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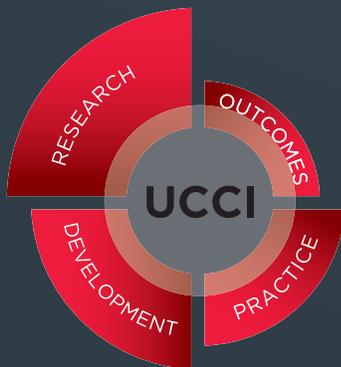
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# Analysis and Investigation of the Interstate Commission for Adult Offender Supervision

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## Overview

The Interstate Commission for Adult Offender Supervision (ICAOS) provides oversight, resources, and support to agencies in all 50 states and U.S. territories that provide supervision services to justice-involved individuals who are convicted of a criminal offense in one state and receive supervision in another. Despite the large number of cases supervised by Compact officers, to date, there has been little scholarly investigation into Compact practices, the individuals served via interstate compact agreements, client and staff experiences with Compact supervision, or the overall efficacy of interstate compacts. This report presents one of the first comprehensive exploratory studies of the adult interstate supervision transfer system. The aim of the current study is to explore the impact of ICAOS, including who is being served, the benefits of the Compact, and the current challenges of working within the policies and practices proscribed by the Compact.

## Summary of Methods

The current study relies on three separate analyses, each targeting an aspect of the ICAOS system. First, the UCCI team conducted a descriptive analysis of ICOTS records of active clients from 2009 and those active in June 2022. These descriptive results give a snapshot of what cases looked like when the modern ICOTS system was first introduced and what cases looked like when the current study was conducted. Next, an electronic survey was developed and administered to all 13,809 supervision officers who oversaw Compact clients in April of 2022. Survey results provide information on the demographics of the 3,653 supervision officers that completed the survey, supervision officer opinion on the purpose of the Compact, information on types of transfer cases received, officer perception of compact cases/clients, and suggestions for Compact improvement. Third, interviews were conducted with a sample of supervision officers and a sample of clients currently administered by an ICAOS arrangement and provide in-depth information on both officer and client perception of ICAOS procedures.

## Summary of Results

The following summarizes key findings from each of the three analyses presented in the report.

### Part 1: Historical Record Analysis

- *Section 1: Agency Records from 2009*

  - The majority of clients from 2009 were male, White (though a sizable percentage were Black/African-American), and the average age was around 35.
  - Probation was the most common type of supervision for clients, and most clients had been convicted of felonies rather than misdemeanors.
  - In terms of offense categories, the most common conviction that clients faced was for dangerous drug offenses, followed by property offenses, and then by violent offenses.

- The most common reason for individuals in 2009 being granted a supervision transfer was that the client was a resident of the potential receiving state and that their request fell within the meaning of the Compact.
- The 3 most common transferring states for individual cases in 2009 were Texas, Florida, and Georgia. Together, these states made up around one-fifth of all individual transfers in 2009.
- The 3 most common receiving states for individual cases in 2009 were Florida, Texas, and Illinois. Together, these states made up around one-fifth of all individual transfer receipts in 2009.

- *Section 2: Agency Records from June 2022*

  - The majority of clients from 2022 were male, White (though a sizable percentage were Black/African-American), and the average age was around 40.
  - As with the data from 2009, probation was the most common type of supervision for clients, and most clients had been convicted of felonies rather than misdemeanors.
  - In terms of offense categories, the most common conviction that clients faced was for dangerous drug offenses, followed by violent offenses, and then by property offenses.
  - The most common reason for individuals in 2022 being granted a supervision transfer was for family and employment matters.
  - The 3 most common transferring states for individual cases in 2022 were Texas, Georgia, and Pennsylvania. Together, these states made up just over one-fifth of all individual transfers as of June 2022.
  - The 3 most common receiving states for individual cases in 2022 were Texas, Florida, and California. Together, these states made up around 16% of all individual transfer receipts as of June 2022.

## Part 2: Survey Analysis

- *Section 1: Description of Respondents*

  - Just over half the sample was male, the majority of the sample identified as White, and the average age of the sample was around 44 years old.
  - The vast majority of the sample had a college degree.
  - Just over half of the sample indicated that they only oversee probation cases, with the remaining half mostly overseeing probation and parole.
  - For most respondents, Compact cases made up one-fourth or less of their overall caseloads. That said, just over one-tenth of the sample indicated overseeing a caseload that consists of a majority of people on Compact arrangements.
  - Over half of respondents had been employed in corrections for over 10 years, with an average of around 14 years of work experience in corrections among the sample.
  - The vast majority of respondents indicated that they had at least five years of experience working with Compact clients.

- *Section 2: Perceived Purpose of the Compact*

  - According to the majority of the sample, the main purpose of the Compact is to define the administrative relationship between states regarding the movement and supervision of clients.
  - The next most common response was that the main purpose of the Compact is to facilitate opportunities for more effective supervision regarding interstate transfer arrangements, followed by facilitating more flexibility in the lives of clients, and then by facilitating client family relationships in another state.
  - The majority of surveyed supervision officers indicated that they believe that the Compact is serving its intended purpose. However, just over one-tenth of the sample felt that the Compact is not serving its intended purpose.

- *Section 3: Experience with Case Transfer*

  - Most respondents indicated that transfer cases are classified in the same manner as local, non-transfer cases.
  - Respondents indicated that there were various types of information shared about client cases upon receiving transfers from other states. The most common type of information that was received by respondents was basic demographic information, followed by basic criminal justice involvement history. The least common type of information received was family history information, followed by risk assessment information.
  - In addition, respondents indicated that they shared various types of information about clients upon initiating transfers from their state. The most common type of information shared was basic demographic information, followed by basic criminal justice involvement history. The least common type of information that respondents shared was information on the client's case plans.
  - The vast majority of respondents indicated that Compact clients are offered traditional supervision services.
  - According to over 90% of the sample, the supervision services provided to Compact clients do not differ from the services offered to non-Compact clients.
  - Most respondents indicated that their agency does not require any special or additional conditions of supervision of Compact clients.
  - The vast majority of respondents indicated that both Compact clients and non-Compact clients receive roughly equal amount of contact by supervision officers.
  - Just over a fifth of the sample indicated that there were limitations on the types of cases that can be transferred from their agency to another state. The most common limitation associated with sending criteria were sex offender cases, followed by cases involving a violent crime.
  - Only around 14% of respondents indicated that their agency does have limitations on the types of cases that can be received. Similar to sending limitations, the most common type of limitation associated with receiving criteria was sex offender cases, followed by cases involving violent crime.

- o Nearly three-fourths of respondents indicated that Compact clients do not face any special legal financial obligations when compared to non-Compact clients.

- *Section 4: Perceptions of Compact Clients*

  - o Just under half of respondents indicated that they face special challenges in the supervision of Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients.
  - o Of those that indicated facing these special challenges, several respondents indicated that Compact clients require more resources than non-Compact clients and that Compact clients have more difficulty fulfilling their terms of supervision.
  - o Other common responses to special challenges faced include that the ICOTS system poses special challenges in supervising Compact clients, problems with communication regarding the supervision requirements between states, and issues regarding the enforcement of violations.
  - o While most respondents indicated that Compact clients were not more difficult to supervise than non-Compact clients, just over a quarter of respondents did find Compact clients more difficult to supervise.
  - o The majority of respondents indicated taking a balanced approach to the supervision of Compact clients and the vast majority indicated that they do not modify their supervision strategies for Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients.

- *Section 5: Perceived Areas for Improvement*

  - o Around 42% of respondents indicated being at least somewhat satisfied with the Compact process.
  - o Just over one-fourth of respondents indicated being at least somewhat dissatisfied with the Compact process.
  - o The majority of the sample indicated that communication between receiving and transferring agencies was the area in most need of improvement.
  - o Relatedly, a sizable portion of respondents indicated that coordination between receiving and transferring agencies could be improved.
  - o Just over a third of the sample indicated that the usability of the ICOTS system could be improved.

**Part 3: Interview Analysis**

- *Section 1: Officer Interviews*

  - o Officers described the Compact as serving its intended purpose quite well.
  - o According to the officers, the primary purpose of the Compact is to facilitate the transfer of supervision across state lines. The Compact has established a centralized database and a system of rules and policies for officers to follow. These structures are particularly valuable for supervision officers.
  - o According to the officers, the other main purpose of the Compact is to promote meaningful support for transfer clients and reduce barriers for individuals on supervision.

The Compact allows individuals to (re)connect with their own systems of social support and economic support.

- o Officers cited multiple frustrations with the policies and processes associated with the Compact as well as the ICOTS platform. In particular, they described how each issue presents its own unique challenge to their work as supervision officers.
- o Officers described the trouble of supervising transfer clients who have missing information in their case files. Upon the transfer process, some important information is routinely not tracked.
- o Officers perceived incongruent expectations and workloads between states and among fellow officers. In particular, the officers referenced the necessary workload that stems from managing the transfer process and supervising transfer clients. However, they felt their level of involvement with the Compact is not reciprocated by other users or stakeholders in other states.
- o Officers experienced frustration and delay with many of the Compact processes. In particular, officers cited the processes of reporting violations and managing revocations to be particularly cumbersome and inefficient.
- o In part, the challenges noted above are all exacerbated by indirect channels of communication between Compact users. Officers presented some suggestions for alleviating the barriers to communication, including the development of direct chat function in ICOTS.
- o Officers presented additional suggestions for increasing the usability of ICOTS. This includes revising the search function and/or generating officers' caseloads so they are presented more clearly in ICOTS.

- *Section 2: Client Interviews*

  - o All clients interviewed agreed that the intent of the Compact is to help them be successful.
  - o Collectively, clients felt that their transfers were vital to their success, particularly with regard to family ties/social support, employment, and housing.
  - o Clients also noted a desire to have more flexibility in their supervision requirements, fewer delays, and enhanced communication between sending and receiving states.

## Limitations

Despite the contribution of this report in elucidating ICAOS procedures and providing suggestions for future research moving forward, there are notable limitations that should be discussed. First, given the lack of past scholarly investigation of ICAOS procedures, this study is largely exploratory. The main purpose of the study is to give a broad overview of the ICAOS system and highlight potential areas of improvement. In doing so, this study neglects to explain specific topics in full and likely misses important context that would shape understanding of specific concerns. Next, the survey analysis of supervision officers was not conducted randomly and had a response rate of 26.45%, meaning that results may not accurately represent all supervision officers that oversee Compact clients. Finally, the main limitation of the qualitative data is that the client sample size is small. A good portion of the contact information UCCI had for Compact clients was

outdated and resulted in fewer client interviews than was desired. Given that the contact information of interviewed clients remained stable, it is theoretically possible that the qualitative client interview data over-captures the experiences of those clients who are more likely to be successful and under-captures the experiences of those with less stable resources or housing.

## Recommendations

Key recommendations are presented here, with further elaboration on specific points of recommendation location in the discussion section of this report. All recommendations are based on the findings of this report.

- ICAOS should continue to improve the quality and quantity of communication channels between sending and receiving states to work towards a greater level of interagency collaboration.

- Additionally, ICAOS may want to offer a set of factors for consideration when transferring a case (such as length of time on supervision, risk level, family, crime type, etc.). ICAOS should also continue to prioritize standardizing ICOTS procedures, ensure data within the system is easily accessible through search filters, and consider enhancements to ICOTS that may improve communication between stakeholders and reduce the need for transfer and receiving states to provide duplicate information.

- As changes are made to transfer policies, practices, and the ICOTS platform, ICAOS should continue to provide thorough training covering these changes. ICAOS may consider partnering with community supervision stakeholders to explore how ICOTS training could be built into new officer training academy requirements.

- Given the exploratory nature of this study, ICAOS should consider follow-up studies utilizing additional surveys, interviews, or focus groups with officers who supervise Compact clients to identify the best ways to improve communication channels overall and through ICOTS.

- To adequately address the needs of Interstate clients, ICAOS should explore more fully how the specific needs of Compact clients are identified by supervision officers, and how officers manage the provision of resources when supervising Compact clients.

- Additionally, ICAOS may consider offering or encouraging officers who supervise Compact clients to attend training on the core correctional practices, including effective reinforcement, effective disapproval, and effective use of authority.

- ICAOS may consider recommending services that formally train family members to support Compact clients in making prosocial decisions using skills and tools they may have learned during contact sessions or structured group interventions during their period of supervision.

- ICAOS should continue to foster its own legitimacy among its clients in order to increase the likelihood that Compact clients will develop prosocial behaviors and improve supervision success.

## Conclusion

The goal of the current study was to conduct one of the first comprehensive exploratory studies of the adult interstate supervision transfer system to complement the historic 20-year anniversary of the organization. In doing so, we relied on three separate analyses that each considered and explored some aspects of the broader ICAOS system. First, we conducted a historical analysis of ICOTS records from two periods – cases active in the ICOTS system in 2009 and cases active in the ICOTS system as of June 2022. Next, we administered an original survey to all 13,809 currently active supervision officers in the ICOTS system. Third, we conducted in-depth interviews with both supervision officers and with active Compact clients. Study results reaffirm the value of ICAOS and the complexity of ICAOS procedures, and further expand knowledge about the strengths of current ICAOS practices, while also highlighting several areas for improvement that ICAOS can work towards over the next 20 years (and beyond).

# INTRODUCTION

The Interstate Commission for Adult Offender Supervision (ICAOS) provides oversight, resources, and support to agencies in all 50 states and U.S. territories that provide supervision services to justice-involved individuals who are convicted of a criminal offense in one state and receive supervision in another. Though the Compact was instituted in 1937, it was revised in 2002 to improve strategies and further enhance public safety. Several developments have occurred in the past two decades to further refine practices.

As of 2016, over 4.5 million adults were under some form of community supervision, including 3.7 million adults on probation and over 800,000 adults on parole (Kaeble & Cowhig, 2018; Oudekerk & Kaeble, 2021). This population is, in part, driven by the release of individuals from U.S. prisons and jails. For instance, nearly 450,000 adults entered parole in 2018 alone (Oudekerk & Kaeble, 2021). Since the revision of the Compact in 2002, 1.25 million cases have received oversight from ICAOS. Indeed, as of 2022, there are over 115,000 active cases in the ICAOS national database (ICAOS, 2022).

Despite the large number of cases supervised by Compact officers, to date, there has been little scholarly investigation into Compact practices, the individuals served via interstate compact agreements, client and staff experiences with Compact supervision, or the overall efficacy of interstate compacts. Thus, the scope of what is known about the interstate compact system is underdeveloped.

## ICAOS Background

The Interstate Commission for Adult Offender Supervision (ICAOS) was instituted in 1937 but there is an even deeper history of interstate compacts, transfers, and supervision in the United States. Dating back to the 1934 Crime Control Act, which permitted states to enter into agreements of mutual assistance in preventing crime (Linke, 1985), the Parole and Probation Compact Administrators' Association formally operated the Interstate Compact for the Supervision of Parolees and Probationers (ICSPP). This was the first compact of its kind, and by 1951 all 48 states - at the time - had signed the ICSPP.

According to the original ICSPP, both states sending and receiving individuals on parole and probation were held to several agreements. Receiving states were responsible for (1) supervising individuals under community supervision from sending states if the parolee or probationer was a resident of the receiving state and had employment there, and (2) supervising the parolee by the same standards used for its own parolees. In return, the sending state maintained the authority to revoke parole or probation in any case and take subsequent action (Brendes, 1968).

The need for this type of arrangement between states is evident, given that, according to the justice administrators of the era, "Cases constantly arise where, due to family relationships in another state, better opportunities for work and a more conducive atmosphere for rehabilitation will be found if the prospective probationer or parolee can be permitted to transfer to another jurisdiction" (Crihfield, 1953, p. 3). However, administrators recognized that the rehabilitative

value of such a move would often be lost without proper supervision and assistance for the individual. Thus, the intended function of the compact is twofold. First, it is intended to protect the community through the provision of effective supervision and retaking of individuals who violate the terms of their conditional release. Second, it is intended to encourage the rehabilitation process of justice-involved individuals by permitting transfer to a more receptive environment in which they have the greatest potential for success (Crihfield, 1953; see also Burkhart, 1960).

In 2002, the Interstate Compact on Adult Offender Supervision (ICAOS) was established in order to define the relationship between states regarding the movement and supervision of justice-involved adults on probation or parole. It is important to note that the ICAOS established new provisions to rectify some of the logistical challenges facing the ICSPP. Notably, the ICAOS established an independent authority with enhanced legal power to manage and support compact activity, as well as a commission of representatives to resolve disputes between states. Additional provisions set forth by the ICAOS included a mandatory funding mechanism sufficient to support essential compact operations, as well as a system for the collection of standardized data and the creation of a national database, allowing states to better share critical supervision information (Edwards, 2000). This database became known as the Interstate Compact Offender Tracking System (ICOTS).

The creation of the ICAOS was significant. The creation of the ICAOS aimed to create a data driven approach to the systematic supervision of individuals who are convicted of a criminal offense in one state and receive supervision in another. According to Buenger and Masters (2003), "The ICAOS is more than just another interstate compact. By creating a particularized intermediate governing authority that is truly supra-state, sub-federal in its purpose, the ICAOS advances the administrative control and enforcement powers of compacts to a new level. Interstate compacts modeled after the ICAOS may well provide an effective vehicle through which states can act jointly on a broad range of regional and national issues while preserving their autonomy within the federal framework of the government" (p. 73-76). With these possibilities in mind, it is important to explore how effective interstate compacts are in meeting their goals. To begin addressing this question, we next turn to a review of prior reports on interstate compacts.

## Summary of Prior Reports

Although states have been working together to reduce crime since 1934 and operating through some form of an interstate compact agreement since 1951, there are very few studies that have empirically evaluated these efforts. In this section, three studies are described that were completed between the 1980s and 1990s and examined the operations of the compact by surveying probation administrators.

First, by 1985, the ICSPP governing manual had been revised several times since its inception, and there were growing concerns that the operations of the compact failed to reflect advancements in the field of probation and parole supervision (Linke, 1985). For instance, it did not consider the emergence of pre-trial diversion programs and their impact on the field. These growing inconsistencies in policies and practices increased the potential for lawsuits and

difficulties in coordinating exchanges or transfers among states with varying degrees of centralization in their operations. Therefore, researchers administered a survey of probation administrators in 1985 in order to (1) identify the latest policies and practices in matters relating to the ICSPP, and (2) identify challenges and recommendations for change (Linke, 1985). Specifically, they were interested in knowing to what extent the ICSPP met its stated goals, how practices related to the compact were (in)consistent with the compact's stated policies, and what changes or adjustments could be made to improve the compact.

Findings of the survey indicated that most respondents (over 60%) believed the defined purpose of the compact was being successfully met (Linke, 1985). However, respondents noted difficulties with the pace of the transfer process, as well as specific complaints regarding rejection of transfer cases, difficulties in returning probation/parole violators, and difficulties in information sharing across jurisdictions. Finally, challenges and improvements to the compact revolved around which state should collect supervision fees, how to better handle revocations, and ensuring receiving states have adequate information about transfer cases. Respondents also indicated that they would like to see more structure in the operation of the compact, more centralized problem-solving, and computerization of compact communication and record-keeping systems.

While the findings of the 1985 report provide an overview of the function and challenges of the compact, an additional transfer study assessed the compact in one specific state. Schafer and colleagues (1987) assessed the impact of Alaska's participation in the compact. Findings raised questions about the equity of the compact on sending and receiving states. Specifically, researchers found that "the compact has not yet been an equitable arrangement for any city in Alaska: each city has seen a greater number of incoming than of outgoing transfers," (Schafer et al., 1987, p. i). This is in contrast to one of the assumptions the compact rests on, namely that, over time, states should see approximately the same number of individuals being sent and received for supervision, thus resulting in a net zero cost. However, the findings of the 1987 study indicated that "numbers should not be the only measure of cost: demographic and offense characteristics of clients, as well as their supervision needs, should be factored into any cost assessment" (Schafer & Wenderoff, 1992, p. i).

In 1997, another survey of probation administrators was conducted and found that overall respondents suggested that the ICSPP was both outdated and ineffective at providing adequate supervision to the increasing number of individuals who were being supervised under the compact (Edwards, 2000). Threatening the utility of the compact were the inability of states to agree on the definition of supervision, as well as the absence of a cohesive national system to monitor individuals under supervision and identify failures in complying with compact policies.

Ultimately, the stakeholders concluded that the ICSPP was, "Badly in need of empowerment through clear authority, increased resources, and a workable management structure" (Edwards, 2000, p. 3) and by the late 1990s took action. Specifically, several stakeholders - including The National Institute of Corrections, The Council of State Governments, state and local officials, corrections administrators, victim's rights advocates, and other criminal justice groups nationwide – worked to replace the ICSPP by drafting proposed revisions in the form of a new

compact (Edwards, 2000). Thus, the newly proposed Interstate Compact for Adult Offender Supervision (ICAOS) was intended to "Provide the framework for the promotion of public safety and protect the rights of victims through the control of the interstate movement of offenders in the community; provide for effective tracking and supervision of these offenders by the sending and receiving states; and equitably distribute the costs, benefits and obligations of the compact among member states" (Edwards, 2000, p. 3). Stakeholders believed that such a compact would help to restore confidence in the criminal justice system by ensuring that individuals under supervision of the newly proposed ICAOS system did not fall through the cracks due to interstate supervision.

## Current Study in Context

In sum, there has been limited research conducted on the Interstate Compact system. Therefore, the goal of this study is to systematically investigate the Interstate Compact and provide one of the first comprehensive reports on the usage and utility of the Compact system. In doing so, this study provides a better understanding of (1) the individuals impacted or served through the Compact, including both supervision officers and Compact clients; and (2) the benefits or advantages of the interstate transfers that occur; and (3) any challenges that these groups encounter that may represent areas for future enhancement efforts.

# METHODOLOGY

The methodology utilized in this study can be divided into three distinct parts: handling and analysis of the archival data, administration of the online survey to supervision officers, and administration of interviews with supervision officers and active Compact clients. In the paragraphs below, we discuss the methodological process used for each of these distinct parts. We also discuss the study population for each section and describe the topics the survey and interviews cover. Finally, we briefly describe how the results of the archival data, survey, and interviews were analyzed.

## Part 1: Historical Records Analysis

All historical records were provided by ICAOS staff through secure data transfer. After receiving the data, UCCI team members cleaned the data in order to remove any missing data, handle any problems with the raw data, and to prepare the data for formal analysis. Data were separated into two time periods in order to present a comparison of historical records. The first time period was calendar year 2009, which represents the first year that the current system of data reporting was fully active. The second time period concerns all active cases in the Interstate Compact Offender Tracking System (ICOTS) system during June of 2022.

### Sample

Two separate samples were included in the analysis of the historical records. The first sample concerned active client cases in the ICOTS system in 2009, while the second sample involved an analysis of active cases in the ICOTS system as of June 2022. Samples were constrained to

individual clients rather than individual offenses, progress reports, or supervision cases. Thus, even if an individual had multiple separate offenses and/or supervision case entries, they were only counted once in the analysis. To accomplish this, duplicates were removed based on the unique offender ID that was assigned to each individual in the ICOTS system. Duplicates were removed based on the most serious offense category for which the individual was convicted. For example, if an individual had two entries for two separate offenses with one being a violent offense and one being a property offense, then the entry for the violent offense was retained and the one for the property offense was dropped. By doing this, the archival analysis avoided duplicating results for the same client. The total sample size for 2009 was 52,784, and the total sample size for active cases as of June 2022 was 68,961.

*Measures*

Several different variables from the historical records samples were analyzed to produce the descriptive findings. First, basic demographic information of cases was analyzed including client age, gender, and race. Next, information about each client's supervision type, offense category, and offense classification is provided. Offense classification was measured as the most serious offense that the individual client was charged and convicted of and thus does not give information on multiple offenses committed by the same client. In addition, a measure of why the individual had their supervision transferred is also included. Finally, measures for which states were the most common transferring and receiving sites for individual clients in each time period are presented to give context to each sample.

*Analytic Approach*

The historical records from 2009 and 2022 were analyzed descriptively, and the results provide a snapshot of cases in each year. This allows for comparison of changes between the two time periods. Due to duplicates being removed, all results presented are for unique individual clients.

## Part 2: Survey Analysis

In collaboration with the ICAOS steering committee, UCCI developed an online survey that was delivered to all currently active supervision officers in the ICAOS system. The survey instrument was developed using Qualtrics software, which allowed for the systematic collection and storage of online survey data in an electronic cloud-based system. Secure emails with a link to the survey were sent to the 13,809 active supervision officers who oversaw Compact clients in April of 2022. The Qualtrics survey link sent via email was anonymous, which means there was no way to connect survey responses to individual supervision officers. Participation in the survey was entirely voluntary, and there were no incentives given to encourage participation.

The online survey was available to respondents for a period of 6 weeks starting from April 25th, 2022, to June 6th, 2022. A total of 3 reminder emails were sent to supervision officers to maximize response rates. After the electronic links to the online survey expired, the UCCI research team downloaded all response data from the online Qualtrics platform. After receiving the data, UCCI

team members cleaned the data in order to remove any missing data, handle any problems with the raw data, and prepare the data for formal analysis.

*Sample*

The total study population of the survey includes all active supervision officers who oversaw Compact clients in April of 2022, approximately 13,809 people. The UCCI team obtained email addresses of these active supervision officers from ICAOS staff. As mentioned, active supervision officers received an email with a link to the Qualtrics survey. Since participation in this study was voluntary, the individual supervision officer could choose to not participate or engage with the online survey instrument. Moreover, the officers could choose to skip survey questions, as well as discontinue the survey at any time. While this led to the submission of some partial survey responses, many of the respondents who engaged with the online survey instrument submitted a complete survey response. Among the total population of 13,809 supervision officers, the research team received a total of 4,256 survey responses. The overall response rate (i.e., the total number of responses divided by the total sample size) was 30.82%.

However, as noted, we received some partial or incomplete survey responses. Specifically, of the 4,256 responses, 603 were incomplete. Some incomplete responses include respondents who opened the survey in Qualtrics, read the information page, and then closed the survey. In this case, the Qualtrics software records the response as 1% complete simply because the respondent opened the electronic link to the online survey. Other respondents only completed a small portion of the survey before closing the survey and failing to finish. Of the 603 incomplete responses, the majority were below 50% completed.

The issue of incomplete responses has implications for the data analysis procedures, as some of the incomplete responses might indicate people who started the survey and did not complete it initially, only to return later and submit a complete response. Thus, if incomplete responses were included in the data analysis, then there is a danger that duplicate responses would be counted. To ensure that respondents were included in the final study sample only once, all incomplete submissions were removed from the sample of respondents. As such, the final sample for the survey analysis only includes those surveys that were 100% completed and submitted. In this case, the final sample was 3,653, meaning that the final total response rate was 26.45%.

Finally, while the links sent to officers were anonymous, a question at the end of the survey asked for officers to include their name and contact information if they wished to participate in a follow-up interview. However, to preserve anonymity, the research team removed all identifying information from the survey data that was collected. The result is a de-identified dataset that can be descriptively analyzed, but that cannot be linked to any individual officers.

*Measures*

The UCCI research team developed an electronic survey that was administered via email to all 13,809 supervision officers that oversaw Compact clients during the study time period. The full survey is included as an appendix at the end of this report. The survey instrument measured (1)

supervision officers' general involvement with ICAOS, (2) officers' perceptions of ICAOS procedures, (3) officers' experience with Compact clients, and (4) officers' overall thoughts on improving ICAOS. To do this, the UCCI team separated the survey into 5 sections. The first section of the survey instrument (i.e., Section 1) includes specific items related to the officer's general background and ICAOS involvement. Here, respondents were asked to indicate their current state of employment and the percentage of their current caseload that is devoted to Compact clients, as well as given the opportunity to share their opinions on the main purpose of the Compact. Next, Section 2 of the survey instrument includes specific items related to the types of cases that are transferred and received by the respondent's agency as well as items measuring the types of procedures that the respondent's agency has in place for transferring and receiving cases. In Section 3, respondents were asked about their general perceptions about Compact cases/clients including whether they find Compact clients more difficult to oversee than non-Compact clients. Section 4 collects information about the general satisfaction with Compact procedures and asks officers to give suggested areas of improvement. Finally, in Section 5, respondents were asked to provide specific demographic information about themselves. For example, some survey items asked about a respondent's age, gender, and race.

### *Analytic Approach*

For the survey, data analysis involves the presentation of key descriptive statistics (e.g., frequencies and percentages) per survey item. We divide the presentation of survey results into 5 parts: demographic, supervision officer opinion on the purpose of the Compact, information on types of transfer cases received, officer perception of Compact cases/clients, and suggestions for Compact improvement. Only those surveys that were submitted and counted by Qualtrics as being completed are included in the analysis (n=3,653). The purpose of excluding partial submissions was to reduce the chance of analyzing duplicate responses.

## Part 3: Interview Analysis

Qualitative interviews complement surveys by gathering in-depth examples and facilitating dialogue that is not possible with surveys alone. To that end, the UCCI research team collected qualitative data via interviewing techniques to help supplement the survey data. To conduct the interviews, the UCCI research team gathered two samples over a three-month time period, between June and August, 2022. One sample consisted of active supervision officers, while the second sample consisted of clients currently under ICAOS supervision.

The sample of supervision officers was recruited from those who completed the initial survey. Specifically, respondents were presented with a question at the end of the survey that asked if they would like to be considered for participation in a future interview that will follow-up about general information gathered in the surveys. Supervision officers who responded affirmatively to the final question of the survey were then considered for participation in the follow up interview portion of the study. A total of 969 officers indicated in their survey responses that they were interested in participating in a follow up interview. These officers submitted their contact information through the survey link. The UCCI research team then randomly selected 35 officers from the sampling frame of 969 and reached out to those officers via e-mail. Officers were invited

via e-mail to participate in the follow-up interview. Of the 35 officers who received recruitment e-mails, 23 officers responded, consented, and completed interviews. All interviews were completed over the telephone, with a mean interview length of 21 minutes per officer interview.

The sample of ICAOS clients was generated from a larger sampling frame of approximately 115,000 currently clients active in the ICOTS system in May 2022. This sampling frame was provided by ICAOS staff and contained phone numbers for most active clients. This list was placed into a random number generator and a total of 270 clients were selected and contacted. For each of the 270 clients, the UCCI research team attempted to make phone contact, explain the purpose of the research, and invite them to participate in an interview. During this process the UCCI research team discovered that the majority of client contact numbers were outdated. Recruitment procedures resulted in a final sample of 7 clients. All client interviews were completed over the phone, with a mean interview length of 18.5 minutes.

For both officer and client interviews, the UCCI research team obtained consent from participants to digitally record the interview. Each audio file was then stored, transcribed verbatim, and prepared for analysis.

*Sample*

The final sample size for the qualitative interviews was 30 participants. The officers who participated represent a total of 18 states, including: Colorado, Georgia, Iowa, Indiana (n = 3), Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina (n = 2), New Hampshire, Ohio (n = 2), Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin (n = 2). Sampled participants included 13 female officers and 10 male officers. The clients who participated represent a total of 6 states, including Florida, Illinois (n = 2), Ohio, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Texas. Sampled participants include 6 male clients and 1 female client.

*Measures*

Two different interview guides were developed by the UCCI team. The first interview guide was used to interview supervision officers about their experience with ICAOS and supervising Compact clients. The full interview guide for supervision officers is included as an appendix at the end of this report. The guide covered three main areas of inquiry, including (1) general opinions related to the Compacts' purpose, (2) specific questions about benefits and challenges of Compact supervision, and (3) overall perceptions of ways to improve supervision officers' involvement with ICAOS. To do so, the guide was separated into three sections. The first section included questions about the respondent's general thoughts on the purpose of ICAOS. In the second section, respondents were asked to give in-depth information about any challenges that they may face when supervising Compact clients and whether ICAOS allows clients to be successful on supervision. Finally, the third section gathers information on the involvement of respondents in ICAOS procedures and collects information on any suggested improvements to the ICAOS process.

The second interview guide was developed to interview current Compact clients about their experiences being on ICAOS supervision. The full guide for clients is included as an appendix at the end of this report. The guide covered three main areas of inquiry, including (1) general information related to the background of their case transfer, (2) specific questions about their current supervision experience, and (3) their overall thoughts about the Compact process. As with the supervision officer interviews, the client interview guide was divided into three sections. The first section included questions about the respondent's case background. In the second section, respondents were asked directly about their current supervision experiences and their overall thoughts about whether ICAOS supervision encourages them to be successful. Finally, the third section gathers information about what respondents think is most important to know about their ICAOS experience and their plans for the future.

### *Analytic Approach*

Following transcription of the qualitative interviews, the UCCI research team deidentified and analyzed all data with NVivo v. 12 (NVivo, 2018), using a general thematic analysis. The research team used open coding first to develop a list of exhaustive themes that emerged in the data (Strauss, 1987; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The research team then followed a process of secondary coding to expand the initial list of themes into more meaningful categories and to eliminate any overlaps in the coding. Finally, data were selectively coded with a focus on the most prominent themes (Lofland et al., 2006). Throughout the coding process, the research team met multiple times as a group to discuss consistencies and discrepancies that arose in the analysis.

## RESULTS

The presentation of results is separated into three main sections. Part 1 summarizes the archival analysis of the historical records, Part 2 summarizes results of the survey of supervision officers, and Part 3 summarizes results of the interviews with supervision officers and Compact clients.

### Part 1: Historical Record Analysis

Part 1 presents results from the archival analysis of agency records from 2009 and active records as of June 2022. The results contain information on aggerated case characteristics from January 1, 2009 to December 31, 2009 and from all cases that were currently active in June 2022 in the ICOTS system. By comparing data from 2009 and data from all currently active cases in 2022, it is possible to observe any changes in case management that may have occurred over the past decade. Results contain information on the demographics of each client for both time periods, case characteristics for each time period, and descriptive information on the most common transferring and receiving states of each time period.

### *Section 1: Agency Records from 2009*

Demographic characteristics of supervision clients from 2009 are presented in Table 1. As expected, the vast majority of clients from 2009 were male (78.68%). For race, the majority of the sample identified as White (66.12%) and around one-fourth of the sample identified as Black

or African-American (26.74%). In terms of age, nearly 40% of individuals fell within the age range of 18-29, around 29% fell within the age range of 30-39, and around 20% fell within the age range of 40-49. The average age of the clients from 2009 was around 35 years old. Finally, only around 4% of the clients were a registered sex offender.

**Table 1: Demographics of Compact Clients, 2009**

|  | N | % |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *Biological Sex* |  |  |
| Female | 11,252 | 21.87 |
| Male | 41,532 | 78.68 |
| *Race* |  |  |
| White | 34,901 | 66.12 |
| Black | 14,112 | 26.74 |
| Asian or Pacific Islander | 520 | 0.99 |
| American Indian or Alaskan Native | 572 | 1.10 |
| Unknown or No Response | 2679 | 5.08 |
| *Age* |  |  |
| 18-29 | 20,498 | 38.83 |
| 30-39 | 15,255 | 28.90 |
| 40-49 | 10,618 | 20.12 |
| 50-59 | 4,321 | 8.19 |
| 60 or older | 1,239 | 2.35 |
| Missing Response | 853 | 1.62 |
| *Mean age* | *34.70* |  |
| *Registered Sex Offender* |  |  |
| Yes | 2,273 | 4.30 |
| No | 50,500 | 95.67 |

*Note: Total N = 52,784*

Next, Table 2 presents information regarding the characteristics of each client's case from the 2009 agency records. First, around three-fourths of the clients were on probation, with the remaining one-fourth being on parole. The vast majority of clients were charged with felonies (around 85%). For around 30% of clients, the most serious charge that they faced was for

dangerous drug offenses, followed by property offenses (around 21%), and finally by violent offenses (around 13%). Only about 4% of the clients from 2009 were charged with sex offenses as their most serious crime, which matches the approximate percentage of clients that were registered sex offenders in 2009.

**Table 2: Individual Case Characteristics, 2009**

|  | N | % |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *Supervision Type* | | |
| Probation | 38,515 | 72.97 |
| Parole | 13,491 | 25.56 |
| Probation & Parole | 778 | 1.47 |
| *Offense Type* | | |
| Felony | 44,839 | 84.94 |
| Misdemeanor | 6,007 | 11.38 |
| Deferred/Other | 1,938 | 3.67 |
| *Offense Classification (most serious offense)* | | |
| Violent Offenses (not incl. violent sex offenses) | 7,121 | 13.49 |
| Sex Offenses | 2,016 | 3.82 |
| Property Offenses | 10,985 | 20.81 |
| Dangerous Drug Offenses | 15,841 | 30.01 |
| White Collar Offenses | 4,939 | 9.36 |
| Weapon Offenses | 1,322 | 2.50 |
| Traffic Offenses | 4,700 | 8.90 |
| Other | 5,860 | 11.10 |

*Note: Total N = 52,784*

Table 3 below summarizes the recorded classification of why each 2009 client pursued a transfer for their supervision. As is shown, the most common reason for transfer was that the client in question was a resident of the potential receiving state and that their request fell within the meaning of the Compact (around 45%). The next most common reason for requesting a transfer was for family and employment matters (around 43%). Finally, around 11% of reasons for client transfers were marked as discretionary.

**Table 3: Stated Reason for Case Transfer, 2009**

|  | N | % |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *Reason for Case Transfer* | | |
| Resident of receiving state within the meaning of the | 24,003 | 45.47 |
| Resident family AND employment OR other means of support | 22,531 | 42.69 |
| Discretionary | 5,565 | 10.54 |
| Employment transfer of family member to another state | 317 | 0.60 |
| Live with family who are military members | 265 | 0.50 |
| Military member | 103 | 0.20 |

*Note: Total N = 52,784*

Finally, Figures 1 and 2 summarize the 3 most common sending states and receiving states among clients from the 2009 agency records. As is shown, Texas was the most common sending state in 2009 (around 7% of cases), followed by Florida (6.90% of cases) and then by Georgia (5.69% of cases). Together, these states made up around one-fifth of all transfers in 2009. Next, the most common receiving state was Florida (6.67% of cases), followed by Texas (around 6.49% of cases) and then by Illinois (4.73% of cases). Together, these states made up around 19% of all transfer receipts in 2009. Thus, with the exception of Georgia and Illinois, there seems to be parity between the most common receiving and transferring states in the 2009 data.



Transfer States 2009
(n = 52,784)

GA — 5.69%
FL — 6.90%
TX — 7.01%
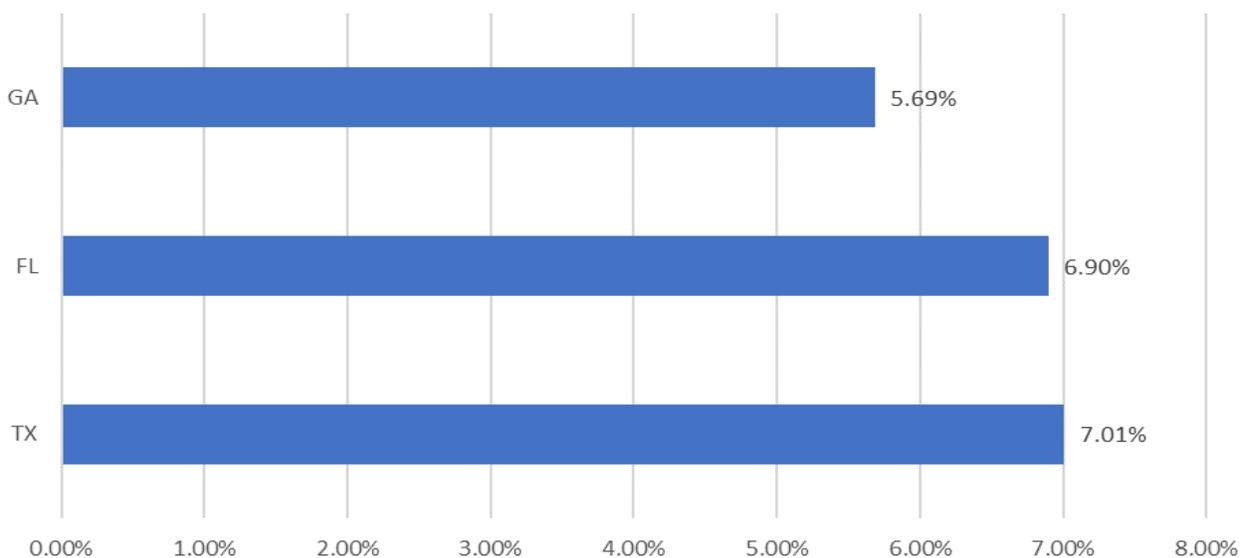
**Figure 1: Top Three States for Sending Cases, 2009**



Recieve States 2009
(n = 52,784)

GA — 5.69%
FL — 6.90%
TX — 7.01%
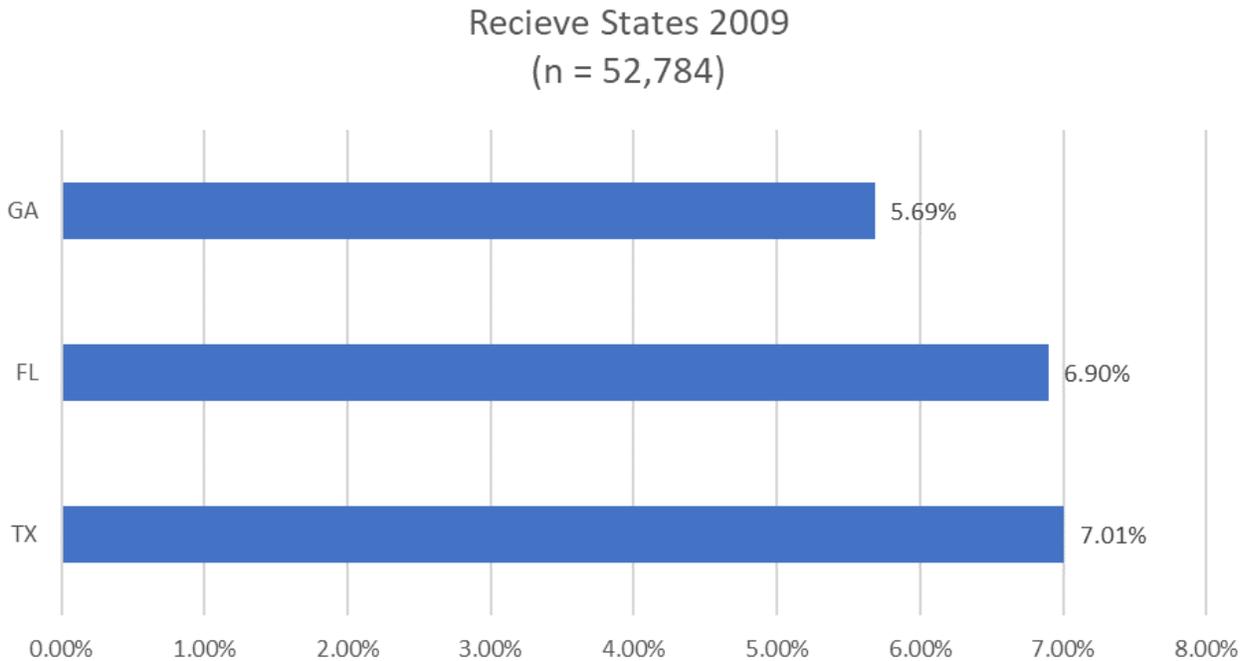
**Figure 2: Top Three States for Receiving Cases, 2009**

*Section 2: Agency Records from June 2022*

On the next page, Table 4 presents the demographic characteristics of the sample of currently active Compact clients in June 2022. As expected, the vast majority of clients were male (79.04%). For race, the majority of the sample identified as White (62.12%) and around 32% of the sample identified as Black or African-American. Thus, more clients in June 2022 identified as Black/African American as in 2009. In terms of age, around 22% of individuals fell within the age range of 18-29, around 33% fell within the age range of 30-39, and around 23% fell within the age range of 40-49. The average age of the clients from June 2022 was around 40 years old. Thus, the average age of the sample from June 2022 is about 5 years older than the sample from 2009. Finally, around 9-10% of the clients from 2022 were a registered sex offender, which is slightly higher than the sample from 2009.

Next, Table 5 presents information regarding the characteristics of each client's case from the June 2022 sample of agency records. As in 2009, around three-fourths of clients in June 2022 were on probation, with the remaining one-fourth being on parole. The vast majority of clients were charged with felonies (around 86%). For around 27% of clients, the most serious charge that they faced was for dangerous drug offenses, followed by violent offenses (around 17%), and finally by property offenses (around 16%). Thus, there were slightly more clients charged with a violent offense from the 2022 sample than the 2009 sample. Around 8% of the clients from the 2022 sample were charged with sex offenses as their most serious crime, which almost matches the approximate percentage of clients that were registered sex offenders among active cases in June 2022.

**Table 4: Demographics of Compact Clients, 2022**

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| *Biological Sex* | | |
| Female | 14,454 | 20.96 |
| Male | 54,507 | 79.04 |
| *Race* | | |
| White | 42,828 | 62.10 |
| Black | 22,046 | 31.97 |
| Asian or Pacific Islander | 1003 | 1.45 |
| American Indian or Alaskan Native | 750 | 1.10 |
| Unknown or No Response | 2334 | 3.38 |
| *Age* | | |
| 18-29 | 15,254 | 22.12 |
| 30-39 | 22,438 | 32.54 |
| 40-49 | 15,736 | 22.82 |
| 50-59 | 9,856 | 14.29 |
| 60 or older | 5,651 | 8.19 |
| Missing Response | 29 | 0.04 |
| *Mean age* | *40* | |
| *Registered Sex Offender* | | |
| Yes | 6,517 | 9.45 |
| No | 62,444 | 90.55 |

*Note: Total N = 68,961*

**Table 5: Individual Case Characteristics, 2022**

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| *Supervision Type* | | |
| Probation | 51,235 | 74.30 |
| Parole | 16,649 | 24.19 |
| Probation & Parole | 1,047 | 1.52 |
| *Offense Type* | | |
| Felony | 59,164 | 85.79 |
| Misdemeanor | 6,982 | 10.12 |
| Deferred/Other | 2,815 | 4.08 |
| *Offense Classification (most serious offense)* | | |
| Violent Offenses (not incl. violent sex offenses) | 11,806 | 17.12 |
| Sex Offenses | 5,644 | 8.18 |
| Property Offenses | 11,154 | 16.17 |
| Dangerous Drug Offenses | 18,815 | 27.28 |
| White Collar Offenses | 4,880 | 7.08 |
| Weapon Offenses | 3,293 | 4.77 |
| Traffic Offenses | 5,071 | 7.35 |
| Other | 8,301 | 12.04 |

*Note: Total N = 68,961*

Table 6 summarizes the recorded classification of why each client from the 2022 sample pursued a transfer for their supervision. As is shown, the most common reason for transfer was transfer was for family and employment matters (around 48%).  The next most common reason was that the client in question was a resident of the potential receiving state and that their request fell within the meaning of the Compact (around 39%). Finally, around 13% of reasons for client transfers were marked as discretionary.

| Table 6: Stated Reason for Case Transfer, 2022 | | |
|---|---|---|
| | N | % |
| *Reason for Case Transfer* | | |
| Resident of receiving state | 27,216 | 39.47 |
| Resident family AND employment OR other support | 32,835 | 47.61 |
| Discretionary | 8,656 | 12.55 |
| Employment transfer of family member to another state | 85 | 0.12 |
| Live with family who are military members | 91 | 0.13 |
| Military member | 78 | 0.12 |

*Note: Total N = 68,961*

Finally, Figures 3 and 4 summarize the 3 most common sending states and receiving states among clients from June 2022 agency records. As is shown in Figure 3 below, Texas was the most common sending state (9.33% of cases), followed by Georgia (7.46% of cases) and then by Pennsylvania (5.37% of cases). Together, these states made up around 21% of all transfers as of June 2022.
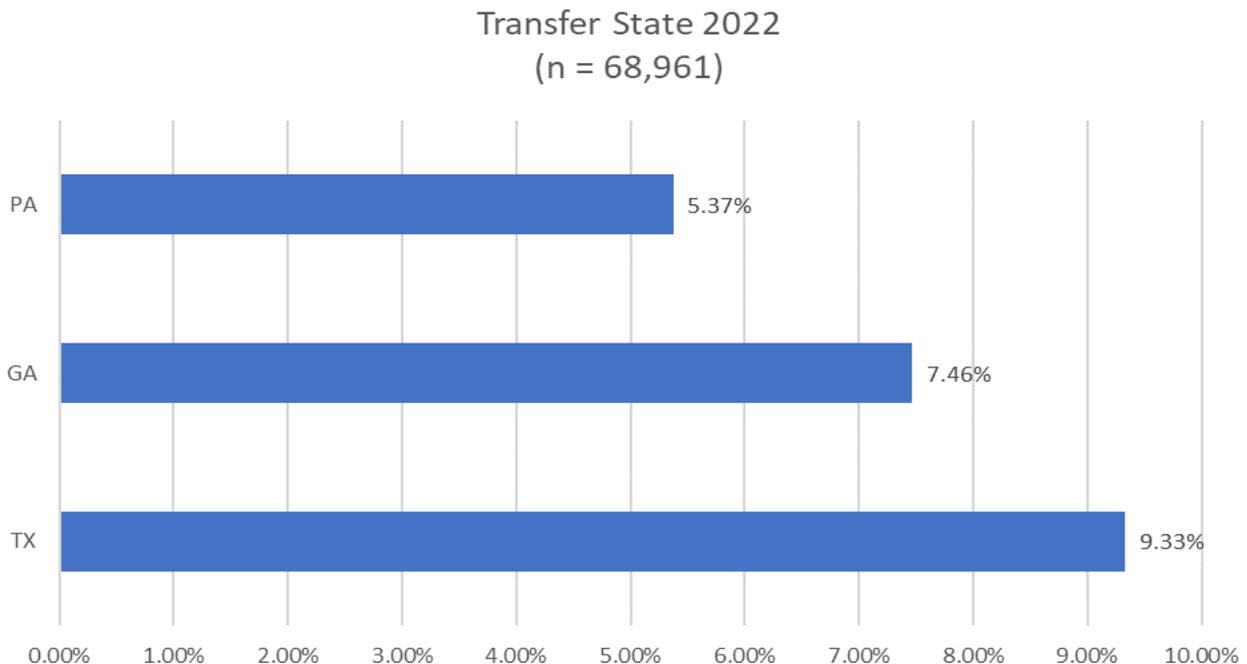


**Figure 3: Top Three States for Sending Cases, 2022**

Figure 4 shows the most common receiving state was Texas (6.19% of cases), followed by Florida (6.17% of cases), and then by California (4.71% of cases). Together, these states made up around 16% of all transfer receipts as of June 2022.

**Recieve State 2022**
**(n = 68,961)**
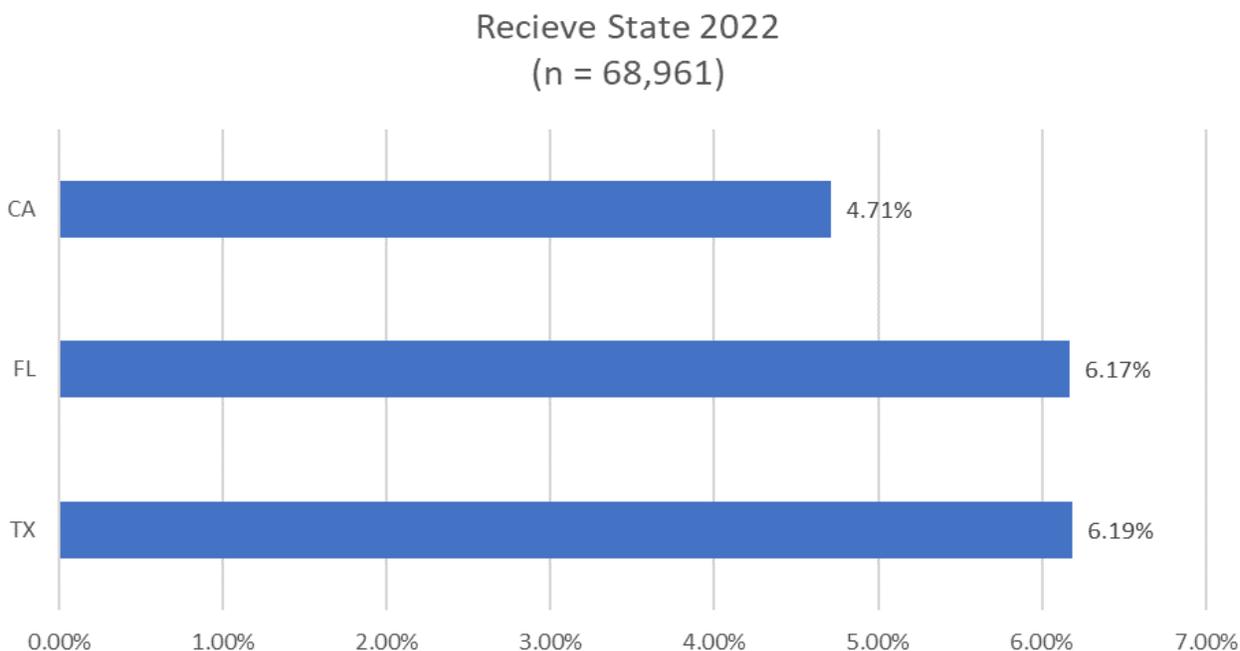


**Figure 4: Top Three States for Receiving Cases, 2022**

## Part 2: Survey Analysis

Part 2 presents results for the analysis of the survey distributed to all active supervision officers in the ICOTS system as of 2022. The results for the survey are presented in 5 sections. The first section includes descriptive data for the sample including demographics summarizing respondents' sex, age, race, and highest level of education attainment, the average caseload type of each respondent, the approximate percentages of compact clients that respondents oversee, the number of years that respondents have worked in the field of corrections/community supervision in general, and the number of years that respondents have worked with Compact clients. Section 2 presents results on what supervision officers regard as the purpose of the Compact and whether this purpose is being achieved. This is followed by information on the types of case transfers officers receive (Section 3), officer perceptions of compact cases/clients (Section 4), and suggestions for Compact improvement (Section 5).

### Section 1: Description of Respondents

Demographic characteristics of the respondents are presented in Tables 7 and 8. Beginning on the next page, Table 7 includes an analysis of the overall composition of respondents' age, sex, and race, as well as their educational attainment status. Note that these results also contain individuals who did not indicate a response for the specific question (that is, missing data on questions counted in a non-response category). Most of the non-response areas were clustered

on age and biological sex. Just over half of the sample was male (53.60%) and the majority of the sample identified as white (74.73%). In terms of age, most respondents were over the age of 40 (60.03%); however, a sizable proportion were younger than 40 (31.67%). The average age of respondents was about 44 years old. Finally, the vast majority of respondents had a college degree (89.02%), indicating they were relatively well-educated.

**Table 7: Description of Respondents**

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| *Biological Sex* | | |
| Female | 1,523 | 41.69 |
| Male | 1,958 | 53.60 |
| No Response | 172 | 04.71 |
| *Race* | | |
| White | 2,730 | 74.73 |
| Black | 417 | 11.42 |
| Hispanic or Latino | 188 | 5.15 |
| Asian | 21 | 0.57 |
| Hawaiian Native or Pacific Islander | 31 | 0.85 |
| Mixed or Other Race | 167 | 4.57 |
| No Response | 99 | 2.71 |
| *Educational Status* | | |
| High school/GED | 55 | 1.51 |
| Some college, no degree | 144 | 3.94 |
| Associate's degree | 135 | 3.70 |
| Bachelor's degree | 2,626 | 71.89 |
| Master's degree | 608 | 16.64 |
| Doctoral degree | 18 | 0.49 |
| Other | 30 | 0.82 |
| No Response | 37 | 1.01 |
| *Age* | | |
| 20-29 | 278 | 7.61 |
| 30-39 | 879 | 24.06 |
| 40-49 | 1,153 | 31.56 |
| 50 or older | 1,040 | 28.47 |
| No Response | 303 | 8.29 |
| *Mean age* | *43.80* | |

*Note: Total N = 3,653*

Next, Table 8 summarizes information on the caseloads of the sample and the amount of experience that respondents have with community supervision services. As shown in Table 8 below, about 50% of respondents indicated overseeing a probation caseload only, and about 38% of the sample indicated overseeing both probation and parole caseloads. Table 8 also shows that, for a majority of respondents, Compact clients made up 25% or less of their overall caseload (77%). Still, a notable proportion of respondents indicated overseeing a caseload that consists of a majority of people on Compact arrangements (12.15%). In terms of experience, most of the sample has been employed in corrections for over 10 years (58%), with an average of 14.33 years

of experience in corrections. Finally, about 70% of the sample had at least 5 years of experience working with Compact clients. Overall, the sample was quite experienced in the field of corrections and overseeing Compact clients.

**Table 8: Respondent Experience in Community Supervision**

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| *Primary Caseload Type* | | |
| Probation | 1,823 | 49.90 |
| Parole | 430 | 11.77 |
| Probation & Parole | 1,378 | 37.72 |
| Not sure | 22 | 0.60 |
| *Proportion of Caseload that Consists of Compact Clients* | | |
| Less than 10% | 1,604 | 43.91 |
| 10-25% | 1,172 | 33.08 |
| 26-50% | 351 | 9.61 |
| 51-75% | 121 | 3.31 |
| More than 75% | 323 | 8.84 |
| No response | 82 | 2.24 |
| *Number of Years Working in Corrections* | | |
| Less than 5 years | 540 | 14.75 |
| 5-10 years | 978 | 26.77 |
| 11-20 years | 1,138 | 31.15 |
| 21-29 years | 787 | 21.54 |
| More than 30 years | 191 | 5.23 |
| No response | 19 | 0.52 |
| *Mean years* | *14.33* | |
| *Number of Years Working with Compact Clients* | | |
| Less than 5 years | 983 | 26.91 |
| 5-10 years | 1,142 | 31.26 |
| 11-20 years | 984 | 26.94 |
| 21-29 years | 473 | 11.96 |
| More than 30 years | 73 | 2.00 |
| No response | 34 | 0.93 |
| *Mean years* | *10.79* | |

*Note: Full Total N = 3,653*

### Section 2: Perceived Purpose of the Compact

The next analyses detail findings on respondent opinions regarding the overall purpose of the Compact and whether the Compact is serving its intended purpose. Table 9 summarizes what respondents regarded as the main purpose of Compact. Note that respondents could select multiple options here. Almost 68% of the sample indicated that the main purpose of the Compact is to define the administrative relationship between states regarding the movement and supervision of clients. This was the most common response. Thus, several respondents saw the Compact as an administrative authority that helps define case transfer relationships. The next most common response was that the main purpose of the Compact is to facilitate opportunities

for more effective supervision regarding interstate transfer arrangements (47% of the sample), followed by facilitating more flexibility in the lives of clients (about 34%), and by facilitating client family relationships in another state (about 32%). The least common response was facilitating better opportunities for education (about 14%).

| Table 9: Perceived Purpose of the Compact | | |
|---|---|---|
| | N | % |
| **What is the main purpose of the Compact?** | | |
| Facilitate opportunities for more effective supervision | 1,707 | 47.00 |
| Facilitate more effective rehabilitation and treatment | 1,042 | 28.52 |
| Facilitate more flexibility in the lives of clients | 1,256 | 34.38 |
| Facilitate family relationships in another state | 1,175 | 32.17 |
| Facilitate better opportunities for employment/work | 1,085 | 29.70 |
| Facilitate better opportunities for education | 498 | 13.63 |
| Define the administrative relationship between states regarding the movement and supervision of clients | 2,474 | 67.73 |
| Other | 136 | 03.72 |

*Note: Respondents could select multiple responses*



Is the Compact serving its intended purpose? (n = 3,632)

- Yes 73%
- No 12%
- Not sure 15%
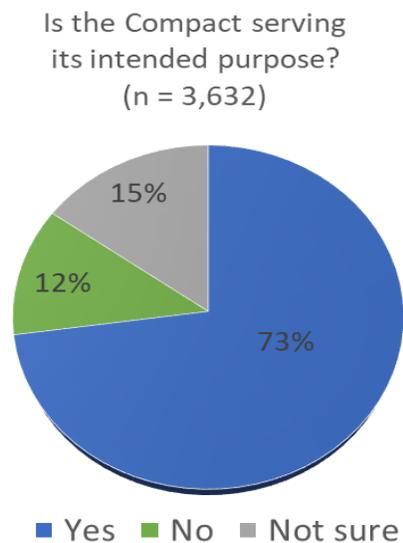
Respondents were also asked to indicate whether they believe that the Compact is serving its intended purpose. These results are shown in Figure 5 to the left. About 73% of respondents indicated believing that the Compact is indeed serving its intended purpose. That said, a portion of respondents indicated that they are not sure that the Compact is serving its intended purpose or that they believed that the Compact is not serving its intended purpose.

**Figure 5: Perceived Purpose of the Compact**

### Section 3: Experience with Case Transfers

Section 3 of the survey analysis details findings regarding information on case transfers, the services offered to Compact clients, any additional requirements that Compact clients may face, and additional information on the limitations surrounding case transfers. To begin, Figure 6 details findings on whether transfer cases have differing classification criteria compared to local cases originating in the state. About 62% of respondents indicated that transfer cases are classified in the same manner as local, non-transfer cases, about 18% respondents indicated that transfer cases are classified differently than local, non-transfer cases, and about 17% were not sure about any differences in classification.

**Are cases transferred to your state/agency classified any differently compared to cases originating within your state?**
**(n = 3,645)**
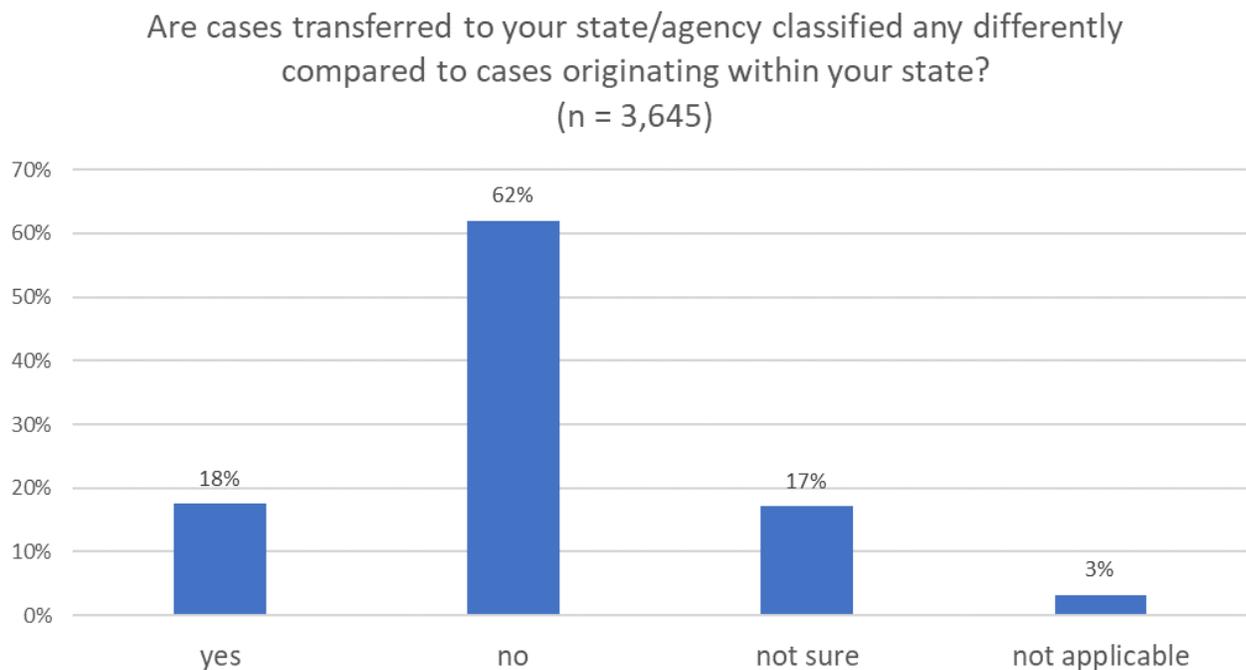


**Figure 6: Differences in Classification of Transfer Cases**

Next, Table 10 summarizes findings regarding what information is shared to respondents upon *receiving* transfer cases from other states and what information the respondent shares upon *transferring* cases to other states. First, the most common type of information that was *received* by respondents was basic demographic information (about 86% of the sample) followed by basic criminal justice involvement history (about 77% of the sample). Further, about 51% of respondents indicated that they received information about clients' history of community supervision from transferring states. The least common type of information received was family history information (about 23%), risk assessment information (about 23%), and information on the client's case plans (about 24%). Next, the most common type of information that respondents shared upon *transferring* cases to other states was basic demographic information (about 93% of the sample) followed by basic criminal justice involvement history (about 89% of the sample) and by the clients' history of community supervision (about 82% of the sample). Further, about 38% of respondents indicated that they shared a client's treatment history, clients' family history information (about 44%), and risk assessment information (about 48%) upon transferring the

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case. The least common type of information that respondents shared was information on the client's case plans (about 37%). Thus, there was some parity in the most common types of information that were received and transferred. Importantly, however, respondents indicated overall that they were more likely to share information upon transferring cases than they were to receive information when cases were transferred to them from other states.

**Table 10: Types of Information Shared about Transfer Cases**

| | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| *When you receive transfer cases from other states, what information about the case is shared from the transferring state?* | | |
| Case plans | 874 | 23.93 |
| Basic criminal justice involvement history | 2,792 | 76.53 |
| History of community supervision | 1,867 | 51.11 |
| Basic demographic information | 3,138 | 86.18 |
| Family history information | 840 | 22.99 |
| Risk assessment information | 837 | 22.91 |
| Treatment History | 1,307 | 35.78 |
| Other | 532 | 14.56 |
| *When you send transfers to other states, what information do you share with the receiving state?* | | |
| Case plans | 1,337 | 36.60 |
| Basic criminal justice involvement history | 3,236 | 88.58 |
| History of community supervision | 2,990 | 81.85 |
| Basic demographic information | 3,380 | 92.53 |
| Family history information | 1,612 | 44.13 |
| Risk assessment information | 1,753 | 47.99 |
| Treatment History | 2,480 | 67.89 |
| Other | 480 | 13.14 |

*Note: Respondents could select multiple responses*

The next set of tables and figures detail results regarding the types of services offered to Compact clients and any differences in supervision between Compact clients and non-Compact clients. As shown in Table 11 below, the vast majority of respondents indicated that Compact clients are offered traditional supervision services (about 94% of the sample), and some respondents indicated that Compact clients could receive Intensive Supervision Services (about 35%) and Effective Practices in Community Supervision (about 28%).

**Table 11: Types of Services Offered to Compact Clients**

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| Traditional supervision services | 3,433 | 93.98 |
| Intensive Supervision Programs (ISP) | 1,271 | 34.79 |
| Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS) | 172 | 04.71 |
| Effective Practices in Community Supervision (EPICS) | 1,032 | 28.25 |

*Note: Respondents could select multiple responses*

Figure 7 shows that about 94% of respondents indicated that the services provided to Compact clients do not differ from the services offered to non-Compact clients. Additionally, as shown in Figure 8, most respondents (about 88%) indicated that their agency does not require any special or additional conditions of supervision of Compact clients.

Are the supervision services that you provide to Compact clients different compared to the supervision services that you provide to local, non-Compact clients?
(n = 3,567)
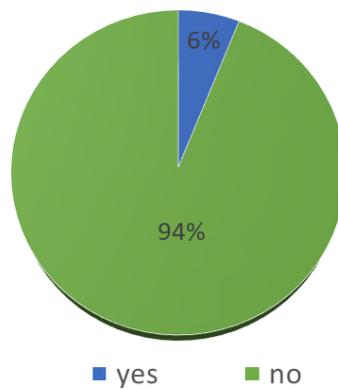


**Figure 7: Differences in Services for Non/Compact Clients**

Does your agency require any special conditions of supervision for Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients?
(n = 3,604)
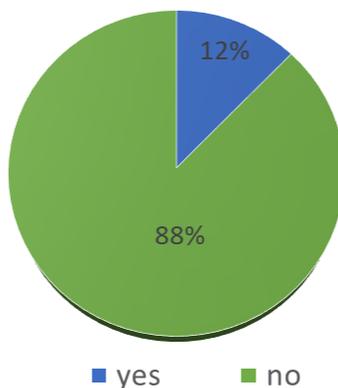


**Figure 8: Differences in Conditions for Non/Compact Clients**

Finally, as shown in Figure 9, the vast majority of respondents (about 93%) indicated that both Compact clients and non-Compact clients receive roughly equal amount of contact by supervision officers.



**Differences in Contact between Case Types**
**(n = 3,596)**

| Category | Percentage |
|---|---|
| Compact clients are contacted more frequently than non-Compact clients | 2% |
| Compact clients and non-Compact clients are contacted at roughly the same frequency | 93% |
| Compact clients are contacted less frequently | 5% |
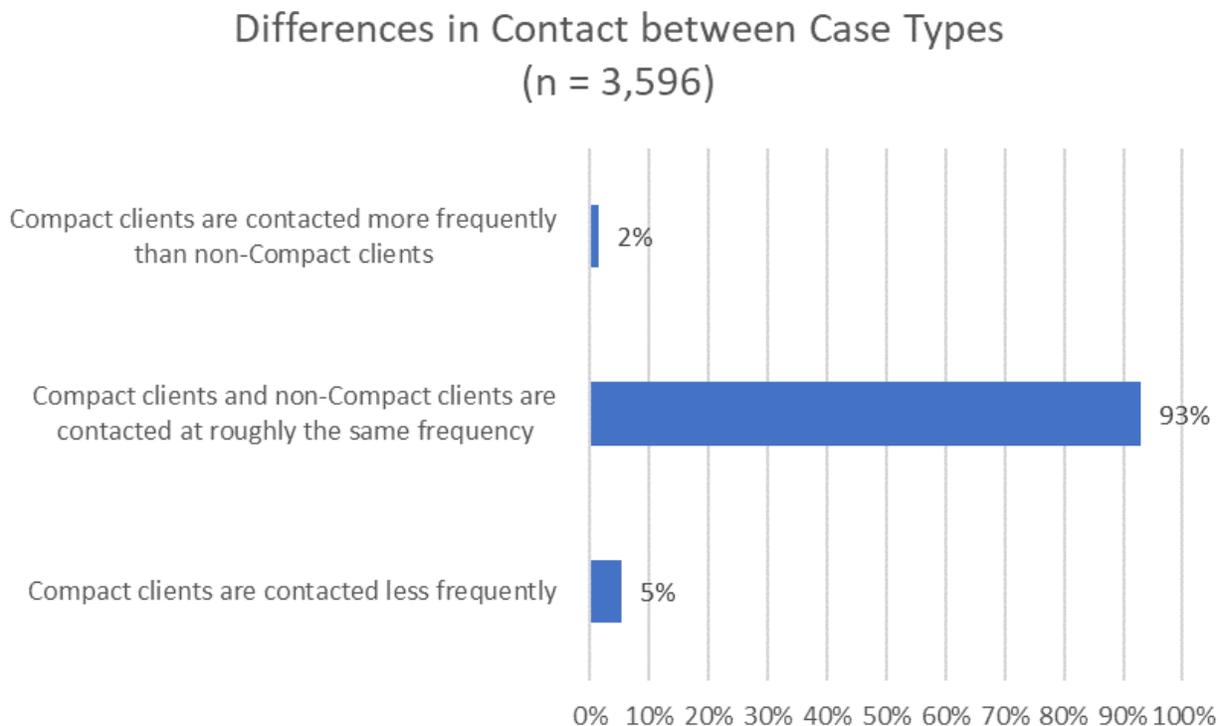
**Figure 9: Frequency of Contact between Compact Clients and Supervision Officers**

Table 12, which begins on the page below, details the limitations on case transfers that are *transferred* by respondents' agencies and that are *received* by respondents' agencies. The majority of respondents (about 72%) indicated that there were no limitations on the types of cases that can be transferred from their agency to another state. Thus, just over a fifth of the sample indicated that there were limitations on types of cases that can be transferred from their agency to another state. The most common types of limitations associated with sending criteria were sex offender cases (about 35%) and cases involving violent crime (about 16%). That said, around 64% of respondents indicated that there were other limitations associated with sending criteria. When the respondent selected "other," they were prompted to provide additional information. Several of these responses indicated that the level of the offense matters for whether cases can be transferred. Specifically, many respondents indicated that misdemeanor cases are not eligible for transfer and, further, that the ICOTS system requirements limit their ability to make transfers in misdemeanor cases. Another common response dealt with the length of time that the client was on supervision. Here, some respondents indicated that clients have to be sentenced to community supervision for a certain length of time to be eligible for an interstate transfer. For example, one respondent said that clients "must have at least 6 months of supervision" to be eligible for transfer.

**Table 12: Limitations on Cases Sent**

| | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| *Are there limitations on the types of Compact cases that can be transferred from your agency to another state?* | | |
| Yes | 996 | 27.27 |
| No | 2,617 | 71.64 |
| No response | 40 | 1.09 |
| *If yes, what are the specific limitations associated with the sending criteria?* | | |
| Sex Offender Cases | 345 | 34.64 |
| Violent Crime | 159 | 15.96 |
| Assessed risk level | 91 | 9.14 |
| Mental health status | 53 | 5.32 |
| Record of treatment failure | 54 | 5.42 |
| Age | 12 | 1.20 |
| Other | 634 | 63.65 |

*Note: Respondents could select multiple responses*

**Table 13: Limitations on Cases Received**

| | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| *Are there limitations on the types of Compact cases that can be received by your agency to another state?* | | |
| Yes | 508 | 13.91 |
| No | 3,038 | 83.16 |
| No response | 107 | 2.93 |
| *If yes, what are the specific limitations associated with the receiving criteria?* | | |
| Sex Offender Cases | 197 | 38.78 |
| Violent Crime | 87 | 17.13 |
| Assessed risk level | 40 | 7.87 |
| Mental health status | 28 | 5.51 |
| Record of treatment failure | 21 | 4.13 |
| Age | 13 | 2.56 |
| Other | 281 | 55.31 |

*Note: Respondents could select multiple responses*

As with transferring criteria, Table 13 (on the page above) shows the majority of respondents (about 83%) indicate there are no limitations on the types of cases that can be received by their agency from another state. Only around 14% of respondents indicated that their agency does have limitations on the types of cases that can be received. Similar to sending limitations, the most common types of limitations associated with receiving criteria were sex offender cases (about 39%) and cases involving violent crime (about 17%). That said, around 55% of respondents indicated that there were other limitations associated with receiving criteria. When the respondent selected "other," they were prompted to provide additional information. Several of these responses were similar to the responses for transferring criteria limitations. Namely, many respondents indicated that there are limitations on receiving misdemeanor cases and, further, that clients need to have been sentenced to community supervision for a certain length of time.

Do Compact clients face any special legal financial obligations compared to non-Compact clients?
(n = 3,632)
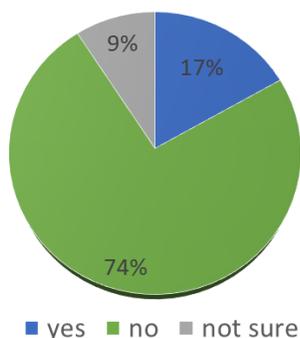


The final set of figures detail results regarding differences in the legal financial obligations (LFOs) owed by Compact clients. As shown in Figure 10 to the left, 74% of respondents indicated that Compact clients do not face any special LFOs when compared to non-Compact clients, 17% indicated that Compact clients do face special LFOs when compared to non-Compact, and around 9% of respondents were unsure. Thus, it is likely that at least some jurisdictions do levy special LFOs specifically for transfer cases.

**Figure 10: Differences in Legal Financial Obligations**

Are there differences in the *amounts* of legal financial obligations owed by Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients?
(n = 3,626)
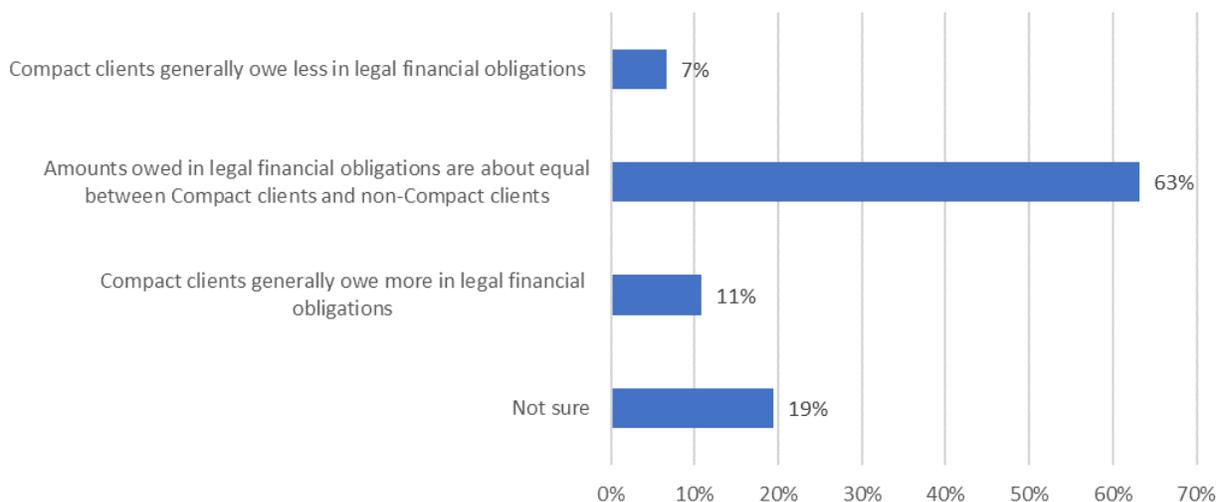


**Figure 11: Differences in Amounts of Legal Financial Obligations**

On the page above, Figure 11 shows most respondents (about 63%) indicated that there are not substantial differences between the amount of money owed by Compact clients when compared to non-Compact clients. Slightly more respondents indicated that Compact clients generally owe more in LFOs than indicated that Compact clients owe less (11% vs. 7%). Finally, almost a fifth of respondents indicated not being sure if the amounts owed by Compact clients differed from those owed by non-Compact clients.

*Section 4: Perceptions of Compact Clients*

The next section presents results regarding how supervision officers perceive and interact with Compact clients compared to local, non-Compact clients. Table 14 summarizes results regarding whether officers face special challenges in the supervision of Compact clients and, if so, what sorts of challenges they face. First, there was a fairly even divide between respondents regarding whether they face any special challenges in the supervision of Compact clients, with a slight majority indicating that they do not face any special challenges in the supervision of Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients (52.40%). Respondents who answered that Compact clients do indeed present special challenges were asked to indicate what the challenges are via a series of additional questions. Here, around 30% indicated that Compact clients require more resources than non-Compact clients, while around 23% indicated that Compact clients have more difficulty fulfilling their terms of supervision. However, the majority of respondents indicated that the special challenges fell into the "Other" category.

When the "Other" category was selected, respondents were prompted to elaborate via a short answer response. Respondents gave several reasons for why they face special challenges in supervision; however, there were noticeable commonalities between responses. First, several respondents claimed that the ICOTS system itself poses special challenges to supervising Compact clients. For instance, one respondent wrote that "The fact that if you do have to do anything with a Compact Offender that requires you to involve Compact or the ICOTS system it will be a lot more laborious than any other offender due to the bureaucratic mess that it has been morphed into," while another respondent said that the special challenge is in "dealing with the cumbersome ICOTS system." Still another respondent explained that the "Overly complicated ICOTS reports, i.e. progress reports, violation reports, and compact office scrutiny on submission of reports make [supervision of Compact clients] extremely time consuming compared to local cases."

Another common response to the challenges posed by supervising Compact clients dealt with communication and differences in the supervision requirements between states. Specifically, several respondents expressed frustration with the amount and quality of communication from transferring states. For instance, one respondent said that "Other states often fail to communicate, [which] limits effectiveness in supervision," while another respondent explained that "Sometimes contact between states becomes complicated when the sending state does not respond to an action or request or the special conditions from the sending state may be those that the receiving state cannot comply with." One respondent said that "When there is issues

with the client all communication has to go through Compact and sometimes officers from other states do not reply."

Finally, another common theme to the challenges posed by supervising Compact clients dealt with issues regarding the enforcement of violations. Specifically, officers expressed frustration with the response of sending states in enforcing violations, the overall bureaucratic process in holding Compact clients accountable for violations, and how much time it can take to enforce violations for Compact clients. As one respondent explained, "The most difficult [is] the issue of when or if the out of state offender violates any part of their supervision. These offenders cannot be treated the same and as swiftly as an in-state offender." Another respondent described frustration with the differences in state policies, explaining that "Any violations that are considered immediate retake in the receiving state may not be considered immediate retake in the sending state and the sending state dictates how to supervise the individuals in the receiving state....even though they're breaking the conditions of supervision of the receiving state/laws." Further, a third respondent explained the main challenge is the "Inability to have the client go back to the supervising authority for continuous bad behavior or severe violations. In addition, some clients feel that once here, that we have no real jurisdiction over them and they do as they please."

**Table 14: Perceived Challenges when Supervising Compact Clients**

|  | N | % |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *Do you face special challenges in the supervision of Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients?* | | |
| Yes | 1,695 | 46.40 |
| No | 1,914 | 52.40 |
| No response | 44 | 1.20 |
| *If yes, what are these challenges?* | | |
| Compact clients require more intensive supervision | 85 | 5.01 |
| Compact clients have more difficulty with their requirements | 394 | 23.24 |
| Compact clients require more treatment | 148 | 8.73 |
| Compact clients require more resources | 510 | 30.09 |
| Other | 1,054 | 62.18 |

*Note: Respondents could select multiple responses*

Officers were also asked whether they found Compact clients more difficult to supervise than non-Compact clients. These results are summarized in Figure 12. Around 72% of the sample did not find Compact clients any more difficult to supervise relative to non-Compact clients. That said, just over a quarter of respondents did find Compact clients more difficult to supervise. It is likely that the special challenges some officers indicated facing when supervising Compact clients

contributed to this response. Specifically, issues with communication, the ICOTS system, and the enforcement of violations might lead some officers to consider Compact clients more difficult to supervise.

Do you find Compact clients more difficult to supervise
compared to non-Compact clients?
(n = 3,587)

28%

72%

■ yes   ■ no
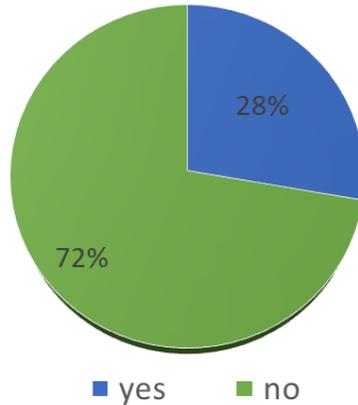
**Figure 12: Perceived Difficulty of Supervising Compact Clients**

Next, respondents were asked to indicate their supervision strategies for Compact clients and whether they modified their supervision approach for Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients. As shown in Figure 13, the majority of respondents indicated taking a balanced approach to the supervision of Compact clients (about 80%).

What is your orientation or approach to the supervision of
Compact clients?
(n = 3,592)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Law enforcment approach | Reintegrative or rehabilitation approach | Balanced approach |
| 4% | 16% | 80% |
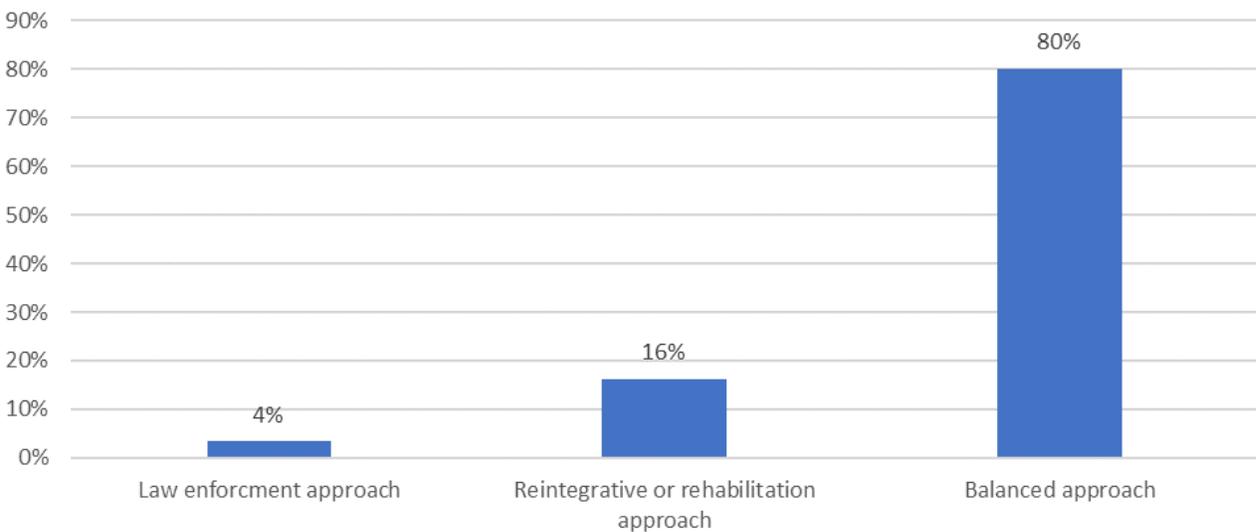
**Figure 13: Approach to Supervising Compact Clients, Part 1**

Figure 14 shows that around 92% of respondents indicated they do not modifying their supervision strategies for Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients.

Do you modify your supervision strategies for Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients?
(n = 3,600)

3%  5%

92%
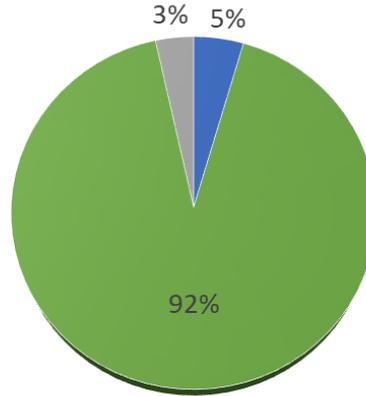
■ yes  ■ no  ■ not sure

**Figure 14: Approach to Supervising Compact Clients, Part 2**

*Section 5: Perceived Areas for Improvement*

The final section of the survey results detail findings concerning respondent satisfaction with the Compact process as well as suggestions for Compact improvement.

How satisfied are you with the current Compact process?
(n = 3,644)

| Very dissatisfied | Somewhat dissatisfied | Neutral | Somewhat satisfied | Very satisfied |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7% | 20% | 30% | 36% | 6% |
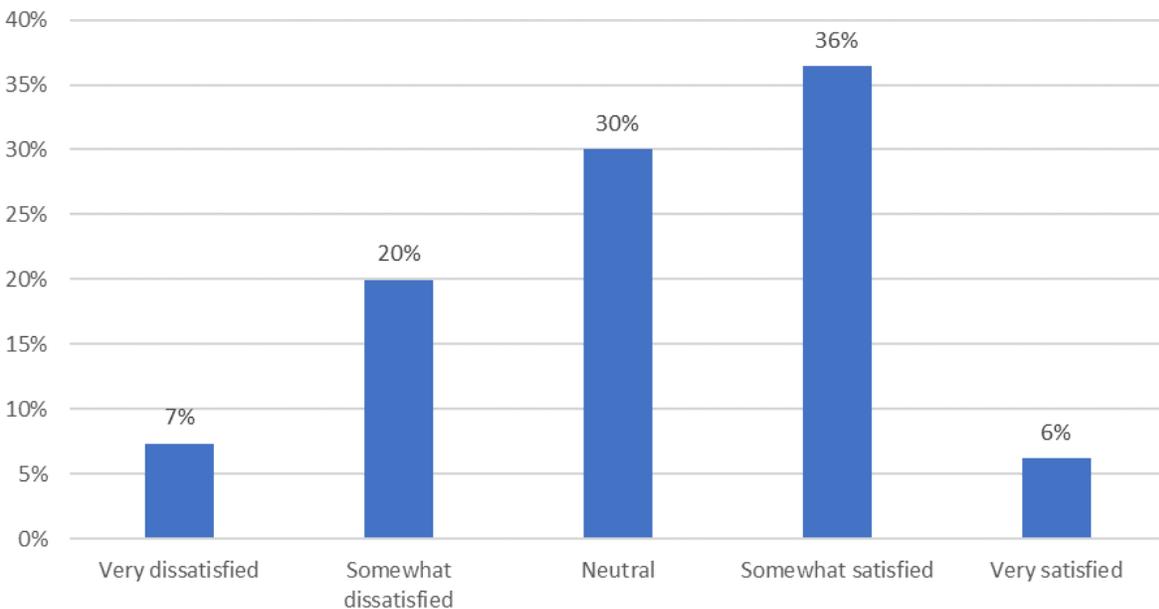
**Figure 15: Satisfaction with the Compact Process**

As summarized in Figure 15, around 42% of respondents indicated being at least somewhat satisfied with the Compact process, while about 27% of respondents indicated being at least somewhat dissatisfied with the Compact process. The other 30% of respondents were neutral.

And finally, Table 15 summarizes results regarding what areas of the Compact process can be improved according to survey respondents. First, around 66% of the sample indicated that communication between receiving and transferring agencies was the area in most need of improvement. Relatedly, around 44% of the sample indicated that coordination between receiving and transferring agencies could be improved. Next, around 39% of the sample indicated that the process of transferring cases could be improved, while only about 27% of the sample indicated that the process of receiving cases could be improved. Finally, around 35% of the sample indicated that the usability of the ICOTS system could be improved. The two areas with the least responses were availability of resources for Compact cases (about 12% of the sample) and transparency of Compact policies and procedures (around 20% of the sample), indicating that resources and transparence could use improvement, but that communication and coordination might take precedence.

**Table 15: Perceived Areas for Improvement in the Compact Process**

|  | N | % |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Inter-state standardization of community supervision policies | 1,000 | 27.37 |
| Process of receiving Compact cases | 974 | 26.66 |
| Process of transferring Compact cases | 1,426 | 39.04 |
| Availability of resources for Compact cases | 451 | 12.34 |
| Transparency of Compact policies and procedures | 740 | 20.26 |
| Communication between receiving and transferring agencies | 2,416 | 66.14 |
| Coordination between receiving and transferring agencies | 1,603 | 43.88 |
| Staff training in the use of Compact policies and procedures | 979 | 26.80 |
| Using the ICOTS system | 1,274 | 34.88 |
| Other | 372 | 10.18 |

*Note: Respondents could select multiple responses*

## Part 3: Interview Analysis

Part 3 presents results from the qualitative analysis of recorded telephone interviews with both supervision officers and current Compact clients.

### *Section 1: Officer Interviews*

Results from the officer interviews are categorized into three thematic areas, including (1) Summary Characterizations, (2) Perceived Strengths, and (3) Perceived Areas for Improvement. Each thematic area is addressed in detail below.

*Summary Characterizations*

During the course of each officer interview, participants were asked to characterize their experiences working in the field of community supervision. In particular, the officers were instructed to use just two or three words as they reflect on their career as a supervision officer, their perception of the Compact, and their use of the Interstate Compact Offender Tracking System (ICOTS). The figures below represent the initial findings from this exercise.



**Figure 16: Officers' Career Summaries**

As Figure 16 shows above, the officers' summaries include words with positive and negative connotations. For instance, officers reflected on their careers as both meaningful and exhausting, and in many cases the officers made references to both types of characterizations. The interview excerpt below is a clear example of how officers rationalized the juxtaposition:

"I think you have to be a coach, so you have to want these people to succeed. You also have to hold them accountable to what they're supposed to do. But at the end of the day, I'm not out here seeking to violate the people that I have on my caseload. If I wanted to seek out violations and seek out people getting in trouble, I would go be a police officer, detective, or try to work in the FBI or something. So, I don't look at that as my ultimate job. I'll respond to violations and investigate them as they come up, but I'm not

intentionally going out and looking for trouble and looking for someone to violate. I want to figure out what we can do to help you be successful and not go back down that path."

In addition to providing career summaries, officers were asked to reflect on their professional experience with the Compact. Again, the officers summarized their perceptions of the Compact with both positive and negative reflections, many of which are directly connected to (1) the purpose of the Compact and (2) the process or rules that have been established in order to facilitate the transfer of supervision. Figure 17 illustrates officers' perceptions of the Compact.



**Figure 17: Officers' Perceptions of the Interstate Compact**

In an effort to quantify this experience, one officer said, "If we were talking about it on a scale from one to ten, ten being great, I'll give it a seven." This particular sentiment underscores the officers' perception of the Compact as a necessary system that is not without its own unique challenges. Other officers elaborated further on this theme by providing the following descriptions:

> "I think the Interstate Compact has a positive purpose. I'm assuming it was developed as a way where every state pretty much does the same thing. You know, the problem is each jurisdiction has its own quirks, and it's trying to fit those in."

"There's no way I can memorize everything in terms of the different supervision rules and stuff like that... I probably could tell you the rules, I mean, I could tell you some of the basics, but if I ever needed to answer a question or if I was confused on something, I'm just going to look up the rules again."

In addition to a general reflection on the Compact's purpose and processes, officers were also asked to describe their experience using the ICOTS platform and technology. Figure 18 illustrates officers' experience using ICOTS.



**Figure 18: Officers' Use of ICOTS**

In reflecting on the experience of using ICOTS, one officer explains, "It's actually one of the better database systems that I use on a daily basis." That being said, many officers perceived ICOTS to be rather cumbersome. In particular, they cited the additional workload of using the system as a unique challenge. The following excerpt captures this specific sentiment:

"I think it's just an additional workload issue, and when you get into the hustle of taking care of things, you take care of it at your local agency level, but then you have this overarching Interstate Compact and it can be easy to forget to just scan everything and send it back to the other state."

Beyond the workload issue noted above, many officers referenced the ICOTS system as being reactionary and otherwise disconnected from their client-centered approach to community supervision.

> "Everything is very black and white. Sometimes, some of the deeper, more client-centered or holistic information gets lost. Like, I'm not writing [to the receiving state] to tell them about [the client's] childhood trauma or things like that, and I can't ensure that they're even talking about that on that end, but I have to trust that everyone is following the policies and the procedures."

Despite some challenging reactions, many of the summary characterizations were quite nuanced, with one officer explaining:

> "I've probably been heard around the office, I will walk around sometimes and say, 'I hate ICOTS.' You know, but all in all, it does its job. Yes, there are things that could probably be better. Yes, sometimes it does get in the way. But for a nationwide system to keep track of all these offenders that are spread out everywhere, coming and going, yes, it does its job. At the bare minimum, it does its job of keeping track of these individuals."

Throughout the interview data, the officers' summary reflections were often juxtaposed with both positive and negative sentiments. Overall, many of the positive tones expressed by the officers were nuanced with specific challenges and frustrations. In order to contextualize these juxtapositions, the analysis below emphasizes both the strengths and the specific areas for improvement as noted by the officers.

*Perceived Strengths*

According to the officers, the main purpose of the Compact is to facilitate the transfer of supervision across state lines. In meeting this purpose, the Compact has established a centralized database and a system of rules and policies for officers to follow. For the officers who rely on the Compact, these systems are incredibly valuable resources because they offer consistency and set expectations. The following quotes illustrate this perspective:

> "The main purpose of the Compact is to have a centralized database so states can talk to each other and transfer supervision between one state and another, and to keep consistency in the expectations of the probation and parole rules and conditions."

> "[The purpose of the Compact is] To make sure that the offenders are adequately supervised in the state that they reside in, and to hold them accountable to the court in the sentencing state."

> "The good thing is it does keep us in line with everybody else nationwide, as far as when things have to be done and there is a certain format for things that need to be completed. It's universal, it's not different from one state to the next, it's pretty much the same. So, I think it keeps supervision consistent for everybody."

"One state may offer one type, and another state may offer something different, but we've got to try to make sure that they're complying with the orders, but also getting the treatment that they need."

When asked whether they feel the Compact is serving its intended purpose, the officers reflected rather positively. The excerpt below illustrate the officers' perception that the Compact is serving its intended purpose well:

"I used ICOTS for probably a two-year period. I was part of our telephone reporting program, regularly making sure we have contact with the offender. They can call the automated system and check in, and I can get their voicemails. Every month, they would have to update if they have a new address, or phone number, their employment status, and their employment address, and all that information would be documented on the offender so when a progress report was due or if someone requested it, then I would complete those reports and upload it and send it to the requesting state. There are benefits to the telephone reporting program because offenders move a lot and they change their phone number a lot. But it helps to keep the ICOTS profile up-to-date. We always know what's going on with them, and if they do get in trouble or get arrested, we can always notify the sending state through ICOTS and we can identify the best way to manage the violation."

As the officers reflected on the Compact's purpose of transferring and tracking the supervision of offenders between states, they described how the system itself supports their own sense of professional responsibility to the clients they serve. In particular, the officers felt the transfer process supports clients' success:

"I think, in terms of overall success, I think when an officer goes in and submits a transfer request and actually vets out the plan, then I think that process allows for like, 'Oh, hey, this is actually solid.' Or, maybe they see where it's not so much of a solid plan, and they go back to that individual and say, 'Hey, maybe you should set up some treatment over there. And then, when they go and look at your plan, you have something a little bit more solid than just, 'I want to live with my girlfriend.'' So, I will say in terms of like filtering people out to be successful, I think Interstate Compact does a good job with their transfer request and vetting their plan before submission, which makes them successful, starts them out more successful."

"I think the Compact captures a pretty good snapshot of, 'Hey, this is the person's plan. This is what their history is.' Also, I think that it does pretty well when it comes to reporting violations or reporting compliant behavior. I feel like the Compact does a decent job providing all that information to either the sending state or the receiving state."

"You know, the consistent progress reports allow us to verbalize how the offender is doing, and so I think in that way, it allows us to have a snapshot of the case so we can go back to the offender and say, 'OK, we need to work on these things,' or 'You're doing

really well, but talk to the state about you being released early.' So, that's one of the benefits."

According to the officers, the other main purpose of the Compact is to promote meaningful support for transfer clients and reduce barriers for individuals on supervision. In meeting this purpose, the officers suggested the Compact allows individuals to (re)connect with their own systems of social support and economic support, wherever those resources might be. The following quotes illustrate this perspective:

"I know the whole goal of supervision is to have a support network and system around them, and get them connected in the community, and so that's what I look at when I accept a case. I know in my experience, and what I've heard, is a lot of states are quick to deny [transfer applications]. But at least, in terms of our office, we don't view [the Compact] in that way. If there's any sort of way or reason that an offender would be successful here, we give them the benefit of the doubt. We don't try to find that little technical thing to deny the case. That's just kind of how I operate and how our office operates. If we can give someone an opportunity to be successful here, or even at the smaller level when we're transferring cases within state, our office, I think, is pretty receptive at accepting cases because we understand the ultimate goal of supervision."

"The way that I look at [supervision] is to reduce barriers. So, if they have more supports in another state and they're able to be more successful in another state, then that's always something that we're going to look at within the context of what's allowed with the Compact."

"I think the main purpose of the Interstate Compact is certainly to give people a better opportunity to succeed while on supervision, whether that's being with their family or, you know, employment opportunities that they would have here as opposed to the states that they're coming from."

When asked to describe the primary support systems that are available to their transfer clients, the officers referenced specific types, including:

"Our big thing is family, primarily. The majority of offenders who [transfer] do it just because they have family here or there are job resources here or a combination of both is usually what allows them to go through that process."

"I would say family support, financial support from their families to get back on their feet, and most specifically, probably employment."

"I think the majority of cases that I've had, it's all their family and then obviously there's job opportunities here because they have family and they have a residence to live at and they kind of get themselves established here."

Despite recognizing the significance of (re)connecting their transfer clients to meaningful support systems, the officers recognized that promoting support and reducing barriers is simply a first step. For instance, one officer said, "I always tell my clients that [Alcoholics Anonymous] slogan, 'Wherever you go, there you are.' You know, you bring yourself wherever you're going to be. So, no, a geographical cure is not always the answer." In another example of this type of sentiment, an officer described the accountability that the Compact promotes:

> "The ultimate goal of supervision is to reduce recidivism and decrease the risk that they're going to be back involved in the system again in the future. And I know geographics alone aren't going to change someone. You can pick someone up that's repeatedly getting in trouble here, and you could go drop them off in another state, but if they don't change themselves or change their behavior, they're going to get right back in with the antisocial people and they're going to get right back involved in criminal activity. But I think with changing their geographic location, it gives them an opportunity. They still have to take the opportunity and change their behavior and circumstances and decision making and all that. But I think a lot of times they're going to a supportive family member who is going to provide an additional level of accountability that is more on a day-to-day basis compared to something that as a PO we can provide. And sometimes it's like they're living with a family member, and that family member is giving them an opportunity to live with them, but they're subject to whatever house rules or general expectations to live with that family member on top of whatever they're expected to do with supervision. So, I think it provides an additional layer of accountability, and at the end of the day we want people to have access to support networks and family relationships that are going to hold them accountable. And then that's just going to translate to, "Okay, my family's holding me accountable. I'm starting to hold myself accountable. And my PO is also holding me accountable." So, I think it teaches the accountability that these offenders need as they're progressing through their change over time. And, I think without those resources, and if they didn't Compact, some people might not have had the opportunity to have stable housing or be around their family members or things of that nature. And so it's important, I think, to have family around, and to have supports and resources that are going to help you get back on track and provide accountability for you."

Interestingly, many of the officers perceived their Compact caseloads to be less difficult to supervise compared to their non-Compact caseloads. This finding is aligned with the results of the survey data presented earlier in the report (see Figure 12). In part, the officers connected their perception here back to the Compact's policies and procedures, which acts as a sort of filter that the officers find beneficial to everyone involved. The following quotes illustrate this sentiment:

> "Generally, Compact cases are not more difficult to supervise. They're usually more compliant because they have certain factors helping them out, like maybe the family member or employment or write their treatment program that they're in, and then also just kind of knowing that, 'Hey, if I mess up, I might be sent back to my state,' and a lot of people don't want to go back to their state."

"I would say, in terms of the ones I have, or in general, they're not more challenging to supervise, because in order to transfer or compact to a different state, you kind of have to have certain things in place and certain things in line before you transfer, which just means you kind of have to think through that process and you've had to show up to your PO's office in the other state, and you've had to kind of put in some work in order to get to that other state. So they're already kind of on more of a path to success than just someone that gets out of prison here and is trying to figure everything out. They've already kind of had to put together that plan of how they're going to do well in the other state.

"You have to focus a lot of attention on transfer cases just because, one, in order to complete the transfer of the Compact process, you kind of have to have all your ducks in a row, and the client has to make sure they can show the state that they're trying to leave that they can follow through. And then, obviously, we reciprocate that when they come here. So, I wouldn't say that Compact cases are easier, but I would say the majority of offenders that I've supervised are probably are less high needs. I've had some clients who haven't worked out. Some offenders kind of fall apart when they were here, but for a majority of them, I think it works well."

According to the officers, the Compact serves two main purposes. The first is to facilitate the transfer of supervision across state lines. In meeting this purpose, the Compact has established a centralized database and a system of rules and policies for officers to follow. Officers described this structure as particularly valuable to the work that they do with their transfer clients. According to the officers, the other main purpose of the Compact is to promote meaningful support for transfer clients and reduce barriers for individuals on supervision. In meeting this purpose, officers described the Compact allowing individuals to (re)connect with their own systems of social and economic support, wherever that might be.

*Perceived Areas for Improvement*

Officers cited multiple frustrations with the policies and processes associated with the Compact as well as the ICOTS platform. In this section of the interview findings, officers described how each issue presents its own unique challenge to their work as supervision officers. To begin, officers described the trouble of supervising transfer clients who have missing information in their case file. Through the process of transferring clients between states, the officers explained some important information is routinely not tracked. The following quotes illustrate specific examples of this issue, as reported by the officers:

"I think the number one barrier is states aren't required to send their judgment and sentences, or their sentencing documents because that's not part of the Compact. For us, to establish jurisdiction at our hearings, that's very helpful to have. I mean, it'd be more helpful if those were included in all submissions for transfer requests. Granted, we consider the transfer request application as our jurisdiction, but I think that most states don't care so much about the judgment or sentences as our state does."

"Yeah, I mean, I wish that judgments and sentencing documents were a little bit more mandatory for Interstate Compact. I think that would make life easier, just to see like, 'Oh hey, this is the date they were sentenced on,' especially for record keeping, you know, because our records unit keeps track of all that...But maybe it takes a minute for the court to filter through that, or maybe it's difficult for them to get records request, or maybe they're missing police reports because those aren't mandatory either, but those do help with understanding more about the individual's background."

"I think to get directly to what would be on my heart for improvement, what would help the general system in its function, would simply be case planning or a case plan that would be developed from the sending state. And when that offender is transferred to another state, then that plan would already be in place or prepared. And the receiving state would have a little more insight as to what their needs are, or what their goals are, rather than starting from scratch. Because if that person is already under supervision, then a general plan could be sent from state to state, and that would help out a whole lot, you know, because certain areas would already be covered and the supervising officer would have a little more of a foundation to start with."

"If I wanted to get it, I would submit a Compact Action Request and hope that I get a response. But you don't always get a response, or even the response you're looking for, so you just kind of grin and bear it."

For supervision officers managing Compact caseloads, the issue of incomplete information has led to a general perception that the entire Compact process is rather arbitrary. In particular, officers described feeling like their level of involvement with the Compact is not reciprocated by other users or stakeholders in other states. This experience is illustrated further in the excerpt below:

"I feel like when we send somebody out to another state, we have to jump through a million different hoops and put an exorbitant amount of information in our transfer request. And the transfer requests that I receive have bare bones at best. I know a lot of times I'll just get like a sentencing order from the sending state for a pretrial diversion, which isn't even a conviction. And I have to supervise this individual with really very little information on them. You know it, it would be beneficial to have as much information as possible, such as a pre-sentence investigation, or a supervision history. But it's just very arbitrary what we get."

Moreover, as this dynamic repeats itself, officers described experiencing incongruent workloads and unbalanced expectations between states and among fellow officers. For instance, many officers referenced the necessary workload that stems from managing the transfer process and supervising transfer clients. The following accounts are from officers sharing their perspective of what it takes to prepare a transfer request for submission:

"It is time consuming, I'll say that. There's a lot of documentation, a lot of communication that has to happen between you and the sponsor in the other state. It's not the most

favorable thing that you want to come across your desk in, you know, an offender wanting to move to wherever. That's going to take up a lot of your time. It just seems like a ton of paperwork initially."

"You have to do the application as the sending state through ICOTS. You have to make sure the offender has a valid reason to go to that state, whether that's employment or say they have family member that's going to sponsor them, to help them financially and provide them with housing, or maybe that's just where they're from originally. So, you know, you have to help. And another situation, you have to check with the family to see if they even want the offender there. The offender may say, I want to move in with my mom, and then you might contact the mom, and the mom says, 'No, they're not staying here.' So, then you wouldn't even continue with the application because they don't have valid residence to go to."

"As far as sending a case out, you know, you have to do your research and make sure that everything is valid."

On the other hand, among officers receiving Compact cases, the primary frustration is related to their experience of feeling forced to accept inappropriate cases. As receiving state officers, they described feeling like their own recommendations are not being considered in good faith. The following excerpts highlight these experiences:

"It gets frustrating when we have cases transferred to us that we are just forced to accept. For example, many times, we have offenders transfer in from other states. And, you know, they show up to the office and they're clearly using drugs, they test positive for using drugs and we are forced to accept that and then try to place them in facilities without knowing them, without having really adequate information from the sending state. And we just kind of have to eat it, grin and bear it, and deal with those cases that we're told we can't send back or deny. I mean, in my opinion, one of the rules of the Compact is that an offender has to be in substantial compliance before transferring. And in that case, they're showing up and they're using drugs or other violations are clearly present. They're not in substantial compliance yet. We still have to accept the case. And it's frustrating."

"Clients have to meet a certain criteria in order to be able to transfer out or transfer in. And, in the area that I supervise, I wouldn't want anybody to transfer here. It's high crime, high drugs. I mean, it is the worst town in my county. Somebody that has like a drug history, this is not the place to change your ways. But, if the client is a mandatory transfer, then I can't deny it. If they meet the criteria in order to transfer, then it doesn't matter what I feel, even if this is a person that's going to a home that is not exactly going to be the best... So, I feel like the sending state needs to be a little bit more involved in that process to determine what kind of family the client is going to, what area are they going to, does the family have a criminal history, are they on drugs, and is this really going to be successful? And my thing is that, okay, are we going to just let this guy stay in sending state and be homeless and not have any support or any family or anything like that?

Meanwhile, here in this state, their family members don't have the means to support them. They'll give them the house, they'll feed them, but some of these folks still end up homeless because even their family doesn't realize the depth of the situation... So, on our end, we need to be able to speak and be heard. We need to explain, 'This is the situation, this is the area that they're coming to.' When we get a case that's sent to us and there is a person who wants to come to our state, we go out to the residence and we talk to the family... We can do all these criminal record checks on the family, and I get feedback, but it doesn't matter. They meet the criteria to be able to come into the state so they come. I've never had a situation where I can be like, 'This is not a good place for them to go, we want to deny [the transfer application].' It always comes back like, 'Well, you have to [accept it].' We might know that, 'Hey, this is not a good area,' but that doesn't matter. As long as they can go there, then they're going to go there, and we can't deny it."

Beyond the perceived incongruency associated with case transfers, supervision officers with Compact caseloads referenced a specific frustration associated with their inability to address noncompliance. For instance, according to one officer:

"I have one Compact client who has received several technical violations. He's got several pending charges. He's been using drugs, and he's not been complying on ankle monitor. And the first time I contacted the sending state about noncompliance, I had it to where I can put the client on curfew and electronic monitoring at my discretion. But it was like that was far as I can go. I can't arrest him for anything. I can't violate him. I can't have him in front of a judge, or anything like that, because all of that has to be addressed in the sending state, and they won't extradite back."

This same officer further explained how this dynamic impacts their ability to effectively supervise the non-Compact clients who are also on their caseload:

"I supervise a very small town, which is a high-risk caseload in itself, and [my non-Compact clients] see that I'm not addressing noncompliance with [my Compact client], but of course, they don't understand, so it's just very frustrating on that level."

The officer referenced above is far from alone. Generally, officers cited the processes of reporting violations and managing revocations as particularly cumbersome and inefficient. Officers' experiences of frustration and delay with these Compact processes are highlighted in the following interview excerpt:

"One of the biggest difficulties is addressing noncompliance with out-of-state cases. That is the biggest obstacle we're dealing with because we cannot supervise them and handle noncompliance like we do if it's an in-state case. Any kind of noncompliance that we have to deal with, we have to send a progress report and wait for that state, whatever state they're coming from, to respond to that progress report. And it's a lot of work putting in all this information because they want instant reports of each charge in detail. We have to list if they got pending charges, any other noncompliance, like if they are missing curfews, they are failing drug screens, they're not going to treatment just any anything

that they they're not paying monies like, anything that would be like technical violations. They want us to detail all the noncompliance and then, sometimes, they don't even respond in a timely manner when some of these things need to be addressed quickly. There have been situations where they will do a violation and then we arrest them and it's an extradited process. However, if it's not a serious enough conviction or serious enough charge, then they're not going to address it. And so these people are continuously doing all these technical violations, and we can send numerous progress reports, but it's still the same outcome. And, I understand, a lot of places don't want to address pending charges until their conviction is resolved. I understand it's a costly thing to have them arrested and extradited back. But the issue with that is some of these folks that are coming into our state are continuously getting pending charges, they're continuously having all these technical violations, and the sending states are saying, 'Well, keep us posted on the pending charges.'"

According to the officer referenced in the excerpt above, the bottom line for managing noncompliance among transfer cases is:

"If we were able to supervise them like a normal in-state case, then we could deal with some of the noncompliance issues because these are things that we would typically arrest for, we would get a bond for, we would take them back to court, and they might even go to prison. But we would be able to address it and supervise them more strictly without having to wait for whatever state they're coming from to respond and say, 'Issue a violation report,' or 'We're going to extradite them back.' That process is probably the most difficult and irritating part of the whole Compact."

Interestingly, the process of reporting violations and retaking is perceived as inefficient from the perspective of sending state officers, too. Consider the following quote as an example of this sentiment:

"So, as the sending state, trying to get somebody picked up or trying to have our warrant served over there is difficult. There are all these restrictions and guidelines that you have to follow as far as retaking somebody. I know right now I have somebody that's in another state and they've absconded and nobody knows where they are, as far as I know. But, by rule, I'm really not supposed to reach out to the probation officer, call them and say, 'Hey, have you been to their house?' I mean, I can do that over the ICOTS system, but it's lacking that personal ability to communicate. So, as sending state, I just don't like having to chase people down if they abscond."

In part, the challenges noted above are all exacerbated by indirect channels of communication between Compact users. Overall, officers felt their supervision of Compact cases is limited by their inability to efficiently communicate with their counterparts in other states. Each of the following quotes illustrate the shared perception among officers:

"Overall, I think [communication]can be refined a little bit more. The biggest issue for me is the lack of ease of communication. Everything has to be typed up on forms rather than

being able to have direct communication with someone in the sending state. Like our area, our office borders on [two other states], and we have a lot of people going back and forth on a regular basis, getting into trouble in other states. So, it becomes an issue sometimes when there's complications, where instead of being able to call an officer just a few miles across the border, we have to do everything, you know, through filling out forms. Then there's a delay in communication that way."

"Well, [ICOTS] is just a different way to communicate. We can't just pick up the phone and call or send a report to the district attorney. You know, a lot of times we know the district attorneys or the ADAS so well, and I could just call and say, 'Hey, you know this isn't going to work. You need to send this guy back. And here's what I've done. Here's why it's not working. Get me to court so that I can testify to this,' but I don't have that luxury."

"I think it's good in the sense of receiving information, but it's not always enough. I like to talk to someone in person or have a conversation, so when you're doing it through ICOTS it's difficult sometimes. If I want to follow up on a question then I have to wait for a response through the ICOTS system, and it's delayed. I would rather just reach out to them directly, because then I know and I can get an instant answer versus having to wait. And I understand certain things have to go through ICOTS, but just to have a conversation like, 'Can we work this out?' Let's say the client has court, like, 'Do you want me to contact court?' Just a simple conversation makes it much more efficient, in my opinion."

"If I could pick up the phone and call the probation officer directly and say, 'Hey, look, can you do a modification? Let's do this.' And, if they say, 'Oh yeah, I'll have it to you by tomorrow.' I mean, kind of like how we do it with intra-state cases, how much better would that be for the defendants?"

"In my experience of using the Compact, the lack of ability to really directly speak with our counterparts is definitely a huge barrier. Everything is supposed to go through the ICOTS system, which is so different than making an immediate phone call and trying to figure out, 'Okay, what's been done, and what can we try?' Things like that, and while we communicate through the system and we can get that done, there's a little bit of a time lag, and time is of the essence. You know, an immediate response gets inhibited."

"Sometimes, we may get a request to send files. And of course, I'll send it as a Compact Action Request, but that's another problem with the system because it only accepts a certain size of documents. Sometimes we have video, we have audio, we have larger files that we have to break up into smaller packets in order to send it, and that could be a problem."

Importantly, the indirect nature of communicating through ICOTS has specific implications for sending state officers' own professional prerogative. In particular, officers who send clients to other states described feeling disconnected, which has disrupted their own sense of responsibility. The following quotes illustrate the challenges of indirect communication from the unique perspective of sending state officers:

"When we refer somebody who's leaving the state, our interstate office manages everybody that we send out of state. So, once we send somebody away, it's done administratively through the main ICOTS office. Then, if the officer in the other state would want to contact us to get more information about somebody, they would be talking to somebody in our administration and not to the actual officer who had the person."

"I know our Compact administrator personally. And he is very good at his job and he enjoys his job and he's very knowledgeable. I think that sometimes, however, when you are removed from the frontline work, um, there are just some things that become blind spots. So, I'm not sure he sees the lack of transparency as a problem."

"You're going through a third party rather than going directly to the other probation department and talking directly to the officer and getting things resolved. It just takes more time, and sometimes the retaking process is awful, and sometimes the ICOTS system gets in the way of helping the defendant. Sometimes it gets in the way of resolving issues in a timely manner."

"I understand why we go through the Compact administrator, and I think that's important. But it would be nice to have more connection with some of these states that we send to you. Now to what end? I don't know. I mean, having a level of communication that doesn't involve, you know, 'I'm sending a Compact Action Request,' or 'I'm asking for a progress report.' I'm really wanting to know, 'What does supervision look like at your agency? Are there any things additional that your state is going to require?' Some states have some pretty restrictive guidelines when it comes to folks who have certain types of convictions that we do not have. And so not being able to prepare my clients for what they walk into other than what their Compact application says, which is a standard line of, 'You are accepting any additional supervision standard of that other state, in addition to what we are requiring of you.' So, it can feel like a setup, maybe."

"Interestingly, we don't have direct communication with the probation officers in other states other than using the ICOTS system and requesting, you know, either supervision programs or if they have any actions on their end that they're requesting either a violation or retaking. So, while I absolutely in good faith trust other probation officers to supervise the way that their state or their district or their agency requires them to be supervised, it is a little bit difficult to for me, um, maybe working on how we start interrupting those behaviors before they become an issue and they have to come back here. The disruption alone is difficult, but to have them come back here for a probation violation hearing and then have to resubmit a transfer application for acceptance again... You know, if they don't have anything here, then we've put them in kind of a precarious situation. So, it's not questioning anyone's work, it's just kind of hard. You don't really know your clients well because you don't have a direct line of communication because the administrator takes over, and it seems a little bit disconnected from the client-centered work that at least my agency focuses on."

Despite these issues, many officers contextualized their own frustrations by referencing the evolution of the ICOTS system. For instance, some officers described their long tenure and their past experiences when transferring cases between states:

> "I would say using ICOTS has gotten much better. I mean, I was around when you just had to fill it out by hand and stuff like that. All the forms wouldn't copy or it wouldn't auto-populate them once you entered it. Now, I feel like it's much more user friendly."

> "I would say going online has been a definite improvement as far as the forms go. The thing that I feel like we're lacking all the way around is just the communication. When you enter the forms into a system and then one person has to relay that message through that same system and then it goes on to someone else, it's just, you miss out on a lot."

That being said, officers routinely explained they would like to see some specific improvements to the ICOTS system. One particular improvement relates to the idea of updating the alert system:

> "Well, in our [state] system, we call it a face sheet. It's like the initial screening that we would see when we go in and search for an offender. I'd like to see alerts on the [ICOTS] face sheet that indicates that something is needed in action. So, if there was a way to put the alerts in there like, 'There's an action request that is due', or 'There is a violation report that is due', or 'There is a progress report that is due.' Something like that to indicate that something is due would be helpful."

Other officers described the fact that ICOTS already sends out specific notifications and email reminders. Still, many officers would like the ability to communicate with their counterparts in a much more clear and direct fashion. For example, officers suggested the development of a chat function in ICOTS:

> "When you send a Compact Action Request on ICOTS, you know, you send the message and you got to wait for them to answer. I wish that was formatted a little different, kind of like a live chat, instead of the back and forth. Currently, it is presented as a list and you can get a response, but I think IT could improve that just a little bit so it would be a little more smooth."

> "I'd like to see some sort of chat feature that would allow me to easily communicate back and forth, maybe like an instant messaging type of feature in there. It doesn't have to be a message instantly, but at least as a chat feature that allows me to scroll up and see what I talked about or what some answers were, or it would show if they asked a question and I can go in and talk to them and chat with them about it. Something like that because when it comes a Compact Action Request, you know the information I may be looking for today, I have to go through four or five or six requests to find it. You know, a person may want an early termination and they want to know what the court costs are. So, I tell them today, and then six months later, seven months later, they want to know again because they've forgotten to do anything on it, and they could just look for that particular action

response and get that information. So, sometimes it might be easier if there is more of a historical communication ability like through instant messaging."

Beyond the suggestions for alerts and the chat function, many officers noted their usability of ICOTS is hindered by basic presentation of their caseloads. In particular, the officers suggested a refined search function:

"I don't even memorize people's state identification numbers, let alone their ICOTS numbers. So, in order to find someone that I have on my caseload in ICOTS, I have to do the demographic search. Whereas I think if you logged in and had a list of your offenders or somewhere on my main page, then you could access the list of offenders that you have on your caseload at that time. I think that would be a lot more simple."

"It would it be easier if when we log into the system, it automatically generates a list of our people that we're supervising rather than having to go to either, 'Compact Workload,' or 'Offenders,' and then putting in their name or case number. The system knows who we are when we log in, so it could automatically just give us a face sheet with a list of our people who are under ICOTS."

"So, I wish it would just say like, 'My Offenders,' or something of that nature. And then you just have a list. You can click on that. And then it populates that whole offender's Compact profile, which is what you work with."

And lastly, supervision officers would like to see ICOTS trainings built into the core foundation of supervision academies. In particular, the officers felt that these trainings would increase their familiarity with the system and its processes, which could lead to better connection and accountability between users. In the excerpt below, an officer described the learning curve associated with using ICOTS, and the implications of more upfront training for officers:

"I feel like it's too important to leave it in the hands of, 'Oh, well, just play around with it. You'll figure it out.' When I first started using ICOTS, I had to submit documents again and again and again and again. It seemed like I needed a lot of mistakes [to eventually learn], and I think those mistakes could be circumvented by having a little bit more, a little bit stronger, a little bit more user-friendly education process in the probation and parole academies. When they get started, have better training. Once you get ICOTS, you got ICOTS. You're like, 'Why was that so hard?' But getting to that point, there's just no consistency at all between states or even offices. One office may require you to do it this way. One office requires you to do it that way. So, instead of it being broke down for rookie officers, it's just like, you know, five days after they walk through our office, they're getting ICOTS assignments, and they absolutely have no idea what that even means. And I think that there needs to be a little bit better foundational education."

In this section of findings, the officers cited multiple frustrations with the policies and processes associated with the Compact as well as the ICOTS platform. Officers described how each issue

presents its own unique challenge to their work as supervision officers, but they also presented some specific suggestions for improvement that ICAOS may choose to consider.

***Section 2: Client Interviews***

Results from the client interviews are categorized into two thematic areas: perceived areas of strength and perceived areas for improvement. Each thematic area is addressed in detail below.

*Perceived Areas of Strength*

All seven clients agreed that the intent of the Compact is to help them be successful. When asked to provide two to three words that summarized their experiences with ICAOS, clients chose words such as "convenient," "very easy," and "great idea." One client elaborated as follows:

> "They [the ICAOS] obviously understand that just because you got arrested somewhere away from where you live, they understand that your home is where your job, family, and friends are. The support system matters."

One area that emerged consistently across interviews was an acknowledgement from clients that ICAOS helped them maintain family relationships and contribute to family responsibilities, which was important to them. As explained by one client:

> "The transfer allowed me to come home and get my kids ready for school and everything."

Another client explained:

> "More recently I see the kids except for like an hour in the morning, an hour now and then, you know. I work a regular job now so I'm with them all in the afternoons."

Thus, clients felt that ICAOS helped them stay connected to their families. Another area that came up often was the perceived employment benefits of receiving a transfer. Clients cited higher pay, keeping their jobs, and more flexible work schedules as aspects that helped them as a result of receiving transfers. One client summarized as follows:

> "The major difference is the workforce out here. The pays scales earn a lot more money in Texas than in Georgia…and there's just more opportunity for employment out here."

Clients also reflected on what they felt would have happened had they not received transfers. These reflections referenced a host of negative consequences, including re-incarceration, unemployment, and homelessness. For example, one client discussed how the Compact allowed him to move away from relationships that were risky for him. For this client, the Compact provided a fresh start that was vital to their success. As stated by the client:

"If I were to start out where I was at…I probably would have been right back in a prison or jail….I moved away from the people that were helping me get into trouble. So that's why I think it's better when you can move away from your past life."

Another client felt that without the Compact, they would have lost everything. This client stated:

"My whole life is in Florida…I would have lost my job, you know…lost my home. I would have lost all my possessions."

Regarding housing, one client compared an experience from ten years prior when they did not have the option of a transfer. The result was homelessness. As summarized by the client:

"I was in trouble like 10 years ago…I was in the process of moving to Maryland, so I had no home….They wouldn't let me transfer, so I was homeless in Florida and released from jail because they wouldn't let me go back to Maryland at one point…literally I was released from jail, but nowhere to go, no home, no money, no nothing."

Another client did not refer to specific consequences. Rather, they attributed their successes generally to the Compact:

"I don't think I would have made it [without the Compact]…I would have definitely not been as successful as I am right now."

It is clear from the interviews that clients perceived multiple benefits from their involvement with the Compact. From the perspective of clients, the most consistent strengths of the Compact include assistance with maintaining family ties/social support, employment, and housing. By extension, assistance with these areas was perceived by clients as fundamental to their abilities to avoid reincarceration.

*Perceived Areas for Improvement*

While the clients interviewed discussed multiple strengths of the Compact, they also had some concerns. When asked to provide two to three words that summarized their experiences with ICAOS, clients used words such as "clunky," "inconsistent," and "frustrating." One area discussed by some clients was the perception that probation under ICAOS was unnecessarily restrictive. As summarized by one client:

"I understand I did something wrong and I'm on probation. So this isn't supposed to be easy or anything….but the stipulations they put on me…I had to complete a six month course that was two weeks or two days a week, two hours a day on Tuesday and Thursday at 10 o'clock in the morning till noon, right in the middle of the day. And it was a stipulation of my probation that had to be completed. So there is no choice…if I didn't have the [flexible] job I had, I would have lost it [my job] because I had to go to this class and the class itself had absolutely nothing to do with what my charge was. None whatsoever…There's no way a normal person could complete the stipulations that they put on and keep their job…That's just not going to happen. And there wasn't another class

option…In fact, I waited six months from the start of my probation for them to even offer that class and it was the only time they were going to offer it in the near future."

For this client, there was an acknowledgement that they were able to complete the class, but only because they had a very flexible job and an employer that allowed them to leave in the middle of the day (unlike other employers). Regardless of the outcome, this introduced a significant source of stress for the client. Thus, from the perspective of this client, it would be helpful if ICAOS provided additional flexibility so that employment could still be prioritized during periods of supervision.

Another perceived area of improvement was the length of time it takes to authorize and implement a transfer decision. Some clients felt the decisions were delayed, which left them in limbo. As stated by one client:

> "I don't understand why it takes so long to transfer…I don't really remember exactly how long it was, but it seemed like it was like four or five months before I thought, 'okay, it went through'…If it was quicker it would help because most of the people that are on Interstate Compact, I'm sure they have a good reason for wanting it….It is because they can be around family or somebody that can help them…and a lot of people who don't have any skills, you know, that [wait] might lead them to trying to rob some place or stealing something, you know, and then they'll be back in [jail] again…if it was quicker, I think it would help."

Delays were also referenced after transfer decisions were made. Clients perceived these delays as a result of inefficient or insufficient communication between the sending state and the receiving state. One client explained a situation where they wanted to visit family for Christmas and ultimately gave up on the idea. As explained by the client:

> "The only problem is [my receiving PO] has to relay everything to [the sending state], but they are not prompt with anything. So if I ever wanted to leave [my state] or anything like that, [the sending state] don't ever get back in time. So it's like I'm waiting months in order to hear back from them…So I don't even ask anymore…you know, if I wanted to go somewhere, I'd have to plan a year in advance in order to have them get back to me. So it's not even worth asking."

Another client reported being frustrated by the perceived lack of communication between the sending and receiving states, as this often delayed answers to questions the client felt should be more straightforward. As stated by the client:

> "I feel like it should have been a lot easier to have one [PO] get in contact with the other [PO] or for me to have a travel permit…because it's like a runaround. They get the runaround."

One client elaborated by referencing how such delays also impact early release decisions. The client summarized as follows:

"I asked my probation officer here if I can go up early and she's like, 'Oh, you got to contact [the sending state].' I call them, and they're like, 'Oh, you got to have your probation officer submit a form.' And it's like, every time I do, every time I call one or the other, they're going to go talk to the other one."

In summary, clients identified lack of flexibility regarding supervision requirements and delays in transfer decisions and communication as key areas for growth. In general, clients understood that restrictions were an inevitable part of probation. However, where probation officers could be more flexible to meet reasonable needs, including those related to employment, clients felt this would be helpful. Clients also felt they would benefit from quicker transfer decisions and enhanced communication between sending and receiving states.

# DISCUSSION

Millions of American adults are placed on probation, parole, and other forms of community supervision each year. In terms of sheer numbers of people served, community supervision comprises the largest facet of the modern American corrections system. Given the large numbers of people placed on community supervision, it is necessary to accommodate the need for individuals to transfer their community supervision arrangements across state lines. The Interstate Commission for Adult Offender Supervision (ICAOS) was established to help facilitate and provide oversight for these transfers. Despite the large numbers of people that transfer their community supervision each year, scholarly investigations on interstate community supervision transfer system are rare. In response, this report presents one of the first comprehensive exploratory studies of the adult interstate supervision transfer system. Thus, the aim of the current study is to explore the impact of ICAOS, the benefits of the Compact, and the current challenges of working within the policies and practices proscribed by the Compact.

To accomplish this goal, the study relies on three separate analyses, each targeting an aspect of the ICAOS system. First, the UCCI team conducted a descriptive analysis of ICOTS records of active clients from 2009 and those active up to June 2022. These descriptive results give a snapshot of what cases looked like when the modern ICOTS system was first introduced and what cases looked like when the current study was conducted. Next, an electronic survey was developed and administered to all 13,809 supervision officers that currently oversee Compact clients. Survey results provide information on the demographics of the 3,653 supervision officers that completed the survey, supervision officer opinions on the purpose of the Compact, information on types of transfer cases received, officer perceptions of Compact cases/clients, and suggestions for Compact improvement. Third, interviews were conducted with a sample of supervision officers and a sample of clients currently administered by an ICAOS arrangement and provide in-depth information on both officer and client perceptions of ICAOS procedures.

## Summary of Findings

The following sections summarize key findings from each of the three analyses presented in the report and give specific recommendations for ICAOS procedures moving forward based on these findings.

***Part 1: Historical Record Analysis***

- *Section 1: Agency Records from 2009*

  o The majority of clients from 2009 were male, White (though a sizable percentage were Black/African-American), and the average age was around 35.
  o Probation was the most common type of supervision for clients, and most clients had been convicted of felonies rather than misdemeanors.
  o In terms of offense categories, the most common conviction that clients faced was for dangerous drug offenses, followed by property offenses, and then by violent offenses.
  o The most common reason for individuals in 2009 being granted a supervision transfer was that the client in question was a resident of the potential receiving state and that their request fell within the meaning of the Compact.
  o The 3 most common transferring states for individual cases in 2009 were Texas, Florida, and Georgia. Together, these states made up around one-fifth of all individual transfers in 2009.
  o The 3 most common receiving states for individual cases in 2009 were Florida, Texas, and Illinois. Together, these states made up around one-fifth of all individual transfer receipts in 2009.

- *Section 2: Agency Records up to June 2022*

  o The majority of clients from 2022 were male, White (though a sizable percentage were Black/African-American), and the average age was around 40.
  o As with the data from 2009, probation was the most common type of supervision for clients, and most clients had been convicted of felonies rather than misdemeanors.
  o In terms of offense categories, the most common conviction that clients faced was for dangerous drug offenses, followed by violent offenses, and then by property offenses.
  o The most common reason for individuals in 2022 being granted a supervision transfer was for family and employment matters.
  o The 3 most common transferring states for individual cases in 2022 were Texas, Georgia, and Pennsylvania. Together, these states made up just over one-fifth of all individual transfers as of June 2022.
  o The 3 most common receiving states for individual cases in 2022 were Texas, Florida, and California. Together, these states made up around 16% of all individual transfer receipts as of June 2022.

***Part 2: Survey Analysis***

- *Section 1: Description of Sample*

  o Just over half the sample was male, the majority of the sample identified as White, and the average age of the sample was around 44 years old.
  o The vast majority of the sample had a college degree.

- Just over half of the sample indicated that they only oversee probation cases, with the remaining half mostly overseeing probation and parole.
- For the majority of respondents, Compacts cases made up one-fourth or less of their overall caseloads. That said, just over one-tenth of the sample indicated overseeing a caseload that consists of a majority of people on Compact arrangements.
- Over half of respondents had been employed in corrections for over 10 years, with an average of around 14 years of work experience in corrections among the sample.
- The vast majority of respondents indicated that they had at least five years of experience working with Compact clients.

- *Section 2: Purpose of the Compact*

  - According to the majority of the sample, the main purpose of the Compact is to define the administrative relationship between states regarding the movement and supervision of clients.
  - The next most common response was that the main purpose of the Compact is to facilitate opportunities for more effective supervision regarding interstate transfer arrangements, followed by facilitating more flexibility in the lives of clients, and then by facilitating client family relationships in another state.
  - The majority of surveyed supervision officers indicated that they believe that the Compact is serving its intended purpose. However, just over one-tenth of the sample felt that the Compact is not serving its intended purpose.

- *Section 3: Case Transfers*

  - Most respondents indicated that transfer cases are classified in the same manner as local, non-transfer cases.
  - Respondents indicated that there were various types of information shared about client cases upon receiving transfers from other states. The most common type of information that was received by respondents was basic demographic information, followed by basic criminal justice involvement history. The least common type of information received was family history information, followed by risk assessment information.
  - In addition, respondents indicated that they shared various types of information about clients upon initiating transfers from their state. The most common type of information shared was basic demographic information, followed by basic criminal justice involvement history. The least common type of information that respondents shared was information on the client's case plans.
  - The vast majority of respondents indicated that Compact clients are offered traditional supervision services.
  - According to over 90% of the sample, the supervision services provided to Compact clients do not differ from the services offered to non-Compact clients.
  - Most respondents indicated that their agency does not require any special or additional conditions of supervision of Compact clients.

- o The vast majority of respondents indicated that both Compact clients and non-Compact clients receive roughly equal amount of contact by supervision officers.
- o Just over a fifth of the sample indicated that there were limitations on the types of cases that can be transferred from their agency to another state. The most common limitation associated with sending criteria were sex offender cases, followed by cases involving a violent crime.
- o Only around 14% of respondents indicated that their agency does have limitations on the types of cases that can be received. Similar to sending limitations, the most common type of limitation associated with receiving criteria was sex offender cases, followed by cases involving violent crime.
- o Nearly three-fourths of respondents indicated that Compact clients do not face any special legal financial obligations when compared to non-Compact clients.

- *Section 4: Perception of Compact Clients*

  - o Just under half of respondents indicated that they face special challenges in the supervision of Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients.
  - o Of those that indicated facing these special challenges, several respondents indicated that Compact clients require more resources than non-Compact clients and that Compact clients have more difficulty fulfilling their terms of supervision.
  - o Other common responses to special challenges faced include that the that the ICOTS system poses special challenges in supervising Compact clients, problems with communication regarding the supervision requirements between states, and issues regarding the enforcement of violations.
  - o While most respondents indicated that Compact clients were not more difficult to supervise than non-Compact clients, just over a quarter of respondents did find Compact clients more difficult to supervise.
  - o The majority of respondents indicated taking a balanced approach to the supervision of Compact clients and the vast majority indicated that they do not modify their supervision strategies for Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients.

- *Section 5: Suggestions for Compact Improvement*

  - o Around 42% of respondents indicated being at least somewhat satisfied with the Compact process.
  - o Just over one-fourth of respondents indicated being at least somewhat dissatisfied with the Compact process.
  - o The majority of the sample indicated that communication between receiving and transferring agencies was the area in most need of improvement.
  - o Relatedly, a sizable portion of respondents indicated that coordination between receiving and transferring agencies could be improved.
  - o Just over a third of the sample indicated that the usability of the ICOTS system could be improved.

***Part 3: Interview Analysis***

- *Section 1: Officer Interviews*

  o Officers described the Compact as serving its intended purpose quite well.
  o According to the officers, the primary purpose of the Compact is to facilitate the transfer of supervision across state lines. The Compact has established a centralized database and a system of rules and policies for officers to follow. These structures are particularly valuable for supervision officers.
  o According to the officers, the other main purpose of the Compact is to promote meaningful support for transfer clients and reduce barriers for individuals on supervision. The Compact allows individuals to (re)connect with their own systems of social support and economic support.
  o Officers cited multiple frustrations with the policies and processes associated with the Compact as well as the ICOTS platform. In particular, they described how each issue presents its own unique challenge to their work as supervision officers.
  o Officers described the trouble of supervising transfer clients who have missing information in their case files. Upon the transfer process, some important information is routinely not tracked.
  o Officers perceived incongruent expectations and workloads between states and among fellow officers. In particular, the officers referenced the necessary workload that stems from managing the transfer process and supervising transfer clients. However, they felt their level of involvement with the Compact is not reciprocated by other users or stakeholders in other states.
  o Officers experienced frustration and delay with many of the Compact processes. In particular, officers cited the processes of reporting violations and managing revocations to be particularly cumbersome and inefficient.
  o In part, the challenges noted above are all exacerbated by indirect channels of communication between Compact users. Officers presented some suggestions for alleviating the barriers to communication, including the development of direct chat function in ICOTS.
  o Officers presented additional suggestions for increasing the usability of ICOTS. This includes revising the search function and/or generating officers' caseloads so they are presented more clearly in ICOTS.

- *Section 2: Client Interviews*

  o All clients interviewed agreed that the intent of the Compact is to help them be successful.
  o Collectively, clients felt that their transfers were vital to their success, particularly with regard to family ties/social support, employment, and housing.
  o Clients also noted a desire to have more flexibility in their supervision requirements, fewer delays, and enhanced communication between sending and receiving states.

### *Overall Findings*

The survey findings highlight some important considerations in the supervision of ICAOS clients. According to the respondents of the survey, there were not overall substantial differences between the services and conditions of supervision between Compact clients as compared to non-Compact clients. This is beneficial as it may indicate that Compact clients on average are not treated differently than local, non-Compact clients and receive the same attention, benefits, and services. However, to the extent that Compact clients do require some special considerations, it might be helpful to train supervision officers to handle these sorts of special situations. Next, while the majority of survey respondents indicated satisfaction with the Compact process, over a fourth of respondents indicated being dissatisfied with the process. Therefore, it is likely that Compact procedures can be improved to increase overall satisfaction among supervision officers. For instance, improving the methods of interagency communication might produce notable effects on officer satisfaction and increase the efficiency of supervision for Compact clients. Finally, most supervision officers reported taking a balanced approach to their supervision strategy. This approach aligns with extant literature which shows that a balanced supervision approach can produce the most beneficial impacts for supervised individuals (Gendreau et al., 1994).

Throughout the officer interview data, the officers' summary reflections were often juxtaposed with both positive and negative sentiments. Overall, many of the positive tones expressed by the officers were nuanced with specific challenges and frustrations. For instance, officers described the Compact as meeting its purpose well, but they also cited multiple frustrations with the policies and processes associated with the Compact and the ICOTS platform. Officers also provided some specific suggestions for improvement that ICAOS may choose to consider. Importantly, the Compact is not alone in its endeavor to facilitate meaningful connection and collaboration among partners and stakeholders in the field of corrections and community supervision. As such, the overall findings from the officer interviews may be read to support prior scholarship on the value of promoting inter-agency collaboration, and the need to redefine connection between officers and/or agencies (Katz et al., 2021; NTAEC, 2008).

Lastly, findings from the interviews with clients show that clients see value in Compact services. All clients interviewed agreed that the intent of the Compact is to help them be successful, demonstrating that clients are optimistic rather than cynical about their experiences with ICAOS. In fact, clients emphasized multiple ways their transfers helped them to be successful. For example, clients believed that Compact transfers were instrumental in their efforts to maintain important family ties, secure and keep suitable employment, and have access to housing. Research has shown that quality employment and social support in particular are important predictors of post-release success (Berg & Huebner, 2011; Metcalfe, Baker & Brady, 2019; Uggen, 2000). The fact that clients acknowledged multiple ways that ICAOS services aided their lives also indicates that ICAOS is perceived with legitimacy. This is important because legitimacy is an important element of legal socialization and helps to increase conformity to prosocial behavior (Tyler & Jackson, 2014). Some clients did express interest in having additional flexibility in their supervision requirements, fewer delays, and enhanced communication between sending and

receiving states. Addressing these areas could help bolster existing efforts by ICAOS to manage client responsivity (Taxman, 2014).

## Limitations

Despite the contribution of this report in elucidating ICAOS procedures and providing suggestions for future research moving forward, there are notable limitations that should be discussed. First, given the lack of past scholarly investigation of ICAOS procedures, this study is largely exploratory. The main purpose of the study is to give a broad overview of the ICAOS system and highlight potential areas of improvement. In doing so, this study neglects to explain specific topics in full and likely misses important context that would shape understanding of specific concerns. For example, this report found that communication between receiving and transferring states is an area that many supervision officers felt could be improved. However, the specific ways in which communication could be improved requires further investigation. Thus, future research that more explicitly targets specific areas of concern identified in this report is warranted.

A second limitation of the study concerns the surveys administered to all 13,809 supervision officers that currently oversee Compact clients. In order to maximize the response rate, the UCCI team made the decision to send the survey to every eligible officer rather than drawing a random sample. Because this survey was sent to all active officers instead of being sent to a random sample, we cannot be sure that the 3,653 officers who responded to the survey are representative of all supervision officers that oversee Compact clients. Officers that volunteered to take part in the survey may be fundamentally different than officers who did not volunteer. That is, the characteristics of the sample (i.e., age, race, gender, etc.) may not accurately reflect the characteristics of all supervision officers that currently oversee Compact clients. Thus, it would be inappropriate to claim that the results from the survey accurately reflect the thoughts and feelings of every single active supervision officer in the ICAOS system.

The main limitation of the qualitative data is that the client sample size is small. A good portion of the contact information UCCI had for Compact clients was outdated. This resulted in fewer client interviews than was desired. Given that the contact information of interviewed clients remained stable, it is theoretically possible that the qualitative client interview data over-captures the experiences of those clients who are more likely to be successful and under-captures the experiences of those with less stable resources or housing. Future research that makes more concerted efforts to collect a diverse range of client experiences would help to strengthen the preliminary qualitative work presented in this report.

## Recommendations

As ICAOS was established to help facilitate and provide oversight for cases transferred between states, it is recommended that ICAOS explore ways to improve communication channels between transfer and receiving states. For example, the survey results and interview findings suggest there is value in standardizing the information to be included in each case transfer. Additionally, ICAOS may want to offer a set of factors for consideration when transferring a case (such as length of time on supervision, risk level, family, crime type, etc.). ICAOS should also continue to prioritize

standardizing ICOTS procedures, ensure data within the system is easily accessible through search filters, and consider enhancements to ICOTS that may improve communication between stakeholders and reduce the need for transfer and receiving states to provide duplicate information. ICAOS should consider additional surveys, interviews, or focus groups with officers who supervise Compact clients to identify the best ways to improve communication channels overall and through ICOTS. Finally, as changes are made to ICOTS as well as transfer policy and practices, ICAOS should provide thorough training covering these changes. This training could be delivered in person or through virtual (synchronous or asynchronous) modalities. Likewise, ICAOS may consider partnering with community supervision stakeholders to explore how ICOTS training could be built into new officer training academy requirements. This would increase officer knowledge of the system and may improve communication channels.

According to the principles of effective intervention, the most effective correctional interventions will be given to higher risk individuals, target criminogenic needs related to criminal behavior (e.g., antisocial attitudes, peers, or personality; substance use), and use programs that are known to work with justice-involved individuals (cognitive behavioral techniques, social learning-based programs), while taking into consideration individual needs that may impact services (e.g., gender, transportation, child care) (Gendreau, 1996). Collectively, these three principles are commonly referred to as the risk-need-responsivity (RNR) model. Individuals on community supervision often have a variety of criminogenic and other needs that if addressed can help improve the chance of success. Therefore, to adequately address the needs of Interstate clients, ICAOS should explore more fully how the needs of Compact clients are identified and the additional resources that officers need when handling Compact clients. ICAOS should consider connecting with stakeholders to explore how the risk and needs of Compact clients are assessed as well as ways to adequately offer services that address clients' full range of needs. While this information can be gathered through additional interviews, surveys, and focus groups, for example, the responses in this study have highlighted the need for services that bolster family support and employment. Therefore, ICAOS could also consider recommending services that formally train family members to support clients in making prosocial decisions using skills and tools they may have learned during contact sessions or structured group interventions.

Research has demonstrated that a good contingency management system has a wide range of negative consequences (or punishments) as well as a range of reinforcers available to promote behavioral change (Speigler & Guevremont, 2010). Furthermore, agencies who capitalize on contingency management systems with at least a 4:1 ratio of rewards to punishments have a positive impact on clients' supervision (Gendreau, 1996; Wodahl et al., 2011). Therefore, it is recommended that the process of applying reinforcers and enforcing violations for Compact clients be reviewed against best practices for changing behavior (i.e., effective disapproval, effective use of authority, and effective reinforcement). If any changes result from this review, training should be provided to Compact officers to increase the likelihood of adherence. Officers should be trained in the effective use of sanctions and rewards and continuously evaluate opportunities for incentivizing and punishing clients in order to be most effective (Ostermann & Hyatt, 2017; Wodahl et al., 2011). In this way, ICAOS may consider offering or encouraging

officers to attend training on core correctional practices, including effective reinforcement, effective disapproval, and effective use of authority.

Additionally, several officers reported being trained in EPICS or STARR, newer models of community supervision, each of which aim to teach probation and parole officers to apply the RNR principles to individual case management plans with justice-involved clients (Labrecque et al., 2015). Importantly, each of these community supervision models aims to provide cognitive-behavioral approaches targeting the criminogenic needs of higher-risk individuals, and this is done so in a way that considers each person's learning style, motivation, and abilities and strengths (Andrews & Bonta, 2010, as cited in Labrecque et al., 2015). These community supervision approaches also aim to improve the use of probation and parole officers' use of core correctional practices and approach supervision with a balanced law enforcement/social casework orientation. Research has confirmed, officers with a balanced law enforcement/social casework orientation who follow the risk and need principles of the RNR model by giving more treatment to higher risk individuals, and do so in a supportive organizational environment, substantial reductions in recidivism (10-30%) may be observed (Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005). Therefore, ICAOS is encouraged to consider how they may support Compact officers use of models, such as EPICS or STARR, given that recent research shows when implemented with fidelity these models can result in reduced antisocial attitudes for offenders (Labrecque et al., 2013), as well as reductions in recidivism (Bonta et al., 2011; Latessa et al., 2012; Robinson et al., 2012; Taxman et al., 2006). Other positive outcomes of these models include increased use of core correctional practices by officers (Bourgon et al., 2010; Bourgon & Gutierrez, 2012; Bonta et al., 2011; Labrecque et al., 2013; Robinson et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2012; Trotter, 1996; Trotter & Evans, 2012) and improved relationships between officer and client (Labrecque et al., 2013).

Next, several officers and clients noted that communication between sending and receiving states is an important area of improvement for ICAOS. In order to address some of the communication challenges noted by officers and clients, it is important that ICAOS work to improve interagency collaboration among its organizations. Here, interagency collaboration can be understood as existing on a continuum from cooperation to coordination to collaboration (Katz et al., 2021). Cooperation occurs when agencies limit their interactions to those involving general information-sharing and referrals, while those at the coordination level coordinate activities, staff, and other resources among one another. Collaboration, however, brings individual organizations together in such a way as to develop structures and processes, make decisions, and share resources together to accomplish goals they could not accomplish independently (Katz et al., 2021), as well as promote efficient service delivery to clients (IRIS Center, 2022). While ICAOS has seen successful operations at both the cooperation and coordination level, it is recommended that ICAOS continue to work towards facilitating collaboration among its partnering agencies and organizations. One way to improve interagency collaboration is to bring stakeholders together regularly to review what progress has been made and what strategies need revision (NTAEC, 2008), which ICAOS has initiated by commissioning the current exploratory study. Additionally, management should work together to ensure that training is coordinated across organizations and protocols for processes are established and implemented with fidelity.

Regarding the client experience, clients that were interviewed discussed several ways that services provided by ICAOS improved their personal lives and their supervision experiences. This is important as it indicates that ICAOS is perceived with legitimacy by the people that it serves, which is a crucial element of legal socialization and helps to increase conformity to prosocial behavior (Tyler & Jackson, 2014). Thus, ICAOS should continue to foster legitimacy of the organization among its serviced clients in order increase the likelihood that clients will develop prosocial behaviors and improve supervision success. Some suggestions for doing so that arose from client interviews include facilitating additional flexibility in supervision requirements, fewer delays in supervision arrangements, and enhanced communication between sending and receiving states. Addressing these areas could help bolster existing efforts by ICAOS to manage client responsivity (Taxman, 2014).

Finally, one consistent finding throughout this study is that both officers and clients find the opportunity to transfer cases to be of high value. Indeed, facilitating transfers can help clients access new employment opportunities, receive greater levels of social support from family, create new opportunities for treatment, and allow clients to have flexibility in their response to challenges in their lives. While many of these facets reflect non-criminogenic needs (Andrews & Bonta, 2010), past literature has documented that quality employment and social support are important predictors of post-release and supervision success (Berg & Huebner, 2011; Metcalfe, Baker & Brady, 2019; Uggen, 2000). It is thus recommended that ICAOS continue its mission in facilitating and providing oversight for cases transferred between states. By doing so, the ICAOS system will continue to help improve the supervision experience and success of multiple individuals.

## Conclusions

The goal of the current study was to conduct one of the first comprehensive exploratory studies of the adult interstate supervision transfer system to complement the historic 20-year anniversary of the organization. In doing so, we relied on three separate analyses that each considered and explored some aspects of the broader ICAOS system. First, we conducted a historical analysis of ICOTS records from two periods – cases active in the ICOTS system in 2009 and cases active in the ICOTS system as of June 2022. Next, we administered an original survey to all 13,809 currently active supervision officers in the ICOTS system. Third, we conducted in-depth interviews with both supervision officers and with active Compact clients. Study results reaffirm the value of ICAOS and the complexity of ICAOS procedures, and further expand knowledge about the strengths of current ICAOS practices while also highlighting several areas for improvement that ICAOS can work towards over the next 20 years (and beyond).

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# APPENDICES

## Appendix A: Survey of Supervision Officers

*Introduction*

You are being asked to complete a survey based on your experience with the Interstate Compact for Adult Offender Supervision (ICAOS).

The questions in this survey ask about several topics, including: (1) your general involvement with ICAOS, (2) your perceptions of ICAOS procedures, (3) your experience with Compact clients, and (4) your overall thoughts on improving ICAOS.

Please answer each question to the best of your ability. For each question, choose a response that best reflects your own experience, feeling, or attitude.

All of your responses will be kept anonymous, which means there will be no way to link your answers back to you. The results of the survey will be used to assist ICAOS in their efforts to improve their services and operations.

Press the arrow on the bottom of the screen to begin. By pressing the arrow to begin, you are agreeing to participate in this study. Note: if you must exit the survey after you begin, then your progress will be automatically saved so that you may continue at a later time. In order for your response to be recorded, however, you must complete the full survey by the deadline (June 3, 2022).

*Section 1: General Background & ICAOS Involvement*

1. Which state is your agency located in?
   a. [Insert drop down list of all participating states]

2. In general, does your caseload consist mainly of persons on probation or parole?
   a. Probation
   b. Parole
   c. Even mix between probation and parole
   d. Not sure

3. Approximately what percentage of your current caseload consists of clients participating in the Compact? Drag the scale below to select the percentage that best reflects your answer.
   a. [Insert scale]

4. In your opinion, what is the main purpose of the Compact? Consider each of the purposes listed below and select all that apply.

a. To facilitate opportunities for more effective supervision

b. To facilitate a more conducive atmosphere for rehabilitation and treatment

c. To facilitate general flexibility in the lives of clients/justice involved individuals

d. To facilitate family relationships in another state

e. To facilitate better opportunities for employment/work

f. To facilitate better opportunities for education

g. To define the administrative relationship between states with regard to the movement and supervision of adult clients/justice involved individuals

h. Other (Please specify): _____

5. In your opinion, is the Compact serving its intended purpose for clients/justice involved individuals at your agency?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Don't Know

### Section 2: Types of Cases Transferred & Transfer Case Procedures

1. Are cases transferred to your state/agency classified any differently (i.e., specialized caseload) compared to cases originating within your state?
   a. Yes *[Proceed to Question 1A]*
   b. No *[Skip to Question 2]*
   c. Not sure *[Skip to Question 2]*
   d. Not applicable *[Skip to Question 2]*

   1A. How do the classifications for transfer cases differ from cases originating within your state/agency?

   _____
   _____

2. When you *receive* transfer cases from other states, what information about the case is shared from the transferring state? Please select all that apply.
   a. Case plans
   b. Basic criminal justice involvement history
   c. History of community supervision
   d. Basic demographic information
   e. Family history information
   f. Risk assessment information
   g. Treatment history
   h. Other (please specify): _____

3. When you *send* transfers to other states, what information do you share with the receiving state?

a. Case plans
b. Basic criminal justice involvement history
c. History of community supervision
d. Basic demographic information
e. Family history information
f. Risk assessment information
g. Treatment history
h. Other (please specify): _____

4. What types of services does your agency offer for Compact clients? Consider the list of services below and select all that apply.
a. Traditional supervision services
b. Intensive Supervision Programs (ISP)
c. Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS)
d. Effective Practices in Community Supervision (EPICS)

5. Are the supervision services that you provide to Compact clients different compared to the supervision services that you provide to local, non-Compact clients?
a. Yes *[Proceed to Question 5A]*
b. No *[Skip to Question 6]*

5A: How are the services provided to Compact clients different compared to non-Compact clients?

_____
_____

6. Does your agency require any special conditions of supervision for Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients?
a. Yes
b. No

7. Are there any limitations on the types of Compact cases that can be *transferred* from your agency to another state?
a. Yes *[Proceed to Question 7A]*
b. No *[Skip to Question 8]*

7A. What are the specific limitations associated with the *sending criteria*? Please select all that apply.
a. Sex-offender cases
b. Violent crime
c. Assessed risk level
d. Mental health status
e. Record of treatment failure
f. Age

g. Other (please specify): _____

8. Are there any limitations on the types of Compact cases that can be *received* by your agency from another state?
    a. Yes *[Proceed to Question 8A]*
    b. No *[Skip to Question 9]*

    8A. What are the specific limitations associated with the *receiving criteria*? Please select all that apply.
    a. Sex-offender cases
    b. Violent crime
    c. Assessed risk level
    d. Mental health status
    e. Record of treatment failure
    f. Age
    g. Other (please specify): _____

9. How would you describe the frequency of contact between Compact clients and supervision officers?
    a. Compact clients are contacted more frequently than non-Compact clients
    b. Compact clients and non-Compact clients are contacted at roughly the same frequency
    c. Compact clients are contacted less frequently than non-Compact clients

10. Do Compact clients face any *special* legal financial obligations (court costs/fees, fines, restitutions, etc.) compared to non-Compact clients?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Not sure

11. Are there differences in the *amounts* of legal financial obligations (court costs/fees, fines, restitutions, etc.) owed by Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients?
    a. Yes, Compact clients generally *owe more* in legal financial obligations than non-Compact clients
    b. Yes, Compact clients generally *owe less* in legal financial obligations than non-Compact clients
    c. No, the amounts owed in legal financial obligations are *about equal* between Compact clients and non-Compact clients
    d. Not Sure

### *Section 3: Officer Perceptions about Compact Cases/Clients*

1. Do you face special challenges in the supervision of Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients?

a. Yes *[Proceed to Question 2]*
b. No *[Skip to Question 3]*

1A. What are some of the challenges that you encounter when supervising Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients? Please select all that apply.
   a. In general, Compact clients require more intensive supervision than in-state cases
   b. In general, Compact clients have more difficulty fulfilling supervision requirements than in-state cases
   c. In general, Compact clients require more treatment (e.g., anger management, mental health treatment, addiction treatment, etc.) than in-state cases
   d. In general, transfer cases require more resources (e.g., time, organizational capacity, etc.) than in-state cases
   e. Other (please specify): _____

2. In general, do you find Compact clients more difficult to supervise compared to non-Compact clients?
   a. Yes *[Proceed to Question 2A]*
   b. No *[Skip to Question 3]*

2A. Please specify what makes Compact clients more difficult to supervise compared to non-Compact clients:
_____
_____

3. In general, what is your orientation or approach to the supervision of Compact clients?
   a. Law enforcement approach
   b. Reintegrative or rehabilitation approach
   c. Balanced approach

4. In general, do you modify your supervision strategies for Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients?
   a. Yes *[Proceed to Question 4A]*
   b. No *[Skip to Section 4, Question 1]*
   c. Not Sure *[Skip to Section 4, Question 1]*

4A. Please explain how you modify your supervision strategies for Compact clients:
_____
_____

### *Section 4: Interstate Compact Improvement*

1. Overall, how satisfied are you with the current Compact process?
   a. Very satisfied
   b. Somewhat satisfied

      c. Neutral
      d. Somewhat dissatisfied
      e. Very dissatisfied

2. In your opinion, which of the following areas of the Compact process could be improved? Please select all that apply.
      a. The inter-state standardization of community supervision policies and procedures
      b. The process of receiving Compact cases (i.e., receiving state procedures)
      c. The process of transferring Compact cases (i.e., sending state procedures)
      d. Availability of resources for Compact cases
      e. Transparency of Compact policies and procedures
      f. Communication between receiving and transferring agencies
      g. Coordination between receiving and transferring agencies
      h. Staff training in the use of Compact policies and procedures
      i. Using the ICOTS system
      j. Other (Please specify): _____

*[If any of the response options in Question 2 are selected, then proceed to Question 2A]*
*[If none of the response options in Question 2 are selected, then skip to Section 5, Question 1*]

2A: Please provide any specific recommendations or feedback for improvement in the areas that you selected:
_____
_____

### Section 5: Demographic & Personal Background Questions

1. In total, how many years have you worked in the field of corrections/community supervision? Drag the scale below to select your answer.
      a. [Insert scale]

2. In total, how many years have you worked with Compact clients? Drag the scale below to select your answer.
      a. [Insert scale]

3. What is your age? Drag the scale below to select your answer.
      a. [Insert scale]

4. What is your sex?
      a. Male
      b. Female
      c. Prefer not to respond

5. Which of the following categories best describes your race/ethnicity? Please select all that apply.
   a. White
   b. Black or African American
   c. Hispanic or Latino
   d. American Indian or Alaskan Native
   e. Asian
   f. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
   g. Other (please specify): _____

6. What is your highest level of educational attainment?
   a. High school diploma / GED equivalent
   b. Some college, but no degree
   c. Associate's degree
   d. Bachelor's degree
   e. Master's degree
   f. Doctoral degree (e.g., PhD, JD, MD, etc.)
   g. Other (please specify): _____

7. If given the choice or opportunity, would you be willing to participate in a follow-up interview sometime within the next several weeks?

   *Note: ICAOS and your local agency have worked to authorize your participation in this study. That being said, you can choose not to participate in a future interview. The follow-up interview will include additional questions about your experience with ICAOS and supervising Compact clients. The interview is expected to last about 30 minutes, and it will take place over the telephone during the course of your normal business hours and at a time/date that is most convenient for you. All of the responses that you provide during the course of the interview will remain protected and anonymous.*

   a. Yes, I am willing to participate in a follow-up interview *[Proceed to Question 7A]*
   b. No, I am not willing to participate in a follow-up interview *[Skip to end of survey]*

   7A. Please provide the following information so that researchers at the University of Cincinnati may contact you in order to schedule the follow-up interview.

   *Note: (1) You can choose not to participate in a future interview, (2) you can choose not to provide your contact information below, and (3) even if you choose to provide your contact information below, your previous answers in this survey will not be linked back to you in any way. All of your previous answers will remain protected and anonymous.*

   Your name: _____
   Your email address: _____
   Your telephone number: _____

# Appendix B: Interview Guide for Supervision Officers

*Introduction*

Thank you for agreeing to talk with me today. The goal of this research interview is to increase our understanding of supervision staff experiences with the Interstate Commission for Adult Offender Supervision (ICAOS). Your participation is valuable because it could help to improve ICAOS services.

If you agree to participate, the research interview will take approximately 30 minutes of your time. I will ask several open-ended questions as well as follow-up questions about your experiences with ICAOS. So that I can focus on our conversation rather than taking detailed notes and ensure that I represent what you tell me as accurately as possible, our discussion today will be recorded; however, any personally identifying information will be removed from the data.

*Section 1: General Information & Thoughts*

1. First, we would like to ask about your general thoughts on the work that you do with Compact clients. In your opinion, what is the main purpose of ICAOS?

   *Probe for the following details:*
      a. *What is the purpose of ICAOS in terms of your supervision work?*
      b. *What is the purpose of ICAOS in terms of clients' rehabilitation and treatment?*
      c. *What is the purpose of ICAOS in terms of client experience?*

2. In your opinion, how well is the Compact serving its intended purpose at your agency?

   *Probe for the following details:*
      a. *What present barriers, if any, prevent the fulfillment of the Compact purpose at your agency?*

*Section 2: Specific Questions about Compact Clients*

3. Thinking about the Compact clients that your agency supervises, are there any differences between how your agency serves Compact clients versus in-state, non-Compact clients?

   *Probe for the following details:*
      a. *Are there differences in the kinds of services provided to Compact clients? If so, please explain.*
      b. *Are there special conditions of supervision required for Compact clients? If so, please elaborate on what special conditions are generally required for Compact clients.*
      c. *Are there any other differences that we have not discussed?*

4. Are there any special challenges that you face when supervising Compact clients compared to non-Compact clients? If so, please explain.

5. Do you find Compact clients more difficult to supervise compared to non-Compact clients? Why or why not?

6. Do you think ICAOS allows clients to be more successful on supervision? Why or why not?

### *Section 3: Interstate Compact Involvement*

7. Overall, if you were to summarize your professional experience as a community supervision officer in just 2-3 words, what would they be?

8. Overall, if you were to summarize your professional experience with ICAOS in just 2-3 words, what would they be? Why?
   *Probe for the following details:*
   - a. *What are your experiences with the actual process of transferring ICAOS clients?*
   - b. *What are your experiences with the actual supervision of ICAOS clients?*
   - c. *What are your experiences with the technology ICOTS used for ICAOS?*
   - d. *In your opinion, is the Compact process an overall positive experience? Why or why not?*
   - e. *Note: Distinguish between summary experiences associated with supervision in a general sense and summary experiences associated with ICAOS in particular.*

9. What types of changes to the Compact process, if any, have you seen during your tenure as a supervision officer?

   *Probe for the following details:*
   - a. *In your opinion, have these changes been positive or negative to your overall experience?*

10. What specific improvements or changes to the Compact process, if any, would you like to see in the future?

   *Probe for the following details:*
   - a. *Note: Distinguish between improvements associated with the supervision process in a general sense and improvements associated with ICAOS processes in particular.*

11. What else do you think is important for us to know right now about ICAOS and the Compact process?

## Appendix C: Interview Guide for Clients

*Introduction*

Thank you for agreeing to talk with me today. This research interview aims to increase our understanding of clients' experiences with the Interstate Commission for Adult Offender Supervision (ICAOS). ICAOS is a national organization that helps direct the movement of probationers and parolees across state lines. Your participation is valuable because it could help to improve ICAOS services.

If you agree to participate, the research interview will take approximately 30 minutes of your time. I will ask several open-ended questions as well as follow-up questions about your experiences with ICAOS. Unless otherwise asked, please try to keep your responses limited to your personal experiences with ICAOS and not any other kind of supervision arrangement. So that I can focus on our conversation rather than taking detailed notes and ensure that I represent what you tell me as accurately as possible, our discussion today will be recorded; however, any personally identifying information will be removed from the data.

*Section 1: Case Background*

1. I would like to know more about how you learned of the ICAOS and the option to transfer your case. From your perspective, how did that happen? What was your experience?

   *Probe for the following details:*
      a. *Origin of transfer request (e.g., self, attorney, judge, supervision officer)?*
      b. *Did you engage in ICAOS while in custody (pre-parole) or on community supervision (general probation)?*
      c. *Purpose or intention of transfer request (e.g., existing legal case, residence, family, work, etc.)?*
      d. *Why is it important for you to be where you are now?*

*Section 2: Current Supervision Experience*

2. What has been your experience with supervision now that you have received the transfer? For instance, what does supervision look like for you over the course of the average week/month?

3. Overall, explain the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement, "the intent of ICAOS is to help you be successful."

   *Probe for the following details:*
      a. *If you were to summarize your experiences with ICAOS in just 2-3 words, what would they be? Why?*
      b. *What has been the benefit to you in the transfer process because you've been able to be received in another state? (e.g., go home to a loved one)*

4. In your opinion, were you appropriately informed about the transfer process by the sending state?

5. In your opinion, has the transfer of your supervision helped you to be more successful, or has it been a barrier to your success?

6. Is there anything that you wish you knew prior to going through the transfer process?

*Section 3: Looking Ahead*

7. Once your supervision period is complete, what are your plans? Do you plan to stay where you are? If so, why?

8. What else do you think is important for us to know right now about ICAOS and your supervision experience?