

ABSTRACT

The Bronx Sentencing Project was evaluated by comparing the disposition and recidivism rates of an experimental group of defendants referred to Argus Community with a control group. The Argus referral resulted in a marked, although not statistically significant reduction of prison sentences without a concurrent increase in recidivism. There are indications that if the Bronx Sentencing-Argus referral system were restricted to defendants with good rehabilitative prospects, Argus might not only reduce prison dispositions but in addition also reduce recidivism. To test adequately this prediction, a repetition of the experiment with certain modifications is recommended.

EVALUATION OF THE BRONX SENTENCING PROJECT

Grant Mumber #C-45385(A-4257)
Submitted to the New York City
Criminal Justice Coordinating Council

February 1973 Vera Institute of Justice

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Pare
	Introduction	1
I.	History	. 2
II.	Description of the Program	6
III.	Design of Study	9
IV.	Findings	13
V.	Conclusions and Recommendations	20
VI.	Appendices Appendix A: Sentencing Guidelines Appendix B: Acceptance Rates Appendix C: Crime Categories	21

IMTRODUCTION

This report attempts an evaluation of a referral mechanism developed by the Bronx Sentencing Project.

This referral mechanism involved the recommendation to judges that certain defendants found guilty be released before final sentencing, under the condition that they be supervised by a community-based agency. The specific agency chosen was Argus Community operated by Volunteer Opportunities, Incorporated. The project aimed to increase the ratio of non-prison to prison dispositions for its participants without increasing the risk to society. The project hoped that recidivism rates of the treated groups would not be higher than the average for the Bronx court system.

To determine if the project achieved these goals, a controlled experiment was designed in which individuals recommended to Argus were compared with a control group whose members were recommended for supervised release, without specifying a particular agency.

I. HISTORY

In its 1967 Report, the President's Crime Commission recommended that agencies experiment with the use of short-form presentence reports for adult misdemeanants convicted in the nation's lower courts.

Before 1968 the Bronx Probation Office made presentence reports for only a small fraction of misdemeanants; only 12 percent of all convicted misdemeanants received such reports. As a result, a large number of defendants were sentenced by judges who did not have any knowledge of the offender's background and social history, and therefore based sentencing decisions solely on the defendant's arrest and conviction records. The absence of presentence reports denied a substantial majority of offenders consideration of circumstances that might mitigate their sentence. More importantly, it also reduced the defendant's chances of securing specific forms of sentencing, such as probation or treatment in a community agency, which were made available to the 12 percent of the misdemeanants on whom the Probation Office furnished reports to the Court.

In July of 1968, the Bronx Sentencing Project was set up to enlarge the information on which the judges based their sentencing decisions, by providing them with a short, verified report on the defendant's employment and family background.

[&]quot;A fuller exposition of the project's genesis and history appears in Progress in Criminal Justice Reform, Vera Institute of Justice, Ten Year Report 1961-1971. (Published May, 1972).

The project was sponsored by the Vera Institute of Justice in cooperation with the Criminal Justice Coordinating Council.

The project was designed for a high-volume lower court, and put to test in the Bronx Criminal Court. Its clientele consisted of offenders convicted of serious misdemeanors, for whom a presentence investigation by the Office of Probation had not been ordered.

Three steps led to the presentence report.* Shortly after conviction, a staff member interviewed the defendant to gather pertinent data on his social and employment history, his contact with community agencies, and the circumstances surrounding the present offense. The staff later verified this information by telephone or field investigation and secured from the Identification Section of the Police Department a record of the defendant's prior convictions. By applying pre-established sentencing guidelines on the verified information, the project arrived at a point score on the basis of which a sentence recommendation was presented to the judge. (Appendix A reviews the point system.) Under this system, defendants obtaining a high score were recommended for non-prison sentences.

For the highest scorers an unsupervised release was recommended, that is discharge without restrictions. The next highest scoring group received a "supervised release" recommendation: they were assigned to a community based organization

For a detailed description of the project's operating procedures, see The Bronx Sentencing Project of the Vera Institute of Justice: An Experiment in the Use of Short-Form Presentence Reports for Adult Misdemeanants, United States Department of Justice, 1972, Joel B. Lieberman, S. Andrew Schaeffer, and John M. Martin, 1971.

to which they were to report regularly and from which they were to receive counseling services. When a non-prison recommendation could not be made, the report was submitted "For Information Only" (FIO). Eventually this label was regarded by the court as a recommendation for a prison sentence.

This shortened pre-sentence report was a successful innovation: judges followed Vera's recommendation and an increasingly higher proportion of defendants were given non-prison dispositions (see Appendix B). Gratifyingly, there was no increase in the recidivism rate of the project members when matched against a comparable group of adult misdemeanants not serviced by Vera.* One difficulty, however, developed: there were few reliable community based organizations to which clients could be referred for supervised release.

After disappointing experiences with several agencies, it became clear that if the project was to be effective its referral capability had to be improved. The earlier research allowed the identification of cases who, without undue risk to society, qualified for community-based rehabilitative programs. If these defendants were adjourned on a supervised release basis, to a specific agency, the project's chances for more non-prison sentences would be greatly enhanced.

[&]quot;This study is reported in detail in "The Bronx Sentencing Project", a report submitted to the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Grant No. N1-036. Prepared in cooperation with Gerald Shattuck and John Martin, 1970.

It was felt, however, that a sounder evaluation of the project's referral capability could be achieved if a significant number of offenders were placed in a single program that would provide the necessary data on the offenders' participation. Vera began to concentrate its referrals for supervised release in one agency -- Argus Community, operated by Volunteer Opportunities, Incorporated (Argus) -- whose program and management were found markedly superior to other outside agencies.

As a community agency, Argus was well-equipped to handle referral cases and to help evaluate the progress of Vera's clients over time. Argus was staffed by ex-addicts and trained para-professionals who screened and aided the applicants throughout their stay in the agency. The services of Argus included individual and group counselling, as well as assistance on such problems as housing and jobtraining. Facilities for tutoring and recreation were also made available to its participants.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

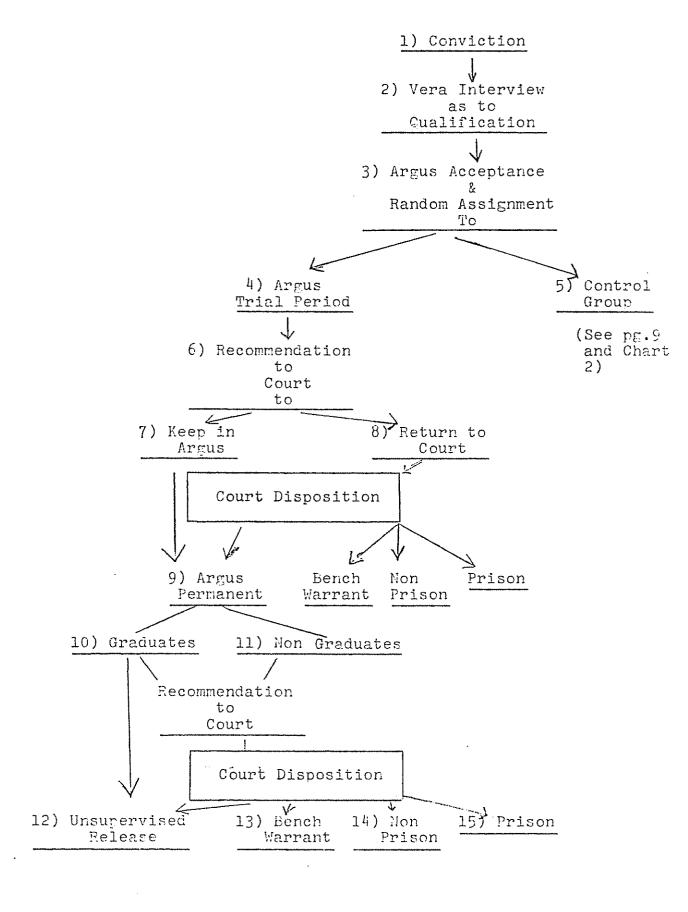
The procedure for Vera-Argus referral (depicted in Chart 1) was the following: potential participants were interviewed by the Eronx-Sentencing project staff shortly after conviction (#1 in Chart 1). If a defendant scored enough points for supervised release (but not enough for unsupervised release), the Argus program was explained to him (#2). He was offered the opportunity to enroll subject to the results of the verification process, the consent of the court and counsel, and the approval of Argus (#3). If he was out on bail or parole pending sentence, the defendant would immediately enter the program on a trial basis as a "temporary" enrollee (#4). If the defendant was in detention or in custody after conviction, then he had to wait until sentencing before he began a one-month adjournment to Argus on a temporary basis. At the end of their respective trial periods, defendants who rated satisfactorily as temporary enrollees reported for initial sentencing and were recommended for a six-month adjournment, as "formal" enrollees (#6 and #8). Those defendants who showed no progress during the probationary period were issued other recommendations at this time (#6 and #8).

In Argus (#9) the formal enrollees' progress was carefully evaluated by staff members. After six months, the defendants were recommended for unsupervised release (#10), continued participation in the program, referral to a different agency, or they received no recommendation (#11). These recommendations

were prepared by Argus staff, and were presented to the court, on Argus' behalf, by the Bronx Sentencing Project.

In June 1970, the New York State Crime Control Planning Board awarded Vera a grant to continue the Bronx Sentencing Project. The grant proposal focused primarily on an evaluation of the Vera-Argus community referral program based on a controlled experiment. Using the modified sentencing guidelines developed in the project's initial evaluation (See Appendix A), a pool of eligible cases was identified, a random sample of which was recommended to Argus. This evaluation compares an experimental and control group on the proportion of prison and non-prison dispositions (initial and final) and rates of recidivism. A search for variables which best predict non-recidivism among the research cases is also included.

CHART 1



III. DESIGN OF STUDY

A controlled experiment was designed to evaluate the Bronx Sentencing-Argus referral mechanism. Between September 1970 and September 1971, 163 defendants became eligible for Argus supervision: of these, 112 were randomly assigned to the experimental group and 51 to the control group.

As defendants became eligible they were stratified into four groups, according to their custody status at time of conviction (in jail or released) and according to whether or not they used drugs. From these four lists, cases were assigned randomly (#3 in Chart 1) to the experimental (#4) and control (#5) group in chronological order, the first two cases in each of the four categories to the experimental group, the third case to the control group.* That this random assignment produced in fact comparable groups is shown in Tables 1 and 2.

All experimental cases then entered Argus on a temporary basis prior to their preliminary sentencing (#4). Based on this trial experience, Argus classified the experimental group into two categories: (1) "Temporaries": defendants who failed to attend the counseling groups or take advantage of the program were not recommended for formal enrollment (#8); (2) "Formals": the remainder, who were recommended for enrollment (#9).

^{*} The number of experimentals is more than twice that of the controls because in some cases judges sentenced controls to Argus and thus they were excluded from the controlled study.

Table 1

Comparing Experimental and Control Group
by Specific Point Scores

Means of Point Scores

	<u>Family</u> <u>Ties</u>	Employ- ment	Prior Record	Total Score
Experimental	1.6	0.9	0.5	3.1
Control	1.5	1.0	0.3	2.9
	t=.5 df=151 n.s.	t=.8 df=151 n.s.	t=.2 df=151 n.s.	t=1.4 df=151 n.s.

<u>Table 2</u>

Comparing Experimental and Control Group
by Total Point Scores

Range of Point Scores

Research Status	-5 to <u>-1</u>	0 to +1	+2 to +4	+5 to +7	+8 to +11	Total
Experimental	5%	24%	36%	31%	ця	100%
	(6)	(27)	(40)	(35)	(4)	(112)
Control	6%	20%	51%	17%	6%	100%
2	(3)	(10)	(26)	(9)	(3)	(51)
χ =7.1, df=4, n.s.						

The decision to recommend formal enrollment was based on careful monitoring of the defendant's progress. If the defendant did not attend the program regularly or demonstrated negative attitudes towards drugs or alcohol, the Argus staff asked the Bronx Sentencing Project not to recommend the defendant for a formal referral to the agency. In these cases the project staff sought suitable referrals to other supervisory programs. When these alternative agencies were unavailable, Vera recommended supervised release to no specific agency. This was the same recommendation all control cases received at initial sentencing.

Not all of the formal enrollees, however, completed their stay in the agency, hence two subcategories formed themselves; (2a) "Non-graduates": defendants who did not demonstrate a satisfactory adjustment to the program as formal enrollees and thus, received no recommendation or were recommended for other supervised release disposition. This group also included defendants who were recommended for continued supervision at Argus (#11). (2b) "Graduates": Argus participants who remained in the program showing consistent progress, and who were recommended for unsupervised release at final sentencing (#10).

Whereas the experimentals were all offered the opportunity to enroll in Argus, the members of the control group were not referred to a specific agency. At the time of initial sentencing, the recommendation for the controls was "Supervised Release, no Specific Recommendation", with the additional

statement that although the defendant qualified for supervised release to the community, and was acceptable to Argus, limitations of staff and space prevented formal recommendation to Argus. The statement also added that if the court was inclined to place the defendant on probation, Vera suggested an Investigation and Sentence report to be ordered from the Office of Probation.

IV. FINDINGS

The project had two expectations. It hoped to reduce the number of prison dispositions required, and hoped that this goal could be accomplished without increasing risk to society, as measured by the recidivism rates of those concerned. The results of the study are presented in Chart 2.

The disposition patterns in the experimental and control groups are presented in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3

Initial Dispositions as a Function of Treatment Group

Initial Sentence	Experimental Group	Control Group %
Pṛison	3	16
Non-Prison	82	73
Bench Warrant	<u>15</u>	11
2	100% (112)	100% (51)
$\gamma=1.7$, df=2, n.s.		

Court Disnosition Prison Prison 9 Prison Warrant Prison Rearrested Final Sentence 51 100%, Non Non Control ilot. Warrant 8 Initial Bench Bench Argus for FLOW CHART OF THE BRONX SENTENCING EXPERIMENT Prison 24% Prison 24 20, qualified Prison 24 48% (42%) Sentence Prison 29 58% Randon Assirnment to Non Non Rearrested Arrus after Vera interview, 45% Warrant Warran Pinal Bench 28% 14 Bench 36% Not Not 163 Prison 34% 7 3 20 Incomplete Argus 41 Prison 16 619 (T 1 %) Sentence Non Convicted and, Rearrested Rearrested (106%) larrant Final 3ench Experimental Initial Court Disposition Not Tot Group Prison 0% Complete Argus 21 Prison 21 (%6D Sentence 1.00% (55%)Non Rearrested Argus Jarrant Final Bench Not 0 -14-

Table 4

Final Dispositions
as a Function of Treatment Group

Final Sentence	Experimental <u>Group</u>	Control <u>Group</u>
Prison	23	35
Non-Prison	59	51
Bench Warrant	<u>18</u>	14
2	100% (112)	100% (51)
χ =1.5, df=2, n.s.		

While a pattern is clearly suggested in these tables

-- a lower rate of prison disposition and correspondingly
a higher rate of non-prison dispositions for the experimental
compared to the control group -- the differences are not
significant with a sample of this size. It should also be
noted that the rate of bench warrants is just slightly higher
among the experimentals.

As Table 5 shows, there is no increase in the recidivism rate as a result of the referral to Argus, but the difference between 41% and 45% is too small to indicate a decrease.*

^{*}An examination of types of arrest charges reveals no differences between the two treatment groups (Appendix C).

	Experimental (112)	$\frac{\text{Control}}{(51)}$
Rearrested	41%	45%
Not Rearrested	59%	55%
χ =.2, df=1, n.s.	100% (112)	100% (51)

In Table 6, the average number of arrests in each group per month at risk is presented. This number was calculated by totaling the number of arrests (not the number of persons who were arrested) and dividing the sum by the total number of months that individuals in each group were not in custody and thus free to commit crimes and be arrested. The months were summed across individuals; if one person was released from jail 10 months and another 18 months before the end of the study period this would total 28 months at risk, regardless of the number of individuals. With this measure also, recidivism is not higher among the experimentals than among the controls.

 $\frac{\text{Table 6}}{\text{Research Status and Frequency of Rearrest After Conviction}}$

	Experimental	Control %
Frequency of Rearrest	μ	,
0	59 (66)	55 (28)
1	26 (30)	37 (19)
2	10 (11)	4 (2)
3	1 (1)	2 (1)
Ц	1 (1)	2 (1)
5	2 (2)	Non Ann
6	1 (1)	
Total # of rearrests	75	30
Total months at risk	1431	595
Average rate of re-arrest per month	•05	.05

There is, however, sumplemental data which indicate a higher effectiveness rate than Tables 5 or 6 indicates. Table 7 suggests -- it does no more than suggest because the base number is small -- that the program might indeed have a positive effect on the recidivism rate with defendants whose scores are above five points on the sentencing guidelines. Defendants who scored above five points in the experimental group had a 12 percent lower recidivism rate than the controls who scored above five. For defendants who scored below five, the reverse obtained; there was a slightly lower recidivism rate among the controls.

Table 7

Recidivism Rated by Initial Score

(number of points)

	Below 1	2 - 4	5 +	Total
Experimental	67%	52%	13%	
	(33)	(40)	(39)	112
Control	54%	46%	25%	
	(13)	(36)	(12)	51
Difference between experimentals and controls	+13%	+6%	-12%	

Table 7 also shows that the number of points a defendant received was a fairly good predictor of recividism: for both experimental and control groups, there was a higher rate of recidivism among low scorers. Clearly, more stable defendants as defined by the point system had lower recidivism than the low scoring defendants

A comparison of the scores of the defendants according to their status at Argus shows that both temporaries and nongraduates had an average score of 2.4 whereas the graduates scored 5.2. This difference indicates that Argus was much more likely to retain high scorers. The precise extent to which Argus helped reduce recidivism among the graduates could only be determined by a repetition of the study which would involve participants who scored above five points.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1. Argus referral resulted in a marked, although not statistically significant, reduction of prison dispositions from 35 percent to 23 percent, that is by about one-third.
- 2. Argus referral did not increase recidivism. The recidivism rate in the experimental group was 41 percent as against 45 percent in the control group; the recidivism rate in the Argus group was smaller but the difference was not great enough to ascribe it to the experimental treatment.
- 3. With respect to bench warrants, the proportion is somewhat higher in the experimental group, 18 percent as against 14 percent in the control group, again however, the difference is not statistically significant.
- 4. There are indications that if the referral system were limited to high scoring defendants, to those with better rehabilitative expectations, Argus might not only reduce prison dispositions but in addition also reduce recidivism.
- 5. A repetition of the experiment, with random assignments being made after the temporary period and under guidelines that would limit Argus referrals to defendants with point scores above five, is recommended.

APPENDIX A: SENTENCING GUIDELINES

Family Ties

- +3 Lives with spouse.
- +2 Lives with children, with or without another family member.
- +2 Supports spouse or children, with or without supporting another family member.
- +2 Supports one or more family members voluntarily.
- +1 Supports a non-family member voluntarily.
- +1 Has been living with a relative other than spouse or children.
- +1 Has been living with a non-family person for the past six months.
 - 0 None of the above.

Note: "Spouse" includes a legal spouse, or any person of the opposite sex with whom the defendant has lived in a conjugal relationship continuously for at least six months.

"Family member" includes any person related to the defendant by blood or adoption, including half and step relatives.

Employment

- +4 Present job three months or more.
- +3 Present and prior jobs six months or more.
- +3 Person at home caring for children.
- +2 Present and prior jobs three months or more.
- +2 Present job less than three months or has a job commitment.
- +2 Attending school, or receiving a pension or social security, or unemployed due to a medical disability.
- +2 Prior job three months or more which terminated upon arrest.
- +1 Receiving unemployment, or woman supported by husband.
 - 0 None of the above.

Note: In order to be able to add present and prior jobs, there must be no more than a two week hiatus between each job.

Prior Record

- +4 No arrests ever.
- +2 No convictions within eight years.

If at least one felony or misdemeanor conviction occurred within the last eight years, use the following chart:

	Jumber	of misd	eme an o	rs in	total pri	lor record
Number of felonies in total prior recor	<u>d</u> 0	1	2	3	4 or more	At least 4, all within 12 mears
0	•	0	-1	-2	-`3	-4
1	-1	-1	-2	- 3	. 4	<u>- 4</u>
2 or more	-3	-3	- 4	_4	-4	_4
At least 2, both within 12 years	-4	4	-4	-4	-4	-4

Note: If the arrest date of the last prior case occurred within six months of the conviction date of the present case, deduct 1 point from whatever score appears in the chart.

TOTAL SCORE AND SENTENCE RECOMMENDATION*

- -5 to -1 For Information Only (FIO)
- 0 to +1 Discretionary Category: Supervised Release or For Information Only
- +2 to +6 Supervised Release
- +7 to +8 Discretionary Category: Unsupervised Release or Supervised Release
- +9 to +11 Unsupervised Release

^{*} The specified ranges of scores served as guidelines; mitigating circumstances, however, often affected the recommendations.

APPENDIX B: ACCEPTANCE RATES

The acceptance rates of sentence recommendations during the July 1968-February 1969 and the September 1970-September 1971 research periods are reported here. The statistical evidence presented shows that the court has increasingly accepted Vera's recommendations in a majority of cases. When compared to the early phase of project operations, the more recent research period produced a higher acceptance of non-prison recommendations at both initial and final sentence, as well as a greater volume of non-prison dispositions. The formal institution of "supervised release" recommendations subsequent to the initial evaluation period appears responsible for the project's improved acceptance rates.

Tables I and II present the correspondence between recommendations and final sentences for both research periods. In the July 1968-February 1969 time period, recommendations for prison were accepted by the court in 88 percent of the cases, while recommendations for non-prison were followed 84 percent of the time. The recent research period maintained this high acceptance level: 85 percent of those recommended for prison received prison sentences, while a higher 89 percent of those recommended for non-prison were granted unsupervised and supervised releases. When compared to the first six months of the project, the September 1970-1971 figures show a decrease of three percentage points in its

prison acceptance rates, and an increase of five percentage points in its non-prison acceptance rates.

These changes in acceptance rates improved the volume of non-prison dispositions in the Vera caseload. As Table III indicates, the volume of non-prison sentences in the recent research period increased 22 percentage points, from 44 to 66 percent. Correspondingly, the volume of prison dispositions decreased 22 percent, from 56 to 34 percent. In large part, these changes can be traced to the project's institution of a "supervised release" recommendation category after the early evaluation period.

During the first research period, the Bronx Sentencing Project did not maintain a supervised release system of referring cases to community-based agencies. Recommendations for probation and specific conditional discharges constituted the only available forms of supervised release. Of the 282 cases, only 11 percent (30 defendants) were issued supervised release recommendations (Table I).

During the second research period, the development of the project's referral capabilities for supervised release programs increased the proportion receiving "Supervised Release" recommendations to 60 percent (490 out of 816 cases) at initial sentencing (Table IV).

In comparing final and initial disposition for the 1970 research period (Tables II and IV) one notes that the volume of prison dispositions increased from 20 percent (168 of 816

cases) at initial sentence to 34 percent (226 of 666 cases) at final sentence. Similarly, the volume of non-prison dispositions declined from 79 percent (648 of 816 cases) at initial sentence to 66 percent (440 of 666 cases) at final sentence. As discussed in the body of the paper, these changes reflect the failure of some defendants to perform adequately in the supervised release program.

Table I: Acceptance Rates of Recommendations for Final Dispositions: Initial Research Period, July 1968 - February 1969 (N=202)

FINAL DISPOSITION

Non-Prison

Total	Total, Non-Prison	Probation/Spec. Cond. Discharge	Unsupervised Release	Non-Prison	Prison	Recommendation
	16% (20)	30%	12%		88% (138)	Prison
	70% (88)	33% (10)	82 <i>%</i> (78)		11%	Unsupervised Release
	14%	37%	(6)		1%	Probation/ Spec. Cond.* Discharge
	(105) 84%	70%	88%		12%	Total Non-Prison
100%	100%	100%	100%		100% (157)	Total

^{*} Specific Conditional Discharge

Acceptance Pates of Recommendations for Final Dispositions
Current Pesearch Period, September 1970-71 (N=666)

FINAL DISPOSITION

Non-Prison

Recommendation	Prison	Unsupervised <u>Release</u>	Supervised Release	Total Non-Prison	Total
Prison	85%	12%	3 [%]	15%	100%
	(178)	(25)	(7)	(32)	(210)
Non-Prison					
Unsupervised	2%	98%	en dr	98%	100%
Release	(5)	(263)		(263)	(268)
Supervised	23%	55%	22%	77%	100%
Release	(43)	(103)	(42)	(145)	(188)
Total,	11%	80%	9%	89%	100%
Non-Prison	(48)	(366)	(42)	(408)	(456)
Total					100% (666)

Table III:

Volume of Prison and Non-Prison Dispositions for July 1968-February 1969 and September 1970-71 Research Periods

Dispositions

Research Period	<u>Total</u>	Prison	Non-Prison
July 1968-	100%	56%	44%
February 1969	(282)	(158)	(124)
September 1970-	100%	34%	66%
September 1971	(666)	(226)	(440)

Table IV

Acceptance Rates of Recommendations for Initial Dispositions: Current Research Period, September 1970 - September 1971 (N=816)

INITIAL DISPOSITION

Non-Prison

Recommendation	Prison	Unsupervised Release	Supervised Release	Total Non-Prison	Total
Prison '	77%	10%	13%	23%	100%
	(139)	(17)	(24)	(41)	(180)
Non-Prison			·		
Unsupervised	2%	95%	3%	98%	100%
Release	(3)	(138)	(5)	(143)	(146)
Supervised	5%	16%	79%	95%	100%
Release	(26)	(77)	(387)	(464)	(490)
Total,	5%	34%	61%	95%	100%
Non-Prison	(29)	(215)	(392)	(607)	(636)
Total					100% (816)

APPENDIX C: CRIME CATEGORIES

	Felony	Misdemeanor	<u>Violation</u>	<u>Total</u>
Experimental	46%	42%	12%	100%
	(63)	(58)	(16)	(137)
Control	50%	44%	6%	100%
	(34)	(30)	(4)	(68)
$\chi^2=1.2$, df=2,	n.s.			

Table VI

Research Status and Type of Crime

	Property	<u>Personal</u>	Drugs	Total			
Experimental	.41%	34%	25%	100%			
	(56)	(47)	(34)	(137)			
Control	43%	40%	17%	100%			
	(29)	(27)	(12)	(68)			
$\frac{2}{\chi}$ =8, df=2, n.s.							