

## Background information Summary on Consensus Questions

### Question #1.

**To reduce crime and violence, should there be investment in underserved and/or impoverished communities? (No existing LWVIL position on this issue)**

**PRO:** Research and community leaders recognize the clear connections between underserved communities, crime and violence, and the critical, urgent need for community investment. However, key elements such as thoughtful economic investment and rehabilitative services and treatment capacity are needed to be successful, as well as a confrontation of the impact of racism.

**CON:** Significant concerns remain about investment in impoverished communities. The lack of funding and political will, the ill-defined roles of community leaders and their lack of budgetary power are reasons to be skeptical of the success of many attempts at investment.

### Question #2.

**Should there be periodic training for individuals working in the criminal justice system to recognize implicit racial and ethnic bias in order to more adequately work toward the goal of equal treatment under the law? (No existing LWVIL position on this issue)**

**PRO:** Even with good intentions, people are unwittingly biased and need ongoing training to recognize and work to correct their biases. We expect the criminal justice system to be alert to and eradicate explicit biases. However, implicit biases are pervasive and everyone has them. But with training, they can be exposed and addressed. The criminal justice system is based on importance of equal treatment under the law; therefore, whether biases should be addressed is an important issue. The Illinois State Commission on Criminal Justice and Sentencing Reform states in their recommendation: "Require periodic training on recognizing implicit racial and ethnic bias for individuals working in the criminal justice, including but not limited to law enforcement officers, prosecutors, public defenders, probation officers, judges, and correctional staff." Because implicit bias can be addressed and changed, this training should be made available as widely as possible to ensure that equal treatment under the law becomes more realistic.

**CON:** There is no evidence that implicit bias training works. Studies show that although there are positive changes in attitude and awareness, there are not necessarily changes in behavior. Broad-based training detracts from the work that employees are hired to do. This training is sometimes ineffective and therefore not worth the expense.

### Question #3.

**Should a Gender-Responsive Approach be used for all offenders with the goal of equitable and appropriate treatment?**

**PRO:** The League's focus as it considers this issue is based upon equitable and appropriate treatment for women and transgender people. The disproportionate histories of abuse and trauma of incarcerated women and transgender people – before and during their incarceration - speaks to a need for more equitable and appropriate treatment.

**CON:** The costs of accommodations for both women and transgender people can be prohibitive, especially given the demands of COVID on state finances. Some previous measures taken to improve the

situation for women and transgender people haven't proven effective. There are too few women and transgender people in the criminal justice system to justify a large allotment of resources.

#### **Question #4.**

##### **Are efficient data collection, data sharing, and transparency critical in an impartial and unbiased criminal justice system?**

**PRO:** The way our criminal justice system can improve is by monitoring its performance, isolating what works and what doesn't, and developing interventions based on fact.

By analyzing criminal system data, lawmakers can discover what is driving cost and where inequities exist in the system. That allows lawmakers to focus policy on what the data reveals, not on a biased initiative. Data can show measurements such as prison population, jail and community supervision populations, crime and recidivism rates and corrections spending. Data on race and ethnicity at every point in the criminal justice system can reveal possible disproportionate minority impact.

States that have uniform criminal justice data collection and transparency processes by local and state entities enable the review and comparison of important trends in the criminal justice system from jurisdiction to jurisdiction.

**CON:** Jurisdictions across Illinois operate on different computer platforms and to enable them to communicate with one another would be a major expenditure of time and money.

Data transparency and release to the public could involve violation of privacy and security issues. Being subjected to public exposure is an issue. Privacy concerns of the suspect, police, or bystanders also is a serious consideration.

#### **Question #5.**

##### **Criminal Justice Coordinating Councils (CJCC). (There is no existing LWVIL position on Criminal Justice Coordinating Councils.)**

###### **5a. Should Criminal Justice Coordinating Councils be created throughout the state?**

**PRO:** Most states, including Illinois operate criminal justice systems at the county level with little coordination between them. Il. has 102 counties and 24 judicial circuits with different needs, resources, and supports. Each department from police to parole is individually funded. CJCC's offer a way for them to collaborate and address county criminal justice issues. Lake County has a CJCC.

**CON:** All justice is local, including mayors and sheriffs. Communities do not want increased mandates from the state that are not funded with the local community unable to fund it.

###### **5b. Should CJCC's include a wide representation from local justice systems, agencies, other governmental bodies, service providers and the community?**

**PRO:** CJCC's address overcrowding in county jails and reduce prison population.

**CON:** Local criminal justice professionals represent all who live in the community. Additional organizations may dilute the mandate of the criminal justice system.

**5c. Should incentives and support be provided for the establishment of local CJCCs to assist them as they develop strategic plans to address crime and corrections policy?**

**PRO:** The 3rd recommendation of the Illinois State Commission on Criminal Justice and Sentencing Reform ( CJSR) states: Provide incentives and support for the establishment of local CJCCs to develop plans to address crime and corrections policy.

**CON:** The incentives and support must be adequate to not increase the costs to the local community.

**5d. Should there be cooperation and coordination between the State and CJCCs in order to share experience and data with the goal of improving plans to address crime and corrections policy both locally and statewide?**

**PRO:** By sharing goals/problems, all parties may find more cost-effective and efficient ways to address local problems which may lead to savings in financial and human capital and improved outcomes regarding recidivism and behavior change.

**CON:** Most crime is local. Local communities do not need the state to direct them on what needs to be done in their communities.

**Question #6. Policing. (No current LWVIL policy on policing)**

It's been proposed that the LWVIL add a position on policing one because , the practice of policing must be changed completely.

**6a. Is building trust and nurturing legitimacy on both sides of the police/ citizen divide foundational to positive relationships between law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve?**

**PRO:** A new model is needed; one that rebuilds trust, maintains public safety and perceives arrest as a last resort. The police are too often seen or see themselves as soldiers or warriors when they should be guardians within the community. Police officers begin to believe in an Us vs. Them structure. A guardian mindset will help build trust and legitimacy within agencies and with the public.

**CON:** None of the reforms described in 6a-6g can be accomplished without the abolition of the police and prison system. Reform cannot be achieved within our current institutional structure and the power and influence of police unions who resist police accountability and the move from warrior to guardian mindset.

**6b. Should law enforcement agencies collaborate with community members to develop policies and strategies to reduce crime?**

**PRO:** Community input and insight to law enforcement policies resulting in collaboration between the police and the community is needed. This will lead to respect and trust and minimize the rise of force and a warrior mindset. Further use of de-escalation techniques and alternatives to arrests should be employed. Agencies should refrain from using practices such as quotas for traffic stops and tickets that are not directly related to improving public safety. "The police are the public and the public are police."

**CON:** The community should not determine the parameters of law enforcement.

**6c. Should law enforcement adopt model policies and best practices for current technology-based community engagement that increases public trust and access?**

**PRO:** Technology that is more appropriate for the military than for the police is not desirable. Key recommendations from the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing are:

Law enforcement should use less than lethal technology.

Law enforcement should use best available technology such as body cameras to record accurately. Use technology to prevent tampering or manipulating evidence.

**CON:** Many departments cannot afford technology.

**6d. Should community policing be the guiding philosophy for all stakeholders?**

**PRO:** Recommendation of Task Force:

- Community policing must be a way of doing business by an entire police force; not just a specialized unit.

- Should seek "least harm" resolutions such as diversion programs or warnings in lieu of arrests for minor infractions.

- Goal should be to avoid the use of force if possible.

- Underscore the importance of language used and adopt policies of speaking to individuals with respect.

**CON:** Not all officers are interested in or are suited for community policing.

**6e. Should quality training and education begin with recruits and continue throughout an officer's career?**

**PRO:** Some of the key recommendations of the Task Force:

- Calls for law enforcement to protect the dignity and human rights of all; to be the protectors and champions of the Constitution.

- Training in problem-solving, implicit bias and cultural responsiveness;

- Training in social interaction skills and tactical skills

- Crisis Intervention Training (mental health, addiction, spectrum disorders) and how to work with LGBT persons.

**CON:** The cost of such training for all officers is prohibitive. Not all law enforcement officers are interested in such measures.

**6f. Is the wellness (health) and safety of law enforcement officers critical not only for the officers, their colleagues and their agencies, but also to public safety?**

**PRO:** Police die of suicide 2.4 times as often as from homicides. Some recommendations from the Task Force include:

mandatory annual mental health checks as well as fitness, resilience, and nutrition. shift lengths should be limited since long shifts lead to poor morale, poor job performance, irritability, and errors in judgement.

**CON:** It should be the responsibility of individual officers to seek mental and physical health support and treatment.

**6g. Is it desirable for police to use alternatives whenever possible to deflect offenders from arrest?**

**PRO:** Police are called upon to respond to a number of issues that would be better handled by the public health system or social services. A new model is needed: one that rebuilds trust, maintains public safety, and reserves arrest as a last resort.

**CON:** See 6a. Many officers do not see themselves as social workers, nor do they want to be seen that way

**Question #7. Pre-Trial Procedures**

**7a. Should we delete the existing position and revise our position based on consensus regarding the following issues?**

**PRO:** The LWVIL position needs to be changed to reflect modern research.

**CON:** League positions should be broad and avoid limiting specifics.

**7b. Should cash bail be abolished?**

The issue of pre-trial proceedings in Illinois is currently a “hot” topic – although the legislature has eliminated cash bail, the rules and regulations which support this idea are unknown at this time.

**PRO:**

- Cash bail makes jail a debtor’s prison for some and enables others who can pay to be released regardless of other considerations, such as their danger to the community or flight risk.
- Prior to sentencing, defendants are presumed innocent, but the inability to pay cash bail may cause them to lose their job, their home, or their children. They may be unable to support their family, assist with childcare, etc.
- Pre-trial incarceration can drag on for months, costing significant tax dollars, and sometimes resulting in a not guilty verdict, a sentence of probation, or a suspended sentence. Innocent defendants may plead to some offense to get out of jail.
- A study of a recent change in the rules regarding the diminution of the use of cash bond in felony cases in Cook County did not show an increase of arrests for violent crimes and demonstrated significant financial savings to the families and communities.

**CON:**

- There should be a presumption of detention for violent crimes.
- The court system relies on cash bail to provide services to victims.Illinois needs these funds.
- Cash bail makes the defendant more likely to remember to show up for court appearances.
- Victims of crime would be endangered.

**7c. Should defendants be detained in jail only if they are a flight risk or a**

## **danger to society?**

### **PRO:**

- See above regarding documented costs of pretrial detention and monitoring to impacted individuals and entire communities. People detained pretrial are more likely to be convicted and receive longer sentences compared to people released pretrial with similar backgrounds and charges. In Cook County, African Americans receive disproportionately high monetary bonds and are disproportionately unable to pay these bonds.

- The Illinois Supreme Court in April 2017 adopted a Statewide Policy Statement for Pretrial Services that stated in part: "Illinois pretrial principles and practices are founded upon the presumed innocence of the accused – the cornerstone of our nation's justice system. As such, defendants are entitled to bail practices that are consistent with the requirements of due process. . . . Our bail statutes provide for release on recognizance when a court is of the opinion that the defendant will appear as required, will not pose a danger to any person or the community, and will comply with the conditions of release."

### **CON:**

- Law enforcement would be discouraged from making arrests if they see someone they arrested on the street the next day.

## **7d. Should risk assessments be transparent and designed to exclude weights that may be prejudicial against certain populations?**

## **7e. Should electronic monitoring be used rarely for offenders prior to trial and/or sentencing?**

### **PRO:**

- In some instances, a defendant will be released—but on electronic monitoring. Although electronic monitoring allows the defendant to leave jail, it can be highly restrictive so that going to work and/or carrying out day-to-day tasks can be very difficult, if not impossible. Violating these restrictions can result in detention. If a defendant is neither a danger to the community or a flight risk, electronic monitoring is inappropriate.

- Further, use of this equipment is expensive, making it unavailable to defendant's without significant funds and an out-of-proportion expense for the government.

### **CON:**

- Electronic monitoring isn't as restrictive as jail and provides the community with a sense of security.

## **7f. Must the Bond Court Judge review the Public Safety Assessment that is**

## **the basis of determination as to an individual's release?**

### **PRO:**

- While the law sets forth criteria to be considered in the determination of whether and how much bail to set, it appears that different decision-makers use widely different criteria and standards in such decisions. Thus, there has been a movement to create more standardized tools.

- The Illinois Bail Reform Act of 2017 supports the use of the least restrictive conditions based on an individual's risk of pretrial risk rather than the financial ability to secure release from custody. The Act creates a presumption that any conditions of release shall be non-monetary and encourages Illinois Supreme Court to adopt a risk assessment tool, which does not discriminate on the basis of race, gender, education level, or socio- economic status.

- Research shows the use of pretrial detention does not decrease the likelihood of recidivism in certain populations and, in some instances, may increase the likelihood. Other research has found that for low-risk defendants, days spent in pretrial detention was associated with significant increases in committing new crimes.

- A pretrial risk assessment tool provides the court with an objective research-based measurement of pretrial failure for defendants released from custody during the pretrial phase of their case. Such validated tools can help judges make risk-based decisions on detention and release, thereby reducing potential bias and subjectivity about who should be detained pretrial.

**CON:**

- Risk assessments may consider those from disadvantaged communities to be a higher risk of flight or danger to the community.

- Some believe that the judge is able to determine these factors without the PSA, considering the 37 factors that they must consider in making this decision. These factors are set by state statute.

**7g. Should Pre-Trial Service providers remind defendants of court appearances?**

**PRO:**

- We get reminders of doctors and dentist appointments by text or phone or email. Research shows most failures to appear are not intentional but result from forgetting or inability to leave work, childcare responsibilities, and lack of transportation.

- Studies have shown fewer missed court dates where texts are used. Problems include lack of access to cell phones.

**•CON:**

- It is the defendant's own responsibility to remember court dates.

**7h. Should an attorney or a public defender be present for all defendants, at all hearings?**

**PRO:**

- The right to an attorney at the government's expense applies only in criminal cases, not civil or other cases. This is consistent with the presumption of innocence and the right to due process. This right should apply to all hearings, including bond hearings, given the nature and importance of these rights and the significant effect of decisions on bond on the case outcomes and the life of the arrestee and their community.

- Some jurisdictions in Illinois current afford such rights in trial programs, by practice, or otherwise.

**CON:**

- To require that an attorney be present at all hearings represents an undue burden on courts, especially in rural areas.

### Question #8. Restorative Justice

#### **8a. Should the criminal justice system be open to the use of restorative justice approaches and values?**

Restorative justice that is a process whereby the parties with a stake in an offense come together to collectively resolve how to deal with the aftermath of the offense, repair the harm and its implications for the future. It is a wholly different approach which deals with the victim as well as the offender.

**PRO:** Restorative justice sees crime as an act against the victim and shifts the focus to repairing the harm that has been committed against the victim and community. It believes that the offender also needs assistance and seeks to identify what needs to change to prevent future re-offending.

**CON:** Restorative justice erodes legal rights, trivializes crime, extends police powers, leads to vigilantism and fails to provide justice.

#### **8b. To be successful, must restorative justice courts involve members of the community?**

**PRO:** Restorative justice must involve members of the community to allow them to decide how to hold their members accountable for harm. When offenders are incarcerated, they are excused for what they have done and do not have to repair the harm done to the community.

**CON:** It can be exhausting work to keep community members involved in restorative justice. Restorative justice courts should only focus on the victim being made whole subsequent to a crime.

#### **8c. Must restorative justice courts be adequately funded?**

**PRO:** There definitely is a challenge to fund restorative justice courts, but they not only offer closure to victims, but also have major public safety and taxpayer benefits as well. The state could also see cost savings from a reduction in recidivism.

**CON:** It seems unlikely that the two systems of justice can be adequately funded. It is too early to see whether the outcomes measure up to the hopes for restorative justice.

### Question #9 - Emerging Adults

#### **Should emerging adults (ages 18-25) in the criminal justice system be treated in a developmentally appropriate manner, recognizing that those in this age group are not fully mature and culpable for their actions?**

**Discussion:** Research shows that emerging adults are especially susceptible to reward-seeking behavior, peer pressure, risk-taking, and impulsive behavior, all associated with incomplete brain development. Society recognizes the not-yet-mature cognitive and emotional abilities of emerging adults by regulating the use of alcohol and tobacco, limiting car rental contracts, and setting insurance rates. A growing movement in criminal justice advocates for changes in policy and practice that similarly respond to the distinct developmental needs of this age cohort.



Emerging adults represent a disproportionate share of arrests and incarcerations in Illinois, mostly for nonviolent offenses, and there is evidence that the negative effects of that involvement outweigh the benefits, with those consequences most keenly felt by African-American young men. Illinois has begun to explore alternative approaches to offenses by emerging adults with promising results. However, researching is ongoing and a full picture is still to emerge.

#### **Question #10.**

##### **Should barriers to and within the courthouse and courtrooms be eliminated whenever possible?**

The League already has a position on this question, supporting improvement in courtroom procedures that serve to minimize confusion and delay and increase fairness and efficiency. Therefore, this Consensus Question Issue is only asking for consensus on an addition to the existing position.

**PRO:** Barriers of any kind (such as physical or language impediments, technical difficulties, insufficient time, not accommodating the needs of a particular population) can interfere with the just proceedings and must therefore be eliminated as far as possible to accommodate all who participate in the proceedings. This refers to criminal justice personnel, the defendant, witnesses, and other participants, as well as family members. There is a need for adherence to recommendations of the Illinois Courtroom Standards.

**CON:** Meeting these expectations places an undue and unrealistic financial burden on on the state and counties, especially given the demands of COVID.

#### **Question #11. Sentencing laws and procedures**

##### **11a. Should the League delete its existing position that “there should be strict penalties and enforcement for all crimes committed with a handgun or an assault weapon?”**

**PRO:** The anger and fear that gun violence provokes should not lead to harsher penalties which are politically expedient but not proven to address the underlying causes of the violence.

**CON:** The position should stand ..because guns present a clear danger to public safety, and there should be stricter penalties for crimes committed with guns?

##### **11b. Should sentencing laws and prosecutorial decision-making take into account evidence-based and best practices?**

**PRO:** Advocates of evidence-based practices believe that using data such as risk assessments will help to address the rate of incarceration, corrections costs, and racial and ethnic disparities in the prison and jail population. By introducing some amount of objectivity, there is a chance to minimize judicial implicit bias.

**CON:** Sentences are set by the legislature to set sanctions and rules to punish crimes. Basing sentencing on the actuarial use of particular variables may promote unfair stereotypes and systematically disadvantage certain groups, especially racial minorities. The use of group-level historical data to predict how a single individual is likely to perform in the future cannot provide results accurate enough to provide actionable information.

**11c. Should sentencing take into consideration the public health issues involved in any crime committed?**

**PRO:** A core component of a comprehensive sentencing plan to address the root causes of violence is to incorporate public health strategies including violence prevention, family support and dealing with trauma and consequences of violence.

**CON:** Public health is too broad of a term, but the sentencing may consider mental health specifically.

**11d. Should there be more collaboration between stakeholders so that sentencing outcomes are more just and fair?**

**PRO:** It has been shown that collaboration with different stakeholders, including victims, the accused, the prosecutor, the defense attorney, the judge and probation services produces better justice outcomes.

**CON:** An increase in collaboration delays the sentencing process and additional parties may confuse or distract from the issues.

**11e. Should racial impact statements inform any new criminal law or regulation?**

**PRO:** Racial impact statements help determine possible unintended consequences of new laws and should be considered.

**CON:** Laws should treat defendants equally and justice should be blind.

**11f. Should legislation that reduces penalties for a crime be retroactive for offenders previously sentenced?**

**PRO:** When legislation changes to reduce penalties for a crime, all those previously sentenced for that crime should benefit from the shortened sentence to decrease the cost of incarceration paid by the taxpayers and to fix the injustice of a sentence being determined by the year in which a hearing was held.

**CON:** Retroactively reducing offenders' sentences because of changed legislation would violate victims' rights and negate the determination of a sentence that was made after a plea or deliberation by either a judge or jury.

**11g. Should Illinois abolish the charge of felony murder be abolished?**

Felony murder is a criminal charge that allows a defendant to be charged with first-degree murder for a killing that occurs during the commission of a felony, even if the defendant is not the killer?

**PRO:** Illinois should abolish the charge of felony murder because the intention to commit a felony does not equal the intention to kill, nor is the intention to commit a felony, by itself, sufficient to establish a charge of murder.

**CON:** The felony murder charge should stand because an offender should bear responsibility for any harmful result during the commission of a felony, regardless of the offender's intent.

## Question #12 - Illinois Department of Corrections (IDOC): Incarceration, Mandatory Supervised Release

**12a. Should offenders be entitled to humane treatment and access to health care?**

**12b. Should all programs be evidence-based or based on best practices?**

**12c. Should all rehabilitative and evidence-based programs be made available to all for whom they are appropriate?**

**12d. Should all programs be tailored according to individual needs?**

**12e. Should all offenders have access to program credits?**

**12f. Is pre-release planning critical for successful reentry into the community?**

**12g. Are adult transition centers critical in bridging the gap between prison and the community in order to ensure successful reintegration into society?**

**12h. Should the length of Mandatory Supervised Release (MSR) be determined by completion of goals tailored to the individual rather than a strict length of time?**

**12i. Should rules attached to MSR be clearly explained to the offender as well as expected consequences if rules are violated?**

**12j. Should caseloads be manageable so that parole officers are able to play a supportive role with the parolee?**

**Discussion:** Prisons in Illinois exist to fulfill four main goals: punishment, incapacitation, deterrence, and rehabilitation. Locking people up in prison certainly imposes punishment and isolates individuals that endanger the community. It also acts as a deterrent to crime, although the effect is modest. Rehabilitation and transition programs seek to prepare offenders to return to society as lawful and productive citizens. Our discussion will focus on how IDOC is meeting its goals and how changes in policy and practice might produce better outcomes.

The issues involved are complex. For example, retribution addresses past crimes; rehabilitation prevents future ones. How to balance and prioritize those competing interests? Providing substance abuse and mental health treatment, and improving education and job skills for prisoners reduces recidivism, but how do we justify those services when millions of law-abiding citizens are without them? Pre-release planning programs and adult transition centers are effective in preparing inmates for a successful return to society, but should taxpayers be expected to foot that bill when the cost of their incarceration has already been such a drain on public funds? Fundamental values, basic economics, individual and societal interests, and cultural considerations all must factor into the decisions to be made.

## Question #13.- Post incarceration and sentence completion: from recidivism to successful re-entry.

**13a. Should all unnecessary barriers encountered by people with criminal records which hinder their successful return to society after completion of sentences be removed?**

**13b. Should people with criminal records have access to the same income- based support opportunities and services that are available to others in society and for which they would otherwise qualify?**

**Discussion:** Every year hundreds of newly released prisoners from the Illinois Department of Corrections hit the streets of our communities ill-equipped to meet the challenges they face.

Who bears primary responsibility for ensuring that prisoners are adequately prepared to successfully transition to a world outside the prison walls? Years and possibly decades of honing skills for survival behind the walls are unlikely to facilitate survival outside the walls.

What kind of intervention would change this equation? Serving the last few months of one's sentence in the host community would offer the opportunity to begin building relationships and make contacts necessary for success, but this would also require substantive change in current policy and procedure.

Can our broken system be easily fixed or will major surgery be necessary? Are the tools for creating a system which benefits our communities and released prisoners within our grasp? Can we design a system that offers more hope for reducing recidivism?

**Question #14: Funding**

**14a. Should we delete from existing position: "The League believes that state funds should emphasize community-based sanctions over the construction of more prisons."**

**PRO:** Nobody is talking about construction of more prisons. Prison population in Illinois has decreased from 50,000 to 30,000 in recent years.

**CON:** This position addressed the construction of prisons which is always a possibility in the future.

**14b. Should all program funding be periodically evaluated for its effectiveness and to ensure that proper offender populations are being served?**

Should state funding emphasize community-based sanctions and treatment instead of incarceration?

**PRO:** Incarceration is costly, harsh, and in some cases, has a criminogenic effect on individuals, making them more likely to commit future crimes. It does not improve public safety. Community programs have more flexibility and can be chosen to appropriately target at the behavior of particular offender. Even though community sanctions, treatments, problem solving courts may not eliminate criminality and/or recidivism, even 20% reductions are significant.

**CON:** Perpetrators of acts of crime deserve punishment.

**14c. Should all program funding be periodically evaluated for its effectiveness and to ensure that proper offender populations are being served?**

**PRO:** We should be skeptical of all programs that promise effectiveness without proof. Agencies should eliminate those programs for which there is insufficient evidence of effectiveness and expand those that are proven effective. The results of performance incentive funding as applied to Youth Redeploy Illinois program show success as far as reduced prison admissions, lowered cost to taxpayers, and reduction in crime and recidivism.

**CON:** Studies and compiling statistics take time away from the programs themselves. Is oversight necessary? Wouldn't it be obvious if programs aren't working?