

Community Corrections

Public Safety Is Job One

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Identify the four main purposes of punishment and explain how each serves as a guide in agency policy and practice.
2. Identify and apply key criminological and psychological theoretical perspectives to the community supervision process.
3. Know and explain how theory aids in meeting public safety objectives.
4. Understand and explain the complexities involved when setting offender caseloads for community supervision personnel, and explain the impact that this has on public safety.
5. Understand and explain how the use of volunteers can improve both public safety and reintegration efforts associated with community corrections programs.

Introduction

As was noted in Chapter 1, the definition of community corrections is one that is open to some degree of interpretation. Indeed, this definition varies from expert to expert but generally centers on the functions of relieving prison overcrowding or reintegrating the offender into society. However, this overlooks one key issue that must be considered: public safety. As this current chapter's title suggests, public safety is the number-one job of community corrections. Without any assurance of public safety, community corrections agencies cannot possibly expect the community to support or provide assistance to any program that places offenders in the community. However, as was demonstrated in the previous chapter, enhanced public safety is actually a natural by-product of effective reintegration programs.

This point ties in well with the previous chapter for several reasons. First, if we overlook public safety, we presume that the use of prisons constitutes goals and objectives other than the protection of the public. Indeed, from a punishment perspective, the true reason that we incarcerate offenders is to provide graduated and proportional punishments that are measured by the total time of lost liberty that is inflicted. However, this presumes that incapacitation is not the primary objective of correctional incarceration. Thus, there is an inherent contradiction in correctional goals. On the one hand, prisons are thought to be primarily punishment oriented, while on the other hand, prisons are thought to be warehouses that prevent offenders from committing further acts of victimization. It would seem that many experts do not necessarily consider public safety as the primary purpose of corrections. In fact, as we have seen from the previous chapter, Champion (2002) goes so far as to state that public protection is a latent rather than a manifest goal of community corrections.

This text takes the opposite approach and instead notes that both public safety and offender reintegration should be considered manifest goals that are used in a synonymous fashion. The criminal justice system as a whole is given many tasks, but without doubt the public has an expectation that this system will seek to protect those it serves. Indeed, many law enforcement agencies use this very motto, “to protect and serve,” as their creed in describing their social function. This most certainly is an explicit message of the self-proclaimed objective of such agencies.

However, clearly law enforcement, no matter how effectively it is administered, cannot prevent crime with 100 percent certainty, and community corrections personnel cannot guarantee that citizens will not be victimized by recidivists who are released into the community. Thus, a degree of risk is inherent to community supervision, and this requires that the public citizenry, as well as the criminal justice system, accept some accountability for the overall sense of public safety within a given community. This is not an unusual proposition. Consider that in old England the term *hue and cry* was used to describe a process whereby community citizens were required to provide support for one another when it was clear that criminal victimization was occurring. Quinion (2007) offers a very clear and accurate description of how the ordinary citizenry were largely responsible for enforcing law and order:

Our modern meaning goes back to part of English common law in the centuries after the Norman Conquest. There wasn't an organised police force and the job of fighting crime fell mostly on ordinary people. If somebody robbed you, or you saw a murder or other crime of violence, it was up to you to raise the alarm, the *hue and cry*. Everybody in the neighbourhood was then obliged to drop what they were doing and help pursue and capture the supposed criminal. If the criminal was caught with stolen goods on him, he was summarily convicted (he wasn't allowed to say anything in his defence, for example), while if he resisted arrest he could be killed. The same term was used for a proclamation relating to the capture of a criminal or the finding of stolen goods. The laws relating to hue and cry were repealed in Britain in 1827. (p. 1)

In the early days of official police formation in England, it was quite common for those with enforcement authority to enlist the aid of citizens, forming posses that would help bring offenders to justice. Slowly, over time, there was a sharing of duties between citizens and official authority, with an official organized police force eventually becoming a norm in

England and the world as a whole. As the evolution of policing continued, police absorbed the responsibility for social order and thus assumed responsibility for civilian protection. The fact that hue and cry laws were repealed in Britain in the early 1800s demonstrates this shift in police-civilian functions. Thus, we have today the objective “to serve and protect” as part and parcel of the policing function.

Since community supervision officers provide an enforcement function—after all, their title includes the word *supervision*—such personnel must share a similar objective of protecting the public. However, unlike police, community supervision personnel are required to at least remain receptive to the goals and objectives associated with the client’s integration into the community. This naturally creates a bit of a paradox for the community supervision officer since the two perspectives (public safety and offender integration) often compete with each other.

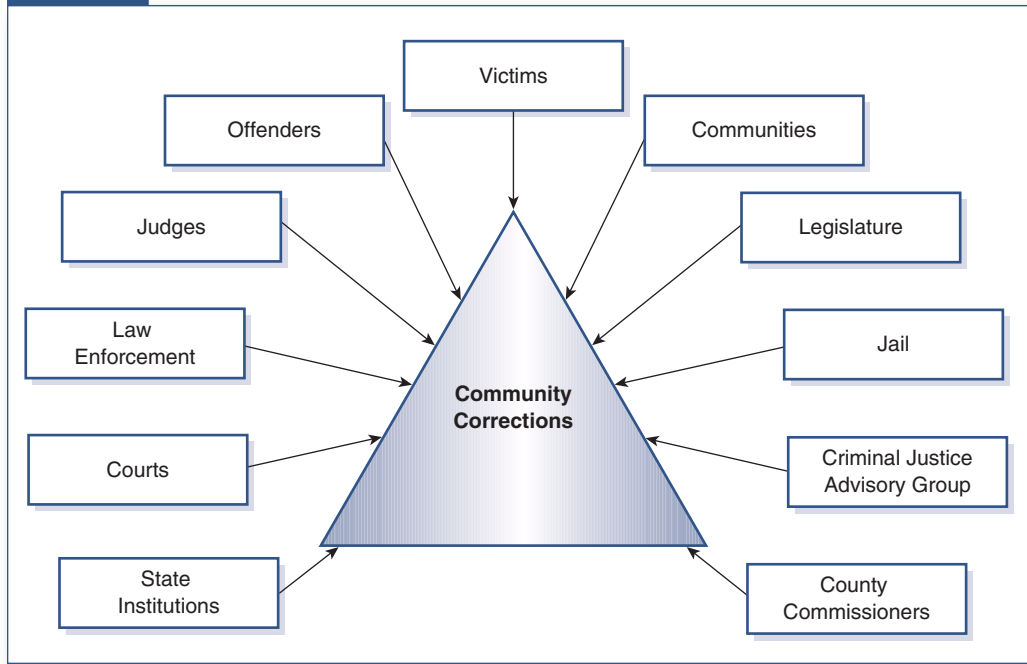
Because of the fact that police cannot be in all places at all times to ensure that crimes are prevented (indeed, much of policing is reactionary rather than preventative) and because community supervision officers have competing objectives, this text notes that public safety should be viewed as a shared responsibility between the criminal justice system and the community membership. However, the members of a community will only place their faith in a system that convincingly demonstrates that it is genuinely interested in their safety rather than the mere processing of offenders.

A publication by Mactavish and Winter (1991) illustrates the importance for community supervision managers to consider both community interests and offender requirements at the initial phase of annual development. Indeed, these authors point toward the fact that other agencies, civic groups, and volunteer sources may all be stakeholders in the community supervision process. This is shown in Figure 2.1.

The process of offender supervision is, quite obviously, carried out by the community supervision officer. However, on a communitywide level, the individual officer can only be responsible for his or her caseload and (perhaps) a few other auxiliary duties. If public safety is truly to be secured, this will require the involvement of many more stakeholders (persons having a shared interest in the safety of their community) than the probation or parole officer alone. The community, victims, local law enforcement, state institutions, social service agencies, and so forth all must come together to ensure community safety. At the heart of the process is the community corrections agency and the community supervision officer. If the agency is provided with this interagency and communitywide support, the offender is then observed by and placed into human contact with numerous supervisory elements. This increases the extent to which the offender is under observation and also empowers the community to take an interest in this process.



Photo 2.1 North Delta Regional Training Academy (NDRTA) provides preservice training for police and community supervision officers who are required to receive peace officer standards and training (POST). As will be discussed later, controversy abounds over whether community supervision officers should carry firearms. In states where they do carry such weapons, community supervision officers or juvenile probation workers may train alongside police cadets. In the northeastern Louisiana region, this is indeed the case, and NDRTA provides this training. The author has provided instruction at NDRTA on some occasions, training both police and community corrections personnel.

Figure 2.1 Community Corrections Stakeholders

SOURCE: Mactavish, M., & Winter, V. (1991). *The practical planning guide for community corrections managers*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections.

This is actually similar to the point and purpose of community policing, where programs such as Neighborhood Watch and National Night Out and other forms of police-citizen integration create a rapport between the community and the police agency while also extending the surveillance function of law enforcement. When other agencies and private citizens take an active interest in crime prevention efforts, there are fewer points of vulnerability in the community where offenders can commit crimes and evade detection. This same point extends to community supervision officers; thus, just as community policing has left its mark on modern-day police forces, the use of “community probation” should be integrated into the process.

This suggestion takes us back in history to the days of the hue and cry, reaching back to the community for assistance in ensuring public safety beyond that secured by the individual probation or parole officer. This also suggests that both police and community supervision officers can and should make a concerted effort at working together in the supervision process. In fact, there are numerous examples nationwide where both types of agencies do just that (Hanser, 2007b).

However, just as was noted in Chapter 1, the definition of a given concept can greatly impact everything else that follows. Thus, when integrating various agencies or community members into the process, it is important to clearly and effectively determine the specific goals and objectives of the community supervision agency. Naturally, one would also want

to ensure that these goals and objectives are disseminated to both agency and community members so that internal and external personnel are aware of the general intent, point, and purpose of decisions that are made by the agency. Roughly 25 years ago, Van Keulen (1988) clearly made this point in her “Statement of Program Goals and Objectives” for the Colorado Alternative Sentencing Programs by saying that

the importance of developing and distributing a statement of clear and consistent program goals and objectives is often misunderstood by community service programs. Like reports that gather dust on bookshelves in every office, goals and objectives are often seen as “nice, but useless” extra work that has little to do with the business of running a community service program.

Nothing could be further [from] the truth! Goals and objectives are a way of stating a program’s philosophy or orientation. Developed in cooperation with the courts and the community served by the program, goals and objectives serve several practical purposes. Goals and objectives insure that everyone involved in the community service process is in general agreement about the purpose of the program. When issues arise that need to be resolved, the goals and objectives can then serve as a focal point of discussion. For example, if program goals and objectives are clearly punitive or restitutive, yet judges frequently vacate community service orders after reports of noncompliance, the program can reiterate the goals and objectives and request the court’s cooperation in enforcing the orders. If there are consistent problems in meeting program objectives, the goals and objectives may need to be reexamined and possibly modified.

Clear goals and objectives are also critical to the development of program policies and procedures. For example, if a program goal is incapacitation (perhaps as an alternative to jail), the program would be designed to monitor the physical whereabouts of participating offenders very closely to insure that the offenders are involved in court-approved activities such as paid employment, community service, or treatment.

Goals and objectives also play a critical role in evaluation by providing a standard against which to measure the program’s success. If the purpose of the program is to serve as an alternative to jail, the number of jail-bound offenders the program serves would be analyzed. If the program’s focus is to provide labor to community agencies, the number of hours worked by offenders would be examined.

Last, having a statement of goals and objectives will enhance your program’s credibility by showing that careful thought has been given to what you are doing. (p. 1)

Continuing from our discussion in Chapter 1, Van Keulen (1988) demonstrates the reasons why clarity in definition, point, and purpose of a community corrections program is important. As Van Keulen notes, clearly articulated goals help to crystallize the agency’s philosophical orientation regarding the supervision process. Underlying philosophical tenets of the purpose of punishments were at the heart of many historical changes that led to the emergence of probation and parole. Having a philosophical grounding that is clearly articulated translates to concrete guidance as to the specific actions that should be taken when an agency seeks to maintain consistency with the stated goals. Thus, the philosophical basis, as articulated by the agency’s goal-setting process, determines everything that follows afterward from the agency, with all activities ideally being directed toward the fulfillment

of agency goals and objectives (see Focus Topic 2.1 for detailed definitions of policies, activities, goals, and objectives). In addition, this clarity allows the agency to measure its effectiveness and to perform evaluative research to determine if its efforts are actually successful or if they are in need of improvement. This particular aspect will be covered in this text's final chapter, and it will then become clear that the process of community corrections comes "full circle" as the planning, implementation, evaluation, and refinement phases of agency operation are realized.

FOCUS TOPIC 2.1 WHAT ARE POLICIES, ACTIVITIES, GOALS, AND OBJECTIVES?

Policy: A governing principle pertaining to goals, objectives, or activities. It is a decision on an issue not resolved on the basis of facts and logic only. For example, the policy of expediting drug cases in the courts might be adopted as a basis for reducing the average number of days from arraignment to disposition.

Activities: Services or functions carried out by a program (i.e., what the program does). For example, treatment programs may screen clients at intake, complete placement assessments, provide counseling to clients, and so on.

Goal: A desired state of affairs that outlines the ultimate purpose of a program. This is the end toward which program efforts are directed. For example, the goal of many criminal justice programs is a reduction in criminal activity.

Objectives: Specific results or effects of a program's activities that must be achieved in pursuing the program's ultimate goals. For example, a treatment program may expect to change offender attitudes (objective) in order to ultimately reduce recidivism (goal).

SOURCE: Bureau of Justice Assistance, Center for Program Evaluation. (2007). *Reporting and using evaluation results*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/BJA/evaluation/sitemap.htm>.

Van Keulen (1988) notes that community supervision agencies should consult with other local criminal justice agencies as well as social service agencies and personnel to develop a written statement that details the program's philosophy relative to the goals of sentencing. The guidelines that are developed should provide policies that are mutually shared, and these policy statements should be reviewed periodically so that timely modifications or refinements can be made when and if necessary. However, in her statement, Van Keulen also points toward the importance of theory when determining the goals of sentencing and, by extension, those of community corrections supervision. According to Van Keulen, current criminal justice theory holds that the goals of sentencing are the following:

1. **Incapacitation** (physical restriction to prevent further opportunities for law-breaking)
2. **Rehabilitation** (changing the offender's behavior or circumstances to reduce the possibility of further lawbreaking)

3. **Deterrence** (discouraging the general public from lawbreaking by example)
4. **Retribution** (punishment of the offender to discourage further lawbreaking)
5. **Restitution** (compensation to the victim and/or community)

These same goals were explicitly pointed out in the last chapter, sans the philosophical basis of restitution. It is in this manner that Van Keulen (1988) provides a fitting modern-day example of how philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of community corrections programs are just as important today as they were in earlier times in history, when community corrections concepts were first being formed. Thus, Van Keulen provides an effective segue from Chapter 1 into our discussion that follows in which criminological and psychological-theoretical applications to community corrections are considered.

In addition, we will see that in Chapter 16, extensive discussion will be given to the use of **evidence-based practices (EBPs)**. When we use this term, we are implying that (1) one outcome is desired over another; (2) the outcome is measurable; and (3) the outcome is defined according to practical realities (e.g., public safety) rather than immeasurable moral or value-oriented standards (National Institute of Justice, 2005). It should then be clear that EBPs are directly linked to how we set and articulate our goals, policies, and practices and that they should be logical extensions of the tested theoretical perspectives that we choose to utilize.

Key Criminological and Psychological-Theoretical Perspectives

It should be obvious at this point that an effective community corrections program will have a clear theoretical and philosophical grounding. However, theoretical applications may not always be clear in the day-to-day practice of community supervision. In addition, it is often easy to see how psychological theories or variables may come into play with offender behavior when seen from the vantage point of a therapist dealing with offender clients. However, the various sociological approaches may not always be so clear to the therapist. For the community supervision officer making offender home visits, the macro-level variables and theories dealing with neighborhood surroundings and other such considerations are very easy to see.

The specific applications of these perspectives to probation and parole may not be clear to most students. However, the philosophical underpinnings of punishment are important to understand since this will often shape official reactions to criminal offending. It is the point of this subsection to demonstrate the value of sociologically based theories when considering community corrections, and to further demonstrate how these theoretical underpinnings might intersect with underlying philosophical ideologies regarding punishment. This will then form the basis of future chapters that deal with the specific details of probation and parole.

One primary criminological theory to be introduced is **routine activities theory**. This theory is based on three simplistic notions. First, this theory holds that in order for a crime to occur, a motivated offender must be within the vicinity of a suitable target. Second, the likelihood of such an occurrence is directly impacted by the routine activities that both

victims and offenders engage in. Third, the area of occurrence must be absent of capable guardians that might thwart criminal behavior (for example, police on patrol, physical lighting, or the presence of closed-circuit television [CCTV] cameras). With this in mind, some areas are more prone to criminal activity than others. Aside from the typical red-light district or seedy parts of town, this might include various public festivities or shopping centers during holiday seasons in the year. The point here is that the areas where crime is more likely to occur may or may not be easy to identify.

Routine activities theory is actually quite applicable to both law enforcement and community supervision personnel. First, this theory accentuates the point that law enforcement must focus its attention on certain areas as “hot spots” for crime, for both crime prevention and response. Likewise, community supervision agencies are wise to restrict these areas from the general routine of offenders who are on probation or parole. In fact, community supervision agencies do this with great frequency. Some examples might be the restriction of offenders from having alcohol or being in establishments that primarily serve alcohol, restriction from school zones (particularly with child molesters), restrictions from certain areas of town known to be frequented by gang members (especially when the offender is a prior gang member), and so forth. In addition, electronic monitoring is used to track the movement and activity of these offenders, thereby thwarting the potential for encountering suitable victims when the offenders are unguarded.

Though it is of course the desire for most programs to reintegrate offenders in such a manner that they do not inherently wish to engage in illegal activity, these added mechanisms associated with the routine activities of the offender help to ensure public safety, meet the requirements for any incapacitation goals of the program, and serve as “training wheels” that provide parameters of offender movement, optimizing the likelihood of treatment success by eliminating many factors that might otherwise jeopardize intervention programs.

Social learning theory and differential association theory are presented together because they have a common history, and many of their basic precepts are similar (Ronald Akers’s social learning theory was spawned from Edwin Sutherland’s differential association theory). As with differential association theory, social learning theory contends that offenders learn to engage in crime through exposure to crime as well as the adoption of definitions that are favorable to criminal activity (Lilly, Cullen, & Ball, 2007). While both theories contend that exposure to normative definitions that are favorable to crime commission can influence others to commit crime (through vicarious learning or reinforcement for repeating similar acts), social learning explicitly articulates the manner by which such definitions are learned by criminals. Differential association, on the other hand, does not clarify this point, and this is the primary distinction between the two theories.

Social learning theory essentially utilizes learning theory from the field of psychology to explain the process whereby offenders learn to commit crimes. This theory holds that crime tends to be learned through imitation and differential reinforcement. Differential reinforcement is nothing less than operant conditioning (as was presented in Chapter 1 of this text), based on the idea that an offender’s behavior is shaped or conditioned by the rewards and punishments that he or she receives throughout the life span. Social learning likewise notes that offenders may learn criminal behaviors through vicarious reinforcement, being that individuals are thought to have the cognitive capacity to imagine themselves in the role of others. Potential criminals come to identify with the offender’s circumstances and incorporate them into their own conceptions of themselves (Cullen & Agnew, 2003).

As was observed in the preceding chapter, components of social learning theory (i.e., the use of rewards and punishments) dovetail with other elements of community supervision or offender treatment regimens. The connection is quite obvious and basic—punishments being structured around the loss of liberty (i.e., jail time), and rewards being centered on the successful completion of expected activities (e.g., a certificate of completion for finishing a vocational training program). However, social learning and differential association also address the various nuances and influences that are reinforced by group reactions. One such example is gang offenders. Gang exit programs seek to remove the offender from the group pressure and influences of gang life because such groups provide constant definitions that favor the commission of crime. In most probation and parole supervision agreements, specified restrictions prohibit the offender from having associations with key persons who are known to be criminogenic. Likewise, many probationers and parolees are cautioned from having associations with other persons under community supervision, unless such is specifically required by the court. These elements are practical responses to etiological elements noted in social learning and differential association theories. In addition to restrictions, many programs may require offenders to spend time completing community service as well as spend a specified amount of time with prosocial organizations (community, civic, and religious activities; educational programs; and so forth).

Subcultural theory is, to some measure, an extension of social learning theory when explaining the onset of criminal behavior. However, the key to subcultural theory lies in the idea that many individuals simultaneously tend to learn to commit crime in one location, and this results in crime rates becoming disproportionately high in such areas where criminal behavior is learned as a valued norm. This is a particularly relevant theory when considering the supervision or treatment of gang offenders (Valdez, 2005). According to Short and Nye (1958), subcultures are “patterns of values, norms, and behavior which have become traditional among certain groups,” and they are “important frames of reference through which individuals and groups see the world and interpret it” (p. 296). This is a succinct and clear definition of subcultural theory and explains why subcultures are so integral to the production of crime.

Though this may seem simple and straightforward, the effects of subcultural influences are actually much more serious than might be initially thought. For instance, Valdez (2005) notes that in some areas of Chicago and Los Angeles, neighborhoods are populated with intergenerational gang members. In other words, it is quite possible that multiple generations within the same family are members (or prior members) of a given gang. Gang membership in these neighborhoods is taught from one generation to the next, sometimes with the father in and out of prison, and sometimes even with the grandfather, father, and juvenile son all being members. This can also include wives and mothers who are either affiliated with the gang or in a corollary sister gang. Obviously, many of these offenders are in and out of jail or prison, and therefore many find themselves under community supervision.

In such cases, it may be necessary to separate youth from these family systems or even the entire community, if they are to ever leave a life of crime and gang membership. Short and Nye (1958) point out that the subcultural gang discourages expression of conventional values and instead clings to “values which are given active support within the context of gang interaction, for example toughness and sexual prowess, [and which] are not conducive to conventional types of achievement” (p. 300). Similarly, Walter Miller (1958) proposes that such criminogenic behavior in subcultures is focused on a key concern with *trouble*, which for male offenders typically involves physical altercations or



Photo 2.2 As a means of maintaining public safety, probation and parole officers may have to confiscate various types of contraband. Standing here is an officer who has confiscated both weapons and some elaborate drug paraphernalia while out in the field.

sexual conquests while under the influence of drugs or alcohol; for female offenders, concern with trouble tends to revolve around risky sexual and drug-using behavior, with these women being as much victims as offenders (Hanser, 2007b).

Miller (1958) notes that in most cases, any desire to avoid troublesome behavior is based more on a concern for the legal consequences (often viewed more as a hassle than as a stigmatizing event) or other inconveniences than on concerns over the morality or healthiness of one's behavior. Such thinking would make the threat of a probation/parole violation hold some deterrent value. However, this is complicated by the fact that in many cases, a visit to the jail or serving a stint of time in a jail or prison facility can bring about a sense of general prestige among those associated with the subculture. In areas where intergenerational gang activity occurs, this may even be considered a rite of passage for many youth or young adults in the neighborhood. This is actually part and parcel of another aspect of Miller's analysis of the lower-class criminal subculture, a preoccupation with *toughness*, where members of this subculture demonstrate a lack of fear, a willingness to engage in aggressive or risky behaviors, and a sense of bravado that defies authority. In such cases, the community supervision officer will find clients resentful of controls, yet these same persons will tend to act in such a manner as to ensure that they are sanctioned shortly after they have been released. This becomes a display of their resistance to being controlled, adding credence to the concern with trouble, yet

also demonstrating their toughness in coping with and overcoming authority's attempts to keep them within imposed parameters of behavior.

Yet another theory, **social disorganization theory**, examines issues associated with norms in the community, but takes a slightly different perspective from that of subcultural theory. Social disorganization theory holds that "disorganized communities cause crime because informal social controls break down and criminogenic cultures emerge" (Cullen & Agnew, 2003, p. 6). Such neighborhoods lack the ability to provide the community support and cohesion necessary to fight the criminal elements that have taken over the neighborhood. One key distinction between this theory and subcultural theory is the idea that elements of the community or neighborhood are, in fact, law-abiding and wish to be rid of the criminal actors in their location. These individuals do not favor definitions that are supportive of criminal behavior, but they are unable or perhaps too intimidated to take any action to prevent such activity.

Social disorganization theory is important to understand for two reasons. First, these neighborhoods are probably not ideal areas for offenders to return to. However, offenders under community supervision often do return to these types of neighborhoods because their family or friends may be located in such an area. If they are to have any familial support and connection, they must rejoin these locations. If the family or social connections are, in fact, law-abiding and conducive to the offender's supervision and reintegration, then community

supervision agents are usually hard-pressed to prevent such connections merely because other unsavory persons not connected to the family happen to coexist in the area. This is further complicated by the fact that the offender may have no other options and may seem to genuinely desire reform. Second, this theory demonstrates how preventative efforts and neighborhood improvement programs can aid in reducing initial criminal offending, the development of enmeshed subcultures in the area, and recidivism among returning offenders. More will be discussed on this particular aspect of theoretical application in the next section, but *at this point it should be understood that neighborhood variables greatly impact the outcome of community supervision programs.*

Given this fact, it becomes important for the community supervision officer to consider such motivations behind what are otherwise maladaptive behaviors (though in the offender's subculture, such behaviors are reinforced and have a sense of utility). Community supervision officers must then learn to walk a delicate tightrope in the use of punitive sanctions since there are pros and cons for both society and the offender when sanctions are either too light or too heavy-handed. Similar awareness among clinical treatment staff working with the offender should also be encouraged since this can help treatment staff to address ulterior motives and self-defeating behaviors that appear at first glance to be illogical, yet provide substantive reinforcement and emotional incentives.

The next theory to be examined is **strain theory/institutional anomie**. This theory denotes that when individuals cannot obtain success goals (money, status, and so forth), they will tend to experience a sense of pressure often called *strain*. Under certain conditions, they are likely to respond to this strain by engaging in criminal behavior. Merton (1938) and Messner and Rosenfeld (2001) note that this is often aggravated in American society by the continued emphasis on material (monetary) success and the corresponding lack of emphasis on the means by which such material accumulation is obtained. In other words, these authors contend that society in the United States emphasizes winning the game (of life) much more than how the game (of life) is played.

Abadinsky (2003) notes that the theory of anomie offers the community supervision officer numerous potential options to consider in the reintegration of offenders. First, the issue of aspirations may prove to be an area in need of attention. Offenders often have unrealistic goals, and they are often not well versed on goal-setting techniques. The ability to set realistic goals that can be accomplished, one step at a time, requires planning skills, a willingness to delay gratification, and the ability to stay committed to agreed-upon tasks. These are life skills that may not be possible (or practical) for the probation officer to teach. However, offenders can be enrolled in life skills training, workshops or seminars on effective decision making or planning, and so on.

In many cases, the aspirations of offenders exceed the ability level at which they can perform. Abadinsky (2003) notes that "in such cases, if anomie is to be avoided, the probation/parole officer must help the client to make a realistic assessment of the situation, and then assist him or her with achieving goals that are both constructive and reality based" (p. 312). Each offender should be encouraged, but the community supervision officer must ensure that the goals are actually obtainable, both for purposes of meeting expectations while on community supervision and to ensure that the offender does not unnecessarily experience a sense of dejection or hopelessness with his or her inability to meet agreed-upon goals. In addition, the community supervision officer must remain vigilant and receptive to the potential for discrimination in the workforce. Community supervision officers must

maintain routine contact with employers to ensure that access to opportunity genuinely exists for the offender who chooses to work hard and to be industrious. Otherwise, the offender's overall likelihood of recidivism is increased, particularly when it is considered that employment is one of the chief correlates for offender success when on supervision. Prolonged or repetitive problems with employment discrimination impede the offender's reintegration and also place the community at further risk of future crime.

Another theoretical application that is relevant to community supervision is **labeling theory**. This theory contends that individuals become stabilized in criminal roles when they are labeled as criminals, are stigmatized, develop criminal identities, are sent to prison, and are excluded from conventional roles. In essence, the label of "criminal offender" or "convict" simply stands in the way of the offender reintegrating back into society. Such labels impair the offender's ability to obtain employment, housing, or other necessary goods or services to achieve success. Naturally, these forms of tracking and labeling often result from the need to ensure public safety (as with pedophiles) and thus are simply a necessary aspect of the punishment, incapacitation, and public safety objectives of many community corrections programs. However, it may be that these functions can be achieved in a manner that aids public safety while at the same time does not prevent the offender from achieving reintegration.

The desire to allow for public information of an offender's past errors (due to a need to achieve public safety) without undue blockage of the offender's ability to reintegrate has been directly addressed by labeling theory scholars. One particular labeling theorist, John Braithwaite, has provided a particularly insightful addition to the labeling theory literature that is specifically suited for the field of community supervision. In his work titled *Crime, Shame, and Reintegration*, Braithwaite (1989) holds that crime is higher when shaming is stigmatizing, and criminal activity is lower when shaming effects serve a reintegrative purpose. This contention obviously dovetails well with many of the points already covered in Chapter 1, and it should be equally obvious that Braithwaite's contention holds substantive appeal for treatment professionals working with offenders.

According to Braithwaite (1989), the negative effects of stigmatization are most pronounced among offenders who have few prosocial bonds to conventional society (such as family, religious institutions, or civic activities). This would place young males who are unmarried and unemployed at the greatest risk of being thrust further into criminality due to shaming effects. Because of lack of resources, connections, and general social capital, these offenders find themselves further removed from effective participation in legitimate society. Over time, these offenders will find that it is much easier to join criminal subcultures (whose members have faced similar impediments in access to legitimate opportunities), and they are provided tangible reinforcements from those subcultures for their activities. Thus, a cycle is created where a given segment of the population of offenders is further encouraged to repeat criminal activity simply due to the fact that other options have essentially been knifed away from their menu of community integration selections.

Community supervision officers often must contend with the effects of labeling since they impact the outcomes for offenders on their caseloads. Offenders may have great difficulty obtaining good job prospects, housing, and educational opportunities due to their previous criminal history. Community supervision officers must be receptive to this challenge. Many such officers do understand the hurdles involved and find it useful to develop relationships with social service agencies, employment services, businesses that are willing to hire the prior convicted, religious institutions, and other organizations in the community.

This is an important element in enhancing the ability of an offender to reintegrate without the lure of further criminal involvement. It should also be noted that this labeling process can result in the offender internalizing a negative self-concept. (This is especially true with female offenders and with substance abusers.) When this occurs, it is likely that the offender will seek out other offenders similarly disposed for companionship, as these individuals will likely be within their own range of comfort. Since these individuals will not be able to relate to most persons in middle-class America (and since much of middle-class America will not likely relate to these offenders), it is less likely that interactions will prove rewarding for these individuals unless they are among others who are from a similar walk of life. In some respects, this can provide a sense of empathetic support (such as with Alcoholics Anonymous programs) and mutual understanding. Community supervision programs must operate with this understanding, and officers must have caseloads that allow them to attend to the details of differentiating various social connections that the offender develops.

The last theory to be considered in this section is **feminist theory**. In recent years, there has been a noted increase in female offending, and this has warranted a more detailed examination of the female offender population. Further, female offenders do tend to receive community supervision at a rate that is higher than that for the corresponding male population. This adds to the need for a theoretical application specific to female offenders under community supervision and will therefore be included in this current section.

The heart of the issue for feminist criminologists is the fact that traditional criminology has typically generated theories that are suited for the male population, with little or no regard for the corresponding female offender (Lilly et al., 2007). This has largely been true due to both bias and oversight as well as the fact that female offending patterns have not tended to be nearly as common or severe as the patterns of male offenders. However, as noted earlier, this is changing in today's society. Nevertheless, many of the variables and issues associated with female offending tend to differ from those of the male offender population. Issues related to being a primary caretaker of children, unequal access to job opportunities, adult victimization in domestically violent relationships, sexuality, gender-specific health concerns, and so forth all tend to be more frequently relevant to the female offender than the male offender.

Feminist criminologists contend that female crime cannot be understood without considering gender. They contend that crime is shaped by the different social experiences of and power exercised by men and women (Lilly et al., 2007). These theorists note that patriarchy is a broad structure in our society that shapes gender-related experiences, essentially leaving women subservient to men. This is an important contention because in many cases, women engage in the selling of sex (prostitution), drug abuse crimes (often as a means of coping), and crimes of theft (particularly shoplifting or fraudulent check writing). In the vast majority of violent crimes, the situation is domestic and in retaliation for abuse by an intimate other.

In fact, female offenders do often experience a high level of victimization. Such victimization is usually either from a significant other or sexual in nature. In many instances, the crimes against these women are not reported. Consider as an example a female prostitute who is raped by a potential customer—being forced to engage in undesired sexual acts or being denied payment for her services. Though the act of prostitution might be illegal in a given jurisdiction (making the female an offender, of course), this should not overlook the fact that sexual activity without consent is rape, regardless of the woman's particular life choices. Often, prostitutes are not taken seriously when bringing such charges, and this results in the underreporting of these types of crimes. Consider also that many women taking

part in crime are involved with male partners who are also involved in criminal activity (consider again the nature of criminal subcultures). In such cases, the female is likely to engage either in petty offending (especially substance abuse) or in a role that supports her male counterpart (lying to cover for her partner, hiding goods, etc.). This alone places the woman in a vulnerable position. But consider that when domestic abuse issues emerge (very common among the offending subcultural population), it is highly unlikely that these women will call the police for support or intervention. Thus, many female offenders tend to have victimization patterns that occur throughout their adulthood.

It is important to note that the above examples do not even touch on issues related to prior childhood verbal, physical, or sexual abuse, common to many female offenders (particularly sexual abuse). These experiences are often at the hands of a male victimizer (especially in the case of childhood sexual abuse), and this alone tends to reinforce a patriarchal power dynamic in the household between the adult male molester and the childhood female victim. This is even true if the female “consents” to sexual activity (sometimes occurring in highly dysfunctional families) with the adult male (either a family member or an unrelated male in the household, e.g., the mother’s boyfriend), since such consent is not legal and constitutes statutory rape. However, even though society defines this behavior as criminal, it nonetheless becomes socialized within the female’s family experience and tends to be internalized by the female offender. Given the effects of labeling theory that will be evident if the female should exhibit subsequent promiscuous behaviors, it is clear that early familial experiences can start the initial process of gender stigmatization and are reinforced through social messages related to gender and sexuality that occur throughout the life span. This is a commonly observed trend among many women engaged in the illicit sex industry and among many substance-abusing female offenders.

Both community supervision officers and treatment professionals tend to be aware of many of these dynamics that exist among female offenders. During the past decade, a great deal of attention has been given to female offenders and the specific challenges that confront them. When attempting to reintegrate female offenders, feminist criminology not only brings a great deal of insight into female crime causation but also provides insight for persons providing treatment services for this population of offenders. This is even more important to mention when one considers that female offenders tend to be much more amenable to treatment than their male counterparts (Hanser, 2007b). In addition, feminist criminology provides fruitful groundwork in improving current programs that are designed for both supervision and treatment aspects of community corrections services with women offenders. Acknowledgment of these issues can result in lower recidivism, fewer social and collateral costs (such as with displaced children who are dependents of the female offender), and an enhanced sense of public safety (Hanser, 2007b). For more information on female offenders, students should refer to Chapter 14 of this text.

The Application of Theory to Specific Issues in Community Supervision

The previous section has given some fairly specific connections between sociological or criminological theory and practices in community supervision. We will now take a step back and consider the theoretical applications that have been discussed in this chapter as well as

those that were discussed in Chapter 1. When doing so, note that there tend to be two levels of theoretical explanation: the micro and the macro level of analysis. Micro levels of analysis explain or address singular issues in behavior and usually are centered on internal causal factors that are inherent to the individual offender him- or herself. These theories also tend to be more or less grounded within the fields of psychology or counseling and provide much of the basis for mental health interventions used with offender clients. Macro-level theories, on the other hand, often address group norms, behavior, and values, but do so in a manner that integrates variables from entire societies or civilizations. These theories tend to be more sociological in nature and are the basis for most traditional criminological theories. Neither theoretical perspective should be considered as superior to the other, and neither should be used in a mutually exclusive manner.

With the above explanations, it is clear that theory is an important first ingredient for a successful community corrections recipe. But just as we have learned before, effective definitions and statements of one's goals are critical when determining what one seeks to accomplish. When treatment issues are of importance to the program, behavioral and cognitive-behavioral programs are among the most widely used theoretical orientations by correctional treatment specialists. This is true in a variety of treatment services ranging from substance abuse interventions to anger management programs, and including sex offender treatment services. The reason for this is simple and twofold: (1) These programs are easy to evaluate, and (2) these programs have been shown to work. In other words, these approaches are "evidence based" and therefore have been widely adopted as commonly acknowledged EBPs in the field of corrections, including, of course, community corrections.

In criminal justice treatment programs, measurement of outcomes is important for a variety of reasons. It is vital to be able to clearly measure whether the offender is making suitable progress, and it is important to demonstrate to correctional agencies that the program does indeed result in some kind of observable improvement. The ability to clearly demonstrate progress and effectiveness is also necessary to grant-funding considerations that keep such programs fiscally viable. Thus, the clear means of identifying offender behaviors (recidivism, adherence to programs, etc.) when reinforcements or punishments are administered make this type of theoretical basis in therapy highly amenable to agency implementation and tracking.

Beyond the fact that these interventions are easy to define, measure, and evaluate, it has been shown that they are quite effective. Such interventions have had demonstrated success with substance abusers, sex offenders, and mentally ill offenders (Barker, 2004). In particular, behaviorism and cognitive-behavioral approaches have been shown to be effective with comorbid disorders (two or more disorders that occur together) that include substance abuse and posttraumatic disorders, depression, and anxiety-related disorders (Barker, 2004). This is particularly encouraging since these types of disorders affect a substantial amount of the offender population. Further still, behaviorism, as presented by notables such as B. F. Skinner (the father of behavioral psychology), is based on the theoretical notions of objective observation. In other words, Skinner maintained that if one could not observe the behavior, then one could not suppose that any learning—aside from that observed—could be occurring (Barker, 2004). Though cognitive and social learning theorists such as Albert Bandura did not agree with Skinner, this source of disagreement led to a wide variety of theoretical perspectives that were implemented in the treatment of offenders. Today, treatment programs tend to use elements of both behaviorism and cognitive-behavioral

schools of thought. Among micro-level theories, theoretical orientations associated with reality therapy are likewise instrumental to many treatment programs that provide services to the offender population. This perspective on human behavior was discussed earlier, in Chapter 1, but it is useful to again clarify some specific applications that have been noted among the offender population. This therapy has been used effectively with offenders and is well accepted among criminal justice practitioners because it emphasizes the offender's need to accept responsibility as well as avoid excuses and external blaming, and it does not look to the person's past to explain present behaviors. Reality therapy has been used in a number of group settings and group homes, including juvenile wilderness camps, adult halfway houses, batterer intervention groups, and substance abuse residential treatment facilities. Aside from the emphasis on personal responsibility for one's behavior, reality therapy emphasizes the need for offenders to develop connections with others in society. Naturally, these connections are expected to be healthy ones with persons pursuing responsible lifestyles. This aspect of reality therapy serves to reinforce many other aspects of treatment programs, both clinical and otherwise, such as Alcoholics Anonymous or Narcotics Anonymous, which emphasize the need to accept responsibility for one's actions and also encourage their members to provide support for one another while in their recovery.

Among macro-level theories, the application of social disorganization theory has been particularly productive. Recent literature and developments in probation and parole have generated great interest in James Q. Wilson's "broken windows" contention, which holds that neighborhood areas that are not maintained (i.e., landscaping, lighting, painting, and housing conditions) effectively serve as areas that will draw crime into the region. This has had specific applications for community supervision in two regards. First, probationers and parolees who are at risk of recidivism will tend to be drawn to these areas since they are likely to be where other like-minded persons will reside or conduct illegitimate business. Second, community members will not tend to be active in these areas, thereby making the number of potential prosocial human contacts minimal.

In addition to the fact that socially disorganized areas tend to have substandard physical structures, there tends to be a lack of effective informal social control within these areas. Where formal social controls include such elements of government as the police, the courts, and jails and prisons, informal social controls consist of families, religious institutions, civic organizations, peer groups, and other such norm-producing institutions that impact the day-to-day behavior of individuals but not through some form of formal sanction. In reality, it is most often informal social controls that shape our behavior since these tend to be more integrated into our daily lives, personal relationships, and belief systems. When agencies make a point to avoid releasing offenders into areas of the city that are considered hot spots for criminal activity, it is often because they have identified socially disorganized neighborhoods. In addition, placing halfway houses and residential treatment facilities in such areas is often avoided so as to limit the access of offenders to (or temptation from) those influences that placed them in their current status of offending. As a result, some middle-class communities may find such facilities opened in their locale and may express a degree of displeasure with this. While such displeasure is understandable, it is the desire of the supervision agency to keep supervised offenders in regions or community locations that have better environmental and structural components, thereby providing the offenders with superior support and enhanced overall routine human contact. In a simultaneous fashion, offenders

are prevented or discouraged from frequenting less-than-suitable sections of a metropolitan area, particularly if they are supervised throughout their daily routine by a series of employers, volunteer coordinators, civic activity groups, and treatment specialists, as well as the community supervision officer him- or herself.

Another specific theoretical application that can be made to most community supervision processes is the concern over labeling and the integration of labeling theory. The most widespread and well-known integration of this theory is with juvenile offenders. Because these offenders are not typically considered as culpable as adult offenders and because they are often considered more amenable to treatment (being impressionable and not usually as hardened as adult offenders), there are specific aspects of the juvenile justice system that work to ensure that youth are not permanently stigmatized. When juvenile records are sealed or expunged, or when juveniles are given suspended sentences, this is part of the effort to avoid labeling the youthful offender.

In another vein, the use of feminist theory has been found to be applicable to female offenders. Often, these women are encouraged in therapeutic programs to avoid unhealthy dependencies on men. Further, most treatment programs seek to empower these women to be as self-sufficient as possible. Likewise, there is a growing understanding that these women have been subjected to abuses and hardships that are mostly associated with the female gender. Programs that seek to address these issues are employing, at least in an oblique sense, aspects of feminist theory. Last, restitution programs and methods of restorative justice would be consistent with Braithwaite's (1989) version of labeling theory that seeks to use shaming experiences in a constructive manner to promote offender reintegration. Hanser (2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b) has demonstrated that such programs have been used with both violent and nonviolent offenders. Indeed, these approaches are ideal when used with female offenders who have children, some geriatric offenders, and juvenile offenders, as well as those offenders who present with mental illness (Hanser, 2007b). In addition, these same approaches have been useful with typically violent offenders such as sex offenders and domestic batterers, and this also has been true in nations outside the United States (Hanser, 2007a). The key to success is again the effective reintegration of the offender as the guiding principle in implementing these programs but only in conjunction with community involvement and support. Otherwise, these programs typically have dismal results that can backfire for advocates of such a form of offender processing.

In concluding this section on theoretical applications currently used in community supervision, it should be noted that no single theoretical perspective works with every client. Rather, therapists must constantly tailor the fit among theory, clinical issues, and the individual offender. Likewise, no single criminological theory will be applicable to every type of community or offender typology. Rather, again, theories are designed to explain a given range of criminal behaviors within the constraints of a set of theoretical constructs and variables. In all cases, theory is not reality, and it is always to some degree artificial—otherwise, it would not be theory. However, it provides us with a paradigm and effective basis from which we can address abstract and complex issues in our social environment. Finally, as has been noted throughout this chapter, effective integration of criminological theory into community supervision responses requires the involvement of the entire community. This comes back full circle to the same point presented earlier in this chapter. Community supervision agencies cannot ensure public safety on their own. Rather, public assistance will be required if safety and effectiveness are to be optimized.

The Application of Theory to Improve Public Safety

Experts have long advocated for the increased use of community partnerships to fill the gaps in routine community supervision processes. This is consistent with the earlier recommendations in this chapter that emphasized a need for increased and enhanced community involvement as a means of securing public safety. Though very little of the literature connects this current contention with the past history of criminal justice, it is interesting to note that experts are coming back again to the contributions of the individual community member to aid in resolving many of the challenges that have been encountered by the criminal justice system.

However, the “broken windows” concept goes beyond simply asking for community volunteerism. It calls for the improvement and upkeep of communities that are not well kept or cared for. Such communities convey a sense of chaos and disorganization, and this opens the door to problematic populations that thrive in such conditions. The broken windows concept contends that neighborhood citizens can reduce crime, including recidivism, by improving the physical and structural elements of their community. This integrates both a crime prevention and a community supervision orientation. It also reflects what has been called a “community justice” approach to addressing crime (Clear & Cole, 2003).

Community justice is, in a general sense, a philosophy based on the pursuit of justice that goes beyond the traditional tasks of the criminal justice system—apprehension, conviction, and punishment (Clear & Cole, 2003). Community justice approaches seek to improve the quality of life in a given community, and this is especially the case for communities that have been hard hit by crime (consider, for example, gang-infested communities). In essence, there is a deliberate attempt to develop a sense of “collective efficacy” within the neighborhood (Cullen & Agnew, 2003). The term **collective efficacy** refers to a sense of cohesion within a given community where citizens have close and interlocking relationships with one

another. These relationships tend to cement the community together, psychologically, sociologically, and perhaps even spiritually.

Collective efficacy is clearly the opposite of social disorganization. The process of taking a socially disorganized community and instilling a sense of collective efficacy is accomplished through a three-part strategy of justice that has been most aptly presented by Clear and Cole (2003). According to these authors, the means by which the formal criminal justice system can assist communities in reclaiming their communities, building collective efficacy, and integrating a community justice framework consists of environmental crime prevention efforts, the implementation and maintenance of community policing, and the use of restorative justice case processing.

Environmental crime prevention involves improvements of a community’s structure and landscape to deter the likelihood of criminal



Photo 2.3 Two parole officers discuss their schedule for the upcoming week in an effort to maximize their field and office work. They work as partners in supervising a specified area (called a zone) of the city.

offending in that given area. Target-hardening techniques are utilized to enhance the security of the area (e.g., more effective street and business lighting; ensuring that business/domicile entry points are visible from other locations; effective placement of landscaping, parking, or fencing). Such efforts can be implemented in very specific locations rather than throughout an entire city and can have impressive results. This stems from the fact that in some urban areas, nearly “70 percent of crime occurs in 20 percent of the city’s locations” (Clear & Cole, 2003). This is an important point because it demonstrates that well-placed and targeted efforts can truly offset major areas of crime production.

Community policing is an approach to law enforcement that uses problem-solving strategies that involve community participants in the process. Community meetings, advisory boards, and other committee-based forms of civilian input are sought by both the police and the community supervision agency. Community policing seeks to encourage a sense of community involvement in an effort to build a rapport with the community. Programs such as citizens’ police academies, National Night Out, and Neighborhood Watch all help to serve this function. In addition, police make themselves visible (both in uniform and otherwise) within the community as a means of integrating the officer staff with the law-abiding community it is tasked to serve and protect. Such an approach is preventative in nature and goes beyond the simple arrest of offenders. Further, this approach tends to build a list of investigative leads from law-abiding witnesses throughout the community who feel a sense of personal commitment to the officer or the agency. Ultimately, this type of rapport can greatly enhance security of the neighborhood and the degree of human contact that offenders under community supervision will receive in these communities.

Last, restorative justice approaches to offender sanctioning seek to restore the victim, the community, and the offender to a similar level of functioning to what existed prior to the commission of the criminal act. Restorative justice approaches require the offender to admit to the criminal behavior and demonstrate earnest and sincere remorse. Restitution is often made to the victim, and the victim provides direct input into the process. There are a number of such programs in the United States and around the world (Hanser, 2006a, 2006b). In all cases, the attempt is made to heal the damage that has been done to the victim and the community, and it is the specific charge that the offender perform the actions necessary to provide for this healing. More will be presented on restorative justice in Chapter 12 of this text. For now, it is sufficient to note that this approach is consistent with other theoretical approaches (e.g., reality therapy, labeling theory) and provides a good overlay to community empowerment programs.

Community justice approaches are based in the neighborhood and are focused on solving crime problems. Within these approaches, the incorporation of the community is a central tenet to success. Clear and Cole (2003) describe a general process of implementing a community justice orientation in a community as follows:

1. Crime mapping is used to identify where criminal activity is most problematic.
2. Citizen advisory groups prioritize community concerns.
3. Working citizen partnerships between criminal justice agencies and citizen groups should be formed.
4. Integrated collaboration among police agencies, the court system, and community supervision agencies should be cultivated, and information sharing should be emphasized.

5. Citizens and victims are encouraged to be involved in the sentencing and even the supervision process of the offender.
6. Community supervision of the offenders is designed to restore victims and the community.
7. In the process of restoring the victim and community, the offender is given community support to adequately reintegrate into the community (both emotionally and economically).

This seven-stage process, adapted from Clear and Cole (2003) but including modification as a means of refining its applicability to the current discussion, demonstrates the exact manner by which programs should be implemented within a community. It should be clear that community supervision personnel and agencies are likely to be at the center of such a process. Nearly all of these stages also utilize some form of theoretical basis, and this entire approach is intended to reintegrate the offender through a process of repairing the damage the offender has done to his or her victims and the community. Thus, this approach is much more comprehensive in nature, it improves supervision of the offender (more eyes are on the offender with increased community involvement), and the offender is made to be accountable for the criminal offense. Such an approach, grounded in a strong theoretical background, is practical to implement and is not, as critics might contend, soft on crime.

Routine Activities Theory: A Model Theory for Improving Public Safety

Of all the theories that have been discussed, it is perhaps routine activities theory that holds the most promise in enhancing public safety on a communitywide scale. As noted earlier, this theory simply contends that in order for a crime to happen, three variables must simultaneously converge: a suitable target, a motivated offender, and the absence of capable guardians. This simplicity in definition is exactly what is appealing since it succinctly defines yet also categorizes the three key elements that are part and parcel of any effective crime prevention program.

This theory's definition is also very well suited to the community justice model of community involvement. This likewise has direct implications for any community supervision agency that seeks to develop community involvement in the process of supervising excessive offender caseloads. Consider the connections among routine activities theory, community justice, and a community supervision program's desire to have a collaborative form of offender supervision. There are many similarities among the different mechanisms that each perspective would use. The three components of routine activities theory, the three components of a community justice model of intervention, and the "broken windows" notions associated with community supervision all share similarities that make them synonymous in many respects. To further illustrate the connections among all three of these theoretical and philosophical concepts and to also demonstrate how the community can be fully integrated into the process, consider the information in the Applied Theory box.

Hopefully, after an examination of the various connections among the three perspectives in the Applied Theory box, it will be clear how all three are interrelated. In addition, it can be seen that specific methods of implementation involving physical aspects of the neighborhood, the need for collaboration among agencies (particularly law enforcement and community supervision agencies), and the integration of community personnel

can fill many of the gaps that may exist between such collaborative efforts. This is an important point because it demonstrates the critical nature of community involvement. Such involvement can and should be reinforced by media support and highlighting of effective citizen participation—thereby demonstrating that community members are not being relegated to mere busywork—to further recruit more active citizen involvement, and also to demonstrate on a public level that the community justice model is a comprehensive and organized response to criminal offending in the community.

APPLIED THEORY

The Connections Among Routine Activities Theory, Community Justice, and the Community Supervision Agency

Routine Activities Theory	Community Justice	Community Supervision Agency
A suitable target	Policing outreach to the community and community education/awareness training on crime commission and methods of preventing victimization.	Implement “community probation” that mirrors community policing campaigns. Join police agency and educate/inform community about released offenders in the community.
	Self-defense classes. Crime prevention efforts such as Neighborhood Watch, Seniors and Law Enforcement Together (SALT), and domestic violence prevention efforts.	Implement community advisory groups on at least a biweekly basis. Provide names and numbers of key probation office personnel to notify if suspicious activity is noticed among known probationers or parolees.
	Use community policing to increase contact between citizens and police personnel.	Have community supervision officers visit citizens in neighborhood.
	More citizens will provide police with informal leads and information if they have a relationship with the agency personnel.	More citizens will provide community supervision officers with informal leads and information if they have specific and known means of making contact.
A motivated offender	Police detect, arrest, and apprehend offenders who are in the process of committing criminal acts or have committed such acts.	Community supervision officers and police officers should conduct as many conjoint “ride-alongs” as possible to increase collaborative efforts. There are even legal benefits to this type of collaboration; numerous examples exist throughout the nation.

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Routine Activities Theory	Community Justice	Community Supervision Agency
	Police know most of the routine offenders by name and quite often see them cycle in and out of jail.	Many of these same offenders are on community supervision. Ensure that the correct level of intermediate sanction (i.e., standard probation vs. intensive supervised probation) is implemented with each of these offenders.
	The same repeat offenders (perhaps 10 percent of all offenders) commit well over half of all criminal acts throughout the nation.	Increase informal community contacts with these offenders. Ensure that there is an informal "chain of custody" from person to person in the community with eyes on this group of offenders.
A lack of capable guardians	Police cannot be everywhere all the time. Use target-hardening techniques to deter criminal activity from hot-spot areas of the community. Use community initiatives to have better lighting, fencing, community landscaping projects, business facility design and layout, and so on.	Community supervision officers cannot be everywhere all the time. Use technological tools more effectively and efficiently. Also, adjust surroundings so that less opportunity exists for the offender. For example, have halfway houses and residential treatment facilities near the probation agency or next to the police station!
	Use more data tracking such as CompStat to continually optimize placement of police personnel. ArcGIS services and other such technological mapping devices should be implemented as often as is feasible. Naturally, training for effective use of equipment should be mandatory as well.	Use more GPS tracking when feasible. The agency must encourage staff to be fully competent with technological tools. Also, encourage effective (and legal) community communications through cell phone lists, e-mail chains, podcasts, and other informal yet expedient means of disseminating information regarding offenders in the community.

SOURCE: Based on Lilly, J. R., Cullen, F. T., & Ball, R. A. (2007). *Criminological theory: Context and consequences* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

It is on this last point that this section will conclude. Agencies should utilize the media as a means of educating the public on the overall point and purpose of their comprehensive response to offending in the community. It is recommended that agency staff or even scholarly personnel who are involved with agency crime-fighting initiatives provide a literal overview of routine activities theory (a scaled-down version, of course), the community justice model (see Chapters 12 and 16 for more on this), and the intent of community supervision

agencies to maintain effective watch over known offenders. This last element of communication would disseminate the full concept and would serve as what Émile Durkheim referred to as “social glue” among the law-abiding community. This sense of cohesion would improve the collective efficacy of the community, which would, in turn, improve public safety as members of the community develop a sense of connection and awareness of the broader goals of their criminal justice agencies. This would essentially come full circle to the points made earlier in this chapter while, at the same time, educating the community on the theoretical and philosophical foundations that shape the goals and objectives of various agencies involved with the supervision of offenders. In the process, it is hoped that citizens will begin to interpret crime in the community from a routine activities theoretical perspective, thereby giving them a clear and coherent means of understanding the crime phenomenon and the three-pronged means of responding to the threat of criminal behavior.

Excessive Caseloads and Their Impact on Community Protection

While community support can and should be used to aid in the supervision of offenders on probation or parole, it still stands true that the central figure of authority in the process of community supervision is the individual probation or parole officer. The job of a community supervision officer (probation, parole, or otherwise) is stressful, placing numerous and diverse demands upon the professional working in such a role. Indeed, the workload can be difficult to quantify since much of the time allocated to various functions may not be easy to understand. Nevertheless, the need to quantify expectations has resulted in an analysis of community supervision caseloads, the main issues involved with such a formal analysis being the number and type of offenders on one's caseload. It should be clear that if community supervision officers are stretched too thinly among the various offenders being supervised, the safety of the public is then compromised. Thus, the workload of a community supervision officer is directly linked to the safety and security of the public. For this reason, caseload considerations have been (at least in a general sense) included in this chapter's discussion on public safety.

During the past two decades, the American Probation and Parole Association (APPA) has attempted to identify the ideal caseload for community supervision officers. The earliest official attempt to address this issue occurred in the early 1990s when a paper issued by the APPA recommended that probation and parole agencies examine staffing needs and caseload size within their own organizations (APPA, 1991; Burrell, 2006). Though this seemed to be a reasonable



Photo 2.4 Probation officer Rosalyn Horton looks over her reports of checking an offender on her caseload during the penalty phase of the trial involving the abduction, rape, and murder of a child named Carlie Brucia.

recommendation, it has been much harder to implement than might initially be imagined. The goal of determining the ideal caseload size has been an elusive one, complicated by multiple factors that are difficult to resolve or include in any specific equation.

Because of the diversity in size, structure, and geographical area covered by different agencies, as well as the diversity of offender typologies, it is difficult to provide any specific guidelines in determining ideal caseloads. Burrell (2006) points out that there are three specific reasons why it is difficult to put uniform standards on caseload sizes around the nation. These three points are as follows:

1. Not all offenders are alike: Offenders vary in their age, gender, offense seriousness, risk factors, and unique needs and challenges (e.g., mental illness, disability).
2. Not all court/parole orders are similar: Judges vary greatly in regard to the terms and conditions that they tend to place on offenders.
3. Not all jurisdictions are the same: Statutory and policy issues may vary from area to area throughout the nation, and this can impact the nature of the community supervision officer's daily routine.

When considering prior attempts to reduce caseloads, the community supervision literature has a history that extends back to the 1980s. At that time, nearly all community supervision agencies utilized some form of (what was then) the newly designed intensive supervised probation or parole (ISP). Generally speaking, it was found that ISP was not effective with offenders who had committed misdemeanors or nonviolent crimes (Champion, 2002). In fact, the use of ISP tended to impair the successful completion of probation requirements for these offenders. However, ISP was shown to be much more effective than standard probation with high-risk, serious, or violent offenders on community supervision. This has led to some interesting developments in the community corrections field. Namely, hard-core offenders now receive more of a law enforcement style of supervision, while less serious offenders may be provided supervision that is likened to the casework model described in Chapter 1.

However, even among the ISP programs that were routinely evaluated during the 1980s and 1990s, a few agencies took unique and effective approaches to implementing their programs. These agencies emphasized the use of data-driven, evidence-based approaches that also tended to include various treatment-oriented aspects in the program's design (Aos, Miller, & Drake, 2006; Burrell, 2006). It was found that these ISP programs had more positive results in terms of reducing crimes and technical violations as well as increasing the exhibition of prosocial behaviors such as gaining and maintaining employment, meeting court requirements, paying restitution, and meeting child support requirements (Aos et al., 2006; Burrell, 2006; Petersilia & Turner, 1993). On the other hand, some researchers have found that these programs have no appreciable effect on recidivism and that they are sometimes not cost-effective (Drake, Aos, & Miller, 2009). However, those programs that had no effect on recidivism were usually punitive in nature. Among programs that operated from a human service perspective, significant reductions in recidivism have been found (Lowenkamp, Flores, Holsinger, Makarios, & Latessa, 2010).

From the literature on this topic, a consensus model has slowly emerged throughout the United States as a result of input from experienced and thoughtful practitioners in the field of community supervision (Burrell, 2006). Though not necessarily ideal for all agencies, these

generally agreed-upon recommendations provide a baseline from which other agencies can operate, comparing and modifying their own operations against the backdrop of the consensus that has emerged. To make these standards flexible and usable by agencies throughout the country, they are provided in terms of ratios of cases to officers and should be considered as upper-level ratios that should not be exceeded (Burrell, 2006). Burrell notes that “framing the standards as numbers not to be exceeded helps to reduce the chance that better staffed agencies will not be forced to allow caseloads to increase because of the standards” (p. 6). These cases are classified into broad categories based on criteria such as risk of recidivism, type of offense, or individualized needs. Table 2.1 provides the recommended caseload sizes. Classifying offenders on these relevant criteria is critical, as it ensures that offenders are correctly matched with the required level of supervision necessary to optimize their potential for completing their community supervision requirements (Burrell, 2006; Hanser, 2007b).

Hanser (2007b) has offered a strong argument for the implementation of valid, reliable assessment instruments, demonstrating that such tools are the critical first step in providing effective supervision of offenders. This allows agencies to allocate resources most accurately and effectively by eliminating the likelihood of false positives and false negatives (Burrell, 2006; Hanser, 2007b), as well as to maximize public safety (Hanser, 2007b). According to Burrell (2006), the “evidence suggests that staff resources and services should be targeted at intensive and moderate- to high-risk cases, for this is where the greatest effect will be had. Minimal contacts and services should be provided to low-risk cases” (p. 7). Burrell goes on to note that when examining recommendations such as those presented in Table 2.1, the first reaction from most administrators will be that many more staff will be needed to meet such recommendations. However, the reality is that this reallocation of staff would simply shift supervision staff to higher-risk offenders and away from those who are low risk (Burrell, 2006). It is in this manner that community supervision caseloads can be structured to optimize overall public safety while at the same time supporting the reintegrative aspects that

Table 2.1 Recommended Caseload Sizes When Considering Type of Offender Case

Adult Caseload Standards	
Case Type	Cases to Staff Ratio
Intensive	20:1
Moderate to High Risk	50:1
Low Risk	200:1
Administrative	No limit? 1,000?
Juvenile Caseload Standards	
Case Type	Cases to Staff Ratio
Intensive	15:1
Moderate to High Risk	30:1
Low Risk	100:1
Administrative	Not recommended

SOURCE: Burrell, B. (2006). *Caseload standards for probation and parole*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections.

serve as the basis for this text's underlying message. In this way, public safety is maintained as the primary focus of the agency, with treatment services and community volunteerism augmenting the primary goal of public safety.

Using the Community to Improve Safety: Volunteers and Neighborhood Programs

Since it is community support that is perhaps most needed when implementing a reintegrative approach to community corrections, community education is critical. Many community members may have no idea how specific treatment needs can directly impact the likelihood of offender reintegration. Further, these same people may not truly understand that offender recidivism, as well as the future crime rate, is directly impacted by the successful rehabilitation and reintegration of the offender.

For example, many citizens may not realize that a substantial number of offenders under community supervision are physically or mentally handicapped. Naturally, these offenders will experience difficulties finding jobs, particularly jobs that will at least pay the bills. Add to this the stigma of being a prior offender, and their chances in the job market are further diminished. However, employment is critical to successful rehabilitation of offenders and is thus critical to lowering their likelihood of recidivism. As it turns out, this is most often a necessary condition for offenders to remain on community supervision. Therefore, the offender, the employing community, and the agency must all meet each other on middle ground if the employability of offenders is to be realistically achieved. Community members and employers may not realize this and thus may incidentally miss an opportunity to reduce crime in their locale through the rehabilitation of offenders that would otherwise be productive.

Indeed, it is not uncommon for small business owners to be unaware of the state and federal tax incentives offered to employers that hire offenders. Naturally, if the offender is able to secure long-term employment, the individual will be better able to pay restitution to his or her victims and to probation departments. This then feeds back to the restorative justice concept, itself a part of the community justice perspective of enhancing public safety. It also means that victims and community members are stakeholders in the offender's ability to find gainful employment. Victims who desire compensation should therefore be supportive of efforts that put offenders to work. Otherwise, how else can the money for restitution be raised?

The point here is that the whole process works better if the community is involved. For example, consider a mentally challenged offender, having family involvement (if possible), with community involvement (certain churches, big brother/big sister organizations, the YMCA, and so forth) to check on the offender, and an employer that is able and willing to utilize such labor. The multiple forms of interconnections will ensure that the offender is properly supervised by informal networks of community members. These informal networks serve to ensure that the offender is conducting him- or herself in an appropriate manner and that the offender's likelihood of making restitution to the victim is increased. At the same time, the mentally challenged offender is provided social connections that can benefit his or her mental health prognosis, making the benefit twofold.

The probation agency can oversee and coordinate much of this but will more importantly play the role of liaison between the victim and offender to ensure that all court conditions agreed upon by both the victim and the offender are met. It is expected that the community supervision agency will use its array of intermediate sanctions to supervise the offender.

Among these techniques are such mechanisms as electronic supervision (including GPS devices), community service (which ideally should be linked to either the offense or the issues pertinent to each particular offender), and house arrest (except during times of employment or other mandated appointments or activities).

Community supervision agencies are also able to coordinate the activities of volunteers within their own agencies and throughout the community. This may seem like a potentially onerous task, but if one probation officer were to be solely in charge of coordinating volunteer efforts to supervise offenders, the payoff for the agency could be tenfold or greater. This is not simply wishful thinking; rather, these very types of programs have been successfully implemented throughout the nation for several years (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3, which introduce such programs from Hennepin County, Minnesota, and Los Angeles County, California).

Figure 2.2

Promising Community Supervision Volunteer Programs—Hennepin County Department of Community Corrections

Hennepin County Department/Program: Department of Community Corrections

Division: Adult Probation

Location (Address) of the volunteer department site: A-302 Government Center

Program goal or mission: Promote public safety by expanding community partnerships, extending program services, and fostering teamwork and productivity among talented staff and volunteers.

Contact:

Tatiana Przytula

612-348-6893

tatiana.przytula@co.hennepin.mn.us

Mail Code 032

Opportunities for: Adults; Minimum Age 19

Types of opportunities: Ongoing, Corporate, Interns, Group

Shifts Available: Days, Evenings, Weekends

Client Populations: Families, Children, Adults, Seniors, Immigrants, Mental Health

Locations: Minneapolis, NW Suburbs, Western Suburbs, South Suburbs

Kind of work volunteers do:

Volunteers support staff in all areas of our work. Our social service work is oriented toward supporting positive change, which will in turn enhance public safety. Some work directly with our clients and other positions are more oriented toward computer work or research or monitoring of court-ordered conditions. We work with juvenile and adult offenders and families who are in the process of divorce. We work throughout Hennepin County. . . . in field offices, offices located with courts, or in institutions.

Application process for becoming a volunteer may include, but is not limited to, the completion of a volunteer application, background check, and interview process.

SOURCE: Hennepin County. (2006). *Adult probation volunteer opportunities*. Minneapolis, MN. Retrieved from <http://www.hennepin.us/portal/site/HennepinUS/menuitem.b1ab75471750e40fa01dfb47ccf06498/?vgnnextoid=9338bd7d23e23210VgnVCM20000048114689RCRD>

Figure 2.3

Promising Community Supervision Volunteer Programs—Los Angeles County Probation Department

RESERVE DEPUTY PROBATION OFFICER

The Reserve Deputy Probation Officer is a deputized volunteer who reports to, and is supervised by, a non-supervisor probation staff member. He or she has received special training in order to assist the probation staff member in a wide range of responsibilities, which may include direct involvement with juvenile and adult probationers. He or she is a highly motivated, skilled, and caring person who wants to serve the community as a part of the Los Angeles County Probation Department.

The Reserve Deputy Probation Officer is not a replacement for, or an alternative to, paid staff, but serves as a force multiplier that enhances existing resources.

STATUS OF RESERVE DEPUTY PROBATION OFFICER

The Reserve Deputy Probation Officer is a volunteer of the department deputized by the Chief Probation Officer to perform his/her assigned duties.

No Peace Officer Powers. The Reserve Deputy Probation Officer does not have peace officer authority and is not authorized with arrest, or search and seizure powers. Additionally, the carrying of firearms, other weapons, and handcuffs by the Reserve Deputy Probation Officer, including those who have an outside legal authority to do so, is not authorized.

TRAINING

Reserve Deputies will be required to complete a minimum of 75 hours of training course and a subsequent 6-month on-the-job training period. Reserve Deputies may also complete any designated training for assignments, which can require additional training or skills.

ASSIGNMENTS

A Reserve Deputy can work on weekdays, weekends, or evenings, serving a minimum of 16 hours per month. Reserve Deputies work under direct supervision of Deputized Probation staff in the supervision and investigation of adults and juveniles. They assist in Field Offices, Juvenile Halls, Camps, and some support service areas of the Probation Department.

Reserve Deputies also assist Deputized Probation staff in making home visits, field investigations, and monitoring conditions of probation. They serve at the will of the Chief Probation Officer, must observe all Department regulations, and do not fall within the framework of the civil service system.

SOURCE: Los Angeles County Probation Department. (2006). *Reserve deputy probation officer*. Downey, CA: Los Angeles County Probation Department. Retrieved from <http://probation.lacounty.gov/rdpo.asp>

In addition, local police can enhance the supervision process without placing an extra burden on the police department staff by simply developing an effective volunteers in policing (VIP) program and providing these volunteers with the task of visiting the domiciles and communities of the offenders who are returned to the community. These groups can also demonstrate concern for the victim by making visits to the victim's domicile (if the victim is receptive to this) and just ensuring that satisfaction with the process has been obtained. Human visits of

this sort, as opposed to some obscure survey, convey genuine human concern and provide the victim with another name and face to contact, rather than a survey form to fill out.

The additional benefit is that volunteers are given the opportunity to make a direct contribution to the justice system by working directly with the victims and offenders who are involved. This ensures that volunteers are utilized in a manner that is significant and should show the volunteer that his or her contribution is not taken lightly. Indeed, the police department is taking volunteers seriously in their desire to work in the justice system by involving them in a very important (yet fairly safe) and necessary task of “follow-up.”

Neighborhood Watch programs should be solicited since their members are often more than willing to observe and visit various locations to ensure that their locality is safe. Having these groups incorporated into the supervision process may be an additional way to further supervise the offender. Further, the members of this watch group, being members of the community where the offender resides, may likely know the offender and his or her family, and they may be in a position to provide supervision that is structured more as a genuine visit of concern (more as a relapse prevention than a “you’re busted” visit) that may be perceived as helpful by the offender and his or her family.

Other forms of community involvement may include “corollary” forms of therapy that are not necessarily central to the offender’s crime or even the supervision regimen, but are nonetheless adaptive activities from which the offender can benefit. For example, the offender may smoke cigarettes or may be overweight. In this case, the strong urging at the behest of the therapist to join a group for smoking cessation or weight control may not be directly relevant to the crime, but nonetheless is more beneficial than harmful for overall social integration purposes. This results in even more community members who supervise the offender, and the leaders of these programs can report progress to the therapist, who then increases the number of weekly human contacts that the offender has. Thus, on a social level, the offender is constantly under the watchful eye of community members who are addressing his or her other needs. Therapists can provide another effective link that enhances therapeutic and supervision objectives simultaneously.

All of these mechanisms demonstrate that volunteers, employers, families, and probation departments can provide supervision that is comprehensive yet receptive to the challenges associated with the reintegrative process. This is important because the components of both care and supervision must be maintained. It is clear from the preceding examples that this requires participation from the community. This is a pivotal point to this chapter. Without support from the community, it will be unlikely that public safety can be assured.

CROSS-NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The Use of Volunteers With Probation Agencies in Japan

In Japan, it is common practice that volunteers from the community provide services for the probation agency. These individuals are called volunteer probation officers (VPOs). They are private citizens, and they assist professional

probation officers (PPOs), aid offenders of all ages to rehabilitate themselves at all levels in the community, and enhance crime prevention in the community. Legally, the VPOs are defined as nonpermanent government officials. The activities

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of VPOs are generally classified into two categories: (1) rehabilitation aid activities and (2) crime prevention activities.

VPOs conduct the following rehabilitation aid activities based on the referral of the case from the chief probation officer (CPO). The major rehabilitation aid activities are (1) to supervise and assist the probationers and parolees, (2) to inquire into the environment where an inmate in a correctional institution will live after release and to adjust any problems there, and (3) to conduct preliminary investigation into a candidate for pardon.

Regarding effective crime prevention, the establishment and maintenance of social/community support for offenders' rehabilitation cannot be emphasized too much. From this point of view, VPOs carry out many forms of crime prevention activities in the community with the close collaboration of probation offices, the Ministry of Justice, other national/local government ministries and agencies, schools, police, and other volunteers and voluntary organizations (NGOs) such as the Women's Association for Rehabilitation Aid (WARA) and Big Brothers Big Sisters (BBBS).

The actual number of VPOs has varied from 48,000 to 49,000 in this decade. There are 48,642 VPOs at present, and the average age is 63.4 years. The proportion of females has increased to 24.0%. As to occupation, VPOs represent almost every sector of society. The largest group (44.5%) is composed of retired persons and company workers, followed by housewives (14.4%), those engaged in primary industries (12.4%) such as farming and fishing, and the religious profession (10.9%). Other individuals serving as VPOs include company owners, government officials, manufacturers, social workers, schoolteachers, medical doctors, and private lawyers (as of April 1, 2001).

Legally, as was mentioned briefly above, the VPOs are defined as nonpermanent government

officials. Therefore, VPOs are entitled to obtain national compensation benefits when any bodily injury is inflicted on them in the performance of their duties. However, they are not paid any remuneration for their services. The government may only pay the expenses incurred in discharging their duties, or a part thereof. In practice, the VPO is reimbursed a small amount of money for his or her expenses. The term of service of the VPO is two years with the possibility of reappointment. In practice, most of these officials are reappointed repeatedly for a number of years, because the duties of the VPO require long-term experience with much knowledge and skill regarding the treatment of offenders.

A VPO's character and personality substantially affect his or her role. Therefore, VPO law requires that a VPO be (1) evaluated highly with respect to character and conduct in the community, (2) enthusiastic and sufficiently available to work, (3) financially stable, and (4) healthy and active.

To recruit VPOs, the CPO of a probation office prepares a list of candidates based on the information gathered from various sources in the community. In effect, the list reflects, to a great extent, the opinion of representatives of the VPO association. Further screening is made by a VPO screening committee, an advisory committee to the Ministry of Justice that is established in 50 locations corresponding to each probation office. This committee consists of representatives of the court, the prosecution, the bar association, correctional institutions, probation and parole services, other public commissions in the community, and learned citizens. The Minister of Justice then appoints VPOs from the candidates who pass the screening process.

There are five types of systematic training courses for VPOs, including (1) initial training, designed to provide essential knowledge and

information for newly appointed VPOs; (2) primary training, designed to provide practical knowledge of various procedures in supervision and other care for the offenders for VPOs with less than two years of experience; (3) secondary training, designed to provide basic knowledge and skills regarding treatment methods for VPOs with between two and four years of

experience; (4) regional regular training, designed to provide various kinds of knowledge and skills related to rehabilitation services for all VPOs; and (5) special training, designed to provide special knowledge and skills regarding treatment methods for various types of offenders for VPOs selected by the director of the probation office.

SOURCE: Adapted from Sakai, K. (2002). *Community involvement and crime prevention in Japan: Extensive use of volunteer probation officers (VPOs)*. Torino, Italy: United Nations Interregional Crime & Justice Research Institute.



Improving Public Safety: How Individual Volunteers Can Make a Difference

The following case examples are offered to demonstrate the reintegrative dimensions that can be realized through the use of simple volunteerism. In all three cases, the emphasis on public safety is never jeopardized, but is instead further enhanced. In addition, the offender develops an informal and genuine connection to the community, which serves to ultimately decrease the risk of recidivism while at the same time improving the offender's ability to contribute to his or her community of origin. Each of these examples was drawn from case highlights of community supervision volunteers as provided by the National Institute of Corrections publication titled *Misdemeanor Courts, Hope for Crime Weary America: Volunteer Mentoring in Misdemeanor Courts*, written by Judge Keith J. Leenhouts (2000).

Example 1: The Professional Volunteer

The defendant's name was Billy. He was convicted of simple assault and battery, a misdemeanor that violated the city's disorderly conduct ordinance.

Billy had a bad eye. It did not focus correctly. He did not appear to be honest. When he spoke to anyone, the eye did not make contact. It seemed to wander at about a 45-degree angle. Billy looked as though he was dishonest and deceiving.

During the presentence investigation, Billy seemed to be evasive and dishonest, even to the

retired volunteer investigators. They knew better, but were sure others did not evaluate Billy correctly. He looked dishonest and people saw him in that light. Billy was struggling.

Billy had a concerned mother. She was suspicious, and somewhat paranoid, but she was concerned about Billy. Ralph, a volunteer mentor for Billy, had talked with Billy's mother and realized this was a plus, and said, "That gives us something to build on."

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There are a number of approaches and details to consider when providing volunteer mentor services for returning offenders. For instance, which professionals will help and who will be responsible for eliciting that help? In the case of Billy, it was his judge who took the first step.

The judge placed a call to an optometrist friend. "Would you see Billy? Would you help Billy? We have many volunteers who give us five to ten hours a month. We have seven retirees who give us full time to administer the program and to do presentence investigations. Would you volunteer to see Billy?" The optometrist seemed surprised and even disappointed that the question needed to be asked. "Of course I will," he said.

Billy was assigned to a one-to-one volunteer. His toughest job was to convince Billy's mother that she would not get a bill from the optometrist. She was finally convinced, and Billy, for the first time, saw a doctor about his eye. The doctor found the eye was totally dysfunctional, and did him no good. It needed to be removed. Billy would see as well, perhaps even a little better, and he certainly would look better.

The mother, the one-to-one volunteer, and Billy agreed with the optometrist's diagnosis. The doctor then explained that he did not do such surgery and that it was a job for an ophthalmologist. The situation seemed rather bleak until he said that he knew a good ophthalmologist who owed him a favor. "Maybe he will do it as a volunteer," he offered. The ophthalmologist agreed that if Billy could get an artificial eye he would perform the surgery. The town's Lions Club agreed to purchase and furnish the artificial eye.

The surgery was performed successfully, and Billy became a new man. He had been a high school dropout. He returned to school and got his diploma a year later. Probation was terminated, and the case was dismissed. Billy faced life with a clean record, which he had earned through community service and a very good probation record.

After Billy had been off probation for a year, he came back into court with a young lady. He excitedly introduced her to several of the volunteers. When he returned later, he asked almost breathlessly, "What did you think of her?" The response was an enthusiastic approval—not that Billy needed it.

Billy was doing well in his job. He had completed high school and was taking some adult education classes. A college education seemed possible. And he was in love with a fine young lady. It looked like a happy ending was in store, but it was not to be. The night before his wedding, which the optometrist and his one-to-one volunteer were going to attend, Billy was a passenger in an automobile. There was an accident, and Billy was killed.

Billy's last years were filled with hope, success, dignity, self-respect, and accomplishment because of the doctors and his one-to-one volunteer. Billy also gave the court a gift: the confidence that, if approached right, professionals will volunteer.

The next time the court felt the need for assistance from an eye doctor it contacted the optometrist, and almost apologetically said, "We need more help, but we don't want to call on you all the time. Do you have any fellow colleagues who might help?" His answer was, "Of course."

The optometrist wrote a letter to a number of his colleagues. He described what had happened and asked them if they would come to a meeting in the court. The judge did a follow-up letter. The optometrist then called all of those he had contacted by letter, urging them to come to the meeting. Nearly all of them attended the meeting, and as a result some 15 offered their services. There was an ample supply.

The court readily agreed never to refer more than one case at a time to any optometrist. Each doctor agreed to work with one case at a time, and perform four evaluations a year. The court set up a well-administered and highly accountable

procedure to keep broken appointments and lost time to a minimum.

A number of defendants needed eye exercises to help them overcome learning disabilities. Often the optometrist would train the one-to-one volunteer who would assist with the exercises. The defendants' academic achievements were greatly enhanced when their vision improved. The inability to read had caused a lack of dignity, pride, and self-respect, which in turn had caused criminal behavior. Better vision and the ability to read were some answers.

The court had the same experience with dentists, medical doctors, lawyers, psychologists, psychiatrists, and other professionals. The court, which was willing to administer the program well and do careful follow-up, did not have to worry about not having money. It could provide all the professional services it needed. Slowly it dawned on the court. The answer is in our own backyard. The answer is not getting tax dollars. That can go to prisons, highways, space, and war. We have another, and better, answer. Volunteers!

SOURCE: Leenhouts, K. J. (2000). *Misdemeanor courts, hope for crime weary America: Volunteer mentoring in misdemeanor courts*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections. Retrieved from <http://www.nicic.org/Library/016295>.

Example 2: Retirees—A Special Gift

A young judge found himself trying to coordinate and oversee the work of the eight professional counselors and some 40 “ordinary folks” serving under their immediate guidance and supervision as role model-mentors. This, plus his judicial duties, was getting to be too much to do well. He needed help and thought of a family friend, a retiree, who loved young people very much. He called “Harry” and told him of his plight. Harry agreed to come into the court several hours each day as a volunteer and coordinate the effort. (The word *program* was still a bit of an exaggeration.)

A little office space was carved out, and Harry would be present when each defendant was placed on probation with orders to report to one of the eight and a one-to-one volunteer, in addition to a fine or jail term. Harry would then type the probation order, orientate the defendant, and arrange and attend a meeting with all three of them a few days later.

As the caseload grew, Harry would meet regularly with the judge and tell him how things were

going. The judge no longer met each month with the probationers, but met with them only as needed in the opinion of Harry and the volunteers, who came to be known as direct service volunteers.

Harry followed each case very carefully. He would meet with the volunteers at least monthly and sometimes more often to review each case. The motto of the “program” was that everything had to be done with excellence. Nothing was left to chance. Harry, a retired purchasing agent and business executive, was the perfect man. He seemed to be everywhere and knew everything.

As the program grew, as related later, Harry needed help. He became the overall administrator and was joined by three other retired volunteers. One coordinated the one-to-one volunteers, Harry's first job.

Another coordinated the community service program, and the other the education and group programs. The four all “worked” full time. (They did not call it work since it was a labor of love, more like a hobby. As time went on, some were

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paid a small amount each month to supplement Social Security and other pensions, while others were never paid at all.)

They often joked that the court made them the second happiest people in town. They had a whole new outlook on life. They were needed and vital again. The only persons happier were their wives who took them “for better or worse, in sickness and in health,” but *not* for lunch every day. The wives were even happier, they said with a smile.

The quest for excellence in accountability and administration was accomplished. As each person was placed on probation, the judge, based on the presentence report, which is described later, would indicate on a form all the services that were to be provided (mandatory at first) to each probationer. Harry would receive a copy on each sentencing day. The list of services grew and grew and included such things as one-to-one volunteers, group psychotherapy, Alcoholics Anonymous, driver violator and alcohol and drug information schools, referral to various professional services, community service, and so on.

Then each month the judge would meet with the four retirees for a six- to seven-hour session to review the cases on probation. In every case the questions were:

- What did we order?
- Was it or is it being provided with excellence?

The program was highly accountable and very well administered.

The retired volunteers really took what was best described as an effort and made it into a program, the difference being high-quality administration and accountability.

The methodology of accountability was simple and effective. Every active case was reviewed using the form used by the judge when sentencing the

defendant. Then each case was checked as to the quality of services. Whatever follow-up was needed was done forthwith.

One of the volunteers who suggested this form of accountability was a business consultant. After the system had been in effect for some time, he reviewed it. His comment was interesting. “This is better accountability than any business I have ever consulted with over many years.”

Of course, superb accountability is of little value without well-administered follow-up. This was done by the retirees with the cooperation of all the staff and volunteers.

The retirees usually related well to the probationers, and when it happened, it was encouraged. Often the one-to-one volunteer would become a father image, and the retiree the grandfather image. Thus, while their main activity was administration and accountability, they never forgot the whole goal was to rehabilitate the offender, and that should always come first.

Once when a probationer came in to see his mentor-volunteer, the volunteer was discouraged. It had been about three months, and the probationer was still in the initial stage of hostile, miserable confrontation. Then, suddenly one day the probationer appeared smiling and relaxed, and for the first time they chatted like friends. The one-to-one volunteer was amazed and asked what happened. The probationer replied, “I was walking down the hall and looked in at one of the offices and saw this old man. His face was so kind and gentle. It reminded me of my grandfather, the only one who ever really loved me. I decided if he was part of the program, it must be OK.” He did well thereafter.

The retiree not only had made a program out of an effort, an organization out of hope, but also had added much to the goal of the program. Retirees: a precious gift.

SOURCE: Leenhouts, K. J. (2000). *Misdemeanor courts, hope for crime weary America: Volunteer mentoring in misdemeanor courts*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections. Retrieved from <http://www.nicic.org/Library/016295>.

Example 3: Ordinary People Doing Extraordinary Things

Linda Larson was a very good wife and mother who was active in community affairs. She was an attractive and intelligent lady who had made a decision to be a homemaker while her children were young and, after they were grown, to seek challenging employment. Among her community activities, she decided to be a volunteer mentor to the court. She had been recruited by word of mouth by one of the original eight volunteers. Like all volunteers without experience and education in professional counseling, she received orientation and training and careful ongoing supervision and guidance.

Linda was assigned to a probationer named “Sally.” Sally was a very strong and husky woman who weighed about 180 pounds. She was not fat, just big and strong. Sally had been involved in a fight with two other women. Sally was the aggressor. No real damage was done because the fight was stopped, and the police were called. Sally was arrested and brought to court on a misdemeanor charge: “disorderly conduct—fighting.” It was a violation of a city ordinance, not a state law, like most misdemeanors.

Sally pled guilty. It was her first offense in this court. She was fined and placed on probation. She was assigned to “Tom,” one of the original eight professional counselors, and also to Linda.

Linda began meeting with Sally once a week. At first the meetings lasted the required one hour. Linda reported to Tom and told him the meetings were terrible. Sally would rant, rave, and scream for an hour, and Linda would listen. That is about all that happened. Sally used a lot of obscenities and profanity. Linda listened. And she listened.

During the second month, the meetings got longer and longer as Sally began telling about her life. She had no knowledge or memory of her father. The only memory of her mother was when she was dropped off at an orphanage when she was a very young girl. She had grown up in orphanages and had been in juvenile institutions for juvenile offenses. She was now 24 and living with an ex-convict. They had two children. The

family was very insecure and unstable. They had no friends or relatives to support and help them. They were struggling. Linda listened . . . and listened. She did what no professional probation officer had time to do. In two months she did some 15 hours of listening. What she heard could be summarized in minutes, but it took many hours and Linda’s understanding ear for Sally to be able to say it.

Still, Linda told Tom at the end of the second month, “I do not seem to be able to help. I just listen.” Tom told Linda, “The awesome power of the listening ear is at work. Be patient. You are enhancing her dignity, you are gaining her confidence simply by listening. It is a new experience for Sally. No one has ever listened to her before. When someone like you with a home, family, and friends listens, it is a new experience for Sally. Keep listening and, when it is appropriate, offer assistance. Be a friend.”

The meetings were longer now, once as long as three hours. Finally, after some 25 hours of listening, Linda sensed Sally was ready to hear the words Linda had been aching to say since their first meeting. She blurted them out. “If I can ever help you, day or night, call me.” Not long after that Sally phoned Linda in the middle of the night. One of her children was sick, and she had no idea what to do. Linda knew this was a critical moment in more ways than one. She immediately told Sally she would meet her at the hospital in an hour with her doctor.

The doctor stayed through the physical crisis. Linda stayed through the physical and also the emotional crisis, which lasted much longer. Hours later, at the dawn of a new day, and the beginning of a new friendship, Sally told Linda, “You really do care. You are really a friend.” After that they were able to get together as friends, and not necessarily in scheduled meetings. They would go shopping and do things they both enjoyed. Sally changed, and so did Linda. Friendship does that.

A year later the effect that one ordinary person could have on a probationer was affirmed. When

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she was dismissed from probation, Sally said, “I used to dream of wealth and fame. Now all I want is to be a good wife and mother. I want to give my husband and children a good home. Just like Linda.” And she did. Sally later moved to another state, but for many years she and Linda stayed in contact with each other. Sally made it.

This, and other cases, seemed to prove that people with no specific training could, with proper support, guidance, and supervision, be very effective role models and mentors.

An idea that began with imagination was, with implementation, blessed with affirmation and confirmation.

Although much more had to be done, the basic idea was in place and ready to be expanded. The next hurdle seemed to be the development of a well-administered and highly accountable program which would ensure the day-to-day excellence of the efforts of some eight professional counselors—volunteers and about 40 “ordinary people doing extraordinary things.”

SOURCE: Leenhouts, K. J. (2000). *Misdemeanor courts, hope for crime weary America: Volunteer mentoring in misdemeanor courts*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections. Retrieved from <http://www.nicic.org/Library/016295>.

CONCLUSION

It is important for community supervision agencies to have clear and well-articulated philosophical and theoretical bases when determining their goals and objectives. Further, it is through this well-articulated groundwork that evidence-based practices emerge. Going further, this chapter contends that the primary purpose of our correctional system is to ensure the public safety of society. With this in mind, goals and objectives as well as practices adopted by agencies should be directed at achieving this purpose. When setting these goals and objectives, agencies should make a point to integrate input from community members. Collaborative goal setting that incorporates the assistance of other agencies as well as community citizens will be most effective in achieving those objectives that are most meaningful to the locale.

In addition, it is the contention of this chapter that public safety can be achieved through reintegrative efforts. However, the supervision function of probation and parole should never be jeopardized when attempt-

ing the reintegration of offenders. Rather, the nature of supervision should be changed to include more informal rather than formal types of human contact. This requires further assistance from the community, since probation and parole caseloads preclude the ability of agencies to effectively provide such human contact. Methods of including community members in the supervision process should be implemented. In many cases, community members are able to provide substantial assistance to reintegrative efforts with offenders. This means that the community member—long an inherent participant in the criminal justice process—becomes central to both reintegrative and public safety agendas. It is with the assistance of the community that probation and parole agencies are best able to set goals and objectives that are in line with public expectations, and it is with the assistance of the community that such agencies can best meet those expectations. In short, though public safety is job one, public safety is also a team effort.

KEY TERMS

Activities

Collective efficacy

Deterrence

Environmental crime prevention

Evidence-based practices (EBPs)

Feminist theory

Goal

Incapacitation

Labeling theory	Restitution	Social learning theory
Objectives	Retribution	Strain theory/institutional anomie
Policy	Routine activities theory	Subcultural theory
Rehabilitation	Social disorganization theory	

END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW: SHARING YOUR OPINION

1. Identify the four main purposes of punishment and select one that you feel is the best approach to the community corrections process. Explain your opinion.
2. Select your favorite criminological and/or psychological theoretical perspective in this chapter and explain why you find that perspective to be more likable than the others that are presented.
3. In your opinion, should we really be concerned with theory as a guide to meeting public safety objectives? Explain your answer.
4. In reality, do you think that most agency administrators integrate basic theoretical orientations in their day-to-day decision making when running community supervision agencies? Why or why not?
5. What are some solutions or recommendations that you can provide that might solve the problems associated with high caseloads for probation and/or parole officers?

"WHAT WOULD YOU DO?"

Jim is a convicted sex offender who has been placed on intensive supervised probation. As a condition of his probation, he is required to keep a sign on his front lawn that openly and very visibly states, "Convicted Sex Offender Lives Here." Over a six-month period, he has met all of the terms and conditions of his probation in an exemplary manner. However, he has noted to you, his probation officer, that there is a group of youth who constantly pester him and yell at him, calling him names such as "scum," "dirtbag," "loser," and worse. Also, his neighbor across the street has vocalized that he would like to see Jim get arrested and sent to prison. One of the youth who has

harassed Jim is the son of the neighbor across the street. Jim asks you if he has any recourse, since he believes that what the neighbor and the youth are doing is illegal.

For this exercise, explain how you would handle this situation. In doing so, indicate both the informal and formal steps that you might take to resolve this issue. In addition, explain which theoretical perspectives might apply to this scenario. Finally, which sentencing goals do you believe are the objective of Jim's sentence (rehabilitation, deterrence, retribution, etc.)? Explain your answer.

What would you do?

APPLIED EXERCISE

Linda is 32 years old and is a heroin addict. For several years, Linda worked as a topless dancer and also worked in the illicit sex industry. She had moved out of her mother's house when she was 16 and a run away. She was never found by her family, and within a few months she began to prostitute herself as a means of self-support. Eventually, she landed a job as an exotic dancer (though she really could not "dance" at all), and from there her work as a prostitute was managed by the club owner.

Though Linda often "serviced" the club owner, she became involved with Jack, a biker with the Hells Angels. After a period of time, she became pregnant and gave birth to a daughter. Shortly after she became pregnant with Jack's baby, Jack was sent to prison for trafficking drugs. After Linda became pregnant again, the club owner would not let her dance on her shift, but he did take care of her, giving her a place to stay and the basic necessities, and having the other female dancers check

on her. But of course, there was an exchange that took place as compensation.

After the birth of her second child, the responsibilities associated with mothering were simply too much. Linda was under enormous pressure and felt pushed and pulled in every direction. The club owner kept her over a barrel, demanding sexual favors along the way. Taking care of her baby was ever more difficult as she was a single parent with no real family support network, and a number of patrons were constantly harassing her. Further, her drug use became more serious, and she began using heroin on a routine basis.

Ultimately, the drug use veered out of control, and she was arrested and convicted of illegally purchasing

a Schedule II drug. She served several years in prison and now has been paroled out. While in prison and in therapy, she revealed that she had been molested by her father as a young child and by her stepfather as a teenager. She believes that her mother knew but simply chose to ignore the signs and symptoms. It is important to Linda that she resume contact with her 9-year-old daughter who is now in the custody of state child services.

In the scenario above, note which theories could be used to explain Linda's development and her involvement in crime. Then, explain from any variety of theoretical perspectives what you think would be an effective way of processing this offender.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

In this reading, the authors point to the necessary conversations that states need to entertain regarding the need for policy reform in light of diminishing resources and the pursuit of punishment and enhanced public safety. More specifically, the authors review the three goals of punishment (expressive, utilitarian, and managerial) and combine those with the current state of punishment. A sample of six states that at the time of the study were considering

reforming their sentencing laws as well as their responses to crime was taken. A review of major newspapers revealed a shift in policy approaches from a more retributive response of increased imprisonment to considerations for budgetary and economic responses to crime. The authors further point to the opportunities for reformers to enter into conversations with legislative bodies about how to reform the system in difficult economic times.

When the Policy Becomes the Problem

Criminal Justice in the New Millennium

Sara Steen and Rachel Bandy

SOURCE: Steen, S., & Bandy, R. (2007). When the policy becomes the problem: Criminal justice in the new millennium. *Punishment & Society*, 9(1), 5–26.

Questions for Thought

1. According to the authors, what role does the economic system play in shaping our societal response to crime?
2. Given the importance of the budget and the downward economic trend, how might community-based alternatives seek to meet all of the punitive goals outlined in the article?
3. According to the authors, what is the current state of punishment in the United States?
4. Based on the current study, how might a review of newspaper articles before and after legislative hearings reveal information about the current state of punishment?