which links to an introduction page and the opportunity to register. Once registration is completed and submitted, the registrant will be emailed a username and password. The workshop can then be accessed and completed by the participant when it is convenient.

The online workshop is the most recent endeavor in a project that has been funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice to increase the understanding and implementation of effective offender supervision practices and programming. Making information available through distance-learning methodologies has been a key aspect of this project. Initially, APPA produced eleven audio teleconferences on topics of interest as indicated by survey responses from probation and parole officers. The audio teleconferences were accessible at the time of presentation via telephone and afterward through audio tapes of the presented events. Presenting information through distance-learning methodologies allows greater access by all probation and parole agencies and personnel, particularly those in rural areas who often cannot attend traditional training events because of resource or logistical problems.

If you would like more information on this project or the online "Workshop on Safety," please contact:

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APPA ELECTION RESULTS

Executive Committee

APPA is proud to announce the 2003 election results. Newly elected Executive Committee officers will serve a two-year term. In addition to the newly elected officers, the Executive Committee positions of At-Large Affiliate and At-Large Representatives were appointed at the 28th Annual Training Institute in Cleveland, Ohio. Also, 13 Regional Representatives were elected. Regional Representatives serve a six-year term.



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Technical Assistance from NIC's Community Corrections Division

NIC Mission Statement

We are a center of correctional learning and experience. We advance and shape effective correctional practice and public policy that respond to the needs of corrections through collaboration and leadership and by providing assistance, information, education and training.

As part of an organization dedicated to advancing and shaping correctional practice and public policy, the Community Corrections Division of the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) invests heavily in responsive technical assistance to state and local governments through activities initiated by the requesting jurisdictions. This Responsive Technical Assistance (TA) is part of a total assistance portfolio that NIC provides for probation, parole and community corrections agencies, in addition to training programs and major initiatives that are announced and funded through cooperative agreements.

Throughout the years, NIC has made a conscious effort to remain as nonbureaucratic as possible when responding to assistance requests, and we intend to keep that focus. Because of the increased numbers and complexity of the requests now being received by the Community Corrections Division, however, we have found it necessary to be more strategic in making decisions about how to deliver assistance that will have the lasting impact desired by requesting jurisdictions. As a result, recent discussions among Division staff have centered not only on responding to needs as they are expressed by the jurisdictions themselves, but also on responding in ways that are more likely to advance and shape effective practice and public policy, as stated in NIC's mission.

Responsive Technical Assistance

Based on our experiences with state and local planning and implementation efforts, we have found the following elements to be important when reviewing and considering TA requests that are received by the Community Corrections Division:

- How does the requested assistance fit into the organization's basic strategic plan? (Does the organization have a strategic plan?)
- Does this event fit logically into the sequence of activities mapped by the jurisdiction's

plan; or should the assistance focus on preparatory work first?

- What is the projected long term impact of the TA? How will the assistance move the jurisdiction toward achievement of its strategic goals?
- How will the TA be used to build the jurisdiction's capacity to deliver the activity in house next time?
- Is the assistance consistent with the jurisdiction's mission, as well as with NIC's mission?
- Is the assistance focused on the use or promotion of a proprietary or privately owned product? The Community Corrections Division has chosen not to be involved in these TA events and believes those needs should be negotiated between the requesting agency and the product vendor.
- Does the request focus either directly or indirectly on services for adult offenders or their families? NIC has been charged by its board to assist agencies and jurisdictions on policy and practice related to adult services.

Conference Support

In addition to general TA requests, the Community Corrections Division frequently receives requests related to conference workshops or conference support. When a government agency or professional organization requests support for a conference, the following criteria must be met:

- The mission and membership of the conference organization must be explained in the letter of request or in supplemental documentation, along with the theme or goals of the conference.
- The workshop topic and goals as stated in the program brochure or description must be compatible with the mission of the National Institute of Corrections.

- The session must entail a minimum of six hours' classroom time to the same audience, although a full eight hour session is preferred. Session content must pertain to a cohesive training module that meets the on site activity goals as stated in the authorization letter.
- NIC does not support keynote presentations with responsive technical assistance funds. Conference planners may request that a Technical Resource Person (TRP) provide a keynote presentation in addition to other conference work authorized by NIC. Any additional costs related to the keynote presentation must be funded from a source other than Responsive Technical Assistance.
- The lesson plan/outline and any handouts distributed at the workshop must be attached to the final TRP Report. In some cases, submission of the lesson plan or presentation outline may be required for review prior to the conference.
- An evaluation of the technical assistance activity must be completed by the requesting agency. In addition, the Community Corrections Division requires copies of the evaluation forms completed by participants on the information presented. Copies of the evaluations should be submitted by the requesting agency within two weeks of receiving the technical assistance report as noted in the Confirmation Letter.
- For letters of request received from private professional organizations, the following also apply:

1. The letter of request must be accompanied by a letter of support from the Chief Executive Officer of a government-funded criminal justice agency within the state. If the professional organization represents a multi-state region, the letter of request

BY DOT FAUST AND PHYLLIS MODLEY

must be accompanied by a letter of support from the Chief Executive Officer of a government-funded criminal justice agency from one of the states in the region.

2. The letter of request must be signed by the President of the professional organization, or must be accompanied by a letter of support from the President of the organization.

How to Request TA

If you have any questions about how to request technical assistance, or even about whether

TA is appropriate for your jurisdiction, please contact one of the Division staff listed to the right at (800) 995-6423. We would prefer to have a conversation about your issues of concern and how best to address them before you make the effort to develop a written request.

Further information about drafting the TA Letter of Request can be found on NIC's web site - Just check the FY 04 Service Plan (pp 105-109) at www.nicic.org. □

Kermet Humphries and Dot Faust are Correction Program Specialists with the National Institute of Corrections in Washington, DC.

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Distance Learning for Community Corrections

No one can argue that these are difficult times for community corrections. Most, if not all, agencies are being asked to operate with fewer resources and increased demands. While a well trained staff is always desirable, it is even more critical when agencies are stretched and required to do more with less. Unfortunately, when difficult fiscal times arrive training is often one of the first areas to be cut. So, how can agencies continue to provide quality training in these trying times? One way is through the technology of distance learning. A mainstay in educational institutions, the military and the private sector, distance learning provides another example of a technology application that has not yet been fully exploited by community corrections.

What is Distance Learning?

Distance learning is a system and a process that connects learners with facilitators and distributed learning resources using a variety of technologies. Most of us are familiar with distance learning in one or more of its forms whether it be via cd-rom, video-conferencing, satellite broadcasts or internet-based systems. Regardless of the medium, the goals of distance learning are the same: to train anyone, anywhere, on important competencies, when they need it and at a cost effective price.

What is the Role of Distance Learning in Community Corrections?

Over the past year a group of interested organizations, including APPA, came together to discuss the applicability of distance learning in community corrections, and these discussions grew into a pilot project called the Community Corrections E-Learning Collaborative (CCELC). The project was developed with the following key concepts in mind. First, in difficult fiscal times we must proactively identify cost effective methods of delivering quality training. We must begin to view the classroom as a valuable resource that is finite. To help ensure that classroom training is available when needed, we must identify those areas of instruction that do not require face to face contact and deliver this training in another way. If agencies had access to distance learning, the

capacity of their training units would expand exponentially. Second, agencies across the country are continually reinventing the wheel, developing or retaining consultants to develop training programs specific to their agency. To a large degree, this training is general in nature with only a fraction that is particular to the contracting agency. If agencies could collaborate and share their lesson plans and materials, which could be adapted for online instruction and accessed by agencies across the country, tremendous cost savings could result.

The CCELC project, funded by the National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Center, endeavors to demonstrate the viability of such a distance learning collaboration. It is hoped that by the end of the pilot a model to deliver quality, cost-effective training to participating agencies across geographic and political boundaries will emerge.

How will CCELC work?

At the core of the CCELC pilot are 14 participating agencies representing federal, state and local community corrections agencies from across the country. These agencies were recruited to test the collaborative nature of the project. Each agency, to some degree, will "donate" lesson plans, course content, subject matter expertise as well as staff to be trained as facilitators and students to test the courses.

The courses provided will be asynchronous in structure, allowing students to work during times that best suit their personal schedules, 24 hours a day, seven days a week. They will be able to participate in the course from any computer or laptop, at home or at work that has at minimum a 56K modem and internet access.

Each course will be led by a facilitator who will guide the course, lead discussions and assist the students. Facilitators will be drawn, for the most part, from the training staffs of the participating agencies. All facilitators will be trained online in the use of the technology used to deliver the training, the learning environment, online facilitation, adult education and group interaction. The training will be monitored and assistance will be provided online as necessary. Trained facilitators will then be able to supervise all available

collaborative e-learning courses, both during the pilot and in the future.

An introductory training will be provided online to each student to ensure familiarity with the technology, the learning environment, facilitated learning, the syllabus and other requirements of the course. Once the introductory training has been completed, students will be able to enroll in the five courses developed specifically for this pilot.

Project Outcomes

The primary outcome from this project will be an evaluation report that documents how learners accepted online learning, the course content and delivery methods, instructional methods, quality of content and assignments, accessibility of facilitator, size of class, how well content was learned, the comfort level with online instruction by facilitators and learners, the likelihood of taking another online course, ability to learn online vs. learning in face-to-face classes, description of problems, description of successes, reasons for taking or not taking another online course, suggestions for improvement. Particular focus will be placed on a cost benefit analysis to attempt to quantify the efficiencies that can be reaped through a distance learning program and the potential savings that can be realized by participating agencies. The evaluation should be completed by June 2004.

If the pilot proves successful, the next steps will focus on ways to fine-tune the CCELC model and make it a self-sustainable endeavor that agencies across the country can tap into for quality, cost-effective training that might not otherwise be available.

To learn more about the CCELC project or APPA Technology Committee, please contact Joe Russo, Program Manager, National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Center, 2050 East Iliff Avenue, Denver, CO 80208, Phone (800) 416-8086, email: jrusso@du.edu. □

Joe Russo is Corrections Program Manager for the NLECTC in Denver, Colorado and is a chair of the APPA Technology Committee.

BY JOE RUSSO

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SPOTLIGHT ON SAFETY

Probation and Parole Officer's Killed in the Line of Duty

Each year the U. S. Department of Justice compiles statistics regarding law enforcement officers that were killed in the line of duty, either feloniously or as the result of an accident. Regretfully, there is no such repository for parole, probation or community corrections officers. Currently, research is being conducted by U.S. Probation Deputy Chief Probation Officer Ron Schweer and Robert L. Thornton regarding adult and juvenile parole, probation and community corrections officers that have given the ultimate sacrifice in the performance of their duties. It is our hope that by providing information about the circumstances of the officers' deaths we can better inform all officers about the dangerous realities of our work, and possibly help to reduce such occurrences in the future.

Our research has uncovered the following list of officers that have died in the line of duty. We are asking you to review the list and contact us if you are aware of any other officers that have been killed on the job, either by accident or through a felonious act, and provide as much information regarding the circumstances of their death as possible. We want to make sure that no one that has given his or her life is omitted from the list.

1923 David W. Burns	KS	1984 Michael Serano	FL	1990 Gerald Moberly	LA
1935 Joseph Delozier	USPO (OK)	1985 Brian Rooney	NY	1993 Theodore Clark	NY
1973 William Gambill	FL	1986 Harold A. Gray	FL	1994 Arnold C. Garcia	CA
1976 Paul J. Weber	KS	1986 Anthony Liberton	NY	1996 David G. Seymour	LA
1976 Barry Sutherland	NY	1986 Thomas E. Gahl	USPO (IN)	1996 Bernard Rosser, Jr.	VA
1977 Pauline Stewart	WV	1986 Lee Franklin Coxwell	GA	1997 Lawrence Bonds	IL
1979 Robert A. White	OH	1986 Mary Fine	MI	1997 "Charley" Knepple	IN
1982 Bjorn T. Svenson	FL	1988 James Gregory	AL	1998 Russell C. Anderson	SD
1983 Delores L. Pearson	VA	1988 William Bowers	GA	1999 David S. Cortner	NC
1983 Michael Haduck	PA	1989 William V. Lee	NC	1999 Sharyn DeBose-Dover	NY

Upon completion, the results of our research will be released through APPA. We thank you for your assistance, and please continue to remember our fellow officers that have given so much. We must remember that we have chosen a hazardous occupation and that going home to our loved ones at the end of the day needs to be our paramount goal. □

Robert L. Thornton is the Director of the Community Corrections Institute in Eatonville, WA and Chair of the APPA Health and Safety Committee.

BY ROBERT L. THORNTON

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San Bernardino County HR, 157 West Fifth St.,
San Bernardino, CA 92415-0440;
(909) 387-5577; TDD (909) 387-6091;
e-mail: asalerno@hr.sbcounty.gov.

American Probation and Parole Association



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Corporations with an interest in the field of probation, parole and community corrections are invited to become APPA corporate members. Corporate members receive benefits such as enhanced visibility among APPA's nationwide network of community corrections professionals, as well as shared information on the latest trends and issues that specifically affect community corrections.



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Community Service in Community Corrections

Author's Note: As an academic, I am pleased to edit this new column in Perspectives. Like the Technology Update column, our goal is to share recent developments in the field. The Research Update will briefly summarize the latest findings from research studies. Each update will focus on a particular topic such as community service, recidivism, sex offenders, juveniles, etc. For the first issue, I present the latest findings on the use of community service in community corrections.

The first programmatic use of community service orders was created in the municipal courts of California's Alameda County in 1966 for people convicted of traffic offenses.¹ By 1995, 26 percent of adult probationers were required to complete community service as a condition of their sentence.² If this statistic is accurate today, then approximately one million probationers are currently involved in community service work. Nevertheless, Michael Tonry argues, "community service is the most underused intermediate sanction."³ Thus, community service is used quite a bit, but some believe not enough. This policy question cannot be answered, however, without knowing if community service is an effective sanction for offenders and the community. The following four studies indicate that the public is generally supportive of community service, offenders and service agencies are satisfied with the sanction, and that service sentences produce lower recidivism rates than jail terms. Although they represent the best of recent research, much more needs to be known about community service work in community corrections.

1. Doble, John. 2002. "Attitudes to Punishment in the U.S. - Punitive and Liberal Opinions." Pp. 148-161 in *Changing Attitudes to Punishment: Public Opinion, Crime and Justice*, edited by J. V. Roberts and M. Hough. Cullompton, Great Britain: Willan Publishing.

This study reviews a variety of public attitudes about criminal punishment, but I include it because of its attention to public attitudes about community service based his research on several states. Typically, Doble's research includes opinion polls and focus groups. For example, in North Carolina, Doble found that 97 percent of respondents favored greater use of community service for non-violent offenders. In Vermont, many respondents "perceived community service to be more demanding than a brief term of custody during which, people believe, offenders sit around all day, watching TV or playing cards."

2. Caputo, Gail. 1999. "Why Not Community Service?" *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 10:503-519.

Caputo examines a community service program in New York City operated by the Center for Alternative Sentencing and Employment Services (CASES), which diverts offenders from jail sentences of up to six months. The program includes ten or 15 days of community service (70 or 105 hours) as the primary sanction. The study group included 146 offenders and researchers conducted face to face interviews and gathered data from case files. Interviews of community agencies that received the service work were also conducted. Seventy-four percent of offenders successfully completed the program. Twenty-five percent of offenders were later arrested for a new offense. Community agency interviews found that representatives were generally pleased with the work. Eighty-six percent of offenders "reported benefits from the assigned work, particularly the structured setting and the responsibility, and slightly fewer considered their involvement a way to 'pay back' the community for harms they had caused."

3. Nirel, Ronit, Simha F. Landau, Leslie Sebba, and Bilha Sagiv. 1997. "The Effectiveness of Service Work: An Analysis of Recidivism." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 13:73-92.

This study considers the effect of community service sentences in Israel on recidivism. Specifically, the sample includes 1,357 offenders who were sentenced to terms up to six months in jail, but 407 of these offenders served these sentences in the community, completing community service. Controlling for differences between the offenders in the two groups, the study found that recidivism rates were 1.7 higher for the jail group than for the service group, based on a 14 month follow-up period. Offenders who participated in community service were less likely to be rearrested than those who were incarcerated. This study meets a higher scientific standard than Caputo's study because it provides a comparison group.

4. Killias, Martin, Marcelo Aebi, and Denis Reibeaud. 2000. "Does Community Service Rehabilitate Better Than Short-Term Imprisonment? Results of a Controlled Experiment." *The Howard Journal* 39:40-57.

This study is a pearl among the social sciences because it makes use of a true experimental design. Like the previous, it compares offenders who were sentenced to jail with those sentenced to complete service work. It is better scientifically because offenders are randomly assigned to one or the other type of sentence. This study includes 123 offenders in Switzerland. Offenders were sentenced to jail or service for periods of up to 14 days. The researchers found that offenders sentenced to jail were more likely to be rearrested than those sentenced to community service. Further, the jail experience led to more unfavorable attitudes among the offenders about their sentences and the criminal justice system than offenders sentenced to service.

Endnotes

¹McDonald, Douglas Corry. 1986. *Punishment Without Walls: Community Service Sentences in New York City*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

²Bonczar, Thomas P. 1997. *Characteristics of Adults on Probation*, 1995. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

³Tonry, Michael. 1996. *Sentencing Matters*. New York: Oxford University Press, p.121. □

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BY DAVID R. KARP

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2003 APPA Award Recipients

The American Probation and Parole Association annually presents several prestigious national awards that recognize your most distinguished professional achievements and allow you to share best practice ideas with your peers. APPA is proud to acknowledge the 2003 awards recipients who were recognized at APPA's 28th Annual Training Institute in Cleveland, Ohio on August 24-27, 2003.

Community Awareness Through Media Award

"Investigative Reports: Mad Justice"

Loki Films, Rachel Grady, Director/Producer
New York, New York

This film was shot during the winter of 2000 in New York City and captures the mental health crisis that currently faces the criminal justice system. Of the 100,000 people incarcerated in New York state's prison system, it is estimated that over 20,000 inmates have severe mental illness. Once released from jail and on to the streets, what happens to these profoundly sick individuals? The film follows the work of a parole officer whose entire caseload is made up of ex-felons with acute paranoid schizophrenia and of a public defender with an exclusively mentally ill caseload.

President's Award

Westchester County Probation Department –
Probation Against Violence Program

Louis Conte, Asst. Commissioner, White Plains, New York

The Probation Against Violence Program (PAV) consists of a vigorous coalition of 11 partner agencies in Westchester County, New York and has become a critical partner in Westchester's collaborative domestic violence strategy. The program's goal is to contribute to the on-going safety of victims/survivors while preventing additional incidents through the effective supervision of the offender. PAV was chosen by the Violence Against Women Office as one of the jurisdictions to be featured in the "Snapshot Project" conducted by the Edmund Muskie Center for Social Policy and was later selected as the only probation program to be featured in a professionally produced video about the PAV program.

University of Cincinnati Award

Barbara Bloom, Ph.D.

Associate Professor

Department of Criminal Justice Administration
Sonoma State University, California



Barbara Owen, Ph.D.

Professor of Criminology California State University, Fresno



Stephanie Covington, Ph.D.

Co-Director, Center for Gender and Justice
La Jolla, California



"Gender Responsive Strategies: Research, Practice and Guiding Principles for Women Offenders"

Drs. Barbara Bloom, Barbara Owen and Stephanie Covington are highly experienced professionals who are experts on issues affecting women in the criminal justice system. Working with the National Institute of Corrections under a cooperative agreement with Barbara Bloom and Associates, they have authored a very important piece of work. The project brought together current research and practitioner expertise with the overall goal of improving policy and practice regarding the female offender. By examining the context of women's lives and the involvement of women in the criminal justice system, this report provides empirical and theoretical foundation for developing gender responsive policy and practice.

Joe Kegan's Award for Victim Services in Probation and Parole

Carolyn Andersen

Coordinator (Ret.), Victim Coordinating Office
Salt Lake City, Utah

Carolyn Andersen is well known in the victim movement and formed the first victims committee in the Utah Juvenile Court over 20 years ago. In addition, she was also one of the original founders of the Troubled Youth Conference that has been held for the past 15 years in Utah. Ms. Andersen has worked with or done training for various organizations such as the Division of Child and Family Services, the Utah Paroling Authority and was instrumental in securing funding for a victims unit in the 3rd District Juvenile Court.

Scotia Knouff Line Officer of the Year Award

Raymond Paladino

Senior Probation Officer, Cattaraugus County Probation
Olean, New York



Officer Paladino had been an employee of the Cattaraugus County Department of Probation and Correctional Alternatives since September 1995 and was promoted to Senior Probation Officer in August 2000. He has made an outstanding contribution to probation services in his community and has expanded his mission to reach far beyond the local community, publicizing and promoting the probation mission on a statewide and national level. Raymond Paladino has been involved with over 150 families in the past two and one half years and has a greater than 60% job placement rate. In his role as probation officer, He has instilled in his probationers the idea that they no longer have to be a liability, but can become an asset to their families and the community.

Walter Dunbar Memorial Award

Joseph E. Papy

Regional Director, Community Corrections
Florida Department of Corrections
Tampa, Florida



Joseph E. Papy possesses an exceptional combination of talents and skills that serve his agency and the citizens of Florida. He is often called upon to provide training to staff, to address legislative bodies, to troubleshoot situations and to educate the media and the general public. He is instrumental in the development and continuous updating of professional basic training curriculum for correctional probation officer recruits and builds effective partnerships with local law enforcement in the four judicial circuits within his region. Mr. Papy has been an avid supporter and long-term member of APPA serving as regional representative for region seven in addition to serving on several other committees.

APPA Member of the Year

Bryan D. Jack

Correctional Probation Senior Supervisor
Florida Department of Corrections
Tampa, Florida



Bryan D. Jack has been a member of APPA for the past seven years and is active in many committees such as the Issues, Positions and Resolutions Committee, the Health and Safety Committee and the Standards and Accreditation Committee. He also serves as APPA Regional Representative for Region Seven and has attended each Training Institute since becoming a member. Colleagues note his strong voice for the health and safety of line officers as well as his clear view of standards in community corrections.



APPA Awards Nominations Guidelines

Please use the following entry form for submission of award nominations. The supporting documentation for each award as described on the award criteria (see page 22) must also be submitted along with this form.

The American Probation and Parole Association presents several prestigious national awards that recognize your most distinguished professional achievements and allow you to share best practice ideas with your peers! Everyone is encouraged to participate in the nomination process to assure that community corrections professionals as well as community-based programs and agencies receive this worthy national recognition.

The **Scotia Knouff Line Officer of the Year Award** is the most competitive and perhaps the most prestigious practitioner award offered by APPA. This award honors a probation, parole or community corrections officer who has performed assigned duties in an outstanding manner and/or made significant contributions to the probation, parole or community corrections profession at the local, regional or national level. The recipient may also have brought credit or honor to the profession through participation or involvement in community activities or programs. The recipient of the Scotia Knouff Line Officer of the Year Award will receive complimentary registration to attend the APPA 28th Annual Training Institute held in Cleveland on August 24-27, 2003 as well as travel expenses associated with acceptance of this award.

The **Walter Dunbar Memorial Award** is the oldest APPA practitioner award. This award recognizes significant contributions by a practicing professional or a retired practitioner in the field of probation and/or parole, and is presented in honor of one of APPA's most distinguished colleagues, the late Walter Dunbar. Mr. Dunbar served as director of the California Department of Corrections, chairman of the U.S. Parole Commission and director of the New York State Division of Probation.

The **University of Cincinnati Award** is a non-practitioner award, presented to an individual who has made significant contributions to the field of probation, parole or criminal justice technology. Recipients typically are individuals from an academic research or government agency not engaged in providing probation and parole services.

The **Sam Houston State University Award** honors a practitioner who has published an article concerning probation, parole or community corrections that provides new information and insight into the operation, effectiveness or future of the community corrections profession. For such recognition an article must have been published in a national or regional journal.

The **Joe Kegans Award for Victim Services in Probation and Parole** honors an individual working in community corrections who has provided exemplary services to victims of crime. This distinguished award was established as a tribute to the late Judge Joe Kegans, a founding member of APPA's Victim Issues Committee, who devoted her career as a jurist to bettering the lives of all with whom she came into contact. Nominees for this award may be living or deceased, and preference will be given to community corrections professions or volunteers who have personally experienced criminal victimization and have used that experience to help others.

The **APPA Member of the Year Award** recognizes the work and energy of a worthy APPA member. This award is presented to a current APPA member who has been a member for at least one year and has provided significant contributions to the organization through promotion of the vision and mission of APPA. Any APPA member may submit a nomination for APPA Member of the Year. The recipient of the Member of the Year Award receives a complimentary ten year membership in APPA. Elected members of the APPA Board of Directors or the Executive Committee are not eligible for nomination.

The **APPA Community Awareness Through Media Award** recognizes a media broadcast, publication or film capable of reaching a national audience that broadens the public's awareness and understanding of issues in the American criminal justice system in an accurate, fair and balanced manner, through sharing the vision of APPA. Such media coverage has the potential to improve community awareness and understanding of the community corrections profession. The award is sponsored by the APPA Public Relations Committee.

The **APPA President's Award** recognizes exemplary community corrections programs or projects which serve to advance the knowledge, effectiveness and the integrity of the criminal justice system. APPA seeks to recognize visionary organizations that have exemplified the management and innovations necessary to lead community corrections into the next decade. The APPA President's Award will be given to the community corrections program which meets a combination of the following criteria:

- The program either changes or contributes to the broad field of community corrections and helps to move the field forward.
- There is a clear correlation between the goals of the program and their effect (impact).
- The program makes a difference that is supported by impact data.
- The elements of the program which make a difference can be replicated by others.
- There is clear evidence of the supportive nature of its environment.
- The program will be qualitatively evaluated on the following characteristics: program implementation process; client assessment practices; program characteristics which match the client's needs; therapeutic integrity; relapse prevention techniques; and staff characteristics and evaluation.

The **APPA Award for Excellence in Community Crime Prevention** seeks to recognize community corrections agencies, or community crime prevention programs coordinating with a community corrections agency, that have integrated community crime prevention initiatives into the traditional roles of supervision, intervention and sanctioning of offenders.



APPA Award Criteria

Supporting documentation is required for each nomination and is detailed to the right of each award or group of awards. The supporting information should be submitted with the completed form on page 23.

<p>Scotia Knouff Line Officer of the Year Award</p> <p>Walter Dunbar Memorial Award</p> <p>University of Cincinnati Award</p> <p>Sam Houston State University Award</p> <p>Joe Kegans Award for Victim Services in Probation and Parole</p>	<p>Education – Date of degree(s) awarded; school(s) attended. Specify information for all universities attended including course work towards a degree.</p> <p>Employment History – Current job title; location of employment; periods of employment (cover past 15 years of employment).</p> <p>Professional and Community Activities – Identify memberships, offices held and awards received. *Note – A Vitae or resume containing this information above may be substituted.</p> <p>Written Justification – Description of justification and/or contributions the nominee has made that support the award.</p> <p>Testimonials – Three testimonials from a variety of different supporters from the profession, treatment services, law enforcement, victims, clients or the community, as appropriate for each award.</p> <p>Photograph – Recent photograph of nominee, 3”x 5” or larger.</p>
<p>APPA Member of the Year</p>	<p>Membership – Indicate length of time nominee has been a member of APPA (must be at least one year).</p> <p>Justification – Description of justification and/or contributions the nominee has made that supports the recommended award.</p> <p>Photograph – Recent photograph of nominee, 3”x 5” or larger.</p>
<p>APPA President's Award</p>	<p>Program/Project Goals – List the goals of this program/project, population served, staffing and budget.</p> <p>Program/Project Description – Describe the program/project (include methodologies, if any), technologies used, program/project outcomes (site supporting data) and anticipated outcomes, if any.</p> <p>Program/Project Benefits – Describe the benefits of the program/project to the community, “field” and agency.</p> <p>Justification – Describe why this program/project warrants award nomination.</p>
<p>Community Awareness Through Media Award</p>	<p>Date – Publication or broadcast date of nominated project.</p> <p>Justification – Description of justification that supports the media project. Include awards received or reviews.</p> <p>Sample Copy – If possible, provide a copy of the publication or a tape of the broadcast or video. If not available, briefly describe why this media project warrants the award nomination. If applicable, include the name of associated newspaper, magazine, book, TV station or movie.</p>
<p>Award for Excellence in Community Crime Prevention</p>	<p>Program Summary – Describe the program’s mission, goals, timeline, date of inception and evaluation process.</p> <p>Community Partners – Describe how this program involved and partnered with other community agencies and citizens.</p> <p>Crime Prevention Principles – Describe (with appropriate explanation and documentation) how the principles of crime prevention in community corrections are at work in this program by answering the following questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Does the program increase an individual’s assets and resiliency? 2. Does the program strengthen families? 3. Does the program reinforce community norms? 4. Does the program promote connectedness? 5. Does the program educate? Is education reinforced?



APPA Awards Nominations Guidelines

Please use the following entry form for submission of award nominations. The supporting documentation for each award as described on the award criteria (see page 22) must also be submitted along with this form.

Nomination submitted by:

Name _____
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Agency _____
Address _____
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Daytime phone (____) _____ Fax (____) _____
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Information on Award Nominee:

Award this person/program is nominated for _____

Name (or name of contact person if program/project or media project) _____

Title _____ Agency _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Daytime phone (____) _____ Fax (____) _____
Email _____
Name of program/project or media project (if applicable) _____
Address (if different from above) _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Eligibility

1. With the exception of the APPA Member of the Year Award, recipients of the APPA awards are not required to be a member of APPA.
2. Members and non-members of APPA may submit multiple entries in each award category.
3. Nomination entry form and all supporting materials must be submitted by **March 1, 2004**.

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Submit this form along with all supporting documentation by March 1, 2004 to:

APPA Award Nominations
American Probation and Parole Association
P.O. Box 11910
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Questions concerning APPA Awards may be directed to Karen Fuller at (859) 244-8196 or kfuller@csg.org.



Parole Violations

An Important Window on Offender Reentry

BY PEGGY B. BURKE

Synopsis

The flood of prisoners reentering the community from prison is garnering the interest of policymakers nationwide. Successful reintegration of these offenders is important for community safety and stability. Much of the emphasis on reentry to date has been placed upon establishing community supports. A key tool for monitoring offenders-and connecting them with such resources-is parole supervision, which has received relatively little attention. Indeed, one of the measures of successful reintegration is the ability of offenders to complete their period of parole supervision without being returned to prison for new crimes. Another key hurdle is to avoid return to prison for technical violations of parole. Unfortunately, national statistics indicate that both the number and the proportion of admissions to prison as a result of technical parole violations have been increasing dramatically. This article reports on the lessons emerging from work funded by the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) in recent years that has supported the efforts of individual states to assess and develop strategies in response to increasing prison admissions for technical violations. The experience highlights the importance of conducting a careful analysis of the factors influencing such admissions before developing a change strategy. Another key lesson is the importance of involving a collaborative policy team in both chartering and utilizing the analysis. States involved in the NIC work have settled upon diverse change strategies, reflecting the insights gained through careful documentation and "mapping" of their previous violation policies and practices. Perhaps most important is that offenders' successful completion of parole supervision is becoming recognized as a key goal for parole supervision agencies.

The Significance of Reentry

As it enters the first decade of a new century, the field of corrections is on the cusp of a major reexamination of offender reentry. The sentencing reform movement that spawned "truth-in-sentencing," mandatory penalties, and an ever-escalating reliance on incapacitation, has created in its wake dramatic prison population growth. This has contributed to a largely unrecognized corollary: an unprecedented number of ex-offenders who are returning to communities having served their time. All too frequently, they are reentering society ill-equipped, ill-prepared, and with only a modicum of support to make this transition successfully.¹

In 2002, it was estimated that over 600,000 individuals would "...leave state and federal prisons, about 1,600 a day, four times as many as left prison twenty-five years ago."² The impact upon supervision agencies, upon communities where concentrations of these offenders will return, and upon social service agencies who provide the kinds of resources needed by these offenders will be enormous.³ If a significant proportion of these offenders return to crime, the stakes in terms of victimization will be extremely high. In addition, if a large number of these offenders are returned to prison-for new crimes or for technical violations of parole-the impact upon already strained state prison capacity will be enormous.

Significant efforts are being focused upon the reentry population, particularly on the barriers that exist for them in terms of lack of jobs, housing, mental health services and on the deficits that plague returning offenders in terms of skills, substance abuse, and family support. Some federal funding has been made available for services for offenders. However, there has been relatively little attention paid to parole-both the release process and subsequent supervision-as a vehicle for supporting successful reentry and transition to the community.

Return to Prison for Technical Violations

If recent trends continue, we can, indeed, expect that a significant and growing percentage of these offenders will be returned to prison for technical

violations of parole. The distribution of offenders being admitted to state prisons has changed rather dramatically over the last two decades. In 1980 more than 80 percent of admissions to state prison were as a result of new court commitments and fewer than 20 percent were a result of parole violations.⁴ In 1999, new court commitments accounted for only 60 percent of admissions and 35 percent were a result of violations of parole. A study of prisoners released in 1994 revealed that within 3 years, just over 26 percent were returned to prison for technical violations.⁵ California provides an extreme example with almost two-thirds of admissions to prison in 1999 a result of technical violations.⁶ Other states are seeing similar trends. In 1999, Louisiana reported 53 percent, Utah reported 55 percent, and Hawaii reported 49 percent of admissions to prison as a result of parole violations.⁷ Given these figures it is clear that a serious focus upon offender reentry must include a careful consideration of technical violations of parole-how to prevent them and how effectively to respond to those technical violations that occur.

Implications of Technical Violation Revocations

The statistics about the volume of technical parole violators returning to prison, are noteworthy because of the huge numbers involved and because the trend has moved sharply upward in recent years. They claim a major investment of public dollars, one that certainly warrants scrutiny in an environment of state budgetary shortfalls. The question to be answered: Is the use of correctional resources for technical parole violators an effective one? If not, how can that be changed, and to what end? This is clearly an important question in terms of public safety and public resources. Of course, an examination of return to prison as a result of new crime is also a worthy question. However, the focus of this discussion will be on technical violations, both because they are growing in number, and because preliminary experience suggests that significant innovations can be made in this arena to enhance the likelihood of successful completion of parole. This promises improvements in public safety as well as cost savings.

A central contention of this article is that policy makers cannot afford to base their strategy regarding technical parole violations on mere assumption or conjecture. In fact, the forces that contribute to this situation are extremely complex and warrant careful data collection and analysis before a strategy can be designed to assist policy makers to achieve their desired outcomes. In service of achieving these ends, close collaboration between policy makers and researchers is required in order to generate a clear understanding of problems and potential solutions.

The national data on increasing numbers of offenders reentering communities and on increasing admissions to prison as a result of technical violations certainly cast a spotlight on the significance of both trends. They do not, of themselves, shed much light on the implications of these trends or what responses might be appropriate. A recent review of the status of parole suggests, that the national trends obscure "...a substantial amount of variation in policy and practice among the 50 states... Clearly the states have embarked on a wide variety of experiments in their parole policies, with significant costs and benefits."⁸

The National Institute of Corrections Initiative on Parole Violations

Recognizing the importance of the violation issue to state parole, probation, and corrections agencies, the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) has funded a series of national technical assistance efforts over the last 15 years focused upon policy-driven responses to parole and probation violations.⁹ Over the last two years, NIC has been focusing in particular on technical parole violations, responding to an interest in the field on violations and reentry issues. The assistance has encouraged participating states to

Parole Violations

engage in a process that involves formation of multi-agency policy teams to guide the effort, clarification of goals and objectives, careful attention to documenting and understanding current practice, and development and implementation of strategies for desired changes. This investment is now generating important lessons about reentry, providing a window on experience within specific states that is not adequately reflected in national trend data. This experience:

- Clarifies the complex issues embedded in the violation and revocation picture,
- Provides valuable lessons about how states can undertake a refinement of their practice, and
- Points to promising innovations.
- This experience also highlights the importance of violations as a window on the larger reentry picture.

The NIC Approach

In the most recent round of technical assistance, interested states were asked to form an interagency policy team, co-chaired by the head of the state corrections agency and the state parole board. This partnership is essential. Preparation for reentry into the community is now understood to begin at admission to prison. All of the assessments and program activities of the offender during the period of incarceration are relevant for timing of release, setting of release conditions, establishing a transition plan, and case management during parole supervision. In addition, in most states parole supervision is the responsibility of the state corrections department, making leadership from that agency even more essential.

Team members were to be drawn from among all stakeholder groups that had some interest in the violations process-law enforcement, supervision agency staff, service providers, and the like. Each state was asked to submit a proposal confirming the support of key stakeholders and providing a commitment of their own time and resources to be devoted to the effort. Nineteen states applied to participate; resources were available to work with four states.

Having been selected for the project and formed these policy teams, states were then supported in a series of activities including : a) development of a shared vision and mission for violation practices that fit within the agency's overarching mission; b) careful examination of current violation practices including a review of policies and procedures, a mapping of current practice, and a quantitative analysis of a sample of offenders under supervision; c) an analysis of where current practice fell short of the agency's vision and mission; and d) development of a change strategy to bring practice into line with agency vision and mission.

Technical Violations of Parole and an Agency's Response Are Complicated and Poorly-Understood

For all of the reasons articulated above, the return of offenders to prison for technical violations is a concern. But the forces driving these returns are complex and difficult to assess. The mechanisms for such return-failure of the offender to comply with some condition of parole, along with the combined actions of a parole supervision agency and of a paroling authority-involve the actions of multiple stakeholders, with a complex set of procedural requirements, and with typically very little policy guidance or oversight. Data systems usually include only summary data on this set of

Exhibit 1: Highlights Among Participating States (2001)

	GEORGIA	KANSAS	NEW JERSEY	RHODE IS.
State Population	8.2 million	2.7 million	8.4 million	1.0 million
Square Miles	58,000	82,000	7,000	2,000
Population per Square Mile	141	33	1,134	1,003
Prison ADP	46,525	8,482	23,432	2,526
Incarceration Rate	540	317	331	252
Parole ADP	21,306	3,999	12,462	581
No. of Parole Officers	411	96	401	10
Prison Admissions	16,788	5,923	13,499	3,462
Percent Tech Parole Revocations	5.7%	45%	30%	3%
No. Tech Parole Revocations	963	2,654	4,072	107
UCR Index Rate per 100K population	4,571	4,408	3,160	3,476

activities. This process might be likened to the proverbial "black box" with supervised offenders going in the front end of the box, and incarcerated offenders coming out the back end of the box. What really happens? Because this complex set of factors varies so much from state to state, no state or agency can assume that it understands exactly what issues are critical to reentry in general, or to shaping good policy and practice on technical violations. Instead, good information gathering and analysis must provide a basis for reshaping practice. Each state will have to answer that question for itself, through sound collaborative data collection and analysis.

The four most recent participants in NIC's work on the violation issue are the states of Georgia, Kansas, New Jersey and Rhode Island. The diversity across even these four states provides some indication of why the exploration of violation issues must begin with a careful assembly of information about the specific state and agency. Exhibit 1: Highlights of Participating States illustrates some of the differences among these four states along some very basic dimensions. Even at first blush, one could assume that handling violations among a parole population of 21,000 with more than 400 parole officers would be different than the challenge of handling violations among 580 offenders with ten parole officers. In addition, two of the states involved in this effort handle parole supervision through the department of corrections (Kansas and Rhode Island). In the other two states, supervision of parolees falls directly under the purview of the parole board (Georgia and New Jersey). The length of time on supervision varies greatly from state to state, and in one state there is specific legislation limiting the amount of time that any parolee can serve in prison as a result of a revocation. This variety underscores the importance of exploring in some detail the factors influencing return to prison rates and their impact, before developing strategies for change. The discussion that follows will return to this theme of complexity and diversity. Not only is this issue difficult because of the diversity among states, we will also learn that practices within any given state are quite complicated and difficult to assess.

Challenges to Documenting Current Practice Are Significant

Lack of quantitative data

It is not uncommon to begin exploring technical violations in a supervision agency and find that only the most rudimentary data are available—perhaps the number of violation hearings held, or the number of revocations in the course of a year. A simple question, such as, "What proportion of technical violators are revoked to prison?" is often beyond the ability of an agency's management information system to answer. The implication, of course, is that practice is not being informed by routine feedback of information about the process.

Lack of clear policy

One might well ask, "What criteria are used to decide when a technical violator should be returned to prison?" Until recently, the major attention focused on violations has been to meet the dictates of case law regarding the due process rights of offenders. Because a parolee is at liberty—even though conditional liberty—the courts have ruled that offenders may not be deprived of said liberty without certain due process protections. These have

to do primarily with notice, presentation of evidence, examination of witnesses, and so forth.¹⁰ These are primarily geared toward establishing the fact of a violation. Therefore, agency policy and procedure will likely address steps necessary to issue a warrant, notice to an offender of the charges against him, the timing of a two-stage hearing process, and so forth. Much less attention has been placed upon the appropriate disposition when a violation is established—and even less upon when a technical violation should even be brought into the formal revocation process. An individual parole officer may be able to tell you what his or her norms are, or what a particular supervisor expects, in handling violations. But, there is often little written guidance about when to initiate a formal petition for revocation from an agency perspective. The policy manual may state that a formal revocation action be initiated when there has been a "violation in a significant respect" or when violations have been "serious and persistent." With parole officers located across the state, numbering in the dozens or hundreds, one parole officer's "violation in a significant respect" may look quite different from another's.

One Approach to Understanding Technical Violations

Given the gaps in information and policy outlined above, the NIC technical assistance effort has developed a set of activities designed to develop a clear understanding of current practice that is credible to the policy team charged with improving practice. The activities fall into three areas: assembly and review of existing policy and other guidance, mapping the violations process, and conducting a quantitative analysis of the process. Once the four states participating in the most recent NIC technical assistance project had assembled their multi-agency policy teams, they began their analytic efforts by examining their own practices from a variety of perspectives.

First, all of the agency's policies and procedures regarding supervision and the handling of violations were assembled for careful review. Second, the violation process was mapped. A graphic representation of the process was created, highlighting key decision points, possible outcomes at each point, key decisionmakers, time lapses between these points, and the information available at each. Third, a sample of cases representing the population of offenders entering supervision during a particular time period was selected. A number of key variables were collected on each, including instances of technical violations, whether the violations were handled informally or formally, and what the outcome was.

Assembling existing policy and procedure

This may seem like a relatively straightforward task. It involves reviewing all of the written material within an agency—or across agencies—that provides guidance as to the purposes of handling violations, what the appropriate responses are, and how agency personnel from line officers to supervisors, to hearing officers, to parole board members are expected to handle violations. All policy and procedural manuals should be reviewed. However, other sources of guidance such as job descriptions, employee performance review protocols, case book review protocols, training curricula, and so forth help to paint a picture of the expectations communicated to staff about violations. Once this has been assembled and assessed, it is possible to begin asking whether the current guidance is complete, clear

Parole Violations

and supportive of the agency's vision and mission. Remedying any shortcomings will become part of a change strategy.

Mapping the violation process¹¹

This task creates a flow-chart that describes the activities and decisions which are set in motion when an offender fails to comply with some condition of supervision. Exhibit 2: Map of an Illustrative Parole, Violation and Revocation Process is typical of an interim product of a mapping exercise. A quick look at the exhibit gives a sense of the complexity of moving through the formal revocation process. This map would then be supplemented with more detail regarding the information available at each stage in the process, along with typical time lapses along the way. Once the map is complete and fully supported with this additional information (and the quantitative information discussed below) it begins to provide insight into where the opportunities might be to influence and shape the process. For instance, the map, when completed, should be very specific about what options are available to the line parole officer, to the officer and supervisor together, and what options are available only by going through a formal revocation process. Although many individuals have a hand in some step of the process, virtually no one has a good overview of the entire process. A map such as this typically creates a new, comprehensive understanding of current practice.

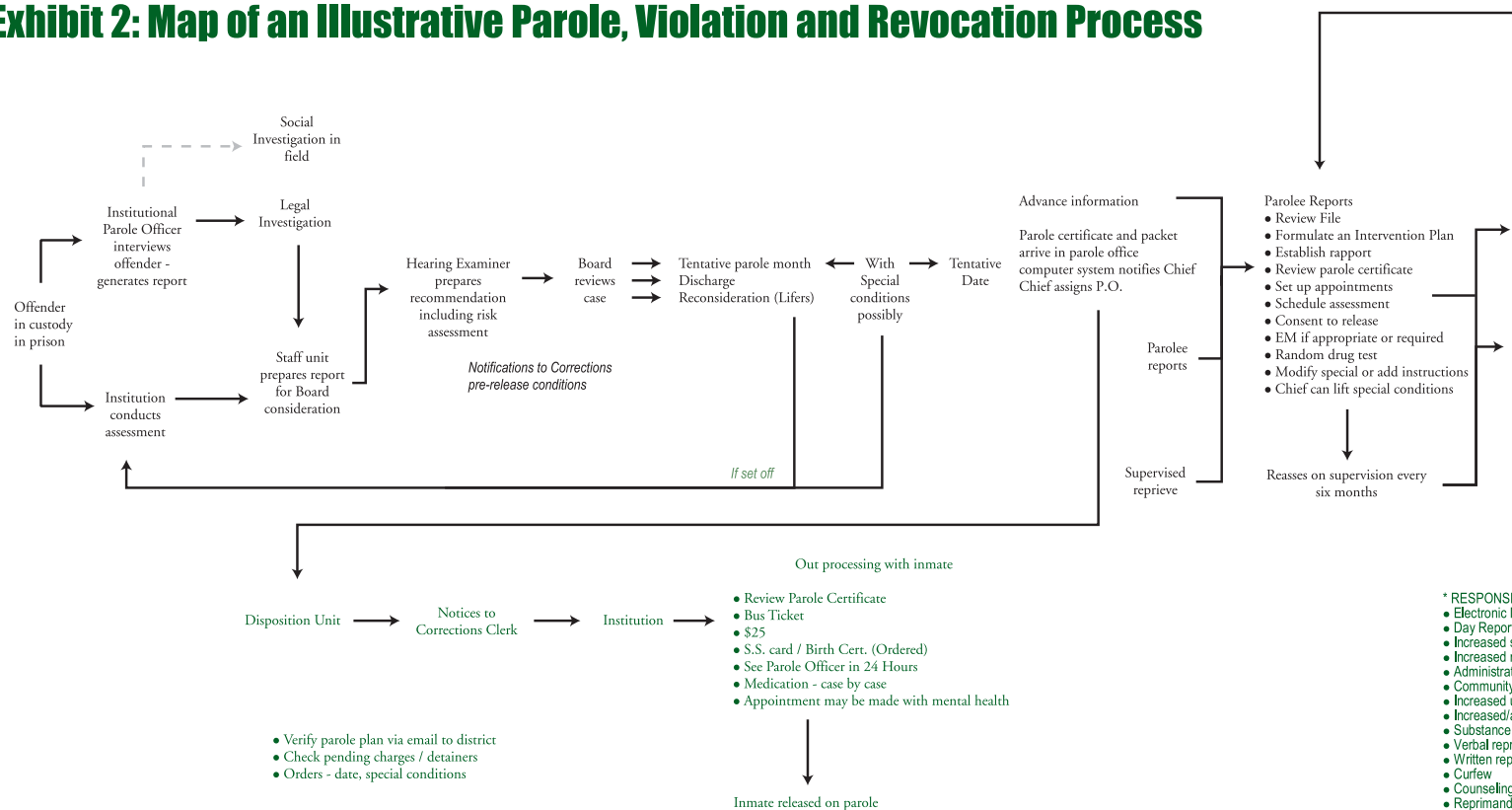
Creating such a map requires the input of individuals who know each

aspect of the process. The mapping is best undertaken as a group activity, working and re-working until the entire process is accurately depicted. NIC has encouraged the policy team – or a sub-committee of the policy team including individuals who know each part of the process – to create this map collaboratively. Mapping the violation process is an important part of documenting current practice, both because of the product it creates – a visual depiction of the process – and because of the shared experience of creating the map. Every jurisdiction that has gone through this process has discovered something about the violation process that had previously been poorly understood or unknown. Participants in the process typically develop an appreciation for their colleagues who are responsible for other parts of the process. In addition, because the map has been developed based on the expertise of a wide variety of individuals working together, it has credibility that a product developed in isolation by one or two individuals would not have. Having a clear picture of the entire process, the policy team can then begin to explore whether this current practice is contributing toward achieving the team's vision and mission.

Quantitative analysis

Once a map has been developed of the process, the next step is to attach quantitative information. What proportion of cases under supervision will come into the process, for what types of reasons? How many are handled with intermediate outcomes? How many go on to final hearings and to

Exhibit 2: Map of an Illustrative Parole, Violation and Revocation Process



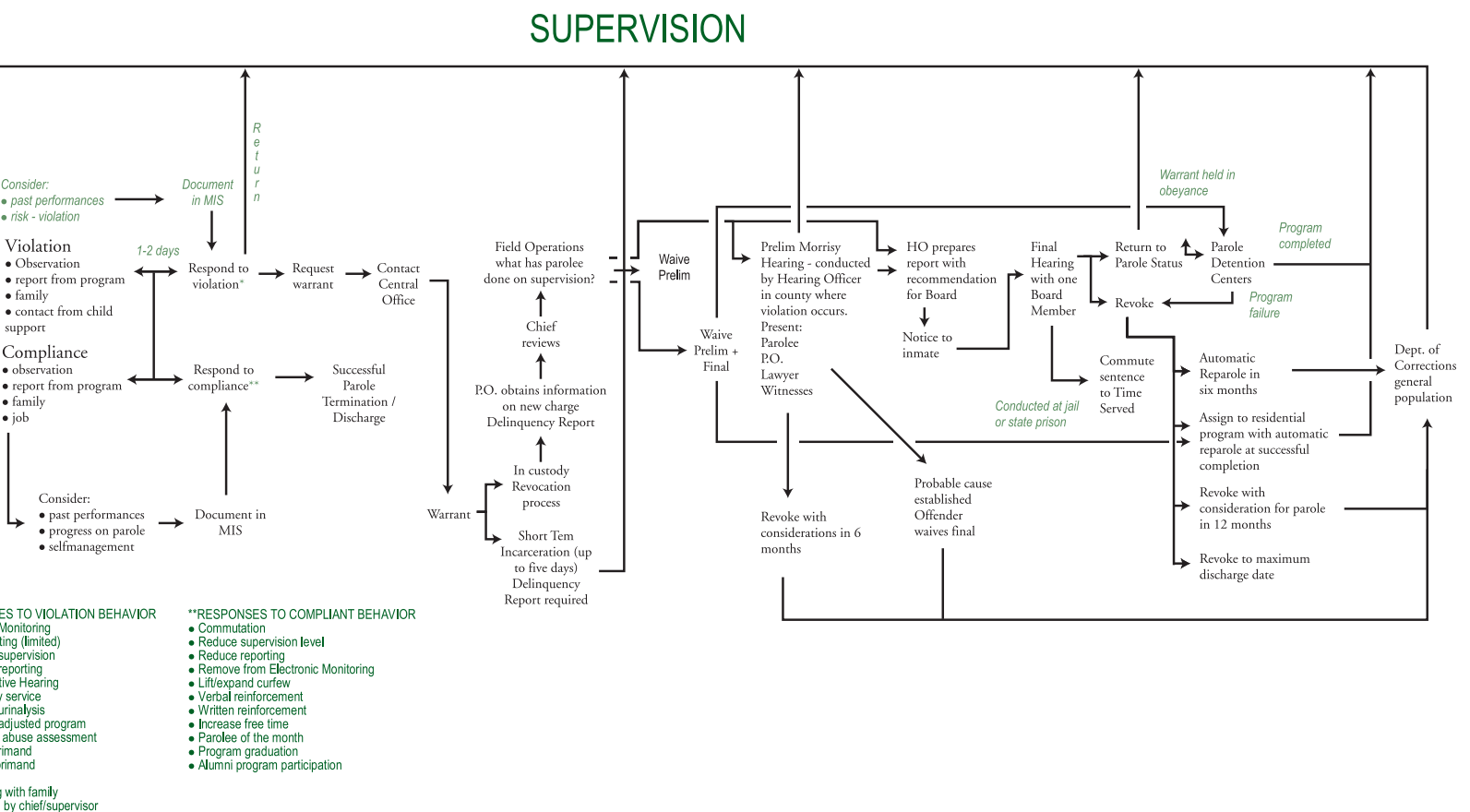
The states who have worked with NIC during its most recent round of technical assistance drew a sample from among all offenders admitted to supervision during a specific time period, tracking them for a year. A wide range of variables was assembled on these offenders, ranging from basic socio-economic characteristics, to criminal history, to performance while on supervision. Among the three states that were able to assemble such a data base, there were a number of interesting findings.

After these three phases of analysis have been completed, the teams reconvened to consider a more informed and complete understanding of how the violation process was really working. At this point, the teams began to grapple with strategies for making the process more effective and efficient.

Agencies who have made the effort to gather basic data about their supervision population, the types of violations most often observed, and how their policy and practice responds to this have identified promising opportunities for change. A careful look at the evidence can dispel myths and illuminate the discussion among policy makers about possible choices.

Violation behavior is normative

In the states that were able to conduct a quantitative analysis, approximately 75 percent of all offenders on supervision who were part of the study had notations in their files about non-compliance with some condition of supervision. Technical violations appear to be extremely common, without regard to the particular supervision strategy employed



Parole Violations

by the agency. Whatever policy or approach is developed to respond to violations, one cannot assume that the violator is the exception.

Responses of agencies to technical violations - particularly around the use of intermediate responses - varied widely

In particular, the data collection focused on whether or not - once a technical violation was noted - a violation was handled by filing a formal violation report (and initiating the formal revocation process), or whether some informal disposition was undertaken. These informal dispositions might have included referrals to services, increases in supervision levels, intensifying reporting requirements, changing treatment strategies, and the like. They are considered informal because they were handled without bringing the case into a formal violation process.

The variation among states was dramatic. In at least one state, the supervision agency initiated formal revocation proceedings against 60 percent of individuals in the sample. In another state, the supervision agency initiated formal revocation proceedings against only 15 percent of those in the sample. Even in the presence of very similar rates of technical violations, state practices vary widely. In essence the states took very different approaches in responding to technical violations, even though the incidence of violations was high in each state.

Another variation among the states had to do with the outcomes of formal revocation proceedings. Even where the rates of formal revocation processing were similar, the outcomes of this processing varied markedly. For instance, in one state, virtually every parolee brought back into the formal revocation process was revoked to prison. In another state, only about half were revoked to prison, with the other half being returned to supervision.

These observations are based on the quantitative analysis conducted as part of the NIC technical assistance. An attempt was made to construct representative samples of those on supervision - or to examine the entire universe for a given time period. The effort met with some difficulties and fell short of providing complete information. However, the clear differences that emerged among the states suggest that despite high rates of technical violations, agencies do have choices about how to respond. States have taken very different strategies with this population. The observation to be made, then, is that there ARE choices to be made. The rate of return to prison for technical violations is not simply a product of parolee behavior, but the product of complicated choices made by agencies, either deliberately or by default.

Agencies concluded that risk assessment is a valuable tool in choosing appropriate responses to technical violations of parole

As agencies examined their parolee population and their own practices, a question emerged. Did their practice tend to return to prison those offenders who presented more risk to the community? Unfortunately, the data available to the states did not enable them to answer that question. However, one clear area of consensus emerged. When deciding how to respond to violations of parole, risk should be an important consideration. Severity and repetitiveness of violations should be considered, of course. But clearly, the likelihood that a violator will reoffend if he or she is allowed

to remain in the community has to be an important consideration as to whether or not to revoke to prison. The agencies involved in the NIC work have all identified this as a key issue and have taken steps to incorporate sound, empirically-based risk assessment procedures into their routine handling of violations. Risk assessments will also be helpful in targeting resources to higher risk offenders who can be managed in the community.

Enormous discretion exists at the line officer level

Agencies have typically not been explicit about what they expect of a line parole officer. Given increasing case loads, concerns about community safety, a surveillance mind-set that has become common in community supervision agencies, and concerns about liability, there are significant pressures for parole officers to rely upon revocation as a safe response to technical violations. Unless an agency supports the use of intermediate responses to violations through clear policy, the use of validated risk assessments as part of considering a technical violation, the identification of intermediate responses as appropriate, and training to equip officers in this arena, line parole officers may find the use of revocation the most sensible response to technical violations.

Resource implications go beyond prison space

One clear concern about technical violations and revocations is that returns to prison claim scarce prison capacity that might best be used for offenders who represent a clear risk to the community. However, the process of mapping violations practices has identified other implications. The other resources claimed by the formal revocation process often go unnoted. For instance, many technical violators who go through the formal revocation process are detained in local jails awaiting disposition of a revocation petition. The sample map of the violation process included above gives some sense of the length and complexity of the process - all of it demanding the time and attention of line parole officers, supervisors, hearing officers, parole board members and others. To the degree that some of these technical violators may be able to be handled with informal, problem-solving responses, the system may conserve resources that could be redirected to precisely those problem-solving responses.

A Focus On Responding To Violations Leads Very Quickly To The Broader Issues Of Supervision And About What We Are Really Trying To Accomplish With Offenders Released On Supervision

The four states participating in NIC's technical assistance project each held inter-disciplinary, policy-team retreats to begin the effort. During those separate retreats, each team was asked to envision a preferred future. What was their vision for parole supervision and the transition from prison to the community in the future? Every single team concluded that its vision of the future included an approach to supervision that would encourage and support successful completion of parole supervision. If a parolee succeeds, then everyone wins - the community, potential victims, the offender, the offender's family, and the criminal justice system. When they began discussing how policy regarding technical violations might support such a goal, they began by discussing the possibility of intermediate sanctions

or punishments for violations. Perhaps changing the conditions of supervision, imposing a curfew, or requiring more frequent urine screening might be used in lieu of a petition to revoke to prison. However, as these teams began discussing the implications of the research on effective correctional interventions, they began to focus on how to respond to technical violations with problem-solving responses rather than simply intermediate punishments.

One state with a significant commitment to results-driven supervision began exploring how their violation practices could fit more closely with that philosophy. They began to focus even more clearly on the lessons from research and how they could prevent technical violations and encourage even more successful performance on parole. They began to focus on creating incentives and positive recognition of accomplishments on parole. They are proposing shortening the standard conditions of supervision and articulating even more clearly what they expect of parole officers in supporting parolee success.

Several of the states are working on developing a clear violation policy that spells out for line officers their options to respond to technical violations based upon both risk presented by the offender and severity of the violations. One state is engaged in an effort to redesign how parole officer performance will be evaluated, including evaluating how well parole officers respond to technical violations. One state is training its parole officers state-wide on the use of a risk and needs assessment as part of improving responses to parole violations.

All of the states have begun to look outward to other agencies that provide the kinds of services and support that will encourage success on parole. They are identifying place-based initiatives in specific communities where parole officers can refer parolees for employment services, drug abuse treatment, housing services and the like. They are realizing that collaborations within the criminal justice system are essential, but that reaching out beyond the system is also an important part of a change strategy to increase success for parolees.

Clearly, once the violation process has been mapped and analyzed, agencies are finding promising ways to marshal their resources to support successful reentry-by redefining their goals and the expectations they set for their own staff, AND by forming collaborative initiatives with other stakeholders.

Conclusions

Experiences from the National Institute of Corrections technical assistance project for states on "Developing Policy-Driven Responses to Violations of Parole" yield a number of important perspectives that will be helpful as others address the challenges presented by reentry. First, any serious consideration of reentry must include a clear focus upon the issue of technical violations of parole and how agencies can best respond to them. Second, a collaborative policy team involving leadership from key stakeholders must commit to lead the effort to improve violation practices. Third, the team's work must be grounded in good descriptive and quantitative analysis of current practice. This is no easy task since the violation process is complex and poorly documented. However, conducting good analysis that has the confidence of key policymakers is a pre-requisite for

creating sensible change strategies. With something as complex as offender reentry - and how technical violations fit into the picture - policy makers should not jump to solutions until they have adequately defined the problem. This requires a careful examination of current practice. Good analysis can be done on a modest scale, using internal resources to help improve policy and practice. Each of the jurisdictions participating in the NIC effort made important discoveries as they conducted their analysis. Sometimes those discoveries confirmed what they had hoped, and encouraged them to continue on a path of change they had set as an earlier goal. In other instances, the analysis opened up new areas for innovation and improvement.

Fourth, beginning with a focus on technical violations inevitably leads to broader questions of the purposes of supervision and how to achieve the team's vision and mission. The experience of these four states clearly leads in the direction of successful completion of parole as a central mission of parole supervision, including responses to violations. This seems to fit well with the broader conversation going on in the field concerning offender reentry. Hopefully, the work being carried out in the states on re-inventing violations responses will become an element of broader and successful reentry initiatives.

Endnotes

¹Edward E. Rhine. "Revisiting Reentry Again for the First Time," *Corrections Management Quarterly*, Volume 5, Issue 3, Summer 2001, p. v.

²Jeremy Travis and Sarah Lawrence. *Beyond the Prison Gates: The State of Parole in America*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 2002, p. 1.

³Joan Petersilia. "When Prisoners Return to the Community: Political, Economic, and Social Consequences." *Sentencing and Corrections: Issues for the 21st Century-Papers from the Executive Sessions on Sentencing and Corrections*. (November 2000) No. 9. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, pp. 1-7.

⁴*Trends in State Parole, 1990-2000*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, October 2001, p.13.

⁵*Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, June 2002, p.1.

⁶Jeremy Travis and Sarah Lawrence. *California's Parole Experiment*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, August 2002, p. 5.

⁷*Trends in State Parole, 1990-2000*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, October 2001, p.13.

⁸Travis and Lawrence, Op. cit., p. 1.

⁹Peggy B. Burke. *Policy-Driven Responses to Probation and Parole Violations*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections, 1997 and Madeline M. Carter (ed.). *Responding to Parole and Probation Violations: A Handbook to Guide Local Policy Development*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections, 2000. These two documents provide summaries of the earlier NIC efforts. The Center for Effective Public Policy, through a series of grants and cooperative agreements with NIC, has administered this series of technical assistance projects.

¹⁰*Morrissey v. Brewer*, 408 U.S. 471 (1972)

¹¹A more complete description and suggestions for conducting a mapping are included in Chapter 4, page 3, *Responding to Parole and Probation Violations: A Handbook to Guide Local Policy Development*. Madeline M. Carter (ed.). Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections, 2000. □

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Encouraging Students to Pursue Careers in Community Corrections

Based upon my six years of teaching experience in criminal justice it is apparent that many undergraduate criminal justice students are not fully aware of the career opportunities in probation and parole. I have found that they are not usually aware of all the functions and roles of a probation or parole officer, nor are they aware of how to apply for these positions. Therefore, I have made it part of my responsibilities as an educator to make students more aware of the career opportunities in the areas of community corrections. This can only increase the professionalism of these positions.

Probation and parole have become increasingly more professional career opportunities in the past ten years. Almost all states require applicants to possess a four-year degree in either criminal justice or a related discipline. An increasing number of applicants possess master's degrees, and a significant number, once hired, pursue advanced degrees.

One of my goals as a former probation officer, and now educator, is to make students more aware of the positions, functions and career opportunities available in community corrections. I do not believe that probation and parole have marketed themselves effectively in the past.

I would like to share with the readers some of the techniques

and methods I utilize in my classes to heighten the awareness of students for these positions. I believe these methods can help students aspiring to enter these fields. In addition, agency personnel can also benefit. The agency can use the student to take on a project they may not have had time to address. I believe these methods, utilized over a period of time, will increase and enrich the pool of students seeking positions in probation and parole. In addition, prospective employees will be much more informed about these important and challenging career opportunities.

There are a number of techniques the educator can implement in his/her criminal justice courses to increase the students knowledge and awareness of community corrections careers:

Internships

At Seton Hall University, we offer a three-credit course "Community Experience." This is an elective which provides a semester-long internship opportunity. Most of these internship opportunities are non-paid, although some are. The student may select their own criminal justice agency with approval of the professor, or the professor will assist them in securing a placement. They must work eight hours a week at that selected agency for a total of 120 hours. The host agency must offer a pre-career opportunity and correlate it to college level skills. During this time, the student must maintain a journal describing the duties and skills utilized each day they work at the site. In addition, the student must complete a term paper describing the agency, its historical development, organizational structure (formal and informal), and major agency functions; as well as the skills and knowledge gained, and any impact on the student's career choice.

The site supervisor must complete an evaluation of the student's performance during the tenure of the internship. This can be a win-win experience for both the student and the agency. The student gains first-hand knowledge and experience in a specific agency. The agency is given the opportunity to showcase their agency to potential applicants.

I have referred students to probation and parole agencies for the experience of seeing what the practitioner actually does as compared to the theoretical or literature reviews. A number of these students have secured positions in probation and parole as a result of their community experience course.

Service Learning

Service learning is less extensive and can be incorporated in many criminal justice courses. It involves the student completing 25 hours of service to a criminal or juvenile justice agency.

In my Juvenile Delinquency class, I offer service learning as an alternative to a 15-page paper. Similar to community experience, it provides the student with a mini exposure to a certain component of



BY JOHN M. PAITAKES, PH.D

criminal justice. For example, students have worked with probation departments in their intake units, with juvenile probation officers as a ride along, and with the family court staff. Similar to community experience, they are required to submit a short term paper and are evaluated by agency staff.

This is an excellent experience for both the student and the agency employer. This experience can lead to a community experience for credit course or open up a career field for students taking advantage of this experience. The employer gets the opportunity to market their agency.

Volunteering

Volunteering in a probation or parole agency is another means for a student to gain knowledge about the field they may be interested in pursuing. I encourage students who may not be able to complete 120 hours of an internship, or are not in a class that offers service learning, to simply volunteer. They are advised to make an appointment with the agency director or supervisor and indicate that they would like to find out more about the function and role of a probation or parole officer position. At this interview, the student and agency representative should agree on a mutually acceptable schedule and time frame (i.e., 3 months, 4 months, etc.). This alternative benefits both student and agency. It broadens the student's perception of the work done by the agency and can improve the public image of the agency for a very small cost. In addition, the agency may be able to have the student take on a project that they just never had enough time to address (i.e., some type of research project).

Guest Speakers

As a former probation officer and currently an alternate parole board member, I believe it is very important to integrate the theoretical and the practical aspects of criminal justice for optimum student learning. For example, texts relating to community corrections will describe the roles, functions and duties of a probation or parole officer, which are generally quite thoroughly presented. However, to enhance the information provided, it is very informative to invite a practitioner such as a chief probation officer or a parole officer to a class to describe their respective duties and functions. Students should be given the opportunity to question and discuss issues with these practitioners. I have found representatives from agencies are usually more than willing and quite enthusiastic about speaking to a college class regarding their positions and agencies. This also is a win-win for both students and agencies. Students learn first-hand from the agency personnel about the field. Employers are given the opportunity to showcase their agency and also expand the pool of applicants.

Career Center

The vast majority of colleges and universities have a career center. Their overall goals are to inform and present some of the

numerous job opportunities for students. In addition, many will offer a variety of assessments to assist students in career decisions. They will also assist students in seeking placements for internships, and dependent on their staff and resources, engage in other functions assisting students in career decision making.

We are very fortunate at Seton Hall University to have a comprehensive service oriented career center staffed by highly motivated and resourceful personnel. I work very closely with their staff in helping to plan career fairs for criminal justice students, always making sure to include representatives of probation and parole and also making sure to have representatives from the three major components of the criminal justice system, law enforcement, courts, and corrections.

In addition, my faculty colleagues and I work closely with career center staff sharing information on agencies providing internships, hiring and new positions created. Our career center offers a variety of workshops addressing resume writing, interviewing techniques, testing and a number of other job-related preparation issues.

Conclusion

One of my purposes of preparing this article was to share some of the methods I utilize to present information on community corrections careers to our future generation of employees. Having recently completed 35 years in community corrections, I reflected how meaningful and significant this career choice has been for me. In addition to being very interesting, challenging and meaningful work, it also provides society with a significant humanitarian contribution by helping to reshape people's lives. Therefore, I felt it was important to share the methods I use to enhance and further professionalize community corrections.

The techniques I have described are of benefit to both personnel contemplating careers in community corrections and to current agency personnel. I have discussed several methods that prospective employees and students can utilize to learn more about and network with professionals in the field. Agency personnel can benefit by creating additional opportunities for positive public experiences for their agencies. This is always welcomed, especially in probation and parole. In addition, using students of criminal justice as interns and assigning special projects as part of their internships can be beneficial to the agency and ultimately, the student. The agency can assign a research project, which they haven't had time in the past to complete, to the student intern. The agency gains the data and the student enhances his/her research abilities.

Creative techniques and methods utilized by educators in cooperation with community corrections agencies can only enhance probation and parole in the future.

Notes

(For further information regarding any of these methods or other information presented in this article, Dr. John Paitakes may be contacted at Seton Hall University, Dept. of Criminal Justice, 400 South Orange Avenue, South Orange, NJ 07079, (973) 275-5886, or e-mail at Paitakjo@shu.edu) □

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LESSONS LEARNED

About Supervising Domestic Violence Offenders on Probation

Before retiring as Chief Probation Officer from Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1998, my mid-sized (24 officers) department was preoccupied with developing a program of specialized caseloads to supervise an increasing number of men convicted of domestic violence, mostly for assault and battery charges and violations of restraining orders. Both of these are misdemeanor offenses in Massachusetts, punishable by up to two-and-one-half years in the county jail. Probated sentences for these offenders are usually between one and two years.

When our agency began looking at these cases in the mid-1980s, we naively calculated we had about 40 domestic violence offenders in our overall caseload of several thousand. One intrepid officer agreed to handle all of them. Of course, with better intake and increasing arrests and prosecution for domestic violence, by the time I left the department, a half dozen probation officers supervised more than 400 domestic violence probationers.

There were several issues we tackled with varying degrees of success. In the hope that our experiences may be of help to others, following is a brief synopsis of what we found to be key issues and how we dealt with them.

Specialized Caseloads

Domestic violence offenders present unique challenges for probation supervision. We decided to concentrate these probationers in specialized caseloads with probation officers who were interested in domestic violence, pursued special training, and developed expertise in supervising these offenders. Not all probation officers are keen on, nor are they especially suited for, supervising domestic violence probationers. Some officers did, nevertheless, volunteer for these caseloads.

Domestic violence offenders are good at presenting themselves as victims, and probation officers must be wary of being manipulated.

BY ANDREW KLEIN

Often, these probationers come from abusive families and have had unfortunate experiences, but officers cannot allow themselves to be derailed from their primary goals of promoting victim safety and holding probationers accountable for their behavior. Domestic violence behavior also evokes personal issues for some officers, either because they were victimized or were abusive themselves. We had to be watchful that probation officers did not knowingly or inadvertently collude with domestic violence probationers and thereby justify criminal behavior or place victims at greater risk.

Besides promoting safety for the victims, there are also safety concerns for officers with this population. Domestic violence probationers can be intimidating, using tactics such as physical intimidation and threats to sue everyone. At least one of our female officers was stalked by her probationer who was on probation — for stalking. He was good at it, too, as she had recently moved out of the county and was not in the phone book.

All of these issues require that probation officers have special training and expertise to supervise domestic violence offenders. Inevitably, however, issues of unfairness in workload arose, as domestic violence caseloads are often much more involved and time consuming than other caseloads, and they can produce a high burnout rate as well. We also learned that no matter how hard we struggled to achieve an optimal caseload size, we had to accommodate the number of probationers assigned to the caseloads. We learned to move on to issues over which we had some control.

An unanticipated problem of specialized caseloads is that serious domestic violence cases often are assigned to nondomestic violence caseloads. The offenders may come to probation as drunk driving, drug, pet or child abuse, or even property crime cases. A New Mexico domestic homicide fatality study found that the second most common charge against men who murdered their partners, after a charge of domestic violence, was drunk driving. In other Massachusetts courts, as reported by the media, probationers on active supervision committed at least three domestic homicides. Only one of these offenders was being supervised specifically for domestic violence. The others were on probation for animal cruelty and a sexual assault on a stranger. We learned that all officers, not just those supervising the specialized caseloads, had to be trained to recognize and respond to domestic violence.

BATTERER INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

When we started, batterer programs were called “batterer treatment.” The name has changed but not the role confusion. It took us a long time to figure out how we should relate to the increasing percentage of probationers ordered into various 40-hour batterer programs certified by the state’s department of public health.

What we learned is that these programs serve a vital function, but it may not be the function most people think the programs play. They usually do not stop domestic violence offenders from battering. Often, brighter, sociopathic probationers do well in these programs,

parroting back perfectly what they are supposed to say. Some even perfect their non-violent abuse. We had probationers earnestly report that, thanks to the program, they did not have to abuse their victims physically to get their way.

What the programs do, if probation pays attention and is backed up by prosecutors and the court, is cull out the overtly noncompliant probationers — those who do not enroll or attend the program, are disruptive, or refuse to participate. While determining the treatment effect of batterer programs remains problematic, the research generally concurs that failure in batterer programs is a very good predictor of subsequent reabuse. Therefore, by taking immediate action against the program failures, probation has a chance to act before new abuse occurs. That is no small accomplishment.

ALCOHOL AND OTHER SUBSTANCE ABUSE

We learned not to get entangled in the argument of whether alcohol and drugs cause domestic abuse. By the time these offenders reach probation caseloads, our job is to keep them sober. They are simply too dangerous to be allowed to drink and use drugs. We imposed conditions of abstinence on almost all domestic violence cases. Our weekly random substance abuse testing program found that abusers tested positive the same percentage of time as our repeat drunk drivers and drug addicts who were also tested weekly. A little over 50 percent of tests were positive, including no-shows that were treated as positives.

An unintended but welcomed consequence of the conditions for abstinence was that it proved very helpful in prosecuting probation violations without relying on the victim’s testimony. For example, we would get calls from victims who reported new abuse, were fearful of calling police or testifying in court, but wanted protection. The probation officer would ask them if the probationer had been drinking or using drugs. Often, the answer was yes. We would then call the probationer in for a test, and most often the test would be positive for use. We could then bring him back to court for revocation without having to pressure the victim or ask her to endanger herself by testifying. Of course, our success depended upon judges understanding the importance of enforcing abstinence in these cases. Another benefit was that when probationers complained that they could not afford to pay family support or treatment fees, we reminded them of how much money we saved them in alcohol and drug costs.

DEALING WITH VICTIMS

One reason not all probation officers are suited for or eager to supervise these cases is the necessary involvement with and responsibility to victims. To promote victim safety, probation officers have to know who victims are and contact them regularly. If the probationer has moved on to a new relationship, new intimate partners should be identified also. Probation has a duty to warn the next partner. We know from a Massachusetts probation study of abusers who had restraining orders taken out against them that 25 percent

had up to six subsequent orders taken out against them by as many different victims in as many subsequent years. We were lucky. We learned about and quickly adopted a great probation condition from Lane County Parole and Probation in Eugene, Oregon, called Intimate Partner Disclosure. It requires probationers to inform us of all new partners and to inform their new partners about why they are on probation.

There is no substitute for direct victim/partner contact by probation officers. We learned that most victims are not engaged in a specific victim services program (and often do not want to be), although we encouraged such involvement. Police and prosecution-based victim advocates ended their involvement when the cases were tried and disposed. The probation officer then, by default, became a primary resource for the victim.

Some victims wanted only minimal contact because they felt things were fine or they had successfully left the probationer. Others were hostile. Still others exhibited many needs, were very afraid, and wanted significant intervention services. We added several victim liaisons to our probation staff to be more responsive to victims, to help them understand that probation supervision and batterer programs did not guarantee their and their children's safety, to offer referrals and support, and to inform them of court outcomes, conditions of probation, and probation activities.

The importance of periodic contact to check in on victims cannot be overemphasized. All victim contacts must be recorded, because probation needs to be able to document its actions with victims. We informed victims that as officers of the court we could not withhold information from the court (and what was said in court could be heard by the defendant). Victims did not seem deterred from communicating with us. We had a much higher rate of victim participation in revocation hearings around charges of new abuse than the prosecutor did. Of course, probation hearings are probably less intimidating for victims.

ENFORCEMENT

We came to expect that the majority of domestic violence probationers would return to court for technical violations or new abuse. One reason for the quantity of violation hearings was that we learned it was crucial to respond to new abuse, even if it did not result in arrest and criminal charges or had not yet been tried in court. We brought cases forward for violation hearings based on victim reports, new restraining orders issued in our court or any other court, and new arrests for anything. We also learned that by responding aggressively to missed or positive drug tests and failure to attend or participate in batterer programs, we could get the court to jail probationers or impose other conditions necessary to protect victims before, not after, new abuse occurred. (In Massachusetts, probation officers present violation cases directly to the court. The prosecutor does not have to be involved in these hearings.)

In fact, we learned that revocation hearings themselves were an integral part of the supervision process, not an indication of probation department failure. They were at least as important as batterer program participation for getting probationers' attention and holding them accountable.

We had so many revocation hearings that we got the court to designate a specific session once a week just for probation hearings. The special session had an unintended consequence that proved extremely helpful. The same judge tended to preside at that session, which resulted in predictable, consistent responses to domestic violence probationers. Judges who began presiding over the special sessions with little knowledge or experience rapidly developed expertise in domestic violence issues.

Having three dozen cases for revocation hearings each week, we learned to place first on the docket the two or three cases we were pretty sure were going to be revoked. Seeing these revocations had a positive effect on subsequent probationers who became increasingly interested in working

out their cases before they were called before the judge. Appropriate use of revocations helped us promote victim safety and offender accountability by enforcing conditions of probation, giving victims a period of safety and respite, and confining dangerous offenders who pose serious risks to their victims.

WARRANT SERVICE

Increasing the number of revocation hearings also multiplied significantly the number of probation warrants. Although police made initial efforts to serve these warrants, most probationers were not apprehended until they were arrested again, usually for a new act of domestic violence. To protect victims, we created a partnership with police. Police agreed to assign the domestic violence warrants priority for service, and we placed these warrants in colored envelopes to keep them readily visible. We also conducted regular joint warrant sweeps. Police gave us bulletproof vests; we gave them vital intelligence about where the probationers were likely to be.

We obtained cooperation from the local daily newspaper to run pictures of the "most wanted" probation violators every week or so. Twenty-five percent of the violators turned themselves in after their pictures were printed. In many cases, the partners, who had been afraid to call before the pictures were published, gave us information about probationers' whereabouts. In other cases, tips from the community helped us locate the offenders. All told, we had an apprehension rate greater than 80 percent.

CONCLUSIONS

All in all, our most difficult challenge was not the probationers or their victims; it was getting the rest of the criminal justice system to cooperate. Despite the manifest danger posed by many domestic violence perpetrators, the criminal justice system insisted on treating them as simple misdemeanants by repeatedly placing them on an underfunded probation system. However, the greatest benefit of supervising a domestic violence caseload was the gratitude of victims who told us we saved their lives or how their children's nightmares were less frequent. □

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Community Corrections' Response to Domestic Violence: Guidelines for Practice

A project of the American Probation and Parole Association

Community corrections programs (probation, parole and in some jurisdictions, pretrial supervision) are now confronted with supervising intimate partner domestic violence offenders who rarely were designated as needing special supervision services in the past. The Violence Against Women Act (and subsequent legislation) promotes improved responses to domestic violence cases by law enforcement, prosecutors, courts and victims' services. Arrest, prosecution and sentencing of domestic violence offenders are crucial in deterring future violence. Nevertheless, victims often experience violence after offenders are charged and sentenced. Despite the risk of ongoing violence these offenders pose to their victims, most domestic violence perpetrators are released on community supervision either in lieu of or following periods of incarceration. Widespread use of batterer intervention programs has proven insufficient to deter further abuse by intimate partner domestic violence offenders in the community without concurrent criminal justice monitoring and effective responses for noncompliance. The risk of violence may increase if community corrections agencies do not monitor the offender in a way that promotes victim safety and offender accountability. Therefore, community corrections staff play a vital role in advancing victim and community protection goals.

Community corrections professionals who work with intimate partner domestic violence offenders usually report that these are among their most complex and challenging cases. The unique and difficult aspects of these cases mandate that they be supervised in ways that vary from usual community supervision. In recent years, some community corrections agencies have developed excellent protocols for supervising domestic violence offenders. However, federal and state statutes, courts and agency practices often are not rigorous enough to promote supervision of these offenders that effectively fosters victim safety. Appropriate sentencing, effective judicial oversight and vigorous supervision of domestic violence offenders on community supervision must become components of a

Some facts *about*

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Intimate partner violence is a pervasive social problem in the United States. An estimated 11 percent of all victims of violent crime in 2001 were victims of intimate partner violence (Rennison, 2002). In 1996, a study estimated that nearly 15 percent of men and women had experienced intimate partner violence sometime during their lives (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Intimate partner violence affects all ages, ethnic groups and socioeconomic classes.

Both in frequency and severity, intimate partner violence is primarily, but not exclusively, a crime committed by men against their female partners. Women experience more violence, are more likely to be injured by the violence, and also are more likely to be the victims of homicide at the hands of their intimate partners.

- Of crime victims reporting in 2001 that the perpetrator of their crime was an intimate partner, 85 percent of the victims were female and 15 percent were male (Rennison, 2003).
- Of victims who were injured during intimate partner rapes and physical assaults in 1996, 88 percent were females and 12 percent were males (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).
- Females comprised 24 percent of all victims of homicides in 2000, but they were 74 percent of the victims of intimate partner homicides (Rennison, 2003).

BY ANN H. CROWE

Some facts *about*

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Domestic violence costs victims and society billions of dollars each year (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003).

- Health-related costs of intimate partner rape, physical assault, stalking and homicide are estimated to exceed \$5.8 billion per years.
 - \$4.1 billion for direct medical and mental health care.
 - \$1.8 billion for lost productivity.
- The average loss of lifetime earnings for intimate partner homicides is \$713,000 (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003).
- Added to these costs are those for criminal justice system services, social services and costs to businesses and industries.

comprehensive response to domestic violence. To achieve a coordinated and integrated approach, those providing community supervision of offenders must have the support and tools required to render the services needed after arrest, prosecution and adjudication. The justice system needs the power of effective supervision and appropriate sanctions to promote victim safety, hold offenders accountable and compel offenders to desist from and modify their abusive behavior. While the offender is being supervised there is an opportunity – albeit for a limited time – to reduce the offender's violent, controlling and manipulative behavior, enhance victim safety, and provide the offender with tools to effect behavior change.

Each action in the entire criminal justice process, from first police contact to the offender's termination from involvement in the justice system, offers an opportunity for appropriate intervention with domestic violence offenders. The ways in which all entities interact with offenders can be leveraged to produce change in these cases. Community corrections agencies and personnel are part of a larger system, including both civil and criminal remedies as well as community-based services, that must be coordinated to achieve the goals of effective intervention. The system must include:

- appropriate law enforcement response,
- prosecution of cases,
- serious attention to and appropriate sentencing of cases by the court,
- effective supervision in the community,
- group intervention programs for offenders, and
- close work with domestic violence victim advocates.

However, each part of the system typically has functioned relatively autonomously, and accomplishing the degree of coordination needed is a difficult task. Unfortunately, community corrections agencies often have not been included in coordinated efforts to improve community responses to domestic violence, nor have they received funding proportionate to the tasks they need to undertake to supervise these cases effectively.

The primary goal of supervision in domestic violence cases is victim safety. The specific work of community corrections agencies entails holding offenders accountable for the violence they have committed and intervening to change their behavior and thinking patterns. To achieve victim safety, community corrections professionals must have appropriate interaction with victims of domestic violence, more so than with other types of cases in which involvement with victims may be minimal. Community corrections personnel must understand that, unlike victims of other types of crimes (e.g., burglary, theft or assault by strangers), domestic violence victims may have reason to be ambivalent and even fearful of cooperating with justice system professionals.

Achieving offender accountability requires creative supervision strategies and swift response to violations of supervisory conditions. In domestic violence cases, risks of reoffense, violence and lethality are usually very high. The majority of domestic violence offenders continue to use power and control to abuse their victims. Typically, community supervision alternatives are used to decrease incarceration rates and focus on offender rehabilitation. However, with domestic violence cases, supervision may require periods of incarceration to set limits on abusive behaviors. Revoking community supervision and incarcerating offenders when they violate conditions of supervision may enforce behavioral limits for offenders, give victims a period of safety and respite, and offer a rapid constraint for dangerous offenders who pose serious risks to their victims.

Since 2000, the American Probation and Parole Association (APPA), in partnership with the Pennsylvania Coalition Against Domestic Violence and the National Center for State Courts, has been working toward the development of a set of guidelines for supervising domestic violence offenders in the community. The project began with a planning period to identify jurisdictions that already were implementing promising supervision programs. This was followed by staff making site visits to several of these jurisdictions to gain firsthand knowledge of their programs. Then a Working Group composed of probation professionals and domestic violence experts was convened to assist project staff with development of the guidelines. Forty guidelines have been drafted and the Working Group has met twice to discuss, review and enhance them. Project staff members are in the process of writing a document and developing a training curriculum that supports and explicates these

guidelines. Once completed, the guidelines and training curriculum will be tested in selected jurisdictions before the guidelines and training are provided to broader audiences. There is a website at www.appa-net.org/domestic_violence that provides information and updates about the project. Moreover, a series of workshops are being presented at APPA Institutes, and occasional articles will be submitted to *Perspectives*.

The accompanying article by Andrew Klein provides an overview of some important issues related to supervision of domestic violence offenders on probation. In his experience as Chief Probation Officer in Quincy, Massachusetts, he and his staff grappled with these issues in the process of developing a nationally recognized domestic violence supervision program.

The lessons learned from the Quincy program can be helpful to other agencies implementing such programs. However, a "one size fits all" approach is not feasible. The project's Working Group has debated many issues and has concluded that often there is not a single right answer. Each jurisdiction can use the guidelines to provide direction for program development and implementation and can benefit from the experiences of other agencies that have developed proactive programs to supervise intimate partner domestic violence offenders.

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Notes

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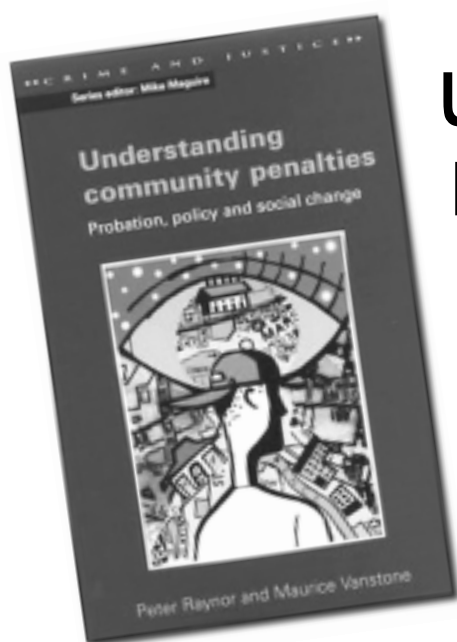
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Some facts about

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Only a fraction of actual cases of intimate partner violence are ever reported to police, and many of those cases never progress beyond initial police contact or arrest. Many domestic violence offenders are already known to the justice system because they have committed previous crimes.

- About half of victims of intimate partner violence between 1993 and 1998 reported the crimes to police (Rennison & Welchans, 2000), and the rates of reporting vary by the type of violence. Victims reported to police fewer than 20 percent of rapes, less than one-quarter of physical assaults, and half of the stalking perpetrated by intimate partners (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).
- Convicted domestic violence offenders often have prior contact with the criminal justice system. About two-thirds of state prisoners surveyed in 1991 who were serving time for intimate partner violence had a prior conviction and nearly four out of five inmates surveyed in 1995 in local jails for domestic violence had previous criminal justice involvement. Thirty-three percent of state prisoners and 58 percent of jail inmates had previous convictions for violent offenses; their previous victims were not necessarily intimate partners.
- Almost 38 percent of offenders in jail in 1995 for intimate partner violence were under justice system supervision at the time they committed their current offense (Greenfeld et al., 1998).



Understanding Community Penalties Probation, Policy and Social Change

England and Wales and to make any transfer of ideas, concepts and practices possible.

Peter Raynor, Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice in the School of International Development and Social Sciences at the University of Wales, Swansea, and Maurice Vanstone, formerly of the probation service and now a senior lecturer in the same department and university, have written a very useful volume that covers the history of probation and the development of community penalties that eventually led to the current developments in probation in England and Wales. The authors seek to answer at least four questions: What are community sanctions for? How has the theory and practice of probation supervision evolved? What impact has research and evaluation evidence had on policy and practice? Can the placing of offenders on probation or community sanctions assist them and at the same time offer the public the protection they seek?

The book published in 2002 by the Open University Press consists of eight chapters each of which are clearly outlined and contain summary conclusions and suggestions for further reading, thus making the text useful for university classroom or in-service training purposes. Chapter one provides an introduction to the general theme of "punishment in the community" and outlines clearly the structure of the book. Although the title of the book is about community penalties it is clear that the authors are really writing about the history, development and potential of probation as the deliverer of community penalties.

In the second chapter the authors discuss the "origins of community sentences" and present an interesting and informative comparison between orthodox histories of probation and revisionist accounts. Raynor and Vanstone conclude that probation is a "product of their age" and argue that "the reform movement and probation practitioners were also influenced by moral and political constructions of the nature of people and social problems." The period covered by the authors in this chapter trace the change from voluntary and charitable activities to the growth of professionalism and the rise and demise of rehabilitation as a main aim of the criminal justice system.

"Good intentions and probation practice" is the title of the third chapter and contains a review of the development of the treatment paradigm from its rise, through its demise to the recent rebirth rehabilitative programming. The chapter also covers the main practice models in community supervision and concludes that the practice of supervising people on probation has been driven largely by attempts to change individual behavior rather than the social environment where the behavior occurs. The authors conclude this chapter with the observation that probation practitioners generally founded their professional identity in the

A major preoccupation of innovative probation administrators is the search for and the implementation of an effective probation practice. Two avenues of exploration have emerged in this search. The first avenue to be traveled is the evidence-based, research informed "what works" agenda. The second road takes a broader perspective and looks to a more integrated approach to the development of an effective probation service and has been referred to as the "reinventing probation" movement. Although both of these approaches have much to contribute to probation practice the problem of implementation has yet to be overcome. Some practitioners have seen in the two approaches a divergence of practice while others have viewed the apparent differences as a tension that will need to be managed. Unfortunately, we have not had enough experience with large scale system change in the realm of probation services to enable us to derive clear practice principles that would guide us in implementing what we know would make probation practice more effective. However, we now have an opportunity to learn from the experiences in England and Wales. The restructuring or modernizing of the probation service in England and Wales has produced a learning event or real time laboratory that, if the opportunity is taken, will enable probation administrators to be more efficient in their efforts to develop a more effective probation practice.

When the unified National Probation Service for England and Wales was established in 2002 with five specific goals – namely public protection, reduction of re-offending, proper punishment of offenders, ensuring that victims of crime are involved if they so desire and provision of programs of rehabilitation for offenders that are evidenced-based – a living laboratory of probation practice was created. However, the emergence of the National Probation Service did not just happen, there was a history that needs to be made explicit in order to understand the context of the developments in

BY DONALD EVANS

ideology of social casework. However, with changes in the socio-political context about to occur in the later part of the 20th century this would change.

In chapter four, "Does anything work? The emergence of an empirical critique" Raynor and Vanstone review the various studies on probation and diversion. They also note the emergence of probation as a learning organization has been hampered by the fact that probation in response to political pressure has been reactive to the political and cultural environment rather than an independent source of ideas based on research and evaluation. It is the authors' hope that one benefit of the evidence-based approach will be a "cumulative and confident approach to learning and to the development of professional knowledge."

"Too soft on criminals? Community sentences and populist punitiveness," chapter five in the book covers the politicization of crime, the subsequent penal crisis, the redevelopment of community sanctions, and the demand for accountability in corrections. Chapter six raises the question "More punishment or more effectiveness? How some things work." For readers interested in a succinct description and analysis of research on what works in programming for offenders this is a must read.

In chapter seven, "Community penalties today" the authors provide an overview of the current approach to probation and community sentences. They discuss the new emphasis on enforcement and breach noting that the "power to enforce has become a duty." This duty however, requires they believe, an "approach to enforcement which makes a positive contribution to motivating offenders to complete programmes rather than terminating orders and risking imprisonment for relatively minor instances of non-compliance." In this chapter there is a discussion of the aims of the British government for the criminal justice system. One of the aims is to develop an evidence-based approach to policy and programming but the authors remind us that "evidence-based policy is a two-way street: further evidence may or may not support particular details of current policy, and not all our expectations about likely results will be fulfilled." Raynor and Vanstone also address the issue of community safety and community justice and reference the Reinventing Probation Council's broken windows model of probation. The chapter also contains discussions of the emergence of restorative justice and the reliance on risk/need assessments in community supervision. They conclude this chapter by noting that it may be that we still have something to learn from or salvage from the discipline of social work.

The final chapter discusses the possible future of community sentences and by extension probation. They write about the development of a rational probation service. They note that a "constructive, measured and evidence-based criminal justice policy requires not only political will but also political courage; moreover it require politicians who are prepared to confront the public with the moral and pragmatic arguments against imprisonment and for constructive community sentencing." Therefore, they conclude that the success of evidence-based criminal justice policy might lie in connecting it to public protection.

Raynor and Vanstone end the book with this final observation, "community sentences" and by extension probation, "at their best represent


an attempt to cope effectively with crime and disorder by using methods which rely on communication, persuasion, influence, training and positive assistance, with limited coercive powers in reserve and relatively seldom used." In this book the authors are definitely pro community sanctions and positive about the role probation can play in the administration of these sanctions. Some critics will find them too positive about the role of community penalties and maybe even a bit utopian in their perspective. However, given the marginalization of probation within the criminal justice system it is not surprising that two former probation officers would take such a stance.

The value in this book for North American readers is in the historical and socio-political context it recounts thus giving the necessary background to understand current developments in probation in England and Wales. I appreciate their optimism about community sanctions but am afraid that they give too much credence to the possibility of a rational response by politicians to evidence-based policy development. I found this an informative, clearly written defense of community approaches to public safety and recommend it to anyone interested in knowing how far the "what works" agenda and the community justice movement have progressed.

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Community Justice as Public Safety

For more than two decades, policymaking in the justice system has been dominated by a narrowly drawn paradigm of public safety. The dominant public safety ethic emphasizes three aspects of social control: *public* controls operating in *adversarial* contexts resulting in the *separation* of offending citizens from their localities. The use of the criminal justice system in this fashion is a kind of second-nature solution for American policy makers. We are accustomed to thinking of the public safety problem as a contest between the good guys and the bad guys, in which agents of the state try to penalize guilty citizens as severely as the law will allow. It seems to be assumed that if the state can use the criminal law as a tool for removing as many offenders as possible for as long as possible, public safety will follow. In suit, the popular “broken windows” concept argues that disorder and its familiar indignities, such as graffiti and rubbish, left unattended, make people and places feel unsafe, and lead, through a series of responses, to crime (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Aggressive police practices inspired by this renewed theory of action in criminal justice stress community safety through selective construction of public safety problems, amplification of deviance, and a new managerialism in crime prevention planning.

While this is a popular view of the public safety problem, it is not the only possible view. A contrasting approach would be to rely more upon private and parochial controls operating within problem-solving contexts resulting in more effective integration of targeted citizens into their localities. This contrasting view has been referred to as community justice.

The ideal of community justice has emerged recently as an alternative view of justice (Clear & Karp, 1998). As an amalgam of concepts as diverse as community policing and restorative justice, community justice has enjoyed popularity among justice professionals and drawn the attention of researchers. Because the idea is so new – and because a number of different concepts are embraced under its umbrella – there is misunderstanding about what community justice consists of, as an ideal. Many who have expressed an interest in the term might do so because it seems to stand as an alternative to the traditional, contemporary justice model. Because the latter is so closely tied to the pursuit of public safety, some will naturally conclude that community justice places a reduced priority on achieving community safety.

This view of community justice is wrong in two respects. First, it fails to recognize that community justice approaches the idea of public safety

BY TODD R. CLEAR AND CHRISTINA PRATT

differently than does traditional justice models. Second, in part because the public safety strategies of community justice are different than traditional criminal justice, community justice seeks to achieve a qualitatively different brand of public safety.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the public safety focus of the community justice ideal. The best way to do this is to contrast the community justice strategy of public safety with that of traditional criminal justice, providing a critique of each. The discussion will show that community justice, far from indifferent to public safety, approaches it with a coherent philosophy and foundation of safe community and a grounded strategy for building the capacity of community as a safe place. The critical assessment of community justice as public safety will also show that the approach is not without its problems, though these are different in several major respects from the traditional alternative with which it is contrasted. Even taking these cautions into account, it will be clear from the discussion below that the community justice ideal, far from indifferent to public safety, constitutes a well defined alternative view of the public safety agenda.

The primary distinction: a different operational level of focus

The most important distinction between community justice and traditional criminal justice is operational. Criminal justice is a centralized bureaucracy, with a jurisdictional focus that varies depending upon the agency in question. The smallest jurisdictional unit of criminal justice is the municipality, but many agencies such as prisons and state police operate at much larger levels of jurisdiction. The tendency of jurisdictional agencies is to standardize their operations by applying established criteria for discretionary decisions, despite variations among the locations within the jurisdiction. The top-down professionalization of crime control tends to incapacitate community self-governance; safety initiatives at the grassroots level are thereby undermined through relationships marked by dependency. For the most part, citizens have little role in traditional justice activity. The few citizens who participate as advisors to jurisdictionally designated justice agencies are usually prominent civilians who represent broad constituencies that are political and economic rather than geographic.

Community justice, by contrast, operates at the level of the cogent neighborhood. Place-based community has multiple definitions but uniformly refers to a set of relationships that are cultural and economic in addition to geographically marked. Outside the formal criminal justice system, it is at the neighborhood level where groups are most likely to organize around the issue of crime and safety. The laws guiding community justice practice are those of the state and municipal governments that enable the agencies' existence, but the discretionary practices are distinctly those derived from accountability to neighborhood citizenry. The expectation is that different neighborhoods will embrace differing public safety priorities, and so the justice agencies charged with public safety will take divergent strategies to fit those local priorities. The local operational focus also opens the door to a different form of influential citizen participation, through advisors whose reference group is geographic to the neighborhood as much as it political and economic to interests outside the local area.

Critique

The operational boundaries in criminal justice are political, and thus they are arbitrary as far as public safety goes. Vastly different public safety concerns are brought together under a single umbrella. This is certainly true for state justice agencies, which have to deal with dramatic differences between large and small places — compare, for example, the job of being a Florida probation officer in Live Oak and Miami. This diversity can be just

as true for large cities; Chicago police must provide services in South Side and the Gold Coast. People who live in places this dissimilar will testify to the stupendous differences they encounter with regard to their personal safety.

That is because crime — especially everyday crime — is exceedingly a local phenomenon. Crimes tend to concentrate in certain areas on the street map. While national news stories may color peoples' perceptions of their safety, events that occur close to home change behavior and beliefs in more appreciable ways. The local impact of crime is most easily understood by comparing what a rational person's safety feels like to a person who lives near the blocks of West Palm Beach, Florida, where drug trade takes over some of the streets at night, to the areas across the Intercoastal Waterway where Rose Kennedy built one of her vacation houses. The fact that in the former neighborhoods, residents have far less capacity to move away to safer environments and do not have access to guardians when they leave their residences means that the localized significance of crime is even more highlighted for them.

It would seem obvious that effective and relevant policing of these two localities, literally within yards of one another, requires a willingness to take into account the vast differences in objective levels of public safety. This is one of the central ideas behind the community policing movement which has served as a springboard to the idea of community justice. Police have developed a strategic interest in varying their operational priorities in order to confront the particular, local, public safety problems. But what is true for community policing may be equally true for courts and correctional services. As these agencies shift their operational focus to the neighborhood level, they move to replace the standardized, inflexible practices of the broad criminal justice jurisdiction with a more flexible, local alternative. They also begin to look more like community justice in the way they approach their tasks.

A neighborhood operational focus brings with it a different set of problems. The most significant is involves resources: high-crime areas are typically under-resourced with justice services, compared to less troubled areas. If the former are to confront their crime problems, then they will require subsidy investments from other areas that need fewer public safety resources. The problem is that these less needy areas generate more *per capita* revenues for justice services. A socially just form of community justice can only occur when the most troubled areas are not left to fend fiscally for themselves.

Community justice, under advice from local residents of the neighborhood, also runs risk of becoming too identified with local perspectives. Public safety problems in high crime areas are so pronounced that it takes the ordinary protections of the U.S. Constitution to constrain overly zealous police work in community justice areas. But police are not solely concerned with public safety. Community policing embraces the importance of public order problems, because these are seen as linked to community quality of life, and through that to larger interests in public safety (Kelling and Coles, 1996). What happens when there is the inevitable clash between majoritarian public order standards of a community and the expressive rights of the minority? There is a troubling irony here: freeing justice resources to focus efforts more locally may result in a better fit between official action and residents' needs, but this may come at the expense of the harmony between the state and unpopular minorities within those residential areas. Observers of community justice initiatives worry about the possibilities of reconstituted versions of officially sanctioned vigilante-style intolerance. The uneasy record of sex offender notification laws justifies this concern.

Thus, the desire for public safety dictates a smaller operational focus of justice practice, and as this focus moves more to the level of the neighborhood,

it approximates the community justice ideal. In doing so, the prospect of inequities between rich and poor areas is increased, as are the temptations to disregard the rights of residents to behave differently (though legally) than their neighbors, when those neighbors object.

Public safety: Three contrasting strategies

As stated previously, the traditional justice system emphasizes three aspects of social control: *public* controls operating in *adversarial* contexts resulting in *separation* of targeted citizens from their localities. In contrast, community justice relies more upon private and parochial controls operating within problem-solving contexts resulting in more effective integration of targeted citizens into their localities. Thus, the two approaches take differing approaches to social control mechanisms, decision-making strategies, and sources of safety. Below, these three differences are discussed critically.

Mechanisms of social control

Hunter (1985) distinguishes three levels of social control: public, parochial, and private. Public controls are operated by the state, which are comprised in the main of formal institutions such as schools, social services, and the like. In terms of public safety, the primary public controls are those institutions within the criminal justice system: police, courts, and corrections. Private social controls are those who shape the behavior of their intimate associates: family members and friends. Parochial social controls include the effects of everyday neighborly relations and the way that voluntary organizations strengthen self-regulation of community life.

The traditional criminal justice system operates almost exclusively at the level of public social controls. The change agenda for criminal justice involves strengthening formal social controls capacity through increases in size, power, or efficiency. This has occurred relentlessly since the 1970s (Sourcebook 1997):

- The number of sworn police officers grew 22 percent between 1980 and 1993.
- The number of judges grew 52 percent between 1980 and 1993.
- Correctional staff grew 99 percent between 1980 and 1993.
- The number of offenders under formal supervision has grown from under 1 million in 1973 to over 5 million in 1997.
- Time served of first-time prisoners grew from 21 months in 1973 to 29 months in 1995.
- The cost of criminal justice grew 100 percent between 1975 and 1992.

This growth in formal social control is thought to trickle down to informal social control by removing problem offenders whose actions damage community life. Other than this plan for indirect, spill-over results, criminal justice makes little attempt to alter the capacity of informal social control systems at the community level.

The “broken windows” Argument

The “broken windows” argument has two basic sets of claims which may be referred to as “place” claims and “person” claims. These are mutually reinforcing ideas, since what makes places bad is the way people act in them, and what makes people inclined to act badly is the kind of places they inhabit. The “place” claim of the theory is that disorder makes public space inhospitable to people who want to be and feel safe. Fear and avoidance of public places surrenders it to deviants. Their presence further contributes to disorder, deters normalcy, and promotes more deviance. A criminogenic cycle is established.

The person claim of broken windows is that when disruptive people “get away” with little indignities, they tend to escalate their misbehavior to

ever more damaging activity. Uninterrupted misbehavior left unchecked expands and escalates. The Broken Windows remedy flows from these two propositions. Establish and maintain order in places, so that the general public feels comfortable and safe in those places. Do not let people get away with minor infractions, so that they will be unable to get away with major ones (Wilson & Kelling, 1982).

By contrast, community justice seeks to work on informal social control systems directly. Private social control is addressed by programs targeting non-offenders as well as the traditional case-processing approaches. Community justice initiatives work with those whose lives are affected by (and who may reciprocally influence) the actions of offenders: victims, family and friends. Structured victim-offender interactions can overcome the alienation both parties often feel as a result of the formal justice system (Bazemore, 1997). Programs for families of drug-involved offenders, such as New York City’s La Bodega (Shapiro, 1997) are designed to strengthen the resources of offender’s families in particular, high-problem neighborhoods.

Community justice also seeks to strengthen parochial controls. A neighborhood justice center may operate a literacy program for any residents who care to enroll, as happens in Maricopa County, Arizona (Maricopa County Probation, 1998). Or, as in Vermont, citizen involvement on Reparative Boards (Perry and Gorzcyk, 1997) can lead to a greater integration of justice services with the general citizenry.

Critique

Comparing the approaches of criminal justice to community justice is essentially to compare the prospects of negative and positive social controls. There are limits to the capacity of negative controls through the criminal justice system. The most obvious of these is financial. Every public revenue dollar devoted to criminal justice is a dollar that cannot be spent on the other forms of the social control infrastructure: schools, economic growth, welfare, and so forth. In this way, the growth of the formal system of control comes at the expense of competing priorities. In California, since the 1980s, the reduction in public investment in higher education has paralleled the growth in expenditure on the corrections system.

There is limited research on the effectiveness of the Broken Windows idea. In one of the few direct studies, Wesley Skogan (1990) documented that in certain neighborhoods in Chicago disorder and decline opened the door to more crime. And certainly the relationship between disorder, disorderly people, and crime, seems plausible enough. Yet we can not know whether it is “broken windows” that causes crime or some other factor. We know, for example, that criminogenic factors such as poverty, urban decay, and social disorganization not only cause crime, but also seem to lead to disorder.

Those who have looked closely at the numbers and practices contributing to the recent drop in crime in New York City say that the “broken windows” concept at best played but a small role in locations where it has received the most credit. Andrew Karmen (2000) concludes that a host of factors explains the drop in murders in New York City, and that aggressive policing played a role, but only a small one. Eli Silverman (2000) credits the crime drop to determined managerial controls at the highest levels of NYPD administration over street enforcement of zero-tolerance.

Moreover, it is the moral rhetoric of the “broken windows” approach to the notion of community safety that is marked by increasing intolerance that appears to outstrip empirical support for the idea (Clear, 2001). Only one study by Sampson, et al (1998) systematically measures the relationship between “broken windows” type disorder and crime and finds evidence that disorder seems to be associated with robbery, but other types of crime

– burglary, assault, and drug offenses – are associated with poverty rather than with disorder, per se. So long as these studies are so equivocal, scholars remain uneasy given the limited empirical support for the idea.

While increases in criminal justice are thought to have immediate impact upon public safety, investments in other public sector goods such as schools and health care are seen as having a more attenuated relationship to public safety. Recent research on what has been termed “collective efficacy” (Earls and Visser, 1997) underscores how important the impact of informal social controls can be for safer streets. This is little more than common sense: most people, if asked what one change would most reduce crime, would talk about private social control sources such as family life and early child development, or parochial efforts to reduce disorder. If increases in formal social control systems reduce the public investment in these other priorities, the result may be a long-term opportunity cost borne in order to derive the short-term gain through the criminal justice system’s increased strength and scope. The professionalization of crime control, in this light, negatively impacts the capacity for community self-governance and links deterioration of community life to over-reliance on policing, agency coercion, and fear mechanisms. Neighborhoods atrophy and the health of the community suffers when the justice process neglects severed relationships. In terms of social capital – the accumulated skills, knowledge, and networks of a given community – traditional criminal justice approaches to public safety, rather than promoting collective participation in harm reduction, have tended to sever social bonds and deplete precarious social capital in search of retribution. Under this crime control model, the collective capacity for civic action is compromised.

Kay Pranis (1996) emphasizes the relationship between public safety and social capital as a measure of the number and strength of relationships in a given community. Drawing people together for collective action around an issue of shared concern builds social capital and collective efficacy through increased interaction, communication, and capacity building. This is how communities “do justice” at the grassroots level. Yet it is not easy to affect capacities of informal social control. Private controls, in particular the family, are most strengthened through intensive efforts toward family behavior change (see e.g., Elliot, 1998, on multi-systemic family therapy), and these programs are expensive to maintain. A general strategy toward parochial social controls is to mobilize community efforts, but this is a difficult task in those communities that already suffer the greatest deficits in social capital. Attempts to change community life through organizing strategies have had a problematic track record (Sherman, et. al., 1998). Even the widely recognized and supported move toward community policing, a community justice strategy that attempts to create partnerships with community members who live in high crime areas, has lacked a firm empirical foundation.

Community justice thus offers an alternative view of public safety funding priorities to that of the traditional criminal justice system. The latter seeks increased funding for criminal justice agencies. In contrast, the community justice approach is to build informal social control by increasing citizen participation in crime prevention activities and providing support for at-risk citizens so that they may avoid involvement in criminal activity. Each strategy faces real-world barriers in achieving public safety. The barriers encountered by traditional justice are that the primary sources of criminality – the failure of front-line, informal social control systems, such as the family, and criminal justice – have little to do with the aims of these forms of control. The difficulty encountered by community justice strategies lies in the seeming intransigence of faulty informal social control systems it targets for change.

Decision-making strategies

The traditional approach to public safety is based on adversarial

processes. At the most extreme, advocates of the traditional justice system even adopt the rhetoric of war, with images of we vs. they and appeals to see the criminal as the enemy. In the adversarial model, accused people have rights to resist the power of the state. Once they are convicted of a crime, however, the state may impose injurious sanctions to demonstrate the wrongfulness of the conduct. The main justifications of the adversarial model are practical and symbolic. The practical argument is that the power of the state so outweighs that of the typical citizen, that certain rights are required to balance the scales of justice. This raises an image of a wrongfully accused offender standing up to the awesome countenance of the state. The symbolic argument for an adversarial model is that blaming and condemning are appropriate responses to wrongdoers. The symbolic rituals of the accusatory process, it is said, vindicate the community that has been wronged by the criminal act.

Community justice, on the other hand, is a problem-solving process. Crime is approached in terms of its implications for quality of life, rather than its moral wrongfulness. Community-oriented police attempt to understand the structural, repetitive processes that reproduce the particular patterns of crime in particular localities, and then they try to solve them. Community courts try to give voice to local standards of conduct, just as they serve those locations as places where local residents may come to resolve problems. Community corrections, under a community justice model, provides assistance to victims in overcoming problems caused by the crime, but also supports are provided to the offender who seeks to solve the problems that led to the crime. Where local systems facilitate communication, community capacity is built. A sense of relatedness develops, community gains voice, authority, and vitality to act on its own behalf. Building problem solving capacity is a democratic activity that influences conflict management and community justice.

Critique

In practice, what is thought of in the adversarial model as a contest between the accused and the state typically devolves into a bureaucratic ritual of cynical plea negotiations and indifferently adjudicated penalties. It is hard to see what of value is symbolized for the offender or the victim, by this process. The events in adversarial justice reinforce the monopoly the state holds on the processes of justice. The offender encounters the power of a process so exquisite that the use of rights to counter the procedural juggernaut is not very realistic, except for the very rich or very lucky. Victims learn that the procedural outcomes to the real pains of their lives will take the form of negotiated, insincere pleas of guilty. Small wonder neither party is well satisfied by the adversarial model in its operation.

The lack of satisfaction with the traditional justice process undermines the legitimacy of the state. It is as though some large-scale, expert game is underway. Victims learn that the rules of the game do not favor them, and often feel bitter as a consequence. Offenders seem to learn the wrong lesson from it all: their error was to get a bad lawyer, trust an inadequate co-defendant, or so forth – anything but the crime itself.

The penalty may also hold little in the form of the lesson intended. The general public now seems persistently unsatisfied by penalties, almost no matter how severe. If the purpose of a penalty is to restore the public sense of justice, we need not look far to see evidence that public confidence seems not to prevail. If we want offenders to reform, because they learn from the justice process how wrong they were to act criminally, then we should be disturbed by the high re-offending rates that are associated with nearly every form of sanction we impose. In today’s penal pedagogy, a lot of people are in class but nobody seems to be getting the lesson.

Citizens know this. When officials in Vermont conducted a series of focus groups to learn what people wanted to get from the justice process

(Perry and Gorczyk, 1998), the answer that emerged was not just another call for getting tougher. Citizens there wanted:

- For the offender to experience remorse
- For the offender to repay the victim and the community
- For the offender to deal with the problems that led to the crime

The Vermont officials responded by establishing citizen-run reparative boards, in which standards of conduct were established for offenders who have been found guilty of crimes.

Community justice seeks, then, to identify and solve problems. Research on restorative justice approaches points to this promising idea. Victims are provided a forum for facing the person who wronged them – when this happens, studies find that often both the victim and the offender feel a greater sense of justice, a sense of having been heard. The outcome of this approach, a plan for restitution and sanctioned risk, is accepted with greater confidence by those involved in putting it together.

There are other community justice aspects to problem solving for public safety. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) methods illustrate how a proactive process of gathering crime information and developing alternative anti-crime strategies not only differs from the reactive, case-processing approach of the adversarial model, but can have superior results as well (Taylor and Harrell, 1997). The point of any problem solving approach is to understand the factors that promote criminality – in individuals and across groups, and to overcome them.

The problem with problem-solving is that the limits of the method are not well known. Most of us can understand why a person whose car was stolen might want to confront the offender and might feel better after having spoken from the heart to the person who did the wrong, but we wonder about more serious offense, such as assault. And there are well documented reasons to avoid this kind of approach with spousal assaults, where the confrontative conference might later backfire to further harm the victim (see e.g., Immarigeon & Daly, 1998). Likewise, CPTED approaches, while they prevent crime, do not do much for the symbolic aspects of sanctioning that many people expect from their justice system. It is hard to imagine any form of problem-solving replacing the accusatory model when it comes to high-profile, serious offenders. As a proportion of all criminality, of course these offenders are rare, but as a symbol of public safety, they are emblematic of what people most fear. Community centered models fail to serve justice if either victim or offender is harmed or rights are neglected in the process. Still, the formal justice system is weak in terms of neighborhood accountability. Too often it excludes victims at the front-end while setting up risks for re-offense by impairing offenders from effective re-entry.

In the end, the two approaches propose different views of the strategies one must undertake to increase safety in the form of criminal behavior. The justice system is a reactive, case-processing model, in which the offender is seen as an adversary who must be, in a sense, conquered and exiled. The community justice version of public safety decision making is to identify problems and solve them. The best problem solving is that which occurs early in the problem situation, targets the most serious problems, includes all relevant stakeholders, and has few unanticipated consequences.

Sources of public safety

Criminal justice seeks to achieve public safety by removal (or otherwise restricting the freedom) of people who are thought to be public safety hazards. Approximately 71 percent of felons receive some time in prison or jail. Those who go to prison spend an average of 29 months there, before returning home (Brown and Langan, 1998). Sentences to prison and jail have grown more common in the last 20 years, and it is now estimated that

about 3 percent of all adults are under some form of criminal justice control (Clear and Cole, 1996). For those who are not incarcerated, the criminal justice approach seeks as much close surveillance of offenders as can be afforded, strict rules applied to their behavior, and use of the prison as a central threat to obtain compliance with the law.

Community justice attempts to strengthen the bonds between an offender and the community. This strategy need not be ignorant of the risk the offender represents. Clear and Karp (1998) have shown how a strategic concern for risk can be expanded by a community justice ethic, in which community members are a part of the risk management responsibility. Community justice recognizes that offenders can even serve as a resource to community life. Therefore, by strengthening the offender's responsible roles in community life, community justice seeks to achieve compliance with the law through its greater ability to serve the offender's self-interests.

Critique

Formal social control is not evenly distributed among sub-groups of our population. Males of color are 6 times more likely to receive a prison term during their lifetimes than white males, and an African American child born today has a 27 percent chance of going to prison at some time (Bonczar and Beck, 1997). Today, 7 percent of all African American males in their 20s, 30s and 40s are in prison or jail, and in some urban neighborhoods, this number approaches 25 percent (Lynch and Sabol, 1992, 1997).

This high rate of removal of males affects many aspects of life in those communities. Many children are without male parenting role models, most males have criminal records which make it more difficult to obtain good employment, the ubiquity of jail experiences undermines general citizen confidence in the legitimacy of the state in these locations (Rose and Clear, 1998). These very high rates of separation of residents from their communities occur within communities least capable of handling losses in human resources. The continuing growth of incarceration rates for males of color raises powerfully troubling questions about the prison as an instrument of social policy. When the disparity between the rate of incarceration of the races in the United States is greater than that of South Africa or Australia (Mauer, 1997) the question of the justness of any individual imprisonment begins to take on a lesser significance to the overall effect of the incarcerative institution itself.

But are there sufficiently strong and safe programs available to enable these offenders to remain, safely within their communities? Many of the offenses for which men of color go to prison involve drugs, and the drug trade is a dual attraction. These illicit markets provide viable sources of income in areas that are otherwise bereft of job opportunities. And drugs are a source of pleasure in a life that has few pleasures. The question faced by community justice advocates is whether they can develop alternatives for offenders that are potentially more attractive, either as sources of income or as sources of enjoyment.

Because the people now being sent to prison are uncles, brothers, and sons of some of the residents, there may be less fear of them in the high-incarceration neighborhoods than in those places where such offenders are more rare. This means that it may well be possible to obtain a degree of public support for working with the offenders in an attempt to integrate them more effectively into the community, rather than just remove them.

The expanded use of the prison has come at the cost of a wholesale increase in the formal social control in operation in minority communities. These communities send their men away for what amounts to an average of a couple of years, only to receive them back less capable of being effective residents. The net effect of most sentencing reform has been that when

these young men return to their communities, they are a little older than they might have been. Community justice offers a strategy to take a different approach, seeing these men as targets of investment and potential resources to community life.

Summary

This paper has contrasted two different visions – borrowing from Cohen (1985) – of public safety. The first is familiar: a criminal justice system seeks to achieve community safety by identifying known offenders, accusing them of crimes, and removing them from the community. The community justice alternative is proactive in its problem-solving approach, focuses on strengthening existing resources, and treats citizens as potential partners in public safety. These two contrasting ideals offer dramatically different visions for the production of public safety.

Recent consecutive years of reductions in crime have promoted a debate about the sources of this welcome change. A take-your-pick list of factors is cited, ranging from the improved economy and reduced crime-aged adult males to long-term increases in imprisonment and tougher drug laws. Almost certainly, multiple factors underlay such a profound change; equally certainly, the growth in the justice system is not the main ingredient: since 1973, the system has increased in size every year even though crime rates have decreased in about as many years as they have increased, over that time. Community safety initiatives that have been structured around “broken windows” concepts have created institutional arrangements and methods of control that push the idea of public safety toward social exclusion rather than inclusion. Zero-tolerance and confident policing perpetuate a fortress mentality that diminishes the legitimacy of criminal justice at the local level.

There is a growing sense that the productiveness of traditional criminal justice has reached a more or less natural limit, and innovative new possibilities are required if gains in public safety are to be solidified. “Good justice” maintains focus on the community as much as the individual. A dual task of reducing crime’s threats while developing communities that discourage crime is key to constructing safe spaces. Community justice offers a different vision of public safety, and if it is able to answer the questions posed above – by transforming community risk factors into capacity-building protective factors – it will prove an attractive counterpoint to the traditional justice apparatus.

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- They meet many professional licensing requirements
- They supplement attendees' resumes

APPA is currently also exploring accreditation of Institute workshops by the National Association of Alcohol and Drug Addiction Counselors and the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges.

To receive your contact hour verification letter, please mark the contact hour section on the Institute Registration Form on page 31. Please note only paid Institute registrants are eligible to receive contact hour verification. A \$10 processing fee will apply.

ACTIVITIES

At a Glance

Saturday, February 7

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.

APPA Executive Committee Meeting
Institute Registration

12:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

Sunday, February 8

8:00 a.m. - 8:00 p.m.

8:30 a.m. - 5:15 p.m.

Institute Registration
Special Training – Center for Sex Offender Management
APPA Board of Directors Meeting
Resource Expo Viewing
Opening Session
Opening Reception in the Resource Expo

1:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

6:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.

7:30 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.

Monday, February 9

7:30 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.

8:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

10:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.

11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

12:30 p.m. - 1:45 p.m.

1:45 p.m. - 3:15 p.m.

3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

5:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

Institute Registration
Plenary Session
Resource Expo
Viewing
Workshops
Lunch in the Resource Expo
Workshops
Workshops
Resource Expo Viewing
Reception in Resource Expo

Tuesday, February 10

8:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

10:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.

11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

1:45 p.m. - 3:15 p.m.

3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

Workshops
Resource Expo Viewing
Workshops
Workshops
Workshops

Wednesday, February 11

8:30 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.

9:45 a.m. - 11:15 a.m.

APPA Membership Meeting
Closing Session

Agenda is subject to change.

WORKSHOPS

At A Glance

Opening Session

Sunday, February 8, 6:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.



Craig Zablocki
Humorist and Institute Keynote
Speaker
Positively Humor "Bringing
Laughter to Life"

Lighten Up and Laugh -For the Health of It

Are you burned out? Is your LPD (Laughs per Day) average running low? Is it getting tougher and tougher to find humor in a world that is not always humorous? This keynote is guaranteed to leave you laughing while providing ways to use positive humor to promote a healthier, richer life. When we learn to laugh with others and take "humorisks" we can open ourselves up to healing and living in the moment. This keynote takes a light look at the serious implications of positive humor in everyday life and work.

As a participant you will be on an adventure. You will be inspired to see life in a different way and be moved to take action that will bring positive results both to your work and personal life.

One participant wrote that "we should try to harness his energy - it could power a small city; Craig's passion and commitment to making a difference is contagious!"

Speaker: Craig Zablocki

A nationally known speaker and consultant, Craig Zablocki has spoken internationally and in all 50 states. He has shared the platform with President George W. Bush, Tom Peters and Al Gore. He was the first outside speaker to address the student body of Columbine High School after their tragedy.

Craig presents to Fortune 500 companies, legislators, public service and healthcare professionals, college campuses, non-profit service organizations, and victim rights groups.

Plenary Session

Monday, February 9, 8:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.



George M. Keiser
Community Corrections
Division Chief
National Institute of
Corrections
U.S. Dept. of Justice

Probation and Parole Supervision: More Than Enforcement

While probation and parole officers have a statutory, if not constitutional, responsibility to enforce the orders issued by courts and releasing authorities, probation and parole supervision must be much more in order to be relevant.

The 1974 publication of Robert Martinson's essay entitled "What Works? - Questions and Answers About Prison Reform," is frequently identified as the single act that brought about the demise of offender rehabilitation and opened the door to offender enforcement. No single criminal justice publication has ever, by itself, redirected what business is to be done. The mantra, "Nothing Works," taken from Martinson's work coupled with other themes to be explored in during this plenary session did encourage a movement from behavior change to enforcement.

This presentation will look at where the field must go from 2004 forward if probation and parole is to remain relevant. What will be that "value added" for society of a relevant probation and parole supervision? That will be the focus of this presentation.

Speaker: George Keiser

George Keiser has held the position of Chief of the Community Corrections Division, National Institute of Corrections, U.S. Department of Justice for 20 years. His experience includes managing the equivalent of a public sector foundation providing consulting/training service for state and local community corrections agencies.

His 15 years experience with the Iowa Department of Corrections includes employment as a correctional officer at the maximum-security penitentiary, additional institutional experience as institutional counselor at the penitentiary and reformatory for men, case worker at psychiatric hospital, superintendent at state reformatory for women and chief of the Bureau of Correctional Institutions.

Closing Session

Wednesday, February 11, 9:45 a.m. - 11:15 a.m.



Mark Carey
APPA President-Elect and
Warden at MCF-Shakopee,
Minnesota Dept. of Corrections

Dope, Hope or the Pope: what does it take to Cope?

Recent global and local events have placed a pall over the work environment. Worldwide issues have caused us all to somberly take pause and reflect. These are not the Roaring '20s nor does it resemble the high-energy era of the '60s. We are perhaps living in unprecedented times. And, these times are reflected in our world view, how we approach life, and what we bring to the workplace.

Offenders and victims who enter the juvenile and criminal justice system are likewise affected by these worldwide events. They often come into contact with justice system personnel looking for hope. This closing presentation will take a look at the research on why hope is a necessary ingredient to better physical and mental health, and how hope should be woven into how we supervise offenders, meet victim needs, and reach out to communities. Since Hollywood movies can inspire us to think bigger, feel deeper and energize us, carefully selected film clips will be used to demonstrate how our profession can provide a potent mixture of accountability, protection, skill building, and the galvanizing of positive emotion to improve public safety and improve the lives of those we serve.

Speaker: Mark Carey

Mark Carey served as the Deputy Commissioner of Community and Juvenile Services in the Minnesota Department of Corrections from 1999 to 2003. He was the Director of Dakota County Community Corrections and prior to that the Director of Dodge, Fillmore, Olmsted County Community Corrections. He is currently the warden at the only women's prison in Shakopee, MN. He has over 20 years of experience in the correctional field serving as a counselor, probation/parole officer, planner, administrator and consultant. He taught juvenile justice at Rochester Community College, and has published over a dozen articles and two books. He is currently on the APPA's Board of Directors, voted as President-Elect.

WORKSHOPS

At A Glance

Monday, February 9

11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

Authentic Communication - Making A Difference With Yourself and Others

Criminal Street Gang Identification (Part 1)

Engaging the Community in Reentry Efforts: The Wichita Assembly

Arizona Detention Transition Project: Establishing a Model Transition Program

Drug Courts: Impacting Communities Across the Country

Evidence-Based Prevention
Programming and the OJJDP Model Programs Guide and Database

Addressing Underage Drinking Problems Through Juvenile Holdover
and Youth Court Programs

1:45 p.m. - 3:15 p.m.

Results-Driven Management in the Public Sector: An Overview

Probation Group Reporting For
Specialized Caseloads

What's a Victim To Do After the Offender Has Been Sentenced?

Criminal Street Gang Identification
(Part 2)

Criminal Justice and Faith-Based Partnerships: A Step Forward or a Step
Back?

Mental Health Assessments in Juvenile Justice Settings: Practices And
Recommendations

Community Development and High Risk Youth Mentorship

3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

Winning the Interviewing War Using Restorative and Community
Justice as a Means of Reducing Disproportionate Minority Confinement

Working with Women Offenders Including Issues of Abuse and
Domestic Violence

Communicable Diseases: The Myths and the Realities

Successful Supervision System for the Substance Abuser

Technology Plus Management: A Springboard to a Successful Workforce

Youth with Mental Health Disorders in the Juvenile Justice System:
National Trends, Critical Issues and Emerging Responses (Part 1)

Tuesday, February 10

8:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

Creating Successful Information Systems

M-O-R-A-L-E, That Dirty, Six-Letter Word

Holistic Representation: Public Defender's Community Law Office,
Knoxville, Tennessee

Probation and Parole Board Models for Responding to the Mental Health
Needs of Youth in Contact with the Juvenile Justice System (Part 2)

Addiction to Recovery Plus Nutrition

Detecting Deception

Correctional Populations in the United States: New Findings from the
Bureau of Justice Statistics

11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

Developing and Implementing a Statewide Pretrial Risk Assessment
Instrument

Firearms Simulation Judgmental Training

Mandated Drug Treatment – Looking to the Future and Re-Evaluating
Prop 36/SACPA

Putting Victims First: An Operational and Qualitative Overview

Measuring Impact: The Report Card on Juvenile Justice

Judicial Review Hearings in Domestic Violence Cases

Assessment to Treatment - The Importance of Delinquency Theory and
Case Conceptualization

1:45 p.m. - 3:15 p.m.

Streamlining the Hiring Process: Video Simulation Pre-Employment
Testing for Juvenile Corrections

What About The Children?

Location and Tracking of Offenders Using GPS Based Systems - User
Needs and System Capabilities

Reducing Recidivism in a Therapeutic Community

Illinois - Developing a Statewide Restorative Justice Initiative

Survival Guide for Probation and Parole Officers

Evaluation 101

3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

Can it Happen in Community Corrections? Staff Sexual Misconduct
Interstate Compact for Adult Offender Supervision

Addiction is a Brain Disease - So What?

Program Evaluation Strategies: Does "What Works" Really Work?

Detention Reform -Convolution, Revolution, Evolution

Significant Issues For Adjudicated Youth Returning to Their Community

The Circle of Care as a Collaborative Community-Based Strategy to Treat
Female Adolescent Delinquency

REGISTRATION INFORMATION

Three Ways to Register!



By Mail – Registration for the APPA Institute can easily be done by mail. Just send your check, government purchase order or credit card information with your completed APPA registration form to the address shown on the form. All registrations postmarked by January 8, 2004 will be confirmed by mail.



By Fax – When payment is by credit card, you may fill out the APPA registration form and fax it to: (859) 244-8001, Attention — APPA Institute. All registrations faxed by January 8, 2004 will be confirmed by mail.



Online – Register for the APPA Institute on-line at www.appa-net.org with your credit card information. All registrations received by January 8 will be confirmed by mail.

Agency Members – How to Register for Your Membership Discount

If your agency is a current APPA agency member, you can attend the Institute at the member rate. Your agency's membership must be valid through February 2004. Registration forms must be completed for each individual, mailed to APPA as a **group** with your agency's name clearly marked on the registration forms. Agency memberships will be verified. You are required to pay the regular registration fee if your agency is not a current APPA agency member. For additional information, contact Kris Chappell at (859) 244-8204.

Payment

Payment in full for all Institute activities must accompany your registration form. Check, money order, VISA, Master Card or American Express are accepted as payment for the Institute's registration fees. Checks must be made out to the American Probation and Parole Association and payable in U.S. dollars. Payments received in Canadian dollars will be invoiced for the conversion difference plus a \$10 service fee. Registrations postmarked on January 8, 2004 or later are not eligible for the early registration fee and must include the regular registration fee. Agencies required to use a purchase order should submit the registration form with the purchase order in lieu of a check. Invoicing will be processed immediately upon receipt of the purchase order and, in all cases, payment will be due immediately.

Cancellation/Refund Policy

A full refund, less a \$50 processing fee, is available until January 8, 2004. **No refunds are available after January 8, 2004.** In order to receive a refund, written requests must be sent the APPA Institute, c/o The Council of State Governments, P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40578-1910 or faxed to (859) 244-8001. All requests for refunds must be postmarked or faxed by January 8, 2004. Registrations are not transferable.

Institute Dress

All activities of the Institute are casual dress. A sweater or light jacket is recommended for the meeting rooms that tend to vary in temperature.

LODGING INFORMATION

Lodging Reservations



APPA has secured for Institute attendees an incredibly reduced rate of \$69 single/double occupancy. There is a limited number of rooms, so we recommend you make your reservation early.

To make your lodging reservations, please use the lodging reservation form or call the Reno Hilton at (800) 648-5080. You can also make your

lodging reservations online by visiting APPA's website at www.appa-net.org. When calling by phone make sure you reference the APPA Institute in to receive these rates. Deadline to make lodging reservations is January 7.

TRANSPORTATION INFORMATION



Your Ticket of Savings!

Delta Air Lines has been selected as the 2004 Winter Training Institute official air carrier for travel into Reno. Delta is offering the following meeting discounts. To receive these discounts, contact Delta directly at (800) 241-6760 and reference **file number 200019A**. If you book your reservations through a travel agent, make sure the agent also uses the file number.

▲ Delta Air Lines Delta Meeting Discounts!

- Discount for tickets purchased more than 60 days in advance
 - 10% off non-refundable published fares
 - 15% off unrestricted coach tickets (Y06)
- Discount for tickets purchased less than 60 days in advance
 - 5% off non-refundable published fares
 - 10% off unrestricted coach tickets (Y06)
- Special Zone Fares may also be available for savings on midweek travel



Car Rental

Alamo is offering the following special car rental rates to APPA Institute attendees, available February 1-11, 2004.

Car Type	Daily Rental	Weekly Rental
Economy	\$32.00	\$159.00
Compact	\$33.00	\$169.00
Midsize	\$34.00	\$199.00
Fullsize	\$36.00	\$209.00
Convertible	\$45.00	\$229.00
Premium	\$45.00	\$229.00
Sports Utility	\$49.00	\$219.00
Luxury	\$59.00	\$289.00
Minivan	\$53.00	\$239.00

Rates are guaranteed from one week prior to through one week after the Institute dates and are subject to car availability. All Alamo rentals include unlimited free mileage. Advance reservations are recommended. Standard rental conditions and qualifications apply. Call Alamo at 1-800-732-3232 or visit Alamo's website at www.alamo.com and refer to Group ID #269736, Plan code GR.

Airport Transportation

The Reno Hilton offers complimentary shuttle service to and from the Reno-Tahoe International Airport. The shuttle picks up passengers outside Door D in the baggage claim area every half hour from 5:15 a.m. to 11:45 p.m.



Registration Form

APPA Winter Training Institute • February 8-11, 2004

Please use a photocopy of this form for each registrant. Please print clearly.

Last Name: _____ First Name: _____

Title: _____ Agency/Organization: _____

Business Telephone: _____ Business Fax: _____

Address: _____
(location where confirmation should be sent)

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Email Address: _____

Registration Fees

Includes general sessions, exhibit receptions and workshops. (All fees are per person.)	Early Rate Before Jan. 8	On or After Jan. 9	Amount
Member of APPA To qualify for this rate you must be a member of APPA Please indicate your membership category and your membership number. <input type="checkbox"/> Individual member <input type="checkbox"/> Agency member Membership # <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Expiration Date <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> - <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	\$275	\$320	\$ _____
Non-member If you are not a member of APPA you are required to pay the regular registration fee. Memberships will be verified.	\$335	\$380	\$ _____
APPA Accredited Contact Hours See page three for details.	\$10	\$10	\$ _____
Family Registration This rate is available to immediate family members not employed in the corrections field. Allows entry into general sessions, exhibit receptions and workshops. Specify Family member's name _____	\$50	\$50	\$ _____
APPA Membership One year of individual membership. <input type="checkbox"/> New Member <input type="checkbox"/> Renewal	\$50	\$50	\$ _____ 61-16-00-1000-4020
Grand Total Enclosed \$ _____ 61-16-00-2065-4401			
Is this your first attendance at the APPA Institute? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No			
Please indicate the number of years worked in Community Corrections <input type="checkbox"/> 9 or less <input type="checkbox"/> 10-24 <input type="checkbox"/> 25+ years			

Payment

☐ Check Enclosed ☐ Government Purchase Order Enclosed; PO # _____

Charge to: ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ American Express

Card Number: _____ Expiration Date: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Special Assistance

☐ Please check if you require special provisions to fully participate in this Institute. Attach a written description of needs.

Confirmation/Refund Policy

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APPA Institute
c/o The Council of State Governments
P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40578

or Fax to:

(859) 244-8001

or register online at www.appa-net.org

To better plan Institute workshops and activities, please supply us with the following information.

Job Jurisdiction

- ☐ Federal
- ☐ State
- ☐ County
- ☐ City
- ☐ Private firm/business
- ☐ Academic Institution
- ☐ Province
- ☐ Nonprofit organization
- ☐ Other _____

Primary Work Area

- ☐ Juvenile Probation & Parole
- ☐ Adult Probation & Parole
- ☐ Adult Probation
- ☐ Adult Parole
- ☐ Juvenile Probation
- ☐ Juvenile Parole/Aftercare
- ☐ Residential
- ☐ Non - Residential
- ☐ Treatment Provider
- ☐ Academia
- ☐ Other _____

Length of Experience in Corrections

- ☐ Less than 2 years ☐ 16-20 years
- ☐ 2-5 years ☐ 21-25 years
- ☐ 6-10 years ☐ More than 26 years
- ☐ 11-15 years

Highest Level of Education

- ☐ Graduate Equivalency Diploma(GED)
- ☐ High School Diploma
- ☐ Associate's Degree
- ☐ Bachelor's Degree
- ☐ Master's Degree
- ☐ Doctorate

Geographical Area

- ☐ Urban (pop. over 50,000)
- ☐ Rural (pop. under 50,000)

Gender

- ☐ Male ☐ Female

Professional Category

- ☐ Line Personnel ☐ Attorney
- ☐ Commissioner/ ☐ Educator/
- ☐ Director/Chief ☐ Researcher
- ☐ Administrator ☐ Private Sector/
- ☐ Consultant ☐ Corporate
- ☐ Trainer ☐ Retired
- ☐ Parole Board ☐ Student
- ☐ Member ☐ Other
- ☐ Judge

Race/Ethnicity

- ☐ African American ☐ Native American
- ☐ Caucasian ☐ Asian
- ☐ Hispanic ☐ Other

Mark all Expenses that are Reimbursed

- ☐ Registration ☐ Travel-Ground
- ☐ Travel-Air ☐ Meals

Mark Past Attendance at APPA Annual Institute

- ☐ First Time ☐ 7-9
- ☐ 2-4 ☐ 10 or more
- ☐ 5-6

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