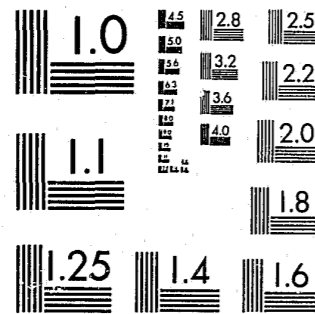


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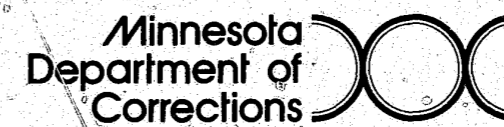
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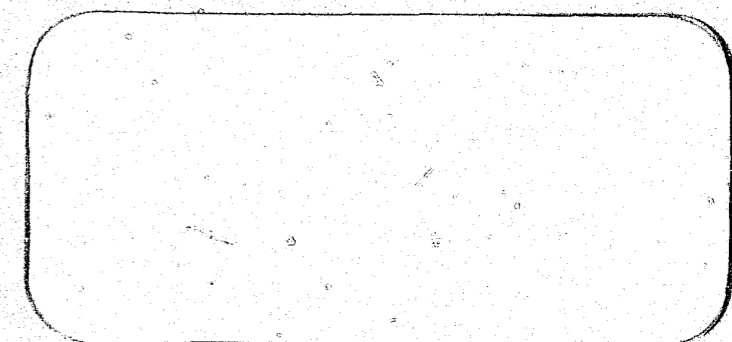
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MINNESOTA COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS ACT EVALUATION



75421



GENERAL REPORT

January, 1981

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CHAPTER 1: Overview of the Minnesota Community Corrections Act Evaluation

A. Introduction

During the summer, 1979, the Minnesota Department of Corrections (DOC) in cooperation with the Minnesota Crime Control Planning Board (CCPB) undertook a comprehensive evaluation of the Minnesota Community Corrections Act (CCA). The evaluation represents a response to inquiries from Minnesotans and from other states on the effectiveness of this community corrections legislation. This publication presents a summary of the major findings of the evaluation. A set of technical reports is available for readers wanting additional information on methodology and results. A list of these supplementary publications can be found at the end of this report.

An important point to stress at the outset is that this evaluation addresses the effectiveness of a particular piece of community corrections legislation. The evaluation does not address the utility of a community corrections approach nor of individual community corrections programs. Rather, the evaluation investigates the effectiveness of the Minnesota Community Corrections Act in achieving its expected objectives and goals. The results of the study do not necessarily reflect upon the effectiveness of individual programs nor on the effectiveness of community corrections as a general correctional policy.

B. The Minnesota Community Corrections Act

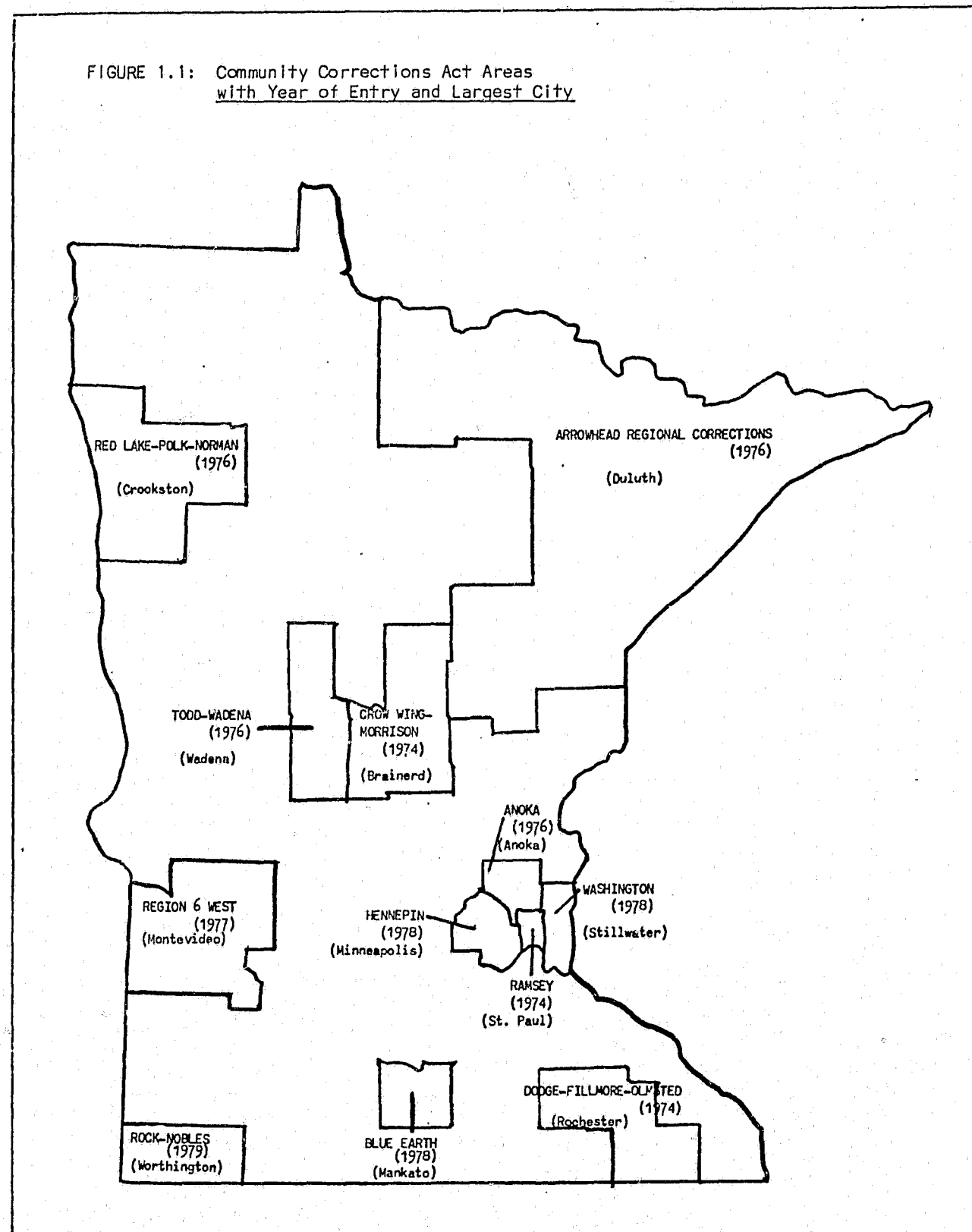
In 1973 Minnesota enacted the Community Corrections Act (CCA). The Act, representing the State's most far-reaching criminal justice policy, has restructured Minnesota's correctional services. It addresses four major concerns: 1) increasing institutional costs at the state level, 2) limited local correctional services, 3) overlapping correctional jurisdictions and 4) a lack of uniform standards for delivering correctional services.

The CCA addresses the problems of rising state institutional costs in two ways. First, the CCA provides an incentive for participating counties to deal with certain categories of offenders locally by charging counties to use state institutions for such offenders. Second, the CCA establishes a subsidy which is intended to enable participating counties to develop local correctional services. The subsidy is intended to allow counties to expand existing services and develop new services if a need exists.

The CCA is intended to develop greater organizational coherence in the administration of correctional services in Minnesota. The overlapping of correctional jurisdictions and duplication of corrections services is, in part, a function of different levels of government (city, county, region and state) delivering correctional services. Responsibility for the administration of correctional services is frequently shared within single jurisdictions by different organizations dealing with adults, juveniles, probation, parole, institutions and community programs. The CCA addresses the problems of overlapping correctional jurisdictions by requiring that advisory boards be created to develop comprehensive plans for the delivery of correctional services in their areas. Finally, the CCA charges the Department of Corrections (DOC) with the responsibility of developing standards for the delivery of correctional services.

The implementation of the Act has drastically affected corrections in Minnesota. The annual subsidy eligibility for CCA areas is now in excess of thirteen million dollars. Of eighty-seven counties, twenty-seven have joined the Act, accounting for over seventy percent of the state's population. Figure 1.1 is a map of Minnesota that points

FIGURE 1.1: Community Corrections Act Areas
with Year of Entry and Largest City



out the participating counties. Hundreds of employees are covered by the Act and dozens of criminal justice programs operate primarily on CCA subsidies. Administrative organizations and local advisory boards exist solely for the purpose of administering the Act. Approximately 3,000 new adult felony dispositions and 7,500 juvenile petitions result in CCA county supervision each year. In addition, the CCA areas supervise thousands of misdemeanants and serve thousands of clients prior to adjudication (e.g., prevention and diversion).

C. Purpose of Evaluating the CCA

In spite of the vast resources and personnel involved in and affected by the CCA, systematic information on its operation and impact is lacking. State officials, legislators and county officials who must make decisions on funding and on modifying CCA structure and requirements must have information on which to base their decisions. The DOC has investigated the Act's impact on sentencing patterns and continues to monitor court dispositions, but this information is not sufficient to provide a full understanding of the CCA's impact on the Minnesota criminal justice system. Other states have adopted or are considering similar legislation. However, information is not available on the Act's impact in Minnesota to enable informed decisions in these states.

The primary group for whom evaluation results are intended are Minnesota policy-makers such as state legislators, the Governor, the Commissioner of Corrections and the Crime Control Planning Board. Results will inform this group whether the goals of the Act have been met, whether they can be met, and why they have or have not been met.

The second recipient of evaluation results is the Department of Corrections (DOC) which is responsible for administering the Act. Findings concerning factors which have helped or hindered the achievement of the Act's goals can contribute to the DOC's role in reviewing local plans, in developing standards, in providing technical assistance, and in making budget requests and policy recommendations to the Governor and the legislature.

County officials who operate the CCA also may benefit from evaluation findings, particularly if results suggest how CCA implementation might be improved. Suggestions as to the types of organizations, policies and service delivery systems that appear to work best can assist county officials in developing more efficient community correctional programs. Findings on where dollars are going and with what effects can lead to better informed expenditures.

Several other groups will benefit from the CCA evaluation. First, nonparticipating Minnesota counties can learn whether, how, and under what conditions the CCA appears to be effective and, therefore, whether joining is a wise decision. Second, other states that have adopted or are considering similar community corrections legislation can utilize evaluation results. These results can contribute to decisions on whether to implement community corrections legislation and also on what combination of elements are likely to create the most effective package.

D. General Evaluation Approach

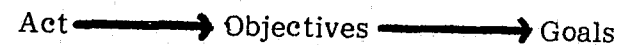
An evaluation of the CCA requires two major steps. First, the researchers must obtain information on the operation of the CCA. Second, researchers must interpret these results to conclude whether or not the CCA has been effective. The research staff

then must arrive at some set of criteria according to which they can interpret results and draw conclusions on the effectiveness of the CCA.

The standard approach to select these criteria is to specify the objectives of the policy or program being evaluated. One compares research results to stated objectives or intentions and then draws conclusions whether the program or policy "works", whether it does what it is "supposed" to do, whether it is "effective" and so forth.

Specifying the objectives of the CCA is the first task of the research staff but it is far from a simple one. The first problem is that the Act itself is very brief and does not spell out a set of measurable objectives. One then turns to original testimony and to those involved in the implementation and administration of the Act for suggestions on the Act's purpose. The problem here is that the various parties who sought passage of the CCA and who are currently involved with it may have different interpretations as to what its objectives are. On the one hand, if researchers accept all objectives as equally valid, and collect data to assess whether all objectives are met, resources would be spread much too thin. On the other hand, if researchers accept the objectives of one special interest, other parties can reject the evaluation on the basis that the criteria (i.e. the Act objectives) by which results were evaluated are invalid. Finally, a third problem in specifying objectives is that policies are not unchanging; as conditions change from the CCA's passage, new objectives may develop and old objectives may be dropped.

In addressing these problems, the research staff first made a distinction between objectives and goals. Objectives were conceptualized as the more immediate ends that follow directly from provisions in the Act. Staff viewed these objectives as mechanisms to achieve other goals, rather than as ends in themselves. Goals are the larger purposes of the policy. They are logical results of obtaining the objectives. Goals of the CCA were identified by asking "why" one would pursue the objectives. The research group went through this exercise of asking "why", asked key state and county personnel for their opinions and listened to legislative testimony for implicit or explicit answers. The process then was to go from provisions of the Act, to identify objectives, to identify goals:



Thus, if an objective can be traced to the Act and to the pursuit of some goals, efforts are made to include it in the evaluation; if a goal flows logically from objectives, efforts are made to include it.

The criteria for selecting goals and objectives are their logical interconnections and relationships with the Act, either as stated in the Act or as the Act has been interpreted through implementation. This method for identifying goals and objectives has several advantages. First, it avoids the problem of having to select the goals or objectives of any particular group or party. Second, by examining the implementation of the Act, this approach permits the inclusion of goals that may have developed well after the Act was passed. It does not necessarily tie the evaluation to original objectives which may no longer be relevant. Finally, by ensuring that goals and objectives are logically related to the Act or its interpretation, this approach identifies the issues which the researchers should investigate and, thereby, helps to ensure that research will not be spread too thin.

In addition, this conceptualization avoids the necessity of establishing arbitrary levels of achievement to determine "success". For instance, some would argue that to evaluate whether the CCA has led to the retention of more offenders in the community requires establishing at the beginning some level of increase to indicate when objectives have been met (e.g., retain twenty percent more offenders in the community). Since the objectives are means to other ends in this conceptualization, the research results will help to establish what levels of the objectives appear to contribute to the achievement of the major goals. These levels need not be arbitrarily set at the outset of the evaluation but instead become a research issue on which to report findings.

E. Conceptual Framework

This section specifies the framework that has resulted from the general approach explained in the preceding section. First, three objectives are identified. Their connections with Act provisions and their interrelationships are explained. Second, the goals of the CCA are identified. The assumptions linking CCA objectives to the attainment of the goals are articulated. A third level of outcomes is specified and the possibility that contradictory goals may be pursued is explained. The conceptual framework is outlined in Figure 1.2. The interrelationships among Act provisions, objectives and goals which are discussed below are diagrammed in this figure.

1. Objectives

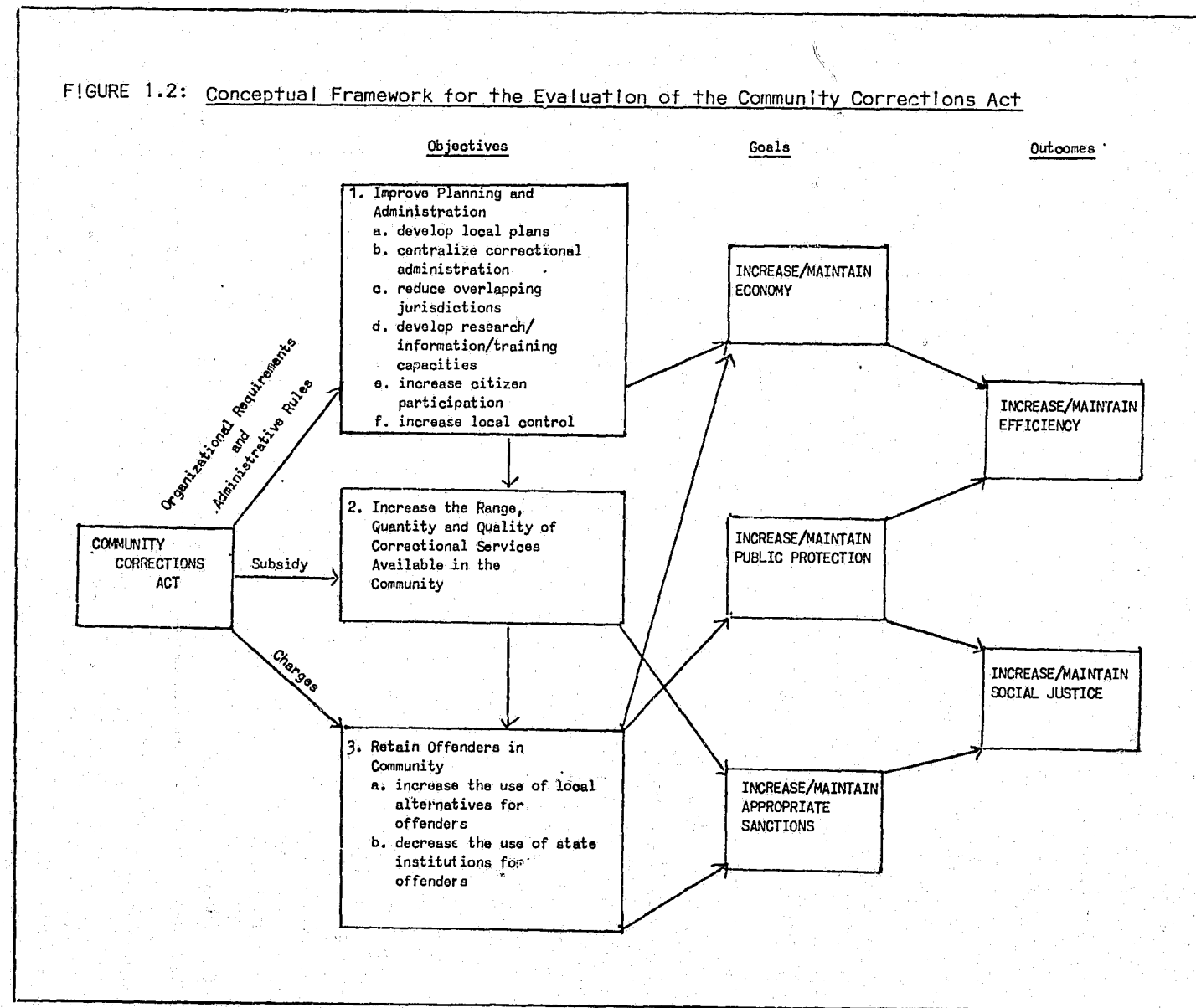
Objectives are conceptualized as contributing to the goals of the CCA. They flow logically from the Act and can be seen to have a causal relationship to the attainment of the three goals. That is, these objectives are not viewed as ends in themselves, but according to the logic of the CCA, contribute to other purposes. Investigation of these objectives enables researchers to obtain a fuller understanding of what the CCA is doing. Moreover, information on whether the objectives are being accomplished is essential for determining why the final goals are or are not attained and for assessing whether they can be attained through the mechanisms of the CCA.

The first category of objectives is conceptualized as a first step in the implementation of the CCA. The CCA requires that participating areas submit comprehensive annual plans that must be approved before subsidies are allocated. A corrections Advisory Board representing various community and criminal justice sectors is responsible for formulating the plan. Assumptions of the CCA are not only that planning is a prerequisite for efficient service delivery but also that local planning is optimal. The CCA assumes that localities, utilizing a broad spectrum of community interests, are in the best position to define their correctional needs and to develop solutions.

The CCA also alters the administration of correctional services. It encourages the centralization and coordination of local services, intends to reduce overlapping correctional jurisdictions (e.g., state vs. local), and through spending requirements aims to develop capacities for research, information and training. It also encourages citizen participation and local control of administration. It is apparent that both the planning and administrative capacities are related (each contributes to the other) and also that the planning and administrative capacities are likely to affect attainment of the next two objectives of actually developing and utilizing local services.

Two categories of objectives are seen to follow from the Act and from the successful development of local planning and administration. First, state subsidies in conjunction with local planning and administration should facilitate the development and improv-

FIGURE 1.2: Conceptual Framework for the Evaluation of the Community Corrections Act



ement of local services. Second, the Act provides disincentives (charges) not to send target offenders to state institutions but to retain them in the community. Also, if local services are developed and improved, they are more likely to be used. Thus, target offenders should use community alternatives to a greater extent and should use state institutions to a lesser extent because of the Act.

2. Goals

Goals of the CCA were developed when the question of why one wants to pursue CCA objectives was asked. It was determined that one might want to pursue the CCA objectives for three possible ends — to save money, to protect the public, and/or to encourage appropriate treatment of offenders.

a. Public Protection

The goal of public protection is stated explicitly in the Act and is generally accepted as a goal of corrections policy. The Department of Corrections, for example, has as its primary mission, the protection of the public and hence the DOC has an interest in pursuing corrections policies that lead to this end. Public policy that brings significant risk to society is difficult to justify.

There are two ways to view public protection. First, the Act states that its goal is to protect society more effectively. The implication of this statement is that the less serious offenders treated locally will, overall, be less risk to society than if they were treated elsewhere. On the other hand, some testimony surrounding CCA passage was less ambitious and argues that the target group if treated locally would pose no additional threat to the community. That is, the target group need not be incarcerated since they would not be committing additional crimes during their community supervision.

The belief that the CCA would improve levels of public protection is consistent with a philosophy of rehabilitation. Rehabilitation is believed to be facilitated because local correctional services provide more opportunity for maintaining family and community ties and facilitate reintegration into community life. While most accept the need to incapacitate certain offenders or to follow policies aimed at deterrence, the premise guiding the CCA is that the less serious categories of offenders can and should be rehabilitated and that this rehabilitation can best be accomplished in the community. Institutionalization for these persons is viewed as potentially corrosive. The objectives of improving local services and of keeping and treating offenders in the community should contribute to public protection if assumptions of rehabilitation are correct.

Also, the CCA can be supported simply on the assumption that the target group is unlikely to pose a risk to society during local supervision. One need not necessarily assume that any form of treatment/supervision works better than any other. From this perspective one only assumes that the target group is unlikely to commit any (or any serious) offenses so, for cost, humanitarian or other reasons, it is best to keep them in the community. Thus, the first set of assumptions (rehabilitation) is consistent with a belief that the public will be better protected through the CCA, while the second assumption is consistent with the belief that society will be at no more risk with the CCA. This second position assumes that public protection can be maintained even if the objective of retaining offenders in the community is achieved.

b. Economy

A second major goal of the CCA is to provide economical delivery of correctional services. Policy that significantly increases costs for the same levels of protection is unlikely to be acceptable to the general public. As with public protection, economy requires a clear definition and an explanation of the underlying assumptions that link the Act to the pursuit of this goal.

Economy is taken here to refer to the net costs of a policy. An assessment of the costs of the CCA must control for factors that might affect costs in the absence of the CCA (e.g., inflation, other changes in the criminal justice system). It must also carefully consider reduced costs as well as new costs. Determining the economy of the CCA is an effort to answer the question, "How much does the CCA cost?" As with public protection, however, there is some ambiguity whether the Act's intention was in fact to increase economy (reduce costs) or to maintain existing spending levels. The language of the Act, "to promote economy", is open to interpretation.

There are a number of reasons why one might expect the CCA to reduce (or, at least, not to increase) costs. It is expected that new costs will be incurred but also that there will be significant savings. One major assumption underlying the Act is that community services are less expensive than state incarceration. It can be argued that if offenders with families can remain in the community, the families will not require welfare support. From a rehabilitative perspective, community treatment is expected to reduce offender involvement in the criminal justice system and, therefore, would reduce future criminal justice costs. It is also assumed that the organizational changes that reduce duplication of correctional efforts should, in turn, reduce costs.

An argument frequently heard in discussions of this goal is that economy was never "really" a goal of the CCA. The research group believes that economy should be included for four reasons. First, cost questions were salient factors in CCA testimony, and cost arguments, whether believed or not, were used to promote the Act. Second, while cost questions may not have been primary in 1973, they certainly are in 1981. Evaluation results would be outmoded if the research did not incorporate contemporary as well as original concerns. Third, questions received from other states concerning the Minnesota CCA frequently center on what the costs have been. Finally, the impact of the CCA on economy is entirely unknown. While correctional costs have risen, they certainly would have risen without the CCA. No one has estimated yet what corrections costs would have been had the pre-CCA system continued.

c. Appropriateness of Offender Sanctions

The original conceptual framework for the evaluation stopped with the goals of public protection and economy and the resulting levels of efficiency. The research group and particularly CCA practitioners, however, felt something was missing. This something was variously labelled "humanitarianism", "humaneness", "justice", "equity" or "fairness". Although the research group recognized this goal was a salient factor in CCA passage, it was initially eliminated because it appeared unresearchable. However, at the suggestion of the group of persons advising the evaluation effort, staff tried to incorporate it into the framework. It was agreed that while the issue may be difficult to research, its inclusion in the conceptual framework enables a more accurate representation of the CCA.

It became apparent that the missing goal related to offenders. Goals of public protection and costs are societal goals or what the general public hopes to get out of

corrections policy. But there is also the perspective of the offender to consider. Assumptions of rehabilitation were originally incorporated but even these are concerned more with protecting society than with doing "right" things for offenders. As one CCA practitioner frequently pointed out — if all we cared about were costs and safety, we would throw all offenders into a pit. Or, to go one step further, perhaps we would support capital punishment for all offenders.

There is, then, another correctional goal that incorporates concerns of offenders and needs to be considered in the development of corrections policy. After reconstructing arguments surrounding CCA passage, several issues surfaced. One line of argument was that different types of offenders deserve different sanctions. Serious offenders may deserve institutionalization but less serious offenders do not. While the rehabilitation argument suggested that a prison environment might make less serious offenders worse, this concern is more that it simply is not "right" to subject less serious offenders to the severe sanction of prison. Intertwined with this position are notions of equity. Each type of offender should receive equal treatment. Because some counties lacked alternatives, less serious offenders might receive prison sanctions. In a neighboring county with a wide range of services, the less serious offender might receive non-residential treatment services.

These various lines of argument seem to be summarized in the goal of "appropriateness of sanctions". The CCA was in part designed to improve local services and to encourage the retention of less serious offenders in the community so that offenders not deserving of institutionalization have appropriate sanctions available.

3. Outcomes

In the formulation of policy, some persons do not think beyond the level of objectives. Others have goals in mind, but rarely does one have the time to think through systematically how objectives and goals interrelate. An evaluation requires one to reconstruct a logic that may have been implicit but probably was not articulated at the time of formulation. An evaluation forces one to specify how a policy ought to work. Although policymakers probably stop with goals, it may be useful for the research to impose one more logical step — what are the outcomes that result from pursuit of the CCA goals?

Adding another step of outcomes to the conceptual framework appeared particularly useful because it highlights the fact that there may be two sets of assumptions underlying the CCA rather than one. And it highlights the possibility that these assumptions might be contradictory. It clarifies to policymakers that there may be choices or trade-offs to be made.

The two outcomes outlined in Figure 1.2 are efficiency and social justice. Efficiency represents the taxpayers' perspective. It is the relationship between costs and public protection. How much is the taxpayer getting in terms of safety and how much is the taxpayer paying for it?

An investigation of efficiency compares levels of public protection resulting from the CCA to the total costs of the CCA. One position is that efficiency should be increased through the CCA. If so, improvement of efficiency requires improvement in at least protection or economy. Efficiency is improved if one receives more protection per dollar spent with the CCA than without the CCA. This situation could result from maintaining public protection for less, from improving public protection at roughly the same cost, or from a variety of other combinations that result in a higher ratio of protection per dollar.

A second position, on the other hand, is that efficiency must only be maintained. That is, both public protection and economy must be maintained but neither has to improve. This position is consistent with the assumption that community corrections is a more just policy and that it should be and can be pursued without threatening public protection and economy. An assessment of this less stringent objective involves a determination that the ratio of protection to costs is no different than prior to the CCA.

Social justice, on the other hand, represents the balance of societal interests (public safety) and offender interests (appropriateness of sanctions). There is a sense that justice is not served if offenders are too forcefully treated while the public experiences very little risk. Similarly, there is a sense that justice is not served if offenders receive minimal sanctions while the public is at great risk.

The conceptual framework identifies two outcomes. There is a chain of logic linking the CCA to each outcome. Whether both outcomes can, in fact, be achieved is an open question. If all of the assumptions identified above should hold, then both outcomes should be attainable. There is, however, a position that holds that efficiency and equity (or in this framework, justice) are incompatible. The classic argument can be found in Arthur Okun's Equality and Efficiency: The Big Trade-Off — where arguments are presented that one generally has to improve one at the expense of the other. Thus, the conceptual framework may represent a single set of assumptions which produce two outcomes or it may identify two sets of assumptions which produce incompatible outcomes.

F. Using the Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Results

The framework that spells out the logic of the CCA not only guides the research but also is the basis for interpreting results. By fitting results into the conceptual framework, researchers can observe patterns of findings. The Research Design explains how these patterns of findings are used to address whether the CCA is effective corrections policy and why.

Chapters two through nine present the evaluations of each objective, goal and outcome. Chapter ten summarizes the patterns of results that are found in the eleven CCA areas evaluated. These patterns of results are the basis for addressing whether the CCA is effective policy and why.

CHAPTER 2: Planning and Administration

A. Introduction

The conceptual overview for this evaluation identifies three objectives of the Community Corrections Act. The relationships among objectives are such that, hypothetically, attainment of one objective contributes both to attainment of other objectives and to the attainment of the goals of the Community Corrections Act (Figure 1.2). The objective "to improve planning and administration" derives from the organizational requirements of the CCA. Thus, the term administration, in the broadest sense, refers to that set of coordinated and collaborative actions, centralized at the local level, that yields the effective and efficient implementation of the CCA. Specifically, the objective aims to effect the emergence of local community corrections organizations that manage implementation of the Community Corrections Act. Consequently, an evaluation of attainment of this CCA objective must appraise aspects of local community corrections organizations.

Within the literature on organizations, the aspects of organizations which are employed to define and evaluate those organizations are quite varied. In the main, however, the aspects are categorically related to structure and function. The organizational functions of research/information systems, training, planning, and budgeting were selected as subject matter for the evaluation of local community corrections organizations because these functions are required by the CCA administrative rules.

Organizational interaction was selected as the aspect of organizational structure that was to be scrutinized because of its commonality across the literature on organizations and because of its direct applicability to the CCA. Measures related to organizational interaction that were deemed significant include cooperation satisfaction, collaboration, organizational legitimacy, organizational viability, and contextual environmental impact. These behavioral constructs were among those chosen because the ability of individuals involved with CCA to achieve the objectives and goals of the Community Corrections Act depends, in part, upon how they define their roles and responsibilities and how they interact. Therefore, in order to determine if the CCA objective pertaining to planning and administration has been achieved at the local level, both organizational structure and function have been evaluated.

B. Issues

1. Assessing Effort and Effect: Appraisal of Achievements

In terms of the planning and administration component of the CCA model presented in Figure 1.2, multiple sets of data had to be gathered in an effort to assess this component and to test its hypothesized relationship to other components.

First, in order to determine whether the objective itself has or has not been attained, it was necessary to gather data from individuals involved in CCA about achievements, products, and perceptions of quality with respect to organizational functions. It also was necessary to acquire data about the structure of local community corrections organizations, specifically, the perceptions of individuals involved with CCA across dimensions representing kinds of interaction (e.g., cooperation satisfaction). These kinds of data yielded information about both level of effort expended and effects achieved. To the extent that the levels of effort and effects achieved with respect to

both structure and function are supported by qualitative and quantitative data, the CCA objective can be adjudged as internally valid. In addition, quantitative data indicating the presence or absence of indices of organizational functions had to be gathered to yield objective measures of implementation of the CCA objective on corrections organization.

2. Assessing Factors Inhibiting Implementation: Problems and Issues

In a test of a conceptual model, policy, or program it is imperative not only to ascertain if it has succeeded or failed, but it is also necessary to identify and explore the factors that facilitated or hindered implementation. Here, the focus has been placed upon the problems and issues surrounding the structure and function of local community corrections organizations. As an example, in addition to determining what has been accomplished through the corrections planning that has occurred under CCA, the problems and issues surrounding planning have been examined. The utility of this strategy lies in its explanatory value. It answers questions about why some aspects of the CCA objective pertaining to corrections organization may not have been implemented to the extent anticipated by decision makers. Additionally, it may provide insight into the relationship between this objective and the attainment of associated CCA objectives or goals.

3. Assessing Factors Potentially Facilitating Implementation: Suggestions for Resolution of Problems and Issues

As a logical extension, suggestions for change in aspects of the structure and function of local community corrections organizations have been derived. The reason this has been done is straightforward. Suggestions for change are intended to translate into actions that should in the future facilitate CCA implementation.

In summary, the first section of the CCA evaluation concentrates on the appraisal of attainment of the CCA objective pertaining to corrections organization by examining: a) achievements of local community corrections organizations; b) problems and issues; c) suggestions for resolution of problems and issues; and d) appraisal of attainment of the CCA objective pertaining to corrections organization.

C. Methods

1. Research Design

The designs applied to the evaluation have been thoroughly explained in the Minnesota Community Corrections Act Evaluation: Research Design. The design that has been applied to the evaluation of local community corrections organization is a posttest-only design. The logic supporting the selection of that specific research design is as follows. The development of local community corrections organizations is dictated by the Community Corrections Act. The local community corrections organizations that are to evolve are intended to manage implementation of the CCA. Entire new organizations have emerged which had no direct parallels prior to implementation of the CCA. As far as organizational structure is concerned, there actually is no "pre" period. As a result, change in organizational structure occurring after CCA cannot be assessed because the community corrections organizations were nonexistent prior to implementation of the policy. Given resource limitations, it has only been feasible to evaluate the structure of local community corrections organizations at the time the evaluation was conducted. Minimum effort has been directed to short-run changes

undergone by the local community corrections organizations or to the processes that have produced change.

2. Data Sources/Data Analysis

In general, the methodology employed in the evaluation of corrections organization constitutes a field study. The specific procedures adopted were: a) mail surveys; b) one-to-one interviews and telephone interviews; and c) content analysis of documents such as comprehensive plans.

Two mail surveys were carried out. The first mail survey included a questionnaire (Form A) which contained structured items pertaining to the four organizational functions examined: research/information systems, planning, training, and budgeting. Such items were designed to yield ratings of aspects of the organizational functions and ratings of Department of Corrections performance with respect to mandates of the CCA as they related to organizational structure and functions. Form A also included items related to organizational structure and yielded measures (ratings) reflecting the behavioral constructs of cooperation satisfaction, collaboration, organizational legitimacy, organizational viability, and contextual environmental impact. In each CCA area, Form A was administered to all advisory board members (including recent past members), local CCA staff (administrators, planners, evaluators, fiscal officers, probation officers, and parole officers), and CCA specialists. Two hundred ninety-seven individuals out of a total of four hundred one completed and returned Form A. Overall, a seventy-four percent response rate has been observed for Form A. This figure is high enough to warrant acceptance of data as reliable. That is to say, the data/results presented can be accepted as representative of the responses of the population of individuals surveyed.

Form B was administered within the context of a second mail survey and contained a series of open-ended items dealing with both organizational structure and function. It asked respondents to identify: a) achievements with respect to research/information systems, planning, training, budgeting, and organizational structure; b) changes in the above occurring after CCA entry (where applicable); c) problems and issues; and d) suggestions for the resolution of problems and issues. Form B was administered to approximately twelve individuals in each CCA area. Five of the respondents were nominated by the CCA administrators and advisory board members from a respondent pool consisting of advisory board members, CCA administrators, CCA staff, and other individuals considered significant to the local community corrections organizations. The remaining seven respondents were randomly selected from the same respondent pool. The overall response rate for Form B is fifty-one percent (74 respondents/146 potential respondents). Ordinarily, this rate is too low to be considered reliable; however, in this case, Form B data were combined with data derived from content analyses of comprehensive plans and annual reports to derive lists of achievements, problems and issues, and preliminary suggestions for problem/issue resolution. One-to-one interviews and telephone interviews were conducted with CCA administrators and CCA staff to review preliminary findings, clarify problems and issues, and to derive a consensus about the acceptability of suggestions for resolution of problems and issues. Thus, because multiple data sources were employed, no formal statistical inferences were drawn from the data, and all data were ultimately verified, the Form B response rate is not problematic.

A set of measures and criteria had to be established to objectively define achievements, that is, implementation of organizational structure and function. Implementation scores for each aspect of organizational structure and function considered were

computed as the sum of: a) overall ratings of quality by CCA administrators, staff, advisory board members, and CCA specialists; and b) "yes" responses to questions indicating the presence of a quantitative index reflecting a particular aspect of organizational structure or function such as the existence of a staff planner. (Appropriate data were gathered through analysis of comprehensive plans and annual reports as well as through interviews with CCA administrators and CCA staff.) In order to evaluate attainment of each aspect, the following decision rules have been adopted: a) if the average implementation score calculated is less than fifty percent, the aspect of organizational structure or function that is being examined is not considered to be implemented; b) if the average implementation score is fifty to seventy-five percent, the aspect of structure or function is considered implemented in part; and c) if the average implementation score is seventy-six to one hundred percent, the aspect of organizational structure or function is appraised as fully implemented.

D. Results

Comprehensive description and analysis of organizational structure and function have been completed in order to answer two questions: "Have corrections planning and administration improved under the CCA?" and "Is the planning and administration component of the CCA model valid?".

Average implementation scores have been computed for each aspect of organizational structure and function included in the CCA evaluation. Tables 2.1 and 2.2 report average implementation scores and an appraisal of degree of implementation of structure and function within and across local community corrections organizations. Table 2.3 goes a step further and assigns ranks to the local community corrections organizations based upon the degree of implementation observed for each aspect of organizational structure and function employed.

On an overall basis, it can be said that organizational structure and associated functions have been partially implemented within local community corrections organizations. (The grand mean implementation score for all indices employed is seventy-five percent, the upper limit of the defined range for partial implementation.) To be precise, based on the measures used to define aspects of organizational structure and function, the conclusion is drawn that organizations have evolved at the local level to manage implementation of the Community Corrections Act (structure has been achieved), but all functions of those organizations have not completely been put into place.

Organizational structure plus the budgeting and training functions have been institutionalized within local CCA organizations. The judgment that budgeting and training have been instituted is based upon the appraisal that the actors, products, and processes necessary to carry out the two functions have apparently been put into place. Data about the effectiveness and efficiency of budgeting and training are not extensive, however. Thus, the actual utility of these functions (particularly of training) cannot be reliably assessed. Further, additional qualitative data suggest that few major problems and issues exist for the budgeting function. Training problems and issues are substantial both in number and suggestions for resolution, as they are in the case of organizational structure.

Planning and research/information systems have been partially institutionalized as functions of local community corrections organizations. The problems and issues which have hindered full implementation are numerous.

TABLE 2.1: Community Corrections Act Evaluation: Summary of Implementation Scores for Indices of Organizational Function and Structure

<u>Organizational Function (F) or Index of Organizational Structure (S)</u>	<u>Average Implementation Score</u>	<u>Degree of Implementation of Function or Index of Structure^a</u>
Planning (F)	64%	Partial Implementation
Training (F)	77%	Full Implementation
Research/Information Systems (F)	65%	Partial Implementation
Budgeting (F)	88%	Full Implementation
Composite Index of Organizational Structure (S):	81%	Full Implementation
1. Cooperation Satisfaction		
2. Organizational Viability		
3. Organizational Legitimacy		
4. Contextual Environmental Impact		
5. Collaboration		
GRAND MEAN:	75%	PARTIAL IMPLEMENTATION

^a The following criteria are employed in the evaluation of degree of implementation of organizational function or organizational structure:

1. No implementation: Average implementation score < 50%
2. Partial implementation: Average implementation score of 50% - 75%
3. Full implementation: Average implementation score ≥ 76%

TABLE 2.2: Community Corrections Act Evaluation: Degree of Implementation of Organizational Function and Structure by Local Community Corrections Organization

CCA AREA	ORGANIZATIONAL FUNCTION								ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE	
	PLANNING Implementation Score	Degree of Implementation	TRAINING Implementation Score	Degree of Implementation	RESEARCH/INFORMATION SYSTEMS Implementation Score	Degree of Implementation	BUDGETING Implementation Score	Degree of Implementation	Implementation Score	Degree of Implementation
En	43%	No Implementation	75%	Partial Implementation	40%	No Implementation	80%	Full Implementation	82%	Full Implementation
Anoka	71%	Partial Implementation	92%	Full Implementation	60%	Partial Implementation	100%	Full Implementation	99%	Full Implementation
Arrowhead Regional Corrections	71%	Partial Implementation	92%	Full Implementation	90%	Full Implementation	100%	Full Implementation	99%	Full Implementation
Blue Earth	71%	Partial Implementation	83%	Full Implementation	70%	Partial Implementation	100%	Full Implementation	71%	Partial Implementation
Crow Wing- Worriison	57%	Partial Implementation	33%	No Implementation	50%	Partial Implementation	80%	Full Implementation	71%	Partial Implementation
Dodge-Fillmore- Olmsted	86%	Full Implementation	75%	Partial Implementation	90%	Full Implementation	80%	Full Implementation	91%	Full Implementation
Hennepin	57%	Partial Implementation	92%	Full Implementation	90%	Full Implementation	100%	Full Implementation	74%	Partial Implementation
Ramsey	57%	Partial Implementation	92%	Full Implementation	--	---	100%	Full Implementation	61%	Full Implementation
Red Lake-Folk- Norman	100%	Full Implementation	67%	Partial Implementation	80%	Full Implementation	100%	Full Implementation	88%	Full Implementation
Rock-Hobbes	43%	No Implementation	92%	Full Implementation	40%	No Implementation	80%	Full Implementation	78%	Full Implementation
Todd-Wadena	71%	Partial Implementation	75%	Partial Implementation	40%	No Implementation	80%	Full Implementation	85%	Full Implementation
Washington	43%	No Implementation	58%	Partial Implementation	60%	Partial Implementation	60%	Partial Implementation	80%	Full Implementation

TABLE 2.3: Ranks Assigned to Degree of Organizational Structure and Function Attained by Local Community Corrections Organization

CCA AREA	Ranks ^a					Sum of Ranks	Overall Rank ^a
	Planning	Training	Research/ Information Systems	Budgeting	Organizational Structure		
6W	11	8	10.0	9	6	44.0	9
Anoka	4.5	3	6.5	3.5	4.5	22.0	3.5
Arrowhead Regional Corrections	4.5	3	2	3.5	4.5	17.5	1
Blue Earth	4.5	6	5	3.5	12	31.0	6
Crow Wing-Morrison	8	12	8	9	10	47.0	10
Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted	2	8	2	9	1	22.0	3.5
Hennepin	8	3	2	3.5	11	27.5	5
Ramsey	8	3	--	3.5	7	--	--
Red Lake-Polk-Norman	1	10	4	3.5	2	20.5	2
Rock-Nobles	11	3	10	9	9	42.0	8
Todd-Wadena	4.5	8	10	9	3	34.5	7
Washington	11	11	6.5	12	8	48.5	11

^aRanks ranged from 1 to 12 with lower numbered ranks indicating higher degrees of implementation. For example, a rank of "1" indicates that the average implementation score is the highest observed for the index of organizational structure or function considered.

In order to provide the reader with a clear picture of what has been achieved, what problems and issues exist, and what changes might be made to encourage full implementation, each aspect of organizational structure and function considered are discussed independently. Before continuing, however, a final word is necessary. The measures of organizational structure and function which have been employed actually appraise the levels of effort expended by local community corrections organizations. That is to say, the measures are indices of organizational input which: a) describe what the local CCA organizations do; and b) how that effort is viewed by individuals involved in local community corrections organizations. Because of resources limitations, minimum attempt has been made to address organizational output, e.g., effectiveness, efficiency, post-effectiveness.

The questions of the validity of the links between the planning and administration component (CCA objective), the correctional services component (CCA objective), and the economy component (CCA goal) of the Community Corrections Act model are addressed in the conclusions section of the evaluation. (Evaluation of the effects of the planning and administration component upon the availability of correctional services and ultimately upon economy in the cost of providing those services is appraisal of organizational output, or organizational performance. It is evaluation of the effects of corrections planning and administration upon the quantity and range of correctional services available to offenders under the CCA; and, of the maintenance or reduction in costs associated with the local management of the correctional services.)

1. Planning: Summary and Conclusions

Planning is a function of local community corrections organizations that has been partially implemented. The average planning implementation score is sixty-four percent. The planning that occurs is seen (by CCA administrators, CCA staff, advisory board members, and/or CCA specialists) to reflect developing attempts to systematically identify the needs of both offender and the community and to integrate cross-system resources into correctional services to meet those needs. Additional perceived accomplishments of planning are coordination of elements of the criminal justice system; reduction in duplicative correctional services, human services, and social services programming; and the capacity to assess cost and cost-effectiveness in generating planning decisions. By way of comparison, pre-CCA planning efforts are considered to be virtually nonexistent in a majority of CCA areas. The pre-CCA planning is considered sketchy, did not address all components of the criminal justice system, and failed to identify and access external programming and related resources in a comprehensive fashion.

Available quantitative data do indicate that to some extent, cross-system resources are being integrated into use by local community corrections organizations. No objective data exist at this time with which to assess the adequacy with which the correctional needs of the offender and the community are being met, however. This latter statement refers both to the range of correctional services funded by local community corrections organizations as well as to the range of other services (e.g., human services, social services) potentially available through noncorrections resources. Similarly, no quantitative data are available which suggest that duplicative corrections or human/social services programming, if it existed, has been reduced by the planning activities undertaken by local community corrections organizations.

The average planning implementation score is sixty-four percent. This planning index as well as associated qualitative data indicate that problems and issues exist which have hindered full implementation of the planning function within local community corrections organizations. To be specific, eight planning issues have been delineated:

a) unclear roles and responsibilities of staff and advisory board members; b) lack of formal training in planning models and methods/inconsistent terminology; c) extreme levels of involvement by the judiciary, probation and parole officers (over-involvement versus abstention); d) inadequate DOC planning guidelines/technical assistance; e) issues centering around the production of comprehensive plans (e.g., inefficient use of staff resources, scarcity of data); f) inadequate identification/integration/utilization of cross-system resources; g) turf problems/lack of a community corrections constituency; and h) inadequate data collection/data elements.

The operation of these issues is thought by survey respondents to hinder communication and cooperation in executing the planning function within local community corrections organizations. Across components of the criminal justice system and across a diversity of educational, medical, social services, and human services areas the existence of these issues discourages the cross-system cooperation and planning that should accomplish integration of resources and reduction in duplicative programming. That is, full cooperation and mutual effort are not expended to yield cross-system planning and subsequent programming. No objective data can be presented with which to estimate the losses or costs incurred due to the influence of the issues.

A variety of suggestions for problem and issue resolution is proposed, including the composition of a planning task force and an ad hoc committee of cross-system planners to achieve integration of cross-system resources into local community corrections organizations. Other suggestions are the conduct of formal needs assessments and inclusion of these data into comprehensive plans; provision of training in planning models and methods; renegotiation of the role of the DOC in generating guidelines and providing technical assistance; and a change to a two-year planning cycle with an annual program and budget update.

2. Training: Summary and Conclusions

The achievements observed with respect to the training function are perceived by individuals involved in local community corrections organizations to be increased general knowledge, information, and understanding about the criminal justice system. The effects of the training acquired are seen to be the delivery of higher quality services to the offender coupled with personal and professional development. Nevertheless, a degree of passivity and resistance are acknowledged to exist that hinder personal and organizational growth and development. The availability of training funds is viewed positively. Training funds provide flexibility in securing needed training either through the sponsoring of inhouse training or through the acquisition of training from external agents. By way of comparison, there was little or no training sponsored prior to implementation of the CCA even in areas in which associations of criminal justice professionals existed. Additionally, post-CCA training is perceived to be of higher quality, although the usefulness of the training is not overwhelmingly supported.

Quantitative data such as the existence of training policy and a training officer have been employed to generate training implementation scores. Overall, an average training implementation score of seventy-seven percent has been observed, indicating that the training function has been fully implemented within local community corrections organizations. Although quantitative data do show that the training function has been implemented, no independent data have been gathered by researchers with which to judge the quality, effectiveness, or efficiency of training. Specifically, it is not clear if the training sponsored or funded is of utility to individual or organizational development. Hence, to the extent that the training function is

accurately measured by the indices incorporated here, the function can be said to be fully implemented; but, no independent qualitative or quantitative data have been gathered about the utility of the training function to development of local community corrections organizations.

Six general categories of training problems and issues have been identified by CCA administrators, staff, CCA specialists, and advisory board members: a) inadequate training policy, guidelines, and criteria established by DOC and by local community corrections organizations; b) inadequate assessment of training needs/insufficient training plans; c) resistance/passivity/time constraints; d) inadequate training programs; e) absence of evaluation of training quality and training performance; and f) funding issues, such as insufficient training funds.

In the main, suggestions presented to achieve resolution of issues are directed to the management of the training function and to the aggregation of a training task force to implement strategies to resolve problems and issues. Among the suggestions deemed viable are: a) establishment/modification of training policy, guidelines, and criteria; b) construction of individual and organizational training plans generated on the basis of training needs assessments; c) maintenance of a skilled training officer and/or training committee; d) design and maintenance of a training activities information system to identify, monitor, and partially evaluate training opportunities; e) design and maintenance of a training accounting system to monitor attainment of individual and organizational training plans; f) implementation of time management procedures to allow time to participate in training activities; g) creation of a training fund of unexpended training monies to be used by local CCA organizations on a first-come, first-served basis; and h) dissolution of the five percent training expenditure rule and substitution of a training budget based upon DOC approval of an organizational training plan.

3. Research/Information Systems: Summary and Conclusions

The perception of individuals participating in local community corrections organizations is that research has emerged as a developing organizational function under CCA. There have, however, been few comprehensive research efforts completed and published across CCA areas. What has been done is viewed as somewhat useful and timely, although the quality is appraised as high by individuals involved in local community corrections organizations. The review and approval of research/information systems designs and processes provided by the DOC has been both good and timely, but equivocally has only somewhat facilitated local research/information systems efforts. The DOC technical assistance that has taken place has not occurred on a systematic basis. It appears as if individuals involved in local community corrections organizations think that additional technical assistance from the DOC is warranted, but specific topical areas cannot be readily articulated. The inference here is that the DOC should identify local needs with respect to research and information systems and provide technical assistance accordingly.

In terms of quantitative data, half of the local community corrections organizations maintain a staff researcher and a research/information systems committee or an evaluation committee. More than half the CCA areas for which data are available do not maintain a written research policy statement or associated guidelines or criteria. In terms of actual research conducted, virtually all the local community corrections organizations have carried out studies or investigations but none have developed a research program. No independent information about the quality of the research conducted or its utility within decision-making contexts has been gathered here.

Dissemination of research results has largely been inhouse through the distribution of data summaries. Virtually all CCA areas have incorporated data within decision-making contexts represented by the inclusion of data into comprehensive plans, but the goodness of fit between the data utilized and the programs established has not been estimated. Finally, nearly all CCA areas maintain operational computerized, offender-based information systems.

Based upon quantitative measures of indices of research/information systems employed plus an overall rating of the research function by individuals involved in community corrections at the local level, an average research/information systems implementation score of sixty-five percent has been computed. Based upon the implementation criteria delineated, this score is interpreted to mean that the research/information systems function has been partially implemented.

Five major issues have surfaced with respect to research and information systems: a) insufficient technical assistance by DOC/inadequate research and information systems guidelines and criteria; b) nonstandardized information systems design; c) insufficient utilization of data collected; d) incomplete institutionalization of research/information systems as a function of local community corrections organizations; and e) prohibitive research/information systems costs.

A set of suggestions has been put forth to assist in the resolution of the issues identified. In general, those suggestions are to: a) secure ongoing technical assistance from DOC; b) use external consultants to provide technical assistance; c) eliminate local information systems and utilize the DOC information system or a minicomputer approach; d) secure research resource support from university faculty and students; and e) provide significant individuals with the information and experience necessary to understand and accept research/information systems as a legitimate organizational function.

4. Budgeting: Summary and Conclusions

Two major accomplishments have reportedly been realized within the budgeting function of local community corrections organizations. They are: fiscal accountability (through program budgeting and budget review) and the ability (given certain constraints) to project resource needs, that is, to conduct budget planning. Specific facts about the local CCA budgeting function are: a) all of the local community corrections organizations conduct budget analyses which are incorporated into comprehensive plans; b) half of the CCA areas maintain a budget officer, but in the remaining half, the CCA administrator is responsible for constructing budgets and for preparing budget reports; and c) as products of the budgeting function, budget documents are thought to be somewhat easy to understand and somewhat clear by individuals involved in local community corrections organizations. Based upon both quantitative and qualitative data, an average budgeting implementation score has been computed. The average budgeting implementation score of eighty-eight percent indicates that the budgeting function has been fully implemented within local community corrections organizations.

Four budgeting issues have been delineated. First, county and state budgeting cycles are not synchronized. As a result of nonsynchronous budgeting cycles, the amount of the CCA subsidy transmitted to local community corrections organizations is not known until almost the start of each fiscal year and unknown for the second half of any odd-numbered calendar year. The second budgeting issue is that county and state budget forms are different, necessitating the preparation of two different budgets for

state and local budget review and approval. Third, quarterly financial status reports are inefficient and time-consuming either because the level of program expenditures for the first quarter of a calendar year is frequently quite similar to those of the last quarter of the preceding calendar year or the level of expenditures during the first quarter of a calendar year is not large if a program is just starting up. Thus, the monitoring of expenditures four times per year is considered inefficient because of redundant or scarce information. A final budgeting issue that has arisen is that advisory board members often do not understand the budgetary implications of policy decisions. Without either cost data or analysis of budget impact, possible results of policy decisions can be overcommitment and an associated reduction in the overall quality of correctional services provided.

Five suggestions have been offered to resolve budgeting problems and issues: a) application of a conservative budget management strategy to assess and adjust for the maximum possible impact of factors on resource availability; b) adoption of the uniform chart of accounts budgeting format or other uniform budgeting format; c) scheduling of semi-annual budget reports, one to conform to the end of the fiscal year, the other to the end of the calendar year which is the end of the county budgeting cycle; d) require the provision of cost and impact data to advisory board members for incorporation within decision-making contexts; and e) provide technical information and experience to advisory board members in the use of cost/impact data to make policy, planning, and funding decisions.

5. Organizational Structure: Summary and Conclusions

Five behavioral constructs representing aspects of group interaction have been employed to assess organizational structure. The behavioral constructs and the indices of the extent to which the constructs have comprised organizational structure (average implementation scores) are: a) cooperation satisfaction, seventy-three percent; b) organizational viability, eighty-nine percent; c) organizational legitimacy, seventy-seven percent; d) contextual environmental impact, eighty-one percent; and e) collaboration, eighty-five percent. With the exception of cooperation satisfaction which was only partially implemented, the remainder of the indices show that organizational structure has been fully implemented. Local community corrections organizations have achieved types of behavioral interaction that have been defined as representing organizational structure. A composite index of organizational structure of eighty-one percent has been calculated that reinforces the conclusion that local CCA organizations are structured.

In total, individuals involved in local community corrections organizations hold the opinion that these organizations are centralized decision-making bodies which are integral to the operation of the CCA at the local level. The organizations have achieved levels of cooperation and collaboration among individuals which are superior to those which existed prior to implementation of the Community Corrections Act. There is, however, a body of opinion that holds that increased cooperation and collaboration are needed. A factor which may contribute to less than ideal levels of cooperation/collaboration is unclear roles and responsibilities which is the central theme of the problems and issues identified.

a. Problems and Issues Associated with the Roles and Responsibilities of the DOC

The data pertaining to the roles and responsibilities of the DOC in rule promulgation, review of standards compliance, and the provision of technical assistance are equivocal. What is provided is considered good and timely and cooperation between

state and local levels is considered good by individuals involved in local CCA organizations. As a group, however, CCA administrators and staff relay the opinion that the DOC has not generated sufficient rules, guidelines, or criteria to facilitate local implementation of the CCA. In a related vein, the process of DOC review of local compliance with standards is not viewed as consistent. The role of the DOC in managing the implementation of the CCA is seen to require clarification and redefinition.

In addition to responsibilities related to rule promulgation and review, the responsibility of the DOC to provide technical assistance to local community corrections organizations is unclear. Because of the historic role of the DOC as the primary coordination-control mechanism for corrections in Minnesota and because of its statutory authority in administering the CCA, the inference has apparently been drawn that the DOC should provide technical assistance with respect to all aspects of organizational function identified in the CCA (planning, training, research/information systems, budgeting). As the governmental unit maintaining authority to administer public corrections policy, the DOC role in providing CCA-related technical assistance is one that requires clarification, despite the fact that the CCA mandates the provision of technical assistance only in the preparation of comprehensive plans.

b. Problems and Issues Associated with the Roles and Responsibilities of the Judiciary, County Boards, and Advisory Boards

Additional issues have arisen regarding roles and responsibilities. Some of these are confusion about the authority of county boards (versus advisory boards) to review and approve comprehensive plans, local CCA budgets, and expenditures. Another is confusion about where the authority for supervision of court services officers and probation/parole officers lies (county boards versus the judiciary). A third issue is the role and responsibilities of advisory boards in undertaking cross-system planning and producing the annual comprehensive plan. Lack of input or insufficient input by advisory board members into the planning process may mean that the cross-system integration of resources mandated by the CCA does not take place. Without this or an equivalent mechanism to achieve cross-system planning, a broad spectrum of public and private community resources may not be available to the target groups of offenders under the CCA.

c. Problems and Issues Associated with the Roles and Responsibilities of Individuals

As a final issue pertaining to organizational structure, there is evidence that individuals are to some extent unclear about personal roles and responsibilities in implementation of the CCA at the local level. Confusion and uncertainty contribute to the perception that increased cooperation and collaboration are necessary at the local level. This is seen to inhibit full institution of a stable organizational structure and to organizational development.

d. Suggestions for Resolution

The range of possible suggestions for resolution of issues pertaining to organizational structure revolves around redefinition of DOC roles and responsibilities, revision of relevant CCA and DOC products and processes, clarification or redefinition of roles and responsibilities, and redefinition of local CCA goals and objectives. Specifically, among the suggestions for issue resolution are: a) revision of CCA rules, guidelines, and criteria; b) revision of procedures to monitor standards compliance; c) expansion of DOC technical assistance activities; d) negotiated technical assistance schedules; e)

formation of a technical assistance team; f) review of DOC staff structure; g) negotiation of technical assistance funding mechanisms; h) development of a training film or slideshow used to transmit factual information about the authority and responsibilities of county boards and advisory boards in administering the CCA; and i) negotiation of individual roles and responsibilities based upon revised local CCA goals and objectives.

CHAPTER 3: Local Correctional Programming

A. Introduction

One important goal of the Minnesota Community Corrections Act is to promote economy in the delivery of correctional services. One objective that is intended to contribute to this goal is to increase programming activity at the local level so that fewer offenders would require commitment to state institutions where the cost of incarceration is very high. The Act reflects the assumption that offenders and potential offenders had needs that were not adequately addressed by programming before the CCA. When a county or set of counties participates in the CCA it is expected that the required improvement in planning and administration in combination with the subsidy funds will result in an improvement in the range, quantity and quality of correctional programming available in the CCA area.

Any organized activity at the local level which deals with offenders or potential offenders and is part of the local corrections system is considered to be a local correctional program. It should be understood that this is not an evaluation of the impact of the CCA on individual programs. The effectiveness of a program in achieving its specific goals is not addressed in the evaluation. The unit of analysis here is the set of programs in a CCA area.

B. Issues

The logic of the Community Corrections Act suggests that improvement in local correctional programming should occur in the range of correctional services available in a CCA area, the quantity of correctional programming, or in both of these dimensions. The issue of the range of correctional programming addresses the variety of services available in a CCA area. Eight generic types of services may be available to a correctional client in a CCA area. Those service types are education, chemical dependency, mental health, counseling in employment and living skills, supervision, treatment, diagnosis and referral, and incarceration. The services provided in CCA areas indicate both the perceived needs of correctional clients and also the variety of approaches that are used in an effort to prevent, deter, or reverse potential or actual criminal behavior.

Improvement in the quantity of correctional programming is indicated by the number of additional programs which are implemented to serve correctional clients or by an increase in the number of clients who use these programs. Variation in the number of clients served is an indicator of the level of programming activity in a CCA area. It does not indicate the number of individuals in a local correctional system. This is because one individual may be in more than one program in a given year and is, in that case, counted more than once. Data estimation procedures were used in those instances where client data for a program was missing for some years. For example, if data was missing for 1977 but present for 1976 and 1978, the average of 1976 and 1978 was used to estimate client data for 1977. In those instances where client data was almost always missing, but present for one or two years, the data was dropped from the sum of clients for the year(s) in which it was present.

A third dimension in improving local correctional programming is the quality of the correctional programming in a CCA area. Participation in the CCA could result in an increase in the quality of programming available to correctional clients. This dimension is not assessed in the evaluation primarily because the quality of correction-

al programming cannot be conceptually defined in a way that would permit operational measures to be developed. In this chapter, therefore, the discussion of improvement refers only to quantitative indicies. However, if improvement in the quality of correctional services result in more effective prevention and rehabilitative programming, there will be an increase in public protection which is addressed in the evaluation.

C. Methods

In order to assess the impact of the CCA on local correctional programming, the research design called for collecting data on each program in a CCA area's correctional system each year before and after entry in the CCA. The primary source of data on a CCA area after participation in the Act is the comprehensive plan. The decision rule used is that any program serving clients that is described in a comprehensive plan is part of an area's correctional system. Conversely, programs not mentioned in the plan are not considered part of the local correctional system.

The decision to key off of programs described in comprehensive plans facilitates before and after CCA comparisons within a CCA area. However, it makes comparing absolute numbers of programs from one area to another highly misleading. That is because the various CCA areas do not have a uniform definition of a program or a uniform format for providing descriptions of programming activity. However, it is appropriate to compare changes in a CCA area with changes in other areas.

After data was recorded from comprehensive plans, a number of persons in the CCA areas were contacted. The purpose of these contacts was to fill in data missing from the description of some programs in the comprehensive plans and to obtain data on programs before the CCA. Finally, data on programming was obtained from a list of LEAA-funded programs that the county administrators considered correctional programs. In spite of the variety of ways used to assemble this data set there is some data still missing for some programs in every CCA area.

The design used to assess the impact of the CCA on local correctional programming is primarily a pre-test post-test design with comparison groups. The level of the range of services, number of programs and client use is calculated for the period prior to an area's participation in the CCA. These levels are compared to the levels of these three indicators after a county has begun participation. Before CCA and after CCA levels are calculated by summing yearly levels and dividing by the number of years in the period. Change is measured by the percent increase or decrease from the average level before the CCA to the average level after the CCA. For every CCA area, the period before the CCA starts with 1972 data and extends to the year the area entered the Act. The period after the CCA starts with the year the area entered the Act and extends through 1979.

Because CCA areas entered the Act in different years, it is possible to use CCA areas with different entry years as comparisons. This feature of the design is discussed in some detail in the introductory methodology section of the Minnesota Community Corrections Act Evaluation: Research Design.

If the data collected show an improvement in local correctional programming after a CCA area has entered the Act that is greater than the improvement, if any, in comparison areas it will be inferred that the improvement in the CCA area is a result of the Act. Improvement will be inferred if either of the two indicators of quantity of programming increases or the range of services provided locally increases. No specific

level or combination of increase is hypothesized. What is of interest are patterns of improvement or the lack of improvement in the context of the theory of the CCA as discussed in the conceptual overview section of the Research Design.

D. Results

Tables 3.1 through 3.5 summarize the effects of the CCA on local correctional programming. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show the effects of the CCA on the early participants with the most recent participants as comparison areas. Tables 3.3 and 3.4 show the effects of the CCA on the most recent participants with the early participants as comparison areas. Table 3.5 shows the effects of the CCA on the middle participants. There are no appropriate comparison areas for the middle participants.

Table 3.1 indicates the increase in number of programs and client use for Ramsey with Hennepin as a comparison area. These two areas are presented separately as their size is so much greater than the other CCA areas. The pre-CCA period for Ramsey is from 1972 through 1973. The post-CCA period is from 1974 through 1979. For Hennepin, data on number of programs and client use can be used for comparison from 1972 through 1977. Hennepin entered the CCA in 1978 which makes that year and 1979 inappropriate for comparison purposes.

Table 3.1 shows if the two areas showed an increase in number of programs or in client use. This is indicated by the presence of a yes or no. Also shown is the percent increase and the level of programming activity before and after the CCA from which the percent increase was calculated. These data indicate that Ramsey increased its number of programs and client use sixty-one percent and ninety-nine percent respectively, whereas in Hennepin there was no increase in number of programs and only a thirteen percent increase in client use. Therefore, it is appropriate to conclude that the CCA goal of improving local correctional programming in Ramsey is achieved. Because both Ramsey and Hennepin offered the full range of services prior to and after participation, no increase was possible on this indicator.

Table 3.2 presents summary data on the increase in range of services provided, the increase in programs, and the increase in client use prior to and after the CCA for Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted and Crow Wing-Morrison. The recent participant areas of Blue Earth, Washington, and Region 6 West are included as comparison areas. Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted and Crow Wing-Morrison have the same before and after periods as Ramsey, 1972 through 1973, and 1974 through 1979. Similarly, data from Blue Earth and Washington can be used for comparison purposes exactly as Hennepin was in Table 3.1. Both of these recent participants entered the CCA in 1978. However, Region 6 West entered the Act in 1977 which means the comparison post-CCA period for Region 6 West is from 1974 through 1976. The decision rule for comparing percent increase in levels of local correctional programming in Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted and Crow Wing-Morrison with the three comparison areas is that the early participant has to show an increase of a greater magnitude than two of the three comparison areas before it can be inferred that the increase is attributable to participation in the CCA.

Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted and Crow Wing-Morrison increased their range of services seventy-one percent and twenty-nine percent respectively. However, two of the comparison areas showed a greater increase than did Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted in the same time periods. All three of the comparison areas increased their range of services to a greater extent than did Crow Wing-Morrison. Therefore the increase in range of services in Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted and Crow Wing-Morrison cannot be attributed to

TABLE 3.1: Summary of Analyses on Local Correctional Programming Before and After CCA for Ramsey with Hennepin as A Comparison

	<u>Increase In Programs</u>	<u>Increase In Clients</u>
<u>Ramsey</u>	Yes (61%)	Yes (99%)
	Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 18	Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 9148
	Post-CCA (1974-1979) 29	Post-CCA (1974-1979) 18179
<u>Hennepin</u>	No	Yes (13%)
	Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 13	Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 30701
	Post-CCA (1974-1977) 13	Post-CCA (1974-1977) 34818

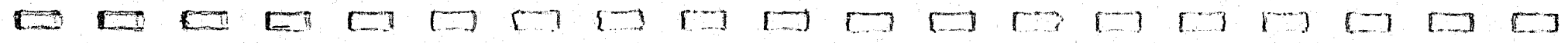


TABLE 3.2: Summary of Analyses on Local Correctional Programming Before and After CCA for Early Participants with Recent Participants as Comparisons

<u>Early Participants</u>	<u>Increase In Services</u>	<u>Increase In Programs</u>	<u>Increase In Clients</u>
<u>Dodge-Fillmore- Olmsted</u>	Yes (71%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 3.5 Post-CCA (1974-1979) 6	Yes (160%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 2.5 Post-CCA (1974-1979) 6.5	Yes**
<u>Crow Wing- Morrison</u>	Yes (29%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 3.5 Post-CCA (1974-1979) 4.5	Yes (140%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 2.5 Post-CCA (1974-1979) 6	Yes (166%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 135 Post-CCA (1974-1979) 359
<u>Recent Participants (Comparisons)</u>			
<u>Blue Earth</u>	Yes (112%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 2 Post-CCA (1974-1977) 4.25	Yes (87%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 2 Post-CCA (1974-1979) 3.75	Yes (97%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 359 Post-CCA (1974-1979) 709
<u>Washington</u>	Yes (100%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 2 Post-CCA (1974-1977) 4	Yes (137%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 2 Post-CCA (1974-1977) 4.75	Yes (80%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 547 Post-CCA (1974-1977) 983
<u>Region 6 West</u>	Yes (33%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 4 Post-CCA (1974-1976) 5.33	Yes (33%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 5 Post-CCA (1974-1976) 6.66	No (-37%) Pre-CCA (1972-1973) 400 Post-CCA (1974-1976) 250

**Inference based on post-CCA data only.

participation in the CCA. Both Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted and Crow Wing-Morrison increased their number of programs more than all three of the comparison areas. This increase can, therefore, be attributed to participation in the Act.

Because of missing data on client use in the pre-CCA period a before and after change could not be calculated for Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted. However, since participation, they have shown an increase in client use of programs. While this increase may be the result of participation in the CCA it is not possible to make such an inference with certainty. Crow Wing-Morrison however shows an increase in client use of a much greater magnitude than any of the comparison areas. This increase is clearly attributable to participation in the Act.

Table 3.3 shows the effects of the CCA on Hennepin with Ramsey as a comparison area. The pre-CCA period for Hennepin is from 1972 through 1977. Hennepin entered the CCA in 1978. The post-CCA period for this table is 1978-1979. For Ramsey, the pre-CCA period is from 1974 through 1977. The only data used from Ramsey is from the years after it entered the CCA. Because both Hennepin and Ramsey provided the full range of services, both before and after the CCA, no increase is possible on this indicator. Hennepin shows no increase in programs and client use after beginning participation in the CCA. Ramsey, on the other hand, continued to show increases in this time period. In Hennepin the CCA objective of improving local programming is not realized. Changes in the quality of programming before and after the CCA has not been assessed in Hennepin or any other CCA area.

Table 3.4 summarizes the effects of the CCA on the three most recent participant areas. For Region 6 West the pre-CCA period is from 1972 through 1976. The period after the CCA is from 1977, when Region 6 West began participation, through 1979. Blue Earth and Washington entered the Act in 1978. The pre-CCA period for these two areas is from 1972 through 1977. The post-CCA period is 1978-1979. Data for the years 1974 through 1979 from Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted and Crow Wing-Morrison are used in Table 3.4 as comparisons. In order to infer that increases in the three most recent CCA participants are attributable to the CCA, the magnitude of the increases has to be greater than the increases in both the comparison areas.

All three of the recent participants show increases in range of services and client use that is greater than the increases in both the comparison areas. Washington and Region 6 West show an increase in number of programs that also is greater than the increases in the comparison areas. The increase in the number of programs in Blue Earth is not greater than the increases in Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted, one of the comparison areas.

Table 3.5 summarizes the range in local programming among the four CCA area middle participants. These areas began participation in the CCA in 1976. Because there are no appropriate comparison areas this is a before and after comparison only. All four of these areas showed strong increases in both the range of services provided and in the number of correctional programs. Anoka, Arrowhead Regional Corrections and Todd-Wadena also show an increase in client use. Table 3.5 indicates therefore, that all four of the middle joiners improved their local correctional programming after participation in the CCA.

Among the ten CCA areas that show increases in at least one indicator of correctional programming, five emphasized improvement for juvenile clients and one area emphasized improvement for adults. The remaining four areas show no particular emphasis. In almost all areas the improvement in programming has been developed for pre-

TABLE 3.3: Summary of Analyses on Local Correctional Programming Before and After CCA for Hennepin with Ramsey as a Comparison

	<u>Increase In Programs</u>	<u>Increase In Clients</u>
<u>Hennepin</u>	No	No
	Pre-CCA (1972-1977) 13 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 13	Pre-CCA (1972-1977) 33446 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 32029
<u>Ramsey</u>	Yes (22%)	Yes (6%)
	Pre-CCA (1974-1977) 27 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 33	Pre-CCA (1974-1977) 17844 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 18848

TABLE 3.4: Summary of Analyses on Local Correctional Programming Before and After CCA for Recent Participants with Early Participants as Comparisons

<u>Recent Participants</u>	<u>Increase In Services</u>	<u>Increase In Programs</u>	<u>Increase In Clients</u>
<u>Blue Earth</u>	Yes (100%) Pre-CCA (1972-1977) 3.5 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 7	Yes (58%) Pre-CCA (1972-1977) 3.17 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 5	Yes (92%) Pre-CCA (1972-1977) 592 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 1134
<u>Washington</u>	Yes (50%) Pre-CCA (1972-1977) 3.33 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 5	Yes (96%) Pre-CCA (1972-1977) 3.8 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 7.5	Yes (166%) Pre-CCA (1972-1977) 837 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 2229
<u>Region 6 West</u>	Yes (46%) Pre-CCA (1972-1976) 4.8 Post-CCA (1977-1979) 7	(295%) Yes (295%) Pre-CCA (1972-1976) 6 Post-CCA (1977-1979) 23.7	Yes (95%) Pre-CCA (1972-1976) 310 Post-CCA (1977-1979) 604
<u>Early Participants (Comparisons)</u>			
<u>Dodge-Fillmore- Olmsted</u>	Yes (13%) Pre-CCA (1974-1977) 5.75 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 6.5	Yes (58%) Pre-CCA (1974-1977) 6 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 9.5	Yes (56%) Pre-CCA (1974-1977) 943 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 1476
<u>Crow Wing- Morrison</u>	Yes (18%) Pre-CCA (1974-1977) 4.25 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 5	No Pre-CCA (1974-1977) 6 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 6	Yes (12%) Pre-CCA (1974-1977) 345 Post-CCA (1978-1979) 387

TABLE 3.5: Summary of Analyses on Local Correctional Programming Before and After the CCA for Middle Participants

<u>Middle Participants</u>	<u>Increase In Range</u>	<u>Increase In Programs</u>	<u>Increase In Clients</u>
<u>Anoka</u>	Yes (211%) Pre-CCA (1972-1975) 2.25 Post-CCA (1976-1979) 7	Yes (124%) Pre-CCA (1972-1975) 6.25 Post-CCA (1976-1979) 14	Yes (99%) Pre-CCA (1972-1975) 3269 Post-CCA (1976-1979) 6495
<u>Red Lake-Polk- Norman</u>	Yes (150%) Pre-CCA (1972-1975) 2 Post-CCA (1976-1979) 5	Yes (100%) Pre-CCA (1972-1975) 2 Post-CCA (1976-1979) 4	No*
<u>Arrowhead Regional Corrections</u>	Yes (73%) Pre-CCA (1972-1975) 3.75 Post-CCA (1976-1979) 6.5	Yes (167%) Pre-CCA (1972-1975) 3 Post-CCA (1976-1979) 8	Yes*
<u>Todd-Wadena</u>	Yes (41%) Pre-CCA (1972-1975) 4.25 Post-CCA (1976-1979) 6	Yes (111%) Pre-CCA (1972-1975) 2.25 Post-CCA (1976-1979) 4.75	Yes (233%) Pre-CCA (1972-1975) 78 Post-CCA (1976-1979) 260

*Inference based on post-CCA data only.

adjudication and post-adjudication clients as opposed to pre-offenders. Pre-adjudication refers to offenders who have been arrested but not sentenced and post-adjudication refers to offenders who have been arrested and sentenced.

E. Summary and Conclusions

Tables 3.1 through 3.5 include summaries of the effects of the CCA on local correctional programming. The analysis which is summarized in these tables is intended to test the assumption of the research model that participation in the CCA should result in achieving the objective of improved local correctional programming. Improvement is assumed in the model because of subsidy funds and improved local planning and administration. In ten of the eleven CCA areas analyzed the CCA objective of improving local programming was realized. Therefore the Community Corrections Act can result in the realization of this objective.

CHAPTER 4: Retaining Offenders in the Community

A. Introduction

The third objective of the Minnesota Community Corrections Act is retaining offenders in the community. This is seen as a major objective which contributes to the goals of the CCA by promoting public protection, economy and/or appropriateness of sanctions. Thus, if the logic of the conceptual framework is sound, results which indicate retention of offenders are a prerequisite to achieving other goals and outcomes of the CCA.

B. Issues

This segment of the larger evaluation effort was designed to answer two basic questions:

- 1) Can the CCA, through the use of incentives and disincentives, increase the proportion of adult and juvenile offenders retained in the local community? (Has this happened in at least one county area?)
- 2) Has the CCA since its inception increased the proportion of adult and juvenile offenders retained in the local community? (In aggregate, has the proportion of offenders retained increased in a majority of the participating counties?)

If results indicate that counties can achieve the objective of retaining offenders, it can be inferred that the incentives offered by the CCA are sufficient to bring about the desired change. If results indicate that counties as a whole do not retain more offenders in the community, it can be inferred that the incentives and disincentives offered are not sufficient to change sentencing patterns and that the logic supporting the Act may be faulty.

The critical issue in the evaluation of the incentives offered by the CCA to retain offenders in the community is whether or not the same results would have occurred without CCA legislation. Even if fewer offenders are retained after CCA entry, if it can be demonstrated that without the CCA the results would be even worse, then it can be concluded that the CCA was instrumental in retaining offenders. The basic aim of this portion of the evaluation is to estimate net effects of the CCA. In order to do this, however, it is necessary to eliminate or minimize contaminating influences. Where such influences cannot be controlled, recognition that some of these confounding factors or processes exist and may obscure the effects being measured will help in interpreting the findings and, perhaps, explain why certain results occur. One such contaminating factor that affected juvenile commitments was the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Act of 1974 which required deinstitutionalization of juvenile status offenders in states participating in the Act. Since the impact of the Delinquency Act, however, could be expected to affect CCA counties and non-CCA counties equally the effects of this Act would be minimal.

Another problem that may affect all portions of the CCA evaluation but particularly those portions using arrest, court dispositions or commitment data is the variability of the data. It is evident that a wide range of crime rates exist among counties. This range suggests that there may be significant qualitative differences between high and low rate counties and thus the effects of the CCA may not be similar. This variability

reduces the measureable impact of the CCA. Another issue that makes measurement of changes difficult is the gradual phasing in of counties into the Act.

There are other issues that may impact on the outcome for individual counties. One of these is that of 'pre-level'; that is, a county with a high proportion of convictions resulting in commitment before entry into CCA may find it easier to reduce this proportion than the county that has a relatively low proportion of commitments prior to entry into the CCA. Stability of effect may also have some bearing on whether or not a county shows a substantial reduction in proportion of commitments. There is some evidence that the early period after entry shows a greater rate of decrease than later periods. Some or all of these factors may play a part in the overall outcome, but more particularly in the individual county areas being evaluated.

C. Methods

1. Research Design

The key to evaluating whether or not the CCA had the desired effects of retaining offenders is to identify changes that have occurred and to determine whether these changes can be attributed to the CCA. An effort must be made, then, to forecast how many juveniles and adult offenders would have been committed if the CCA had not been enacted. This difference, if any, between predicted and actual commitments can be attributed to the CCA.

There are several methods used to address these questions. One of these is a multiple time-series design in which historical data are plotted for a series of periods before and after CCA entry. If a change occurs and is maintained after CCA entry, one can infer that the change is due to the CCA and not to a general trend that has been occurring or to a deviant year before or after entry. If such a change does not occur in comparison counties or in non-CCA counties, rival explanations can be controlled and the inferences regarding the effect of the CCA are stronger.

Another method involves the use of forecasting techniques. Pooled or combined data from non-CCA and/or pre-CCA counties are used to determine the overall trend. This trend (slope) is used to forecast what would have been expected in each county area had the CCA not been enacted. The difference between actual and expected commitments is calculated to determine how many juveniles and adults were retained due to CCA.

2. Data Sources

Data for this analysis was obtained from three sources: 1) court disposition data which provides quarterly counts of the number of adult felony convictions in which the sentence was commitment to a state institution. These felony offenses are further broken down into chargeable and non-chargeable offenses. Chargeable offenses are those for which the statutory maximum sentence is five years or less; non-chargeable offenses are those for which the statutory maximum sentence is over five years. It is on this basis that a county is charged or not charged a per diem for adult offenders committed to a state institution. All juveniles, with the exception of a few serious juvenile offenders, are deemed to be chargeable. Quarterly court disposition data for adults are available for all participating county areas from July, 1972 through December, 1979. 2) Commitment data are available annually for all adults and juveniles committed to state institutions from 1970 through 1979. These records are available for all counties. The primary reason for using this commitment data for

adults is to provide some corroboration of the findings relating to court disposition data and to provide some basis for judgmental decisions that are made in forecasting. 3) Population-at-risk for adults and juveniles is calculated based on estimates of population in Minnesota counties by the Minnesota State Planning Agency. The age groups defined as at-risk populations are thirteen through seventeen for juveniles and eighteen to thirty for adult offenders. The rationale for these age group choices is spelled out more fully in the Technical Report: Retaining Offenders.

3. Court Disposition Analysis

Pre-CCA court dispositions are obtained by pooling data from all available county areas and dropping out counties as they enter the Act. The result of this action is sixteen pooled quarters of pre-CCA court activity for chargeable and non-chargeable offenses. Hennepin and Ramsey are treated separately because it is felt that the large volume of cases from those two areas would distort the results. The proportion of commitments for each category of offense is calculated and a moving average applied to minimize seasonal as well as random variation. The slope of this series of proportions is calculated and used as a comparison for each CCA county area. The slope may be defined as the average amount of change per unit of time over the period measured. This slope is applied to the pre-CCA base rate and expected proportions calculated. These proportions are then converted to expected commitments by multiplying the proportions by actual court dispositions during each post-CCA quarter. This approach is based on the assumption that CCA county areas would be expected to change the direction and volume of commitments in the same manner that pre-CCA or non-CCA proportions change.

4. Commitment Rate Analysis

Commitment rates based on population at-risk are calculated for juveniles and adults for all CCA county areas and pooled pre-CCA and non-CCA counties for the years 1970 through 1979. The pooled data are used to calculate the slope or pattern of adult and juvenile commitment rates. In the same manner as described above, the slope is used to predict expected rates for both juvenile and adult commitments. Again, Hennepin and Ramsey are treated separately. Where large discrepancies occur between results based on adult court disposition data and commitment rate data, the data are examined and reconciled as much as possible.

The possible results and corresponding conclusions are presented below.

Results

Reduction in proportion of chargeable offenders committed to the state

No reduction in proportion of chargeable offenders committed to the state

Conclusion

Incentives (disincentives) offered by CCA are sufficient to change sentencing patterns

Incentives (disincentives) offered by the CCA are not sufficient to change sentencing patterns

Reduction in proportion of non-chargeable offenders committed to the state

Increased community alternatives are sufficient to change sentencing patterns

No reduction in proportion of non-chargeable offenders committed to the state

Increased community alternatives are not sufficient to change sentencing patterns

D. Results

1. Retaining Juveniles in the Community

a. Commitment Rate Analysis

The 1973 legislation required that counties under the Act pay a daily charge for juveniles committed to a state institution. This provision was later changed to exclude a small number of juveniles who were committed for serious offenses and assigned to the Department of Corrections Serious Juvenile Offender Program.

Results of this analysis indicate that the net effect of the CCA has been to reduce juvenile commitments in most county areas. Juveniles retained as a percent of expected commitments ranged from seventy-six percent in Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted to an increase in commitments in Hennepin and Blue Earth. The total number of juveniles retained is estimated to be 273. Despite this overall commitment reduction of almost thirty percent in CCA counties, the impact on state correctional institutions seems less dramatic; less than a one percent (3) reduction in 1974 to a nineteen percent (35) reduction in 1978.

During the six year period since the first county entered the CCA, the average reduction in juvenile institution population attributable to the CCA is five percent or a reduction in the average daily population of fifteen juveniles.

2. Retaining Adults in the Community

a. Commitment Rate Analysis

Although the commitment rate analysis was seen as a means to incorporate revocations and population-at-risk, the primary advantage of the analysis is to serve as corroboration of results using court disposition data. While results from the two data sets are not identical for each county area, the findings are generally compatible. Overall the percent of expected commitments retained in the community ranged from fifty-four percent in the Red Lake-Polk-Norman county area to eleven percent in the Arrowhead Regional Corrections area. There are five county areas in which the commitments are greater than expected. The total percentage of expected commitments retained in the community is less than eight percent.

b. Court Disposition Analysis

Forecasting using court disposition data is done for both chargeable and non-chargeable offenses. The difference between expected and actual commitments is then calculated for each county area. The estimated total number of offenders

retained in the community during the entire period of CCA participation is 266. This represents a twelve percent reduction in expected commitments. In five county areas the proportion of chargeables retained actually decreased; these are Todd-Wadena, Arrowhead Regional Corrections, Anoka, Region 6 West and Hennepin. The proportion of non-chargeables retained decreased in three county areas: Crow Wing-Morrison, Hennepin and Washington.

E. Summary and Conclusions

The conclusions drawn from this evaluation relate to the original questions posed in the discussion of issues. Can the CCA increase the proportion of offenders (juveniles) retained in the community? Has the CCA increased the proportion of offenders (juveniles) retained in the community?

The answer to the first question as it relates to juveniles is clearly positive. Five counties experienced a reduction of fifty percent or more in expected number of juveniles committed. Overall the reduction in commitments is almost thirty percent. Only Blue Earth and Hennepin failed to reduce commitments and actually showed an increase of four percent over expected commitments. However, since the majority of counties did demonstrate a reduction, it can be concluded that the CCA has increased the proportion of juveniles retained and that as a whole the incentives (and disincentives) offered by the CCA are sufficient to encourage counties to retain juvenile offenders in the community.

These same questions can be answered for adult offenders. Again, the answer to the first question is clearly positive. Nine counties did reduce the proportion of offenders committed. The answer to the second question is less clear. An average of forty-five adult offenders are retained annually which represents a four percent reduction in actual commitments to adult correctional institutions. This represents an average annual reduction in institution population of approximately sixty-seven offenders. These figures are based on court disposition data and thus do not include revocations. If actual commitment data were used the reduction in commitments would be around three percent which would result in an average institutional population reduction of approximately fifty-one offenders. Six county areas increased the proportion of chargeable offenders retained and seven county areas increased the proportion of non-chargeable offenders retained. Because the majority of the county areas did increase the proportion of offenders retained, it must be concluded that the CCA has increased the number of adult offenders retained and that the CCA incentives (disincentives) are sufficient to change sentencing patterns in the majority of CCA county areas. It must be remembered, however, that the actual numbers retained are relatively small. Whether or not the number of offenders retained is sufficiently great for some counties to achieve other goals will be discussed in the overview of this report.

Table 4.1 summarizes these conclusions.

TABLE 4.1: County Areas in Which the Proportion of Offenders Retained Increased as a Result of CCA

CCA Area	Juveniles	Adults	
		Chargeable	Non-Chargeable
Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted	X	X	
Ramsey	X	X	X
Crow Wing-Morrison	X	X	
Red Lake-Polk-Norman	X	X	X
Todd-Wadena	X		X
Arrowhead Regional Corrections	X		X
Anoka	X		X
Region 6 West	X		X
Blue Earth		X	X
Hennepin			
Washington	X	X	

CHAPTER 5: Appropriateness of Sanctions

A. Introduction

Improved programming and the retention of offenders in those programs are expected to encourage certain underlying goals that benefit both society and the offender. One of these is appropriateness of sanctions. The CCA is expected to bring about more humane, fair or equitable sanctions for both adult and juvenile offenders.

For adults, the intent is that serious offenders may deserve institutionalization while less serious offenders do not. For juveniles, the Act indicates that the appropriate sanction is almost always in the community. Therefore, appropriateness is evaluated primarily in terms of commitment-noncommitment. The appropriateness of the types of community sanctions received is not included in the evaluation of this goal because it is not implied by the Act, and is not considered central to assess the Act's impact.

B. Issues

The question in this section of the evaluation is: What is the effect of the Community Corrections Act on appropriateness of sanctions? For adults, two analyses are conducted on appropriateness of sanctions. The first analysis focuses on the initial sentence. The second includes a two year follow-up period to incorporate sentence changes. This second analysis takes into account the sanction that offenders eventually experience rather than just the initial sentence and is considered more important in evaluating this goal than the sanction imposed at the time of sentencing. If sentencing practices change as a result of the CCA but these new, perhaps more appropriate, sanctions are later changed to inappropriate sanctions, there is no lasting benefit for the offender. For example, a lower severity offender may be placed on probation and later have that probation revoked for a technical violation. The eventual sanction, prison, would not be appropriate for the offense. The wider range of community sanctions afforded by the CCA (more probation options, treatment facilities, jails and jail programs) should allow judges to impose additional sanctions without having to resort to the inappropriately severe sanction of prison. If initial sentencing changes, but subsequent alterations obliterate the change, the goal of appropriate sanctions is not being achieved.

For adult offenders an important supporting analysis investigates the effect of the CCA on types and durations of community sanctions imposed at sentencing. While the principle analysis focuses on the appropriateness of commitment-noncommitment, there are clearly implications for appropriateness in terms of community sanctions. The distribution of sanctions within the community (probation, jail, fines, etc.) may be changing because of the CCA. The length of probation and jail time may also be changing because of the CCA. This information is presented descriptively and is not used in the overall conclusion of the Act's impact on appropriateness.

For juveniles, only the initial sanction can be probed because of various data collection problems noted in the Minnesota Community Corrections Act: Research Design. The juvenile section of the analysis is adapted from the Retaining Offenders in the Community analysis.

C. Methods

The analysis of appropriateness of sanctions for juveniles is entirely separate from that for adults. While it would be ideal to extend to juveniles the research design

employed for adults, this is not possible. First, a comparable study looking at juveniles would have consumed the entire evaluation budget, since a sampling frame of all adjudicated juveniles is not available as is the case for adults. Second, access to juvenile court, probation and diversion files is not clearly legally mandated as it is for adults. Since a data set comparable to the adult one is not available for juveniles, researchers made inferences from the commitment rate analysis in the Retaining Offenders in the Community section. It should be noted that the design for juveniles in appropriate sanctions is therefore weaker than that for adults.

The evaluation of adult sanctions requires measuring the appropriateness of sanctions of offenders sentenced before and after CCA entry.

1. Measurement of Appropriateness of Sanctions

To determine appropriateness of sanctions one requires two sets of information; a standard for what sanctions offenders "ought" to receive, and information on sanctions actually received. By comparing these two, one can determine whether a sanction is appropriate or not.

How does one decide what offenders "ought" to receive? Ought is a very relative term. Different segments of society have a wide range of opinions as to what offenders "ought" to receive. There cannot, therefore, be an absolute definition of what sanctions offenders "ought" to receive. A number of efforts have been made in Minnesota to define the kind of offender for whom a specific sanction is appropriate. One is the chargeable provision of the Community Corrections Act. It specifies that counties pay a daily charge for imprisoned offenders whose statutory maximum sentence is five years or less. While this decision rule is simple and legislatively expedient, it does not capture the complexities of appropriateness. Legislative testimony speaks of keeping non-serious, non-habitual offenders in the community, but the five year or less rule does not take into account prior criminal history. The chargeback provision was designed to encourage appropriate sanctions, but was never meant to be an adequate definition of appropriateness. While the research group does not believe that the chargeable provision of the Act is an adequate operationalization of the concept of appropriateness, others disagree. Therefore, corroborating analyses are conducted using the chargeable/nonchargeable categories as a standard for what sanctions offenders ought to receive.

Another attempt in Minnesota to define what sanctions offenders ought to receive is sentencing guidelines developed by the Sentencing Guidelines Commission. These sentencing guidelines represent a concerted effort to define appropriate sanctions applicable for all felons. The guidelines are based on two primary factors: offense severity and prior criminal history. The prior criminal history index has been based on the extent of prior convictions and the custodial status at the time of the current offense. The guidelines therefore provide a standard for what sanctions offenders ought to receive according to correctional values prevalent in Minnesota. For additional information on the development and use of the Sentencing Guidelines refer to Minnesota Sentencing Guidelines: Report to the Legislature (1980).

Three criticisms could be made for using the sentencing guidelines as a measure of appropriateness. One objection is that there are justified deviations from the grid that cannot be taken into account in its use as a research instrument. A second concern

germane to Minnesota is that the guidelines may be altered. A third criticism is that it is unfair to apply a 1980 standard to sentencing practices in the 70's.

Justified deviations from the guidelines, indeed, cannot be taken into account in this research. However, one would expect the percentages of justified deviations to be the same before and after a county enters the Act. This error should not affect changes in appropriateness and, therefore, would not affect conclusions on CCA impact.

The same logic applies to the effect of potential changes to the sentencing guidelines. One would not expect any changes to benefit systematically cases sentenced either before or after a county area enters the Act. For example, if a group of offenses are moved in the grid from community sentences to prison sentences, individual offenders will experience a change. Appropriateness levels may also change. However, these would be expected to affect cases equally before and after CCA entry and would therefore not affect conclusions on CCA impact.

In response to the third issue, no standard could be developed today that could take into account changing values over time. However, if values were changing over time one may expect this change to affect counties in the same way. If a change has been going on across all CCA areas that culminates in the 1980 sentencing guidelines, one would expect increases in appropriateness after CCA entry. The evaluation design incorporates the use of comparison counties to control for this. If a change is, indeed, going on statewide its effect will not be attributed to the CCA. Finally, there are strong indications that the sentencing guidelines have much the same intent as the CCA. The guidelines, therefore, provide a useful independent standard by which to assess the CCA. Finally, the same analyses are conducted using the chargeable-nonchargeable categories of the Act as a standard of appropriateness.

The eventual sanctions experienced by offenders are considered more important in this evaluation than sanctions imposed at initial sentencing. While the sentencing guidelines are the standard for determining the appropriateness of the initial sentence, additional factors need to be considered in determining the appropriateness of the eventual sanction. Both the CCA and sentencing guidelines indicate that revocations should not be a matter of course. Since the sentencing guidelines are used as a standard to determine appropriate sanctions in the evaluation, researchers also attended to guidelines suggestions on revocations. It should be noted that the guidelines suggestions on revocations are not presumptive. The final decision rules for appropriate revocations require either one prior attempt by the CCA area to retain the offender in the community or a conviction for which the guidelines recommend imprisonment. Of course, if an offender is appropriate for prison in the first place, any revocation to prison is considered appropriate.

Data have been collected on sanctions received by samples of adult offenders who were sentenced before and after CCA entry. While one only needs to know if an offender was kept in the community or sent to prison to assess the appropriateness of that sanction, additional information on community sanctions has been collected.

The appropriateness of a sanction is determined by comparing sanctions received by an offender with his or her placement on the Sentencing Guidelines grid. For example, if an offender's grid placement is in the community and the offender is sentenced to the community then the sanction is appropriate. If a sanction change moves an offender from the community to prison the appropriateness of that sanction will change too. Therefore, two measures of appropriateness are computed. The first measure is for the initial sentence. The second one includes the most severe sanction received within

two years after sentencing. This time limit is necessary so that cases sentenced before and after a county enters the Act will have an equal time for sanction changes to occur. The time limit also eliminates the recent participating areas from this second measure because these cases do not have the necessary follow-up time for sanction changes to occur. Therefore, findings are stronger for CCA areas which began participation by 1976.

2. Subjects and Sampling

To evaluate appropriateness, independent random samples of adult offenders who were diverted for or convicted of felony level offenses have been drawn for each CCA area. Samples were drawn in such a way that allowed areas joining at different times to be used as comparison counties. For these cases data on sanctions, sanction changes, and other relevant information have been coded from Department of Corrections files, probation files, and district court files. The reader is referred to the Technical Appendix: Adult Offender Sample for further information on sampling and data collection.

D. Results

1. Adults

a. What is the effect of the Community Corrections Act on appropriateness of sanctions?

For the initial sentence, ten of the eleven areas maintain appropriateness of sanctions with CCA participation (Table 5.1). An eleventh area, Red Lake-Polk-Norman, increases appropriateness of sanctions with CCA participation. Two early participants, Crow Wing-Morrison and Ramsey, show an increase with CCA participation but this increase is not significantly different from what is observed in recent participants when used as comparisons during that same earlier period. There appears to be a significant increase in appropriateness of sanctions in the mid-70's that is not caused by participation in the CCA.

At the initial sentence, pre-CCA appropriateness levels range from sixty-five percent (Red Lake-Polk-Norman) to ninety-seven percent (Todd-Wadena). Post-CCA appropriateness levels range from seventy-eight percent (Hennepin) to ninety-four percent (Washington and Red Lake-Polk-Norman).

As noted in the Issues portion of this chapter, the appropriateness of the eventual sanction is weighted more heavily than that imposed at initial sentencing. Revocations may change the appropriateness of sanctions received at sentencing, thereby altering appropriateness findings. Seven of the CCA areas have been in the Act long enough to allow a two-year follow-up measure. Six of these seven areas again maintain appropriateness of sanctions two years after sentencing. Revocations do not change the findings for any area. While there are significant increases observed in Crow Wing-Morrison and Ramsey counties, these increases are again observed in the recent participants when used as comparisons during that same earlier time period. A seventh CCA area, Red Lake-Polk-Norman, shows an increase in the appropriateness of sanctions. The conclusion for adults is that the CCA maintains but does not improve appropriateness of sanctions for most CCA areas.

TABLE 5.1: Impact of the CCA on Appropriateness of Sanctions

CCA Area	Adults		Juveniles
	At Initial Sentence	Two Year ^a Follow-up	
Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted	Maintain	Maintain	Increase
Crow Wing-Morrison	Maintain	Maintain ^b	Increase
Ramsey	Maintain	Maintain	Increase
Red Lake-Polk-Norman	Increase	Increase	Increase
Todd-Wadena	Maintain	Maintain	Increase
Arrowhead Regional Corrections	Maintain	Maintain	Increase
Anoka	Maintain	Maintain	Increase
Region 6 West	Maintain	N/A	Increase
Blue Earth	Maintain	N/A	Decrease
Hennepin	Maintain	N/A	Decrease
Washington	Maintain	N/A	Increase
Statewide Summary	Maintain	Maintain	Increase

^aThis measure incorporates sanction changes/revocations received within two years of the initial sentence.

^bIf the chargeable provision of the Act is used as the standard of appropriateness instead of Sentencing Guidelines Grid placement, Crow Wing-Morrison shows an increase.

If one uses the chargeable provision of the Act as the standard for appropriateness, the same findings emerge. The only difference is that Crow Wing-Morrison also shows a significant increase in appropriateness. In general the levels of appropriateness are lower using this standard rather than the sentencing guidelines. However, the changes attributed to the CCA are remarkably similar and corroborate the primary analysis. Whether one uses sentencing guidelines or the chargeable provision of the Act as a measure of appropriateness the same statewide findings emerge. The CCA maintains but does not improve appropriateness of sanctions for most CCA areas.

An analysis using the Sentencing Guidelines Commission data base provides additional corroborating information. The Sentencing Guidelines Commission collected similar sentencing data for a sample of felons sentenced in all Minnesota counties during fiscal year 1978. While these data do not allow pre-post CCA comparisons, they do allow comparisons of appropriateness across CCA and totally non-CCA areas. The findings confirm the conclusion of maintenance of appropriateness for adults.

b. What is the effect of the CCA on types and durations of community sanctions imposed at sentencing?

The Community Corrections Act has significantly affected the distribution of community sanctions imposed at sentencing. In general, there is a decrease in probation use and an increase in probation with a condition of jail. Although some changes in the distribution of community sanctions are occurring in comparison counties during the same time periods, the changes found in the CCA areas are not duplicated. This lack of parallel change in comparison counties leads one to conclude that an increase in the use of jail is indeed due to the CCA. On the other hand, length of jail time served and probation time ordered do not change systematically as a result of CCA participation. While available analyses may be open to some interpretation, one may conclude that the CCA has increased the severity of community sanctions. This increase in severity is not explained primarily by a decrease in prison use, which indicates that offenders traditionally kept in the community are receiving more severe sanctions as a result of the CCA.

Two points on the interpretation of this finding should be made. First, the evaluation does not take a stand as to whether the apparent increase in jail use is or is not beneficial. That is left to the reader. Second, information on changes in community sanctions is not included in the overall conclusion on appropriateness of sanctions.

2. Juveniles

a. What is the effect of the Community Corrections Act on appropriateness of sanctions?

The commitment rate analysis for the Retaining Offenders in the Community objective (Chapter 4) indicates that nine of the eleven CCA areas decreased their state commitments for juveniles. The commitment rate analysis compares the actual number of juveniles committed to state correctional institutions with a predicted number of juveniles committed. This predicted number is based on the CCA area's actual commitment rate at the time of entry adjusted for the statewide increase in the juvenile commitment trend. One infers that a decrease in commitments from a CCA area represents an increase in the number of juveniles retained in the community. Since the appropriate sanction for the vast majority of juveniles is in the community, any decrease in commitments represents an increase in appropriate

sanctions. One may therefore infer an increase in appropriate sanctions for nine of the eleven CCA areas.

While the effect of the CCA on percentage change in juvenile commitments is quite large, this represents a small change in appropriateness for the target population of juveniles. The juvenile target population of the Act is not clearly defined, but it is considered larger than the population of adjudicated juveniles, and smaller than the population as a whole. For perspective, if one limits the target population to adjudicated juveniles only, one finds that the increase in appropriateness attributed to the CCA would be from approximately 97.9 percent to 98.5 percent. If all juveniles in the community are included in the target population, this increase in appropriateness would shrink. However, the conclusion is that the CCA increases appropriateness of sanctions for juveniles.

Because of data limitations, it is not possible to conduct additional analyses on juveniles as it is for adults.

E. Summary and Conclusions

For adults, the Community Corrections Act maintains but does not increase appropriateness of sanctions for most CCA areas. While there appears to be an increase in appropriateness of sanctions in the mid-70's this could not be attributed to the Community Corrections Act. The CCA does, however, affect the distribution of community sanctions imposed at sentencing. The CCA is increasing the severity of community sanctions. Since this is not primarily explained by a decrease in prison use, one may conclude that offenders traditionally kept in the community are receiving increased sanctions due to the CCA.

For juveniles, the CCA has increased appropriateness of sanctions. While juvenile results are positive, they should be interpreted with caution. Researchers feel that the adult findings for this section should be stressed. However, the limited data available for juveniles suggest that the impact of the CCA on appropriate sanctions for juveniles is positive.

CHAPTER 6: Public Protection

A. Introduction

The Community Corrections Act is expected to affect the behaviors of offenders and in so doing to affect levels of public protection. Both adult and juvenile offenders are targets of the CCA. Participation in the CCA, however, is expected to affect a larger proportion of juvenile offenders.

Serious adult offenders are not expected to be influenced by CCA programs and services. Serious adult offenders are still expected to be committed to prison. On the other hand, most serious juveniles are assumed to be treatable in the community. With the minor exception of the Department of Corrections' Serious Juvenile Offender Program, charges are levied for all juveniles committed to state institutions. Also, first-time adult offenders are not expected to be influenced by CCA participation but juveniles who have not yet been arrested or adjudicated are the recipients of substantial CCA services.

Because of these differences in target populations and also because of differences in data availability, separate evaluations of public protection are conducted for adult and juvenile offenders.

Public Protection -- Adult Offenders

B. Issues -- Adult Offenders

1. Assumptions of the Community Corrections Act

Two very different arguments have been identified which suggest a linkage between the CCA and public protection. One argument is that less serious offenders can be treated safely in the community because they will not commit offenses that threaten the public. Essentially the argument is that prison incapacitation is unnecessary because less serious offenders do not create a significant risk to the community. This argument refers to the short-term effects of the CCA.

Another quite different argument is that, regardless of the short-term risk to the public, community placement can better rehabilitate less serious offenders. In the long-term, community placement pays off because less serious offenders have a better chance of being rehabilitated in the community than in a prison environment.

It is hypothesized that the combined short-term and long-term impact of the CCA should be an increase in public protection. If less serious offenders are unlikely to commit new offenses in the community and if they have a better chance of being rehabilitated, the expected overall impact of the CCA should be a net increase in public protection.

2. Specifying the Adult Target Population

The adult target population is defined as all felony cases sentenced to the community and less serious felons sentenced to prison. Serious offenders committed to prison are not targets of the CCA. No arguments have been made that the CCA ought to divert serious offenders to the community and that these cases would not increase the public risk; nor have any arguments been made that serious offenders can be better

rehabilitated in the community. The CCA recognizes that certain categories of offenders should continue to be incarcerated. On the other hand, less serious felons who are committed are CCA targets. The assumptions of the CCA are that these cases would not increase the public risk and they could be better rehabilitated if sentenced to a community alternative. Since the expected impact of the CCA is to reduce the proportion of less serious offenders committed to prison and in so doing to affect positively public protection, the analyses should include these cases.

3. Follow-up Periods for Assessing Offender Behaviors

The evaluation of public protection requires follow-up periods for determining whether offenders commit new offenses. The short-term follow-up period is variable for each offender. For the state cases, the short-term follow-up period is equivalent to their actual incarceration. That is, state cases are incapacitated during this period. For the community cases the time period is equivalent to the time such offenders would have been incarcerated had they been committed to a state institution. The release matrix utilized by the Minnesota Corrections Board is used to estimate the expected incarceration time for individual offenders. The minimum matrix time is used because the maximum time probably overestimates the incarceration times for the type of offender retained in the community.

The long-term follow-up period to assess rehabilitation is twelve months following the short-term period. That is, the long-term follow-up period is one year after release for state cases and one year after the estimated incarceration time for community cases.

The follow-up requirement affects the number of areas in which public protection can be evaluated. The areas that joined most recently have very little time in which to sample offenders sentenced after CCA entry and to track these offenders for evidence of follow-up offenses. Long-term assessments are impossible for the recent participants. The short-term assessments are tenuous because of the short post-CCA period.

4. Summary of the Issues to be Analyzed

Figure 6.1 provides a graphic presentation of the expected impact of the CCA on public protection in the short term, long term and overall. The figure identifies the assumptions to be tested, the relevant target populations and the follow-up periods.

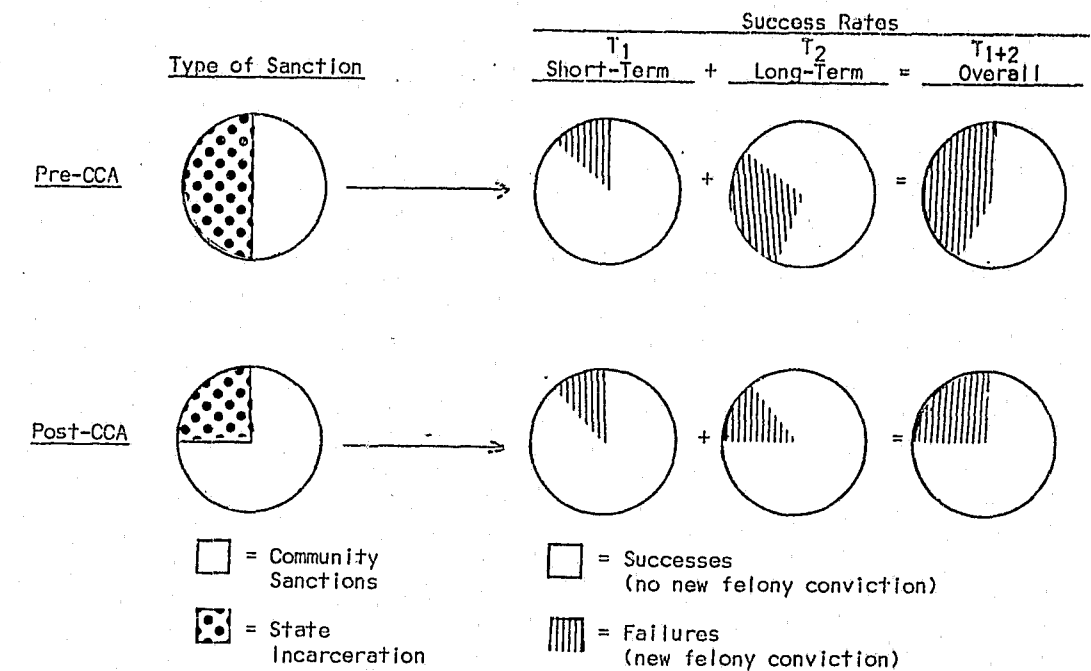
C. Methods -- Adult Offenders

1. Definition and Measurement of Public Protection

Public protection is measured by the behaviors of offenders. The more that offenders are prevented from committing offenses, the more the public is protected. Offenders who do not commit further offenses are called "successes." Offenders who commit further offenses are "failures." Since public protection is a positive goal to achieve, the goal is evaluated in terms of a positive indicator (i.e. successes) rather than a negative indicator (i.e. failures).

For the purposes of this evaluation, an offender is considered a success if he does not commit a new felony. An offense must be as serious as a felony for the offender to be considered as not having succeeded. Both arrest and conviction data have been collected and analyzed. Conviction data are reported because they are believed to be a more stable indicator over time. However, in only one case do arrest data provide

FIGURE 6.1: Summary of the Assumptions Linking the Community Corrections Act to Public Protection



Expected Short-Term Impact of the CCA:

Assumptions: The CCA is expected to divert less serious offenders who should not be in prison to the community; the relative size of the community population should increase after CCA; this increase in the community population that is at-risk is not expected to pose an increased risk to the public.

Test: The proportion of successes during T₁ among less serious state and community cases will not decline after CCA entry.

Expected Long-Term Impact of the CCA:

Assumptions: Less serious offenders can be better rehabilitated by being treated in the community than in a prison environment; the proportion of offenders treated in the community is expected to increase after CCA entry; this increase in the community population should result in a larger proportion of rehabilitated offenders.

Test: The proportion of successes during T₂ among less serious state and community cases should increase after CCA entry.

Expected Overall Impact of the CCA:

Assumptions: Less serious offenders are unlikely to commit new offenses that threaten the public if retained in the community and they have a better chance of being rehabilitated; the CCA is expected to increase the proportion of less serious offenders retained in the community; since in the short term this increase in the community population is not expected to increase the public risk and in the long term should result in better rehabilitation, the net effect should be an increase in public protection.

Test: The proportion of successes during T₁ and T₂ should increase after CCA entry.

conflicting conclusions. Data on new felony arrests and convictions have been coded from offender files and from Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension records.

2. Research Design

The design for evaluating public protection compares success rates (i.e. the proportion of offenders not committing new felonies) in samples of offenders sentenced before and after CCA entry. This design is called a pretest-posttest design. An increase in success rates after CCA entry indicates an increase in public protection. For some areas comparison county data are available for determining the changes that are occurring without CCA participation. The areas that entered the CCA most recently are used as comparisons for the early participants. In some cases early participants can be used as comparisons for recent participants. No comparisons are available for the middle participating areas.

3. Alternative Research Strategies

The results described in this report rely on the pre-CCA and post-CCA offender success rates. Two additional types of research have been conducted in an effort to provide additional, confirming evidence. Techniques to estimate eventual success rates from variable follow-up data have been applied to some of the CCA area data. Also, aggregate arrest rate data have been collected from all CCA and non-CCA areas. The technical report on public protection explains these analyses and reports the results. The findings are generally supportive of the results presented below.

D. Results -- Adult Offenders

The analysis of the short-term impact of the CCA assesses whether the CCA increases the public risk by reducing the number of offenders incapacitated in prisons (see Figure 6.1). The test of this assumption is to compare the success rates among community and less serious state cases before and after CCA entry. In all CCA areas, except Crow Wing-Morrison, the changes in success rates are not significant. The conclusion, therefore, is that in the short-term public protection can be maintained with the Community Corrections Act. In Crow Wing-Morrison a slight increase in public protection is noted. The conclusions in the recent participants are tenuous because post-CCA success rates are based on only one year of post-CCA sentences. With nine of ten areas demonstrating no change in success rates during the short-term follow-up period, the evidence is very strong that the CCA does not increase the risk to the public in the short term.

A second assumption of the CCA is that in the long term CCA participation can have a positive impact on public protection because community treatment can better rehabilitate less serious offenders (see Figure 6.1). The test of this assumption is to compare success rates among community and less serious state cases before and after CCA entry. Five of the seven areas analyzed maintain public protection in the long term. Both Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted and Crow Wing-Morrison, on the other hand, experience a decline in offender success rates. In no case is there evidence of the hypothesized improvement. Results from all seven areas suggest that the rehabilitation argument is not supported. With five of seven areas maintaining offender success rates, the state-wide conclusion is that in the long term, public protection can be maintained but not improved with the CCA.

The evaluation of public protection is less concerned with which of the CCA's assumptions is supported than with discovering the net impact of the CCA on public

protection. Taking the short term and the long term into consideration, what is the overall contribution of the CCA to public protection? The test for the overall impact is to compare success rates before and after CCA entry during the short-term and long-term follow-up periods (see Figure 6.1).

In all seven areas analyzed, the net impact of the CCA is to maintain public protection. Table 6.1 provides a summary of the public protection findings based on samples of adult offenders. In general, the short-term, long-term and overall impact of the CCA is to maintain public protection. In Crow Wing-Morrison and Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted the short-term results offset the long-term declines to produce an overall conclusion of maintenance. Overall, public protection is maintained but not improved with the CCA.

Public Protection -- Juvenile Offenders

B. Issues -- Juvenile Offenders

The original intention was to handle juvenile offenders in a manner as similar as possible to the adult study. A number of anticipated and unanticipated problems emerged that led to the decision that tracking juvenile clients for evidence of new offenses would not be feasible. These problems are discussed in the Research Design and in the Technical Report: Public Protection.

Because of limitations with juvenile data, the evaluation has had to rely on county-level arrest reports. Although these data are recognized to be imperfect indicators of public protection, use of the aggregate arrest data is not as problematic as one might assume. In particular, faulty inferences from county-level arrest data seem less problematic with juveniles than with adults. The introduction to this chapter notes that there are major categories of adult offenders that are not targets of the CCA -- serious offenders and pre-offenders. On the other hand, CCA areas include services for most juvenile offenders and generally provide extensive prevention and diversion services as well. If CCA programs are supposed to be preventing, diverting and correcting juveniles better than areas without CCA resources, some differences should emerge in arrest rates between CCA and non-CCA areas. The one category of serious juvenile offenders not treatable in the community is so small that county-level arrest rates should not be influenced by this small group. The key point to stress is that the use of juvenile arrest data does not imply an assumption that the CCA should be influencing all arrests. Instead, the argument is that differences in changes in arrest rates between non-CCA and CCA areas can be used to infer CCA impact.

C. Methods -- Juvenile Offenders

Juvenile arrest rates are a negative indicator of public protection -- the higher the arrest rate, the less the public is protected. Juvenile arrest data are available from the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension from 1973 through 1979. Numbers of arrests for felony-type offenses are tabulated for all eighty-seven counties for each year. Estimates of the juvenile population-at-risk are obtained for each county for each year. The population at-risk for juveniles includes persons thirteen to eighteen. Age estimates are based on recent estimates by the Minnesota State Planning Agency. Arrest rates are obtained by dividing the number of felony arrests each year by the estimated population at-risk.

Arrest rates are plotted for each CCA area and for the CCA areas as a group. Non-CCA data are also plotted for comparison purposes. Comparisons of the CCA and the

TABLE 6.1: Summary of Public Protection Findings Based on the Adult Offender Sample

CCA Area	Short-Term Impact	Long-Term Impact	Overall Impact
Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted	Maintain	Decrease	MAINTAIN ^a
Crow Wing-Morrison	Increase	Decrease	MAINTAIN
Ramsey	Maintain	Maintain	MAINTAIN
Red Lake-Polk-Norman	Maintain	Maintain	MAINTAIN
Todd-Wadena	Maintain	Maintain	MAINTAIN
Arrowhead Regional Corrections	Maintain	Maintain	MAINTAIN
Anoka	Maintain	Maintain	MAINTAIN
Region 6 West	Maintain	N. A.	N. A.
Hennepin	Maintain	N. A.	N. A.
Blue Earth	Maintain	N. A.	N. A.
Summary State-wide	MAINTAIN	MAINTAIN	MAINTAIN

a. The maintain for Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted is based on a partial verification of the follow-up data. The original data indicated a very large, significant decline in success rates that was out of line with other CCA areas. Because of the atypical decline, data were sent to Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted for verification. Using additional data sources Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted personnel checked the post-CCA failures to see if any were not felonies and checked pre-CCA successes to see if the original coding had missed some failures. This partial verification has the potential to bias results because post-CCA successes and the comparison data have not been verified in a comparable manner. The analysis based on the partially verified data reduces the overall decline to 10.5%. This decline is significant and continues to be the largest of all CCA areas. Use of the comparison data, however, produces the conclusion that the decline in success rates is not an effect of the CCA.

If the changes made in the Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted data reflect random error, this partial verification would bias results in the direction of inferring no decline in public protection. That is, if errors are random similar changes would be made for the post-CCA successes and for the comparison data; reanalysis of the fully verified data would produce conclusions virtually identical to the initial analysis. On the other hand, if the changes reflect a systematic reporting problem unique to Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted's pre-CCA cases, then this partial verification eliminates that unique, systematic error and revised results would be more accurate. Since there is no plausible explanation for why Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted should experience the atypical decline initially found, analysts have assumed the latter. Also, an inspection of the data sources indicates that underreporting to the BCA in the pre-CCA years is a more extreme problem in Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted than elsewhere and that underreporting had not been adequately controlled by the comparison data.

non-CCA arrest rate plots suggest whether the CCA has had an impact on arrest rates. Also, a comparison of the actual mean post-CCA arrest rate with a predicted arrest rate had an area not participated in the CCA provides a rough indication of the extent of CCA impact. The predicted arrest rate is based on pre-CCA rates adjusted for changes occurring in the non-CCA counties.

D. Results -- Juvenile Offenders

Figure 6.2 contains the arrest rates for the CCA areas as a group compared to non-CCA counties. The Hennepin and Ramsey data are excluded from this figure since they dominate results. While there is evidence that arrest rates tend to rise after CCA entry, there is additional evidence in this figure that the trend generally begins before CCA entry and that the trend is occurring in non-CCA counties as well. When one uses the difference between the actual post-CCA arrest rate and the predicted rate based on changes occurring in non-CCA counties, there is evidence that the increases in arrest rates tend to be somewhat greater for CCA areas than the non-CCA counties. The data suggest that there may be a decline in public protection. In nine of eleven areas arrest rates tend to increase more than in non-CCA counties. It is interesting to note that those nine areas are the same nine areas that increase the numbers of juveniles retained in the community. Because of the numerous problems associated with arrest rate data, the evidence is certainly not strong that the impact of the CCA has been to reduce public protection. On the other hand, there is certainly no evidence that the CCA has had a positive impact.

E. Summary and Conclusions

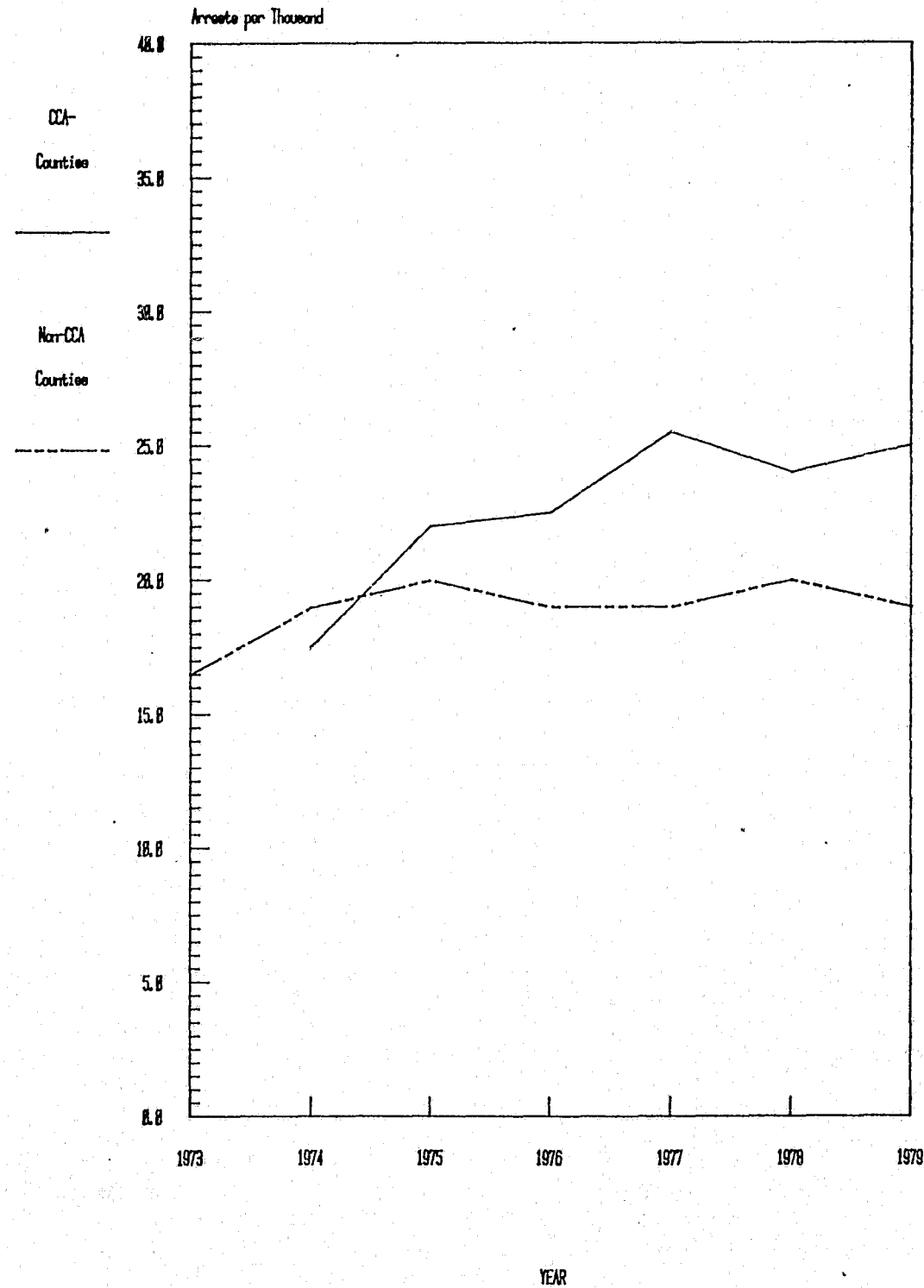
The evaluation of public protection provides evidence that public protection is maintained with the Community Corrections Act. Conclusions regarding adult offenders are the most firmly based. Data on samples of adult offenders indicate that during short-term, long-term and combined follow-up periods, public protection is maintained. Conclusions regarding juvenile offenders are less firmly based because only arrest data are available for analysis. The evidence, however, indicates that the increase in arrest rates in CCA areas may be somewhat greater than in non-CCA counties.

The linkage from the Community Corrections Act to public protection assumes that the relative number of offenders treated in the community will increase after CCA entry. One position is that this increase will not threaten public safety (i.e. public protection can be maintained). Another position is that this increase will improve public protection because community treatment is more rehabilitative.

Since the relative size of the group of offenders placed in the community does tend to increase after CCA entry, evidence is available that this increase does not threaten public safety. One must recognize, however, that the numbers retained are relatively small and that in most CCA areas the offenders diverted from prison appear to be incarcerated locally. There is also evidence that the increase in the community group does not increase public safety. Rehabilitation is obviously difficult to assess adequately. Better indicators and longer follow-ups are desirable. However, the fact that in all areas analyzed there is virtually no indication of a long-term, positive impact on public protection indicates that rehabilitation is unlikely to contribute to public protection. One must again recognize that the numbers diverted to the community are relatively small. For the policy to demonstrate a positive impact would require retaining large numbers and would require that community treatment

FIGURE 6.2: JUVENILE FELONY ARREST RATES

CCA-County/Nor-CCA Counties
excluding Hennepin and Ramsey



increase dramatically the success rate of these offenders. The former has not occurred and the latter is perhaps unrealistic.

By design the evaluation of Public Protection assesses the impact of the CCA policy not of individual community programs. Comparisons are not made between community treatment and state incarceration. Comparisons instead are between the set of offenders sentenced prior to CCA entry and those sentenced after CCA entry. The conclusion that the CCA maintains but does not improve public protection refers to the impact of the policy. It is actually feasible for some community programs to be more rehabilitative for some types of offenders but for the Act or policy to demonstrate no impact. One must recall that in most CCA areas most offenders have always been treated in the community even prior to CCA participation. If community placement is more rehabilitative for less serious offenders, one reason the policy might demonstrate no positive effects may be that most offenders were sentenced to the community prior to entry, thus providing little opportunity for improvement. It is important not to infer from evaluation results that the majority of offenders traditionally treated in the community could be equally well treated in prisons. The evaluation is not designed to address that issue. Rather, the marginal shifts of offenders from prison to the community associated with the CCA have not contributed to public protection nor have they increased the risk to the public.

CHAPTER 7: Social Justice

A. Introduction

The balance between the goals of public protection and appropriateness of sanctions constitutes Social Justice. Although the CCA policy is intended to bring benefits to both the public and to offenders, a tension exists between the two goals. For example, the public could perhaps best be protected by incarcerating all offenders. However, there is a sense that justice is not served when offenders are too forcefully treated while the public experiences very little risk. Similarly, there is a sense that justice is not served when offenders receive minimal sanctions while the public is at great risk. Considering the CCA's effects on public protection and appropriateness of sanctions, does the balance between these two goals produce a higher or lower level of Social Justice?

Social Justice is evaluated primarily with data on adult offenders. Although the public protection and appropriate sanction evaluations do provide data on juvenile offenders, shortcomings in those data suggest they would provide a very imperfect indication of Social Justice. Juvenile data are not used to provide precise estimates of Social Justice but they are inspected to suggest whether reliance on adult findings misrepresents the impact of the CCA.

B. Issues

Because Social Justice carries a variety of connotations and suggests different normative outcomes to different people, it is important to clarify how the term is being used in this evaluation. In reviewing philosophical traditions of social justice, it became apparent that the term is used here in a somewhat untraditional and more complicated way. Social Justice is usually considered a distributive principle. At its simplest, "to each his due."

According to standard definitions of justice, the goals of both public protection and appropriate offender sanctions represent forms of justice. If one agrees that the public in general does not deserve offender threats, then the higher the levels of public protection, the more just is the situation for the public. Ideally sanctions should prevent further offenses through rehabilitation, deterrence or incapacitation. When an offender is prevented from committing a new offense a just outcome exists for the public; when an offender commits a new offense an unjust outcome exists for the public. Similarly, the more that offenders receive the sanctions that they deserve, the more just is the situation for offenders. Social Justice, as it is being used in this evaluation, represents the relationship between justice for the public and justice for the offender. Social Justice is not a distribution of a particular benefit or burden throughout society, but instead it is a balance of two states of justice; one for the public and one for the offender. This conceptualization is not meant to imply a balance between two distinct social groups. Rather what is appropriate for offenders as well as what is fair for the public are both social values. The concern with appropriateness of sanctions is a social concern with doing "right" things for offenders, not a set of values articulated by offenders themselves. The balance between public and offender interests, then, is in reality a balance between two social values.

One must establish criteria for determining what results constitute an increase or decrease in the outcome of social justice. When the two goals change in the same direction the interpretation is straightforward. When both offender successes (public

protection) and appropriate sanctions increase, the number of deserved situations increases, producing an increase in social justice. When both offender successes and appropriate sanctions decline, the number of deserved situations declines, producing a decrease in social justice. The problem arises when one goal increases and the other declines. The position adopted here is that Social Justice is said to increase so long as justice in the aggregate increases; that is so long as the total number of deserved situations increases. Thus, if offender sanctions are a great deal more appropriate at a slight loss of public protection, Social Justice increases. On the other hand, if sanctions become only slightly more appropriate but the public is put at great risk, Social Justice decreases. Social Justice is said to increase if the total amount of justice (i.e. "deserved" situations) experienced by the public and offenders increases. This situation could exist if justice for one group declines, so long as justice for the other group increases to a greater extent.

C. Methods

1. A Method for Comparing Actual and Predicted Levels of Social Justice

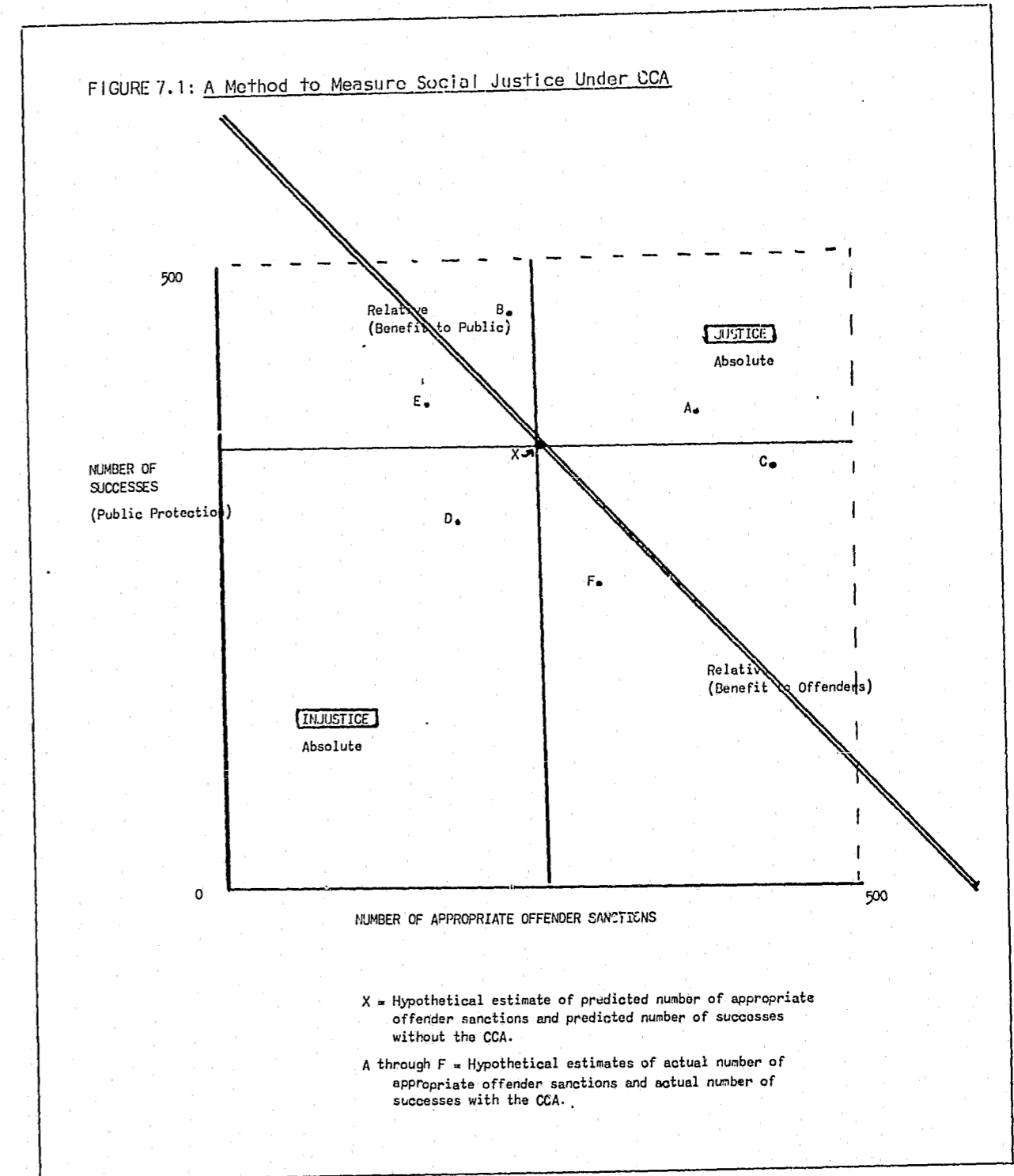
In measuring Social Justice, the concern is to assess whether the CCA provides a better situation than would exist without the CCA; that is, a comparison of actual and predicted levels of Social Justice. The measurement of efficiency which is explained in Chapter 9 involves a straightforward ratio of costs per public protection. Any ratio producing more protection per dollar spent indicates a more efficient system. Social Justice, however, does not lend itself to such straightforward measurement.

The evaluations of public protection and appropriate offender sanctions provide estimates of successes (public protection) and appropriate offender sanctions with CCA participation. It is also possible to predict successes and appropriate offender sanctions had areas not participated in the CCA. Indicators of public protection and appropriate sanctions are explained in Chapters 5 and 6. The problem in evaluating this outcome is to devise a method that can use these actual and predicted estimates to assess whether Social Justice has increased with CCA participation.

A method that can provide a measure of both the distributive and aggregate dimensions of Social Justice is depicted in Figure 7.1. Public protection is the vertical axis while offender sanctions is the horizontal axis. This example assumes there are five hundred offenders in the post-CCA population. Complete justice for the public occurs with five hundred successes. Complete justice for offenders occurs with five hundred appropriate sanctions. The problem is to develop a measure of whether the situation with the CCA provides more Social Justice.

The first step in Figure 7.1 is to plot the predicted values of successes and sanctions without the CCA (point X). One then draws a line through this point that intersects each axis at a 45° angle. Along this line one unit of success is equivalent to one unit of appropriate sanctions. From this diagonal line one draws two additional lines at 45° angles. One then has six sections in which the actual CCA values can fall when plotted. The main diagonal line separates just and unjust outcomes. This diagonal line indicates the aggregate dimension of social justice. If the actual CCA value falls anywhere above the line, in the aggregate the total amount of justice has increased. If the actual CCA value falls anywhere below this line, in the aggregate the total amount of justice is less than without the CCA. The distributive dimension of Social Justice is indicated by the lines that separate three types of justice and three types of injustice. These sections, in other words, indicate which group is benefiting or being burdened with the CCA.

FIGURE 7.1: A Method to Measure Social Justice Under CCA



2. Estimating Actual and Predicted Numbers of Successes

The evaluation of public protection uses offender successes as an indicator of public safety. The more that offenders are prevented from committing new offenses (felonies), the more the public is protected. Data are available only through 1978 because the public protection evaluation requires a follow-up period for coding new offenses. Estimates of successes, therefore, are not made for Rock-Nobles whose entry is 1/1/79. Estimates also are not made for Washington because its CCA entry of 7/1/78 provides only six months of post-CCA cases.

The estimate of the actual number of successes is derived by multiplying the sample post-CCA success rate by the post-CCA target population. The method for predicting number of successes had an area not entered the CCA depends upon the research design used in evaluating public protection. For areas with no comparison data, predictions are based solely on the pre-CCA success rates. When there is no significant change in success rates after CCA entry, the predicted number of successes is considered to be the same as the actual. When there is a significant change in success rates after CCA entry, the predicted number of successes equals the pre-CCA sample success rate multiplied by the post-CCA target population. When comparison data are available the predicted number of successes is based on the pre-CCA success rate, adjusted for changes occurring in the comparison counties. Should the success rate change not be significantly different from the change found in the comparison counties, the predicted number of successes is considered to be the same as the actual number with the CCA. However, when the success rate change is significantly different from the change occurring in the comparison counties, the pre-CCA success rate is adjusted by the average percentage change found in the comparison counties.

3. Estimating Actual and Predicted Numbers of Appropriate Sanctions

The evaluation of appropriateness of sanctions uses the Minnesota Sentencing Guidelines grid as the criterion for determining the appropriateness of offenders' sanctions (commitment vs. non-commitment). Data are available only through 1978 because of the follow-up requirement for coding sanction changes. The sanction evaluation compares the proportions of offenders with appropriate sanctions before and after CCA entry in samples of offenders in each CCA area. Procedures for estimating the actual and predicted numbers of appropriate sanctions are identical to those explained in the section above on successes.

4. Inspecting Juvenile Data

Although Social Justice analyses are not conducted with the juvenile data, it is important to assess whether the adult findings are representative. If there is evidence, for example, that Social Justice regarding adult offenders declines but Social Justice regarding juvenile offenders perhaps increases (or vice versa) it is not legitimate to report only one set of results. Researchers want to be confident that not evaluating social justice for juveniles does not illegitimately hide either positive or negative findings.

Juvenile commitment rates are negative indicators of appropriateness of juvenile sanctions. Juvenile arrest rates are negative indicators of public protection. Generally, juvenile commitments decline with CCA participation (appropriateness of sanctions improves) but arrest rates tend to increase (public protection declines). Researchers have not emphasized either the positive juvenile sanction results or the negative

juvenile public protection results because neither evaluation is as sound as the corresponding adult evaluations. Both juvenile studies have the following limitations:

1. The inferences from the juvenile data are more problematic than those for adults. There is a clearly defined and enumerated adult target population of the CCA. From this adult target population representative samples are drawn from which inferences can be made to the target population. Extensive data are collected on sanctions and follow-up criminal behaviors. Inferences can be made from the adult sample results on sanctions and public protection to the target population. Because of careful sampling there is a small but known element of error that can be considered in this inference. The juvenile situation is far less satisfactory. The target population is not clearly defined. It is believed to be larger than the adult target population but certainly not as large as the total population-at-risk. Because there is not a clearly defined and enumerated target population, it is not possible to draw samples of juveniles. As a result the data that are used are county-level aggregate commitment rates and arrest rates based on the total population-at-risk. The inference is from the total population-at-risk to an ambiguous target population. The degree to which commitments and arrests are accounted for by the target population and whether this degree changes over time are unknown. The degree to which the target population and the population-at-risk overlap and whether this degree is changing over-time are unknown. The extent of error is unknown and cannot be considered in interpreting results. Thus inferences to juveniles in the target population from aggregate data based on the population-at-risk may contain errors.

2. Both commitment and arrest data provide imperfect indicators of the concepts being evaluated. For adults the sample data indicate what type of offender receives what type of sanction and indicate which offenders are reconvicted for new felonies. For juveniles, however, it is not known if a felony arrest represents the commission of a felony; it is not known if a decrease in commitments represents the same amount of increase in the use of more appropriate community sanctions.

3. Each evaluation has available only one data set. Moreover, both the commitment and arrest data are subject to error. While reporting problems decrease the reliability of arrest data, the commitment data in the early 1970's are affected by problems in data entry. The inclusion of all non-CCA areas in both evaluations should help to control the effects of the data errors, but any error systematically affecting CCA or non-CCA counties remains uncontrolled. In contrast intercoder reliability tests were conducted to assure the accuracy of the adult sample data. Additional data were also available to provide corroborating evidence for the adult analyses.

Because of these problems the evaluations of juvenile sanctions and public protection probably provide less precise indications of the changes in the two goals that have resulted from CCA participation than is true for the adult evaluation. On the other hand, failure to analyze the juvenile data leaves the study open to the criticism of illegitimately failing to report positive or negative findings. The changes in commitments and arrests are therefore inspected to determine the net change in the two goals. Each reader can interpret those data as he sees fit.

Commitment and arrest rates are both based on the juvenile population-at-risk. The mean number of commitments (per thousand population) for the post-CCA years

provides an estimate of the actual number of (in)appropriate sanctions. The mean number of arrests (per thousand population) for the post-CCA years provides an estimate of the actual number of arrests with CCA participation. The mean pre-CCA commitment and arrest rates, adjusted by the percentage change found in the non-CCA counties, provides a predicted number of inappropriate sanctions and arrests had an area not entered the CCA. The actual minus the predicted number of commitments indicates the change in appropriateness of sanctions that can be attributed to the CCA. The actual minus the predicted number of arrests indicates the change in Public Protection that can be attributed to the CCA. The two change scores are comparable because they are based on the same population-at-risk figures. Thus, the two change scores can be compared to determine the net contribution of the CCA. For example, if there is one more appropriate sanction for every one thousand juveniles but one more arrest, there is no net increase or decrease, resulting in a maintenance of Social Justice.

D. Results

For nine of the ten CCA areas included in the adult Social Justice evaluation, CCA participation has produced no change in appropriateness of sanctions or public protection. There is, therefore, no change in Social Justice and thus no need for any analysis.

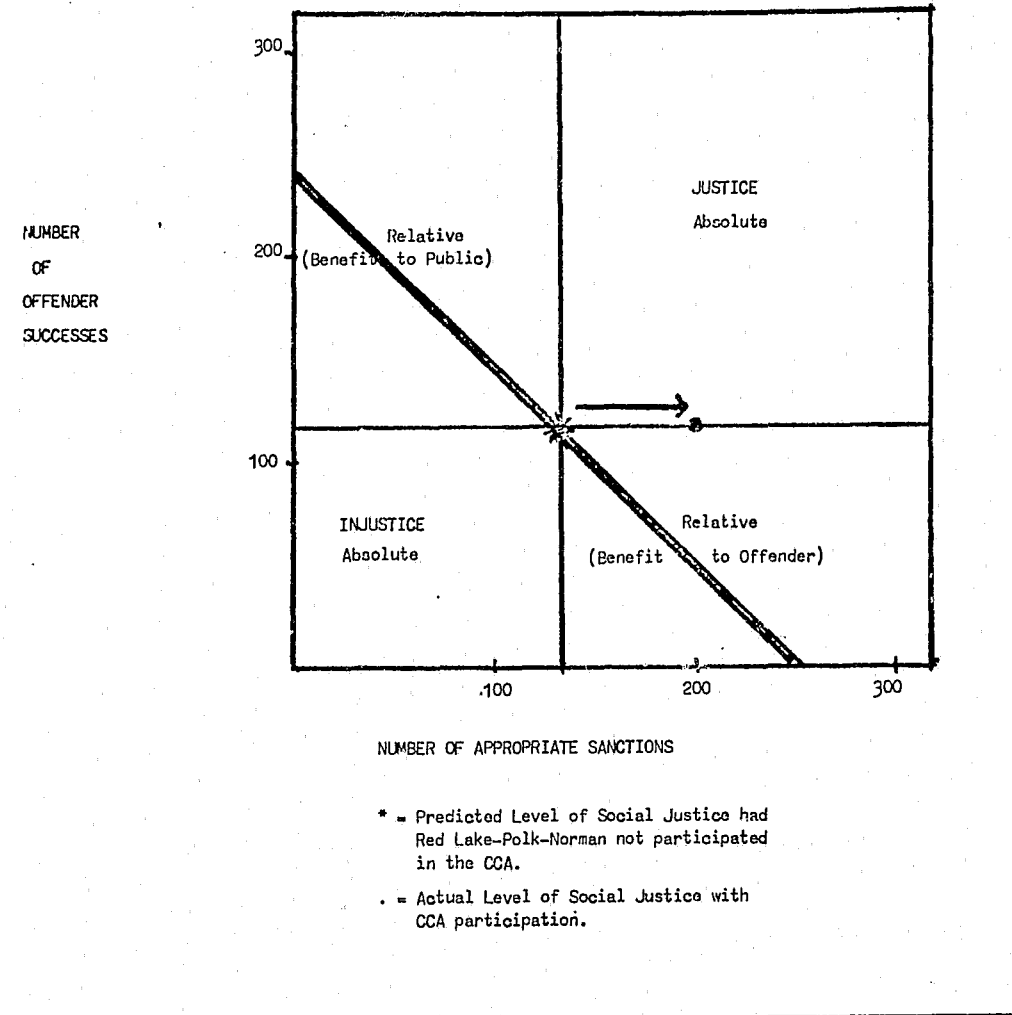
The Red Lake-Polk-Norman change in appropriateness of sanctions provides a basis for a change in Social Justice. Because only one goal is changing the direction of change for Social Justice and the group benefiting or losing is fairly obvious. However, a Social Justice figure is drawn to illustrate the change in outcome. Figure 7.2 compares the actual and predicted levels of Social Justice for Red Lake-Polk-Norman. The increase in appropriateness of offender sanctions with the maintenance of public protection produces a net increase in Social Justice. For Red Lake-Polk-Norman offenders benefit while the public experiences no change with CCA participation.

The juvenile data which are reported in the Technical Report: Social Justice indicate that the increases in arrest rates tend to be greater than the decreases in commitment rates. The net balance in ten areas is in a negative direction. For nine of eleven areas the increases in arrest rates more than offset the decreases in commitments. In one area an increase in commitment rates is greater than the arrest rate decrease. In only one area is the net effect positive: the arrest rate decline is greater than the commitment rate increase. Thus researchers do not believe the inability to analyze social justice for juveniles results in a failure to report positive findings. On the other hand, because it is believed that the juvenile data are not adequate to analyze the concept of social justice and because the extent of error is probably greater for juvenile arrest data, it is not believed that negative results are inappropriately minimized.

E. Summary and Conclusions

Table 7.1 provides a summary of the adult findings on Social Justice. For nine of the ten CCA areas analyzed, Social Justice is maintained. This maintenance is based on the maintenance of both public protection and appropriateness of offender sanctions. That is, in no case is maintenance the result of one group's gain offsetting the other group's loss. Social Justice increases in Red Lake-Polk-Norman, with an increase in appropriateness of offender sanctions.

FIGURE 7.2: Social Justice in Red Lake-Polk-Norman



Inspection of the juvenile data indicates that the increases in arrest rates are greater than the decreases in commitment rates. Because the arrest data probably are less reliable than the commitment data, researchers are not in a position to conclude that the greater declines in public protection produce a decline in social justice. The limited data available do suggest, however, that the inability to analyze social justice for juveniles does not prevent the reporting of a positive CCA impact.

Evidence indicates that the Community Corrections Act has little impact on public protection or on appropriateness of offender sanctions. It is to be expected, then, that the statewide conclusion is that Social Justice is maintained but not improved with the Community Corrections Act.

TABLE 7.1: Summary of Social Justice Conclusions Based on Adult Offender Data

<u>CCA Area</u>	<u>Public Protection</u>	+	<u>Appropriateness of Sanctions</u>	=	<u>Social Justice</u>
Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted	Maintain	+	Maintain	=	Maintain
Crow Wing-Morrison	Maintain	+	Maintain	=	Maintain
Ramsey	Maintain	+	Maintain	=	Maintain
Red Lake-Polk-Norman	Maintain	+	Increase	=	Increase
Todd-Wadena	Maintain	+	Maintain	=	Maintain
Arrowhead Regional Corrections	Maintain	+	Maintain	=	Maintain
Anoka	Maintain	+	Maintain	=	Maintain
Region 6 West	Maintain	+	Maintain	=	Maintain
Blue Earth	Maintain	+	Maintain	=	Maintain
Hennepin	Maintain	+	Maintain	=	Maintain
Summary State-Wide	Maintain	+	Maintain	=	Maintain

CHAPTER 8: Economy

A. Introduction

Resource scarcity is an issue for the private sector and the public sector. As a business produces its output while attempting to minimize costs so also an effective correctional policy should maintain public safety and social justice while minimizing service delivery costs. The economy goal of the Community Corrections Act Evaluation examines whether the CCA is a less expensive policy than continuation of the system it replaced.

The comparison is, therefore, between actual community corrections costs given the existence of the Act and an estimate of community corrections costs, namely continuation costs, that would have existed in the absence of the Act. Continuation costs are primarily based on the pre-CCA correctional service system provided by state and local government.

In deriving actual and continuation costs, correctional expenditures from state, county and federal sources are analyzed. For example, prior to CCA, juvenile probation services were primarily funded from county revenues and state subsidies while L.E.A.A. grants helped finance correctional programming at the state and local levels. Since this report is written for governmental decision makers, only governmental (not private) expenditures are examined. From a criminal justice perspective, a system-wide approach is taken to community corrections costs, both actual and continuation.

B. Issues

The CCA is an innovation in correctional management. The CCA presumes that a decentralized approach to planning and correctional service delivery concentrated at the local level (rather than shared by the state and local overlapping jurisdictions) will obtain greater results for less real costs as compared to the previous system.

There are at least six reasons why CCA should reduce or at least maintain costs for similar levels of public safety:

1. Reduction in overlapping jurisdictions,
2. Consolidation of correctional program administration, planning and service delivery,
3. Reduction in state institutional costs,
4. Improvement in labor productivity through staff training,
5. Greater resource allocation responsiveness to criminal justice system indicators through local control and research and information systems, and
6. Reduction in general assistance to offenders and in A.F.D.C. to offenders' dependents by retaining offenders in the community.

These six factors should reduce actual CCA costs. The economy goal is achieved if

the difference between continuation and actual CCA costs is positive or zero in a majority of CCA areas, i.e., where economy is increased or at least maintained.

C. Methods

Actual CCA expenditures are the calendar year operating costs of each CCA area's system from the area's entry into the system through 1978. Included also in these figures are allocations of the calendar year state overhead costs needed to start and maintain each area's system. For example, system maintenance costs include costs imputed for the involvement of the Office of the Commissioner in CCA administration and for other CCA operations at the state level such as plan approval, financial record keeping and assistance. Pre-CCA expenditures are the costs associated with the annual operation of community services in the area for the two year period preceding entry into the Act. Completeness of pre-CCA and CCA program lists were verified by all CCA area administrators except Crow Wing-Morrison who did not respond to a mailed inquiry. Expenditure data for state and area expenditures are classified into four main categories: overhead, programming, adult jail/juvenile facilities and state institutional costs.

All data are expressed in 1980 dollars of constant purchasing power using adjusted U.S. Department of Commerce implicit price deflators for state and local government goods and services. This procedure makes cost figures comparable in constant dollars of purchasing power no matter in what year incurred. If such an adjustment is not made, pre-CCA (and hence continuation) expenditures would appear smaller than CCA expenditures even though each area's pre-CCA expenditures represent, per dollar, more actual purchasing power. Also, since each area's entry date differs, average annual expenditures are presented.

Continuation expenditures are derived from pre-CCA expenditures for overhead, program, jail/workhouse and juvenile facilities. All figures assume expenditures will increase with inflation and reflect maintenance of pre-CCA federal programs. Beyond these adjustments, no further increases in overhead are assumed. With respect to program and juvenile facility expenditures, constant returns to scale are assumed, i.e., if the relevant target population increases ten percent under CCA, then continuation costs should also increase ten percent. If the relevant target population falls, continuation costs will be maintained subject to the above adjustments for inflation and federal program maintenance. Continuation jail/workhouse costs reflect the statewide trend increase in jail/workhouse use and in jail standards enforcement. The assumptions with respect to continuation costs are made given that the pre-CCA system upon which continuation costs are based is primarily a state level system with ability to spread its overhead statewide over any population increase. Also, according to the U.S. Department of Justice Expenditure and Employment Data for the Criminal Justice System reports, there has been a decline in intergovernmental correctional aids in the United States expressed in 1980 dollars during the period 1972-1977 for which data is available. Considering Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas and Oregon, a majority of these areas did not experience an increase in intergovernmental correctional aids in constant dollars over the period. A recent fiscal study by the State Planning Agency (Fiscal Overview of Minnesota Local Governments) demonstrates less local reliance on property taxes and an increasing reliance on state aid as a revenue source. It is questionable that local governmental units would shift an increasing amount of their declining property tax dollars to corrections if a CCA policy did not exist. Therefore, given the national and local context in which continuation costs are estimated, such estimates are generous.

Actual expenditures are similarly the sum of average annual expenditures for overhead, programs and local incarceration of (or use of juvenile facilities by) the target population adjusted for institutional cost savings under CCA. If an area decreases its commitments, averted institutional costs reduce the above sum while if commitments increase, the above sum is increased. Two methods are used to value juvenile and adult averted institutional costs. The per diem approach multiplies averted commitments by a weighted average institutional per diem and by an estimated length of stay for less serious institutionalized offenders derived from the area's pre-CCA Adult Offender Sample. The juvenile average length of stay is based on Department of Corrections records. Separate calculations are made for juvenile and adult averted commitments. The variable cost approach multiplies commitments averted by a measure of the average daily cost for food, clothing and staff needed for an institutionalized client and by the average length of stay described above.

The analysis of welfare dependence is based on descriptive data from probation files of the Adult Offender Sample. The CCA Evaluation Advisory Group recommended that no further study of social service costs associated with the CCA be undertaken given the current lack of agreement on the definition of a "correctional client" between the correctional and social service systems. Therefore, governmental costs presented are understated since correctional research has found social service costs for community based programs to be substantial. Since more community based programs are operational under the CCA policy and involve more clients, actual expenditures are more likely underestimated than continuation expenditures based on the pre-CCA system.

D. Results

The economy goal is not achieved under the CCA policy. Actual CCA costs are consistently higher than continuation costs of the pre-CCA system when averted state commitments are valued as saving state institutional client upkeep (average variable) costs. However, if such averted commitments are valued as saving resources at the institutional per diem rate, Ramsey and Blue Earth counties maintain economy.

It should be noted that prior research indicates that results would have been more negative had social service costs under the CCA and pre-CCA continuation been quantified. Further, continuation costs are generously estimated by assuming all expenditures (e.g., overhead, jail/workhouse, juvenile facilities) would increase with inflation, that all pre-CCA federal programs are maintained, that juvenile facility and program costs increase with increases in the relevant target populations but are maintained if relevant target populations fall. Further, jail expenditures reflect the state trend increase in jail use, and the added cost impact of increased jail standards enforcement. Therefore, CCA expenditures are not compared to a bare bones standard but to a generous standard.

What accounts for this decreased economy? First, under CCA, overhead is higher than under the pre-CCA system. Creation of individual administrative units in each area generates extra costs. Also, there was no withering away of state administrative structures when pre-CCA state services were shifted to the CCA area level. Indeed, the state created an added layer of personnel to deal with CCA administrative and financial issues. State overhead allocated to Hennepin and Ramsey increased sixty-one percent while state overhead for all other areas increased ninety-seven percent

Errata Sheet: General Report

Page 69, paragraph #4

However, at the individual area level, actual costs exceed continuation costs by less than one percent in Ramsey and as much as one-hundred six percent in Todd-Wadena using the institutional per diem approach and by as little as eight percent in Hennepin and as much as ninety-eight percent in Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted using the institutional variable cost approach.

replace the underlined segment with:

. . . ninety-three percent in Todd-Wadena . . .

Page 70, Table 8.1 corrected figures:

	Pre-CCA	Percentage Change
Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted	\$ 0.03	800%

Page 71, Table 8.2 corrected figures:

	Pre-CCA	Percentage Change
Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted	\$37.19	18%

Page 72, Table 8.3 corrected figures:

Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted	Economy	
	Per Diem Approach	Variable Cost Approach
<u>Continuation</u>		
\$598,018	Decrease 34%	Decrease 40%

Page 75, Table 9.1 corrected figures:

Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted	Efficiency	
	Averted-Per Diem Approach	Averted-Variable Cost-Approach
<u>Continuation</u>		
\$47.28	Decrease 34%	Decrease 40%

Page 80, first full paragraph, add the word "impact" at end of paragraph

between the pre-CCA and post-CCA periods. Overall, the pre-CCA overhead of less than ten cents per dollar of programming more than doubled under the CCA in all areas except Ramsey. This can be seen in Table 8.1 which lists overhead, both at the state and area level, per dollar of programming.

Program expenditures per target client increase in all areas except Anoka and Region 6 West. See Table 8.2. Anoka's decrease in program expenditures per target client occurred because average annual program expenditures increased at a lower rate than the target population composed primarily of juveniles. Region 6 West's decrease in program expenditures coupled with large overhead costs indicates that the one and one-fourth years of post-CCA data are indicative of a start-up situation. Overall, the larger program expenditures per target client merely show that providing more programming at the local level increases costs. There was insufficient overlapping of state and local programs to result in consolidation economies.

Jail/workhouse expenditures increased in every area. All areas experienced an increase in average annual jail commitments except Region 6W. The average jail/workhouse stay did not differ significantly between the pre-CCA and post-CCA periods except in Region 6W and Ramsey, whose post-CCA stays were higher. Arrowhead Regional Corrections, Anoka and Hennepin experienced increased juvenile facility costs under the CCA while similar costs in Ramsey decreased.

With respect to institutional costs, the CCA will prevent approximately \$890,588 in annual juvenile per diems and \$354,719 in annual adult per diems. However, if only added institutional costs (food, clothing, staff) are considered as being averted, these figures drop to \$230,589 for juveniles and \$109,264 for adults.

Overall, the averted state institutional costs cannot offset the added overhead, program, juvenile facility and jail/workhouse costs under the CCA. Institutional costs averted by locally retaining offenders are valued at variable cost (client upkeep costs only) or at per diem cost. In all areas, economy is reduced under the CCA using variable costs averted by the CCA and is reduced in all areas except Ramsey and Blue Earth using per diems averted by the CCA. Using the per diem approach, Ramsey and Blue Earth maintain economy, i.e., the percentage difference between the CCA and continuation expenditures is sufficiently close to zero given accounting system reporting variations. See Table 8.3. If annual continuation and actual cost measures are summed across all areas, actual costs exceed continuation costs by thirteen percent using the institutional per diem approach and by sixteen percent using the institutional variable cost approach. CCA as a correctional policy is approximately thirteen percent to sixteen percent more expensive than continuation of the policy it replaced. However, at the individual area level, actual costs exceed continuation costs by less than one percent in Ramsey and as much as one hundred six percent in Todd-Wadena using the institutional per diem approach and by as little as eight percent in Hennepin and as much as ninety-eight percent in Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted using the institutional variable cost approach. Hence, as an overall policy, CCA reduces economy.

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

TABLE 8.1: Pre-CCA and Post-CCA Overhead Spent per One Dollar of Programming Expenditures (Constant Dollars, 1980)

<u>CCA Area</u>	<u>Pre-CCA</u>	<u>Post-CCA</u>	<u>Percentage Change^a</u>
Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted	\$ 0.05	\$ 0.27	440%
Ramsey	\$ 0.22	\$ 0.25	14%
Crow Wing-Morrison	\$ 0.03	\$ 0.31	933%
Red Lake-Polk-Norman	\$ 0.04	\$ 0.28	600%
Todd-Wadena	\$ 0.03	\$ 0.38	1167%
Arrowhead Regional Corrections	\$ 0.10	\$ 0.28	180%
Anoka	\$ 0.06	\$ 0.24	300%
Region 6 West ^b	\$ 0.03	\$ 0.66	2100%
Hennepin ^c	\$ 0.08	\$ 0.18	125%
Blue Earth ^c	\$ 0.02	\$ 0.16	700%

^a Due to variations in accounting procedures, individual area figures may be over- or under-estimated by five percent.

^b Post-CCA annual figures are based on one and one-fourth years of data.

^c Post-CCA annual figures are based on one year of data.

TABLE 8.2: Pre-CCA and Post-CCA Average Annual Program Expenditures per Target Client (Constant Dollars, 1980)

<u>CCA Area</u>	<u>Program Expenditures/Target Client</u>		<u>Percentage Change</u>
	<u>Pre-CCA</u>	<u>Post-CCA</u>	
Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted	\$ 23.23	\$ 43.72	88%
Ramsey	\$ 68.55	\$ 84.08	23%
Crow Wing-Morrison	\$ 32.40	\$ 43.40	34%
Red Lake-Polk-Norman	\$ 20.96	\$ 33.08	58%
Todd-Wadena	\$ 37.92	\$ 55.61	47%
Arrowhead Regional Corrections	\$ 49.71	\$ 63.00	27%
Anoka	\$ 39.38	\$ 38.80	- 1%
Region 6 West ^b	\$ 31.15	\$ 30.17	- 3%
Hennepin ^c	\$ 93.07	\$ 93.75	1%
Blue Earth ^c	\$ 56.26	\$ 66.32	18%

^a Due to variations in accounting procedures, individual area figures may be over- or under-estimated by five percent.

^b Post-CCA annual figures are based on one and one-fourth years of data.

^c Post-CCA annual figures are based on one year of data.

TABLE 8.3: Economy Goal: Continuation and Post-CCA Total Average Annual expenditures (Constant Dollars, 1960)

CCA Area	Continuation ^a	Post-CCA ^b		Economy ^c	
		Actual-Averted Inst. Per Diems	Actual-Averted Inst. Variable Costs	Per Diem Approach	Variable Cost Approach
Dodge-Fillmore- Olmsted	\$ 420,953	\$ 800,452	\$ 835,754	Decrease 90%	Decrease 98%
Ramsey	\$ 6,172,055	\$ 6,177,002	\$ 7,024,082	Maintain 0%	Decrease 13%
Crow Wing- Morrison	\$ 270,016	\$ 293,211	\$ 400,715	Decrease 8%	Decrease 48%
Red Lake-Polk- Norman	\$ 195,273	\$ 246,127	\$ 349,325	Decrease 26%	Decrease 78%
Todd-Wadena	\$ 157,582	\$ 325,026	\$ 304,512	Decrease 106%	Decrease 93%
Arrowhead Regional Corrections	\$ 3,735,058	\$ 4,563,467	\$ 4,729,111	Decrease 22%	Decrease 26%
Anoka	\$ 1,398,598	\$ 1,854,609	\$ 1,737,159	Decrease 32%	Decrease 24%
Region 6W ^d	\$ 177,962	\$ 227,248	\$ 261,341	Decrease 27%	Decrease 46%
Hennepin ^e	\$15,175,593	\$16,731,763	\$16,411,470	Decrease 10%	Decrease 8%
Blue Earth ^e	\$ 335,016	\$ 340,092	\$ 410,981	Maintain 1%	Decrease 22%

^aContinuation costs assume extension of the pre-CCA system such that all expenditures (e.g. overhead, programming, jail/workhouse, juvenile facility) increase with inflation, that all pre-CCA federal programs are maintained, that juvenile facility and program costs increase with increases in relevant target populations but are maintained if relevant target populations fall. Further, jail/workhouse expenditures reflect any trend increase in jail use and the added cost impact of increased jail standard enforcement.

^bPost-CCA total average annual expenditures are calculated from the sum of post-CCA average annual expenditures for overhead, programming, juvenile facilities, and local incarceration of target population clients; then, the average annual averted adult and juvenile state institutional costs are subtracted from this sum. However, if commitments rose under the CCA, adult and juvenile institutional costs are added to the sum. Two approaches are used to calculate institutional costs: the per diem approach and the added variable cost approach.

^cIf Continuation costs exceed post-CCA costs, economy is increased; if Continuation costs are lower than post-CCA costs, economy is decreased; and if Continuation costs equal post-CCA costs, economy is maintained. Based upon interviews with expert audit staff in the field, individual area figures may be over- or under- estimated by five percent given accounting procedures.

^dPost-CCA annual figures are based upon one and one-fourth years of data.

^ePost-CCA annual figures are based upon one year of data.

CHAPTER 9: Efficiency

A. Introduction

Economy alone does not indicate a policy's efficiency. Using an efficiency criterion, economy (costs) is linked to attainment of the policy's desired outcome. Just as a business may use the criterion of minimizing input cost per dollar of profit so a correctional policy efficiency criterion is to minimize input costs per public protection success. Public safety is hence the outcome to be achieved with minimum resource use. However, those making a policy choice may wish to balance efficiency attainment and equity (social justice) attainment for alternative policies. This chapter examines efficiency attainment under the Community Corrections Act.

B. Issues

To be an efficient innovation, the CCA may operate either to directly reduce correctional costs or to increase the productivity of existing correctional resources. In other words, the CCA is expected to have a lower cost per desired outcome than previous policies. Here, the desired outcome is defined as a non-recidivating offender, i.e., the CCA should have a lower cost per public safety success than the policy it replaced in order to promote efficiency. Chapter 8 on Economy outlines six reasons why the CCA should cost less than previous policy. In addition, efficiency can increase if more public safety or less recidivism results under a local rehabilitative mode.

Decentralized correctional decision making concentrated at the CCA area level should lead to more efficient resource use. Local needs assessment is more easily conducted at the local level where key actors from other criminal justice subsystems (law enforcement, prosecution, defense, judiciary) are present. The local needs assessment functions like a pricing mechanism; it summarizes criminal justice "market" signals that should guide effective resource use at a governmental level where workloads can be most easily assessed and resource substitutions made. A state administration facing an aggregate service demand function for eighty-seven counties may not have the time or flexibility to meet the priority needs of each county or CCA area. Indeed, explanation of particular local needs may be lost in standardized aggregation categories needed for state administrative decision making. Yet, under the CCA, local areas will attempt to prioritize local needs by carefully assessing the relative effectiveness of resources in various programs, and deploying resources to achieve the maximum level of output (public safety) attainable for a given dollar input. Each CCA area, by reacting to the local criminal justice system environment should be guided to establishing a service delivery system which, when examined across all participating areas and within each area, is a more efficient policy that achieves public safety for the same or less costs than compared to a state centralized approach.

C. Methods

This chapter combines the analytical results from the Economy and Public Protection chapters. For adult offenders, the public protection analyses rely on comparisons of success rates (i.e., the proportion of offenders not committing new felonies) before and after CCA entry among samples of offenders in each CCA area. The overall success rates are used for estimating successes in the early and middle participants while, due to their recent entry, only short-term success rates can be used for Region 6 West, Blue Earth and Hennepin. The estimate of the actual number of successes is

derived by multiplying the sample post-CCA success rate by the post-CCA target population. The predicted number of successes is based on the pre-CCA success rate adjusted for changes occurring in comparison counties whenever possible. The pre-CCA success rate is adjusted by the average percentage change found in comparison counties if sufficiently different; otherwise, if the change is not sufficiently different, the predicted number of successes is considered to be the same as the actual number with the CCA.

For juvenile offenders, success rates are based on reductions in juvenile arrest rates. Yearly success rates (1 - arrest rate) if sufficiently different pre-CCA and post-CCA are multiplied by the juvenile population-at-risk to provide an estimate of actual and predicted juvenile successes. If the ratios are not sufficiently different, the estimates are assumed equal. For pre-CCA continuation and post-CCA measures, public protection successes are defined as the annual sum of adult offender and juvenile successes averaged over all available years.

The efficiency ratio is an area's average annual expenditures as presented in the Economy chapter divided by average annual public protection successes. The CCA will be a more efficient policy if it has a lower cost per public protection success than the predicted continuation of the previous system.

D. Results

Since public protection is basically maintained under CCA the while economy is reduced, the cost per public protection success increases under the CCA, except in Ramsey and Blue Earth where the cost per success is maintained under the CCA when averted state commitments are valued at the per diem level. However, even these areas show a decrease in efficiency when averted state commitments are valued at variable cost levels. More resources are needed to generate a success under the CCA as compared to predicted successes and continuation costs based upon the pre-CCA system.

Using the per diem approach to valuing averted commitments, increased cost per success ranges from one percent in Ramsey, and Blue Earth and nine percent in Hennepin to one hundred seven percent in Todd-Wadena. Using the variable cost approach, the increases range from seven percent in Hennepin and fifteen percent in Ramsey to ninety-four percent in Todd-Wadena. Percentage increases in cost per success in other areas fall between the bounds listed above.

Under the CCA, a cost per success over \$140 occurs in Hennepin, Ramsey and Arrowhead Regional Corrections while a cost per success below \$90 occurs in all other areas. In every area, the higher cost per success under the CCA indicates efficiency is decreased under the CCA.

TABLE 9.1: Efficiency Goal: Predicted and Post-CCA Total Average Annual Expenditures per Public Protection Success (Constant Dollars, 1980)

CCA Area	Continuation	Total Average Annual Expenditures/Public Protection Successes ^a			
		Post-CCA		Efficiency ^b	
		Averted - Per Diem Approach	Averted - Variable Cost Approach	Averted - Per Diem Approach	Averted - Variable Cost Approach
Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted	\$ 33.28	\$ 63.53	\$ 66.33	Decrease 91%	Decrease 99%
Ramsey	\$139.16	\$140.28	\$159.51	Maintain 1%	Decrease 15%
Crow Wing-Morrison	\$ 39.43	\$ 42.93	\$ 58.67	Decrease 9%	Decrease 49%
Red Lake-Polk-Norman	\$ 39.20	\$ 49.46	\$ 70.21	Decrease 26%	Decrease 79%
Todd-Wadena	\$ 42.54	\$ 88.20	\$ 82.63	Decrease 107%	Decrease 94%
Arrowhead Regional Corrections	\$133.96	\$164.21	\$170.17	Decrease 23%	Decrease 27%
Anoka	\$ 64.23	\$ 85.32	\$ 79.92	Decrease 33%	Decrease 24%
Region 6W ^c	\$ 35.31	\$ 45.13	\$ 51.90	Decrease 28%	Decrease 47%
Hennepin ^d	\$184.47	\$200.59	\$196.75	Decrease 9%	Decrease 7%
Blue Earth ^d	\$ 64.53	\$ 65.48	\$ 79.13	Maintain 1%	Decrease 23%

^aPublic protection successes are the sum of average annual juvenile and adult public protection successes.

^bEfficiency is increased (respectively decreased or maintained) if CCA has lower (respectively higher or the same) cost per public protection success than the continuation cost per success. Due to variances in accounting procedures, individual area cost figures may be over- or under- estimated by five percent.

^cPost-CCA annual cost figures are based on one and one-fourth years of data.

^dPost-CCA annual cost figures are based on one year of data.

CHAPTER 10: Overview of the Impact of the Minnesota Community Corrections Act

A. Summary of Major Findings

1. Objectives

The evaluation results indicate that the objectives of the Community Corrections Act all demonstrate improvement. In the area of planning and administration, CCA participation leads to the emergence of new organizational structures and activities. Given that limited planning and administration occurred prior to CCA entry, all areas demonstrate improvement. The improvement is most evident in the functional areas of training and budgeting. Implementation of the planning and research/information systems functions, on the other hand, is only partial. It is assumed that the organizational development that occurs is due primarily to the requirements specified in the Act and to the administrative rules. The evaluation of planning and administration points to a number of problem areas and indicates that in spite of the changes room for improvement remains.

The evaluation of local correctional services indicates that in all but one CCA area either the range or quantity of correctional services has increased. Emphasis tends to be in the area of juvenile programming, but increases are found in the adult areas as well. Although new planning and administrative activities may stimulate some of the improvement it is inferred that most of the increase in services is attributable to the subsidy.

The third objective of the CCA is to retain more offenders in the community. Juvenile commitment data indicate that nine of eleven CCA areas do keep more juveniles in the community because of CCA participation. The majority of CCA areas also retain more adults in the community but the numbers tend to be small. For neither juveniles nor adults is the number retained large enough to affect significantly institutional populations. The data suggest that the primary incentive for retaining offenders is the availability of programs. Although some offenders have been diverted from state institutions because of CCA participation, there is little evidence that the chargeback provision is an effective disincentive.

2. Goals and Outcomes

Results from the evaluations of the CCA goals are less supportive. The CCA has a minor impact on the appropriateness of sanctions. Because little data is available on juveniles, it is simply inferred that juvenile sanctions are somewhat more appropriate because fewer juveniles are committed to state institutions. On the other hand, in ten of the eleven areas analyzed there is no evidence that the CCA has had an impact on the appropriateness of adult sanctions. Only in Red Lake-Polk-Norman does the CCA increase the appropriateness of sanctions with a notable increase in the proportion of offenders treated in the community after CCA entry. The fact that the CCA fails to affect the diversion of significant numbers of offenders from prison is probably the major explanation of the failure of the Act to increase appropriateness of sanctions. In other words, appropriateness of sanctions is not increasing because very few offenders are being diverted, not because the "wrong" offenders are being kept in the community.

The evaluation of public protection suggests the retention of adult offenders in the community maintains but does not improve public protection. The assumption that the

CCA does not increase the public risk in the short-term is supported but there is no evidence that in the long-term increasing the use of community sanctions better rehabilitates offenders. Juvenile arrest data indicate that arrest rates are increasing somewhat more in CCA than non-CCA areas. Because of a variety of problems with the arrest data, analysts do not conclude that the CCA has a negative impact on public protection. There is, however, certainly no indication of improvement.

The balance between appropriateness of sanctions and public protection constitutes social justice. Since the appropriateness of adult sanctions tends to be maintained and since public protection tends to be maintained, social justice also tends to be maintained. Only one area experiences an improvement in appropriateness of sanctions, producing an improvement in social justice. Because juvenile commitment and arrest data are problematic, the social justice analysis for juveniles is not as well grounded. However, inspection of the data indicates that the increases in arrest rates (decrease in public protection) tend to offset the declines in commitments (increases in appropriateness of sanctions), producing a maintenance of social justice.

The evaluation of economy indicates that costs have increased compared to the costs of continuing the pre-CCA policy; that is, economy declines. The cost increases exist even when inflation, increases in offender populations, and changes in jail usage and jail standards are controlled. Overhead, program and local incarceration costs all contribute to the increases. The savings resulting from diverting offenders from state institutions only partially offset the cost increases. The extent of savings differs depending upon which institutional costs one uses (per diem or added variable costs). Using the per diem approach to estimate savings, the difference between actual and continuation costs for two CCA areas are sufficiently close (less than five percent) to interpret the difference as a maintenance of economy. Using the variable cost approach, all ten CCA areas studied demonstrate a decline in economy.

Because public protection tends to be maintained while costs are increasing, efficiency decreases. The post-CCA period is less efficient than continuation of the pre-CCA system.

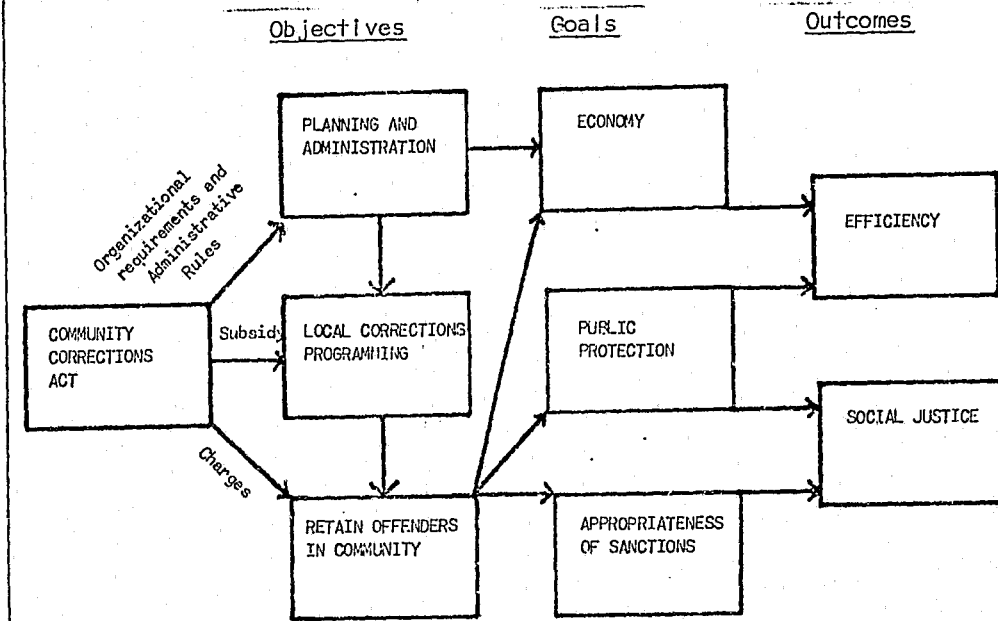
Figure 10.1 provides a summary of evaluation results and includes the conceptual framework for comparison. Findings from some individual areas differ somewhat from the statewide pattern. The maintenance of public protection is based on adult offenders and would be a decrease if juvenile arrest data were interpreted. The maintenance of appropriateness of sanctions is based on adult offenders and would be an increase if juvenile commitment data were included. The maintenance of social justice appears to hold statewide, however, for both adults and juveniles.

B. Is the Minnesota Community Corrections Act Effective Corrections Policy?

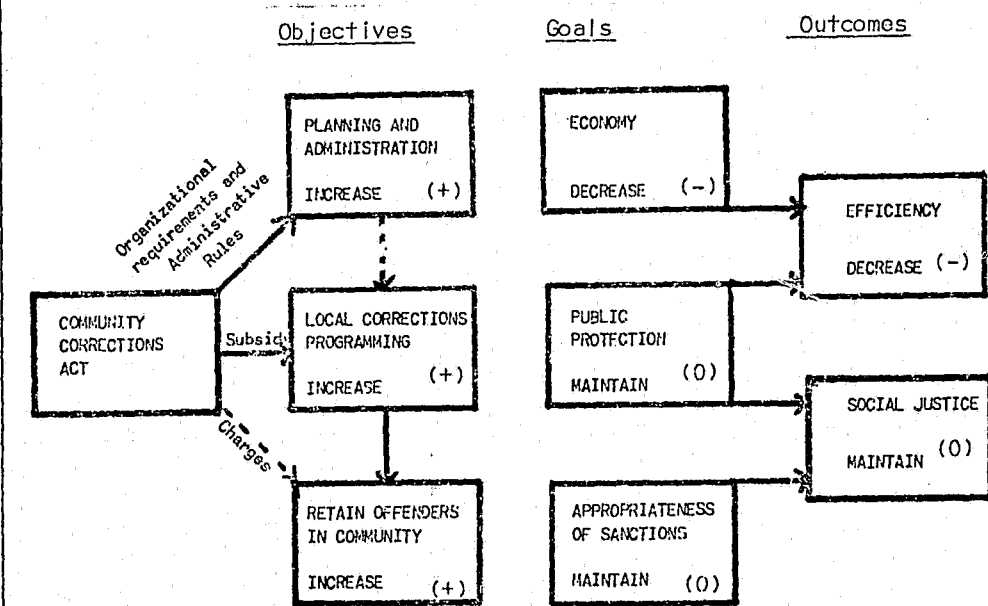
The results summarized above indicate that the CCA is not operating as expected. In general, the objectives of the Act demonstrate improvement. Although objectives tend to show improvement the goals of the Act generally do not. While juvenile sanctions may be more appropriate in a number of areas, in only one area (Red Lake-Polk-Norman) are adult sanctions found to improve. In only one area is an outcome found to improve -- social justice in Red Lake-Polk-Norman. Findings indicate that in no area is public protection improved; in no area is economy improved; in no area is efficiency improved. Thus, the extent to which the CCA is operating as expected is that it promotes social justice in Red Lake-Polk-Norman but at a loss of efficiency. In only one of eleven areas evaluated does the CCA promote even one of the two outcomes. Elsewhere there is maintenance of or decreases in the goals and outcomes.

FIGURE 10.1: A Comparison of the Conceptual Framework with State-Wide Evaluation Results

Conceptual Framework for the Community Corrections Act Evaluation:



Summary of State-Wide Evaluation Results*:



*This model summarizes evaluation results obtained statewide. Findings for some CCA areas differ slightly from this state-wide pattern. An arrow with a solid line indicates that a linkage is supported by the research. An arrow with a broken line indicates that a linkage might exist but results cannot support the linkage. Absence of an arrow indicates that a linkage is not supported by the research statewide.

C. Reasons for the Failure to Promote Goals and Outcomes

The evaluation indicates that the CCA generally has not promoted the goals and outcomes evaluated. The next step is to search for explanations. The strategy used to pursue these explanations involves analysis of the more successful CCA areas to identify factors which differentiate these areas from the less successful ones. The Research Design (pages 17-18) spells out this strategy. The search for explanations is somewhat limited by the fact that no area clearly demonstrates success in both social justice and efficiency. One case, however, does demonstrate an increase in the appropriateness of adult sanctions and two areas may maintain economy. It would be desirable to have more cases to analyze, but these cases do in fact highlight some crucial factors that may affect the successful operation of the CCA.

1. Factors Affecting CCA Impact on Social Justice.

In Red Lake-Polk-Norman adult appropriateness of sanctions increases markedly with CCA participation. Why is appropriateness of sanctions increased in one area and not in the others? Why does this one area increase the use of community sanctions to a greater extent than the other CCA areas? This case of Red Lake-Polk-Norman highlights two factors that may affect the impact of the CCA.

One factor is whether CCA incentives and disincentives are sufficient to alter substantially sentencing behavior. The objective of retaining offenders in the community has been referred to as the "key" objective because it directly promotes the three goals of appropriate sanctions, public protection and economy. Sentencing decisions rest with judges. Thus, the question arises whether and how corrections legislation can significantly alter judicial sentencing practices. The evaluation indicates that the chargeback disincentive had little effect on sentencing. While the availability of new programs appears to be the primary incentive to retain offenders in the community, even this incentive appears to be weak except in Red Lake-Polk-Norman. What, then, is different about Red Lake-Polk-Norman? Red Lake-Polk-Norman is a case in which the CCA helps to support new corrections programming and this new programming is perceived by judges to be an appropriate alternative to state incarceration. The Northwest Regional Corrections Center (NWRCC), a secure detention facility with a wide range of programming options, opened at the time of CCA entry and is partially supported by CCA funds. Prior to CCA participation, judges had few local alternatives to state incarceration. Because of the availability of NWRCC judges now have the option of sentencing less serious offenders to community sanctions. In Red Lake-Polk-Norman the availability of NWRCC apparently leads to an increase in the proportion of less serious felons treated locally. This diversion of less serious felons from state incarceration produces an increase in the appropriateness of sanctions. Because public protection is not reduced with more offenders treated locally, the improvement in sanctions produces an increase in social justice. The linkages to social justice appear to operate as expected in Red Lake-Polk-Norman.

The Red Lake-Polk-Norman example indicates that the development of alternatives to state incarceration is a prerequisite to retaining offenders in the community and to increasing the appropriateness of sanctions. Part of the reason that the programming incentive may be weaker in the other CCA areas is that the increase in programming may not be targeted at the less serious offenders who continue to be incarcerated. A second aspect to the issue, however, is that judges must perceive the programming as a viable alternative for the less serious felons who continue to be committed. While programming for the target population is a prerequisite for diverting offenders from prison, there is no assurance that such programming will be perceived by judges as an appropriate alternative to state incarceration. The Red Lake-Polk-Norman example

raises the possibility that a local secure facility may be the only community sanction perceived to be a viable alternative for the target group of offenders.

A second factor that emerges in the analysis of Red Lake-Polk-Norman is that this area is unrepresentative of CCA areas in the degree to which it lacked programming alternatives prior to entry. Red Lake-Polk-Norman is also unrepresentative in the greater degree to which it was committing less serious felons to prison prior to entry. Red Lake-Polk-Norman had the lowest pre-CCA levels of appropriateness. In the CCA areas that enter the Act with most alternatives available and with many less serious felons already treated in the community, further program expansion may not be sufficient to stimulate changes in sentencing behavior. Given the relatively high levels of program activity and high levels of appropriate sanctions in the other CCA areas, it is not a certainty that more or better targeted programming would have an

In summary, analysis of the case that increased the appropriateness of adult sanctions with CCA participation indicates that two factors appear to affect the impact of the CCA on this goal. First, the Red Lake-Polk-Norman example points to the need to develop programming alternatives for the target group of less serious incarcerated offenders, but it also highlights the more fundamental problem of the difficulties corrections legislation has in significantly altering sentencing behavior. Second, Red Lake-Polk-Norman was committing less serious felons to prison to a greater extent than the other areas and therefore had more opportunity for change. Other CCA areas enter the Act with relatively high levels of appropriate sanctions and therefore have less opportunity to demonstrate further improvement.

2. Factors Affecting CCA Impact on Efficiency

Three linkages in the conceptual framework are crucial to promote the outcome of efficiency. The results of the evaluation bring the validity of the assumptions underlying these linkages into question because in no area is efficiency promoted. Using the upper-bound estimates of continuation costs and using the per diem approach to calculate institutional savings two areas maintain economy/efficiency. Using the variable cost approach all areas decrease in economy/efficiency under the CCA. Analysts can only investigate the areas that come closest to demonstrating economy for factors that affect the CCA's impact on economy and efficiency.

The first linkage expected to promote efficiency is from planning and administration to economy. An assumption of the CCA is that the duplication of effort and the overlapping jurisdictions of the pre-CCA period are costly and inefficient. Savings should result from the centralization of organization and coordination of activities at the local level. Evaluation results indicate, however, that the development of twelve new organizational structures at the local level without corresponding decreases in the costs of state level administration has been expensive. The expense is attributable to the start-up costs and to the continuing costs of maintaining the state and local organizations. The cost data indicate that the creation of local organizations to plan and administer correctional services costs more than continuing the pre-CCA system. For example, the CCA areas for which pre-CCA overhead is entirely accounted for by state administration demonstrate a six hundred eighty-eight percent increase in overhead under the CCA system. On the other hand, the increase under the CCA system in areas that had some pre-CCA local overhead (Ramsey, Hennepin, and Arrowhead Regional Corrections) is only seventy-three percent.

The second linkage expected to promote efficiency is from retaining offenders in the community to economy. An assumption of the Act is that diverting offenders from prison results in savings that offset the costs of increased local administration and programming. Evaluation results do not support this assumption. One of the major problems is that not enough offenders are diverted from prison to offset the added costs of the CCA. The areas which do divert more offenders come closer to being economical. The issue of whether more offenders could be diverted, however, brings one back to the factors outlined in the above section - - altering judicial sentencing patterns and the presence of large numbers of less serious state incarcerated offenders who could be shifted to the community.

Another issue that relates to the tendency for institutional savings not to offset increased local costs is that most CCA areas have tended to use local incarceration as an alternative not only to prison but to lesser sanctions as well. Local incarceration is a relatively expensive alternative. Ramsey county which comes closest to being economical is an exception in its usage of local incarceration. The data indicate that Ramsey's increase in local incarceration is accounted for primarily by offenders diverted from prison. The Ramsey data also indicate that the type of offender previously sentenced to the workhouse may be receiving lesser sanctions after CCA entry. Data for the other areas indicate that while some increase in local incarceration is accounted for by prison diversions, much of the increase is accounted for by types of offenders who prior to CCA received lesser sanctions. Red Lake-Polk-Norman, for example, does divert offenders from prison. These savings are considered in calculating the post-CCA costs. However, not only prison diversions but other offenders who received lesser sanctions prior to the CCA are incarcerated locally. This large increase in the use of local incarceration tends to offset the savings that result from decreased use of prison. Thus, a factor affecting economy appears to be that local incarceration is selected by judges not only for offenders previously committed to prison but also for types of offenders previously sentenced to the community.

The third linkage expected to promote efficiency is from public protection. Evaluation results indicate consistently that public protection is maintained but not improved with CCA participation. The linkage, then, from public protection does not promote efficiency. One might argue that if all programming were targeted at less serious felons and all resources went to their rehabilitation, that perhaps public protection could improve. However, because in Minnesota the target population is small and success rates already quite high, even a marked increase in rehabilitation could not improve public protection enough to offset the costs.

D. Conclusions

This evaluation is a policy evaluation not a program evaluation. It is important to recognize that this evaluation only assesses the impact of the Minnesota Community Corrections Act. Conclusions regarding the Minnesota Community Corrections Act cannot be generalized to the entire concept of community corrections.

The previous section discusses issues that appear to affect the impact of the Community Corrections Act. Some of these factors are of general relevance for understanding the impact of such legislation. Other factors are of more specific relevance to Minnesota where this legislation has been implemented.

Two general factors appear to hinder the success of such legislation. One factor is the relative ineffectiveness of correctional legislation as a mechanism to alter significantly sentencing practices. The key to promoting the goals evaluated is to divert certain offenders from prison to community sanctions. This decision is a judicial decision which may not be affected by corrections legislation. The second factor is that local administration of corrections services is expensive. The Minnesota CCA encourages not only community corrections programs but also local corrections planning and administration. In areas without established local corrections organizations the change to the local planning and administration of the CCA system is expensive. The potential incompatibility between local planning and administration and the goal of economy needs to be recognized and confronted.

Two factors more specific to Minnesota may have also limited the success of the legislation. The first factor is that the legislation was implemented in a state that already practiced community corrections. This fact limited the ability of most CCA areas to make significant gains in retaining offenders and improving appropriateness of sanctions. The potential for impact appears to be greater in states where there are large numbers of offenders committed to prison who could be safely kept in the community. The second factor is that in Minnesota the alternative to prison has tended to be local incarceration. Moreover judges tend to use local incarceration to a greater extent for types of offenders previously sentenced to the community. This increased use of a relatively expensive local alternative has reduced the savings that result from keeping offenders out of prison.

These four factors should be considered in policy decisions that utilize the evaluation findings. In other states the key questions are:

1. Are there large numbers of offenders currently incarcerated who according to state norms could be sentenced to the community?
2. If so, what type of incentives, disincentives or guidelines would assure that judges would sentence these offenders to the community?
3. How much local planning and administration of community corrections is desired?
4. What sentencing alternatives appear to be appropriate and economical for offenders diverted from prison?

Minnesotans must recognize the relevance of Sentencing Guidelines legislation. The guidelines system, which anticipates that eighty percent of felons will receive community sanctions, reaffirms that community corrections is the accepted approach in Minnesota. Moreover, the guidelines replace the incentives and disincentives of the CCA as the primary legislative mechanism to alter judicial sentencing behavior in the adult area. The question is: given the guidelines, is there a more economical way to deliver community corrections? Since sentencing is now governed by the Sentencing Guidelines, the issues that remain relevant for economy discussions are the CCA system of administration and the appropriate local alternatives to prison. Central issues, then, are:

1. The potential incompatibility between local control and economy; and
2. The dilemma of developing appropriate local alternative sanctions that are compatible with economy.

LIST OF ASSOCIATED REPORTS

1. Minnesota Community Corrections Act Evaluation: Research Design (June, 1980)
2. Technical Report: Planning and Administration
3. Technical Report: Local Correctional Programming
4. Technical Report: Retaining Offenders in the Community
5. Technical Report: Appropriateness of Sanctions
6. Technical Report: Public Protection
7. Technical Report: Social Justice
8. Technical Report: Economy
9. Technical Report: Efficiency
10. Technical Report: Adult Offender Sample

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