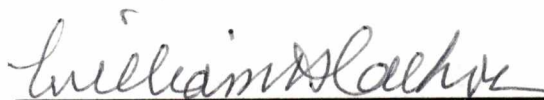


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Dorothy Elizabeth Jernigan entitled "Intensive Parole Supervision in Tennessee: An Evaluation." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.

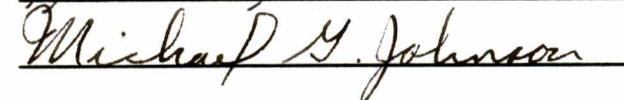


William Calhoun, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:







Accepted for the Council:



Vice Provost
and Dean of the Graduate School

INTENSIVE PAROLE SUPERVISION IN TENNESSEE
AN EVALUATION

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Dorothy Elizabeth Jernigan
December 1989

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DEDICATION

TO MY PARENTS

Elizabeth Jernigan and Richard Jernigan

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I would like to express deep appreciation to my committee chairperson, William Calhoun, and committee members, James Black, Michael Johnson, and Robert Kronick who all showed great patience and excellent guidance. I would also like to thank Allen Burt, Ethel Eissenberg, Elizabeth Jernigan, Richard Jernigan, Richard Longfellow, Joyce Richardson, Connie Russell, Mike Smith, Felecia Thomas, John Warren, the Knoxville and Oak Ridge Parole staffs, and the parolee subjects.

ABSTRACT

The study's main objective was to evaluate a new program of intensive parole supervision (IPS) in Knoxville, Tennessee. Secondary objectives were to determine causes of parole success and failure, and to reveal basic differences between IPS and regular parole populations.

First, two comparisons were conducted between parole successes and violators. Eighty-five regular parole successes and violators from 1982 and 1983 were compared on 22 demographic and crime variables. Statistically significant were sentence length, parole officer's assessment of risk, prison infractions, and jail days (before making bond). Then 50 IPS successes and violators from 1986 and 1987 were compared on the significant variables from the 1982-1983 comparison, but no differences were found.

Then, a population of 50 IPS parolees from the Knoxville parole office was compared with a population of 207 parolees from the Oak Ridge parole office for general demographic and crime variables. Differences were found in race, gender, age, and offense.

Then 46 subjects were taken from the Oak Ridge parole population to match with 46 of the Knox County IPS parolees. The groups were compared for treatment variables and dependent variables. Significant differences were found in amounts of treatment, but the only dependent variable significant result showed IPS to have more parole violations than regular parolees.

Also, the group of 50 IPS parolees from 1986 and 1987 was compared with 45 regular parolees who had problems with their parole, six months prior to the IPS group's observation. Significant differences were found in amounts of treatment, but not in independent variables, except that more IPS parolees than regular parolees received technical violations.

Lastly, the group of IPS parolees was assessed for relationships among treatment and dependent variables. Parole officers' subject and community contacts correlated positively with parole violations, while number of parolees attending AA meetings correlated negatively with parole violations.

The conclusion is that most components of IPS appear either ineffective or harmful, with AA attendance being the only helpful treatment component.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. DEFINITIONS

Parole

Parole is the status of a person being released from custody before the expiration of his or her felony sentence and being placed under the supervision of a parole officer. The Tennessee Code Annotated (TCA) (1982) defined parole as:

the release of a prisoner to the community by the board of paroles prior to the expiration of his term subject to conditions imposed by the board and to its supervision

(40-28-102 [5])

The studies presented in this paper attempt to find which variables are most predictive of parole success, and which type of parole is most successful--Intensive Parole Supervision (IPS) or regular parole. They also attempt to uncover differences between IPS and regular parole.

Explanation of IPS

IPS is a special program in the State of Tennessee which the Parole Board designed for the purpose of enforcing more stringent standards than regular parole. The Tennessee Parole Board first implemented IPS in November of 1986, in Knox County. Later other regions of Tennessee adopted the program.

The Tennessee Parole Department utilizes two methods to assign parolees to IPS. They are (1) direct placement of prison residents into IPS and (2) administrative placement of current parolees into IPS. This paper refers to directly released inmates as new parolees and to administratively placed parolees as old parolees.

The Tennessee Parole Board is responsible for regulating the flow of persons to and from parole. The Board is composed of five persons appointed by the governor of Tennessee. It has the authority to grant parole by deciding whether to release a person to regular parole or to IPS, or to keep him or her in prison. It also has the power to revoke a previously granted parole.

The Parole Board considers many factors when assigning inmates to IPS. Some of these factors are the person's future plans, prison performance, employment record, and his or her score on the Tennessee Board of Parole, Parole Summary Prediction Scale: (Parole Prediction Scale, developed by Dr. James Fox, Eastern Kentucky University, 1981; see Appendix). This is an instrument which ranks prison inmates in an attempt to predict future parole performance. It contains items pertaining to previous paroles, previous convictions, sentence length, age upon entering prison, and type of offense. If the Parole Board recommends an offender to IPS, the person has the option either to enter IPS or to remain in prison. If the person declines IPS, the Parole Board will not parole him or her at that point in time.

After the Parole Board approves an inmate for the program, the person stays in prison until an IPS parole officer investigates his or her home and employment plan. The Parole Board will not release the person into the community until the parole officer has approved the arrangements and the candidate has served a certain percentage of his or her prison sentence.

The Administrative Case Review Committee (ACRC), is a body of five to seven parole officers which has the authority to change the status of present parolees from regular parole status to intensive parole status. When a parole officer refers a parolee to IPS, the ACRC votes whether to retain the person on regular parole or to reassign him or her to IPS. If a parolee is experiencing problems conforming to regular parole, the parole officer may refer the person to IPS in the hope that IPS will help him or her complete parole successfully.

The parolee must agree to volunteer for this change of supervision, as transfer to IPS can only be made with his or her consent. However, refusal to "volunteer" for IPS may result in the parole officer instigating violation proceedings, especially if the previous parole performance has been very poor.

In making its decision, the ACRC considers the person's previous parole performance, the recommendation of his or her current parole officer, and scores on the Tennessee Parole Risk Assessment (Risk Assessment Scale) and Tennessee Parole Risk Reassessment (Risk Reassessment Scale) (both developed by Dr. James Fox, Eastern Kentucky University, 1981; see Appendix). The

Risk Assessment Scale is used to predict recidivism of new parolees while the Risk Reassessment Scale, completed after the person has been on parole for six months to a year, is an update of the Risk Assessment Scale. These instruments resemble the Parole Prediction Scale.

If the ACRC rejects the referral, then the parole officer must decide whether to retain the person on regular parole or to request a parole violation warrant. If the ACRC accepts the person for IPS, he or she will usually enter IPS within a few days. All IPS candidates must have a minimum of three months left on their sentences.

When a person enters IPS, he or she will remain in the program for a minimum of three months, unless a parole violation warrant (parole warrant) is issued. IPS parole officers may extend the three month period, as an alternative to requesting a parole warrant, for those who commit minor violations. There are only four ways that a person can leave IPS: (1) through parole violation, (2) through the permission of his or her parole officers to enter regular parole, (3) through expiration of his or her sentence, and (4) through death.

The IPS staff is a closely knit unit which works together monitoring parolees. At the time of this study, the IPS officers worked in teams of two. Each team had a maximum of 25 parolees to supervise.

During the first two months of the program, IPS officers meet with the parolee in the parole office at least once a week. They visit his or her home two or three times a week. After the first two months, the home visits may be reduced to once per week. Many IPS parolees wear wrist monitors which enable their parole officers to verify their whereabouts through computerized telephone calls. Also, IPS officers may administer drug screens at any time. IPS officers often require parolees to attend alcoholics anonymous (AA) meetings or other community counseling sessions. After release from IPS, the person is reassigned to a regular parole officer who administers close supervision referred to as "post intensive maximum supervision."

In contrast to an IPS officer, a regular parole officer may have a caseload exceeding 50 parolees. Regular parolees are only required to report to their parole officers a maximum of twice a month, and the parole officers are not required to visit their homes as

often as are intensive parole officers. Regular parolees do not wear wrist monitors, and their parole officers rarely administer drug screens. While regular parole officers sometimes require parolees to attend AA meetings or other counseling sessions, they usually do not require them to attend as many meetings as do IPS officers.

In summary, Tennessee Intensive Parole Supervision (IPS) is a special parole treatment program for old and new parolees, first implemented in November of 1986, which emphasizes stricter standards of supervision than regular parole.

Other Technical Terms

AA: See Alcoholics' Anonymous

Absconding: Leaving parole supervision without permission, by not reporting or by moving without notice.

Adjudication: A judge's decision concerning a criminal or civil charge.

ACRC: See Administrative Case Review Committee.

Administrative Case Review Committee (ACRC): A committee of five to seven parole officers who decide whether to retain a parolee on regular parole or to reassign him or her to intensive parole.

Alcoholics' Anonymous (AA): A nationwide, nonprofit group of substance abusers who hold meetings in the community to help each other with alcohol and often other substance abuse problems.

Bond: A security or a pledge which assures the court that an accused person will appear in court if he or she is released from jail prior to the trial date.

COR: See court ordered release.

Court ordered release (COR): An early release of a prisoner to parole due to a federal court order to relieve overcrowding.

Custody: See Incarceration.

Disciplinary Infraction: A prisoner's misconduct which results in a written reprimand.

Felon: A person who commits a felony.

Felony: A crime which lawmakers regard as serious. In Tennessee a felony usually has a penalty of one year or more.

Incapacitate: To keep someone from committing crimes by imprisoning him or her.

Incarceration: Being in jail or prison (behind bars).

Instant offense: The offense for which a person is on parole.

Institution: A jail or prison.

Intensive Parole Supervision (IPS): A special program designed to enforce stricter standards than regular parole.

IPS: See Intensive Parole Supervision.

Jail: A local facility operated by the city or county which houses local misdemeanor offenders and some felons.

Jail days: The number of days a parolee spends in jail without posting bond while awaiting conviction and/or sentencing on his or her instant offense.

Living arrangements: The person's home environment. The categories which are used in this paper are (1) living with spouse or parents (2) other living arrangements.

Maximum sentence length: The longest possible length of time that a felon will have to serve on his or her sentence.

Misdemeanor: A crime which lawmakers regard as less serious than a felony. In Tennessee, a misdemeanor usually has a penalty of a fine or a sentence of less than one year.

Months incarcerated: The number of months spent behind bars on the parolee's instant offense which include jail days.

Neighborhood: The location of the person's home. The categories which are used in this paper are (1) urban and (2) rural/suburban.

New parolee: A person who has just been released to parole.

Offender: A term used interchangeably with felon in this paper.

Old parolee: A parolee who is already under parole supervision at the time of the observation.

Parole: The status of a person being released from custody before the expiration of his or her felony sentence and being placed under the supervision of a parole officer.

Parole Board: An administrative body of five people, which has the authority to grant and to revoke parole.

Parole officer: A State employee who supervises parolees.

Parole Prediction Scale: See Tennessee Board of Parole Parole Summary Prediction Scale.

Parole supervision: The actions of a parole officer which consist of monitoring a parolee's activities, enforcing the parole rules, and assisting the parolee.

Parole warrant: See Parole violation warrant.

Parole violation warrant (Parole warrant): A warrant issued by the Tennessee State Director of Paroles to bring the parolee into custody after he or she has violated parole in a serious manner.

Parolee: A person on parole.

Post intensive maximum supervision: A strict type of regular parole supervision for parolees who have completed intensive parole supervision.

Probation: The status of a person having a suspended sentence where a judge has allowed him or her to serve some or all of the sentence in freedom on the condition of good behavior.

Prison: A State-owned facility which houses felons only.

Property offense: A crime, such as theft, which deprives a victim of property.

Recidivism: Repeated criminal offenses; a relapse into crime.

Regular parole: The type of parole supervision which has been traditionally practiced in Tennessee, (in contrast to Intensive Parole Supervision).

Revocation: The act of the Parole Board of taking away a person's freedom and parole status when parole rules are violated.

Risk Assessment Scale: See Tennessee Parole Risk Assessment.

Risk Reassessment Scale: See Tennessee Parole Risk Reassessment.

Special Condition: An addition to the regular rules of parole.

Supervision: See Parole Supervision.

Surveillance: Monitoring a parolee's activities in the community.

Technical Violation: An act of a parolee which breaks one or more rules of his or her parole but does not break the law.

Tennessee Board of Parole Certificate of Parole

A document which contains certain rules that a parolee agrees to obey (Appendix).

Tennessee Board of Parole Parole Summary Prediction

Scale: (Parole Prediction Scale): An instrument which ranks prison inmates in an attempt to predict future parole performance (developed by Dr. James Fox, Eastern Kentucky University, 1981, Appendix).

Tennessee Parole Needs Assessment and Notice of

Arrival (Needs Assessment Scale): A scale used to predict the amount of parole officer time which will be spent in response to a parolee's particular needs (developed by Dr. James Fox, Eastern Kentucky University, 1981, Appendix).

Tennessee Parole Risk Assessment (Risk Assessment

Scale): A scale used to predict recidivism of new parolees (developed by Dr. James Fox, Eastern Kentucky University, 1981, Appendix).

Tennessee Parole Risk Reassessment (Risk

Reassessment Scale): A scale used to predict recidivism of parolees after they have been on parole for a year--an update of the Risk Assessment Scale (developed by Dr. James Fox, Eastern Kentucky University, 1981, Appendix).

Treatment variables: Independent variables pertaining to components of parole supervision.

Violation: The act of a parolee which breaks one or more of the rules of parole, either technical or legal rules.

Violation report: A report written by a parole officer which charges a parolee with committing parole violations. This report may, or may not, request a parole violation warrant.

Violent offense: Any crime which is inflicted on another's person causing fear, pain, or unwanted sexual involvement; also called a person offense.

Wrist monitor: A unremovable device attached to a parolee's wrist or ankle which verifies curfew compliance whenever he or she receives a computerized telephone call.

2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Due to overcrowding of prisons, the Tennessee Parole Board is releasing a large number of criminals to parole. The problem concerns methods of managing these individuals in the community by means of a viable alternative to imprisonment.

Traditional incarceration has been practiced in the United States for at least 100 years (Abadinsky, 1982). In spite of extensive experience with traditional incarceration, studies have not shown that it has a significant rehabilitative or deterrent effect on prisoners. "Most earlier studies showed little or no discernible deterrent effect from varying the severity" (Von Hirsch, 1976).

Incarceration serves a community function by keeping felons in prison so they cannot rob, steal, or rape. However, society must pay the bill for prisoners who are forced into idleness and nonproductive activities. Also, there are many detrimental effects of incarceration. A prisoner may be subjected to unhealthy conditions, abuse from staff, physical and sexual exploitation from inmates, and unwholesome criminal influences.

Prison overcrowding intensifies the above problems and may add additional hardships to those already suffering from the ill effects of imprisonment. Studies involving rats who are placed in overcrowded populations show heightened aggression, sexual abnormalities, and

apathy (Calhoun, 1962). Humans crowded into prisons also manifest aggression, sexual abnormalities, apathy, and other problems.

As of 1985 there were 500,000 prison residents in the United States, housed in state and federal institutions. (Bureau of Prison Statistics, 1985). The large number of inmates has caused a nationwide problem of prison overcrowding. Tennessee was one of the many states which suffered from overcrowding. A federal court order (Grubbs v. Norris, 552 F. Supp. 1052, M.D. Tenn. 1982) attempted to deal with Tennessee's crowding problem by ordering the State to reduce its prison population to a legally acceptable level. The State attempted to comply with the court order by building new facilities, but due to the slowness of these efforts, was forced to release prisoners before they were eligible for parole. The Parole Board began releasing nonviolent, low risk prisoners by a process of Court Ordered Release (COR). However, failing to reach levels prescribed by the Court, it was forced to implement COR for higher-risk prisoners than before.

The practice of early release caused a growing public fear and resentment. In order to quiet public unrest and to manage high risk parolees, the Tennessee

Parole Board proposed a strict form of community supervision called Intensive Parole Supervision (IPS).

In sum, incarceration, as currently practiced, has serious shortcomings, and viable alternatives are needed. This study assesses IPS, an alternative to traditional incarceration.

3. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This literature review covers causes of crime, types of offenders, theories of sanctions, probation and parole, and methods of evaluation.

Causes of Criminal Behavior

There are many different theories about the causes of criminal behavior. Some of these theories are sociological in nature, and some are individual. The field of sociology deals with sociological causes while psychology deals with individual causes. Many of these theories overlap and interact with each other. Some of the most popular theories are as follows:

Sociological theories: Modern sociology is attributed to have originated with the French philosopher Auguste Comte in the early nineteenth century (Gibbons, 1979). Emile Durkheim who further developed the field later in the nineteenth century advocated that groups were entities and should be treated as units (cited in Wrightsman, 1977).

In the 1930s Americans became interested in the sociological influences of crime. This can be attributed in part to the research work of Shaw and McKay (cited in Gibbons, 1979). Shaw and McKay's studies found that most juvenile delinquents were psychologically normal. They also found that the highest rate of juvenile court referrals in Chicago were from specific areas. In cities such as Chicago they found inner-city areas, which were usually populated by particular ethnic groups, to contain the highest rates of delinquency. The delinquency rate steadily diminished as one moved away from the center in a concentric circle type of pattern. People would move out of the inner city as soon as financially able and would be replaced by those of other ethnic groups. This resulted in several complete shifts of inner city populations, but the delinquency rates stayed the same.

The fact that no particular group of people was responsible for delinquency prompted Shaw and McKay to suggest a functionalist interpretation for delinquency. Shaw and McKay's idea of crime being a response to one's environment was elaborated on by Robert Merton in his theory of anomie (Gibbons, 1979).

Anomie. Merton defined social problems, such as delinquency, as the "unwanted discrepancies between what is in a society and what a functionally significant collectivity within that society . . . desires to be in it (Merton, 1961, p. 718). He defined deviant behavior as "conduct that departs significantly from the norms set for people in their social statuses" (Merton, 1961, pp. 723-724). Merton developed his theory of anomie from Durkheim's theories of societal change. According to Durkheim (cited in Cressey, 1961), society was empty because it had lost its values:

What is characteristic of our development is that it has successfully destroyed all the established social contexts; one after another they have been banished either by the slow usury of time or by

violent revolution, and in such fashion
that nothing has been developed to replace
them. (p. 16)

Society's emptiness can create a feeling of anomie to which Durkheim (cited in Gibbs, 1961) attributed deviant acts such as suicide. Elwin Powell (cited in Gibbs, 1961, p. 236) defined anomie: "Characterized by 'emptiness' and apathy, anomie can be simply conceived as meaninglessness." The condition of anomie arises "(w)hen the ends of action become contradictory, unaccessible or insignificant" (Powell cited in Gibbs, 1961, p. 236).

Powell's ideas were similar to those of Merton. Merton (1969) believed that, in a changing society, prescribed mores are lost and other values are substituted, such as material values. He stated that large scale criminal behavior is a result of a society placing great emphasis upon individual success, such as wealth or material goods, while at the same time blocking the means to achieve them for certain parts of the population. When individuals find themselves unable to obtain the goals which society forces upon them, they

resort to behaviors, such as "conformity", "innovation", "ritualism", "retreatism", or "rebellion" (Merton, 1969, pp. 265-281).

Joseph W. Scott and Edmund W. Vaz (cited in Gibbons, 1976, p. 155) had their own theory of anomie. They thought that an irresponsible middle-class "youth culture" had grown due to changes in American economic life since the early 1900s. Parents no longer emphasized ambition and achievement, and adolescents often did not have to work at part-time jobs in order to save for college.

Another explanation of anomie was offered by Tonnies (cited in Fritz, 1961, p. 563) in his concepts of "Gemeinschaft" and "Gesellschaft." Respectively, these concepts mean a strong identification with others, that the common good is one's own; and a belief that actions within a group will have an effect on oneself. In industrial societies these concepts can break down, and when one no longer cares about the well being of others and also no longer believes that his or her actions have personal consequences, a feeling of apathy or anomie occurs. This can result in deviant behaviors.

Akers (1977) criticized anomie theory by saying people who belong to groups which are not disorganized also commit crimes, and that most people who are in disorganized segments of the population do not commit crimes

Control theory. Similar to anomie theory is control theory. Control theory also attributes deviant behavior to the loss of prescribed norms. However, it differs from anomie and other theories in that it dwells on the reasons why people do not commit deviant acts, instead of why they do. Control theory assumes that criminal behavior is a natural behavior which is only held in check by society's mores and rules. According to Hirschi (1969), there are four main controls: attachment (affection and respect toward significant others), commitment (investment in conventional activities, such as education), involvement (time engaged in conventional activities), and belief (faith in the main values of society).

Kingsley Davis (1979) offered demographic data to show that delinquency is caused by the recent loss of familial controls. He said that in urban areas, the nuclear family is isolated from relatives and friends,

there is a rise in single parent families due to father absenteeism, and the role of parenthood is being taken over by schools and other institutions. As a result, children do not receive many constraints on their activities. Also causing loosening of controls is idle time resulting from youth unemployment which Davis (1979) attributed to women entering the work force.

Walter Reckless (1967) proposed a variation of control theory, called containment theory, which focused on internal controls. Examples of internal controls are "a favorable self-image", "goal orientation. . . toward socially approved goals", "a high level of frustration tolerance", and "commitment to . . . values, norms, laws, codes, institutions, and customs" (Reckless, 1967, pp. 475-476). When one's inner and outer barriers against committing deviant acts weaken, then the person's impulses to commit crime may take over.

Reckless's containment theory has been criticized as being "vague" (Schrag cited in Gibbons, 1979, p 117), and Davis's control theory has been criticized as too comprehensive. "Virtually everything can be considered

to be a form of social control, and thus the study of control becomes coterminous with the study of social behavior" (Gibbons, 1979, p. 114).

Agnew (1985) analyzed past studies which support Hirschi's social control theory and found methodological errors. With longitudinal reanalysis, Agnew showed that, although personality scores of attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief correlate with delinquency, they do not predict it. If anything, the delinquency factor predicts the control scores.

Overall, the data suggest that the importance of Hirschi's social control theory has been exaggerated . . . The data in this study indicate that social control is unimportant in predicting delinquency among middle to older adolescents. (Agnew, 1985, pp. 58-59)

It is possible that a third variable, such as societal change through technology, causes crime. For example, Toffler (1980) said that humans have a hard time adapting to rapid change, and may react with deviant behaviors such as drug use. Different segments of society may possess different controls. This is elaborated on in the theory of differential association.

Differential association. Sutherland and Cressey (1969) believed that different groups within the same society have different mores and customs. The mores and customs of lower-class society conflict with those of the dominant ruling class. According to Sutherland (cited in Schur, 1965, p. 7), mores are more influential than laws, "When the mores are adequate, laws are unnecessary; when the mores are inadequate, the laws are ineffective."

Sutherland developed his theory of differential association in an attempt to account for deviant behavior from those of lower-class society. Crime and delinquency are results of cultural conflict where the norms of the lower class differ from the behaviors demanded by law. Young people learn to accept deviant behaviors through learning which takes place within intimate personal groups. These groups are not pathological but resemble other groups in many ways. The person learns how to commit crimes through communication with those in his or her group by general learning procedures including imitation. One will become acceptant of crime if he or she is isolated from

law-abiding people and is exposed to a larger number of favorable crime definitions than unfavorable definitions (Sutherland and Cressey, 1969).

Others such as Glaser and Akers have elaborated on Sutherland and Cressey's views. Glaser's (1969) theory of differential identification said that a person does not become a criminal until he or she actually identifies oneself as such. The person is not necessarily a passive recipient of influential teachings. According to Glaser (1969, p. 525), one voluntarily chooses his or her real or imaginary crime models, "(A) person pursues criminal behavior to the extent that he identifies himself with real or imaginary persons from whose perspective his criminal behavior seems acceptable." This explanation accounts for criminals who are not members of a deviant group, such as sex offenders. The offender develops a "self conception" which supports his or her behavior (Glaser, 1969, p. 526). Even in cases of "'accidental'" crime the consequences "may be such as to foster identification with criminal-role models (whether one is apprehended for the accidental crime or not)" (Glaser, 1969, p. 526).

Akers (1977) agreed with Glaser that criminal behavior is not always learned through group communication and that reference groups may be imaginary. He said that, although the major part of learning takes place within groups, not all of it does. He added the principles of operant conditioning onto Sutherland's and Glaser's theories saying that all criminal behavior can be explained through operant principles. Akers (1977) also said that one can learn without social contacts:

Deviant behavior is learned both in nonsocial situations that are reinforcing . . . and through that social interaction in which the behavior of other persons is reinforcing (pp. 42-43)

An example of nonsocial reinforcement is gaining material goods from committing a burglary. According to Akers (1977), social reinforcements can be administered by one's subgroup or by one's own mind:

One may reinforce or punish his own behavior even when alone. But this self-reinforcement is still social, in that one takes the role of others as if they were present (p. 48)

Gibbons (1979, p. 56) criticized Sutherland's version of differential association by saying that his claims are "overly ambiguous, and "essentially untestable." Sutherland himself admitted that his theory was not specific (cited in Akers, 1977).

Focal concerns. Walter Miller (Kvaraceus & Miller, 1959) had a theory which is classified with subcultural theories but, due to its emphasis on learning, appears to resemble differential association. He stated that, as a function of lower-class society, children are socialized into certain values called focal concerns. The focal concerns are trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate, and autonomy. Although not directly advocating crime, these focal concerns often place youths in situations where crime is inevitable.

Examples of how these concerns may contribute to crime are as follows: Overconcern with getting into trouble may create a self-fulfilling prophecy. One may be inclined to engage in fighting (toughness), stealing (smartness), and vandalism (excitement), but believe that being arrested is not his or her fault (fate). He or she might also have trouble conforming to the demands

of a job (autonomy). However, Stark (1975) criticized subcultural theories such as Miller's by saying that most delinquents seem to have the same sets of norms as the rest of society, and that crime is generally not condoned by the norms of a distinctive subculture.

Strain theories. Gibbons (1979, p. 98) stated that Miller's theory differed from subcultural strain theories in that he viewed delinquency as "the product of long-established, durable traditions of lower-class life" On the other hand, Albert Cohen (1955) believed that delinquency was a result of the strain of not being able to live up to middle-class standards. This occurs when lower-class youths are forced to associate with middle-class youths. Cohen stated that when a lower-class child enters school, he or she is pressured to conform to middle-class standards, which causes the child to feel inadequate. In frustration, he or she joins a gang which commits hostile acts as a way of declaring independence from middle-class values. Cohen said that such acts have the consequence of causing middle-class members to reject them even more than they had previously.

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) formulated another strain theory which held that youth gangs commit hostile acts out of frustration. This frustration is not from inability to attain middle-class status but from being unable to attain high status within their own class. Money is a necessary requirement to obtain the trappings of such status which, according to some lower-class youths, consist of "'big cars', 'flashy clothes,' and 'swell dames.'" (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960, p. 96). However, in most lower-class neighborhoods there are few opportunities to make money, either legally or illegally. In order to gain respect and a sense of self-importance, youths form fighting gangs. "The immediate aim in the world of fighting gangs is to acquire a reputation for toughness and destructive violence" (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960, p. 24). Most of this violence is directed towards members of other gangs, and also represents a way to secure access to the scarce resources of their area.

Kitsuse and Dietrick (1959) stated that, regardless of how people get into gangs, they are targets for hostile response by respectable citizens:

These negative reactions lead the offenders
to reject their rejectors through further

deviant conduct. The delinquent subculture . . . creates for those who participate in it, the very problems which were the bases for its emergence. (p. 215)

Stark (1975) criticized strain theory, saying that many of those who would seem to be the most subject to frustration do not become delinquents, and that people from middle- and upper-class families also break the law. He also said that the type of deviant behavior supposedly performed out of frustration is unprofitable and thus would not be effective in relieving frustration.

Labelling theories. While strain theorists, such as Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin, believe that people voluntarily form subcultures; labelling theorists, such as Scheff, Lemert, and Schur, believe that people are forced into subcultures due to being cast out of the dominant society. Scheff (1966), a prominent labelling theorist, dealt with deviant acts performed by those labelled as mentally ill. He stated that practically everyone commits such acts, but mental health workers are likely to label those of low status as being mentally ill. Scheff considered labelling to

be a political move to force lower-class people into mental institutions. Once one is labelled as such, the person is forever stereotyped and rejected by the rest of society, causing him or her to commit further deviant acts (Scheff, 1966).

Edwin Lemert introduced the concept of "secondary deviance" (Akers, 1977, p. 30). According to Lemert (1969), secondary deviance refers to deviant acts which a person performs because of labelling, while primary deviance is the act which caused the labelling in the first place. Schur (1965) stated that labelling pushes people into subcultures and further deviation. An example Schur (1965) used was that of drug abuse. Due to laws in the United States, a drug addict is often forced to associate with other drug addicts and commit crimes in order to obtain drugs. However, in Great Britain addicts are able to obtain drugs through prescriptions, and it is unusual for them to belong to drug subcultures or to commit crimes. Schur (1965) stated:

Defining behavior as 'deviant' has profound effects on those individuals engaging in it;

what might be termed the criminalization of deviance pushes the process one step further.

(p. 5)

He said that once one is prosecuted for a criminal offense, the person then takes on a complete new identity as a deviant in the eyes of society, regardless of previous status.

Labelling appears to be the most heavily criticized theory. Gove (1975, p. 37) said that labelling theorists do not address the question of "why does the person commit an act of primary deviance?" He stated that families of mentally ill people often refuse to label them as such, and there is also little evidence of lower-class victimization. In opposition to Schur and Lemert, he stated, "(I)t is the individuals with the most resources who are the most likely to enter the role of the mentally ill" (Gove , 1975, p. 67). He said that their primary disorder is much worse than any secondary deviance caused by labelling. Akers (1977, p. 33) also said that labelling does not create the problem, "It is reasonable to assume, then, that the deviant behavior could continue without or in spite of, not because of, the public label."

Conflict theory. Conflict theory is a subcultural theory which emphasizes ongoing conflict between societal groups, especially between the group which makes the laws and the lower classes. Austin Turk (cited in Gibbons, 1979, p. 157) said that "nothing and no one is intrinsically criminal; criminality is a definition applied by individuals with the power to do so" In this view, those in power enforce these laws in order to retain their authority and overabundance of material goods. Making and breaking laws are acts of warfare between the haves and the have-nots. This view does not see the criminal behavior as the social problem, but the underlying society as a problem instead.

Summary. The above discussion of differential association and focal concerns implies that the criminal is a well-adjusted person conforming to the rules of his or her segment of society. The discussion of conflict theory also implies that the criminal is not maladjusted but is rationally performing rebellious acts against the upper and middle-class enemies. While strain and labelling theories show the criminal engaging in

conflict between social classes, they portray the individual as being frustrated and maladjusted, engaging in self-defeating activities. Anomie and control theories show the criminal to be a maladjusted product of a maladjusted society. Although the theorists disagreed as to the specific causes of behavior and effects on the person, all of them believed that society had the main influence on human behavior.

Developmental Factors. Other theories, such as developmental theories, do not deny that large scale social forces may have an impact on behavior. However, they place their focus on the individual causes. Perhaps most oppositional to sociological theories are those which believe that the tendency to commit crimes can be caused by biological factors. Theories that physical factors may cause criminal tendencies are presently unpopular with the scientific community (Trasler, 1987). However, there is much evidence to show that biology may contribute to criminal behavior (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

Inheritance studies. Some of these causes are genetic in nature. For example, studies of twins show that criminal tendencies may be inherited. A study by Lange (cited in Trasler, 1987) showed a higher concordance of criminal behavior between identical twins than between fraternal twins. Similar results were shown by Kranz and by Christiansen (cited in Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

Adoption studies in Denmark, Sweden, and America also showed evidence of heritability of criminality (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Crowe's recent American adoption study (cited in Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985, p. 100) suggested "a strong biological resemblance between a parent and a child given up for adoption in some trait or traits that predispose people toward trouble with the law."

Intelligence is a trait which many have shown to be inherited (Sattler, 1982) and also correlated with crime (Quay, 1987b). Quay (1987b) stated that studies have shown delinquents to have mean IQs of about eight points lower than the general population. However, this does not necessarily mean that low intelligence causes crime. There are many sources of bias, such as the fact that

intelligence and crime are both correlated with low socioeconomic status (SES). Wilson & Herrnstein (1985) stated:

Perhaps . . . the essential difference between offenders and nonoffenders is SES, with the IQ difference incidental, of no causal significance in its own right. (p. 155)

Some studies show that the tendency to abuse alcohol may be inherited, and others show that alcohol consumption is related to criminal behavior (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Studies by Wolfgang; Greenberg; and Peterson and Braiker (cited in Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985) showed that crimes are committed under the influence of alcohol from one-third to two-thirds of the time. However, it has not been proven that an inherited tendency to abuse alcohol is related to criminal behavior. Although alcohol use is related to crime, people who inherit the tendency to abuse alcohol do not necessarily commit crimes. Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) stated that studies do not show a causal relationship between the two:

Since we have already seen . . . that constitutional factors can have some effect on who becomes criminal and who does not,

the absence of a connection between the heritability of alcoholism and the heritability of crime may seem strange.
(p. 361)

Chromosomal abnormalities. Another genetic possibility of crime causation concerns chromosomal abnormalities. A Danish study (cited in Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985) showed that XYY men have a higher percentage of criminal behavior than do men in the general population, but that XYY criminals are not more violent than XY criminals. Other factors besides chromosomal may be the cause of criminal behavior in these people. For example, the XYY chromosome is correlated with depressed intelligence and poor school performance (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Also, the results of studies of other chromosomal abnormalities concerning crime have been inconclusive (Trasler, 1987).

Body types. Body types have often been associated with crime. For example, Sheldon (1949) conducted a study of somatypes and found that a combination of mesomorphy (muscular build) and endomorphy (plumpness)

was more dominant in delinquent populations than in the general population. This finding has been confirmed by other researchers, such as Glueck and Glueck (cited in Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

The brain and nervous system. Another theory is that reticular activating system (RAS) underarousal may cause a person to constantly seek excitement. Sensory stimulation aids the RAS in its function of arousing the brain, and some individuals may need more stimulation than others. Eysenck (1977) believed that excitement seeking is a major cause of criminal behavior, and Bartol (1980) said there is some proof that certain types of criminals display low RAS functioning.

Low autonomic nervous system response has also been suggested as a possible cause of crime. Hare (cited in Eysenck, 1977) showed that certain offenders, who were classified as psychopathic, displayed a lesser reaction to electrical shock than did nonoffenders. Hare theorized that such people may not be easily classically conditioned and thus do not learn to avoid crime.

Interaction. Social forces, either by themselves or through interaction with biological characteristics, may predispose a child towards crime. Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985) stated:

(W)e believe that criminal behavior, like all human behavior, results from a complex interaction of genetic and environmental factors. Our knowledge of this interaction is not yet good enough to permit anyone to say with confidence how much of the variation in the law-violating behavior of people can be attributed to genetic and how much to environmental factors. (p. 70)

The family. Family influence is very important. A juvenile delinquent does not instantly become one at adolescence. Instead, the process starts in early childhood as the "end-product of inadequate socialization whose roots can be observed in childhood" (Snyder, 1987, p. 218). Children who commit antisocial behaviors, such as lying and stealing often will do so as adolescents and adults (Loeber; Loeber & Dishon; Olweus, cited in Snyder, 1987).

The family exerts a profound influence over the developing youngster in two major ways: how it socializes the child and how it does not socialize the child. As mentioned in the above sociological discussion on differential association and focal concerns, some families may socialize a child into delinquency through values and norms that predispose one towards crime, but what the family does not do may also be important. Some families neglect teaching morals, resulting in their children's moral development being arrested at a low stage (Arbuthnot, Gordon & Jurkovic, 1987). Kohlberg's moral stages (cited in Arbuthnot, Gordon & Jurkovic, 1987, p. 159) are (1) "Preconventional" (where the person obeys laws in order to avoid punishment); (2) "Conventional" (where the person obeys laws to gain social approval); and (3) "Post-Conventional, or Principled" (where a person obeys laws when they are ethical but breaks them when they violate human rights). Arbuthnot, Gordon, and Jurkovic (1987) stated:

It does appear to be the case . . . that one finds greater proportions of delinquents or predelinquents at preconventional than at conventional stages, while the reverse is

true for the nondelinquent controls. (p. 161)

Although attitudes and values, such as those belonging to a "subterranean subculture", may account for some delinquency, there is much delinquency that they can not account for (Arbuthnot, Gordon & Jurkovic, 1987, p. 157). Other factors, such as discipline may be more important than attitudes or values. Snyder (1985) cited many studies which show lack of discipline to be a major factor in delinquency and aggression. He said that correct disciplinary procedures usually consist of:

- (1) the accurate definition and labelling of certain behaviors as excessive or antisocial;
- (2) the consistent tracking of those behaviors over time and across settings; and
- (3) the consistent and contingent use of effective but not harsh methods to inhibit those behaviors. (p. 220)

The key word in this definition appears to be "consistent". For example, Patterson (cited in Snyder, 1985) stated that parents often fail to consistently back up verbal reprimands with punishment.

Lack of affection and attention are also contributors towards delinquency according to many studies (Snyder, 1985). Positive parental attention is needed to teach the child "interpersonal, academic, and work skills" (Snyder, 1985, p. 223).

Peers and teachers. If the child is lacking in the above skills, there will be problems when he or she enters school. "Given that the child is antisocial and lacks skills . . . (h)e is placed at risk for rejection by peers and adults, and for academic and work failure" (Snyder, 1987, p. 219). As a result, the child may be forced to associate with other social rejects who will only contribute to further antisocial behavior (Snyder, 1987). Also, the child may commit delinquent acts in order to raise his or her self esteem. These theories are in agreement with strain theories of delinquent gangs, but the processes do not have to take place in lower-class gangs. For example, Arbuthnot, Gordon & Jurkovic (1987) showed studies of individual youths performing delinquent acts in order to enhance their self-esteem

Employment. As the adolescent matures, adults, such as potential employers, will continue to exert

control over his or her behavior. For the career criminal, unemployment may cause increased crime. According to Blumstein, Cohen, Roth, & Visher, (1986), unstable employment in the offender's recent past is one of the major causes of multiple offenses. Later in life, unemployment may be caused by being released from prison too late to take advantage of training and employment opportunities (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Some juvenile offenders taper off their delinquent activities with the emergence of adulthood, but a substantial proportion of them (30 to 60 percent) will go on to reoffend as adults (McCord, Shannon, Polk et. al; Farrington, Wolfgang, Thornberg, & Figlio, cited in Blumstein, et al., 1986).

Maturity. As offenders get older, arrests for criminal activity systematically decrease with age (Glueck and Glueck; Hirschi & Gottfredson; Moberg; Rowe & Tittle; Sellin, cited in Shover 1983). Some mature offenders are able to locate employment and cite this as a reason for ceasing criminal activity (Shover, 1983). Another major factor that ex-offenders often give for cessation of criminal activities is a close attachment,

such as marriage (Shover, 1983). Other factors which contribute to a cessation of criminal activities are disillusionment with crime and a tiredness of prison (Shover, 1983).

However, many long-term offenders are unable to conform to the restraints of a law abiding lifestyle, or are unable to obtain another livelihood due to age and lack of experience. Some criminals continue in a cycle of crime and prison throughout their lives, while some elderly property offenders change to lower-risk types of crimes than they previously had committed (Shover, 1983).

Summary. There are many factors which may influence criminal activity. Some of these factors may begin before birth, and some may occur in childhood or later in life. Studies have shown that criminal behavior may be inherited. Factors correlated with criminal behavior, such as IQ level and the tendency to abuse alcohol, may also be inherited. Chromosomal abnormalities, body build, RAS arousal, and autonomic nervous system response have all been proposed to be related to criminal behavior. Biological factors may interact with social forces, such as those in the

family. Discipline and moral training may have an influence on whether the child becomes delinquent or not. Rejection from peers and teachers, and unemployment may contribute to delinquency. Imprisonment may compound the crime problem by creating further unemployment. As offenders age they tend to commit fewer crimes than previously. This may be due to employment, marriage, or discouragement with their life.

Types of offenders

As noted in the above discussion, there may be many different causes of crime and delinquency. There are also many different types of criminals and crimes that they commit.

Quay (1987a, p. ix) stated, "(J)uvenile delinquents are by no means a psychologically homogenous group."

Gibbons (cited in Quay 1987c) said:

. . . nearly all would agree that there must be something radically different about gang delinquents, sex offenders, petty "hidden" offenders, juvenile arsonists,

hyper-aggressive delinquents, and the other lawbreakers who are lumped together under the term "delinquent." (p. 118)

Even though there are no two individuals exactly alike, there are still some commonalities which have been found to apply to certain offenders. The literature shows many attempts to classify offenders into subgroups. Some prefer to classify them as to type of offense and some prefer to emphasize number of offenses (Snyder, 1987). Other classify as to personality traits. Some of the personality categories are as follows:

Personality traits. Quay (1987c, pp. 121-123) reviewed the literature and said that most categories can be compiled into four main personality groups which he called, "Undersocialized Aggression", "Socialized Aggression", "Attention Deficit", and "Anxiety-Withdrawal Dysphoria." Widom & Nathan (cited in Quay, 1987c, p. 129) classified institutional delinquents into four groups of "Psychopathic", "Anxious", "Anxious and Psychopathic", and "Nonanxious and Nonpsychopathic." Other theorists propose categories which are similar to the above in that most seem to be concerned with socialization and/or aggression.

These classifications may be subjective or biased. For example, a personality score or an arrest might be based on a factor other than the trait itself because people often react differently toward delinquents from one race and neighborhood than they do toward those from a different race and neighborhood (Binder, 1987).

Gender. The patterns of offenders vary greatly with respect to one's gender. Blumstein, et al. (1986, p. 40) stated, "The most consistent pattern with respect to sex is the extent to which male criminal participation in serious crimes at any age greatly exceeds that of females." Blumstein, et al. (1986) estimated from their review of various statistics that the male-female crime ratio ranges from 3:1 to 5:1. Wilson & Herrnstein (1985) presented FBI Uniform Crime reports which showed an approximate 9:2 male-female ratio of arrests in 1970. The male-female ratio for violent crime then was approximately 10:1. Most women who committed violent crimes were playing a support role to a male confederate (Wilson & Herrnstein,

1985). From 1960 until 1970 there was a rise in female arrests, but they were mostly in the nonviolent property category range.

According to the Gluecks' research (cited in Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985, p. 116), most women offenders are characterized with "low intelligence and emotional instability." They also score higher than males in measures of introversion (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). If the Gluecks are correct, it appears that most female offenders would fit into the categories of undersocialized and nonaggressive.

Race. There are also differences according to race. Although blacks are about one-eighth of the United States' population, they are responsible for a majority of all arrests (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). The black-white ratio of violent crime arrests is approximately 4:1, and for property crimes it is approximately 3:1 (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). These figures are not adjusted to account for the 1:8 black-white general population ratio which means that blacks commit an extraordinary amount of crimes, compared to whites. The rate is especially high for black offenders under the age of eighteen (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

There are many suggested reasons for the large amount of black people being arrested. One theory is that police are more likely to arrest a black person than a white person for the same type of crime (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Other possible reasons are that blacks have higher correlations than whites with mesomorphy, low IQ scores, and low SES (all of which are highly correlated with crime). There is also a larger percentage of youthful blacks in the general population than there is of youthful whites (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985), and young people are more likely to commit crimes than are mature adults.

According to Wilson and Herrnstein (1985), criminal behavior in blacks is probably more likely to be caused by environmental and social factors than by inherited traits. For example, low IQ scores, which have been correlated, with crime are often a result of low birth weight, and black infants are twice as likely as white ones to have abnormally low birth weights (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) cited a study by Reid which appeared to discredit heredity. It compared West Indian blacks living in the United States with native American blacks. The results showed

that New York's state prison population contained a much smaller proportion of West Indians than American blacks. Low SES may be another factor contributing to crime, but in the above study, both West Indian and American blacks lived in deprived ghetto areas, so the causes may have been of a social nature.

The social atmosphere of black Americans is very different from those of whites (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985), but blacks are apparently well socialized. Studies have shown no conclusive evidence of inadequate socialization being the cause of black crime even though many black children do come from single-parent homes (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Wilson and Herrnstein (1985, p. 481) say that a sociological explanation for high black crime rates would be, "They have become part of a subculture that values crime and noncrime differently than the larger one." If Wilson and Herrnstein are correct, it is possible that many black offenders would fit into the categories of socialized and aggressive.

Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) conclude that the cause for high crime rates among blacks is as yet unknown, but that there may be several different causes. They hope that a lessening of the black economic

disadvantage and a widening of opportunities may cause the same effect upon blacks as they have on other ethnic groups. For example, Irish-Americans' crimes decreased as their economic situation improved.

Age. There are also differences in respect to age. The FBI uniform crime reports (cited in Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985) showed, that in 1980, youths under the age of twenty were arrested for approximately 60 percent of all property crimes and approximately 37 percent of all violent crimes. Adjustments to per capita population still show that young people are more likely to be arrested than those older than they. For example, those under twenty are four times more likely to be arrested than the rest of the population for property crimes, and three-and a-half times more likely to be arrested for violent crimes than the rest of the population (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

Arrests for young people peak between the ages of eighteen and twenty, and then steadily drop off in the later years (Hindelang & McDermott, cited in Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Also, although they commit a large

proportion of total offenses, young people generally commit less serious offenses than those older than they (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

There is no typical pattern that young people fall into. However, from the arrest statistics, it appears that they generally tend to be nonviolent. Also, peer influence is very strong in young people, so they may be influenced by their friends to commit crimes.

Although, more young people than middle-aged people are arrested for violent crimes; when adjusted to the the population, a higher percent of violent crimes is committed by those thirty or older than by those under thirty. Even though many middle-aged or older offenders are arrested for continuing patterns of passive, nonviolent crimes; some are first offenders compelled to commit violent deeds due to psychological problems. Polk (cited in Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985, p. 132) spoke of the "psycopathologies of aging" consisting of "senility, excessive fears, delusions, etc. . ." which contribute to violence.

Summary. In summary, those most likely to commit crimes are males, blacks, and young people. Although there are many exceptions, certain groups of offenders

display a higher proportion of certain personality characteristics than other groups, in relation to the entire offender population. Table I-1 shows groups of offenders roughly classified into four personality categories.

Sanctions

There appear to be many different causes of criminal behavior which result in a variety of individuals committing a variety of crimes. However, these people have one thing in common, in that they all break prescribed rules of society. As will be shown in this discussion, society's reactions to these behaviors often take into consideration the type of offense and the type of person who commits it.

This section describes some of the goals of those who impose sanctions and the theories upon which their actions are based. Society has certain methods of dealing with individuals who deviate from its norms in the areas of lawful behavior. Offenses which are considered to be serious are usually dealt with by jail or prison sentences which, in some instances, may be served on probation or parole.

TABLE I-1

CATEGORIES OF SOCIALIZATION OF OFFENDERS
BY CATEGORIES OF AGGRESSIVENESS

Category of Aggressiveness	Category of Socialization	
	Socialized	Unsocialized
Aggressive	Black offenders	Middle aged & elderly offenders
Non- Aggressive	Young offenders	Female offenders

The literature points to four traditional goals of criminal sanctions which are deterrence, rehabilitation, incapacitation, and retribution. Many jurisdictions within the United States today address these goals in their sentencing policies. An example is shown in the Tennessee Code Annotated (1982, 40-35-102) which, when listing the purposes of Tennessee's sentencing policy, addressed all of these goals in the following manner:

Deterrence: "Prevent crime and promote respect for law by . . . (p)roviding an effective deterrent to others likely to commit similar offenses."

Rehabilitation: "Encouraging rehabilitation by promoting correctional programs that elicit the voluntary cooperation and participation of defendants."

Incapacitation: "Restraining defendants with a long history of criminal conduct. . ."

Retribution: "Punish a defendant by assuring the imposition of a sentence he deserves in relation to the seriousness of his offense. . ." And, "Assure the fair and consistent treatment of all defendants by eliminating unjustified disparity in sentences. . ."

The literature elaborates on these concepts in the following manner:

Deterrence.

Individual deterrence. The theory of individual deterrence is based on the latter part of Thorndike's early "law of effect" which stated, "Satisfying results strengthen, and discomfort weakens the bond between situation and response" (Thorndike, 1923, p. 96). For example, if one were to experience discomfort from going to prison, he or she would not be as likely as before to commit a crime whenever placed in a situation conducive to criminal activity. According to Van den Haag (cited in Kittrie & Zenoff, 1981), legislators impose sanctions, such as prison sentences, in an attempt to show the offender that crime is self-defeating so that he or she will avoid it in the future.

Deterrence may be achieved through a combination of instrumental and classical condition as in Mowrer's (1960) two factor theory. Through instrumental conditioning, the person will experience an emotion, such as fear. The somatic effects of the emotion will then become associated with the stimulus through classical conditioning and cause a future response of stimulus avoidance. Wilson and Herrnstein, (1985) also subscribed to a theory that crime is deterred by a combination of classical and operant conditioning. They

believed that crime is a rational response to primary or secondary drives and is usually deterred from childhood conditioning. Punishment becomes associated with an internalized feeling of wrongdoing called "the bite of conscience" (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985, p. 48).

Zimring, (cited in Sedgwick, 1980, p. 44) said, "(P)unishment makes individuals associate crime with bad consequences, which association gradually becomes transferred into the view that crime is wrong."

General deterrence. The goal of general deterrence is to deter others through communication (Burns & Mattina, 1978). General deterrence is the belief that punishing some people will cause others not to commit crimes. The theory of social learning developed by Bandura and Walters (1963) shows that through a process called "modeling" one sees (or hears of) someone else committing an action and receiving an effect, and is conditioned through the vicarious experience. By seeing a criminal being punished, one may then avoid committing crimes.

The use of capital punishment is often based upon the principles of general deterrence. According to Andenaes (1952) individual deterrence is probably not needed for murder, because murder is not an often repeated crime, but severe penalties are imposed in order to deter others.

Criticisms of deterrence. Although deterrence holds a prominent place in the use of criminal sanctions, it has its opponents. For example, some, such as Von Hirsch (1976), doubt that punishment administered to one has a general deterrent effect on others. This may be difficult to prove as there have been few criminology studies performed on general deterrence (Andenaes, 1966). J. Cohen (1978) stated that in research it is difficult to separate general deterrent effects from incapacitation effects, and there is no actual proof that general deterrent effects are actually effective.

Many behavioristic psychologists have tended to reject the concept of both individual and general deterrence. Thorndike (cited in Ryan, 1965) later modified his law of effect to state that learning from punishment was not as effective as learning from rewards. Many think that reinforcement (rewards for

appropriate behavior) should accompany the punishment (Bandura & Walters, 1963; Blackham & Silberman, 1980). Van den Haag (1975) stated that not only should a person be punished for committing a crime, he or she should receive a reward for not committing crimes.

Even if punishment were to be proven effective with most people, criminals may not be rational enough to learn from it (Andenaes, 1966; Asch, 1974; Reid, 1976). Asch (1974), stated that the majority of lawbreakers have egos which are insufficiently developed to control acting out behavior, and that they possess no effective superego (conscience).

There may be undesirable side effects caused by the use of deterrence. Punishment's effect may weaken with repeated usage (Azrin & Holz, 1966). It may cause one to avoid the punisher (Blackham & Silberman, 1980). Punishment may lead to secrecy or lying (Blackham & Silberman, 1980). It may cause resentment (Ewing, 1970). And it may provide a model for aggression (Blackham & Silberman, 1980).

There are also criticisms of certain specific deterrence attempts. Some offenders may wish to go to prison and commit crimes with that in mind (Walker,

1980). On the other hand, sometimes the stigma of being caught is seen as a more powerful deterrent than the sentence itself (Ekland-Olson, Lieb & Zurcher, 1984), which implies that the actual imprisonment is being wasted. Although Van den Haag (1975) advocated the use of stigmatization, some, such as Cesare Beccaria (cited in Maestro, 1973), believed that the disgrace of publicized penalties may push a person into greater crime than before.

Administration of sanctions are often not swift nor certain enough to deter crime. (Andenaes, 1966; Shover, 1979; Van den Haag, 1975). Threats must actually be carried out to be effective (Pincoffs, 1966).

Summary. In summary, some of the doubts surrounding deterrence are the lack of evidence that general deterrence works, punishment by itself is ineffective, some criminals are too irrational to learn from punishment, there are unpleasant side effects, certain sanctions are not useful as deterrents, and sentencing procedures are too uncertain and slow to be effective.

Rehabilitation. Rehabilitation is similar to specific deterrence in that the goal is to make a person stop committing crimes. However, rehabilitation relies on special programs which are implemented after sentencing, instead of on the effects of the sentence itself. "'Rehabilitation' is meant to change the offender's intent, motivation, or even character toward law-abiding conduct" (Van den Haag, 1975, p. 58). One of the rationales behind the theory of rehabilitation is that criminals are not responsible for their own behavior and it is society's responsibility to change them. Moynihan, (cited in Plattner, 1976) said that criminals are victims of a social or psychological disorder and in need of treatment.

The psychological principle behind rehabilitation is learning. Supposedly a criminal has learned erroneous ways of behaving in society and must learn more acceptable responses. Some rehabilitation tactics are behavioral modification, classical conditioning, mood altering techniques, psychoanalysis, and employment training (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

History of rehabilitation. The United States' movement toward rehabilitation began in the early twentieth century and reached its height in popularity in the 1960's (Plattner, 1976; Andenaes, 1983). The indeterminate sentence, which is an elastic prison term with no fixed expiration date, began early in the rehabilitative movement. This type of sentence makes provisions for early release when the offender has been rehabilitated and is no longer a danger to the community.

In the mid-to-late sixties rehabilitation's popularity began to wane, and there was a trend away from indeterminate measures (Andenaes, 1983). Recent revisions in many jurisdictions' sentencing policies have moved against rehabilitation in order to stress the retributive and incapacitative roles of imprisonment instead (Greenwood, 1983).

Criticisms of rehabilitation. Rehabilitation began to decline in popularity when the popularity of deterrence and retribution began to grow. Clare and Kramer (1976) stated that if a person were to be rewarded for being rehabilitated by a shortened sentence or by parole, deterrence could be undermined. A

retributive objection is that rewarding a person for rehabilitation could violate people's sense of fairness (Plattner, 1976).

Another objection is that there is no conclusive evidence that prison rehabilitation efforts are effective. Wilson and Boland (1978) cited many studies which showed no difference in criminal behavior between offenders who had been in prison and offenders who had been granted probation instead. Martinson (1974) examined over 200 studies and also reached the conclusion that there has not been found a sure way to reduce recidivism through rehabilitation. However, Reid (1976) believed that rehabilitation may work and stated there was no evidence to prove that it does not. She placed the blame of failed treatment efforts on inadequate prison facilities.

Van den Haag (cited in Kittrie & Zenoff, 1981) suggested that the rehabilitative and criminalizing effects of imprisonment may statistically offset each other. According to Wilson and Boland (1978), lengthening sentences may produce ex-convicts who, upon release, would commit a higher rate of crimes than they would have if they had not been imprisoned. Hofer

(1988) theorized that aspects of the antisocial personality disorder are aggravated by offenders seeing prison as a substitute for paternal authority or maternal comforts. Asch (1974) said that prisoners are at the mercy of jailers with sadistic tendencies, and that ego regression is fostered by monotony, lack of stimulation, and loss of freedom.

Many think that the indeterminate sentence forces prisoners to play a manipulative treatment game in order to pretend that they are rehabilitated (Plattner, 1976). Van den Haag (1975, p. 118) said that it is a mistake to view an offender as being sick and in need of rehabilitation, "'Healthy, rational people' can 'injure, or take, or destroy property,' just as sick people can be law-abiding".

However, according to Allen (1987) there is evidence in the People's Republic of China that rehabilitative measures of moral persuasion, group pressure, and criticism can be effective. He suggested that Western lawmakers modify and reevaluate some of their present approaches and conduct cross cultural comparisons. Others also believe that rehabilitation efforts may work, but, according to Andenaes (1983), no

one seems to know what kinds of programs. Palmer (1975) believed that what works for one does not work for another. Also, it has been difficult to determine which efforts are the most effective due to overlapping of therapies, as an offender often participates in several programs simultaneously (Martinson, 1974).

Summary. In summary, the literature shows that the goal of rehabilitation conflicts with the goals of deterrence and retribution, and also appears to be ineffective. Research is recommended to unravel the results of specific programs on specific offenders.

Incapacitation. The object of incapacitation is to lock up offenders to protect the community and, as in rehabilitation, to release them once they are no longer dangerous. The difference in concept from rehabilitation is that incapacitation does not concern itself with treatment, only with restraint.

Selective incapacitation. Although many advocate expanding the use of prisons for the sake of incapacitation (J. Cohen, 1978), locking up all convicted offenders (collective incapacitation) might be

economically impossible. Instead, only certain individuals are selected for imprisonment, due to estimates of the crimes they might commit while free (J. Cohen, 1978). Selective incapacitation not only releases those who have reformed in prison but it also determines whether or not to initially incarcerate a person based upon behavior predictions.

Some estimates of future behavior are based upon observable qualities, such as age, gender, and past behavior. An example of such a prediction instrument is the category for the antisocial personality (American Psychiatric Association, 1980) which dwells on past history. Many of those diagnosed with the antisocial personality disorder are also criminals. Other instruments may take the form of a questionnaire to determine thoughts and feelings.

Criticisms of incapacitation. Many think that incapacitation is necessary to protect society from criminals. People "become tired and disgusted with a government which offers them no protection" (Abraham Lincoln, cited in Kittrie and Zenoff, 1981, p. 44). However, some think incapacitation is ineffective. Van den Haag (1975), said that some kinds of crime operate

on a supply-demand factor, and new criminals will move in to fill the empty ranks of those incarcerated. Van den Haag (1975) also said incarceration does not protect prison personnel and other inmates from crimes committed in prison. And, as mentioned earlier, the bad effects of prison might cause some people to relapse upon release (Wilson & Boland, 1978).

Incapacitation can conflict with retribution in that those in favor of incapacitation have no objection to making prisons pleasant as long as they are safe, whereas retribution calls for suffering (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Incapacitation is costly and undermines another type of retribution, restitution, in that prisoners are unable to work and compensate their victims (Wilson & Boland, 1978). Selecting only some for incapacitation conflicts with the concept of just deserts (Ferri, 1917) in that some offenders escape punishment. Also, selective incapacitation could be too severe. J. Cohen (1978) said it is unjust to sentence persons for crimes they have not yet committed.

Selective incapacitation is only effective if the right people are locked up. However, people may be selected for the wrong reasons. Van den Haag (cited in Kittrie & Zenoff, 1981) believed that sentences are

often adapted to the personality of the judge instead of that of the defendant. It also may be hard to verify information on psychological test instruments due to inmates giving false answers in order to escape the consequences of the truth (Allport, 1937).

Selective incapacitation could undermine the principle of deterrence since all who are convicted are not punished. According to social learning principles of modeling (Bandura & Walters, 1963), a person might be inclined to commit a crime if others are not punished.

Summary. In summary, incapacitation does not protect other individuals in prison. The bad effects of prison may outweigh the benefits of incapacitation. Incapacitation may not be punishing enough to satisfy retributionists. Incarceration is costly and prohibits restitution efforts. Selecting only some individuals for incapacitation may be unfair. Individuals may be inappropriately chosen for imprisonment, and selective incapacitation may undermine deterrence.

Retribution. Retributionists do not object to the ill effects of prison, as their main concern is seeing that the criminal is punished. The American Bar Association's Sentencing Standards (Sec. 2.-5 (c) (iii)

call for a prison sentence whenever not administering a prison sentence would depreciate the seriousness of the offense, even in those cases where probation would be legally possible (cited in Burns & Mattina, 1978).

There are several psychological principles behind retribution: Retributive punishment may benefit the offender by providing a type of catharsis to reduce guilt caused anxiety. "Children often appear uncomfortable until they have confessed their transgressions or have done something that brings about discovery or punishment" (Aronfreed, 1961, p. 224). According to Stephen (cited in Ten, 1987), revenge is a natural, healthy motive. Asch (1974) and Stephen (cited in Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985) stated that there is an instinctual urge for revenge which, according to Schafer (1970) and Ewing (1970), can be pleasurable.

Punishing an offender through state administered retribution may curb and channel the public's instinctual urge for revenge so that people won't take the law into their own hands (Asch, 1974; Stephen cited in Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985; Schafer, 1970; Ewing, 1970). Nozick (cited in Ten, 1987) believed that the feeling of revengeful pleasure should be avoided, and that the state should impartially administer punishment

in order to avoid excesses. "Punishment should be proportionate to the crime committed and must not become excessive" (Kittrie, 1971, p. 21). This theory is often referred to as the theory of just deserts. Burns and Mattina (1978) referred to the theory of just deserts stating that one must pay for the crime that he or she commits, and that retribution must be proportional to the crime in order to be valid as a principle of sentencing.

History. There is a long written record of retributive history beginning with the ancient Babylonian Hammurabi Code (cited in Edwards, 1904) and the Biblical law (cited in Kittrie & Zenoff, 1981). Both attempted to dispense proportional punishment and victim restitution. However, during the middle ages torture was common, and punishment was often unproportional with the death penalty being administered for crimes other than murder. In the eighteenth century criminologists such as Lodovico Muratori and Cesare Beccaria attempted to restore proportionality and added the concept of humane treatment (Maestro, 1973), both of which have continued until today.

Individual restitution continued into the middle ages until the emergence of the nation state when the king and parliament wrested control of court revenues away from manorial lords (Hogarth, cited in Kittrie & Zenoff, 1981). With this change, criminal courts became a direct method of taxation where offenders paid the state, and the state compensated victims. This was a major shift away from the importance of the victim. Instead of offenders paying their debt to the persons injured, they paid their debts to society.

With this change, according to Hogarth (cited in Kittrie & Zenoff, 1981), victims lost their power to determine penal consequences for crime and became instead "mere witnesses to breaches of the King's peace." Hogarth (cited in Kittrie & Zenoff, 1981) stated that today's emphasis towards deterrence, rehabilitation, and incapacitation denies the victim remedy.

Many victims feel doubly victimized: first by the offender and second by the criminal process to which they are subjected with no apparent payoff for them. (p. 7)

Kittrie and Zenoff (1981) agreed that the victim is largely neglected in the modern criminal process. They

stated that this neglect, especially prominent in modern society, may be due to the modern emphasis on offender rehabilitation. They also state (1981) that most classical societies placed their emphasis upon victim restitution and rehabilitation, but in modern times the emphasis has been placed upon offender rehabilitation instead, overlooking the victim of the crime.

Hart (1958) made a statement which may explain why the shift toward offender rehabilitation resulted in further neglect of victim rehabilitation. Hart believed that over emphasis on one particular value, such as rehabilitation could result in the sacrifice of other values:

Social purposes can never be single or simple, or held unqualifiedly to the exclusion of all other social purposes; and an effort to make them so can result only in the sacrifice of other values which also are important And the same thing would be true even if the dominant purpose of the criminal law were thought to be the rehabilitation of offenders.
(p. 401)

Very recently, perhaps due in part to the disillusionment of rehabilitation, restitution is being recognized again in the process of administering criminal sanctions.

More closely connected with the system of criminal sanctions are the new breed of sentences which impose upon offenders some requirements of restitution or service to the victim or the community. (Kittrie & Zenoff, 1981, p. 47)

Criticism of retribution. There is much controversy concerning retribution. Moral opponents hold that retributive punishment may be harmful either to the offender or to others. In cases of serious crimes, it could be discovered later that the person was innocent, but irrevocable harm, such as execution, may have already occurred (Beccaria, cited in Maestro, 1973). Confession, which is a part of retribution, was objected to by Beccaria (cited in Maestro, 1973) who said that the practice of torture, common in his day, often made people confess to crimes they had not

committed. This might be analogous to the present day practice of pleading guilty, even when innocent, under threat of a long sentence (Van den Haag, 1975).

Although Beccaria was a proponent of justice, he was against torture and capital punishment even for murderers. He claimed that capital punishment presented an example of barbarity which others might imitate (Beccaria, cited in Maestro, 1973). This is in accord with Bandura and Walter's (1963) principle of modeling where a person imitates what he or she sees others do.

Punishment may be harmful to the punishers. For example, there is the possibility of unfavorable public opinion directed towards an executioner (G. Newman, 1978). Psychological effects, especially in cases of severe punishment such as administration of torture, may be devastating upon the punisher (G. Newman, 1978; Milgram, cited in G. Newman, 1978). However, punishers may not receive adverse repercussions in cases of mild punishment such as the kind that prison guards administer (G. Newman, 1978).

A moral criticism is that punishment creates additional wrongs. For example, if a murderer is executed, there will be two deaths instead of one (Ten, 1978). Moralists also state that retribution is unjust

because there is a general lack of forgiveness even after criminals have been punished (Moberly, 1968). "If we are absurd enough to engage in a retributive trade in crime, we should at least trade fairly and give clean receipts when we are paid" (George Bernard Shaw, cited in Moberly, 1968, p. 197).

Proponents for retributive sentencing say that to impose a penalty less than what is deserved would "unduly depreciate the seriousness of the crime" (Morris, cited in Kittrie & Zenoff, 1981, p. 45). Kant (cited in Pincoffs, 1966) stated that if society neglects to fully execute a punishment, it shares the guilt. However, there is no real way to tell if the punishment is proportionate to the crime in that different offenders may be affected in different ways by the same penalty. For example, in the case of fines or restitution, a set amount for a crime will mean less to a rich person than to a poor person (G. Newman, 1978). As mentioned, public disgrace and prison may have different effects on individuals (Beccaria, cited in Maestro, 1973; Walker, 1980). Also, some think that equal deserts should allow for the intent of the criminal. Without free will, punishment is considered to be unfair (Kittrie, 1971). The early Hebrews

referred to intent in Exodus, 21:28-29 (cited in Kittrie & Zenoff, 1981, p. 5), and it is still is a major issue today in the controversy concerning the insanity plea (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

As mentioned earlier (Ferri, 1917), retribution is at odds with selective incapacitation which selects people for imprisonment on the prediction of future behavior, not on the seriousness of the present crime. Retribution may not be compatible with deterrence. The degree of punishment which is deserved for the crime may not be the optimum amount of punishment to effectively deter crime (Morris, cited in Kittrie & Zenoff, 1981). Also, retribution also may not be compatible with rehabilitation. Punishment may cause a person to become resentful.

If, as often, the offender is genuinely sorry for what he has done . . . , the punishment may actually counteract the good effects of this by making him feel sorry for himself instead. (Ewing, 1970, pp. 85-85)

Loss of self respect and disgrace may make it difficult for the ex-offender to gain a fresh start in life (Ewing, 1970). The rehabilitative indeterminate

sentence is incompatible with the concept of just deserts in that there is no retributive allowance for future good behavior.

Many retributionists do not deny the benefit of utilitarian concerns of deterrence, rehabilitation, and incapacitation, but have a different prioritizing of theories. Even those against retribution, such as Moberly (1968) realize its importance:

In deciding how to punish, deterrence and reformation may be our guiding principles, but the question whether we have the right to punish at all is, first and foremost, a question of justice. (p. 95)

Summary. Retribution is concerned with fairness and justice, punishment according to the crime. It has existed since the beginning of recorded history. Many believe that retribution is a healthy motive. However, there are those who criticize it for the following reasons: Retribution can be harmful to both the punished and the punisher. In cases of corporal punishment, it can cause spectators to imitate violence. It conflicts with incapacitation by not considering the future behavior of those punished. Retribution may

administer an amount of punishment incompatible with the goals of deterrence or rehabilitation. Some lose self-respect after receiving punishment and can no longer be rehabilitated. There are problems with proportionality, as administration of sanctions can affect different individuals in different ways. However, many of those against retribution cannot discard it completely, since they admit that fairness of punishment is important.

Parole and probation

Although the above goals of deterrence, rehabilitation, incapacitation, and retribution are generally thought to apply to confinement, they can be administered in a modified fashion to those in parole and probation. Parole and probation are two fairly recent types of criminal sanctions.

History. Parole is the practice of releasing a convicted offender before expiration of his or her sentence under supervision of a parole officer. The history of parole by Dressler (1959) and by C.L. Newman (1968) pointed out that the first interest was motivated by budgetary concerns. Prisoners were shipped to America and Australia in the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries in order to solve the crowded prison problem and to populate the colonies. Secondary reasons for deportation were incapacitation (protecting the English citizenry) and retribution (banishing the offender). When some of the banished convicts returned early to England, deterrence measures of imprisonment became necessary to prevent early return.

Dressler (1959) and C.L. Newman (1968) also showed how parole developed in Australia. Alexander Maconochie, the Governor of Norfolk Island in Australia, developed a system which, through good behavior and labor, prisoners received credits towards shortening their sentences. In the nineteenth century England also developed a system of early release based on the Irish ticket-of-leave system which was similar to Maconochie's ideas. Beginning in 1854, the head of the Irish prison system was Sir William Crofton who believed that prison programs should be designed toward rehabilitation, and that only prisoners who exhibited good behavior should be released early. Released prisoners were supervised by a civilian agent who resembled the modern day parole officer. The Irish ticket-of-leave contained conditions which resembled today's parole rules.

During this period Americans also became interested in the rehabilitative ideas of Maconochie and Crofton, and decided to form a program to release offenders early for good behavior. At first they were reluctant to include parole supervision measures, thinking that supervision would "be un-American" but influenced by Sir Crofton, finally acquiesced, and parole was established (C. L. Newman, 1968, p. 19).

The United States was the first to implement probation which began around the same time that American parole began (C. L. Newman, 1968). Probation allows a convicted offender not to go to prison at all but to remain free under the supervision of a probation officer. The British had no equivalent to probation, as their system never allowed for an indefinite stay of execution. Probation was developed for rehabilitative reasons "for alleviating the harshness of punishment and preventing the contamination of the criminal novice in the unsavory atmosphere of the prison" (C. L. Newman, 1968, p. 3).

In both parole and probation the rehabilitative model continued to expand from its beginnings in the reform movement of the nineteenth century. With the introduction of the mental illness model, the criminal

became a "deviant." and was given the "medical approach to madness" (Robitscher, cited in Abadinsky, 1982, p. 136). During the late 1940's prisons began rehabilitative programs to prepare offenders for community adjustment when paroled (C. L. Newman, 1968). During the 1960's many prison diversion programs became fashionable, including probation, parole, restitution, and neighborhood detoxification centers (Anson, 1987).

Only recently have people begun seriously questioning the effectiveness of parole/probation rehabilitation. Retribution is gaining a resurgence of popularity for criminologists (Abadinsky, 1982) and for parole/probation (Burkhart, 1986). Utilitarian considerations of deterrence and incapacitation also are drawing attention (Burkhart, 1986).

Recently, due to increased costs of incarceration, many high risk offenders have been placed on parole or probation. Some of them are in special programs such as intensive parole (or probation) supervision (IPS) which often utilizes strict standards of supervision for both retribution and risk control. Although IPS varies in severity and includes a wide range of programs (Byrne, 1986), it is designed to enforce stricter standards than regular parole or probation.

Issues Affecting Parole and Probation. The following arguments apply to parole and probation in general but more specifically to IPS since IPS programs are extreme measures of parole and probation.

Rehabilitation. The recent dissatisfaction with rehabilitation has resulted in disillusionment with the entire concept of parole and probation, and there is a move to abolish parole entirely (Van den Haag, 1977). One objection to parole concerns arbitrariness in the methods of releasing people onto parole (Andenaes, 1983). A counter-argument concerns the possibility that early release [such as releasing people to IPS] facilitates prison discipline and reduces prison overcrowding (Abadinsky, 1982).

There are are doubts concerning the effectiveness of prison rehabilitation efforts in that they may not prepare inmates to cope with society when paroled (Martinson, 1974; Palmer, 1975). Recidivism has been related to lack of employment, low income, and poor living conditions after release (Hofer, 1988). Palmer (1975) suggested that parole officers be well trained in order to continue the rehabilitation process after

prison. There are instances where parole and probation effectively apply rehabilitation as well as incapacitation (Byrne, 1986; Erb, 1988).

(P)rograms have begun based on the rational assumption that the more closely a person is watched and the more effectively programs or treatment can be delivered, the less likely the person at risk will get into trouble.

(Lipchitz, 1986, p. 78)

Incapacitation. However, in some states, such as Massachusetts, rehabilitation has been completely subordinated to incapacitation, "(T)he idea of probation officers as 'therapists' is now strongly discouraged . . . " (Cochran, Corbett, & Byrne, 1986, p. 33). There is controversy concerning the use of incapacitation in parole and probation, especially in IPS. Control techniques may impede the offender's community adjustment as in the case of electronic devices which IPS officers often use to keep track of the offender's whereabouts. Wasik and Von Hirsch (1988) said that when one is closely monitored with electric devices, his or

her relatives and friends are also under scrutiny.

Graham (1988) said that electronic monitoring devices dehumanize people by treating them like robots.

Control methods may also cause stigmatization. An example is a recent incident in Oregon of a judge who ordered a sex-offender probationer to post signs on his door and automobile stating "DANGEROUS SEX OFFENDER--NO CHILDREN ALLOWED,. . . solely as a measure intended to protect the community. . ." (State v. Bateman, Nos. C 85-08-33209 & C85-10-34220 [Multnomah County Cir. Ct., May 20, 1987], cited in Erb, 1988, pp. 1156, 1161).

Van den Haag (cited in Kittrie and Zenoff, 1981) believed that it is impossible to restrain an offender's activities outside of prison and said that criminals should not be paroled at all. Parole boards who rely upon their experience in order to determine whether a person is safe enough to be released into the community may make wrong decisions (Kastenmeier & Eglic, 1975). Parole boards often use risk instruments and psychological tests to help them with their decisions, but as previously shown (Allport, 1937) such measures are not infallible. Also, an emphasis on risk control in the parole decision making process may neglect retribution (Kastenmeier & Eglic, 1975).

Arguments for parole/probation control techniques arise from financial concerns. A program with a control orientation may be cheaper than a treatment-oriented program (Latessa, 1986) and may protect the first offender from the criminalizing effects of prison (Petersilia, 1986).

Deterrence. There are concerns with the use of deterrence in parole and probation. Efforts have been made to instill deterrent effects for misbehavior directly within the parole/probation system. The most common deterrent is the threat of revocation which means sending the person to prison. This threat may not be effective. "There is . . . the possibility that the probationer believes he is getting away with something and that the court does not mean what it says" (Dicerbo, 1966, p. 15).

There are other types of deterrence in parole/probation, such as increased reporting standards for minor rule violations. One specific deterrent measure employed chemicals which caused unpleasant reactions to alcohol consumption (Anson, 1987). A general deterrent was a requirement for probationers to post drunk driving signs on their automobiles (Erb,

1988). However, this requirement was stigmatizing and has been (unsuccessfully) challenged on the grounds of cruel and unusual punishment (Goldschmitt v. State, 490 So. 2d 123 [Fla. Dist. Ct. App. 1986]; People v. McDowell, 59 Cal. App 3d 807, 130 Cal. Rptr. 839 [1976], cited in Erb, 1988).

Retribution. There are also controversies surrounding the concept of retribution in parole and probation. Retribution is gaining in prominence, and some believe that it has not received enough attention in parole and probation (Wasik & Von Hirsch, 1988).

However, definite moves toward retribution have been made (Burkhart, 1986). IPS in particular is especially geared towards retribution. "When intensive supervision was invented, a new form of punishment was being created. . . ." (Conrad, 1986, p. 83). Many states now emphasize that one of the goals of their intensive programs is retribution (Byrne, 1986; Pearson & Bibel, 1986). Erwin (1986) said that IPS in the State of Georgia arose from a need to find an alternative seen . . . as "punishing" as prison without being costly and without the undesirable side effects of forcing innocent families onto

welfare or plunging lesser offenders into
prisons full of hardened criminals. (p. 17)

She described certain standards of probation supervision, such as frequent officer-client contacts and drug screens, which satisfy both retributive and risk control (incapacitation) requirements.

In other instances, such as in the parole-decision making process, retribution may be incompatible with risk control.

Because it is not "forward-looking," the justice model of probation has been criticized for placing a high priority on the fairness/uniformity of punishment, at the expense of an assessment of offender risk. (Byrne, 1986, p. 6)

IPS rehabilitation measures can be combined with methods of retribution (Byrne, 1986), but parole/probation retribution may undermine rehabilitation by causing resentment or stigmatization (Ewing, 1970). Also the restitution aspect of retribution may provide a financial burden on the offender and his or her family (Dicerbo, 1966). The Tennessee code (TCA, 1982, 40-28-201) has provisions for

parolees and probationers to pay up to \$30 per month into a restitution fund, but it does take the offender's income into consideration.

Pragmatic concerns. Retribution in IPS combines well with pragmatic concerns of cost efficiency. Erwin (1986) stated:

IPS can be said to satisfy two goals that have long appeared to be mutually contradictory: restraining the growth of prison populations (and budgets) through diversion, while satisfying the public's demand that criminals be punished for their misdeeds. (p. 17)

Pragmatic concerns are one of the foremost considerations of parole and probation (Graham, 1988; Latessa, 1986; Abadinsky, 1982). Latessa (1986) estimated great financial savings in probation and parole but stated there is no way to accurately measure the social costs and benefits. Also, Petersilia (1966) and Schmidt (1986) doubted the cost efficiency of parole and probation. They referred to a net-widening effect caused by an endless supply of convicted felons to fill all prison vacancies. This view would mean that

parole and probation, instead of saving money, are merely adding another cost onto the existing prison expense.

Summary. Parole was originally developed in England for economic reasons, but in the United States probation and parole both possessed the goal of rehabilitation. However, recent intensive supervision programs have extended their focus to include cost effectiveness, deterrence, incapacitation, and retribution at a heavier level than do regular parole and probation. There are many objections to attempts of all four goals. Some think the measures conflict with each other or are ineffective, while others think they are too harsh.

Methods of Evaluation

Although there are many controversies concerning the advisability of parole and probation, the search continues for ways to manage offenders in the most cost-efficient manner possible without sacrificing the goals of deterrence, rehabilitation, incapacitation, and retribution. It is sometimes difficult to determine how successful a particular program has been in meeting

these goals, but a formal evaluation can help in determining the program's success or failure. According to Hagan (1982, p. 297), "(E)valuation research can be defined as measuring the effects of a program in terms of its specific goals, outcomes, or particular program criteria [Italics in the original.]".

There are two common types of evaluation, the formative and the summative: According to Scriven (cited in Cronbach, 1982) a formative evaluation is conducted to assess and improve a particular program while it is in operation. It is a fluid type of program which is subject to modification while it is being observed. A summative evaluation takes place after the program has taken place, and its goal is to assess effectiveness in view of future programs. There is most likely some overlapping of evaluation types. Cronbach (1982, p. 12) stated that the terms, 'formative' and 'summative' "suggest a false division of studies into two classes." The following issues can be affected by the type of evaluation that is chosen: external validity, internal validity, dependent variables, independent variables, conflict and bias, and efficiency:

External Validity. The definition of validity is "the extent to which an instrument measures what it is purported to measure" (Wood, 1981, p. 360). "External validity refers to whether a treatment effort can be generalized . . . beyond the specific experimental conditions (Wood, 1981, p. 162). External validity is very important for the summative evaluator as the evaluation is conducted for future programs. According to Brinkerhoff, Brethower, Hluchyj, & Nowakowski (1983), the summative evaluator excels at external validity in that he or she is working solely toward the benefit of future programs.

However, a formative evaluation may be best for other external validity issues which need to be considered at the program's beginning. Two of these are random selection and random assignment.

Random selection concerns the initial choice of whom to include in the study.

(T)he experimentally accessible population, that is, the population from which the experimenter can select his subjects, may or may not be the same as the target population,

that is, the population to which he wished to have the results generalize. (Huck, Cormier, & Bounds, 1974, p. 260).

Random assignment into experimental and control groups carries the same advantages for the formative evaluator as does random selection. Ideally,

(t)here must be some division, preferably random, of a given population of offenders into treatment and control groups, with the two groups differing as little as possible, with respect to the characteristics of the subjects and their basis of selection.

(Logan, 1980, p. 31)

However, the evaluator in the criminal justice field will often find that it is considered unethical, dangerous, or illegal to withhold treatment from some on the basis of random choice (Talarico, 1980). Waldo (1980) stated:

Random assignment, say some critics . . . commits a gross injustice against either the inmate or the total institutional system - against the inmate because he is either included or excluded from a particular program, or against the institutional system

because of the impact on one part of it or another by the selection process. (p. 180)

The type of treatment, chosen at the formative stage, also can affect external validity in the area of treatment generality. Logan (1980) stated:

The technique must be capable of routinization . . . (I)t must be something that can be repeated in all its components at different times, with different subjects, by different administrators of the technique. (p. 30)

Other external validity threats which may adversely affect the formative evaluator are the Hawthorne effect and the Rosenthal effect (Huck, Cormier, & Bounds, 1974). In the Hawthorne effect, the results may be a result of the extra attention the subjects receive from the experiment. The Rosenthal effect refers to expectancies of the observers which may affect the results.

The investigator's interest and enthusiasm for the particular treatment that he had created might have inadvertently conveyed cues not available in other treatments. (Kazdin, 1980, p. 295).

Internal Validity. "Internal validity refers to whether the effect was due to the treatment administered in a specific experiment" (Wood, 1982, p. 162). Internal validity is the most important type of validity for without it, there is no external validity "Internal validity is a precondition for external validity. A treatment that has external validity also has internal validity" (Wood, 1982, p. 162). There are problems with internal validity in probation and parole research. For example, probation and parole officers may show greater tolerance of violations towards those in the experimental group than those in the control group, in order to show success (Martinson, This situation will also cause problems with external validity.

According to Brinkerhoff, et al. (1983), the summative evaluator can maximize internal validity by being able to gather information over a longer period of time than the formative evaluator. However, the formative evaluator may be able to stop most internal validity threats before they begin. Some of these threats listed and explained in Huck, Cormier, and Bounds (1974) are as follows:

1. History refers to outside events other than the treatment which may influence the outcome.

2. Maturation refers to mental or physical changes in the subjects not resulting from the treatment which may affect performance, such as age or fatigue.

3. Testing refers to the fact that, "(p)eople usually score higher when they take an achievement or an intelligence test the second time . . ." (p. 235). Planned pre-tests and post-tests could control for this effect.

4. Reactive measurements consisting of tests or other measuring instruments, such as video recorders and field observers, could modify the variables under study by attracting attention and should be chosen with care.

5. Instrumentation refers to any any change in an observational technique or measurement which which may account for a change of measurement. Instruments should be in good repair and the observers should not be fatigued.

6. Statistical regression occurs when groups are chosen due to extremes on test scores. When retested they are likely to retest closer to the mean. One needs to guard against assigning the worst or the best scorers to a study.

7. Mortality refers to loss of subjects before the completion of the project. Lerman (1975) gave an example of improperly ignoring mortality figures:

The literature on delinquency reveals a curious bookkeeping habit. Boys who do not complete treatment are usually not counted in evaluations of organizational effectiveness. These boys are treated statistically as if they never existed (p. 239)

Conclusion. The formative evaluator at the program's beginning can best control for the above threats to internal validity.

Dependent Variables. The definition of a dependent variable is:

. . .the variable the investigator measures to assess the effect of the independent variable; in an experiment, the variable whose level is not determined by the experimenter. (Wood, 1981, p. 357)

A formative evaluator may be able to ensure that the dependent variables are operational and measurable in

order to be able to accurately describe the results.

"If you arrive early during program development, you may find that the staff needs help in identifying program goals and choosing related instructional materials, activities, etc. Even after the program has begun, they may still be planning" (Morris & Fitz-Gibbon, 1978, p. 25). Logan (1980, p. 31) stated, "There must be a definition of 'success' and 'failure' that is sufficiently operational to provide a valid, reliable measurement for determining the outcome of treatment." He recommended using scales or tests whose validity and reliability have been demonstrated.

The program's staff may not be sure of what criteria to measure. Some experts, such as Logan believe the dependent variable should be narrowly defined.

Success should refer to the correction or prevention of criminal behavior, not to personal adjustment, happiness, mental health, employment, or family relations.
(Logan, 1980, p. 36)

However, Shanahan and Whisenand, 1980 recommended the use of subjective measures, and Shover, 1979 recommended multiple criteria in order to assess alternative measures of a program's impact.

The summative evaluator may have to discard the staff's dependent variables if they are unsuitable and form his or her own dependent variables from other parts of the programs' records. By doing this, he or she runs the risk of missing the point of the staff's aims and may focus instead only on objectives that his or her sponsor desires (Brinkerhoff, et al., 1983). This type of action can result in staff uncooperation, such as withholding of records.

Conclusion. According to the above authorities, it thus appears that the formative evaluator is at an advantage in matters concerning dependent variables.

Independent Variables. The definition of an independent variable is:

. . . a variable in an experiment whose level is determined by the experimenter; a variable systematically manipulated by

the experimenter in order to determine the effect of one variable on another. (Wood, 1981, p. 358)

For a good evaluation, the independent variables must be clear and measurable. "It is not enough to know that a particular program ended in success or failure if we cannot determine what it was that succeeded or failed" (Logan, 1980, p. 30). Unfortunately some program planners do not know exactly what their treatment consists of, "Frequently, the staff will be unable to tell you exactly what the program should look like. . . ." (Morris & Fitz-Gibbon, 1978). Also, many correctional programs consist of a combination of treatments, and the evaluator may not be able to tell which treatment (or treatments) was responsible for the effect (Martinson, 1974). In such a situation, two or more treatments may interact with each other to show no effect even though one of the treatments may have had an effect by itself.

Also, the program's staff may wish to implement a type of treatment which has no bearing upon the dependent variable. The formative evaluator may be able

to influence the staff to change the independent variable in order to improve the likelihood of program success (Morris & Fitz-Gibbon, 1978).

Conclusion. When considering independent variables, the formative evaluator appears to be in the most advantageous position as he or she is there during the planning process.

Conflict and Bias. Perhaps the most difficult problem for a program evaluator is that of role conflict.

The evaluation researcher has a dual or perhaps even a triple allegiance. He or she has an obligation to the organization that funds the study Beyond the specific organization, he or she has responsibilities to contribute to the improvement of social change efforts He or she also has an obligation to the development of knowledge and to the profession. (Shanahan & Whisenand, 1980, p. 386)

Since the formative evaluator is part of the planning team, he or she often identifies with the staff. Brinkerhoff, et al. (1983) stated that the formative evaluator is more likely to have a conflict of interest than is the summative evaluator who is detached from the main operations of the program. Morris and Fitz-Gibbon (1978, p. 25) said that the program's staff may view an evaluator with suspicion and recommend doing everything possible to establish a working relationship with it, even taking an "outright advocacy position." They also advised, "Try to think of clever - and credible - ways to detect achievement of program objectives" (Morris & Fitz-Gibbon, 1978, p. 21). [Emphasized in the original.] However, such an attitude may lead to evaluator bias.

Biases influenced by organizational interests are especially likely to develop when researchers give up their independence and seek ways to demonstrate program success.

(Lerman, 1975, p. 245)

The summative evaluator can retain objectivity but is not immune from conflicts with the program's staff. The staff has an interest in maintaining the program as

it is and may pressure the summative evaluator to find a way to show program success (Rossi & Freeman, 1982). Or it may withhold records.

Prison administrators who once said, "Come on in and do your research, we have nothing to hide," later may begin to feel that, after all, they did have something to hide (Ward, 1975, p. 257).

Education and experience may help correct this situation. Kazdin, (1980) stated that extraneous influences such as artifacts and biases may affect the study's outcome, but as the researcher grows in knowledge he or she will learn to recognize and understand them.

Conclusion. the pressures of role conflict and the likelihood of bias may affect the formative evaluator more than the summative evaluator.

Efficiency. The formative evaluation may be most efficient in different areas of the evaluation procedure. One of these areas is data collection.

Unless the evaluator is present during collection of the data, he or she may not understand them. Morris and Fitz-Gibbon (1978) recommended that the evaluator collect data while present at program sites in order to understand the effect of the program in operation. If the evaluator does not have the opportunity to specify how the data should be collected, the collection procedure may be incorrect. For example, there could be clerical carelessness which needs constant checks (Gertz and Talarico, 1980). Also, expertise may be needed to determine which types of data are correct. In the criminal justice field, there are many discrepancies between official crime reports and survey estimates of crime (Skogan, 1980), which indicate that some statistics may not be as good as others.

Expertise in the particular area which is being evaluated can be gained by cooperation with the program's staff (Morris & Fitz-Gibbon, 1978). Coates and Miller (1980, p. 197) stated, "To insure awareness of these factors, the research team must carefully nurture a close relationship with the operation's staff."

Shanahan and Whisenand (1980) recommended general research knowledge as well as specific knowledge:

Although experienced in performing research and conducting projects, most of them have little knowledge of the peculiarities of the agencies in CJS. [Criminal Justice System] Conversely, many of the evaluations are performed by practitioners in CJS agencies who have little training in program evaluations. (p. 387)

Cost is another area of which the efficient evaluator must be aware. Adams, Chandler, and Neithercutt (1975, p. 325) stated, "Research is costly and funds for research in probation and parole have been limited. It is important, therefore, that we make our research investments wisely." The formative evaluator may appear to save time and money by instituting treatment modifications for maximum effectiveness. However, since formative evaluations may only be applicable to the program under study, the evaluation process might have to be repeated many times, costing more than is saved.

A high quality evaluation is expensive and time-consuming. Indeed, it may be many

times more expensive than the operational program it is designed to test. Viewed in the context of that single program, such an expenditure may appear absurd. But in the context of advancement of knowledge, this type of concentration of funds is more likely to be fruitful than the same expenditure on a large number of inadequate evaluations would be" (Hagan, 1982, p. 297)

Conclusion. In matters of efficiency, the formative evaluator is best in assuring data correctness, data understanding, and expertise. The summative evaluator excels in cost effectiveness and ease of the task.

Summary. Although there is some overlapping of recommendations, the literature is fairly clear in indicating which type of evaluation, formative or summative, is best for various evaluation issues. Table I-2 separates the above issues into formative and summative evaluations as implied in the literature.

TABLE I-2

ISSUES LISTED BY TYPE OF EVALUATION

EVALUATION	ISSUE	ISSUE SUBDIVISION
<u>Formative</u>	External Validity	Randomness Treatment generality
	Internal Validity	History Maturation Testing & retesting Reactive measurement Instrumentation Statistical regression Mortality
	Dependent Variables	Objective measurability Objective relevance
	Independent Variables	Treatment measurability Treatment separability Treatment effectiveness
	Conflict and Bias	Staff cooperation
	Efficiency	Data correctness Understanding data Expertise
<u>Summative</u>	External Validity	Treatment stability Hawthorne effects Rosenthal effects
	Conflict and Bias	Role conflict Treatment bias
	Efficiency	Cost effectiveness Ease of task

Final Comments

This review of the literature has attempted to show some of the sociological and psychological concerns surrounding crime. Sociological and psychological forces may interact in such a way to contribute to criminal behavior. Although the people who commit crimes are not homogeneous, and the types of crimes they commit are varied, there are commonalities found in respect to personality traits, sex, race, and age. Society's reactions to offenses that these people commit often take the form of sanctions such as jail sentences, prison sentences, parole, and probation. Those in favor of these sanctions are usually guided by the goals of either deterrence, rehabilitation, incapacitation, retribution, or a combination of them. Basic psychological principles underlie all of these goals. Attempts to reach these goals in the areas of parole and probation are fairly recent. IPS is an intensified form of parole and probation with somewhat stricter sanctions. The effects of such sanctions can be best measured through some type of evaluation. The formal criminal justice evaluation is an attempt to objectively determine whether certain sanctions are effective or not. A formative evaluation is conducted

while the sanctions are in the process of being implemented, while a summative evaluation takes place afterwards. Both have their good and bad points, many of which deal with the degree of evaluator objectivity. Since crime and its measurement are both a social and psychological problems, an evaluator must constantly be alert to outer and inner influences which might create evaluator bias and subjectivity.

4. STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The purposes of the comparisons studied in this paper are to determine factors, including Intensive Parole Supervision treatment, that are predictive of parole success. Parole success will be measured by number of parolees receiving parole violations, type of parole violations, days out of jail, number of parolees charged with new crimes, types of new crimes, and number of parolees employed.

5. STATEMENT OF THE HYPOTHESIS TO BE TESTED

The null hypothesis is that Intensive Parole Supervision is no more effective than regular parole in the areas of number of parolees receiving parole violations, type of parole violations, days out of jail, number of parolees charged with new crimes, types of new crimes, and number of parolees employed.

CHAPTER II

ANALYSES OF PAROLE SUCCESSES AND VIOLATORS (SUCCESS-VIOLATOR ANALYSES)

1. INTRODUCTION

Successful and unsuccessful parolees were compared in an attempt to find factors predictive of parole outcome. One of the reasons for these analyses was to find variables which could be used to choose control groups for the IPS evaluation. First a group of parolees, placed on regular parole in 1982 and 1983 (the 1982-1983 analysis), was assessed for differences in demographic and crime variables between its successes and violators. Then a group of parolees placed on IPS in 1986 and 1987 (the 1986-1987 analysis) was assessed to see if it had the same differences between successes and violators as the first group.

2. METHODS

Subjects

The 1982-1983 analysis of successes and violators. Eighty-five Knox County male and female adult regular parolees were the subjects. They had been released on regular parole in 1982 and 1983, and their sentences had since expired. They were divided into subgroups of successes and violators. Successes were those who had remained on parole for twelve months without receiving a parole warrant. Violators were those who received a parole warrant during these months. There were 59 successes and 26 violators. This group was not used as a control group for the evaluation.

The 1986-1987 analysis of successes and violators. A separate analysis of IPS parolees was performed. Fifty IPS Knox County male and female adult Tennessee parolees were the subjects. They entered intensive parole between November 1, 1986 and October 31, 1987. Some of these were new parolees who had just left prison, while others were old parolees who had been previously on regular parole. They were also divided

into subgroups of successes and violators. Successes were those who remained on parole for six months after being placed on IPS without receiving a parole warrant. Violators were those who received a parole warrant during these months. There were 30 successes and 20 violators.

Although the first analysis had a 12 month observation period, this analysis had only a 6 month observation period. This time period was picked since the IPS program rarely lasted over six months. Whereas the 1982-1983 sample had been observed over a 12 month time period in order to obtain a large group of violators, it was not necessary that the 1986-1987 sample be observed in an identical manner, since the two samples were not being compared to each other.

Materials

The analyses utilized one instrument, the Tennessee Parole Risk Assessment (Risk Assessment Scale, Appendix). Dr. James Fox of Eastern Kentucky University developed this instrument in 1981 for the Tennessee Board of Paroles. He analyzed the records of inmates who had been released from the Tennessee prison system

in the past, including those who had been returned to prison. Those who did not return to prison and those who did were divided into two groups and assessed for a variety of variables. The variables which showed differences between the two groups were incorporated into the Risk Assessment Scale as predictors. Various weights were assigned according to the apparent strength of the predictors.

Procedures

The 1982-1983 analysis. The 1982-1983 successes and violators were assessed for the following variables of which the first eleven are taken from the risk assessment scale:

1. Number of previous paroles (on this sentence);
 - a. none,
 - b. one or more,
2. Maximum sentence length in categories;
 - a. 0-5 years,
 - b. 5-9 years,
 - c. 10 or more years,

3. Age at first juvenile adjudication;
 - a. no juvenile record,
 - b. 13 or younger,
 - c. 14 or over,
4. Number of previous felony incarcerations;
 - a. none,
 - b. one or more,
5. Type of instant offense;
 - a. burglary, forgery, or fraud,
 - b. other crimes,
6. Living arrangements;
 - a. with parents or spouse,
 - b. other,
7. Age at incarceration;
 - a. 32 or older,
 - b. 22 to 31,
 - c. 21 or younger,
8. Employment status at first parole contact;
 - a. employed,
 - b. unemployed,
9. Parole officer's assessment of attitude;
 - a. positive,
 - b. generally positive,

- c. generally negative,
 - d. negative,
- 10. Parole officer's assessment of risk;
 - a. minimum,
 - b. medium,
 - c. maximum,
- 11. Risk assessment total (derived from above categories; see Appendix for weights);
- 12. Total maximum sentence length;
- 13. Gender;
 - a. female,
 - b. male,
- 14. Race;
 - a. black,
 - b. white,
- 15. Age at release;
- 16. Neighborhood;
 - a. urban,
 - b. rural/suburban,
- 17. Parole span (number of months left on sentence at time of parole release);
- 18. Months incarcerated (total time in confinement served on instant offense);

19. Total number of jail days (number of days spent in jail before conviction without making bond);

20. Jail days in categories;

- a. 0 to 49 days,
- b. 50 or more days,

21. Major instant offense (This was the most serious crime the person had committed. Whenever an offender had committed crimes in several categories, the crime closest to the top on the following hierarchy was picked as the major offense.);

- a. murder or manslaughter,
- b. sex-related crimes (sex crimes),
- c. robbery,
- d. other violent crimes,
- e. drug or alcohol crimes,
- f. forgery or fraud,
- g. other property offenses,
- h. other offenses,

22. Number of disciplinary infractions the year before release from prison.

The 1986-1987 analysis. The IPS successes and violators were then assessed for those variables which the above analysis had found to be statistically

significant or which had showed trends. It also attempted to analyze those which the first analysis had not been able to due to insufficient numbers. These analyses were performed in order to see if the 1982-1983 results would be the same for a group different from it in a different time period.

Data Analyses

The data analyses consisted of t-tests, chi-square tests, and visual observations of the data.

3. RESULTS

The 1982-1983 Analysis of Successes and Violators

The following results were found:

1. "Total maximum sentence length" showed statistical significance when the exact sentence lengths were computed, but not when separated into the categories of the Risk Assessment Scale. Successes had significantly longer sentences than violators ($t = 2.05$; $df = 83$, $p. < .05$, tables II-1 and II-2, and figure II-1). Figure II-1 is divided into six categories. However, if the categories were to be combined into

TABLE II-1

TOTAL MAXIMUM MAXIMUM SENTENCE LENGTH IN YEARS FOR 1982-
1983 ANALYSIS BY PAROLE OUTCOME: T-TEST RESULTS

Parole Outcome	N	M	SD	<u>t</u>	df	P
Succeeded	59	9.95	5.44			
				2.05	83	<.05
Violated	26	7.58	3.57			

TABLE II-2

SUCCESSSES AND VIOLATORS BY SENTENCE LENGTH FOR
1982-1983 ANALYSIS: FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS,
MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

Sentence Length In Years	Successes	%	Violators	%	Total
1-4	5	8.5	2	7.7	7
5-9	20	33.9	15	57.7	35
10-14	22	37.3	7	26.9	29
15-19	5	8.5	2	7.7	7
20-24	5	8.5	0	0	5
25-29	2	3.4	0	0	2
Missing Data	0		0		0
Means	9.95		7.58		9.22
SD	8.09		13.88		5.04

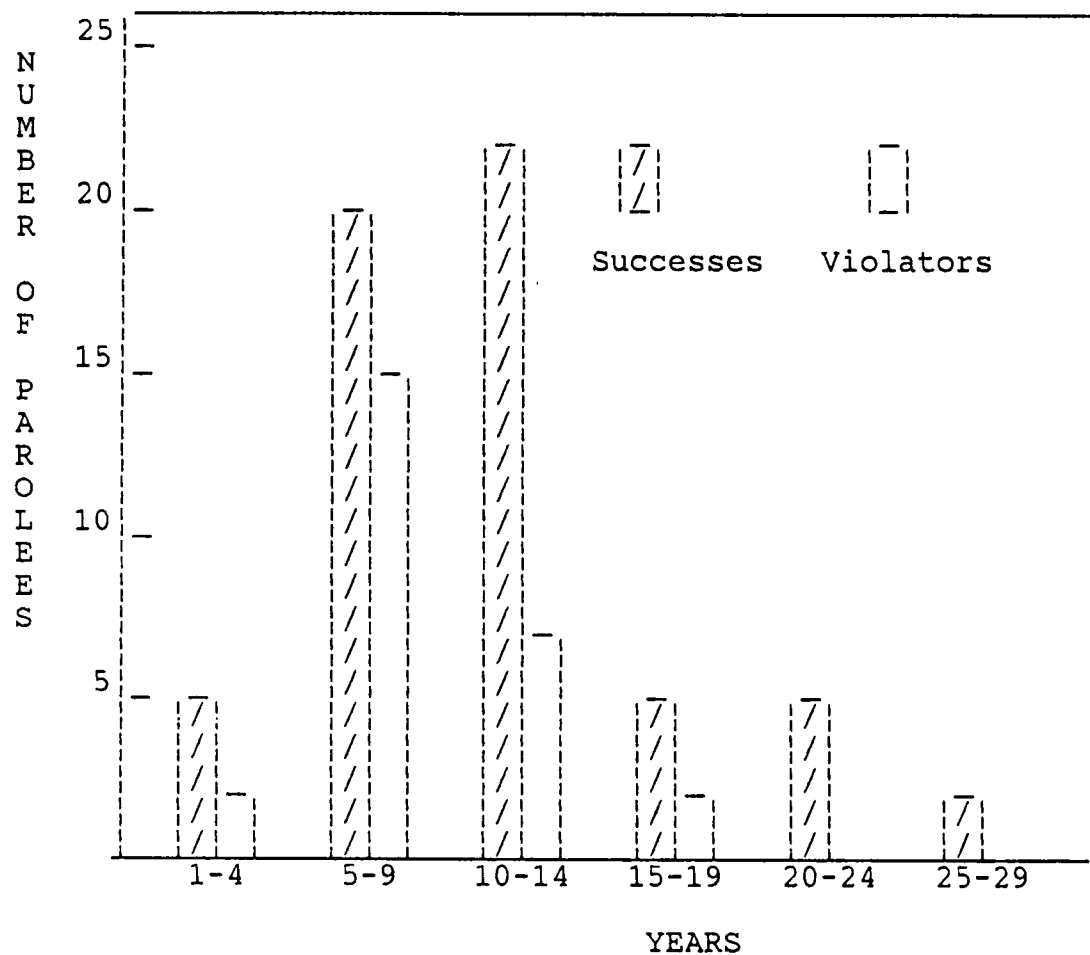


Figure II-1. Maximum Sentence Lengths of Successes and Violators for 1982-1983 Analysis

only three categories of 1-9 years, 10-19 years, and 20-29 years, it would show that the majority of violators are in the first category with none in the highest category. A chi-square comparison of successes and violators of the first category (1-9 years) with the other two categories almost reached statistical significance (3.82) at the .05 level. When all three of the categories were compared by chi-square test, they also almost reached statistical significance (5.55). These comparisons illustrate that violators tend to cluster at the lower end of the sentence range.

2. "Parole officer's assessment of risk": Parole officers rated future successes at a statistically significantly lower risk level than future violators (chi-square = 4.02, df = 1, p. < .05, table II-3).

3. "Jail days in categories": Although "total number of jail days" did not show a difference, when separated into categories, successes were more likely than violators to have spent fewer than 50 days in jail without making bond (chi-square = 18.52, df = 1, p. < .00001 (tables II-4 and II-5). The most noticeable difference was that there were no violators who had spent fewer than fifty days in jail. In fact seven of the successful parolees had spent zero days in jail.

TABLE II-3

PAROLE OFFICER'S ASSESSMENT OF RISK FOR 1982-1983
ANALYSIS BY PAROLE OUTCOME: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Parole officer's assessment				
Parole Outcome	Minimum Risk	Medium or Maximum Risk	χ^2	P

Succeeded	19	40	4.02	<.05
Violated	3	23		

TABLE II-4

JAIL DAYS BEFORE MAKING BOND FOR 1982-1983 ANALYSIS
BY PAROLE OUTCOME: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Parole Outcome	0 to 49 days	50 or more days	χ^2	P
Succeeded	27	28	18.52	< .05
Violated	0	25		

TABLE II-5

JAIL DAYS BEFORE MAKING BOND FOR 1982-1983
ANALYSIS BY PAROLE OUTCOME: MEANS,
RANGES, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

Parole Outcome	N	M	Range	SD	Missing Data
Succeeded	55	124.29	622	146.44	4
Violated	25	162.36	374	93.88	1
Total	80	136.19	622	132.86	5

They obviously had posted bond immediately. The rest of the scores for successful parolees in the category of under 50 days were fairly evenly distributed.

4. "Number of disciplinary infractions the year before release from prison": Successful parolees had fewer disciplinary infractions than violators ($t = 2.26$, $df = 63$, $p. < .05$, table II-6).

"Major instant offense" appeared to show a trend. Murderers (including those who committed manslaughter) tended to be more likely to succeed than those who had committed other crimes. One hundred percent of the murderers were successful while only 67 percent of those committing other crimes were successful. However, the sample size of murderers was only six, a number too small to arrive at a valid conclusion (table II-7).

No statistically significant results were found for the rest of the variables, including race (table II-8). Gender could not be calculated due to there being too few females available for testing. "Number of previous paroles" also could not be calculated since only three in the sample had served a previous parole for their sentence.

TABLE II-6

NUMBER OF DISCIPLINARY INFRACTIONS IN YEAR
BEFORE RELEASE FOR 1982-1983 ANALYSIS
BY PAROLE OUTCOME: T-TEST RESULTS

Parole Outcome	N	M	SD	<u>t</u>	df	P
Succeeded	47	1.06	1.59	2.26	63	<.05
Violated	18	2.17	2.20			

TABLE II-7

MAJOR INSTANT OFFENSE FOR 1982-1983
ANALYSIS BY PAROLE OUTCOME

Parole Outcome	Offense					
	Murder or Man- slaughter	%	Other Violent Crimes	%	Non- violent Crimes	%
Succeeded	6	10	13	22	40	68
Violated	0	0	9	35	17	65

TABLE II-8
PAROLE OUTCOME BY RACE AND GENDER
FOR 1982-1983 ANALYSIS

Race and Gender	Parole Outcome			
	Succeeded	%	Violated	%
Race				
Black	18	69	8	31
White	41	69	18	31
Gender				
Female	5	83	1	17
Male	54	68	25	32

The 1986-1987 Analysis of Successes and Violators.

There were no statistically significant differences in the 1986-1987 IPS group in the variables which the 1982-1983 analysis had found to be significant. These were in the areas of sentence length, assessment of risk, jail days, and disciplinary infractions. Also, the 1986-1987 analysis did not show any differences in the areas of offense, previous paroles, or gender.

4. DISCUSSION

For the 1982-1983 analysis there were very few statistically significant findings; only four from a series of 22 chi-square and t-tests showed significance. Since univariate methods were used to compare the two groups of successes and violators on all of these measures, it is possible some of the results could have been due to chance. "As the number of groups and t-tests increases, the probability of getting a significant result by chance also increases" (Huck, Cormier & Bounds, 1974, p. 68). Supposedly this could also hold true for chi-square tests.

If the results were not due to chance, some of the reasons may be as follows: Parolees with long sentences may have been more careful to obey the rules than those with short sentences. Long sentence lengths might be also be correlated with old age, and those of mature age often are good risks for parole. The reason age did not show a difference in this analysis may have been due to the fact that there were no elderly parolees included in this sample. The two oldest subjects were 51 and 55, with the rest below 50.

The findings for parole officer assessment of risk could have been due to parole officer expertise. Also, there could have been a self-fulfilling prophecy, causing those with low ratings to violate parole.

The differences in jail days might be due to differences in values or in financial abilities between successes and violators. The fact that so many successes spent no jail days could mean that successes were determined to spend as little time in jail as possible. This attitude could have carried over into their parole period where they determined not to return to prison.

Prison disciplinary infractions could have been a self-fulfilling prophecy, but it also may have been a valid predictor. In 1982 and 1983 few parole officers had access to the Parole Prediction Scale, and there was no large effort made to find out how many disciplinary infractions the person had while in prison. Since parole officers usually were not informed about their parolees' prison performance, it is doubtful that they treated those with many infractions differently from those with only a few. In fact, it is a common assumption among parole officers that prison performance has little effect upon future parole performance, except that those who conform well to institutional life may be poor risks for the looser restraints of parole. However, this analysis showed the opposite effect--that poor inmates are also poor parolees.

Although the sample size of murderers was small, it may be true that murderers violate parole less than those with other offenses. This could be due to the fact that murder is often committed only once, usually on a family member. Also, murderers are often of a mature age when released.

The complete lack of difference between whites and blacks was interesting in that it did not agree with the literature which states that blacks are higher risks than whites. Perhaps these researchers' findings are true for the general population, but not for people on parole.

Although the 1982-1983 analysis showed some differences between its successes and violators, the 1986-1987 analysis did not have the same results. This could be due to the differences in the time period, in the type of subjects, or both. The first sample was composed of regular parolees while the second sample was composed of IPS parolees who had been chosen for a special program. The IPS parolees could have differed from regular parolees of three and four years before their time.

One of the purposes of the analyses was to discover recidivism predictors for general research. Another purpose was to find variables to use when designing the evaluation's control groups. The intent was to make sure that the experimental and control groups did not initially differ in matters which could influence success or failure.

Since the IPS group's results did not agree at all with the results of the first sample, it was decided not to base the choices for the control group upon the 1982-1983 results. Used instead were traditional matching factors which are described in Chapter 4, the matched sample comparison.

Although some of the 1982-1983 statistically significant findings may have been due to chance, the 1986-1987 results did not necessarily confirm the chance speculation as the samples were different in various ways. Thus the previous analysis' findings were not discarded, but it was determined that they would not affect the IPS sample in violation matters.

Summary

The 1982-1983 analysis of regular parolees uncovered four statistically significant predictors of parole outcome: sentence length, parole officer's assessment of risk, jail days, and disciplinary infractions. However, the 1986-1987 analysis of IPS parolees did not show the same results when assessed on these four variables. The difference in results may have been due to differences between the samples. Since these factors did not predict success or violation in

the IPS sample, it was decided not to worry if the IPS group and its comparison group differed in these variables.

CHAPTER III

COMPARISON OF KNOXVILLE IPS POPULATION AND OAK RIDGE REGULAR PAROLE POPULATION (POPULATION COMPARISON)

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, a population of IPS parolees is compared with a population of regular parolees. The purpose was to ascertain general differences between IPS and regular parole. Another objective was to find subjects who could be matched with each other in the IPS evaluation. The matched sample comparison is discussed in the next chapter.

2. METHOD

Subjects

The IPS group consisted to 50 male and female adult Tennessee parolees who were supervised on intensive parole in the Knoxville parole office. Included were all who were in the program between November 1, 1986 and October 31, 1987 with at least six months left on their

sentences. All of these parolees lived in Knox County. Excluded were five subjects who refused to sign the consent form (Appendix).

The regular parole group consisted of 207 male and female adult Tennessee parolees who were supervised on regular parole in the Oak Ridge parole office. Included were all who were on parole between November 1, 1986 and October 31, 1987 with at least six months left on their sentences. All of these parolees lived in either Anderson, Campbell, Loudon, Monroe, Morgan, or Roane counties. These counties had no IPS programs. Excluded were three subjects who declined to participate.

Procedures

The IPS group was compared with the regular parole group for the following:

1. Race;
 - a. black,
 - b. white,
2. Sex;
 - a. female,
 - b. male,
3. Current age (at time of birthday in 1987);

4. Major instant offense (in the following hierarchy);

- a. murder or manslaughter,
- b. sex-related crimes (sex-crimes),
- c. robbery,
- d. other violent crimes,
- e. drug or alcohol crimes,
- f. forgery or fraud,
- g. other property offenses,
- h. other offenses,

5. Maximum sentence length (In five year increments).

Data Analysis

Since the purpose was to ascertain only general differences between the two populations, there were no tests for statistical significance. Instead, visual observations were used.

4. RESULTS

A comparison of the categories of race, sex, age, offense, and sentence length showed the following differences between IPS and regular parole:

1. The IPS group had a larger proportion of black parolees than did the regular group (table III-1).

2. The IPS group also had a larger proportion of women than did the regular parole group (table III-1).

3. The IPS group was younger than the Oak Ridge group. The age of IPS ranged from 20 to 57 years while the age of regular parolees ranged from 19 to 75 years (table III-2 and figure III-1).

4. Offense types varied as well, with the IPS group committing more robberies, fewer drug crimes, and fewer sex crimes than the regular parole group (table III-3 and figure III-2). The IPS group contained no sex offenders, while the regular parole group contained 11.

5. The mean sentence lengths were both 9.9 years (table III-4 and figure III-3), but the longest IPS sentence was 37 years compared to several regular parole sentences of 99 years. (For the purpose of this study, life sentences were computed as 99 years.)

4. DISCUSSION

The comparison found some differences which were helpful in performing the IPS evaluation. As will be shown in Chapter 4, regular parole subjects who

TABLE III-1

RACE AND GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF KNOXVILLE IPS POPULATION
AND OAK RIDGE REGULAR PAROLE POPULATION

Race and Gender	IPS	%	Regular Parole	%
Race				
White	39	78.0	187	90.8
Black	11	22.0	19	9.2
Gender				
Male	44	88.0	192	92.8
Female	6	12.0	15	7.2

TABLE III-2

AGE OF KNOXVILLE IPS POPULATION AND OAK RIDGE REGULAR
PAROLE POPULATION: FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS,
MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

Age	IPS	%	Regular Parole	%	Total
15-19	0	0	1	.5	1
20-24	17	34.0	32	15.7	49
25-29	17	34.0	50	24.5	67
30-34	10	20.0	51	25.0	61
35-39	3	6.0	28	13.7	31
40-44	2	4.0	20	9.8	22
45-49	0	0	5	2.5	5
50-54	0	0	6	3.0	6
55-59	1	2.0	5	2.5	6
60-64	0	0	2	1.0	2
65-69	0	0	3	2.0	3
70-74	0	0	0	0	0
75-79	0	0	1	.5	1
Missing Data	0		3		3
Mean	28.06		33.21		32.19
SD	6.56		10.03		9.66

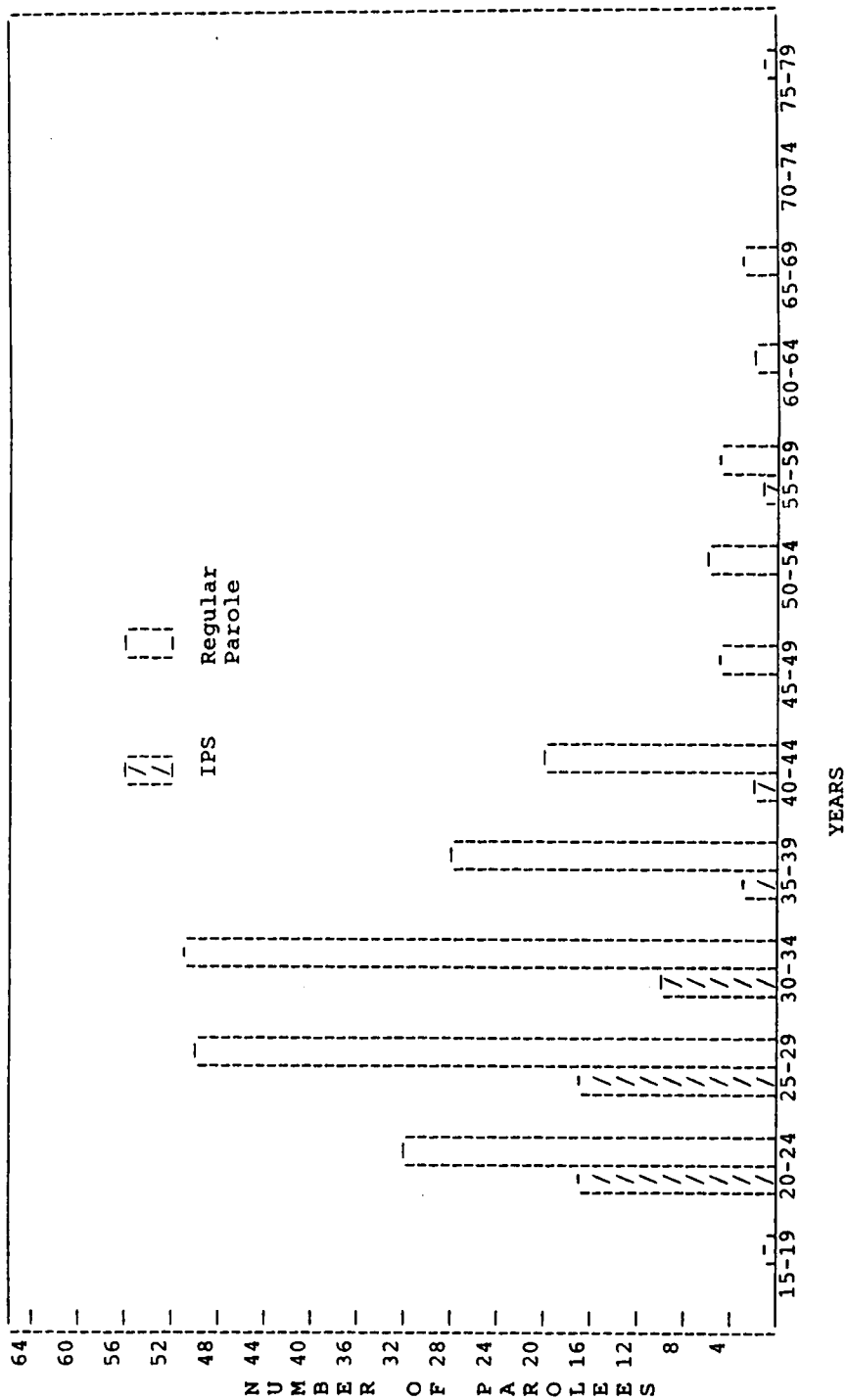


Figure III-1. Ages of IPS and Regular Parole Populations

TABLE III-3

MAJOR INSTANT OFFENSE OF KNOXVILLE IPS POPULATION
AND OAK RIDGE REGULAR PAROLE POPULATION

Original Main Offense	IPS	%	Regular Parole	%
Murder or Manslaughter	3	6.0	15	7.4
Sex Crimes	0	0	11	5.5
Robbery	9	18.0	26	12.9
Other Violent Crimes	5	10.0	22	10.9
Drug or Alcohol Crimes	4	8.0	26	12.9
Forgery or Fraud	4	8.0	22	10.9
Other property Crimes	24	48.0	78	38.6
Traffic Crimes	1	2.0	2	1.0
Missing Data	0		5	

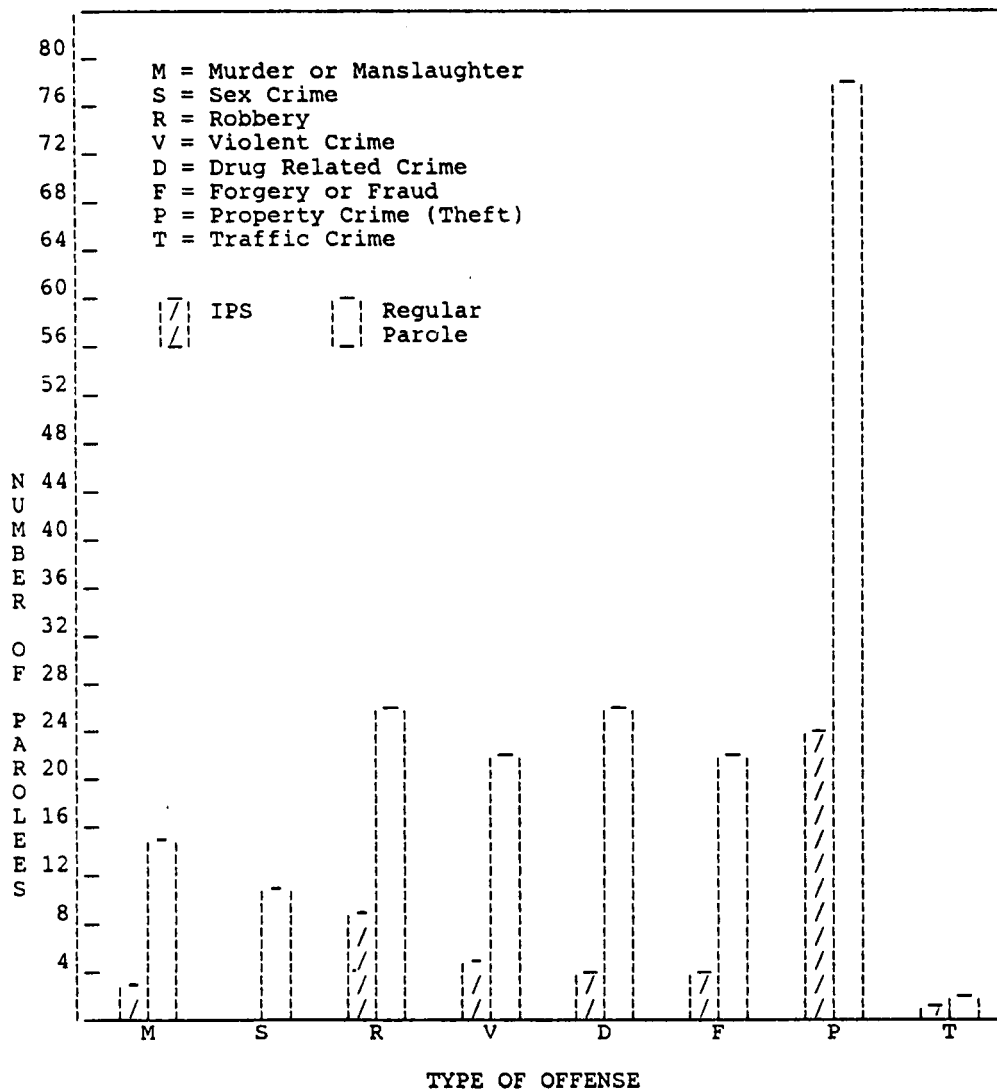


Figure III-2. Major Instant Offenses of Knoxville IPS and Oak Ridge Regular Parole Populations

TABLE III-4

SENTENCE LENGTH OF KNOXVILLE IPS POPULATION AND
OAK RIDGE REGULAR PAROLE POPULATION: FREQUENCY
DISTRIBUTIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

Sentence Length In Years	IPS	%	Regular Parole	%	Total
1-4	12	24.0	57	28.4	69
5-9	18	36.0	66	32.8	84
10-14	10	20.0	47	23.4	57
15-19	4	8.0	15	7.5	19
20-24	3	6.0	6	3.0	9
25-29	0	0	3	1.5	3
30-34	1	2.0	3	1.5	4
35-39	2	4.0	0	0	2
95-99	0	0	4	2.0	4
Missing Data	0		3		6
Means	9.98		9.95		9.96
SD	8.09		13.88		12.92

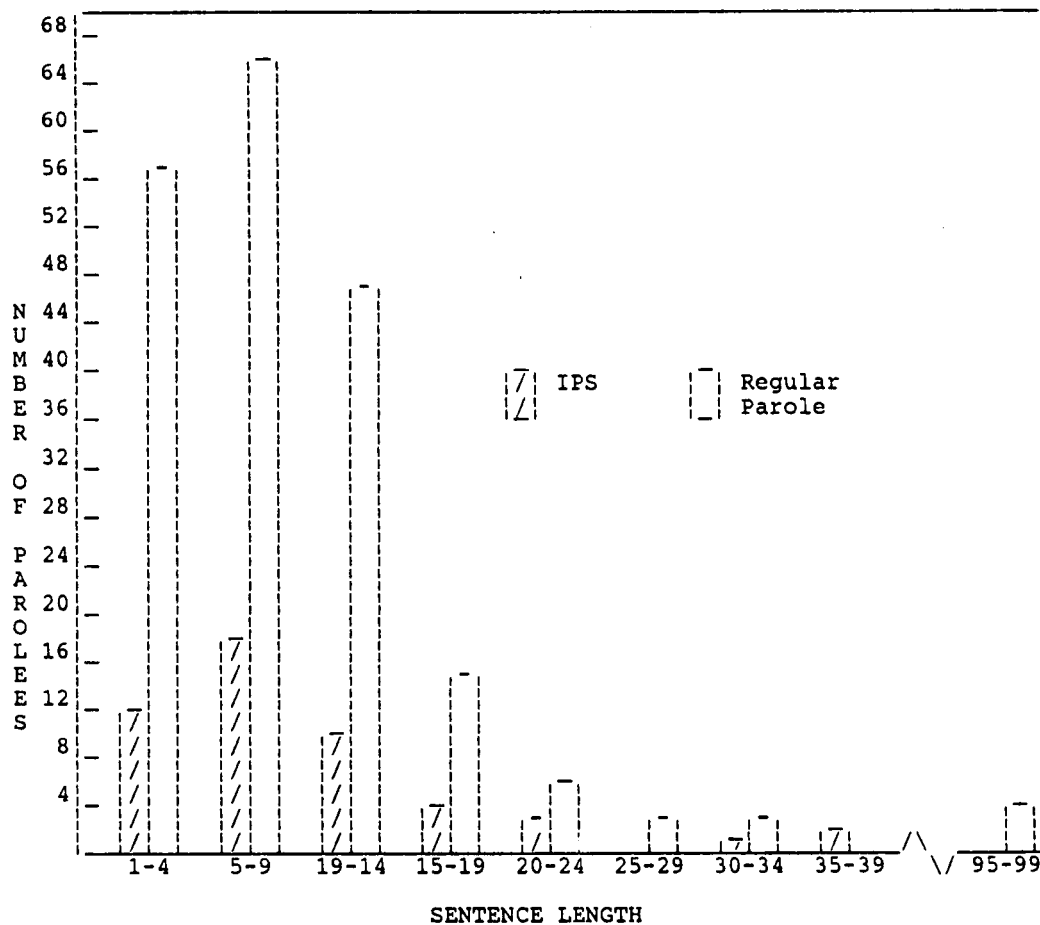


Figure III-3. Maximum Sentence Lengths of Knoxville IPS and Oak Ridge Regular Parole Populations

differed from the IPS subjects would be rejected as possible controls. The major area of difference was that of crime type. Whereas the IPS group had no sex crimes, it was more violent than the regular parole group in non-sex related crimes. This may have been due to the fact that IPS was a new program. The Parole Board may have felt safe in placing moderately high risk offenders on an unstabilized new program but not in jeopardizing it with those whom were considered to be very high risk, such as sex offenders.

The differences in age and sentence length were due to the regular parole group containing several elderly murderers with very long sentences. Although there was little difference between the groups in the rate of murder and manslaughter, none with very long sentences were placed on IPS. This may have been due to the fact that, as mentioned in the literature review, the risk of committing new crimes declines with age. Prisoners with life sentences usually have to serve at least 30 years before being eligible for parole, and the Parole Board may have thought that elderly parolees did not need IPS.

Another reason for the differences may not have been due to differential assignment. Instead, the differences may have been due to geographic factors.

For example, racial differences could have been caused by the urban Knox County area containing more black people than the rural area around the Oak Ridge parole office. However, differences in neighborhood did not present a problem when choosing control subjects since the first comparison had not shown that urban or rural neighborhoods made a difference in recidivism. Although race had not shown any differences in recidivism either, it is a traditional matching factor and was taken into consideration when choosing controls. The following chapter will explain the matching procedure in greater detail than is discussed here.

CHAPTER IV

COMPARISON OF IPS AND REGULAR PAROLE MATCHED SAMPLES (MATCHED SAMPLE COMPARISON)

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the matched sample comparison was to ascertain which type of supervision, IPS or regular parole, was the most effective, by means of several dependent variables. Matched pairs were used in order to make the two groups as much alike as possible. In order to reduce history effects, both members of a pair were observed at the same time.

2. METHOD

Subjects

Composition. There were two groups, a treatment and a comparison group. The treatment group (IPS matched sample) consisted of 46 male and female adult parolees chosen from

the Knox County IPS population. This was taken from the same group of 50 subjects which was used in the previous comparisons.

The comparison group (regular parole matched sample) consisted 46 male and female adult parolees who were drawn from the Oak Ridge regular parole population. IPS subjects were matched with regular parole subjects on the bases of race, gender, and general crime type (violent or nonviolent).

The matching process. The population comparison had revealed differences between the Oak Ridge regular parole population and the Knox County IPS population in regards to race, gender, age, offense, and sentence length. Based upon prior experience and upon review of the literature, it was decided that these were areas which could possibly affect recidivism.

In order to make the regular parole group similar to the IPS group, adjustments were made in the regular parole population by removing all who were under 20 years old, all over 57 years old, all with sentences over 37 years, and all who had committed sex crimes. Then the remaining regular parole population was divided into eight categories of race, gender, and crime, as follows:

1. black female, nonviolent;
2. black female, violent;
3. white female, nonviolent;
4. white female, violent;
5. black male, nonviolent;
6. black male, violent;
7. white male, nonviolent;
8. white male, violent.

(As pointed out in the literature review, race and gender may be related to the likelihood of engaging in violent crimes.)

The IPS subjects were also divided into the same eight categories. Then each IPS parolee was randomly matched with a regular parolee from the same category. Four black IPS subjects could not be matched due a shortage of black subjects in the regular pool. The end result was 46 matched pairs.

Since the IPS subjects did not enter treatment at once, each pair had a different start date. If the chosen control subject had already received a parole violation warrant before the start date, another control subject was picked. However, parole warrants received after the start date did not influence the matching process.

To summarize, differences of age, maximum sentence length, and offense were adjusted in the regular parole

population. Regular parolees and IPS parolees were placed into eight categories divided on the bases of offense, race, and gender from which they were randomly matched into 46 pairs.

Procedures

Treatment independent variables. Before the groups were compared for dependent variables, the treatment activities were examined to see if there were differences between the IPS and regular parole group. These activities were scrutinized for either six months or as long as they remained in nonviolation status. This included the time that IPS subjects were under post intensive maximum parole (the heaviest level of regular parole) after being discharged from IPS.

The following treatment variables were assessed:

1. number of subject contacts per 30 days (by the parole officer, either in person or by telephone);
2. number of community contacts per 30 days (by the parole officer, either in person or by telephone);
3. number of parolees attending Alcoholic Anonymous (AA) meetings;

4. number of parolees receiving drug screenings;
5. number of parolees enrolled in community counseling or educational programs;
6. number of parolees receiving residential counseling;
7. number of parolees wearing electronic wrist monitors.

Dependent Variables. There were seven categories of dependent variables used to compare the treatment group with the control group:

1. number of parolees employed at least 50 percent of the time (while on active parole);
2. number of free (not incarcerated) days;
3. number of parolees receiving parole warrants;
4. number of parolees charged with new crimes;
5. number of parole warrants for new crimes or absconding (versus warrants for technical violations only);
6. number of parolees charged with new felony crimes (versus misdemeanors);
7. number of parolees charged with new violent crimes (versus nonviolent crimes).

Observation. There was a six month observation period which began on the date that the treatment partner entered IPS. Each comparison subject was observed during the same time period as his or her treatment partner.

Data Analysis

Chi-square tests t -tests, and visual observations were used to determine the statistical significance of differences between the groups.

3. RESULTS

Independent Treatment Variables

The IPS matched sample displayed statistically significantly more of the following variables than the regular parole matched sample:

1. "number of subject contacts per 30 days" ($t = 9.79$, $df = 90$, $p. < .05$, table IV-1);
2. "number of community contacts per 30 days" ($t = 4.39$, $df = 90$, $p. < .05$ table IV-2);
3. "number of parolees attending AA meetings" (chi-square = 15.15, $df = 1$, $p. < .05$, table IV-3);

TABLE IV-1

NUMBER OF SUBJECT CONTACTS PER 30 DAYS FOR MATCHED SAMPLE
COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE: T-TEST RESULTS

Type of Parole	N	M	SD	<u>t</u>	df	P
IPS	46	13.00	7.94			
				9.79	90	<.05
Regular Parole	46	1.48	.79			

TABLE IV-2

NUMBER OF COMMUNITY CONTACTS PER 30 DAYS FOR MATCHED
SAMPLE COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE: T-TEST RESULTS

Type of Parole	N	M	SD	<u>t</u>	df	P
IPS	46	7.78	11.19			
				4.39	90	<.05
Regular Parole	46	.52	.78			

TABLE IV-3

NUMBER OF PAROLEES ATTENDING AA MEETINGS FOR MATCHED SAMPLE
COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees		χ^2	P
	AA Meetings	No AA Meetings		
IPS	22	24	15.15	<.05
Regular Parole	5	41		

4. "number of parolees receiving drug screenings" (chi-square = 36.71, df = 1, $p < .05$, table IV-4);

5. "number of parolees receiving residential counseling" (chi-square = 6.39, df = 1, $p < .05$, table IV-5);

6. "number of parolees wearing electronic wrist monitors" (chi-square = 46.75, df = 1, $p < .05$, table IV-6).

Not statistically significant was "number of parolees enrolled in community counseling or educational programs." This means that both groups had approximately the same number of parolees attending community counseling or educational programs.

Dependent Variables

The results of the IPS matched sample and the regular parole matched sample for the dependent variables were as follows:

1. "Number of parolees employed at least 50 percent of the time" showed no statistically significant difference between the two groups (table IV-7).

2. "Number of free days" showed a significant difference between the two groups ($t = 3.35$, df = 90, $p < .05$, table IV-8). The IPS sample spent a fewer number of days free in the community than the regular parole sample.

TABLE IV-4

NUMBER OF PAROLEES RECEIVING DRUG SCREENINGS FOR MATCHED
SAMPLE COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees		χ^2 X	P
	Drug Screenings	No Drug Screenings		
IPS	28	18	36.71	<.05
Regular Parole	1	45		

TABLE IV-5

NUMBER OF PAROLEES RECEIVING RESIDENTIAL
COUNSELING FOR MATCHED SAMPLE COMPARISON
BY TYPE OF PAROLE: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees		2 X	P
	Residential Counseling	No Residential Counseling		
IPS	15	31		
			6.39	<.05
Regular Parole	5	41		

TABLE IV-6

NUMBER OF PAROLEES WEARING WRIST MONITORS FOR MATCHED SAMPLE
COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees		χ^2	P
	Wrist Monitor	No Wrist Monitor		
IPS	31	15	46.75	<.05
Regular Parole	0	46		

TABLE IV-7

NUMBER OF PAROLEES EMPLOYED AT LEAST 50 PERCENT
OF THE TIME WHILE ON ACTIVE PAROLE FOR MATCHED
SAMPLE COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees	
	Employed at Least 50% of Time	Employed Less than 50% of Time
IPS	24	22
Regular Parole	25	21

TABLE IV-8

NUMBER OF FREE DAYS WHILE UNDER OBSERVATION FOR MATCHED
SAMPLE COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE: T-TEST RESULTS

Type of Parole	N	M	SD	<u>t</u>	df	P
IPS	46	134.1	66.67			
				3.35	90	<.05
Regular Parole	46	170.70	32.17			

3. "Number of parolees receiving parole warrants" showed a significant difference between the two groups (chi-square = 11.05, df = 1, $p < .05$, table IV-9). The IPS sample received statistically significantly more parole warrants than the regular parole sample.

4. "Number of parolees charged with new crimes" showed no statistically significant difference between the two groups (table IV-10). The IPS sample had approximately the same number of parolees charged with new crimes as the regular parole sample.

5. "Number of parole warrants for new crimes or absconding" had a sample size too small to reach a conclusion. However, it appeared that IPS had more violations than regular parole for technical charges (table IV-11).

6. "Number of parolees charged with new felony crimes" showed no statistically significant difference between the two groups (table IV-12).

7. "Number of parolees charged with new violent crimes" had a sample size too small to reach a conclusion, but there appeared to be no difference (table IV-13).

TABLE IV-9

NUMBER OF PAROLEES RECEIVING PAROLE WARRANTS FOR MATCHED
SAMPLE COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees		2 X	P
	Parole Warrant	No Parole Warrant		
IPS	19	27		
			11.05	<.05
Regular Parole	5	41		

TABLE IV-10

NUMBER OF PAROLEES CHARGED WITH NEW CRIMES FOR
MATCHED SAMPLE COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees	
	New Criminal Charges	No New Criminal Charges
IPS	11	35
Regular Parole	16	30

TABLE IV-11

TYPE OF PAROLE WARRANT FOR MATCHED
SAMPLE COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE

Type of Parole	Type of Parole Warrant	
	New Crime or Absconding	Technical Violation Only
IPS	12	7
Regular Parole	4	1

TABLE IV-12

NUMBER OF PAROLEES CHARGED WITH NEW FELONIES AND MISDEMEANORS
FOR MATCHED SAMPLE COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees Charged with New Crimes	
	At Least One Felony	Misdemeanors Only
IPS	5	6
Regular Parole	5	11

TABLE IV-13

NUMBER OF PAROLEES CHARGED WITH NEW VIOLENT AND NONVIOLENT
CRIMES FOR MATCHED SAMPLE COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE

Number of Parolees Charged with New Crimes		
Type of Parole	At Least One Violent Crime	Nonviolent Only
IPS	2	9
Regular Parole	0	16

4. DISCUSSION

Independent Treatment Variables Discussion

The tests for treatment variables were conducted to make sure that IPS was different from regular parole in amounts of treatment administered. It was determined that there was a great difference in treatment variables between IPS and regular parole. Even combined with (a high level of) regular parole supervision for those who completed the program, the IPS group still contained statistically significantly more of the treatment components than did the regular parole group.

The different components of intensive supervision all had a commonality of heavy activity directed toward the parolee. In this comparison the parts were combined into one treatment, but Chapter 6 conducts an analysis of the separate components.

The heightened attention given to IPS parolees could have resulted in a Hawthorne-like effect. However, IPS's comparison with the control group gave no indication that IPS subjects performed any better than they would have otherwise. Of course, there is the possibility that they would have performed even worse than they actually did, had they not received so much attention.

Dependent Variables Discussion

IPS appeared unfavorable on two measures: "number of parolees receiving parole warrants and "number of free days." Since the issuance of a parole warrant will cause a person to lose his or her freedom, these two measures would naturally correlate with each other (as is shown in Chapter 6). The differences between the groups could be explained by IPS having more surveillance and stricter standards than regular parole. IPS officers may have detected violations that regular parole officers would have missed. Since the regular parole officers rarely conducted drug tests or curfew checks, the regular parolees received no warrants for drug screens or curfew violations. However, the IPS parolees received several parole warrants for these reasons.

Conclusion

Since the significant findings may have been due to IPS officers violating parolees for technical violations, it is possible that there were no real differences in dependent variables between IPS and regular parole.

CHAPTER V

COMPARISON OF KNOX COUNTY IPS AND KNOX COUNTY REGULAR PAROLEES FROM DIFFERENT TIME PERIODS (KNOX COUNTY COMPARISON)

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the Knox County comparison was to ascertain which type of supervision, IPS or regular parole, was the most effective, by means of several dependent variables. Knox County IPS parolees were compared with Knox County regular parolees who had parole problems. Also new and old parolees were compared within IPS, within regular parole, and between IPS and regular parole.

2. METHOD

Subjects

The subjects consisted of two groups of adult male and female subjects, a treatment and a comparison group.

There were 50 treatment subjects who were placed on IPS between November 1, 1986 and October 30, 1987 in

Knox County, Tennessee. This was the same IPS group which was used in the 1986-1987 comparison and the population comparison. Twenty-six were new parolees who had entered IPS immediately from prison. Twenty-four were old parolees who were assigned to IPS after having been on regular parole.

The comparison group consisted of 45 Knox County regular parolees from the first four months of 1986. Twenty-seven were new parolees who had been paroled with a special condition of parole during these months. The special conditions were counseling requirements for those with problems or job waivers for those unable to secure jobs before release. Eighteen were old parolees who had violated their parole without receiving a parole warrant. The parole officers had submitted violation reports but had not requested warrants because the charges were minor and rehabilitation appeared possible.

There was a six month observation period. No comparison subjects were chosen after April 30, 1986 which resulted in all control observations ending before November 1, 1986, which was the date that IPS began.

Procedure 1: Comparisons of Entire Groups of IPS and Regular Parolees

Treatment independent variables. Before the groups were compared for treatment effects, the treatment activities were examined to see if there were differences between the IPS and regular parole group. These activities were scrutinized for either six months or as long as they remained in nonviolation status. The Knox County comparison utilized the same treatment variables which were used in the matched sample comparison.

Dependent Variables. The comparison utilized the same dependent variables which were used in the matched sample comparison in order to determine treatment effectiveness.

Observation. There was a six month observation period. For IPS subjects, the observation began the date they entered IPS. For regular parolees, the observation began the date they were released on parole or the date that the parole officer submitted the non-warrant violation report.

Procedure 2: Comparison of Subgroups of Old and New Parolees

As well as comparing the intact IPS and regular groups, separate analyses were conducted between subgroups for the following dependent variables:

1. number of parolees employed at least 50 percent of the time;
2. number of free days;
3. number of parolees receiving parole warrants;
4. number of parolees charged with new crimes.

Comparisons were conducted between subgroups as follows:

1. New IPS parolees were compared with old IPS parolees;
2. New regular parolees were compared with old regular parolees;
3. New IPS parolees were compared with new regular parolees;
4. Old IPS parolees were compared with old regular parolees.

The observation period was the same as that of the first procedure.

Data Analysis

Chi-square tests, t-tests, and visual observations were used to determine the significance of differences between groups.

3. RESULTS

Comparisons of Entire Groups of IPS and Regular Parolees

Independent Treatment Variables. The IPS group had significantly more of the following than the regular parole group:

1. number of subject contacts per 30 days (t = 9.57, df = 93, p. < .05, table V-1);
2. number of community contacts per 30 days (t = 4.44, df = 93, p. < .05 table V-2);
3. number of parolees attending AA meetings (chi-square = 22.60, df = 1, p. < .05, table V-3);
4. number of parolees receiving drug screenings (chi-square = 39.87, df = 1, p < .05, table V-4);
5. number of parolees receiving residential counseling (chi-square = 7.61, df = 1, p < .05, table V-5);

TABLE V-1

NUMBER OF SUBJECT CONTACTS PER 30 DAYS FOR KNOX COUNTY
COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE: T-TEST RESULTS

Type of Parole	N	M	SD	<u>t</u>	df	P
IPS	50	12.78	7.69			
				9.57	93	<.05
Regular Parole	45	1.67	1.25			

TABLE V-2

NUMBER OF COMMUNITY CONTACTS PER 30 DAYS FOR KNOX COUNTY
COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE: T-TEST RESULTS

Type of Parole	N	M	SD	<u>t</u>	df	P
IPS	50	7.41	10.81			
				4.44	93	<.05
Regular Parole	45	.24	.57			

TABLE V-3

NUMBER OF PAROLEES ATTENDING AA MEETINGS FOR KNOX COUNTY
COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees		X ²	P
	AA Meetings	No AA Meetings		
IPS	24	26	22.60	<.05
Regular Parole	2	43		

TABLE V-4

NUMBER OF PAROLEES RECEIVING DRUG SCREENINGS
FOR KNOX COUNTY COMPARISON BY TYPE OF
PAROLE: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees		2 X	P
	Drug Screenings	No Drug Screenings		
IPS	32	18		
			39.87	<.05
Regular Parole	1	44		

TABLE V-5

NUMBER OF PAROLEES RECEIVING RESIDENTIAL
COUNSELING FOR KNOX COUNTY COMPARISON
BY TYPE OF PAROLE: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees		2 X	P
	Residential Counseling	No Residential Counseling		
IPS	16	34		
			7.61	<.05
Regular Parole	4	41		

6. number of parolees wearing electronic wrist monitors (chi-square = 47.66, df = 1, p. < .05, table V-6).

Not significant was number of parolees enrolled in community counseling or educational programs.

Dependent Variables. The results of the IPS group and the regular parole group for the dependent variables were as follows:

1. Number of parolees employed at least 50 percent of the time showed no significant difference between the two groups (table V-7).

2. Number of free days showed no significant difference between the two groups (table V-8).

3. Number of parolees receiving parole warrants showed no significant difference between the two groups (table V-9).

4. Number of parolees charged with new crimes showed no significant difference between the two groups (table V-10).

5. Number or parole warrants for new crimes or absconding showed that IPS had fewer violations for new

TABLE V-6

NUMBER OF PAROLEES WEARING WRIST MONITORS
 FOR KNOX COUNTY COMPARISON BY TYPE OF
 PAROLE: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees		2 X	P
	Wrist Monitor	No Wrist Monitor		
IPS	34	16		
			47.66	<.05
Regular Parole	0	45		

TABLE V-7

NUMBER OF PAROLEES EMPLOYED AT LEAST 50 PERCENT
OF THE TIME WHILE ON ACTIVE PAROLE FOR KNOX
COUNTY COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees	
	Employed at Least 50% of Time	Employed Less than 50% of Time
IPS	24	26
Regular Parole	17	28

TABLE V-8

NUMBER OF FREE DAYS WHILE UNDER OBSERVATION FOR
KNOX COUNTY COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE

Type of Parole	N	M	SD
IPS	50	134.66	67.20
Regular Parole	45	138.31	57.43

TABLE V-9

NUMBER OF PAROLEES RECEIVING PAROLE WARRANTS
FOR KNOX COUNTY COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees	
	Parole Warrant	No Parole Warrant
IPS	20	30
Regular Parole	18	27

TABLE V-10

NUMBER OF PAROLEES CHARGED WITH NEW CRIMES FOR
KNOX COUNTY COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees	
	New Criminal Charges	No New Criminal Charges
IPS	12	38
Regular Parole	14	31

criminal charges or absconding but more violations for technical charges than regular parole (chi-square = 4.08, $df = 1$, $p < .05$, table V-11).

6. Number of parolees charged with new felony crimes showed no significant difference between the two groups (table V-12).

7. Number of parolees charged with new violent crimes showed no significant difference between the two groups (table V-13).

Comparisons of subgroups of old and new parolees

The following results were found:

1. "Number of parolees employed at least 50 percent of the time" showed no significant difference in any of the four subgroup comparisons.

2. "Number of free days" showed statistical significance between new and old regular parolees (table V-14, $t = 2.38$, $df = 43$, $p < .05$). Old regular parolees had fewer free days than new regular parolees.

3. "Number of parolees receiving parole warrants" showed statistical significance between new and old regular parolees (table V-15, chi-square = 5.57, $df = 1$, $p < .05$). More old regular parolees received parole warrants than did new regular parolees.

TABLE V-11

TYPE OF PAROLE WARRANT FOR KNOX COUNTY COMPARISON
BY TYPE OF PAROLE: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Type of Parole	Type of Parole Warrant		2 X	P
	New Crime or Absconding	Technical Violation Only		
IPS	12	8		
			4.08	<.05
Regular Parole	16	2		

TABLE V-12

NUMBER OF PAROLEES CHARGED WITH NEW FELONIES
AND MISDEMEANORS FOR KNOX COUNTY
COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees Charged with New Crimes	
	At Least One Felony	Misdemeanors Only
IPS	5	7
Regular Parole	6	8

TABLE V-13

NUMBER OF PAROLEES CHARGED WITH NEW VIOLENT
AND NON-VIOLENT CRIMES FOR KNOX COUNTY
COMPARISON BY TYPE OF PAROLE

Type of Parole	Number of Parolees Charged with New Crimes	
	At Least One Violent Crime	Nonviolent Only

IPS	2	10
Regular Parole	2	12

TABLE V-14

NUMBER OF FREE DAYS OF REGULAR PAROLEES FOR KNOX COUNTY
COMPARISON BY PAROLE STATUS: T-TEST RESULTS

Parole Status	N	M	SD	<u>t</u>	df	P
New	27	154.11	47.58			
				2.38	43	<.05
Old	18	114.61	63.89			

TABLE V-15

NUMBER OF REGULAR PAROLEES RECEIVING PAROLE
WARRANTS FOR KNOX COUNTY COMPARISON BY
PAROLE STATUS: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Parole Status	Number of Parolees		X ²	P
	Parole Warrant	No Parole Warrant		
New	7	20		
			5.57	<.05
Old	11	7		

4. "Number of parolees charged with new crimes" showed statistical significance between new and old IPS parolees (table V-16, chi-square = 4.61, df = 1, p. < .05). More old IPS parolees were charged with new crimes than were new IPS parolees.

There were no differences between IPS and regular parolees in the new and old divisions.

4. DISCUSSION

Procedure Discussion

Since the comparison group's observation period ended before IPS began, confounding of the groups was eliminated. If the two groups had been observed during the same time period, there would have been the possibility of a comparison subject entering IPS. This could very well have happened as the comparison subjects may have been good IPS candidates had the program been in process. In fact, the reason that these particular subjects were chosen as comparison subjects was because they had problems with their parole similar to those of IPS subjects.

TABLE V-16

NUMBER OF IPS PAROLEES CHARGED WITH NEW
CRIMES FOR KNOX COUNTY COMPARISON BY
PAROLE STATUS: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Parole Status	Number of Parolees		X ²	P
	New Crimes	No New Crimes		
New	3	23	4.61	<.05
Old	9	15		

Treatment Variables Discussion

It was determined that there was a difference in treatment variables between IPS and regular parole. IPS did display intensive amounts of supervision. As in the matched sample comparison, the components of the treatment were not separated for the evaluation. Also, there is the possibility that the heightened attention could have produced a Hawthorne-like effect, but probably did not do so in this case either since IPS showed no improvement over regular parole.

Dependent Variables Discussion

There was no difference in any of the dependent variables between IPS and regular parole except for the fact that IPS officers were more likely to violate parolees for technical violations than were regular parole officers. This may be more reflective of parole officers' behavior than parolees'. As in the matched sample comparison, IPS officers may have been more likely than regular officers to violate for technical reasons or to uncover hidden violations.

Both groups appeared to be equally effective in achieving parole success on a number of measures. A possible reason is that the regular parolees in the comparison group could have been more "trouble prone" than other regular parolees. Although they were not matched to each other, both groups entered the observation period with existing problems. The similar problems of Knox County IPS subjects and regular parolees may have caused the two groups to become more alike than those in the Matched Sample Comparison. Although the treatment subjects were observed at later dates than the comparison subjects, both groups were from the same geographic area which might compensate for differences caused by slightly different time periods.

Subgroups Discussion

There was no difference between new and old parolees in employment, but both IPS and regular old parolees performed worse than new parolees in areas pertaining to violation matters. Even though it would appear that the odds were against the IPS group which had more old parolees than the regular group, the results showed no difference between IPS and regular

parole when the old and new parolees were separated. These results indicate that, whereas old parolees performed poorer than regular parolees, the IPS intervention made no difference between groups of new parolees or old parolees.

Conclusion

The results indicate that the intense amounts of treatment received by IPS subjects were not favorable for any of the dependent variable measures.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSES OF IPS INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES (IPS VARIABLE ANALYSES)

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the following three analyses was to see if any of the treatment or dependent variables were related to each other. Also possible reasons for the findings were explored.

2. METHODS

Subjects

The subjects for the first and third analysis were the 50 IPS parolees used in the 1986-1987 comparison, the population comparison, and the Knox County comparison. The second analysis only used 49 of these subjects due to missing data in one subject's record.

Materials

For the second analysis, the variable of "number of AA meetings per 30 days" was derived from the AA

Attendance Form (Appendix). This form, found in the parolee's file, verified meeting attendance and was signed by AA members other than the parolee.

The third analysis' two additional variables, "alcohol use" and "other drug use", were from a scale called the Tennessee Parole Needs Assessment and Notice of Arrival (Needs Assessment Scale, Appendix). This instrument was developed by Dr. James Fox, of Eastern Kentucky University, in 1981 in the same manner as the Risk Assessment Scale. The parole officer uses this instrument to rate each parolee at the beginning of his or her parole period. This is a subjective scale based on a parole officer's projections of how much effort will be expended to fulfill the parolee's particular needs.

Procedures

In the first analysis, comparisons of treatment variables and dependent variables were conducted on the group of IPS parolees. Included were all independent treatment variables which the last two comparisons had

found to be statistically significantly different between IPS and regular parole. Listed again, these variables are as follows:

1. number of subject contacts per 30 days;
2. number of community contacts per 30 days;
3. number of parolees attending AA meetings;
4. number of parolees receiving drug screenings;
5. number of parolees receiving residential counseling;
6. number of parolees wearing electronic wrist monitors.

Also included were the following dependent variables which had been used in these comparisons:

1. number of parolees employed at least 50 percent of the time;
2. number of free days;
3. number of parolees receiving parole warrants;
4. number of parolees charged with new crimes;

The remaining dependent variables from the last two comparisons were not used due to very small numbers of data.

The second analysis was an attempt to confirm one of the relationships of the first analysis, that of "number of parolees attending AA meetings" with "number

of parolees receiving parole warrants." In order to do so, an additional variable was introduced, "number of AA meetings per 30 days."

The third analysis was also based on the findings of the first analysis. Two additional variables were compared to some of the above variables to see if they contributed to the results. These additional variables were:

1. Alcohol use (scores 0 to 10);
2. Other drug use (scores 0 to 10).

The new variables were compared to the the above four dependent variables and the following two independent variables:

1. Number of parolees attending AA meetings;
2. Number of parolees receiving drug screenings.

Data Analyses

The first analysis conducted Pearson correlations and t-tests for all of its independent and dependent variables. A chi-square test was also performed. The second analysis used a t-test to compare successes and violators with "number of AA meetings per 30 days." The third analysis used Pearson correlations and t-tests to compare all of its variables with each other.

3. RESULTS

The First Analysis

The first analysis showed fairly high positive correlations, statistically significantly different from zero at the probability level of .05 or less for the following (figure VI-1):

1. between "number of subject contacts per 30 days" and "number of community contacts per 30 days";
2. between "number of subject contacts per 30 days" and "number of parolees receiving drug screens";
3. between "number of subject contacts per 30 days" and "number of parolees receiving parole warrants" (table VI-1);
4. between "number of community contacts per 30 days" and "number of parolees receiving parole warrants" (table VI-2);
5. between "number of parolees attending AA meetings" and number of "free days";
6. between "number of parolees receiving parole warrants" and "number of parolees charged with new crimes."

SUBJECT COMMUN. AA DRUG RESID. WRIST EMPLOY- FREE PAROLE NEW
CONTACT CONTACT MTG. SCREEN COUNSEL MNTR. MENT DAYS WARRANT CRIME

SUBJECT CONTACT	r 1.00 t 3.60 df 48 p <.01	r *.46 t .90 df 48 p .38	r -.13 t 2.17 df 48 p .03	r *.30 t .46 df 48 p .65	r -.07 t .27 df 48 p .91	r .02 t .12 df 48 p .40	r -.12 t .85 df 48 p <.01	r *.54 t 4.39 df 48 p <.01	r *.61 t 5.36 df 48 p <.01	r .26 t 1.89 df 48 p .07
COMMUN. CONTACT		r 1.00 t .93 df 48 p .35	r -.13 t .55 df 48 p .59	r -.08 t .27 df 48 p .79	r -.04 t 1.41 df 48 p .17	r -.20 t .79 df 48 p .43	r -.11 t 3.26 df 48 p <.01	r *.43 t 2.90 df 48 p <.01	r *.39 t 2.90 df 48 p <.01	r .02 t .13 df 48 p .90
AA MTG.			r 1.00 t .37 df 48 p .71	r .05 t .19 df 48 p .85	r .03 t .40 df 48 p .69	r .06 t .29 df 48 p .77	r -.04 t 2.24 df 48 p .03	r *.31 t 2.13 df 48 p .04	r *.29 t 2.13 df 48 p .04	r -.07 t .49 df 48 p .62
DRUG SCREEN				r 1.00 t .77 df 48 p .44	r -.11 t 1.4 df 48 p .16	r .20 t .79 df 48 p .43	r -.11 t .27 df 48 p .79	r -.04 t .71 df 48 p .48	r .10 t .71 df 48 p .48	r .13 t .90 df 48 p .37
RESID. COUNSEL					r 1.00 t 1.22 df 48 p .23	r -.17 t 1.01 df 48 p .32	r -.14 t .92 df 48 p .36	r .13 t .86 df 48 p .40	r -.12 t .86 df 48 p .40	r -.18 t 1.30 df 48 p .20
WRIST MNTR.						r 1.00 t 1.01 df 48 p .32	r .14 t 1.22 df 48 p .23	r .17 t .98 df 48 p .33	r -.14 t .98 df 48 p .33	r -.12 t .81 df 48 p .42
EMPLOY- MENT							r 1.00 t 1.5 df 48 p .13	r .22 t 1.51 df 48 p .14	r -.21 t 1.51 df 48 p .14	r .12 t .81 df 48 p .42
FREE DAYS								r 1.00 t 13.30 df 48 p <.01	r *.89 t 13.30 df 48 p <.01	r -.18 t 1.24 df 48 p .22
PAROLE WARRANT									r 1.00 t 2.23 df 48 p .03	r *.31 t 2.23 df 48 p .03
NEW CRIME										r 1.00

* Correlation coefficient is significantly different from zero at p .05 or less.

Figure VI-1. IPS Independent Treatment Variables and Dependent Variables for First IPS Variable Analysis: Pearson Correlation Matrix

TABLE VI-1

NUMBER OF SUBJECT CONTACTS PER 30 DAYS FOR FIRST IPS
VARIABLE ANALYSIS BY PAROLE OUTCOME: T-TEST RESULTS

Parole Outcome	N	M	SD	<u>t</u>	df	P
Succeeded	30	9.00	3.13			
				5.36	48	<.05
Violated	20	18.49	8.96			

TABLE VI-2

NUMBER OF COMMUNITY CONTACTS PER 30 DAYS FOR FIRST IPS
VARIABLE ANALYSIS BY PAROLE OUTCOME: T-TEST RESULTS

Parole Outcome	N	M	SD	<u>t</u>	df	P
Succeeded	30	4.04	2.55			
				2.90	48	<.05
Violated	20	12.46	15.71			

Fairly high negative correlations, statistically significantly different from zero at the probability level of .05 or less were found for the following (figure VI-1):

1. between "number of subject contacts per 30 days" and "number of free days";
2. between "number of community contacts per 30 days" and "number of free days";
3. between "number of parolees attending AA meetings" and "number of parolees receiving parole warrants" (table VI-3);
4. between "number of free days" and "number of parolees receiving parole warrants".

Low correlations were found for all the other comparisons.

The Second Analysis

When the exact number of AA meetings was analyzed, there was no statistically significant difference. Successful parolees did attend more AA meetings per 30 days than violators but not to a significant degree (table VI-4).

TABLE VI-3

NUMBER OF PAROLEES ATTENDING AA MEETINGS FOR FIRST IPS
VARIABLE ANALYSIS BY PAROLE OUTCOME: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Parole Outcome	No AA Meetings	AA Meetings	χ^2	P
Succeeded	12	18	4.33	<.05
Violated	14	6		

TABLE VI-4

NUMBER OF AA MEETINGS PER 30 DAYS FOR SECOND
IPS VARIABLE ANALYSIS BY PAROLE OUTCOME

Parole Outcome	N	M	SD
Succeeded	30	4.20	5.48
Violated	19	2.00	4.17

The Third Analysis

The third analysis showed only one relationship, a positive correlation between "alcohol use" and "other drug use" (figure VI-2, table VI-5, and table VI-6).

4. DISCUSSION

Huck, Cormier, and Bounds (1974, p. 178) warn against using a separate univariate analysis for each of several dependent variables for two reasons:

1. "(P)eople who score high on one dependent variable generally score high on the other dependent variables due to correlation of dependent variables."

2. "(A)s the number of dependent variables increase, the probability of finding a significant difference by chance alone also increases"

In response to the first reason, it is understood that free days, warrants, and new crime are all related, and that a high correlation with one would probably result in a high correlation with the others.

In response to the second reason, it is entirely possible that the statistically significant results concerning "number of parolees attending AA meetings" could be by chance.

	ALCOHOL USE	DRUG USE	AA MTG.	DRUG SCREEN	EMPLOY- MENT	FREE DAYS	PAROLE WARRANT	NEW CRIME
ALCOHOL USE	$\underline{r} \ 1.00$	$\underline{r}^*.28$ $\underline{t} \ 1.99$ $\underline{df} \ 48$ $p \ .05$	$\underline{r} \ .03$ $\underline{t} \ .23$ $\underline{df} \ 48$ $p \ .82$	$\underline{r} \ -.26$ $\underline{t} \ 1.87$ $\underline{df} \ 48$ $p \ .07$	$\underline{r} \ -.002$ $\underline{t} \ .01$ $\underline{df} \ 48$ $p \ .99$	$\underline{r} \ -.18$ $\underline{t} \ 1.30$ $\underline{df} \ 48$ $p \ .20$	$\underline{r} \ .12$ $\underline{t} \ .83$ $\underline{df} \ 48$ $p \ .41$	$\underline{r} \ -.14$ $\underline{t} \ .94$ $\underline{df} \ 48$ $p \ .35$
DRUG USE		$\underline{r} \ 1.00$	$\underline{r} \ .24$ $\underline{t} \ 1.72$ $\underline{df} \ 48$ $p \ .09$	$\underline{r} \ .18$ $\underline{t} \ 1.28$ $\underline{df} \ 48$ $p \ .21$	$\underline{r} \ -.05$ $\underline{t} \ .37$ $\underline{df} \ 48$ $p \ .71$	$\underline{r} \ -.04$ $\underline{t} \ .32$ $\underline{df} \ 48$ $p \ .75$	$\underline{r} \ -.03$ $\underline{t} \ .23$ $\underline{df} \ 48$ $p \ .82$	$\underline{r} \ -.17$ $\underline{t} \ 1.23$ $\underline{df} \ 48$ $p \ .22$

* Correlation coefficient is significantly different from zero at $p \ .05$ due to rounding procedure.

Figure VI-2. IPS Independent Substance Abuse Variables and Dependent Variables for Third IPS Variable Analysis: Pearson Correlations

TABLE VI-5

PAROLE OFFICER'S ESTIMATE OF DEGREE OF ALCOHOL USE
FOR THIRD IPS VARIABLE ANALYSIS BY PAROLE OUTCOME

Parole Outcome	N	M	SD
Succeeded	30	4.50	3.50
Violated	20	5.35	3.60

TABLE VI-6

PAROLE OFFICER'S ESTIMATE OF DEGREE OF OTHER DRUG USE
FOR THIRD IPS VARIABLE ANALYSIS BY PAROLE OUTCOME

Parole Outcome	N	M	SD
Succeeded	30	4.77	3.41
Violated	20	4.55	3.20

However, at least it was not a positive correlation with parole warrants as were some of the other treatment efforts. Also, it must be noted that there was a combination of ranked and continuous data to which the Pearson correlation method was applied.

With the above methodological limitations being kept in mind, possible implications of the following results are discussed:

The First Analysis

The relationship of "number of free days" and "number of parolees receiving parole warrants" was not remarkable since one automatically loses free days when locked up on a parole warrant. The relationships of both subject contacts and community contacts with free days and parole warrants indicated that a parole officer's contacts with the subject and with the community may contribute to parole violation. As each type of contact increased, free days decreased and parole warrants increased. These relationships only apply to technical violators or absconders, since there was virtually no correlation of either subject or

community contacts with new criminal charges. Three possible reasons, which may interact with each other, are suggested:

1. The parole officer's constant checking with the parolee and the community could have created an emotional reaction within the parolee (such as fear, nervousness, or resentment) which caused him or her to either abscond or break a technical rule.

2. The parole officer's constant checking with the parolee and the community could have uncovered technical violations (such as curfew violations or positive drug screen results) which might not have been discovered with lesser surveillance.

3. The parole officer could have believed that the parolee was a high candidate for violation and thus made many contacts in a futile attempt to help the parolee succeed.

Parolees who attended AA meetings had more free days and less parole warrants than those who did not attend AA. There was no statistically significant relationship of "number of parolees attending AA meetings" with "number of parolees charged with new crimes." Three interactive reasons for the relationship

of "number of parolees attending AA meetings" with parole violations and free days are suggested:

1. AA could have helped keep parolees from violating their parole. This could be a very strong argument in support of AA, as it is generally assumed that substance abusers are high risks for parole violation. If those who attended AA were substance abusers, and if those who did not attend AA were not substance abusers, this would could mean that a high risk group performed better than a low risk group. (See discussion of the third analysis which does not support this theory.)

2. Parolees who attended AA were more motivated to help themselves and more compliant in obeying parole officer's instructions (such as instructions to attend AA) than were those who did not attend AA.

3. Parole officers were more willing to overlook technical violations of parolees who attended AA than they were of parolees who did not attend AA.

"Number of parolees attending AA meetings" is a fairly reliable measure. The statistics are probably correct unless a parolee attended AA meetings without telling his or her parole officer of any of them, or if one forged all of his or her AA documents. Both of

these possibilities are unlikely. "Number of parolees attending AA meetings" only applies to those who attended community AA meetings, not to those who may have attended while involved in residential treatment. The procedure of excluding them should not harm validity, since "number of parolees receiving residential counseling" showed no relationship with parole violation.

The Second Analysis

The above relationship of "number of parolees attending AA meetings" with "number of parolees receiving parole warrants" was not upheld when "number of AA meetings per 30 days" was tested for differences between successes and violators. "Number of AA meetings per 30 days" is the most unreliable statistic of this study. The figures were produced by the parolees themselves and may not have been accurate. For example, parolees may have not obtained documentation for every meeting attended. Also, there was the possibility that they may have forged some of their attendance slips.

The Third Analysis

The results of the third analysis showed no indication that parole officers' perceptions of alcohol or drug problems were related to employment, days free in the community, parole violation, or new criminal charges. It also showed no indication that parole officers perceived persons who attended AA to be more likely than those who did not attend AA to have an alcohol or drug problem. The findings indicate that parole officers did not discriminately assign AA and drug screenings to parolees who were judged to have alcohol or drug problems upon their release on parole.

Thus, the degree of perceived substance abuse shows no relationship with number of parolees attending AA or with parole violation, whereas number of parolees attending AA does show a negative relationship to parole violation. If further studies are able to show that AA attendance does contribute to parole success, perhaps even parolees with only mild substance abuse problems should be required to attend AA in order to prevent recidivism.

Conclusion

Most of the components of IPS appeared ineffective. The monetary expenses of the constant parole officer contacts with the parolee may have been especially wasted as the measures seemed to be counter productive. As mentioned, both subject and community contacts may have contributed to violations by antagonizing the parolee or by uncovering hidden violations.

Members of the parole staff have stated that violating parolees early for technical violations may prevent them from committing future crimes. However, it has not been proven that technical violators are more likely to commit crimes than those who do not break technical rules. Since there may be no benefit to be gained from early technical violation, it appears that IPS officers should reduce their subject and community contacts. Instead they should concentrate on areas which appear to reduce violation, such as AA. In the present study, only four subjects out of 50 received a score of zero on both alcohol use and other drug use. This indicates that most IPS parolees may have some degree of problems with either alcohol or drugs and may benefit in some measure from AA meetings which treat both types of substance abuse.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

1. THE RESULTS

The results of each analysis is also discussed in its chapter's separate discussion section.

The Success-Violator Analyses

The 1982-1983 success-violator analysis. Perhaps the most important findings of the entire project were from the 1982-1983 success-violator analysis. Four predictors of parole success were found: sentence length, parole officer's assessment of risk, jail days before making bond, and prison disciplinary infractions. This information could be very helpful to the Parole Board in deciding which prisoners would be the best risk for parole. Some possible reasons for these findings are as follows:

1. There could be at least two reasons for the length of one's sentence having an impact on parole outcome. One reason is that the knowledge of having a long time left to serve may be an effective deterrent. During the early 1980's

most parole violators were returned to prison for the entire balance of their sentence, which fact most parolees were well aware of.

Also, those of advanced ages usually have longer sentence lengths than young criminals. Participation in crime generally declines after the age of 35 resulting in most offenders completing their sentences before middle-age. Elderly parolees, such as those serving life sentences, usually are not likely to recidivate. However, this comparison did not show that age made a difference in parole outcome, probably due to the fact that it was a young sample.

2. There could have been at least two reasons for the findings concerning parole officer's assessment of risk. One reason may have been due to the parole officer's expertise in judging parolees. This explanation places a high value on the ability of parole officers to make judgments. However, parole officers could have treated those whom they had judged to be of low risk differently than high risk parolees, causing differential treatment to be the influencing factor.

3. Jail days was highly significant. A previous study by the same researcher also showed similar results--that parole successes had fewer jail days before making bond than violators. These findings could be have been due to a

variety of reasons. One possibility is that criminal judges may set a high bond for those with serious charges, resulting in those with serious offenses being unable to post bond. However, the analysis showed that offenders with the most serious offenses (murder) tended to succeed at parole. Sentence length may be another way to determine seriousness of offense, but an independent comparison performed between sentence length and jail days showed no correlation. In fact, those with long sentences were better parole risks than those with short sentences.

Thus, even if seriousness of offense determined the amount of bond, then the actual amount probably made little difference. Perhaps violators had difficulty in posting any amount of bond. They may have been from impoverished backgrounds with no income nor real property to post as security.

The offender's value system may have interacted with economic factors. An unemployed person may value freedom lower than one who is anxious to return to work. Also, some offenders may receive family and peer conditioning to place a low value on freedom. Such a person may be adjusted to a career of crime and accept periodic cycles of confinement as part of one's criminal career.

4. The results of prison disciplinary infractions were somewhat of a surprise. As a general rule, parole officers assume that conforming to the rules of prison has little effect on one's ability to conform to the rules of parole. This is due to the fact that the regimented prison life is very different from that of the outside world. In fact, parole officers often say that one with few disciplinary infractions may be "institutionalized" and unable to adapt to a free lifestyle. However, the results of this investigation showed the opposite. Disciplinary infractions may have been due to basic personality traits which transferred across environments. Perhaps the Parole Board should look at the variable of disciplinary infractions very closely when making decisions as to whom should be released on parole.

The 1986-1987 Success-Violator Analysis. These above variables did not reach statistical significance with IPS successes and violators. Other factors, such as age, maturity, early release, and attitude of IPS parolees may have been overriding factors. The IPS group was different from the earlier group. For example, many parolees of the later time period, both IPS and regular parolees, had

received early release. These differences could have weakened the former significant results in the following ways:

1. Sentence length: The parolees' attitude toward early release could have weakened the deterrent effect of sentence length. Also, reparole was more common during that time period than it had been during the first analysis. Whenever a person's parole was revoked, there was a good chance of him or her being paroled again.

2. Parole officer's assessment of risk: Parole officers may have used different standards for IPS parolees than regular parolees when assessing them for risk.

3. Jail days: Perhaps the variable of jail days' interaction with other factors, such as attitude, weakened its effect. Since the IPS sample was from a different time period than the 1982-1983 sample, financial abilities, values, or court bonding proceedings may have changed through the years.

4. Disciplinary infractions: This variable may have been affected by the offender's anticipation of early release or other factors particular to the time period.

The Evaluation

Two comparisons of IPS parolees with regular parolees were conducted. Also a separate analysis of IPS variables was performed to ascertain which treatment variables had the most impact on the dependent variables.

Both of the comparisons of IPS with regular parole showed that IPS parolees received more intensive amounts of treatment factors, such as subject contacts, drug screens, etc., than regular parolees. However, neither comparison showed Tennessee's IPS program to be successful when it was compared with regular parole on dependent variables of employment, free days, parole warrants, new crimes, types of violations, and types of new crimes.

The Matched Sample Comparison. There was no significant difference between IPS and regular parole in any of the above dependent variables, except that the IPS group did worse than the regular parole group in areas of free days and parole violations. One reason for the difference could have been that the two groups differed in ways other than the treatment. For example, the two groups were from different geographic areas, with the IPS group possessing more urban-based parolees than the predominately rural Oak Ridge group. However, the 1982-1983 analysis had found that there was no

difference between urban parolees and rural parolees in regards to parole outcome. Thus, this variable was not taken into consideration when matching control groups.

The parole officers' actions may have caused the appearance of IPS parolees performing worse than regular parolees. For example, it appeared that IPS parolees were more likely to be violated than regular parolees for technical reasons alone. This might be due to IPS officers watching the parolees closer than regular parole officers or to them having stricter definitions of what constitutes a parole violation.

The Knox County Comparison. In this comparison, the only dependent variable showing a difference between IPS and regular parole concerned technical violations. The results may have been due to differences between the groups.

For example, the IPS group contained more old parolees who had been on parole for some time than did the regular parole group. Analyses of old and new parolees showed that, in both groups, new parolees performed better than old parolees. Since IPS contained more old parolees than the regular parole group, it would be expected to do poorer than the regular parole group. That is what happened in one case.

However, when IPS and regular parolees were divided as to new and old parolees, and compared with each other, there was no difference between new IPS parolees and new regular parolees, or between old IPS parolees and old regular parolees. This indicates that the factor of being a new or old parolee did not influence parole outcome between IPS and regular parole.

There is also the possibility of a history threat, in that the regular parole group was from a different time period than the IPS group. However, the maximum difference was only about a year and a half, and there may not have been many drastic history changes during that time period. For example, the variable of early release remained in effect during the entire time that both groups were observed.

The groups were not matched for race and sex as in the previous comparison. However, it is believed that the two Knox County groups of this comparison may have resembled each other closer than the matched sample's groups. For instance, the Knox County groups were both from the same geographic area. Also, the parolees in the Knox County comparison group possessed difficulties with their parole which resembled the problems of the IPS group.

Thus it appears feasible that the results may have been due to the same reasons which were speculated in the above comparison: IPS officers' surveillance tactics and their definitions of parole violation.

The IPS Variable Analysis. When the different treatment components of IPS were analyzed, only one appeared to be helpful in preventing parole violations. This was "number of parolees attending AA." The more likely a parolee was to attend AA, the less likely he or she was to violate parole. While this result could have been due to AA's beneficial treatment, there is the possibility of other causes. For example, the type of parolee who attended AA may have also been the type of person likely to succeed at parole. Also, the parole officer could have treated a person who attended AA more favorably than one who did not.

Two components of the treatment actually appeared to contribute to parole violations. These were "number of subject contacts" (by the parole officer) and "number of community contacts." These results could have been caused by IPS parolees' adverse reactions to perceived parole officers' interference. Also parole officers may have uncovered hidden

violations during their contacts. A third possibility is that IPS officers increased contacts with parolees who showed indications of parole violation.

2. FUNCTIONS OF SANCTIONS IN IPS

The mission of the Tennessee Parole Board is in accord with the above dependent variables. This mission reads as follows:

The mission of Field Services is to supervise paroled felons in such a manner that will enhance the safety of the public and assist the parolee to become a law abiding and productive member of the community.

(Memorandum from the Executive Director of Paroles, 1986).

As mentioned in the literature review, there are four traditional goals of criminal sanctions which can be incorporated into parole. They are deterrence, rehabilitation, incapacitation, and retribution. However, the above mission statement is based on only two of these goals which are incapacitation ("enhance the safety of the public") and rehabilitation ("help the parolee to become a law abiding and productive member of the community").

Although deterrence and retribution are not explicitly mentioned in the mission statement, in actuality all four of these concepts have an impact on IPS.

Deterrence

Whereas the function of deterrence is not explicitly stated in the Tennessee Board of Parole's formal mission statement, it is an active component of IPS. Both specific and general deterrence are implemented by the threat of parole revocation and return to prison. IPS officers hope that the wrist monitors and other surveillance techniques will serve as reminders to the parolee not to violate his or her parole. However, the results of the present evaluation show that such techniques may not be effective deterrents.

Rehabilitation

Although the mission statement is dedicated to rehabilitation, parts of IPS, such as the wrist monitor, may be detrimental to rehabilitative efforts. Corbett (1989) said that programs which use electronic monitoring have abandoned rehabilitation in favor of control and surveillance. "Highly publicized, glamorous programs such as electronic monitoring could easily absorb any new program monies and gradually encroach upon agency resources and

manpower" (Corbett, 1989, p. 80). The present study's dependent variable of "number of parolees employed 50 percent of the time" was geared toward the goal of rehabilitation, but it is easy to see how the visibility of wearing a wrist monitor might detrimentally affect one's chances of securing employment. Also, IPS officers have noted that employers dislike parole officers interfering with the parolee on the job site.

Incapacitation

IPS has aided the incapacitative function of parole with its small caseloads and new equipment. Parole officers can now have control over a parolee's activities through multiple contacts, electronic monitoring, and drug screenings. However, there is no proof that IPS is actually more effective than regular parole in controlling the offender. For example, parole officials have attempted to justify IPS's high technical violation rate by saying that they violate poor parolees before they have a chance to commit a crime. This implies that technical violators would have committed crimes had they not been confined. However, there is no proof that this would have occurred.

Retribution

IPS may be a cheap form of punishment. The wrist monitor excels in this function. Corbett (1989, p. 78) stated that electronic monitoring programs have a "principally punitive focus." In the State of Georgia, according to Erwin (1986), one of the main functions of IPS is to punish the offender while avoiding the costs of imprisonment. Although probation officials from Georgia are realistic in regards to the retributive function of IPS, Tennessee's parole officials are not as realistic. Tennessee may need to stress the retributive function of parole in order to keep the public's support IPS. This is explained by Fallin (1989):

In an effort to gain public, legislative, and judicial support, any options to long-term confinement must do the following: be perceived as reasonably safe; address the public's desire for punishment through community control, non-paid labor, and victim restitution; and offer an opportunity for positive change by providing treatment and employment skills. (p. 68)

Since the present study did not show IPS to be any more effective than regular parole on any of its dependent variables concerning rehabilitation and safety, perhaps

variables which show punishment should be used instead. Examples of these variables could be use of the wrist monitor, drug screenings, number of subject contacts, AA attendance, etc.--all of the independent variables which were assessed as treatment variables. Stigmatizing a parolee through a wrist monitor, humiliating him or her through urine tests, invading his or her privacy through constant home visits, and making the person attend activities all could be construed as being punishing.

In order to justify the expense of IPS, its retributive function may need to be made much clearer than it is now. The high cost of IPS is due in part to IPS wrist monitors, drug screenings, and the high ratio of parole officers per parolee. Although IPS is more expensive than regular parole, it does appear to save many prison related expenses. Erwin (1986) stated that IPS not only does away with the expense of incarceration, but it also eliminates the hidden community cost of supporting the prisoner's family. However, IPS also contains hidden costs. Some of these expenses are police manpower for new arrests, court procedures, and parole revocation procedures. It may cost the offender's family more for the person to be on parole than to remain in prison,

especially if if he or she is unemployed or abuses drugs. The entire loss to society needs to be considered instead of just the initial prison expense.

From this evaluation, it appears that, unless we accept the retributive model, IPS will be an unnecessary drain on Tennessee's taxpayers. The public may not object to the fact that IPS does not control the offender as well as anticipated and may be satisfied that at least something is being done. What the public probably really wants, but is hesitant to voice, is punishment, and that is what is being accomplished in IPS.

3. SUMMARY

The 1982-1983 comparison pointed out four predictors of parole outcome: sentence length, parole officer's assessment of risk, jail days, and prison infractions. Some of these predictors were unexpected. It was also surprising that age was not a predictor, but this was probably due to the fact that it was a young sample. The evaluation showed that Tennessee IPS has not proven itself to be successful in matters of rehabilitation or incapacitation. However, it did show that IPS may serve a retributive function.

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APPENDIX



STATE OF TENNESSEE
BOARD OF PAROLES—EAST TENNESSEE REGION
5616 Kingston Pike
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37919, (615) 594-6010

Subject's Name

This is to confirm that the above named individual attended the AA meeting at
_____ on _____.

Sponsor _____ Phone Number _____

This is to confirm that the above named individual attended the AA meeting at
_____ on _____.

Sponsor _____ Phone Number _____

This is to confirm that the above named individual attended the AA meeting at
_____ on _____.

Sponsor _____ Phone Number _____

This is to confirm that the above named individual attended the AA meeting at
_____ on _____.

Sponsor _____ Phone Number _____

This is to confirm that the above named individual attended the AA meeting at
_____ on _____.

Sponsor _____ Phone Number _____

This is to confirm that the above named individual attended the AA meeting at
_____ on _____.

Sponsor _____ Phone Number _____

CONSENT FORM

I agree to allow Dorothy Jernigan to have access to my prison and parole records for the purpose of a survey to be furnished to the University of Tennessee and to the Tennessee Board of Paroles. This survey is being conducted to determine the effectiveness of the Intensive Parole Supervision Program and to gain knowledge of the characteristics of those participating in the program. I also understand that a literacy test may be administered, but I reserve the right not to take it if I do not wish to.

The information taken from my prison and parole records will be as follows: Present and prior offenses and sentencing information; juvenile history (as reported by me); prior probation and parole history; prison staff ratings; sex; age; race; living arrangements; address; alcohol and drug history (past and present); mental health history (past and present); mental test results; intelligence test results; education level; employment history (past and present); employment skills; financial situation; family and personal relationships (whether calm or hostile); attitude (parole officer's opinion); amount of parole officer contact with me, my family, employer, and the community; amount of community service performed; results of my drug screens; my performance while on parole in conforming to Intensive Parole Supervision contract; and violation information (if any). This information may be used to determine the characteristics of those who are successful or non-successful on the program.

I understand that the results of this survey will not be used in any way to affect my parole standing. I understand that I will be furnished a copy of the results upon request. I also understand that my name, prison number, or any other identification will not be used in the results of the research. No one other than the researcher will keep this information gathered from the parole and prison files. It will be kept in the researcher's possession for a period of 5 years and then will be destroyed. Only averages and group figures will be reported in the results.

I understand that I may withdraw from participation in this project at any time without prejudice or penalty.

I have been given a copy of this form signed by me under no coercion to do so.

Parolee

Date

Witness

Date



No. _____

Officer's Copy

Tennessee Board of Parole
Certificate of Parole

It appears to the Tennessee Board of Parole that _____
prison number _____, having been convicted of the offense(s) of burg. 2, AG(burg.)
_____ and sentenced to 5-11 yrs. in the
county of Bradley, Monroe is eligible to be paroled from the CCNYC
and that there is reasonable probability that said prisoner will remain at liberty without violating the law. It further being the opinion of the Tennessee Board of Paroles that the parole of this prisoner is not incompatible with the welfare of society.

It is hereby ordered that said prisoner be, and hereby is paroled effective December, 19 86
subject to the following conditions:

1. I will go directly to my destination, and upon arrival, report immediately to my Parole Officer, under whose supervision I am paroled, unless otherwise directed.
2. I will obey the laws of the United States, or any State in which I may be, as well as any municipal ordinances.
3. I will report all arrests, including traffic violations, immediately, regardless of the outcome, to my Parole Officer.
4. I will not own, possess, or carry any type of deadly weapon (guns, rifles, knives or any illegal weapons). I further understand that under provision of Federal and State Laws, I am subject to prosecution if I violate this condition.
5. I will work steadily at a lawful occupation, and support my dependents (parents, wife, children, and others), to the best of my ability. If I become unemployed, I will immediately report this to my Parole Officer and then begin to look for another job.
6. I will get the permission of my Parole Officer before changing my residence or employment, or before leaving the County of my residence or the State.
7. I will allow my Parole Officer to visit my home, employment site, or elsewhere, and will carry out all instructions he/she gives, and report to my Parole Officer as given instruction to report.
8. I will not use intoxicants (beer, whiskey, wine, etc.) of any kind to excess, or use or have in my possession narcotic drugs or marijuana.
9. I agree to pay all required fees to the supervision and Criminal Injuries Fund.

Special Condition(s) Temp. Job Waiver

Parole Plan: Residence _____

Employment _____

Parole Officer: Jornigan, Knoxville Parole Office, 617 W. Cumberland 1st Floor

Knoxville, TN 373-6010 (PT)

This parole shall expire upon the sentence expiration date of March 10, 19 91
provided the Board is satisfied that the parolee has complied with all conditions of this release.

In witness, we have affixed our signatures this 08th day of December, 19 86

Ronald L. Bishop
Chairman, Board of Parole

George W. McClain
Director of Parole

I have read, or have had read to me, this Order of Parole, and the statement of Conditions of Parole. I fully understand them, and I agree to comply with such conditions during the period of my parole, this the 12 day of December, 19 86. Further I hereby waive all extradition rights and process, and agree to return to Tennessee voluntarily if at any time prior to my release from parole the Tennessee Board of Parole directs me to do so.

Doc. [Signature]
Prison Official or Parole Officer

Signature of Parolee

**TENNESSEE BOARD OF PAROLE
PAROLE SUMMARY PREDICTION SCALE**

_____ NAME _____ AGE _____ INSTITUTION _____
 COUNTY OF CONVICTION _____ DATE OF SENTENCE _____ OFFENSE _____
 ORIGINAL CHARGE _____ SENTENCE _____ CO-DEFENDANT(S) _____
 PLEA _____ ANY PENDING CHARGES OR DETAINERS? _____
 PRIOR CONVICTIONS/INCARCERATIONS (JUV. INCL.) _____

FACTOR	CATEGORY	SCORE
PAROLES PREVIOUSLY (SAME NUMBER)	NO	6
	YES	0
PREVIOUS ADULT FELONY CONVICTIONS/INCARCERATIONS	NO	4
	YES	0
MAXIMUM SENTENCE LENGTH	5 yrs. or less	3
	5 + to 9 + yrs.	1
	10 yrs. or more	0
AGE AT TIME OF INCARCERATION OF THIS SENTENCE	32 yrs./older	3
	22-31 yrs.	1
	21/younger	0
INSTANT OFFENSE WAS FOR BURGLARY, FORGERY, FRAUD, BAD CHECKS, OR CREDIT CARDS	NO	2
	YES	0

PERSONAL DATA

EDUCATION/VOCATIONAL BACKGROUND _____
 DRUG/ALCOHOL USE _____
 FAMILY INFORMATION _____ NEAREST RELATIVE: _____
 ADDRESS: _____
 OTHER (MILITARY BACKGROUND, MENTAL/PHYSICAL HEALTH, ETC.) _____

INSTITUTIONAL RECORD

CONVICTION ON DISCIPLINARY INFRACTION _____ NO 2
 YES 0
 PROGRAM PARTICIPATION _____
 EMPLOYMENT _____

RELEASE PLANS

RESIDENCE _____ TELEPHONE: _____
 EMPLOYMENT _____ TELEPHONE: _____
 SCORE CLASSIFICATION 0-9 MAXIMUM
 10-13 MEDIUM
 14-20 MINIMUM
 TOTAL SCORE: _____

SIGNATURE

COMMENTS ON REVERSE SIDE (YES _____, NO _____)

TITLE



BP-2043 (Rev. 9/88)

TENNESSEE PAROLE NEEDS ASSESSMENT AND NOTICE OF ARRIVAL

This certifies that:

Parolee Name: _____ Number: _____ has
(last) (first)Reported to: _____ On: _____
(parole officer) (Date: Mo., day, year)Parolee's Address: _____
(street) (city) (state)

Place of Employment: _____

Select the appropriate answer for each category and enter the weight in the score column. Higher scores indicate more serious and time consuming needs. Indicate referral codes in appropriate column.

<u>EMPLOYMENT</u>				<u>Score</u>	<u>Referral</u>
Presently employed/ History of stable employment	Employed/History of unstable employment	Unemployed/History of stable employment	Unemployed/History of unstable employment		
0	1 3 5 7	9	10		
<u>ACADEMIC/VOCATIONAL SKILLS</u>					
Highly Marketable Skills (experienced, trained, literate)	Adequate Job Skills/ No Training Indicated	Low Level Skills/ Training Indicated	No Marketable Skills (no experience, no training, illiterate)		
0	0	1	3		
<u>FAMILY/PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS</u>					
Positive Relationships	No known difficulty with relationships	Difficulty with Relationships	Hostile Relationships		
0	0	3	5		
<u>PHYSICAL HEALTH</u>					
No known physical disabilities or health problems	Some limitation of ability to function	Severe disabilities or health problems			
0	1	2			
<u>ALCOHOL USE</u>					
No interference with functioning noted	Occasional abuse; some disruption of functioning noted	Frequent abuse; serious disruption of functioning noted			
0	3	5 7	10		
<u>OTHER DRUG USE</u>					
No interference with functioning noted	Occasional abuse; some disruption of functioning noted	Frequent abuse; serious disruption of functioning noted			
0	3	5 7	10		
<u>MENTAL HEALTH</u>					
No history of mental problems noted	Some mental health problems noted	Serious mental health problems noted (prior commitments)			
0	3	5 7	10		

SCORE RANGES: 0-12 minimum, 13-26 medium, 27 + maximum

Total Score: _____

NEEDS CLASSIFICATION:

Score classification:

 minimum ①
 medium ②
 maximum ③

Parole officer classification:

 minimum ①
 medium ②
 maximum ③

Parole Officer: Agrees _____

Disagrees _____

Basis for disagreement: _____

REFERRAL CODES:
 01-Mental Health Program
 02-Alcohol Program
 03-Drug Program
 04-Medical Facility
 05-Employment Security
 06-Vocational Rehabilitation
 07-Other Employment Program

 08-Other Vocational Program
 09-Educational Program
 10-Human Services
 11-Emergency Assistance
 12-Other Agency
 13-Referral Indicated-Parolee Unwilling
 14-Referral Indicated-Program Not Available

Location Code: _____

Parole Officer No. _____

Parole Officer Signature _____

Date Completed _____

TENNESSEE PAROLE RISK ASSESSMENTDate of Assessment: _____ Parole Officer: _____
(month) (day) (year)

Parolee Name: _____ Number: _____

Parolee's Address: _____
(street) (city) (state)

Place of Employment: _____

Select the appropriate answer for each category and enter the weight in the score column. Higher scores indicate a higher risk:

RISK FACTOR	CATEGORY	SCORE
Number of previous paroles on this sentence:	None	0
	One or more	5
Maximum sentence length at time of release:	5 years or less	0
	6-9 years	2
	10 years or more	5
Age at first juvenile adjudication:	No juvenile record	0
	13 or younger	1
	14 or over	3
Number of previous felony incarcerations:	None	0
	One or more	4
Instant offense was burglary, forgery, or fraud:	No	0
	Yes	3
Living arrangement with spouse or parents:	Yes	0
	No	3
Age at incarceration on instant offense:	32 or older	0
	22-31	1
	21 or younger	3
Employment status at first parole contact:	Employed	0
	Unemployed	2
Parole officer assessment of attitude:	Positive	0
	Generally positive	2
	Generally negative	5
	Negative	7
Parole officer assessment of risk:	Minimum	0
	Medium	1
	Maximum	2
Total Score:		_____

Score ranges: 0-10 minimum, 11-17 medium, 18 + maximum

If parolee was convicted of Class X offense increase risk level one classification and

check here: _____

RISK CLASSIFICATION:Score Classification: Minimum ☐
Medium ☐
Maximum ☐Parole Officer Classification: Minimum ☐
Medium ☐
Maximum ☐Parole Officer: Agrees _____
Disagrees _____Basis for disagreement: _____

Location Code: _____

Parole Officer No: _____

TENNESSEE PAROLE RISK REASSESSMENTDate of Reassessment: _____ Parole Officer: _____
(month) (day) (year)

Parolee Name: _____ Number: _____

Parolee's Address: _____
(street) (city) (state)

Place of Employment: _____

Select the appropriate answer for each category and enter the weight in the score column. Higher scores indicate a higher risk:

<u>RISK FACTOR</u>	<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>SCORE</u>
Number of previous paroles on this sentence	None	0
	One or more	6
Instant offense was burglary, forgery, or fraud	No	0
	Yes	3
Number of previous arrests-verifiable	One or less	0
	Two or more	3
Number of previous felony incarcerations	None	0
	One or more	3
Age at incarceration on instant offense	32 or older	0
	22-31	1
	21 or younger	3

Select the appropriate answer for each category based upon parolee's behavior since last assessment, enter the weight in the score column. Higher scores indicate a higher risk:

<u>RISK FACTOR</u>	<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>SCORE</u>
Number of arrests	None	0
	One	2
	Two or more	3
Percentage of time employed	90% or more	0
	21%-89%	2
	20% or less	3
Number of times parolee failed to report	None	0
	One or more	4
Parole Officer assessment of attitude	Positive	0
	Generally Positive	1
	Generally negative	3
	Negative	4
	Total Score:	_____

Score Ranges: 0-10 minimum, 11-15 medium, 16 + maximum

If violation committed since last assessment, increase risk classification one level and check here: _____

If violation was new felony, increase risk classification to maximum and check here: _____

RISK CLASSIFICATION:Score Classification: Minimum ☐
Medium ☐
Maximum ☐Parole Officer Classification: Minimum ☐
Medium ☐
Maximum ☐Parole Officer: Agrees _____
Disagrees _____Basis for disagreement: _____

Location Code: _____

Parole Officer No: _____

Parole Officer Signature

VITA

Dorothy Elizabeth Jernigan was born in Omaha, Nebraska on December 13, 1942, moved to Tennessee with her family, and graduated from Norris High school, Norris, Tennessee in June of 1960. She received the Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology and Psychology from the University of Tennessee in March, 1979 and received the Master of Science degree from the same University in March of 1981. She entered the graduate program in Psychology at the University of Tennessee in the fall of 1984 and received the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in General Psychology in December, 1989.

Ms. Jernigan was awarded membership into the Phi Beta Kappa honorary society in 1979 and received the Women of Achievement award for outstanding accomplishment in scholarship or service from the University of Tennessee in 1984. She is a member of the American Psychological Association, student division, and of the American Correctional Association. She has served in the capacity of a field reviewer for the Correctional Monograph published by Eastern Kentucky University.

Ms. Jernigan has been employed as a secretary, a real estate broker, and a junior college instructor of psychology and sociology. For the past nine years she has held the position of parole officer for the State of Tennessee. Her responsibilities include monitoring a parolee caseload, supervising parole officers, and serving as chairperson for the Administrative Case Review Committee.