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Anchorage CANS Program

Matthew Giblin

In Spring 1999, the Anchorage Police Department (APD) and the Alaska Division of Juvenile Justice (DJJ) established a partnership to enhance the supervision and services provided to juvenile probationers in Anchorage. Modeled after a successful program in San Diego County, California, the Anchorage Coordinated Agency Network (CANS) program extended the supervisory arm of the youth probation office by having Anchorage police officers make random visits to juvenile probationers. This article discusses an evaluation conducted by the Justice Center of the pilot phase of the CANS program.

Program Overview

The Anchorage program targets juvenile probationers in the Anchorage Police Department service area with the hope of fulfilling two objectives. First, the program is designed to enhance overall levels of probationer supervision through intensive and

systematic supervision. The police officers involved in the program are volunteers. Each participating officer is assigned to at least one or, in some cases, two youth probationers. The police officer is expected to make at least two unannounced contacts with the assigned probationer each month to ensure that the juvenile is in compliance with the terms of probation. After each visit, the officer writes a brief description of the nature of the contact and forwards the information to the CANS program coordinator within the Anchorage Police Department.

The one-to-one police officer/probationer contact augments the supervision already provided by juvenile probation officers, each of whom is currently handling a caseload of 40 to 50 probationers. In fact, a juvenile in the CANS program can receive up to three times as many contacts as under regular probation. If a juvenile is not in compliance with the terms of his/her probation, the police department will notify the assigned probation officer, who is then able to act upon any violations noted by the police officer.

The second objective of the CANS program is to provide positive role models for youth. Through their contact with juveniles, officers can engender mutual respect and foster positive interactions between youth and the police.

Program officials anticipate that, if the objectives described above are met, juvenile probationers participating in the CANS program will have lower levels of recidivism than those juveniles who do not participate.

The pilot phase provided an opportunity to evaluate the outcomes for a select group of juvenile probationers before the program was implemented on a larger scale.

Methodology

The Justice Center conducted a two-part examination of the CANS project. The first part of the study explored whether program participants had more favorable outcomes than a non-program control group. Second, an analysis was conducted to determine the relevant predictors of successful program outcomes.

Random assignment to the program was made prior to the design of the evaluation. The Division of Juvenile Justice Youth Probation Department produced a list of active youth probationers who were not institutionalized at the time. From this list, 95 juveniles were randomly assigned to be participants in the CANS pilot phase and 95 were assigned to a control group. The purpose of the control group was to provide a comparison. Unlike the CANS participants, juveniles in this group were supervised by DJJ youth probation officers only, not receiving additional supervision.

The design of the evaluation assumed that participants in the program were randomly assigned to the control or treatment groups. The Anchorage Police Department and DJJ provided data on each of the 190 juveniles

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HIGHLIGHTS INSIDE THIS ISSUE

- An Alaska Bar Association session addresses legal interpretation (page 2).
- A review of *Newjack*, an inside look at the work of correctional officers at New York's Sing Sing prison (page 3).

Justice Center 25th Anniversary

The Justice Center has completed its 25th year as a research, academic and public education institution. The Alaska legislature established the Center in 1975 within the University of Alaska Anchorage with a mission to conduct research into the justice field and provide higher education in justice studies. The first graduates of its baccalaureate program received their degrees in 1978. In 1986 the Center was expanded to incorporate the state Statistical Analysis Unit—a federally funded effort to broaden

statistical research into justice concerns at the state level. The paralegal certification program of the Center received the approval of the American Bar Association in 1992.

The work of the Center has included research reports, books, studies for public agencies, media programs, educational videos, and conferences, ranging across the spectrum of justice issues manifested in Alaska. There have been over 500 graduates of the Center's academic programs.

Interpreting and Translating in Alaska's Legal System: Further Discussion

Phyllis Morrow

Skilled and effective interpreting and translating are critical for access to justice in cases involving speakers of languages other than English. In the past few years, there has been increasing concern with identifying Alaskan needs and recommending actions to improve communication in cross-linguistic legal situations. The 1999 Alaska Judicial Conference on Interpreting, the groundwork built by the Language and Cultural subcommittee of the Alaska Supreme Court Advisory Committee on Fairness and Access, and the ongoing work of the Alaska Court Service Interpreter Task Force have been significant steps in this direction.

More recently, the session on "Mutual Understanding: Interpreting and Translating in Alaska's Legal System" at the Alaska Bar Association last spring indicates that the effort to meet the interpretation and translation needs of the justice and legal system is continuing.

The panelists and presenters at the convention session included Alaskan legal professionals as well as both Alaskan and non-Alaskan language and cultural specialists. Among the national and international experts were Yolanda Salazar Hobrough, a federally-certified court interpreter in both Canada and the United States and a partner in the Language Bureau, a Vancouver-based interpreter and translator service; Chandler Thompson, founder of the U.S. Court Telephone Interpreting Program; and Susana Stettri Sawrey, a federally-certified Spanish court interpreter. Using dramatic role playing and participant exercises, these presenters demonstrated the complex skills involved in a variety of situations requiring interpretation, including whispered simultaneous interpretation and simultaneous interpretation via telephone. The presenters also offered concrete suggestions for working with interpreters in legal settings, responded to questions about specific Alaska situations, and explained the training required for interpreter certification and the necessity of using trained interpreters.

Since the 1989 passage of RCW 2.43, a law requiring mandatory provision of interpreters in criminal cases, the state of Washington has instituted intensive interpreter/translator training programs. Training and certification require, among other things, forty to seventy hours of practical training, including sight translating, consecutive and simultaneous interpreting, and training in

professional standards and ethics. Sawrey detailed the certification process in King County, where tests for Spanish, Vietnamese, Khmer, Cantonese, Lao, Korean, and Russian are now in place.

In places like Alaska, where state certification is unavailable, the courts are relying on non-certified interpreters and translators. The history of the use of interpreters in Alaska, summarized in materials presented by Richard Erlich, Superior Court Judge in Kotzebue, is surprisingly scant considering Alaska's diverse historical and contemporary population. Although recent cases show more sophistication than a 1917 case in which the court was required to provide an interpreter for "Assyrian", a language that did not exist then or now, the historical record suggests a continuing lack of clear procedures for identifying needs and using appropriate interpreters. In this context, Yolanda Salazar Hobrough discussed ways to determine the qualities of a good interpreter in the absence of the assurance provided by certification. For specific Alaska situations, Judy Gopaul of the Inupiaq Court Interpreting Project for the North Slope Borough, and Marie Meade, Yup'ik language interpreter and Adjunct Professor at the University of Alaska Anchorage, noted the availability of experienced and qualified, if non-certified, interpreters for these two Alaskan Eskimo languages. Tracy Pifer, a freelance sign language interpreter, detailed communication problems specific to interactions with people who are hearing impaired and discussed the availability of qualified sign interpreters in Alaska.

Even in states with certification, it is not uncommon for speakers of isolated languages (that is, languages that are not spoken by a sizable enough number of speakers for certification to be locally available) to need interpretation services. Non-English speaking immigrants, refugees, and tourists, for example, may find themselves in legal difficulty and need interpreters. Such cases can be critical since relatively minor legal infractions may have serious implications for immigration status or consequences in the home country—a point emphasized by Robin Bronen, Director of Immigration and Refugee Services for Catholic Social Services. Interpreter assistance for such cases can be sought through organizations such as The Language Bureau or the U.S. Court Telephone Interpreting Program. Telephonic assistance is also available through AT&T, although this service is expensive

and provides only a limited number of languages.

A need for assistance is most obvious when someone speaks little or no English and the cultural context of the court is clearly at odds with the person's background. Yet Sharon Lindley, who serves as Cultural Navigator for the Alaska Court System in Bethel, noted that much of her work entails aiding members of the Bethel area population who do speak English, not just those Yup'ik elders whose linguistic and cultural discomfort may be more apparent. Younger defendants, she said, may speak English conversationally but have little understanding of the proceedings that concern them. Because of an apparent shyness, which adheres to the culture, they may prefer to assert that they understand rather than draw extended attention to their misunderstanding.

Legal professionals can contribute to clearer communication by an awareness of patterns of misunderstanding. District Court Deputy Presiding Judge Peter Ashman of the 3rd Judicial District noted that, in his experience, a judge's or an attorney's failure to listen or to pick up clues that indicate a lack of comprehension tends to exacerbate communication difficulties. Galen Paine, Assistant Public Defender in Sitka, commented that attention to social and class differences can be as important as recognition of cultural differences. In either case, she noted, a key to clearer communication is to spend sufficient time with clients before they enter the courtroom. Adequate interpreting and widespread "cultural navigation" services, she adds, are essential to ensure equal access to justice. These cannot be achieved as long as the justice system fails to provide sufficient time and resources, both financial and human, to this effort.

The bar convention session in drawing further attention to the need to address interpreting issues in the legal communication process is contributing to a momentum toward establishing standards.

Phyllis Morrow is Professor of Anthropology at University of Alaska Fairbanks. She has published two previous articles in the Alaska Justice Forum on the issues discussed above: "Legal Interpreting in Alaska," Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 1994) and "A Sociolinguistic Mismatch: Central Alaskan Yup'iks and the Legal System," Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer 1993). They are available through the Justice Center Web Site at <http://www.uaa.alaska.edu/just/forum/>.

Review Essay

Newjack: Beyond the Stereotype of the Brutal Guard

John Riley

Newjack: Guarding Sing Sing

By Ted Conover

New York: Random House, 2000

321 pages

Popular culture is a curious thing. In a society where writers spend vast amounts of time and energy exploring the character complexities of criminals, portrayals of correctional officers are almost consistently unflattering and one-dimensional. Correctional officers are almost always portrayed as bad guys. They are depicted as inherently sadistic and mindlessly authoritarian, as one-dimensional characters without redeeming qualities.

This inaccurate and unsympathetic image of the guard is a staple of both popular fiction and many firsthand accounts of prison life. It can be found in the writings of Jack Abbot, Brendan Behan, and Eldridge

Cleaver, and in films like “Cool Hand Luke”, “Brubaker”, and “Shawshank Redemption.” There are, of course, exceptions. One of these is Ted Conover’s new book, *Newjack: Guarding Sing Sing*. It is one of a very few recent books to get beyond the stereotype of the brutal guard to explore the complex nature of correctional work.

Conover is now well-known for a series of books recounting in-depth, firsthand experiences of some of American society’s more obscure subcultures. He spent a year hopping freight trains with homeless men, traveled with illegal Mexican immigrants, and took a job driving a cab in Aspen in order to have an opportunity to observe the city’s wealthy winter visitors. His work has been described as “experiential journalism.” In fact, Conover’s writing often seems to blur the boundaries between journalism and the observational methods of the social sciences. He typically offers readers the kind of thoughtful and meticulous research characteristic of good scholarship while demonstrating the storyteller’s gift for compelling narrative. This is certainly the case in *Newjack*, a beautifully written book that most readers will find moving and informative, if sometimes controversial.

Conover spent a year working as a “newjack”—the inmate term for a newly minted New York state correctional officer. Upon leaving the training academy he was assigned to work in Sing Sing, the state’s maximum security prison in Ossining, where most new officers spend their first months on the job. *Newjack* tells the story of Conover’s introduction to correctional work. After a short time at the academy and a brief period of on-the-job training, Conover found himself working, often alone and always unarmed, in galleries housing sixty or more inmates. As a newjack, he was responsible for the care and custody of scared young first-timers, drug addicts, gang members, violent predators, physically debilitated inmates suffering from diseases like AIDS and TB, and an assortment of “bugs”—prison slang for the mentally ill.

Conover sought out a work assignment that would maximize his opportunity to observe prison life. Most of his time at Sing Sing was spent in close contact with the inmates, in dining halls and housing galleries, doing strip searches, searching cells, writing disciplinary infraction reports, and confiscating inmate contraband. Because they live in an enforced state of near helplessness, responding to inmates who required

assistance with an apparently endless array of personal problems filled much of Conover’s time.

Conover’s description of the correctional officer’s role is largely consistent with that offered by others who have firsthand experience of prison life. It brings to mind Lucien Lombardo’s work on Auburn Prison, Barbara Owen’s on San Quentin, and even Gresham Sykes’ classic, *Society of Captives*. In brief, virtually all serious, firsthand accounts of correctional work describe a gap between the training and the reality of the job, official policies and procedures that require routine circumvention, poor relations between line officers and administrators, and the corrosive influence of stress on professional conduct and personal life.

Conover also covers all of this, describing the overwhelming confusion of a new officer’s first days in a crowded housing unit, illustrating the newjack’s dependence on the goodwill of inmates, depicting the apparent hostility and indifference of senior colleagues, and demonstrating the inevitability of making serious and even life-threatening mistakes in the chaotic world of the prison. In doing that, Conover helps readers get beyond the stereotype of the brutal guard to see correctional officers as individuals, offering us a chance to understand how the prison experience shapes their professional lives and inevitably influences their personal relationships.

Newjack is not a puff piece for the profession, as Conover’s crisp and unsparing description of fellow officers and their attitudes makes clear. The language of angry officers, and their apocryphal stories of inmate abuse, which he relates, may be interpreted by some readers as evidence of sadism and brutality in American prisons. Inmates are described as the “lowest of the low” and officers describe themselves as “warehousers” and “baby-sitters.” One officer claims he “wouldn’t piss them [inmates] if they were on fire” while others reminisce about the good old days and describe up-state institutions where a correctional officer can still simply “beat the shit out of” disrespectful or uncooperative inmates. These and other remarks will probably leave some officers wishing that they had never met Conover; but on the whole, this is a balanced work that could never have been written by someone who lacked respect for correctional officers.

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Newjack (continued from page 3)

Perhaps Conover's most important achievement in *Newjack* is found in his description of the fundamental moral ambiguity that characterizes correctional work. He succeeds in portraying correctional officers as people who are forced by the circumstances of their work to continually struggle with contradictory impulses. Conover himself clearly struggled as much with his fundamental inclination to reach out to people in trouble as with the anger and frustration he sometimes felt toward those he helped to hold captive. Early on we find him fantasizing about beating inmates and burning their cell house. At one point, not long after coming to Sing Sing, Conover heard a story about an inmate who was beaten by correctional officers after striking an officer in the head with a broom handle. According to Conover:

A month earlier I would have reacted negatively to a story like that. But now, seeing how outnumbered officers were and feeling more like prey than predator, I found in the tale a grain of comfort.

Later Conover comes to ignore many minor inmate rule violations and eventually violates prison regulations by bringing inmates contraband cigarettes and literature during the Christmas holidays.

Cigarettes packs that lacked a New York State revenue stamp... were not allowed to be distributed to inmates, and were apparently thrown away. I thought of the inmates I know whom nobody was likely to remember at Christmas. There were lots of them.

My heart went out to the most pathetic. When no one was looking I stuffed about a dozen of the cigarette packs into my jacket.

Conover's interest in the theme of dangerous and almost uncontrollable sympathy for those we punish is conveyed in a quotation from Amos Squire, a New York prison doctor who supervised 138 executions—some in Sing Sing's electric chair.

I had given the signal for the current to be turned on—while the man in the chair was straining against the straps as the load of 2200 volts shot through his body—I felt for the first time a wild desire to extend my hand and touch him.... At each subsequent execution, the impulse became stronger. It finally got so compelling that I was forced to grip my fingernails into my palm to control it. Each time I had to stand farther and farther from the chair.

Conover sees correctional workers as multidimensional characters, neither good nor bad, but as people struggling as we all do to behave well in difficult circumstances. In *Newjack*, Conover leaves his readers with the sense that for most officers success is more a matter of controlling the contradictions of genuine empathy and justified anger than conquering the kind of sadism portrayed in popular films like "Cool Hand Luke," or "Shawshank Redemption." Conover must be congratulated for his able exploration of the tensions inherent in these contradictions.

If Conover's overall effort to offer a realistic picture of the correctional officer is largely successful, his account of prison sexuality will undoubtedly generate some criticism. His claim that non-consensual sex

is now rare in Sing Sing does not ring true. It raises troubling questions about the efficacy of Sing Sing's staff and may well constitute a denial of responsibility for the protection of vulnerable inmates. Given a long-standing convict code that discourages inmates from reporting victimization, it is hard to know how much rape occurs in prison. Even so, Conover's discussion of disciplinary infractions and openly transsexual inmates suggests that homosexual relations were clearly commonplace during his time at Sing Sing. Considering the extraordinary power differentials that separate young, weak and unconnected inmates from older, stronger, gang-affiliated convicts, it is hard to know how anyone can establish that what sometimes passes for consent in prison is freely given and truly uncoerced.

Some readers will also be troubled by Conover's assertion that voluntary sexual encounters between female staff and inmates may be more common than prison rape at Sing Sing. Is Conover buying into the macho ideology of male guards? There are many opportunities for male officers to engage in sexual misconduct on duty, after all, and Conover himself was solicited at least once. In the end, it's hard to know because he does not delve deeply into this issue. And while some readers may fault him for this, others will doubtless find themselves still learning more about the topic than they really wanted to know.

Correctional officers play a critical role in the administration of justice by making the sentence of the court a reality. Even so, it is not often that we look beyond popular stereotypes to give them the kind of serious consideration that they deserve. In *Newjack*, Conover invites us to do just that. It is hard to imagine a better opportunity.

John Riley is an assistant professor with the Justice Center.

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participating in the study. APD produced data on the officer/probationer pairings and frequency of contacts. DJJ provided information on each probationer, including demographic characteristics such as age, sex, race, and education, as well as data on prior experiences, such as previous record and history of child abuse. In addition, DJJ supplied data regarding participants' probation violations and new offenses during the CANS pilot phase.

In order to be eligible for inclusion in the study, both control and experimental group members must have been on probation and not detained or institutionalized at the be-

ginning of the CANS program, June 1, 1999. Thirty-five juveniles in the original group were removed from the analysis due to their ineligibility. The majority of ineligible cases were excluded because the juvenile was either off probation or institutionalized before the pilot period began. Three additional juveniles were excluded for being AWOL at the time of the program start, and another juvenile was excluded due to his move to Washington. The majority of ineligible juveniles were drawn from the control (non-CANS) group (88.6%); being off probation was the primary reason for ineligibility (51%).

The final sample used in the analysis consisted of 155 juveniles (91 experimental, 64 control). Table 1 presents descriptive sta-

tistics for juveniles in both groups. A chi-square test revealed that the disproportionate attrition of juveniles from the control group did not create differences between the two groups on any of the variables examined.

Analysis

As noted above, CANS officers participated in the program voluntarily, with each participating police officer assigned one or two juveniles. Each officer was supposed to visit the juvenile two times per month.

CANS officers made a total of 186 contacts with the CANS participants between June 1, 1999 and December 31, 1999. Figure 1 shows that the majority of visits oc-

Table 1. Characteristics of Control and Experimental Groups

	Control		Experimental		Control		Experimental		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Age at program start					Education (last grade completed)				
11	0	0.0 %	1	1.1 %	6	1	1.6 %	2	2.2 %
12	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	1	1.6	6	6.6
13	3	4.7	3	3.3	8	15	23.4	17	18.7
14	2	3.1	3	3.3	9	6	9.4	15	16.5
15	5	7.8	18	19.8	10	19	29.7	19	20.9
16	19	29.7	15	16.5	11	9	14.1	17	18.7
17	13	20.3	21	23.1	12/GED	8	12.5	13	14.3
18	18	28.1	24	26.4	Unknown	5	7.8	2	2.2
19	4	6.3	5	5.5	Prior misdemeanor adjudications				
20	0	0.0	1	1.1	None	9	14.1 %	12	13.2 %
Race/ethnicity					1-5	49	76.6	69	75.8
White	25	39.1 %	48	52.7 %	6-10	5	7.8	10	11.0
Black	7	10.9	16	17.6	Unknown	1	1.6	0	0.0
Hispanic	3	4.7	2	2.2	Prior felony adjudications				
Asian	4	6.3	2	2.2	None	46	71.9 %	71	78.0 %
Alaska Native/ Native American	10	15.6	12	13.2	1-5	16	25.0	20	22.0
Other	1	1.6	0	0.0	6-10	1	1.6	0	0.0
Multi-racial/ethnic	14	21.9	10	11.0	Unknown	1	1.6	0	0.0
Unknown	0	0.0	1	1.1	Prior history of substantiated abuse/neglect				
Sex					Yes	29	45.3 %	39	42.9 %
Male	57	89.1 %	79	86.8	No	34	53.1	49	53.8
Female	7	10.9	12	13.2	Unknown	1	1.6	3	3.3
					Changes in living situation				
					0	21	32.8 %	28	30.8 %
					1-2	20	31.3	33	36.3
					3 or more	23	35.9	30	33.0

Percentages may not total 100 percent due to rounding

occurred in August and September. It is not surprising that the pattern of contacts takes on a bell-shaped curve. In June, the pilot phase was just beginning and officers were becoming acquainted with their role. As they learned about the expectations of the program, they gradually increased the number of contacts they were making. At the end of the pilot phase, the number of visits tapered off. This reduction might be attributed to several factors. Some juveniles were charged with new offenses or violated conditions of their probation and were institu-

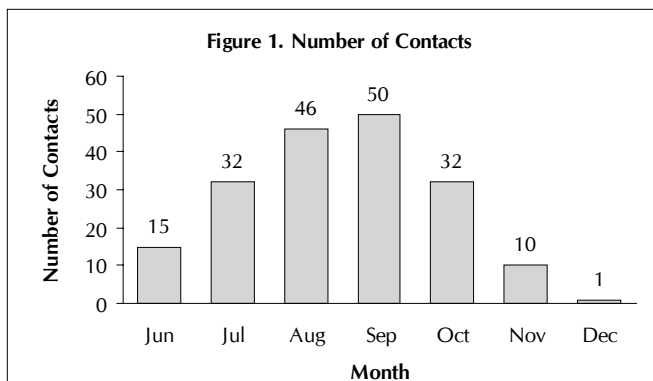
tionalized. Other juveniles simply completed their probation and were no longer a part of the program. In either case, there were fewer juveniles to supervise and contact at the latter stages of the pilot phase than at the beginning.

The number of contacts received by each CANS program juvenile varied. The majority of juveniles received between one and three visits during the pilot phase (56.1%). Twenty juveniles, or 22 per cent of CANS participants, did not receive any visits during the period. Most juveniles received one visit (30.8%) between June and December, 11 per cent received two visits, and 14.3 per cent received three visits. Twenty-two per cent of juveniles were contacted by their CANS officer four times or more. The mean number of contacts was 2.01 contacts over the seven-month period.

The results shown in Table 2 indicate that a

slightly smaller proportion of CANS juveniles (19.8%) committed new offenses during the pilot phase when compared with control group participants (23.4%). The difference, however, was small and did not achieve statistical significance. The two groups did differ to a greater extent on new probation violations. While 17.2 per cent of control group members committed new technical violations during the period, 29.7 per cent of CANS juveniles committed new technical violations. (Note that the two groups may not necessarily differ in the actual number of new offenses or new probation violations; these are reported differences. Differences may be a product of the increased supervision and the increased likelihood of being caught.) Again, the differences were not significant at the commonly used .05 *p* value but the findings, consistent with findings reported in the literature, do lend some support to the idea that increased supervision leads to higher numbers of recorded probation violations.

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The data also reveal that the 155 juveniles involved in the evaluation were involved in 43 incidents that resulted in new charges being filed. Of these incidents, 26 (60.4%) were committed by individuals in the CANS program while only 17 (39.5%) were committed by juveniles in the control group. The 26 experimental group incidents that resulted in new charges were committed by 18 different CANS program juveniles. Fifteen control group juveniles were responsible for 17 incidents that resulted in new charges. Table 3 presents the most serious charge for each of the total 43 events. It is worth noting that the differences between the control and the CANS group in the number of incidents is small when the size of each group is taken into account. That is, there were .286 incidents for each CANS program juvenile while there were .266 incidents for each control group member. This finding of very small differences in the rate of new incidents mirrors the findings above, suggesting no differences between the two groups in the likelihood of facing new charges.

A more sophisticated analysis was needed to determine possible predictors of program success. This analysis, which considered the influence of CANS participation while holding all other variables equal, was a stronger test of the relationship between

CANS and new charges and new probation violations.

The results indicated that two variables might be significant predictors of new probation violations—participation in the CANS program and three or more changes in the juvenile’s living situation. In addition, four other variables approached significance: work time, school time, prior history of abuse/neglect, and one or two changes in living situation.

To further explain this finding, the odds ratios need to be addressed. The results indicated that the odds of a juvenile in the CANS program having new probation violations, all else being equal, were 3.2 times greater than the odds of a juvenile not in the CANS program having new probation violations. In other words, CANS program juveniles were 220 per cent more likely to have new probation violations than control group participants. The findings here also suggested that juveniles with three or more changes in their living situation, regardless of whether they were CANS participants or not, were over 10 times more likely to have new probation violations than juveniles with no changes.

The variable of one or two changes in living situation—which approaches statistical significance—may play some role in predicting new probation violations, not surprising given the finding that three or

Table 2. New Probation Violations and Offenses

	Control		Experimental	
	N	%	N	%
Any new probation violation?				
Yes	11	17.2 %	27	29.7 %
No	53	82.8	64	70.3
Any new offense?				
Yes	15	23.4 %	18	19.8 %
No	49	76.6	73	80.2

Percentages may not total 100 percent due to rounding.

more changes also predicted probation outcomes. Two other variables, work time and school time, also approached statistical significance. Therefore, there is some evidence to suggest that juveniles who were not working or not working regularly and juveniles not attending school or not attending regularly were more likely to have new probation violations. Finally, a child with a prior history of abuse was somewhat more likely to have new probation violations, although, the results were not statistically significant. (It is worth restating that the higher significance levels for each of these four variables mean that the differences in outcomes may be due to chance alone rather than any true differences in living situation, work and school situation, and child abuse history.)

When the impact of CANS was examined using new charges as the dependent variable, the only significant relationship found was between age and three or more

Officer Reports on Contacts with Juvenile Probationers

The following excerpts are typical of reports made by Anchorage Police Department officers after CANS contacts.

6/25/99—J. missed meeting with P.O. Myself and P.O. responded and spoke with J. at home. J. said Mom forgot to remind him about the meeting. J. said he and S. got into an argument on Monday (6/21) and he put a hole in his wall with his head in anger. J. also did not show up for work on Monday and was fired. J. admonished to have no contact with S as ordered by court documents. I spoke with S.’s Mom by phone who said that S. told her Monday J had “head butted” her on Monday or Tuesday but she had no visible injury.... Not in compliance.

7/20/99—Stopped by at about 2030 and was told S. would be home by 2200 and he was. Dad says S. is being compliant with rules.... In compliance.

7/31/99—I went to F.’s residence to contact him for the second time this month. F. was not home but I talked with his father who told me that F. has been doing well. F. has been going to his drug test regularly and working full-time. Still pursuing GED for Fall.... In compliance.

8/23/99—F. wasn’t home, talked with guardian, S., who said he had been doing very well other than being arrested for trespassing at the Dimond Center. S. also stated that F. was working at [Pizza Restaurant]. Note, third time I’ve been to the address and have yet to see F.... In compliance.

9/1/99—K. ran away last night per Mom. Warrant pending at McLaughlin Youth Center.... Not in compliance.

9/17/99—Contacted new renters of residence who stated they did not know W. and he did not live there. They didn’t know where he lived.... Not in compliance.

9/21/99—D. still living in trailer in backyard. Was sleeping. Said he worked late at [establishment] and didn’t go to school today or yesterday. Said he was catching up on school credits and was saving money to pay his restitution. Expected to have it in a couple weeks. Said he would have list of goals on next visit written down.

Table 3. New Offenses Committed by Control and Experimental Group Members

	Control		Experimental		Total
	N	% of all incidents	N	% of all incidents	
Violent/personal offense					
Assault	2	4.7 %	6	14.0	8
Robbery	0	0.0	1	2.3	1
Sexual assault/rape by force	0	0.0	1	2.3	1
Weapons-related	1	2.3	2	4.7	3
Drug/alcohol-related offenses					
Drug possession	0	0.0 %	2	4.7	2
Property offenses					
Burglary	0	0.0 %	1	2.3	1
Damage/destruction	1	2.3	0	0.0	1
Larceny/theft	5	11.6	8	18.6	13
Vehicle theft	4	9.3	2	4.7	6
Trespassing	0	0.0	1	2.3	1
Miscellaneous offenses					
Flight/escape	1	2.3 %	0	0.0	1
Obstructing/resisting	1	2.3	0	0.0	1
Mischief/disturbance	2	4.7	2	4.7	4
Total	17	39.5 %	26	60.5	43

Percentages may not total 100 percent due to rounding.

changes in living situation and new charges. The relationship is negative, indicating that older juveniles were less likely to have new charges filed against them than younger juveniles. In other words, for each unit increase in age (e.g., one-year increase in age), the odds of new charges being filed were reduced by 37 per cent. In addition, having three or more changes in the living situation increased the likelihood of new charges being filed by over 195 per cent, compared with a juvenile with no changes. The other variables provided no significant contribution to predicting outcomes and were excluded from the statistical equation.

One final analysis produced interesting results. In this analysis, only participants in the CANS program were included. A model was constructed that included only those variables that are relevant in predicting the outcome: educational level, work time, three or more changes in living situation, and total number of visits. Of these, only total visits and three or more changes in living situation were statistically significant. As in the other analyses, the living situation variable increased the odds of new offenses. Among CANS participants only, the increase in odds is over 400 per cent. That is, a CANS juvenile with three or more changes in living situation was more than five times as likely to have new charges during the pilot phase than a juvenile with no changes.

More important, perhaps, for the CANS program was the impact of visitation. The results indicated that, among CANS partici-

pants, for every one visit increase, the odds of new charges being filed decreased by 37 per cent. In other words, an increase in the number of contacts reduced the likelihood of a CANS juvenile having new charges filed. If one considers the earlier finding that 63.8 per cent of juveniles received fewer than three contacts during the study period, it is not surprising that CANS participation exerted no significant impact on new violations in the earlier analysis. However, if the results of the analysis of CANS individuals only are any indication, the impact of the CANS program may be more pronounced if the number of contacts is increased. Table 4 further illustrates this point. Thirty-five per cent of CANS juveniles who received zero contacts had new charges filed against them. In contrast, only five per cent of juveniles who were contacted four or more times had new charges filed against them. In sum, there is some evidence to suggest that increasing the number of visits may have a preventive impact on new offenses. Frequency of contacts did not, however, significantly predict the likelihood of new probation violations.

Summary

This evaluation of CANS involved directly comparing a group of 91 CANS participants with 64 juvenile probationers not in the CANS program. The first outcome examined was new probation violations. The data reveal that almost 30 per cent of

CANS juveniles had new technical violations compared to slightly more than 17 per cent of control group members. Furthermore, a more sophisticated logistic regression analysis identified CANS participation as a significant predictor of new probation violations. That is, CANS participants were over three times as likely to have new technical violations when compared to the control group. This fact does not imply that CANS or ISP participants commit more technical violations but, rather, there are increased opportunities of being caught due to enhanced surveillance.

Further analysis revealed no significant differences between control and CANS group members in the likelihood of committing offenses that resulted in new charges being filed. At first glance, this finding suggests the program does not meet its objectives. However, this finding should not be interpreted alone; instead, it is also necessary to consider the intensity of contacts received by each juvenile. Only 22 per cent of juveniles in the CANS program were contacted more than three times during the study period. Of the remaining juveniles, more than 28 per cent did not receive a single visit. It is true that each CANS juvenile received a letter indicating that an assigned police officer would visit. However, the letter was the only real distinction between the 22 per cent of CANS juveniles who received no visits and the control group. With this in mind, an analysis was undertaken to examine the impact of contact intensity on CANS participants only. The findings were revealing. With all other variables controlled, each contact reduced the odds of new charges being filed against a juvenile by 37 per cent. It is entirely possible that the large number of CANS juveniles with few contacts masked any differences that did exist be-

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Table 4. Percent of Juveniles with New Charges by Number of Visits

Number of visits	N	Percent with new charges
0 visits	20	35.0 %
1 visit	28	14.3
2 visits	10	20.0
3 visits	13	30.8
4 visits	8	0.0
5 visits	6	16.7
6 visits	5	0.0
7 visits	1	0.0

Percentages may not total 100 percent due to rounding.

Anchorage CANS (continued from page 7)

tween CANS juveniles and the control group. If this possibility is correct, one could expect the preventive impact of CANS to be greater as the number of contacts increases. However, an alternative explanation for this finding reverses the causal relationship. Instead of the number of visits predicting probation success, it is possible that probation success determined the number of visits. For example, a juvenile who committed a new offense and was institutionalized was, for obvious reasons, unable to receive visits from CANS officers. Therefore, while a relationship between the number of visits and probation success exists, the issue of causality is an empirical question which cannot be answered here.

Two additional findings are worth noting. Instability in a juvenile's living situation was consistently found to be related to

the likelihood of having new probation violations or new charges. More specifically, three or more changes increased the likelihood of having new probation violations ten times more than for a juvenile with no changes. Similarly, juveniles with three or more changes were nearly four times as likely to have new charges filed against them. The influence of residential instability was independent of CANS participation. In other words, all else being equal, a juvenile with three or more changes in living situation was more likely to have probation violations or new charges. A second interesting finding is that increasing age reduced the probability of new charges. Again, the impact of age existed regardless of CANS participation.

It is important to note that other factors may play a role in predicting outcomes. The results above consider only those variables that were included in the analysis. Additional factors related to officer contacts with

juveniles may be pertinent. For example, the variable "number of contacts" included in the above analyses assumes that all visits are equal. The variable is not able to discern what the officer does on each visit, who the contact is (e.g., juvenile, guardian), how long the contact lasts, or where the contact was made. It is possible that certain types of visits are more beneficial and have a greater effect on program outcomes than other types.

Despite the caveat noted above, evidence does exist that the objectives of the CANS program are being achieved. Although juveniles in CANS are more likely to have technical violations, the increased supervision also enhances the level of accountability for a juvenile's actions. In addition, there is some evidence suggesting that increasing the number of contacts may reduce the levels of new charges.

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