PROBATION'S GROWING CASELOADS AND WORKLOAD ALLOCATION:

STRATEGIES FOR MANAGERIAL DECISION MAKING

The American Probation & Parole Association
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements……...……4

Preface……...5

Growing Workload: Evidence-Based Practices, Workload Measures, and Organizational Development…….10

Supervision Goals: Punishment and Rehabilitation are Not Mutually Exclusive……12

Growing Caseloads and Workload Allocation……..15

From Caseload to Classrooms: What is the Right Number?.....18

Probation on the Eleven O'clock News…...…….20

Evidence-Based Practice: Looking for Effective Management……...22

Evidence-Based Practices: From Shoveling Science to Better Offender Management….……..23

Death to Rehabilitation: Nothing Works!.....24

Not so Fast: Does Anything Work?.....26

Evidence-Based Practices: Bridging the Researcher-Practitioner Divide…….27

NIC-CJI Integrated Model: Evidence-Based Practices, Organizational Development, and Collaboration……...……..28

Evidence-Based Practices: What Are We Trying to Accomplish?.....30

Evidence-Based Practices: Risk, Need, and Responsivity……..…….……31

Caseload Size and Workload Allocation: Response from APPA Members……...34

Information Request: Delivery and Collection Approach……34

Information Request: Describing the Respondents……36

Community Corrections: What are Supervision Goals?.....40

Workload vs. Caseload: Decision making avenues for Community Corrections……..…44

Determining Supervision Conditions…….47

Community Corrections Practices: How long does that take?.....50

Sex offenders and other high-risk Categories……..…..51

Community Corrections: A Changing Organization……...55

References…….63

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PREFACE

Community corrections populations have experienced tremendous growth for the past two decades. The Bureau of Justice Statistics Correctional Survey (http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/glance/tables/corr2tab.htm) reveals that probation and parole populations have grown unabated since 1980. This growth has serious implications for probation and parole agencies regarding how to make caseload and workload decisions. It is important to consider differences between caseload, which is the number of offenders supervised by an officer, and workload, which is the amount of time needed to complete various tasks. Ironically, while caseload size will grow as offender populations increase, workload is a rather stagnant figure as there are only so many working hours available in each day, week, month, or year for each officer.

These issues related to workload allocation are further complicated by two additional trends in community corrections. Probation was once a place for relatively low-level offenders that posed little threat to public safety and were mostly in need of pro-social steering (Petersilia, 1998). In an attempt to alleviate jail and prison crowding, however, probation caseloads are being populated with offenders that potentially pose greater community safety threats. This is a point made by Taxman, Shephardson, and Byrne (2004: 3) in *Tools of the Trade* in which they mention that "probation roles increasingly mirror the prison population" and they go on to state that "more than half of probationers today are convicted felons." These offenders have more criminogenic needs as they may be gang members, sex offenders, or domestic violence offenders, and require more officer time to provide adequate supervision, treatment, and enforcement of conditions, and hopefully behavior change.

A second trend facing probation and parole agencies is the growth in conditions of supervision. These conditions are often instituted by non-community corrections professionals such as judges, releasing authorities, and legislation. This decision making style has the potential to foster rather standard conditions applied to offenders with little consideration of individual offender characteristics. For instance, in many jurisdictions, regardless of an offender's substance abuse history, he or she must submit to periodic drug tests. This type of sanction, while noble in its attempt to prevent drug use, may not be realistic, relevant, or based on research, something Carl Wicklund (2004) referred to as the three-Rs of community supervision. Karol Lucken (1997: 367) points out the potential unanticipated consequences resulting in increased failures of what she refers to as the "piling up of sanctions" as they expose "offenders to a number of punitive and rehabilitative controls, which often leads to violations and returns to the correctional system." That an external body—whether judge or releasing authority—has much discretion in establishing supervision conditions may not be problematic in and of itself. It becomes potentially problematic, however, when such decisions are made with little input from presentence investigation reports or risk assessments, and otherwise in isolation from research evidence supporting effective community corrections strategies.

The American Probation & Parole Association (APPA) has completed this report to offer baseline data to assist policymakers and administrators in confronting workload allocation issues. The report is not the final word in resolving workload decision making problems as caseloads and court-ordered conditions continue to escalate. Rather, this report is seen as a needed first step toward better understanding practitioner views toward workload allocation. This report provides findings from an APPA web-based information request, and benefited from a focus group of community corrections researchers, administrators, and practitioners. It is suggested that

agencies with guidance from stakeholders in their jurisdictions must establish clearly defined organizational goals and an overall strategy to achieve, evaluate, and adjust such strategies.

These goals are to be jurisdictionally appropriate and therefore rooted in local contextual conditions, not necessarily global national standards. However, it does seem to be the case that probation and parole agencies are in the business of community safety through instituting a balanced approach of surveillance, treatment, and enforcement (see Taxman et al., 2004). This tripartite focus is rooted in evidence-based practices that begin with assessing individual offender's level of risk as an indication of their probability to re-offend. It is important to note that by suggesting that community corrections is in the business of community safety that does not imply that officers are singly responsible for achieving this goal. Rather, it is recognized that probation and parole outcomes are embedded in a larger multi-organizational justice system that incorporates law enforcement, institutional corrections, and courts, and non-justice agencies including victims of crime, treatment providers, and others.

Once probation and parole agencies define a locally acceptable goal, it is important to institute a strategy to accomplish their organizational goal. This strategy, no doubt, involves incorporating the many interested stakeholders involved in the justice system process through in-depth collaboration. Through collaboration and an overall strategy aimed at public safety, former New Jersey Parole Board Chair, Mario Paparozzi (2007), suggests that probation and parole can "own their outcomes." By owning outcomes, Paparozzi is identifying the importance for probation and parole administrators to establish clearly defined goals related to public safety and the community, state these goals, and institute policies and practices to achieve such outcomes. In the event that expected outcomes do not follow, or as he put it: "If I end up on the 11 o'clock news. You know something went wrong." It is expected that from time to time things will go

wrong, offenders will re-offend, there will be high profile cases receiving much media attention to exploit the faults of probation or parole agencies. What is important, however, is for probation and parole agencies to work to diminish recidivism by utilizing scientific or "state of the art" procedures to bring about offender behavior change (Taxman et al., 2004). Judy Sachwald (2004), Director of Maryland Probation and Parole, promotes a similar argument by incorporating a model of supervision rooted in scientific exploration and knowledge of offender behavior. She suggests that probation and parole agencies should "do it, tell it, and sell it," with the "it" referring to shaping policies, operations, and professional development within agencies around scientific principles related to evidence-based practices.

There is no doubt that evidence-based practices designed to reduce risk of re-offending are infusing the community corrections field with more scientific approaches. These approaches rely on risk assessments to allow probation and parole agencies to differentiate and typologize offenders based upon their relative level of risk to re-offend. This strategy allows for addressing criminogenic needs—anti-social behavior, anti-social personality, anti-social values and attitudes, criminal peer groups, substance abuse, and dysfunctional family relations—through an integrated approach of surveillance, treatment, and enforcement. Although community corrections officers must have numerous challenges to overcome, there are few issues more central to the organization and function of probation and parole as workload allocation issues. These issues form the base from which all other supervisory functions flow. The community corrections field must work with the judiciary and releasing authorities as well as policymakers to address the effect of growing caseloads of higher-risk offenders with more imposed conditions.

GROWING WORKLOAD: EVIDENCE-BASED PRACTICES, WORKLOAD MEASURES, AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Probation and parole are responsible for approximately five of the seven million adults under correctional control (Glaze & Bonczar, 2006). The goals of corrections are varied and sometimes in conflict with each other. Some of the central correctional goals with regard to offenders in custodial and community settings include: punishment, pro-social behavioral reform, public safety, and assuring justice for victims of crime. To be sure, these goals can conflict when they are pursued simultaneously as part of an overall, or specific, correctional strategy. However, the seemingly inherent conflicts between correctional goals wane when approached strategically. The community corrections field has changed significantly from its initial focus as a way to help offenders construct pro-social lives by addressing personal and social deficits. The more contemporary view of corrections embraces strategies and services that hold offenders accountable for their criminality, provides cost-effective alternatives to incarceration, and never loses sight of the critical importance of public safety in the near and long-term (Petersilia, 2003; Rhine, Smith, Jackson, 1991).

This report is intended to provide some direction for community corrections policymakers, administrators, and line staff about workload allocation decision making. Offenders under probation and parole supervision pose a potential threat to public safety and the vitality of communities. The dramatic increases of the number of offenders under community supervision in recent years makes probation and parole officer workload allocation issues a matter of increasing concern. A traditional approach to workload issues was to conduct time analyses within individual agencies. This approach provides definite benefits, but fails to offer much guidance at the national level. For guidance at a national level a model for establishing

appropriate workload standards is needed. The ideal model would provide for operational flexibility at the local level, but strictly adhere to empirical evidence, and professionally endorsed standards for a process that achieves locally defined goals for community corrections services.

This report brings together several strains of research literature including organizational studies, workload studies, and evidence-based practices. For anyone working in or around community corrections, it is well-known that the notion of evidence-based practices provides the field with increasing amounts of empirical support (or lack thereof) for certain types of strategies and practices. Evidence-based practices are rooted in an applied scientific approach to determine what interventions assist agencies in reducing recidivism levels and accomplishing various intermediate outcomes, while maximizing resources. Intermediate outcomes refer to offenders completing several small pro-social tasks such as remaining employed, paying restitution, or completing treatment. The completion of several of these goals contributes to an offender's remaining crime free.

Besides these bodies of literature, APPA has gathered relevant information from a focus group of probation and parole practitioners and research, and a web-based information request to community corrections practitioners across the U.S. and Canada. Before presenting the results of the request for information, a literature review will be presented. The literature review is not intended to completely cover any of these substantive fields, but rather to contextualize the current changes taking place within community corrections and to aid in developing strategies for administrators and policymakers to address needs arising from supervising more high-risk offenders. The conclusion to this report will incorporate organizational and criminological theories to help organize the thinking of practitioners who embark on the development of

policies and practices that support appropriate community corrections officer workload allocation.

SUPERVISION GOALS: PUNISHMENT AND REHABILITATION ARE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE

The justice system goals of punishment and rehabilitation can effectively co-exist if carefully managed and thoroughly understood by professionals and external stakeholders (e.g., the public, policymakers). In fact, many correctional services delivered under the philosophical banner of rehabilitation are viewed by offenders as punishment. As well, many offender accountability and justice services are viewed by external stakeholders as punishment, but they also present robust opportunities for offender behavior change. A correctional service, strategy or program can provide judges and releasing authorities with a range of sentencing and correctional options, but they certainly need not be limited to cheaper ways to deliver proportionate punishment. In the context of the foregoing examples it is relatively easy to understand how correctional concepts that are often placed in ideological camps are in fact amenable to coexisting in their applications across the spectrum of correctional services.

One of the major problems to articulate meaningful correctional goals is that political and professional ideologies are used to promote certain goals and to defeat others. For example, those who are opposed to the notion of punishment have been dismissive of anything within corrections that hints of punishment. Opponents of punishment-based correctional strategies strenuously argue, for instance, that public safety will not be achieved through punishment – intermediate or otherwise. External stakeholders, some victims of crime and the general American public – not to mention many professional insiders – are troubled by an abandonment of punishment as a correctional goal. The disquiet experienced by those wanting to maintain a

punitive component within corrections likely derives from the notion that justice is abrogated if offenders do not pay some price for their law violation. Can punishment be delivered alongside rehabilitative measures? Empirical evidence suggests that accomplishing both of these goals is possible as punishment and rehabilitation are not necessarily mutually exclusive concepts.

The research evidence in favor of offender behavior change as the most effective strategy to enhance public safety is impressive and voluminous (see Andrews & Dowden, 2006; Clark, 2001; Paparozzi & Lowenkamp, 2000; Taxman et al., 2004; Taxman, Douglas, & Byrne, 2003). Professionals within corrections have not, unfortunately, been effective in demonstrating how and why rehabilitation strategies should be matched to the goal of public safety and retribution. This has fueled confusion, both within and outside of the profession, about what can be expected from incapacitation and punishment strategies and what we can expect from rehabilitation strategies for offender supervision. Regardless of whether one perceives punishment or rehabilitation as the central goal for community corrections, it is necessary to address issues related to officer caseload size and concomitant workload realities. Compounding these problems is that rarely do community corrections agencies establish their own supervision conditions, but rather many conditions are set by the judiciary, releasing authority, or other stakeholders with input into probation and parole supervision—often bodies having little to do with the actual supervision of offenders once released into the community.

A variety of offenders are supervised under the banner of community corrections. These offenders range from non-violent property and drug offenders, drunk-drivers, to violent offenders including intimate partner abusers, sex offenders, gang members, and others. It is fair to say that a significant number of offenders under community supervision pose a significant risk for violent criminal behavior. Supervising offenders who have a propensity to commit violent

crime is a matter of serious consequence –frequently a matter of life and death (Rhine & Paparozzi, 1999). Because offender supervision is a matter of serious consequence to the general public, it is essential that offenders are classified, supervised, and provided with services that are innovative and rooted in empirical evidence. Employing innovative strategies to supervise offenders requires competent and committed professionals who have the time to perform the important tasks related to classification, supervision, and service delivery to offenders under supervision. For at least the past four decades it has been well-known to professional insiders that probation and parole officer workloads exceed realistic potential for accomplishing the numerous tasks required to supervise offenders. It is especially important to discuss workload growth as something distinct from growth in caseloads because the former refers to the amount of work required to adequately supervise each offender's compliance with ordered conditions of supervision, whereas the latter refers to the number of offenders supervised by each officer. A central aspect to this report is that both of these conditions have grown simultaneously. That is, community corrections populations' records demonstrate that there are more offenders on probation and parole today than in the past, with more of these offenders having increased and more complex ordered conditions of supervision and many more have high levels of risk and needs to be addressed, which increases the workload per offender.

The question that has been asked, but which has been inadequately addressed to date, is: What is the ideal caseload size (see Paparozzi & Hinzman, 2005)? The matter of caseload size cannot be addressed appropriately unless it is considered within the larger context of probation and parole officer workload issues. A commitment to resolving officer caseload, and therefore workload, issues carries with it a commitment to address resource allocations to community corrections functions. Perhaps it is the funding issue that has caused community corrections

professionals and elected policymakers to continually sidestep the need for resolution to caseload size.

Since the mid-1960s, there have been cycles of tight and "boom" budgets with state government in general and community corrections agencies, in particular. Notwithstanding these fiscal cycles, virtually no policy decisions have been made with regard to the empirical evidence when it comes to probation and parole officer workload and caseload size. It is still the case that in professional circles there is acknowledgment that the average contact with an offender is about five minutes and frequently what passes for offender supervision in community settings is in fact office-based supervision where officers conduct "supervision" from their office desk. Community corrections officers are not the only justice system practitioners dealing with tightening budgets and growing offender populations, but given that community corrections agencies supervise nearly three-quarters of all adults in the criminal justice system it is necessary for policy makers and administrators to carefully consider effective means for making workload allocations. Central to this goal, is incorporating or even educating the judiciary, releasing authorities and policymakers regarding the impact of what Lucken (1997) referred to as the "piling up of sanctions" in which offenders are sentenced to an complex assortment of conditions and expectations that are difficult for them to comply with and problematic for officers to enforce.

GROWING CASELOADS AND WORKLOAD ALLOCATIONS

How many offenders can an officer adequately supervise? Is there a precise number of offenders that can effectively be supervised by an officer? The number of offenders an officer can effectively supervise is function of the type of offenders being supervised by certain officers. This is the same as saying that all offenders and officers are unique and bring different

knowledge, skills, capacities, and competencies. Both of these groups exist across a continuum. Some offenders have substance abuse issues, difficulty finding and keeping a job, mental health problems, and limited education, while others do not have these problems. The compilation of these characteristics along with other criminal history factors come together to shape an offender's *relative risk* of reoffending in the future. Many probation agencies realize the need to consider these characteristics and have begun incorporating various scales to determine an offender's risks and needs to make better administrative decisions regarding workload allocations.

Researchers, policymakers, and administrators are continually thinking of ways to address the growth in caseloads alongside stagnant budgets (even declining in some places). Unfortunately, attempts to manage workload in the face of inadequate funding allocations have frequently resulted in higher caseloads. Another method is to modify risk classification scores such that offenders are reassigned to lower risk levels of supervision. The National Institute of Corrections (NIC) utilized the Model Case Management Systems Project to move the country in the direction of a workload model (see Clear, 2005). This model, unfortunately, was never officially embraced and fell to the wayside. APPA addressed this issue, in 1990, as then President Donald Evans responded to member requests to develop caseload size standards in which total caseload was seen as a function of case priority (high, medium, or low) and hours per month spent on each of these types of cases (ranging from 4 hours, 2 hours, or 1 hour, respectively).

Supervision Caseload Approach (APPA, 1990)

Case Priority	*Hours Per Month*	*Total Caseload*
High	4 hours	30 cases
Medium	2 hours	60 cases
Low	1 hour	120 cases*

**This is based on a 120 work hours per officer each month*

APPA's initial attempt to develop caseload size standards provides a simple formula for assigning officer caseloads and was one of the first attempts to move the field toward a workload model. What is a workload model? This workload model is one that recognizes that offender and jurisdictional differences (e.g., geography, automation, duties) equate into more or less officer time per offender such that "high" priority offenders require twice the time to supervise than a "medium" priority offender, and four fold the time required to supervise a "low" priority offender. There is no doubt that, in retrospect, this is an overly simplistic formula for calculating a national caseload standard. Nonetheless, the novelty of the model rests in its willingness to move probation agencies away from a quantitative approach based solely on counting the number of supervision contacts to a model that recognizes quantifiable factors related to offender characteristics (emphasizing offender risk-level, case supervision plans, the nature of contacts and how offenders respond).

There were prior attempts to the APPA (1991) report to establish caseload size standards, most notably that by the Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967) in which 50 offenders were believed to be an appropriate caseload size. APPA realized that developing a definitive national caseload size number was not the best approach (also see APRI, 2002). That is, the APPA (1991: 4) report concluded that searching "for the single magic number for the optimal caseload size is futile" due to the diversity in local expectations for their

community correctional systems, organizational structures, local judicial decision making, and varying offender risks and needs.

From Caseload to Classrooms: What is the Right Number?

More recently, Bill Burrell (2006) recognized the difficulty for probation and parole agencies looking for caseload size standards. His discussion provides an interesting parallel between that of an officer's caseload size and a teacher's classroom size. It seems to be equally hard for educators to determine a "magic number" of students per teacher as it is for justice professionals and experts to identify an ideal caseload size per officer. There are several similarities between these professions, which Burrell (2006) refers to as human capital intensive, with each requiring (1) directed individual human attention to others, (2) a move away from quantity to quality of such interaction, and (3) growing populations to service. Consider the growth in university students as college attendance has moved away from being an opportunity reserved mostly for the elite into organizations servicing the general public, and how this is similar to the relatively steady growth in the justice system. Or, the need to not only focus on how many students a teacher can "handle" to one that seeks to understand in what conditions students make their greatest academic gains. Similarly, probation agencies are now more concerned with what types of interactions or interventions with offenders are more likely to bring about both long and short term behavior changes. In the final analysis, whether for teachers or community corrections officers, the critical point to remember is that expected outcomes need to respect the strategies which produce them. Inasmuch as workload issues are related to strategies for producing outcomes, it is folly, if not perilous to the public's well-being, to ignore them. In this regard a business model is instructive (Paparozzi, 2003).

It is intuitive to think that smaller classrooms and smaller caseloads would foster better results (Burgess, 1996; Clear, 2005). In fact, classroom size tends to be a serious concern for parents and children alike as they make university plans and decisions, with some preferring to attend large universities with a high student to teacher ratio and others seek institutions in which there are few students in classes. While there is little empirical research definitively answering whether smaller classes correlate with better academic gains, there is little support for arguing that smaller caseloads automatically reduce re-offending (Petersilia & Turner, 1991; Worrall, Schram, Hays, & Newman, 2004). Burrell (2006: 4) points out that "small classes alone are not enough." The same is true for probation and parole caseloads, as fewer offenders on a caseload do not necessarily produce smaller amounts of recidivism.

Instead, this is a matter of recognizing the difference between *necessary* and *sufficient* causes. This is a well known dichotomy recognizing necessary causes as those that (when present) interact with other factor(s) to produce a particular phenomenon or outcome, whereas sufficient causes can operate alone to bring about a desired effect. Where does caseload size fit in this dichotomy? "Appropriate class/caseload size is the *necessary precondition*," according to Burrell (2006: 5, italics added), "to effectiveness in these two systems." Caseload size alone does not determine the effectiveness of supervision, but it is a necessary (but not sufficient) basis for producing desired outcomes. One could even think of this as a starting point for developing effective interventions as overly large caseloads with unrealistic workload points[1] can foster ineffective officers and agencies. The issue facing community corrections is to develop a strategy to achieve the goal of public safety in given fiscal environments, and that entails recognizing the

[1] Workload points refers to many agencies that record officer performance in workload points to reflect the amount of time required for various tasks, instead of merely counting how many offenders one is supervising. Therefore, these sorts of measures incorporated qualitative assessments to determine an officers role by considering the kinds of tasks required to supervise high-risk offenders, for instance.

influx of more high-risk offenders, such as sex offenders, that require more amount of time than low-risk offenders.[2]

Probation on the Eleven O'clock News

There is a point at which an over burdened workload produces inefficiencies. In the manufacturing world, this leads to fewer cars being produced and a reduction in corporate profits, but for community corrections agencies this can lead to more attention on the eleven o'clock news. That is, community corrections agencies, and other justice system professions, can be characterized as "bad news businesses" in which primarily bad news or outcomes are reported to the public. Rarely are there reports, exposes, or leads about how effective an officer has been at ensuring that a probationer completes his or her treatment. There are few "breaking news reports" covering a probationer's G.E.D. graduation, but there are usually throngs of reporters scrambling to cover the story of a probationer committing a murder or a released sex offender victimizing someone. The Willie Horton incident serves as a reminder of this effect. Mr. Horton, a convicted felon, was out on a parole furlough program in Massachusetts when he broke into a women's home, sexually assaulted and killed her. News of this incident continually ran on news stations and other media outlets, and was a significant obstacle for the Governor of Massachusetts and presidential candidate, Michael Dukakis, in the 1988 election (Kappeler, Blumberg, & Potter, 2000).

While the media generated hysteria surrounding the Horton incident might not be fresh on everyone's mind, more recently, similar events were reported in Michigan, in 2002. The Detroit News (Claxton, Sinclair, & Hansen, 2002) published an expose titled "Felons on Probation Often Go Unwatched" as they describe an overburdened and understaffed probation

[2] Central to the notion of evidence based practices in a correctional setting is to measure the relative risk that an offender will reoffend during their supervision period. The higher one's risk level usually requires officers to spend more time to supervise such offenders.

department in one county. This county had roughly 30,000 probationers and around 250 officers to supervise them, an average of nearly 120 offenders per officer. In one case, an officer was fired after a probationer was arrested for attempted murder and engaging in a shoot-out with police. The probationer was a fugitive, missing several office visits, but he was never reported as an absconder nor listed as a fugitive at the time of the shooting. According to the article, the probation officer "was so overworked that she failed to get an arrest warrant for [the probationer] when he became a fugitive last December for missing his monthly probation office appointment. [The officer] still hadn't done so by March 28 when he was arrested" (Claxton et al., 2002: 2).

The Detroit News reports several similar incidents. These incidents all point to the difficulty of making workload decisions and how probation agencies can meet the community needs by addressing offender needs and risks. The underlying issue was summarized by a Michigan department of corrections spokesman as a problem with high caseloads related to high staff turnover brought about by recent retirements. Again, caseload and workload issues are not a sufficient factor for probation success, but it is a *necessary* force to consider for probation to be effective. The news article goes further to document a system in which officers were overworked to the point of trying to take paperwork home with them at night (but had to keep this a secret because it violated union policies). One officer was released on sick leave for a stress-related illness. In a letter to this officer's union steward, she writes: "…I am currently actively supervising in excess of 156 probationers and my workload units for October, 2002, were 177. I am trying to do the work of two people and find it virtually impossible to perform all duties assigned to me within the time frames set forth and in accordance with departmental policy and procedure" (as quoted in The Detroit News, page 3 of the story).

This probation department's problems point to (1) the overwhelming nature of probation officers' caseloads, with (2) crucial duties being sacrificed due to staffing problems, and (3) inadequate supervision easing offenders' return to crime. This story is not mentioned to tarnish any department or officers—similar conditions can be seen in other agencies across the country. Rather, the intention here is to take a critical look at what can potentially happen when caseloads move beyond realistic workloads (i.e., there is simply not enough time to complete all assigned duties). This may create a situation in which agencies and officers are unable to perform all of their job requirements.

EVIDENCE-BASED PRACTICE: LOOKING FOR EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT

The question remains regarding optimal caseload size. Developing a caseload size standard entails determining how many officers are needed to "appropriately" supervise offenders in a jurisdiction. This sort of managerial issue is not a new question to probation or other professions for that matter. How many patients can a surgeon operate on in a given day? How many cars can a mechanic fix each week? How many haircuts can a barber complete in a month? It does not take an expert in any of these fields to realize the answer normally is that *it depends*. It depends on what type of surgery is needed, what is wrong with each car, and what type of haircut one is looking for, as well as the skills of the surgeon, mechanic, and barber, not to mention the supplies and resources available in the hospital, the repair shop, and the barber shop. Finally, one must also consider the quality of the job performed not just the completion of the tasks associated with the job. Would we accept anything less than quality medical care from a surgeon?

Evidence-Based Practices: From Shoveling Science to Better Offender Management

Frederick Taylor was an early twentieth-century engineer interested in finding the most effective strategies for workers. Interestingly, he looked at improving the balance between rest and work, in this case lifting a shovel. That is, it was desired by a manufacturer for workers to move about 47 ½ tons of iron each day, but this was found to exhaust nearly all employees, as most lacked the strength to keep up this pace. So, he conducted numerous "time studies" to determine the most appropriate shovel for each particular job, with some larger than others, some were flat tipped while others were pointed. Essentially, each job required a different type of shovel. Consider lifting a large shovel all day long, one would make fewer passes with the shovel as he or she would move slower. Conversely, Taylor timed workers using small shovels as they could move much faster, but this strategy failed to produce the results he was looking for as well. He did find that a shovel holding 21 pounds of a substance was the best size of shovel to balance work productivity with ample rest. This research allowed Taylor to identify four principles of scientific management:

1. Replace "rule-of-thumb" work methods with methods based on the scientific study of work-related tasks.
2. Scientifically select, train, and develop each worker rather than allowing them to train themselves.
3. Cooperate with workers to ensure that the scientifically developed methods are being followed.
4. Divide work nearly equally between managers and workers, so that the managers use scientific management principles to plan work and ensure that workers complete tasks accordingly.

Taylor's "science of shoveling" is mentioned because we see many in the human sciences trying to incorporate similar methods to determine effective strategies for assigning workloads whether in the medical profession, repair business, or cosmetic industry. So, then, what is the most appropriate caseload size? The answer is still "it depends." It depends on the type of

offenders, the non-supervision tasks assigned to officers, the type of officer training, the expectations of the judiciary/releasing authority, and many other issues that often are peculiar to each jurisdiction. This is similar to Taylor recognizing that different shovels were needed for different types of things to be moved, much as different types of training are required for supervising offenders depending upon the level of risk they present for re-offending. However, there is growing popularity in what is referred to as evidence-based practices that builds upon Taylor-like principles to determine the most effective community corrections interventions to reduce recidivism.

Death to Rehabilitation: Nothing Works!

Community corrections is a field designed to facilitate individual short- and long-term behavior change. At the heart of community corrections is the realization that offenders have made mistakes not so much because of unchangeable genetic features, but usually through processes of learning and socialization. Offenders, for the most part, *drift* in and out of criminality and deviance throughout the life course (Sykes & Matza, 1957). That offenders learn criminal behaviors and drift between stages of more or less criminality suggests opportunities for teaching offenders non-criminal behaviors such as remaining employed, staying sober, developing peaceful means for conflict resolution, and other needed aspects to remain self-sufficient as they gain a "stake in conformity." Much of this knowledge stems from criminological research finding that older, married individuals, especially those owning a home or at least remaining in the same residence for several years (i.e., residential stability) tend to commit fewer new crimes, and when they are found to commit a new crime, they usually remain in the community longer than their younger, unmarried, and residentially unstable counterparts.

Justice researchers work with agencies to develop, implement, test, and revise programs. The 1970's were a time in which several changes were moving through the U.S. justice system, in part, as a response to the 1960's crime rate spike and shifting policy agenda that fostered growing incarceration rates. Not only were correctional facilities beginning to serve more prisoners, but there was also greater scrutiny placed on what was going on in prisons. Correctional policy moved away from rehabilitative mechanisms such as vocational training, exercise programs, mental health treatment, substance abuse education, and other re-socialization techniques aimed at preparing inmates for reintegration. Robert Martinson's (1974) often cited critique of 231 correctional treatment evaluations between 1945 and 1967 is credited as being the inspiration for calling into question many rehabilitative correctional programs, and led to the "nothing works" movement.

His analyses suggested there was little evidence of success in educational programs for juvenile or adult inmates and in individual or group counseling. Martinson revealed that medical treatment applied to alter behavior, increased sentences, and intensive probation did not reduce recidivism rates, and these mechanisms were usually more expensive than other approaches. Policymakers and the public questioned the need for what were considered "soft on crime" measures, and pushed for a more narrowed focus on administrative order and punishing offenders (Feeley & Simon, 1992). There are few that would argue against a justice system concerned with punishing offenders. Punishment, in the form of retribution and incapacitation cannot, however, come at the expense of ignoring other justice system functions—such as behavior change—as such an approach would create a situation in which few offenders would have opportunities to work toward becoming self-sufficient (i.e., able to take care of themselves and their dependents).

Although Martinson (1974) is routinely cited as finding rehabilitation ineffective, few policymakers paid attention to other publications in which he suggested that the problem with correctional programs, regardless of their design, is the "life-cycle damage" they cause. The problem with rehabilitative programs is not the construction of any particular program or service offered. Rather, ineffectiveness was a result of disrupting people's lives—usually young people most in need of educational and job skills training—by placing them in prisons for long periods of time. Incarceration, then, potentially creates the very condition it seeks to eliminate—reoffending—by removing people from society and weakening employment and educational opportunities, fostering criminal associations, stifling the growth of social bonds and ties to conventional society, and dehumanizing and stigmatizing offenders. The community corrections field, ironically, is founded on the realization of the potential for life-cycle damage due to institutionalization, as officers individualize supervision and treatment components to most effectively address offender risks and needs. This is a quest to find what, if anything, works, and if something works, who do such programs work best with?

Not so Fast: Does Anything Work?

What is referred to as "what works" and became part of the evidence-based practices literature is a reaction to Martinson's critique that focuses on the psychology of criminal conduct. By acknowledging the importance of offender thought patterns, researchers can work with agencies to identify effective organizational strategies to meet offender needs to reduce risk of reoffending. Andrews et al. (1990: 373-374, italics added) suggest that "any anticipated rehabilitative benefits are based on the hope that offenders will *learn* that crime has negative consequences, and the enhancement of cognitive and interpersonal skills (e.g., future-orientation and perspective-taking) are dependent upon systematic modeling, reinforcement, and graduated

practice." This research interest signaled that all is not lost in correctional programming. Rather, this emphasizes the need to develop conditions of supervision that seek to reduce the crime producing elements within offenders' lives through a *balanced approach* of supervision and treatment, which gets at the uniqueness of each offender (see Aos, Miller, & Drake, 2006).

Evidence-Based Practices: Bridging the Researcher-Practitioner Divide

There is often frustration between practitioners and researchers. This tension is usually one over language and interpretation as researchers are concerned with things such as statistical significance, sampling frames, and random group assignment, whereas practitioners tend to be more concerned with pragmatic issues related to fiscal capabilities, budget reviews, and other issues related to "getting on with" supervising offenders—the reality of the job, so to speak. Researchers may talk about probabilities and odds ratios of various *outcomes* while practitioners are more concerned with whether a particular offender is completing treatment, remaining crime free, complying with conditions of supervision and changing *behaviors*.

These languages need not be considered mutually exclusive and avenues for interpretation are being developed. To bridge the gap between researchers and practitioners, the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) has worked with numerous research teams and agencies to develop and implement an integrated evidence-based practices model. It should be noted that this model focuses on those evidence-based practices that reduce risk of re-offending and focus less on some of the other important evidence-based practices that ensure such things that could be considered more atonement related like restitution collection and community service work.

NIC-CJI Integrated Model: Evidence-Based Practices, Organizational Development, and Collaboration

NIC and the Crime and Justice Institute (CJI) developed an integrated model for implementing evidence-based practices. This is a three-tiered model placing equal weight on: (1) evidence-based practices, (2) organizational development, and (3) collaboration. Evidence-based practices is a buzzword moving throughout many human services professions—medicine, education, social work--as applied research findings are increasingly pointing the way to more effective understandings of the relationship between organizational processes (how things are done) and outcomes (what happens). The model developed by NIC and CJI claims to have the potential to move community corrections toward practices rooted in empirically verifiable evidence (data), not taken-for-granted assumptions of what does and does not work—reminiscent of Taylor's first principle of scientific management.

NIC and CJI not only incorporate scientifically generated findings through evaluation, but they also recognize the importance of flexible leadership to adjust traditional supervision practices to focus on programs and practices specifically targeting recidivism. It is argued that to develop and implement effective strategies, decision makers must avoid perpetuating ineffective strategies simply because that is the way things have been done in the past. Instead, agency leaders and staff need to be prepared to alter, eliminate, and adopt new practices that hold offenders accountable and maintain public safety. While accountability and public safety are commonly mentioned as community corrections' goals, there is little discussion of exactly what is meant by these terms. The EBP model, however, works to define and measure these goals empirically to create policies and practices that are realistic, relevant, and research-based (Clawson, Bogue, & Joplin, 2005).

Community corrections is not the only field concerned with maximizing its effectiveness through such an approach. Pfeffer and Sutton (2006) recognize a similar trend in many large corporations and the medical field as CEOs and hospital administrators try to deliver products and services in the most cost-effective and efficient manner. They mention that many top CEOs have been forced to shift away from longstanding business practices due to evidence suggesting its ineffectiveness—measured as lost productivity and profits. Community corrections leaders have to adopt a new *operating logic* based not upon what sounds good or takes the path of least resistance; rather, decision makers must create an atmosphere that empowers employees to collect appropriate information, objectively process that information, and make decisions based upon the findings—never fearing change.

The third arm of the integrated implementation model recognizes the need for enhancing "internal and external buy-in of the change process, supporting successful implementation in the complex web of public safety agencies, service providers, and other stakeholders" (Joplin et al., 2004). No community corrections agency operates in a social vacuum and, for this reason, probation and parole cannot be expected to tackle community supervision of offenders alone, especially for high-risk populations. Therefore, community corrections agencies must reach out to other justice and nonjustice organizations so as to incorporate law enforcement, judicial personnel, advocates, and others. Besides establishing these external communication networks, agencies should work toward communicating and collaborating with officers inside their agency.

The integrated implementation model improves community corrections practices and programs for several reasons. First, this model helps move the community corrections field away from practices founded mostly on myth and performed simply because "that is how things get done around here" to practices founded on data collection, analysis, and application of the

findings in a practical way. Second, there is full recognition to organizational dynamics and need for a progressive, innovative leadership style that allows for a decentralized form of decision making, and willingness to accept evaluation findings, not as a defeat (such as did not reduce recidivism) or victory (such as did reduce recidivism), but rather as the needed information to discontinue, maintain, or adjust practices. Lastly, the integrated model acknowledges the need for community corrections agencies to establish broad professional networks of justice and non-justice organizations to participate in the supervision process.

Evidence-Based Practices: What Are We Trying to Accomplish?

NIC and CJI developed eight evidence-based principles for effective interventions. Discussing all eight of these principles exceeds the scope of this report, but some mention of the risk, needs, and responsivity principles provides decision makers with needed information to make workload allocations. Before asking whether or not something works, or does not work, or how it could work, one must first ask what is the desired function of the item in question? So, what is community corrections' function? What can the public and policymakers realistically expect from community supervision? Is it public safety? Is it behavior change? It is often said that community corrections is to protect the public. This is only partly correct as community corrections agencies alone cannot provide a magical protective blanket. Rather, what community corrections can do realistically is provide offenders with some level of surveillance that motivates them to participate in pro-social activities.

Pro-social activities might include things such as substance abuse treatment, vocational education, life skills management, and a host of other opportunities that teach offenders how to be self-sufficient as well as making restitution for one's crime. This goal is one in which community corrections agencies work with other individuals and organizations to structure

offenders' lives. It is helpful to think of this structure as providing external controls requiring offenders to avoid criminogenic peers and places, with these peers and places differing for offenders. For some offenders, visiting a playground might be the precursor to their offending behaviors, while for some (non-sex offenders) a playground might be a place of relaxation or fun. There are numerous scenarios that could be detailed, but suffice to say that the point here is that these criminogenic settings are *individually derived*. Community corrections is not a one-size fits all business, something making workload allocation decision making more challenging.

The intent for the evidence-based practices movement in community corrections is to foster better decision making within agencies. Community corrections' goals are focused on diminishing each offender's ability to re-offend and make amends for their crime. This is done through a litany of programs and collaboration with others.

Evidence-Based Practices: Risk, Need, and Responsivity

Evidence-based practices – as prescribed by the NIC model - evaluate the ability of programs to reduce recidivism by targeting offender risks, needs, and responsivity to various treatments (Andrews et al., 1990).The community corrections field is working to identify the most effective community supervision policies and practices through applied research and evaluative reports. These research efforts assist administrators and policymakers to gain a better perspective of what are realistic workload capacities and how best to structure officer caseloads.

The risk principle is based on research findings that validated assessment instruments are better able to predict recidivism than subjective or clinical offender assessments (see Andrews et al., 1990). The risk principle is related to another evidence-based practices principle of responding to or reducing offenders' criminogenic needs. The needs principle captures those changing or dynamic offender risk factors such as mental health problems, substance abuse

issues, informal networks, employment, and other individualized factors related to an offender's behaviors and thinking patterns (Taxman & Thanner, 2006). Whereas risk factors focus on past behaviors related to an offender's criminal history, the needs principle recognizes that there are offender-level time-varying characteristics that greatly influence an offender's predisposition to reoffend. Consider, for example, the potential for an abusive event following the receipt of divorce or separation papers or other potentially upsetting information, events, or processes taking place to foster a violent outburst in the case of a chronic domestic abuser.

Taxman and Thanner (2006: 31) argue that criminogenic needs refer "to the degree to which daily functioning is impaired and involved in criminal (antisocial) behavior." Risk and needs assessments are essential for administrators confronting growing caseloads as they offer an objective measure of an offender's likelihood to recidivate and they identify the most appropriate interventions based upon the unique risks and needs presented by each offender. Community corrections officers may need to adjust case plans in light of an assortment of static (risk) and dynamic (needs) factors.

Cumulatively, the risk and needs principles identify the importance of considering offender past behaviors alongside life course factors (e.g., age, work history) shaping their likelihood for re-offending. The responsivity principle argues that a variety of learning styles and approaches exist and that interventions should be assigned carefully to offenders according to their culture, gender, and motivation levels. Evidence-based practices research suggests that treatment must be matched to each offender, and that particular care should be taken to match style and methods of communication with an offender's level of readiness to change their behavior. This means, for instance, that it may be pointless to include substance abuse treatment interventions for offenders without a substance abuse problem. To maximize the impact of

interventions it is important to carefully match offenders to services as the potential exists for interventions to actually have an inverse effect from their intentions and actually increase recidivism. Consider an example from the corporate world as Pfeffer and Sutton (2006) report evidence that various employee ranking schemes—believed to motivate worker performance—actually had "consequences such as lower productivity, inequity, damage to morale, and mistrust in leadership." Similarly, Gendreau (1996) found that poorly matching interventions with offenders has a tendency to increase recidivism such that low-risk offenders placed in programs alongside high-risk offenders tend to perform poorly.

The risk, needs, and responsivity principles are essential to creating a context in which community corrections agencies are better able to identify the most effective interventions and supervision strategies. The evidence-based practices approach replaces unfounded organizationally embedded practices with strategies supported by scientific observation and analysis (Joplin et al., 2004). These research findings and principles provide administrators with something of a road for making workload allocation decisions in a constrained budgetary environment.

It is important for policy makers, administrators, and practitioners to begin to understand the importance of synthesizing the concepts of evidence-based practices and the continued expansion of officer workloads. The point here is that many departments are increasing caseloads to well over 200 offenders per officer, making it virtually impossible for offenders to receive adequate attention and interaction from officers to have any substantial rehabilitative effect. Besides the growth in offender to officer ratios, the current trend of stacking up sanctions on offenders is potentially making it more difficult for offenders to meet all of these conditions and equally as difficult for officers to enforce them. Compounding these issues is the current trend of

concentrating on sex-offenders, the infusion of electronic monitoring technologies, and increasing the use of probation for higher-risk offenders as well as widening the justice net to low risk offenders. For these reasons, this report seeks to understand how agencies can work toward getting a handle on rising workloads.

CASELOAD SIZE AND WORKLOAD ALLOCATION: RESPONSE FROM APPA MEMBERS

This report is intended to provide probation administrators and policymakers with valuable information to make workload allocation and funding decisions. APPA is not trying to establish a magic number of offenders to be supervised by each officer as a caseload standard because caseloads are a poor measure of officer output. Workload measures are a more accurate method for distributing cases throughout any agency. APPA assists the community corrections field to become more effective at supervising offenders and meeting the needs of victims of crime, and sees workload allocation decisions central to any attempt to become more effective. Caseload size is a necessary precondition of effective community supervision and meeting the needs of victims, as are considerations of offender risks, needs, and responsivity. To gain a better understanding of how this issue is viewed by community corrections officers, the association circulated a non-probability, web-based information request.

Information Request: Delivery and Collection Approach

APPA sends a bi-weekly electronic news bulletin to the field. This news letter, titled *CC Headlines*, is sent to approximately 1,500 individuals and agencies combined. It is imagined that the news bulletin is forwarded to others as well (for each person who receives the newsletter, it is believed approximately ten more people receive it through email forwarding), but there is no systematic measurement of to what extent this happens. The bulletin is designed to provide

information about many aspects of the community corrections field, as well as interesting crime and justice related stories, impending legislation, project announcements, and other items of general interest. There is space in this newsletter to include a link to a web-based information request. Approximately one week prior to disseminating the request form, a pre-notice was emailed to the *CC Headlines* mailing list. The pre-notice described the importance of the topic and need for APPA to receive information regarding growing caseloads and workload allocations, and the impact of high-risk offenders, namely sex offenders, on workload allocation decisions.

It should be stressed that the nature of the APPA mailing list and possibility for forwarding prevent establishing a sampling frame. It is impossible to get any idea of a response rate as there is little way of knowing how many individuals actually viewed the request for information. There is the possibility that some visitors to the APPA webpage did not see the request for information,[3] and it is equally plausible that some readers forwarded the request to others (and maybe these recipients further forwarded the request). The point here is to highlight the non-probabilistic nature of this request. With that said, however, the information does provide much interesting descriptive data regarding several facets of the reality of some community corrections departments across the country.

The pre-notice for the information request was included in *CC Headlines* on April 11, 2006. There was initial interest in the topic as APPA received nearly 130 responses once the questionnaire was released in the April 25, 2006 *CC Headlines*.[4] Then, a reminder letter was included in the following *CC Headlines* (May 9, 2006), in which another 60 responses were

[3] The request for information notice was placed in the center of the bulletin in such a way that it was apparent when a visitor opened the webpage.
[4] The request for information form was completed online and, once "submitted," sent to an Excel spreadsheet, which was later converted into a SPSS file.

received. A final reminder was sent, on May 16, 2006, emphasizing the need for information, and established a deadline for interested individuals to send in responses. This resulted in nearly 240 responses, and after eliminating responses due to such errors as too much missing information, and even duplicate forms submitted electronically, the total number of responses was 228 (for more information on Internet survey methods, see Schaefer & Dillman, 1998).

The information request was separated into three sections and kept relatively brief. The first set of items requested information about the agency in which the respondents were employed and some personal demographic information. The second section asked more pointed questions about caseload and workload allocation decision making within the agency in which the respondent is working. Finally, the third section included items on how agencies handle rising caseloads of high-risk offenders, especially sex offenders.

Information Request: Describing the Respondents

This information request was interested in gathering baseline data about current community corrections practices. As table 1 reveals, respondents were predominantly affiliated with probation departments, accounting for 56 percent (n = 129) of all respondents. Nearly one-third (n = 70) of respondents indicated working in combined agencies serving probation and parole functions, five percent (n = 12) were in parole agencies, and seven percent (n = 17) worked in an "other" type of agency. These descriptive items revealed that the bulk of respondents worked in rather large jurisdictions with nearly half of respondents (n = 110) serving jurisdictions of 300,000 or more. Twenty-nine percent of respondents (n = 68) work in jurisdictions with between 75,000 and 300,000 residents. Other respondents indicated serving smaller jurisdictions with 10 percent (n = 24) serving populations between 30,000 and 75,000,

and 12 percent of respondents (n = 26) work in jurisdictions with less than 10,000 to 30,000 people.

There was little difference in geographic regions in which respondents were employed. In fact, there is a nearly symmetrical distribution of respondents in rural (n = 60, 26 percent), suburban (n = 61, 27 percent), urban (n = 62, 27 percent), and "other" jurisdictions (n = 44, 19 percent). The over-representation of respondents serving larger jurisdictions could be related to several factors such as the web-based nature of the information request as agencies in smaller jurisdictions may lack computer resources.

The number of full-time officers in the agency in which the respondent worked revealed that most agencies were relatively small. Forty percent (n = 91) of respondents worked in agencies with 25 or fewer full-time officers, 16 percent (n = 36) worked in agencies with between 26 and 50 officers, and 14 percent (n = 31) of respondents worked in agencies with between 51 and 100 officers. Nearly a quarter of respondents worked in agencies with a large number of full-time officers, with 19 percent (n = 43) of respondents indicating that their department has more than 200 officers and 8 percent (n = 19) served in departments with between 101 and 200 full-time officers (see table 1).

Criminological literature suggests that community supervision has changed recently to accommodate the growth of high-risk offenders. Some community corrections experts point to the decreasing and stagnating funding environment for community corrections, preventing many agencies from hiring new personnel, and some actually needing to decrease their staff. Respondents were asked if there had been a reduction in full-time community corrections officers in their agency as a *direct result of budgetary concerns* within the past two years. Nearly one-fifth of respondents (n = 43, 19 percent) answered in the affirmative to this question. A

follow-up item was included to get an idea of approximately how many officers agencies needed to eliminate. Of those respondents indicating a budgetary need to reduce full-time officers in their department, there was a range of between 1 and 55 officers reduced, an average of nine officers reduced.

Table1: Descriptive Agency Information

	Number	Percent
Agency Type		
Probation	129	56
Parole	12	5
Combined	70	31
Other	17	7
Jurisdiction Size		
<10k	2	1
10-30	24	11
30-50k	11	5
50-75k	13	5
75-150k	35	15
150-300k	33	14
>300k	110	48
Jurisdiction Type		
Rural	60	26
Suburban	61	27
Urban	62	27
Other	44	19
# Full-Time Officers		
1-25	91	40
26-50	36	16
51-100	31	14
101-200	19	8
201+	43	19
N = 220		
Agency shift		
Decreased	43	19
# Officers Reduced		
Maximum	55	
Minimum	1	
Mean	9	
Unionization		
Yes	133	58
No	95	42
Years Experience		
1-5	26	11
6-10	47	21
11-20	67	29
20+	89	39
Mean Years = 17.68		

Again, this information request is a non-probability sample (i.e., web-based convenience sample), and it is not suggested that these findings can be generalized to all of community corrections. Nonetheless, this does provide much needed exploratory data supporting the contention that community corrections agencies face serious fiscal concerns.

There is no doubt that organizational based surveys contain some disadvantages such as inexperienced or unknowledgeable respondents. The respondents indicated an average of nearly 18 years of community corrections experience, and 68 percent (n = 156) have between eleven and more than twenty years of experience. In addition, 44 percent (n = 85) of respondents indicated being a chief, director, or deputy chief or director. The lengthy years of experience and that nearly half of respondents were in a top leadership position within their agency lends credibility to the information provided.

Community Corrections: What are Supervision Goals?

There is much discussion regarding the purpose or goal of community supervision. This debate usually provides a dichotomy between punishment and rehabilitation, with some sideline mention of morale building and issues of safety. Respondents were asked to rank each of seven possible goals of supervision with a score of one being the least important and ten being the most important. Community safety had the highest mean score (8.75) of the seven supervision goals, 67 percent (n = 154) of respondents found this highly important and only seven percent (n = 16) selected this as having little importance. Related to community safety, is the goal of victim protection, which was also highly rated by respondents with a mean score of 8.05, and 38 percent (n = 86) and 40 percent (n = 92) ranking this item as either important or highly important, respectively.

Respondents placed nearly equal significance on offender monitoring (mean score = 7.97), therapy and rehabilitation (mean score = 7.89), and holding offenders accountable (mean score = 7.71). These three items, to a certain extent, get at a common debate about supervision as a way to punish (law enforcement model) *or* a way to rehabilitate (social worker model). Rather, it may be the case that these goals are not mutually exclusive, as much as two-sides to the same coin--behavior change. That is, one must monitor offenders' compliance with supervision conditions, hold them responsible when (or if) offenders go astray of these conditions—actually punishing--with the intentions of ensuring that offenders are receiving various treatments and working towards behavior change. This need for working toward behavior change is evident in respondents' high rating (n = 7.07) for reintegration with the community. Although respondents envision that safety, punishment, and rehabilitation are highly valued supervision goals, there is less emphasis placed on the moral reformation of offenders, with a mean score of 6.17.

This tension between rehabilitation, punishment (retribution?), and victim and community safety are further elaborated by respondents in open-ended items. One respondent states (italics added) that "community safety, victim safety, and offender accountability have *become* focus points…but the resources to accomplish these changes is an ongoing process of adaptation to the demands placed upon supervision." This statement captures the interaction of these goals as well as the officer's strain fostered by a context of little resources and bloated workloads. A different respondent summarized the view in his or her agency as "We view ourselves as the front line between high-risk offenders and the community we live in." And yet, another respondent claimed that their department "has become more punitive, acting as police, rather than rehabilitative." These quotes indicate a sense of moving toward community safety

and crime reduction as central organizational goals, and a need to consider more fully the fiscal needs emerging from steering community corrections' function in such a way.

Table 2: Ranking Supervision Goals

	Number	Percent
Character or Moral Reformation		
Least Importance (1-3)	32	14
Somewhat Important (4-6)	89	39
Important (7-9)	87	38
Most Important (10)	20	9
Mean Score = 6.17		
Therapy and Rehabilitation		
Least Importance (1-3)	7	3
Somewhat Important (4-6)	34	15
Important (7-9)	142	62
Most Important (10)	46	20
Mean Score = 7.89		
Reintegration with Community		
Least Importance (1-3)	18	8
Somewhat Important (4-6)	63	28
Important (7-9)	108	47
Most Important (10)	40	18
Mean Score = 7.07		
Offender Monitoring		
Least Importance (1-3)	9	4
Somewhat Important (4-6)	36	16
Important (7-9)	114	50
Most Important (10)	70	31
Mean Score = 7.97		
Holding Offenders Accountable (punishment)		
Least Importance (1-3)	11	5
Somewhat Important (4-6)	50	22
Important (7-9)	106	46
Most Important (10)	61	27
Mean Score = 7.71		
Victim Protection		
Least Importance (1-3)	19	8
Somewhat Important (4-6)	30	13
Important (7-9)	92	40
Most Important (10)	86	38
Mean Score = 8.05		
Community Safety		
Least Importance (1-3)	16	7
Somewhat Important (4-6)	16	7
Important (7-9)	40	18
Most Important (10)	154	67
Mean Score = 8.75		

Workload vs. Caseload: Decision making avenues for Community Corrections

This report emphasizes a concern with how agencies make caseload and workload allocation decisions. The use of periodic workload reports is highly prevalent in the agencies in which the respondents work, with 70 percent (n = 160) answering in the affirmative. There is concern with the different levels of risk each offender possesses, with 60 percent (n = 137) of respondents indicating their departments recognize such differences when making workload allocation decisions. This suggests that agencies apply different time values based upon offender risk scores (such that offenders deemed more likely to re-offend ostensibly receive more attention and time). While agencies realize the value in conducting workload studies and workload units are connected to risk scores, only 24 percent (n = 54) of the respondents utilized a workload model, whereas 58 percent (n = 133) use a caseload model.

Table 3: Workload and Caseload Allocation

	Number	Percent
Period workload reports		
Yes	160	70
No	68	30
Workload Units related to Risk scores		
Yes	137	60
No	91	40
Work Assigned		
Workload Model	54	24
Caseload Model	133	58
Other Model	39	17
Caseload		
Much too Small	1	.5
Slightly too Small	0	0
About Correct Size	64	28
Slightly too Large	91	40
Much too Large	63	28
Workload		
Much too Small	3	1
Slightly too Small	2	1
About Correct Size	50	22
Slightly too Large	83	36
Much too Large	82	36
Number offenders on Caseload		
Mean Size =	106 offenders	
Adequate supervision of Caseload		
Mean Size =	77 offenders	

Respondents were asked to comment on their current caseload and workload to get a better idea of how they view the amount of work they perform. As indicated in table 3, these items asked respondents to rate their caseload size between much too small and much too large. Only one respondent felt that his or her caseload was too small and 28 percent (n = 64) of respondents found their caseload to be about the correct size. On the other hand, the majority of respondents indicated their caseloads were either slightly too large (40 percent, n = 91) or much too large (28 percent, n = 63). In a similar item, respondents were asked to comment on their workload, with five respondents (2 percent) indicating their workloads were too small and 22

percent (n = 50) found their workloads about the correct size. Following the trend with the findings for caseload size, slightly over 70 percent of respondents indicated their workloads were either slightly too large or much too large.

Respondents were asked to indicate the approximate average number of offenders on a general caseload in their agency. This question was worded as such to allow administrators that may not supervise a caseload of offenders to provide general information about the caseload size in his or her agency. The mean number of offenders on a caseload was 106 offenders. Another item asked respondents to provide their idea of the number of offenders that could be adequately supervised. Respondents, on average, felt that 77 offenders was the correct number of offenders that could be adequately supervised.

These responses, overwhelmingly, point to a situation in which respondents feel as though their workloads exceed most realistic expectations. In fact, the approximate average of general caseloads is about 30 percent larger than respondents' suggested ideal caseload size.[5] More clarity can be gained from respondents' open-ended answers in which they commented about caseload size. One respondent indicated that in his or her agency "caseloads have doubled…Our ability to meet the needs of these offenders has been difficult with very limited community resources, limited budgets, and a lack of support from the top and the bench." This respondent's frustration is an example of how community corrections agencies and officers are expected to supervise more offenders, with fewer resources, and the potential for employee strain and burn-out, similar to the situation described by the Detroit News.

Another respondent simply stated that "More officers are needed to provide the level of expectations that each offender should receive." Funding issues are tied to most decisions made

[5] It is reasonable to suspect that, when asked confidentially, many workers would claim to be over worked and under funded. Bolstering this data, however, is that 44 percent of respondents were high level administrators, and that there is much discussion of such a trend in criminological literature.

by organizations—whether community corrections or for profit industries—and they determine the possibility of such things as trainings, equipment purchases, and personnel hires. One respondent commented on the relationship between these items and how they come together to shape the ability to offer effective community interventions.

> "Training is minimal and equipment is sparse. [STATE NAME] has adopted a resource brokerage type of supervision. On the occasions when [officers] do venture out into the field to check up on probationers, [officers] are too poorly equipped and trained to do much more than a quick drive by of residence. Unfortunately, [STATE NAME] has disregarded officer safety even after some recent high profile assaults on probation officers who attempted home visits. Thus, furthering the belief that probation supervision is best conducted from the office."

Obviously, this respondent feels strongly about the potential ramifications for under-funding probation training and ensuring that officers have the appropriate equipment. However, this provides little in the way of what administrators and policymakers should be doing to change this situation, but another respondent did suggest that a "a resolution would be caseload caps, more equipment, and streamlining several processes." No doubt such suggestions come easily when merely placed on paper, but are much more difficult to implement. Nevertheless, these respondents' comments identify a certain uneasiness regarding the growth in caseloads of more high-risk offenders and the (fiscal) impact this has on most organizational operations. It could also be that the justice system is beginning to sentence more offenders to probation that, in the past, would not have received any sanction. Simply, probation has become a viable sanctioning option for judges as well as legislatures believing probation an appropriate sanction for offenses (and offenders) that would have received a lesser or no sanction at all in previous times.

Determining Supervision Conditions

What information is used in community corrections agencies to determine appropriate workloads? A similar question was posed to respondents to gain a better idea of how risk assessments, criminal history, offense type, court ordered conditions, and needs assessments

shape workload allocations. These items were arranged in a ten point scale in which "one" indicates little importance and "10" indicates the highest level of importance for an item. Table 4 reveals optimistic findings for the community corrections field, as concepts central to the evidence-based practices approach are represented in these responses. That is, risk assessment received the highest mean score (7.93, n = 173), with slightly more than three-quarters of respondents finding this important or highly important. It is often said that community corrections operates at the behest of the judiciary, and respondents supported that argument as the mean score was 7.83. This indicates that court designated conditions are central to shaping the community supervision process, and might to some extent leave probation and parole agencies with their hands tied. That non-correctional practitioners are often responsible for setting supervision conditions is a significant issue that should not be understated. In fact, this serves as the crux of the argument confronted in this report. There is a greater plausibility that conditions established with little input from community corrections experts (namely officers) runs the risk of sanction stacking and reducing officer effectiveness and diminishing offender potentials at changing their behavior.

Two other evidence-based practices concepts, criminal history (static risk factors) and needs assessment, received mean scores of 7.37 and 7.24, respectively. The idea of offense type uniformity received a lower mean score of 6.68. When looking at these findings cumulatively, it appears that agencies are moving away from making decisions based merely upon an offenders current offense, but instead are embracing a dichotomous approach toward workload allocation. That is, on the one hand, agencies are moving toward implementing evidence-based practices that have been found to reduce one's risk of re-offending by more fully incorporating risk and needs assessments, and considering the totality of an offender by looking at criminal history and

other individual factors shaping offender behavior. On the other hand, respondents indicated that often they are limited in their ability to establish supervision conditions, but instead conditions are established through the court, releasing authority, and/or they are stipulated by state statutes.

Table 4: Determining Supervision Levels

	Number	Percent
Risk Assessment		
Least Importance (1-3)	23	10
Somewhat Important (4-6)	24	11
Important (7-9)	76	33
Highly Important (10)	97	43
Mean Score = 7.93		
Criminal History		
Least Importance (1-3)	25	11
Somewhat Important (4-6)	35	15
Important (7-9)	115	50
Highly Important (10)	46	20
Mean Score = 7.37		
Offense Type Uniformity		
Least Importance (1-3)	27	12
Somewhat Important (4-6)	56	25
Important (7-9)	100	44
Highly Important (10)	33	15
Mean Score = 6.68		
Court Designed Conditions		
Least Importance (1-3)	18	8
Somewhat Important (4-6)	33	15
Important (7-9)	89	39
Highly Important (10)	81	36
Mean Score = 7.83		
Needs Assessment		
Least Importance (1-3)	22	10
Somewhat Important (4-6)	43	19
Important (7-9)	94	41
Highly Important (10)	59	26
Mean Score = 7.24		

Contextualizing the above answers, one respondent bluntly stated that "we are trying to do supervision that works. We believe in the evidence based practices approach, but carrying them out can be difficult." Another respondent mentioned that "we are in the process of instituting evidence-based practices and redistributing caseloads to focus more resources on higher risk

offenders and better target our interventions." These respondents make very important points to consider. They focus on the need for developing effective strategies to intervene in offenders' lives, which is not easy. Indeed, it can be "difficult" to say the least. One respondent emphasized further the movement in community corrections to evidence-based practices decision making when he or she commented that "recent implementations of new assessment tools, with incorporation of motivational interviewing, cognitive restructuring, and case planning has emphasized targeting high-risk offenders." The point here is that if evidence-based practices that reduce risk are going to amount to more than another catch phrase, then, appropriate funding and personnel decisions are necessary preconditions. It seems that community corrections agencies, at least the respondents to this information request, are seriously incorporating the notions advanced in the literature pertaining to risk reduction.

Community Corrections Practices: How long does that take?

The information request included an item asking respondents to provide approximate times that it takes them to complete various tasks related to their job performance. These were constructed to allow respondents to provide the time it takes to complete such tasks in hours each month. Table 5 provides a list with their times provided by respondents. Interestingly, it appears that respondents spend most of their time taking care off administrative tasks (36 hours),[6] as it accounts for nearly a fourth of an officer's time based upon a 120 hour work month. A somewhat distant second was conducting home visits (20 hours), and motivational interviewing receives about 18 hours each month by respondents. A few tasks clustered between 10 and 14 hours per month, collateral contacts (10 hours), court appearances (13 hours), processing technical violations, and completing pre-sentence investigations. Again, these findings cannot be

[6] There is no way to determine what specific tasks respondents would categorize as "administrative" as follow-up questions were not asked nor were such tasks included.

generalized to the entire population of community corrections practitioners, but they nevertheless provide a much needed insight into how respondents spend their work time each month.

Table 5: Average Hours Spent on Officer Tasks in One Month

	Hours
Conducting Home Visits	20
Verifying collateral contacts	10
Receiving training	4
Performing administrative tasks	36
Drug tests	6
Motivational interviewing	18
Verifying employment	5
Court appearances	13
Substitute coverage	8
Inter- or intra-state transfer (in)	3
Inter- or intra-state transfer (out)	3
PSI	14
Processing Technical Violations	13

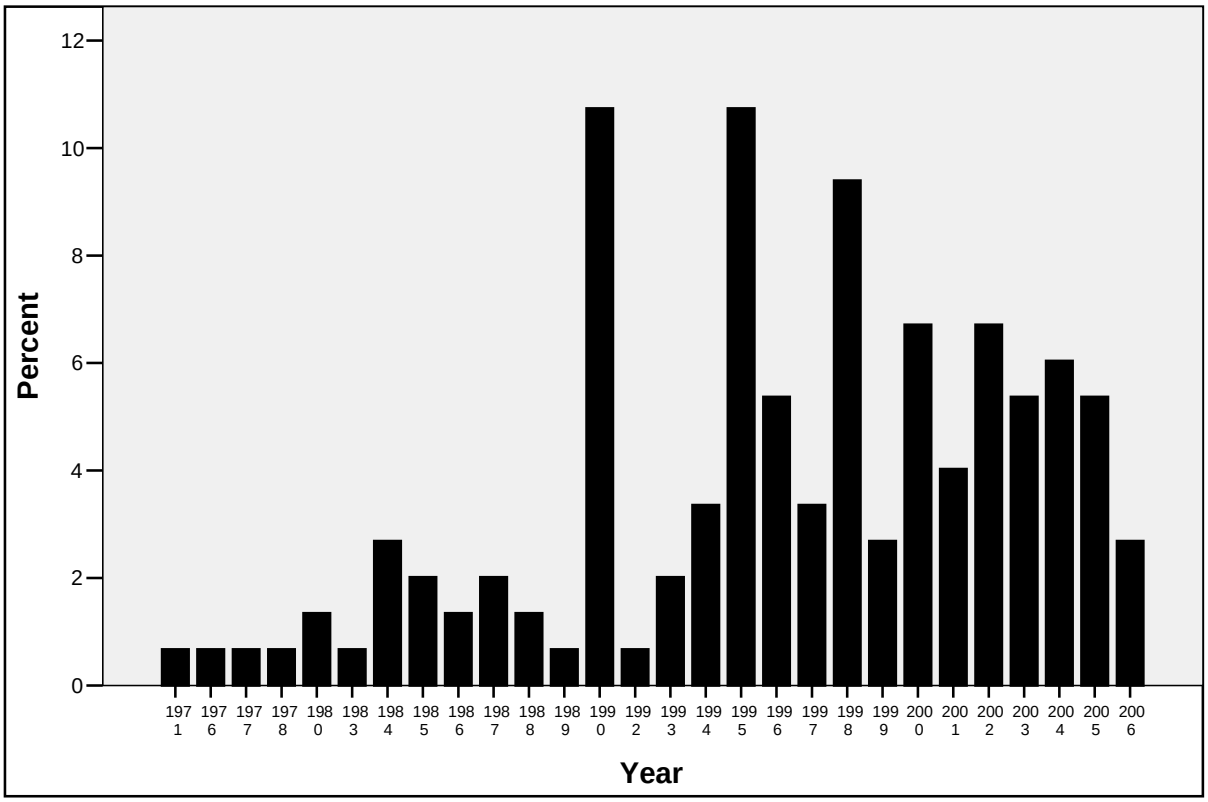
Sex offenders and other high-risk Categories

Recently there has been more attention given to supervising sex and other high-risk offenders by the public, the media, and policymakers. The information request asked respondents if their department has "…specific policies, programs, and/or procedures targeting sex offenders and other high-risk offenders." High-risk offenders are a jurisdictionally defined category and the questionnaire did not offer respondent guidance on what was meant by high-risk. This term may refer to the probability of an offender to commit a new crime or technical violation, or could refer to the probability of an offender being rearrested or revoked and sent to jail or prison. There is no doubt that high-risk offender is a fluid concept, and the questionnaire item meant to find in a general sense whether or not agencies are developing specific practices to supervise sex offenders and other high risk offenders. This allows each respondent to answer the question in a jurisdictionally specific way related to high-risk offender initiatives, not based on any global perception of high-risk offender.

High risk offenders, for example, take more time to supervise than other sorts of offenders given their need for treatment services, electronic monitoring, polygraphs, etc. as well receiving much more public scrutiny. It was revealed that 89 percent (n = 195) of the respondents indicated their department having specific policies, programs, and/or procedures targeting sex offenders and other high-risk offenders. These policies were implemented between 1971 and 2006 (see graph 1). Interesting about graph 1 is considering the concentration of such policies beginning in 1990, with 85 (n = 127) percent[7] of respondents with policies targeting high-risk offender types implementing them between 1990 and 2006. This sixteen year trend differs from the previous 18 year period between 1971 and 1989 in which only 22 high-risk programs (15 percent) were established.

[7] These figures are calculated on a reduced sample (n = 149) due to missing data. Forty-six respondents with high-risk policies did not provide information about the year these programs began. This may not be the most robust of data to confirm or deny any sort of policy trend, but even if one were to suggest that the 46 missing cases were instituted prior to 1990, this later period spanning between 1990 and 2006 would still account for 65 percent of all implementation periods.

Graph 1: Year High-Risk Offender Policies Implemented



Eighty-four percent (n = 164) of agencies with sex offender policies have specific individuals responsible for overseeing such initiatives. One respondent stated that, over the past 10 years, his or her agency's number of high-risk officers has grown from 10 to 50 officers. These positions usually are equipped with special tools, additional training, and smaller caseloads. Additional regular training is central to these specialized positions, but seemed to have less support among this group of respondents with only 32 percent (n = 69) requiring additional annual training.

Table 6: Sex Offenders and High-Risk Supervision

	Number	Percent
Agencies with Sex and Other High-Risk Offender Specific Policies		
Yes	195	89
No	24	11
Assigned Specific Officers to oversee High-Risk		
Yes	163	84
No	32	16
High-Risk activities performed or contracted		
Polygraph	117	60
Hired New Personnel	44	23
Penile Plethysmograph	31	16
GPS or other EM	123	63
Mandatory Treatment	177	91
Other	45	23
High-Risk Initiative Outcomes		
Increased Workload	84	49
Workloads Remained Same	43	25
Workloads Decreased	24	14
Other	5	3
None	17	10
Additional Training for Sex Offender Supervision		
Yes	59	32
No	128	68
How Many Additional Hours of Training Required		
Minimum	4 hours	
Maximum	50 hours	
Mean	27 hours	
Shift to Overall Mission in response to High-Risk		
Yes	69	32
No	145	68
Has Legislation mandated electronic monitoring for SO		
Yes	29	15
No	162	85

The information request also included items asking about practices that might be part of a sex offender supervision case plan of those respondents indicating having high-risk initiatives. Nearly all respondents (91 percent, n = 177) indicated having mandatory treatment for sex offenders, 63 percent (n = 123) use GPS or other electronic monitoring tools with such offenders, and 60 percent (n = 117) either perform or contract for polygraph. Interestingly, 23 percent (n =

44) of respondents indicated new personnel hires to supervise the growing numbers of sex offenders. "Our department," according to one respondent, "has more specialized and high-risk officers and casebooks than basic or general casebooks." They go on to state that "this has become a trend."

This data is not intended to verify or deny the existence of any trend. In fact, respondents were asked if they believe their agency altered its central mission, goal, or purpose in response to high risk offenders. Only 32 percent (n = 69) affirmatively answered that such a shift has taken place. Regardless of the existence of a verifiable trend toward high-risk offenders overall, it was found that, among agencies with high-risk initiatives, 49 percent (n = 84) found their workload increased, one-fourth (n = 43) of respondents found workloads to remain the same, and 14 percent (n = 24) actually found a reduction in workloads as a result of their departments emphasis on high-risk offenders. It is logical to assume that creating specialized high-risk programs, in which offenders have more criminogenic needs than general offender populations there are increased work responsibilities. Consider, for example, one respondent's comment: "The proliferation and use of GPS with sex offenders has significantly increased our workloads and thus has altered our resource allocations."

COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS: A CHANGING ORGANIZATION

Policymakers realize the importance of community supervision as more offenders continue to receive such sentences (Glaze & Bonczar, 2006). Unfortunately, additional funding for these services has not kept pace with offender growth and increased officer workload. In this environment of more offenders with more conditions and stagnating (or decreasing) budgets, community corrections officers are forced to do more with less funding (Petersilia, 2003). This may result in bloated caseloads and impossible workloads for officers trying to supervise all

offenders according to jurisdictional standards. It should be noted that maintaining realistic workloads is a sufficient condition to make community corrections effective at accomplishing justice system goals (Burrell, 2006). This is not to say that the community corrections field is the only or most important area of justice policy, but instead should highlight the need for greater justice subsystem interaction and collaboration.

Collaboration among the various branches of the justice system is essential. In reality, these separate justice subsystems are tightly interrelated. Obviously, there are separate organizations in charge of specific components of providing public safety and order (i.e., formal social control), and the community corrections field is only one of many subsystems constituting the loosely connected nature of the justice system (e.g., law enforcement, judiciary). What does it mean to be loosely connected? This is meant to identify the interdependence and "cooperation at a distance" that exists between the legislature, judiciary, law enforcement, and institutional and community corrections. Consider that community corrections is on the receiving end of many justice system actions including identification of a crime, an arrest, a judge's orders, possibly jail or prison, and then community supervision. Because of this, community corrections agencies do not possess the same amount of discretion that exists for police officers making arrest decisions or prosecutors making charging decisions. Community corrections agencies do not have the ability to control their front door (number of offenders placed on supervision) and often lack control over the back door (when offenders can be released from supervision) as well. This lack of control and discretion contributes to some common misperceptions about community corrections not punishing offenders enough.

Community based sanctions are often perceived as soft on crime or allowing offenders to go free (see Langan, 1994). This public image creates a situation in which community

corrections administrators are potentially constrained by a political and public environment in which more punitive mechanisms are sought. This "soft on crime" image, however, is not the whole story. In fact, Petersilia (2003) reported that offenders routinely indicated that probation and parole are more punitive than prison or jail time. What accounts for this paradox? Why is it that offenders realize the seriousness of a community sentence, while the public perceives such sentences as allowing an offender "to get away with it"? It may be that those individuals actually experiencing supervision conditions feel the constrictive nature of community supervision and that the general public, lacking such experiences, are unaware of the reality of life under supervision—or as it is commonly known, "being on paper." Despite this misperception, community corrections has the unique ability to work from a principle of normalcy by providing varying amounts of surveillance and intervention, while allowing an offender to continue with "normal" (i.e., compliant, non-criminal) behaviors and avoid the negative effects of incarceration that include being separated from family and support networks, unemployment, and stigma.

Community corrections agencies can balance the goals of rehabilitation and punishment with an integrated approach of surveillance, treatment, and accountability. If the community corrections field is going to identify overall organizational goals or, as Paparozzi mentioned, "owning outcomes," then it seems evident and logical that stakeholders want public safety delivered judiciously, efficiently, and accomplishing more than merely punishing offenders. These goals cannot be reached without developing an overarching principle of program development rooted in robust evidence of effectiveness, costs, and the feasibility to be implemented in similar jurisdictions.

Despite that the bulk of adult offenders under criminal justice control are supervised by a community corrections officer, there has only recently developed a body of empirical research

that identifies the most effective conditions and programs for community corrections (Andrews et al., 1990; Aos et al., 2006; Clear & Dammer, 2003; Gendreau et al., 1996; Petersilia, 2003; Taxman et al., 2004). Often probation and parole officers have little input in determining supervision conditions as they are determined by the judiciary, releasing authority, or legislature. These decision making bodies may not fully understand the realities of supervision, or be as versed in issues related to offender behavior and attitudes, treatment potentials, and the time issues related to enforcing conditions, and may even be under political pressure to quickly accept certain programs or policies.

For these reasons, the justice system would do well to consider input at the sentencing and release phase from community corrections officers through the use of assessment or pre-sentence/pre-release investigations. The growth in caseloads has been compounded by the simultaneous rise in conditions of supervision that might not be realistic, relevant, or supported by research. Carl Wicklund (2004: 6) points out how commonly judges impose conditions, for instance, on longtime alcohol or drug abusers to remain abstinent. Although this condition, upon first glance, appears logical, it nevertheless neglects to consider the reality that part of the recovery process includes relapse by using alcohol or drugs. A more realistic condition would be to enforce treatment completion and work toward abstinence. Similarly, drug testing has become a common condition imposed by the judiciary that might have little to do with an offender's lifestyle, but nonetheless requires officer time to conduct, monitor and/or respond to alcohol and drug testing.

There are numerous conditions applied to an offender's community sentence. In some jurisdictions conditions are determined by offense type, judicial discretion, statute, or risk assessment. Why are certain conditions of supervision mandated? Should conditions simply

punish an offender, or should conditions assist offenders in the reintegration process? Often conditions are passed with little empirical guidance regarding their ability to accomplish justice system goals such as the recent spate of laws against sex offenders that range, on the one hand, from the potentially effective to, on the other hand, the potentially impossible (Robinson, 2003).

It appears that the most effective approach to community supervision recognizes the individualized nature of conditions to improve the reintegration process (see Andrews et al., 1990; Aos et al., 2006). Well designed conditions of supervision shape the reintegration process by providing offenders with the needed resources and rules of life on community supervision. Resources refer to the physical things offenders need such as treatment, employment, and education. These are resources in that they provide offenders with necessary elements of remaining compliant and working toward behavior change. Conditions also provide rules of appropriate behavior as they serve to structure the everyday movements of an offender—they are the rules of the game of life for an offender, so to speak. They let offenders know what sorts of behaviors are prohibited, allowed, and required such as curfews, alcohol abstinence, and avoiding certain geographic areas. Rules also establish the consequences or response from the justice system as offenders are informed of behavioral expectations, and when these expectations are satisfied a positive consequence (e.g., verbal or written praise, alteration in supervision) occurs. On the other hand, when offender behavioral expectations are violated, officers must consistently attach these behaviors with a negative outcome (e.g., increased surveillance) for the offender. The specific rules mandated and the resources offered should be determined based on a risk and needs assessment and officer knowledge to identify the specific conditions most appropriate for each individual.

When viewing conditions of supervision as resources and rules, it becomes clear that conditions should not be mandated with little consideration of the areas of an offender's life that increase his or her chances of failing on supervision. What might not be obvious, upon first glance, is that when conditions are not realistic, relevant, and based on research, community corrections agencies become extremely inefficient, and end up "piling on sanctions" (Lucken, 1997). Consider our chronic substance abuser mentioned above, this is someone that has been consuming large quantities of alcohol and/or illegal drugs for quite possibly a long period of time. Individuals with such addictions have become accustomed to using alcohol and/or illegal drugs to handle everyday stress, to escape reality, to have fun, or for an assortment of other reasons in an uncontrollable fashion. Regardless of why such individuals continue to over-indulge in alcohol or use illegal drugs, it should be evident that these behaviors are ingrained into the everyday practices of an individual (which is a manifestation of their thought patterns). These entrenched behavior patterns are not going to switch overnight, but rather community corrections should look for incremental changes in offenders' behavior. Would probation be effective with a chronic drunk driver, if it were to re-shape this person's driving decisions only? That is, the offender may still drink, he or she may continue to drink too much, but he or she does not drive once they've been drinking.

It makes little sense to require multiple conditions of supervision that do not improve the effectiveness of community corrections. Think of how an officer's time could have been used if he or she was not administering dozens of alcohol and drug tests each week, then making decisions of whether to violate someone for failure of a urinalysis, and finally going through the bureaucratic and legal procedures to complete a violation. These activities occupy officer time and energy, and the more time spent enforcing sanctions that are not realistic, relevant, or

supported by research is time that is lost for accomplishing other tasks. This is not to suggest that alcohol abstinence or drug testing are not effective strategies, there are times that it is exactly what is needed, but there are also other times when such conditions are not realistic to an offender's life or their crime. Not only can conditions have unintended negative effects on offenders, but they can also place officers in a complicated situation in which enforcing such conditions is not a realistic request.

What is hopefully realized from this discussion is that probation and parole can be effective. However, more research is needed to understand the organizational structure, function, and potential for outcomes. This need for more organizational research is becoming increasingly more important as many states are placing a large burden on the community corrections field to supervise more offenders, especially several categories of high-risk offenders, namely sex offenders. Regardless of one's level of support or opposition for recent sex offender supervision legislation, there is the potential for unanticipated consequences stemming from such legislation (DeMichele, Payne, & Buttons, forthcoming).

Consider recent requirements in some states mandating life-time global-positioning satellite (GPS) tracking for certain sex offenders, such laws sound logical and are passed with the best of intentions. However, there is little research suggesting that sex offenders are less likely to victimize someone whether or not they are on GPS. This is not because the bulk of sex offenders are known to commit new sex crimes, but rather quite the opposite, as only a small percentage of sex offenders are believed to commit a new crime or sex crime (see Hanson & Bussiere, 1998; Langan, Schmitt, & Durose, 2003; Sample & Bray, 2003). This should not be taken as suggesting that sex offenders should not be punished, supervised closely, and held accountable for all inappropriate behavior. Instead, it is important to consider the cost and effectiveness of

lifetime GPS, the amount of officer time it will take to do routine aspects such as finding a vendor, developing and completing a contract, selecting, ordering, and receiving the equipment, training officers on how to use the equipment, including reading printouts, simple maintenance, and cleaning. There is little knowledge or consideration of the costs and consequences of these and other related everyday practices that probation and parole officers complete each day.

The intention of this report is to move community corrections policy makers and stakeholders closer to determining workload standards. It is difficult to determine appropriate levels of workload at the national level. However, it is clear that the courts and releasing authorities and community corrections agencies need to work in tandem to meet the needs of the community, victims, and offenders, and more research is needed to understand probation and parole practices across the country. Recall that the community corrections field is reliant upon other branches of the justice system and there needs to be greater communication between the legislature, judiciary, releasing authorities, and community corrections agencies.

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APPENDIX I
CONDITIONS OF SUPERVISION AND WORKLOAD ALLOCATION

Your Community Corrections Agency

1. Which of the following best describes your community corrections agency?
   ____Probation only

____Parole only
____Probation and Parole
____Other, please list type _____

2. Approximately how many years have you worked in the field of community corrections? ____

3. Please indicate the title of your current position_____

4. Which of the following best describes how many people live in the jurisdiction your agency serves?
____More than 300,000
____150,000 to 300,000
____75,000 to 150,000
____50,000 to 75,000
____30,000 to 50,000
____10,000 to 30,000
____Less than 10,000

5a.Which of the following best describes the jurisdiction your agency serves?
____Rural
____Suburban
____Urban
____Other, please specify _____

5b.What is the zip code of the department you serve:
_____Zip Code

6. Approximately how many full-time community corrections officers are employed by your agency?
_____

7. Over the past two years, has the number of full-time community corrections officers in your agency decreased as a direct result of budgetary concerns?
____Yes (**how many officers were eliminated _____**)
____No

8. Are the officers in your agency represented by a union?
____Yes
____No

9. Using a scale ranging from one (1 = least important) to ten (10 = most important), please rank each of the following goals of supervision:
____Character or moral reformation
____Therapy and rehabilitation
____Reintegration with community
____Offender monitoring
____Holding offenders accountable (i.e., punishment)
____Victim protection

____Community safety

Workload and Caseload Allocation

10. Does your agency conduct periodic reports quantifying workload assignments?
____Yes
____No

11. Does your agency measure workload by applying differential time values based upon offender risk scores (such that offenders deemed more likely to reoffend receive more attention)?
____Yes
____No

12. Which of the following best describes how work is assigned in your agency?
____Workload Model (i.e., based upon determination of time needed for all tasks)
____Caseload Model (i.e., based upon total number of offenders supervised)
____Other model, please specify_____

13. Using a scale ranging from one (1 = least important) to ten (10 = most important), please rank the importance of each of the following when determining conditions of supervision within your agency:
____Risk assessment
____Criminal history
____Uniform conditions determined by type of offense
____Court or releasing authority designs conditions
____Needs assessment

14. Please indicate the approximate average number of hours per month an officer in your agency spends with each of the following tasks:
Conducting home visits_____hours per month
Verifying collateral contacts_____hours per month
Receiving training_____hours per month
Performing administrative tasks_____hours per month
Drug tests_____hours per month
Motivational interviewing_____hours per month
Verifying employment_____hours per month
Court appearances_____hours per month
Substitute or backup coverage_____hours per month
Inter- or Intra-state transfer—in_____hours per month
Inter- or Intra-state transfer—out_____hours per month
Pre-sentence investigations_____hours per month
Processing technical violations_____hours per month
Other, please indicate_____hours per month

15. Using a scale ranging from one (1 = least important) to ten (10 = most important), please rank the importance of the following officer tasks:
____Conducting home visits

____Verifying collateral contacts
____Receiving training
____Performing administrative tasks
____Drug tests
____Motivational interviewing
____Verifying employment
____Court appearances
____Substitute or backup coverage
____Inter- or Intra-state transfer—in
____Inter- or Intra-state transfer—out
____Pre-sentence investigation
____Processing technical violations
____Other, please indicate_____

16a. Would you say that your current caseload is:
____Much too large
____Slightly too large
____About the correct size
____Slightly too small
____Much too small

16b. Would you say that your current workload is:
____Much too large
____Slightly too large
____About the correct size
____Slightly too small
____Much too small

17. Approximately how many offenders are on the caseload you currently supervise?
_____offenders on my caseload

18. Given your workload duties, approximately how many offenders do you feel you can adequately supervise on a general caseload?
_____number of offenders

Sex Offenders and High-Risk Supervision

19. Does your department have specific policies, programs, and/or procedures targeting sex offenders and other high-risk offenders?
____Yes (about what year did they begin_____?)
____No

20. Has your agency assigned specific officer(s) to oversee policies, programs, and/or procedures specifically targeting high risk offenders?
____Yes (about how many officers are assigned to high risk offenders_____)
____No

21. Please check any of the following activities conducted or contracted by your agency to supervise sex-offenders and other high-risk offenders.
____Polygraph tests
____Hired new personnel
____Penile plethysmograph
____GPS or other electronic monitoring device
____Mandatory treatment
____Other_____ (please specify)
____None

22. Have high risk offender initiatives resulted in:
____Increased workload
____Workloads have remained the same
____Workloads have decreased
____Other_____ (please specify)
____None

23. Does your agency require additional annual training credits for officers supervising sex offenders?
____Yes (approximately how many hours are required _____?)
____No

24. Would you say that your department has altered its central mission, goal, or purpose in response to high risk offenders? *If no, please skip to question number 25.*
____Yes
____No

24a. If yes to question 24, how would you characterize this change in mission, goal, or purpose?
_____
_____
_____

25. Is your agency required by legislation to use any electronic monitoring devices to supervise sex offenders?
____Yes
____No

26. Approximately how many sex offenders and other high-risk offenders are supervised by the agency in which you serve?
_____number of sex offenders on supervision

_____number of non-sex related high-risk offenders on supervision

Clarification of Survey Responses and Comments to APPA

In the space provided below please take the opportunity to provide clarification on any of your responses to questions on this survey or to make comments to APPA. Simply list the question number and your statement of clarification or just write your comments.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Request of Copies of Departmental Written Policies

We would appreciate viewing workload-caseload policies developed by your agency or evaluations your agency has conducted. Please send documents you are willing to share in an email with "workload-caseload" in the subject line to mdemichele@csg.org.