

SEPTEMBER 2013

Federal PROBATION

*a journal of correctional
philosophy and practice*

Too Many Going Back, Not Enough Getting Out? Supervision Violators, Probation Supervision, and Overcrowding in the Federal Bureau of Prisons

By Matthew G. Rowland

Early Termination of Supervision: No Compromise to Community Safety

By Laura M. Baber, James L. Johnson

Extending Our Knowledge About Recidivism of Persons on Federal Supervision

By Laura M. Baber, Mark Motivans

SPECIAL FOCUS ON: IMPLEMENTING EVIDENCE-BASED PRACTICES

The Demands on Probation Officers in the Evolution of Evidence-Based Practice: The Forgotten Foot Soldier of Community Corrections

By Guy Bourgon

The Trials and Tribulations of Implementing *What Works*: Training Rarely Trumps Values

By Mario A. Paparozzi, Roger Guy

Reducing Recidivism Through Probation Supervision: What We Know and Don't Know from Four Decades of Research

By Chris Trotter

Skills and Training in British Probation: A Tale of Neglect and Possible Revival

By Peter Raynor, Pamela Ugwudike

Changing Probation Officer Attitudes: Training Experience, Motivation, and Knowledge

By Christopher T. Lowenkamp, Alexander M. Holsinger, Anthony W. Flores, Igor Koutsenok, Natalie Pearl

Capitalizing on Collaboration in Arizona: Working Together to Advance the Use of Evidence-Based Officer Skills at All Levels of Community Corrections

By Kathy Waters, Mario Moreno, R. Brian Colgan

Coaching: The True Path to Proficiency, From an Officer's Perspective

By Melissa Alexander, Lisa Palombo, Ed Cameron, Evey Wooten, Matthew White, Michael Casey, Christopher Bersch

Using Quality Improvement Models in Correctional Organizations

By Danielle S. Rudes, Jill Viglione, Courtney M. Porter

7 Keys to "Make EBPs Stick": Lessons From the Field

By Faye S. Taxman

Federal PROBATION

*a journal of correctional
philosophy and practice*

PUBLISHED BY

The Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts

Judge John D. Bates, *Director*

Matthew G. Rowland, *Assistant Director*
Office of Probation and Pretrial Services

Federal Probation ISSN 0014-9128 is dedicated to informing its readers about current thought, research, and practice in corrections and criminal justice. The journal welcomes the contributions of persons who work with or study defendants and offenders and invites authors to submit articles describing experience or significant findings regarding the prevention and control of crime and delinquency. A style sheet is available from the editor.

Federal Probation is published three times yearly—in June, September (on a special topic), and December. Permission to quote is granted on the condition that appropriate credit is given the author and *Federal Probation*. For information about reprinting articles, please contact the editor.

Subscriptions to *Federal Probation* are available from the Superintendent of Documents at an annual rate of \$16.50 (\$22.40 foreign). Please see the subscription order form on the last page of this issue for more information.

EDITORIAL STAFF

Nancy Beatty Gregoire, *Executive Editor*
Ellen Wilson Fielding, *Editor*

Federal Probation

Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts
Washington, DC 20544
telephone: 202-502-1651
fax: 202-502-1677
email: Ellen_Fielding@ao.uscourts.gov

Postmaster: *Please send address changes to the editor at the address above.*

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

m e m b e r s

Dan Richard Beto

National Association of Probation Executives
Huntsville, Texas

James Byrne

University of Massachusetts, Lowell
Lowell, Massachusetts

Honorable James G. Carr

United States District Court
Toledo, Ohio

Alvin W. Cohn

Administration of Justice Services, Inc.
Rockville, Maryland

Ronald P. Corbett, Jr.

University of Massachusetts, Lowell
Lowell, Massachusetts

Thomas Henry

Seton Hall University
South Orange, New Jersey

Magdeline Jensen

CEO, YWCA of Greater Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Tim Murray

Pretrial Justice Institute
Washington, DC

Honorable David D. Noce

United States District Court
St. Louis, Missouri

Daniel B. Ryan

Justice Solutions Group
Lakeville, Minnesota

Faye Taxman

George Mason University
Fairfax, Virginia

Marie VanNostrand

Senior Consultant, Luminosity, Inc.
St. Petersburg, Florida

THIS ISSUE IN BRIEF

- Too Many Going Back, Not Enough Getting Out? Supervision Violators, Probation Supervision, and Overcrowding in the Federal Bureau of Prisons** 3
Matthew G. Rowland
- Early Termination of Supervision: No Compromise to Community Safety** 17
Laura M. Baber, James L. Johnson
- Extending Our Knowledge About Recidivism of Persons on Federal Supervision** 23
Laura M. Baber, Mark Motivans
- SPECIAL FOCUS ON: Implementing Evidence-Based Practices**
- Introduction to Federal Probation Special Focus on Implementing Evidence-Based Practices** 28
Christopher T. Lowenkamp
- The Demands on Probation Officers in the Evolution of Evidence-Based Practice: The Forgotten Foot Soldier of Community Corrections** 30
Guy Bourgon
- The Trials and Tribulations of Implementing *What Works*: Training Rarely Trumps Values** 36
Mario A. Paparozzi, Roger Guy
- Reducing Recidivism Through Probation Supervision: What We Know and Don't Know from Four Decades of Research** 43
Chris Trotter
- Skills and Training in British Probation: A Tale of Neglect and Possible Revival** 49
Peter Raynor, Pamela Ugwudike
- Changing Probation Officer Attitudes: Training Experience, Motivation, and Knowledge** 54
Christopher T. Lowenkamp, Alexander M. Holsinger, Anthony W. Flores, Igor Koutsenok, Natalie Pearl
- Capitalizing on Collaboration in Arizona: Working Together to Advance the Use of Evidence-Based Officer Skills at All Levels of Community Corrections** 59
Kathy Waters, Mario Moreno, R. Brian Colgan

Coaching: The True Path to Proficiency, From an Officer's Perspective	64
<i>Melissa Alexander, Lisa Palombo, Ed Cameron, Evey Wooten, Matthew White, Michael Casey, Christopher Bersch</i>	
Using Quality Improvement Models in Correctional Organizations	69
<i>Danielle S. Rudes, Jill Viglione, Courtney M. Porter</i>	
7 Keys to "Make EBPs Stick": Lessons From the Field	76
<i>Faye S. Taxman</i>	
DEPARTMENTS	
Contributors to This Issue	87

The articles and reviews that appear in *Federal Probation* express the points of view of the persons who wrote them and not necessarily the points of view of the agencies and organizations with which these persons are affiliated. Moreover, *Federal Probation's* publication of the articles and reviews is not to be taken as an endorsement of the material by the editors, the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, or the Federal Probation and Pretrial Services System.

Too Many Going Back, Not Enough Getting Out? Supervision Violators, Probation Supervision, and Overcrowding in the Federal Bureau of Prisons

Matthew G. Rowland

*Assistant Director, Office of Probation and Pretrial Services
Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts¹*

THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF PRISONS' (BOP) inmate population has grown substantially during the last few decades, and the increase is taking its toll on inmates, staff, and the very walls and floors of the prisons themselves. Studies demonstrate that the increase is driven primarily by the imposition of longer prison terms, fewer avenues for inmates to earn early release, higher conviction rates, and increased enforcement efforts. Persons revoked from community supervision and returned to prison constitute a small proportion of the inmate population, approximately six percent.² Yet, the number of people being revoked has been on the rise and that has garnered attention from those who want to both reduce the number of persons returned to prison and expand the role of supervision in getting current inmates out.

This article discusses the variety of complex factors that have influenced the slow but steady increase in supervisees being revoked.³ One factor is the large number of illegal aliens subject to supervision who are deported and then revoked after they illegally re-enter the United States. In those cases, there is very little the probation system can do to promote behavioral change, other than to initiate revocation proceedings for purposes of punishment and deterrence. Another factor influencing the rise in revocations has been the increase in the size of the supervisee population generally. There are now more people under supervision and in jeopardy of being revoked than ever before. A third factor is the worsening criminogenic risk profile of

the supervision population, as measured by various empirical assessment tools. Finally, advancements in technology, policy guidance, and training have made officers more effective in detecting noncompliance. So while the raw number of supervisees returned to prison is increasing, when you take the above factors into account, the relative rate of revocations has actually been declining.

This article also provides detailed information about the factors that federal probation officers consider when responding to supervisee noncompliance, and it urges caution when interpreting statistical information concerning revocation rates. For instance, a revocation described as "technical" does not necessarily mean that there were no allegations of new criminal conduct. Furthermore, though not revealed by the data, in many cases that end in revocation, there have been numerous attempts to stop the noncompliance with lesser sanctions and intensified treatment.

The article also provides background on some of the key supervision strategies employed by the federal probation and pretrial services system to protect the public and reduce recidivism. Finally, this article explains how the federal probation and pretrial services system's use of alternatives to incarceration produces considerable cost savings while offering the potential for supervisee rehabilitation and long-term community protection.

Although the probation system alone cannot solve the BOP's overcrowding problem, it can play a role, whether by assuming responsibility for inmates released early pursuant to

a new statute or serving as a more primary sentencing option in lieu of imprisonment. The challenge will be deciding which cases are most appropriate for direct referral to supervision versus supervision after a period of imprisonment adjusted for good behavior and reduction in criminogenic risk. There is also the economic reality that under sequestration and appropriation shortfalls, the probation and pretrial services system is losing staffing strength and has diminishing resources for supervisee monitoring and treatment. Expanding the responsibilities of the probation and pretrial services system when it has insufficient resources can compromise community safety and produce other undesired consequences, such as overburdening again the BOP.

One source for optimism, however, is that the savings from using supervision in lieu of incarceration in appropriate cases is substantial, amounting to tens of thousands of dollars per case. Those savings could be drawn upon by Congress and the agencies involved to experiment with greater use of and innovation in community supervision, ideally better protecting the public, reducing costs, and alleviating overcrowding at the BOP. Movement of funds in that manner has occurred successfully in state systems.

A. FEDERAL BUREAU OF PRISONS OVERCROWDING

The BOP inmate population has been growing exponentially. The number of inmates doubled in the 1980s, doubled again in the 1990s and has increased 60 percent since the

turn of the millennium.⁴ Not only are there more federal inmates, but they are serving longer periods in custody.⁵ As a result, the BOP now houses 220,000 inmates, more than the civilian population in 15 of the country's largest 100 cities.⁶

The stress of the unrelenting growth on the BOP is taking its toll. Prison facilities are filled 38 percent beyond rated capacity, with overcrowding being particularly acute in higher-security institutions. Prison cells are double- and triple-bunked, making it more likely that some inmate misconduct will go undetected and jeopardizing the safety of inmates and staff alike. There are too many inmates for available rehabilitative programming, leading to waiting lists and lost opportunities for inmate rehabilitation. In addition, the overcrowding is causing excessive wear and tear on prison infrastructure and contributing to the \$6.8 billion cost of operating the BOP.⁷

The growth in the federal inmate population has been sparked and sustained by legislative changes and Department of Justice initiatives designed to promote sentencing uniformity, procedural transparency, and community safety.⁸ The Sentencing Reform Act of 1984 abolished parole, limited reductions for good behavior, and provided for more structured sentencing. A series of statutes enacted in the midst of the crack-cocaine epidemic mandated lengthy custody terms for the types of cases that made up much of the federal criminal docket.⁹ At the same time, the Department of Justice expanded prosecutions in drug crimes, firearm offenses, child pornography and illegal immigration.¹⁰ In analyzing the federal inmate boom, the Urban Institute concluded:

[The] increase in prisoners' expected time to be served was, by far, the leading determinant of the prison population growth, accounting for over one-half of the net population increase.... Higher conviction rates were responsible for one-quarter of the growth, while increased enforcement efforts and higher rates of sentencing to prison each contributed roughly one-tenth of the overall growth in the prison population.... The increase in time to be served by drug offenders alone accounted for nearly one-third of the total federal prison population growth.... Other offense-specific factors that contributed to growth included increased enforcement efforts against immigration and weapons violators, as well as a higher conviction rate for drug defendants.¹¹

B. SUPERVISION VIOLATORS' CONTRIBUTION TO THE OVERCROWDING

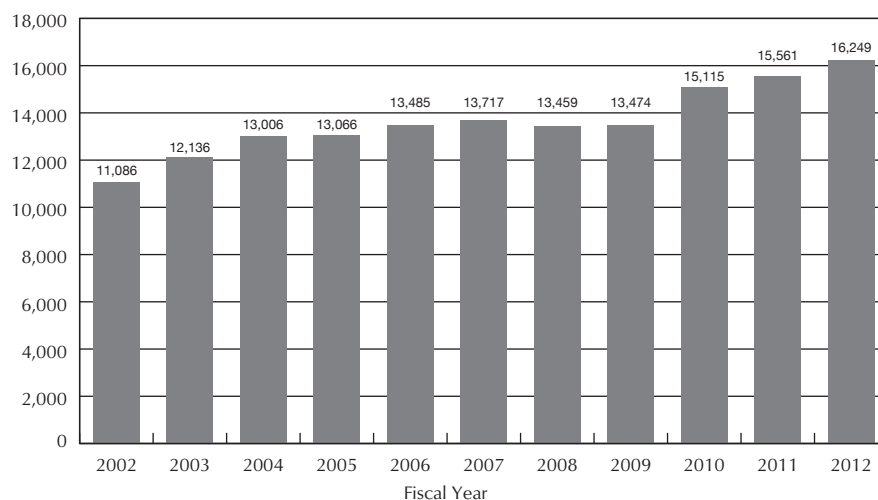
Relative to the other driving forces, persons revoked from community supervision and returned to prison constitute a small proportion of the federal inmate population. Somewhere between 8 and approximately 15 percent of the new admissions into the BOP each year are said to be supervision violators.¹² And since violators are subject to substantially shorter prison terms than those sentenced for new federal convictions, supervision violators occupy only 6 percent or so of the prison space on any given day.¹³ Nonetheless, the number of people being revoked has been increasing and that has generated concern among those studying prison overcrowding and looking to supervision as a possible means to alleviate it (see Figure 1).¹⁴

in the techniques to uncover supervisees' non-compliance. Adjustments to one or more of these factors could alter the number of people returned to prison in the future.

Between 2002 and 2012, the number of immigration-related prosecutions in federal court more than doubled.¹⁵ Immigration offenses now rival drug offenses as the type of crimes most frequently prosecuted in federal court.¹⁶ Some statutes and, up until recently, the Federal Sentencing Guidelines required supervised release terms to be imposed on deportable aliens following a period of incarceration. Since the aliens are deported shortly after their release from the BOP, the supervision term is put on "inactive" status and not "activated" unless the alien illegally re-enters the country or commits another offense in the United States, in which case revocation proceedings are initiated. So, in effect, these aliens

FIGURE 1.

Persons Revoked from Post-Conviction Supervision by Fiscal Year



Source: Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Decision Support System. Washington, DC.

C. FACTORS INFLUENCING THE NUMBER OF SUPERVISEES REVOKED

A variety of factors have influenced the slow but steady rise in revocations in the federal system, including: (1) the increasing number of people unavailable for active supervision, specifically those deported after their imprisonment term, but who come back into the United States illegally and who are revoked as a result; (2) the increase in the size of the supervision population generally; (3) the escalation of the criminogenic profile of the supervisee population; and (4) improvement

are not actively supervised by probation officers and there is very little the probation system can do to promote behavioral change in them.

The probation system's data entry rules are being modified to better identify such cases going forward, but existing records indicate that 20 percent of the persons revoked in fiscal year 2012 were illegal or undocumented aliens. Similarly, illegal and undocumented aliens were responsible for 40 percent of the increase in revocations between 2002 and 2012.¹⁷

The impact of these cases on revocation rates and prison costs is all the more disconcerting when you take into account that there

are currently 68,000 supervised release terms running inactively for individuals who either: (1) have been deported; (2) remain in administrative custody pending deportation; or (3) are being held in federal, state, or local custody on new criminal charges and for whom a violator's warrant has been lodged as a detainee.¹⁸

It is unclear if the number of immigration prosecutions will increase or decline. As this article is being written, Congress is debating immigration reform; any legislation passed will likely provide for enhanced enforcement, particularly along the southwest border with Mexico where the vast majority of federal immigration prosecutions already occur. In addition, the United States Sentencing Commission modified its policy statements in 2011 to state that "[t]he court ordinarily should not impose a term of supervised release in a case in which supervised release is not required by statute and the defendant is a deportable alien who likely will be deported after imprisonment."¹⁹ The *Sentencing Guidelines Manual* further states:

Unless such a defendant legally returns to the United States, supervised release is unnecessary. If such a defendant illegally returns to the United States, the need to afford adequate deterrence and protect the public ordinarily is adequately served by a new prosecution. The court should, however, consider imposing a term of supervised release on such a defendant if the court determines it would provide an added measure of deterrence and protection based on the facts and circumstances of a particular case.²⁰

Consequently, it is possible that the number of illegal and undocumented aliens subject to supervised release terms could decrease, even if the number of immigration prosecutions continues to climb.

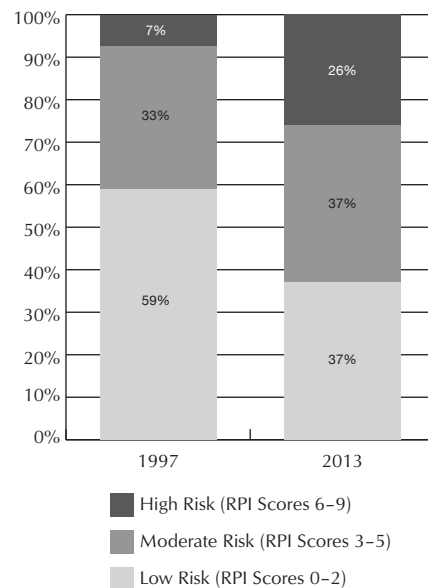
Another factor contributing to the growth in revocations is the increase in the supervision population generally. The daily supervision population has grown 45 percent in 15 years.²¹ The annual growth rate for the past decade has been 3 percent, and continued increases are expected, with the annual supervision population projected to exceed 194,000 by June 2015.²² Consequently, there has been and will continue to be a larger pool of people at risk of being revoked.

There has also been an escalation of the population's criminogenic profile. In an effort to better protect the community, the Department of Justice has focused on more persistent and violent supervisees, leaving the BOP and probation system with a higher-risk population.²³

Criminogenic risk can be measured in many ways. Since the 1990s, the federal probation and pretrial services system has used the Risk Prediction Index (RPI), an actuarial risk assessment tool developed by the Research Division of the Federal Judicial Center, to empirically measure the risk level of the supervisee population. The average RPI score of the supervisee population has been increasing year to year, and is now 50 percent higher than it was for supervisees in 1997 (Figure 2).²⁴ Similarly, the number of Career Offenders and Armed Career Criminals as defined by the United States Sentencing Guidelines has more than doubled, and the Commission's Criminal History Category system has detected increasingly more severe criminal histories and risk among defendants (Tables 1 and 2).²⁵

With fiscal reality precluding the probation and pretrial services system from providing the ideal level of supervision in all cases, and research suggesting that available resources are best focused on higher-risk supervisees, judiciary policy directs probation officers to dedicate their energies to those cases with elevated risk.²⁶ Officers are statutorily required to provide rehabilitative programming and make efforts to detect and report noncompliance.²⁷ In the case of high-risk supervisees, officers' monitoring efforts include: the use of GPS and other electronic devices; manual surveillance; development of third-party sources of information in the community; coordination with law enforcement agencies; and, if authorized by the court, warrantless searches and seizures.²⁸ Increased training, policy guidance, and supporting technology have made officers more effective and efficient in their monitoring role. For example, the judiciary's policy guidance on search and seizure was updated in 2010, and a national "train-the-trainer" program to develop officer expertise on search and seizure in the probation and pretrial services districts commenced shortly thereafter. In 2012, the probation and pretrial services system recorded its greatest number of search and seizure incidents, more than 1,000 (exclusive of computer monitoring of child-pornography supervisees). Three quarters of the search and seizure efforts resulted in contraband being removed from the streets, including everything from false identification to firearms and drugs.²⁹ Similarly, GPS-based location monitoring and drug-testing equipment has grown in sophistication, and communication has improved between probation and law enforcement agencies with the use of shared databases.³⁰ The net result is

FIGURE 2.
Composition of Supervision Population by Risk Prediction Index Score



Source: Eaglin, J., Gilbert, S., Hooper, L.; Lombard, P. (1997). *Descriptive Information About Offenders Grouped by Their RPI Scores*, Washington, DC: Federal Judicial Center; Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Decision Support System. Washington, DC.

TABLE 1.
*USSC Criminal History Points Assigned to Sentenced Defendants**

Points	1997	2012	Change
0	45.8%	36.0%	-9.8%
1	9.8%	9.0%	-0.8%
2	4.0%	5.4%	1.4%
3	6.5%	8.5%	2.0%
4	4.6%	6.0%	1.5%
5	3.8%	6.0%	2.3%
6	4.8%	5.7%	1.0%
7	2.5%	3.4%	1.0%
8	2.6%	3.9%	1.3%
9	2.6%	3.0%	0.4%
10	1.8%	2.2%	0.4%
11	1.5%	2.2%	0.7%
12	1.6%	1.8%	0.2%
13+	8.3%	6.8%	-1.5%

Source: United States Sentencing Commission Sourcebook, Table 20, Fiscal Years 1997 and 2012.
*All percentages subject to rounding.

TABLE 2.
*USSC Criminal History Category Assigned to Sentenced Defendants**

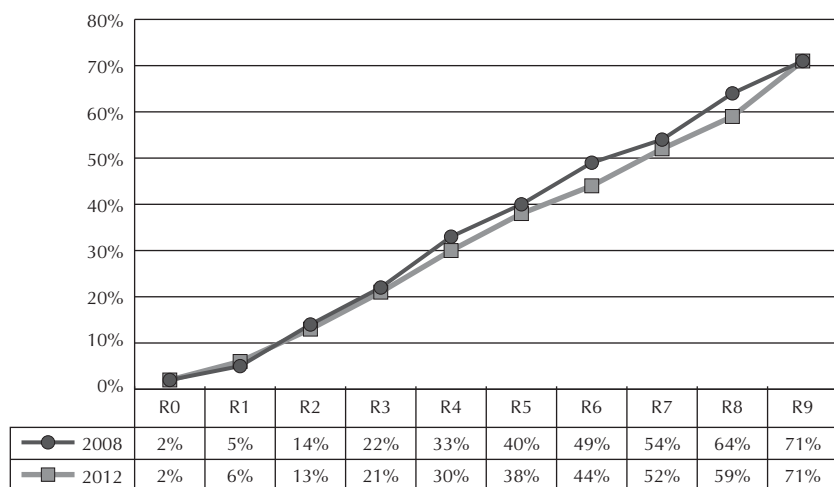
Points	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1997	55.9%	10.6%	13.0%	7.2%	4.2%	9.2%
2012	44.9%	13.9%	17.4%	9.5%	5.4%	8.8%
Change	-11.0%	3.3%	4.4%	2.3%	1.2%	-0.4%

Source: United States Sentencing Commission Sourcebook, Table 21, Fiscal Years 1997 and 2012.

*All percentages subject to rounding.

FIGURE 3.

Revocation Rate for U.S. Citizens Only, Displayed by FJC Risk Prediction Index Score
Source—National PACTS Reporting Database and Decision Support System



Source: Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Decision Support System. Washington, DC.

that supervisee noncompliance, when it does occur, is more likely than ever before to be detected, and that influences the number of persons revoked.

Taking into account all the various factors noted above, revocation rates have actually been stable, and have even declined among supervisees in some risk categories. Figure 3 reflects the revocation rate in 2008 and 2012 respectively for U.S. citizens only, based on their Risk Prediction Index scores as computed at the beginning of supervision.

D. BASES FOR REVOCATION AND RECIDIVISM

In an effort to put revocation numbers into context, the probation and pretrial services system has historically reported revocations as a percentage of total cases closed, excluding cases closed upon death and transfers. Like the raw number of revocations, the “revocation rate” has been increasing, although at a lower rate (Table 3). New crime revocations are described by the federal courts as either “major”

or “minor,” labels meant to track the felony and misdemeanor distinction common in most penal codes. All other revocations are considered “technical” (Table 4).

It would appear that most revocations are on technical grounds, but that statistic should be viewed with caution because a substantial percentage of those cases actually involve allegations of criminal conduct (Table 4 and Figure 4). Noncompliant supervisees often commit both new crime and technical violations simultaneously, or in quick succession. For example, a supervisee who conspires and works with a former cellmate to distribute cocaine has committed both new crime and technical violations, specifically drug trafficking and association with a known felon. Indeed, a sampling of 768 cases from five judicial districts revealed that 93 percent of supervisees revoked for new crimes also had been cited for technical violations. Similarly, 39 percent of supervisees revoked for technical violations had incurred an arrest consistent with new criminal conduct during supervision.³²

For various reasons, such as minimizing the burden on witnesses and deferral to local prosecutions, the parties may settle on the supervisee pleading to a technical violation in lieu of going forward with a hearing on the criminal charge. The pressures and considerations that drive plea bargaining elsewhere in the criminal justice process are also present in the revocation context.³³ Also, in most instances, the applicable statutory penalties are the same for technical and new crime violations.

Further clouding an understanding of the bases of revocations at the macro level, probation and pretrial services’ case management system is not all-inclusive in terms of data related to revocations. Although there are plans to capture more data elements in the future, presently the case management system only requires users to enter one violation charge per revocation, even if the court found multiple violation charges proven. Data-entry rules suggest that the “most serious proven charge” be entered, but that still omits information on charges of equal or lesser severity for purposes of national reporting and analysis.

Recidivism in community corrections is measured in different ways. As noted above, the federal probation and pretrial services system has historically reported recidivism as the percentage of cases revoked in relation to total cases closed. That percentage now stands

TABLE 3.
*Federal Post-Conviction Revocation Rate**

Fiscal Year	Revocation Rate	Change from Prior Year
2000	23.8%	1.2%
2001	23.3%	-0.4%
2002	25.7%	2.4%
2003	26.3%	0.5%
2004	23.4%	-2.9%
2005	25.0%	1.6%
2006	26.9%	2.0%
2007	27.9%	1.0%
2008	27.4%	-0.5%
2009	27.3%	-0.1%
2010	29.3%	2.1%
2011	29.3%	0.0%
2012	29.7%	0.3%
Average	26.6%	0.5%

Source: Judicial Business of the U.S. Courts, Table E-7A, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Decision Support System.

*All percentages subject to rounding.

TABLE 4.
Top 5 Violation Charges in Each Revocation Category During Fiscal Year 2012

Rank	Major	Minor	Technical
1	Drug Possession and Distribution	Traffic Violations (e.g., Driving without a License)	Violation of General Conditions
2	Immigration Offenses	Drunk and Disorderly	Use of Drugs
3	Assault	Simple Assault	Absconding
4	Firearm Offenses	Petty Theft	Willful Non-Payment of Court-Imposed Obligation
5	Larceny	Driving Under the Influence	—

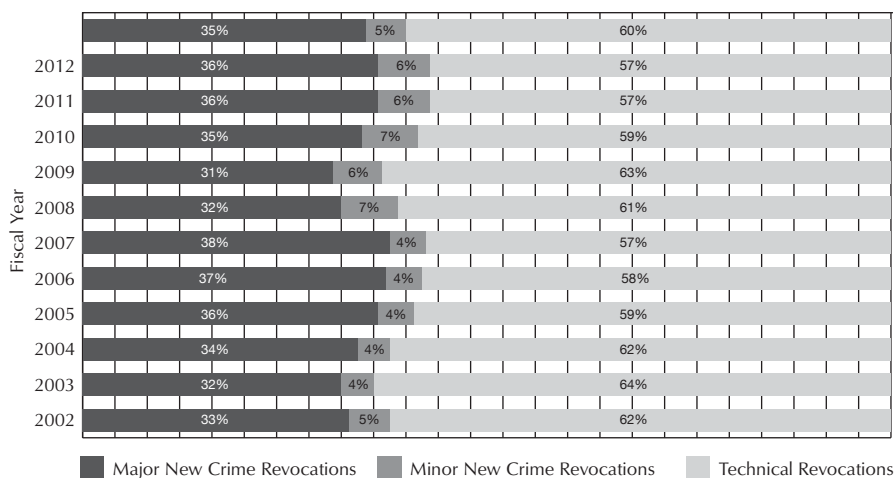
Source: Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Decision Support System, Washington, DC.

new crimes; is held accountable for victim, family, community, and other court-imposed responsibilities; and prepares for continued success through improvements in his or her conduct and condition.”³⁹ Officers employ a variety of tools to promote the desired outcome, but all are based on the risk, need, and responsivity principles demonstrated by social science research to be effective in reducing recidivism.⁴⁰ According to the risk principle, the level of correctional intervention should match the client’s risk of recidivism.⁴¹ Under the need principle, correctional interventions should target known and changeable predictors of recidivism (also referred to as “criminogenic needs”).⁴² Finally, according to the responsivity principle, interventions should involve the treatment modality most capable of addressing the criminogenic need found in the case. To increase the likelihood of positive effects on clients’ behaviors, interventions must also be delivered in a style and mode specifically suited to the supervisee’s learning styles and abilities. Responsivity factors may be relevant not because they predict criminal conduct, but because they affect how supervision and treatment services are delivered and received by the supervisee.

The most advanced risk and needs assessment instruments incorporate the principles of risk, need, and responsivity by addressing all three components: 1) whom to target for correctional intervention, 2) what needs to address, and 3) how to remove barriers to successful implementation of a supervision and treatment plan. To enhance officers’ professional assessment of a case and supervision plan development, the federal probation system now has an additional actuarial tool, complementing the Risk Prediction Index. The new instrument is called the Post Conviction Risk Assessment (PCRA), and has been described in more detail in other peer-reviewed journals and in *Federal Probation*.⁴³

To further address need and responsivity issues, the system also has a formal training program for officers called Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Rearrest (STARR). Social science research has demonstrated that the most effective approach for changing behavior in the community supervision context is through cognitive-behavioral techniques, which involve exercises and instructions designed to alter the dysfunctional thinking patterns exhibited by many supervisees. Likewise, research suggests that the quality and nature of the relationship between the client and the supervision officer have an impact on

FIGURE 4.
Percentage of Major New Crime, Minor New Crime, and Technical Revocations



Source: Judicial Business of the U.S. Courts, Table E-7A; Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Decision Support System, Washington, DC.

at 30 percent.³⁴ More recently, the system also began reporting supervisees’ felony rearrest rate for the three-year period following commencement of supervision (24 percent) and the three-year period after terminating supervision (18 percent).³⁵ The federal supervisee recidivism rate, using the broad definition of revocation on any charge or felony rearrest regardless if that arrest results in a conviction or reincarceration, has been independently computed at 30 percent.³⁶

E. FEDERAL SUPERVISION STRATEGIES AND PRACTICES

In the states, recidivism rates average between 43 and 67 percent, and supervision violators constitute a third of the persons admitted to state correctional facilities.³⁷ That leaves the federal recidivism rate somewhere between 13 and 37 percentage points below those of

the states, and leaves violators as new prison admissions between 18 and 25 percentage points lower in the federal system.

Many things may explain the difference between the state and federal statistics, including factors outside the control of the agencies involved. The relatively positive outcomes produced by the federal system, however, are consistent with, and logically related to, the stated objectives of the federal judiciary’s policies and procedures. The results also reflect the financial investment made in the probation and pretrial services system by Congress and the Judiciary, as well as rehabilitation work undertaken by the BOP, despite the BOP’s overcrowding issues and pressures on staff.³⁸

Under judiciary policy, federal probation officers are responsible for promoting “the successful completion of the term of supervision, during which the offender commits no

outcomes.⁴⁴ STARR builds on officers' existing communication skills, use of authority, and ability to impart cognitive restructuring strategies to supervisees. STARR, and its demonstrated ability to reduce recidivism, has also been featured in other peer-reviewed journals and in *Federal Probation*.⁴⁵

The PCRA and STARR complement many district-based initiatives, such as re-entry courts, assorted cognitive behavioral programs, and specialized employment and vocational training for supervisees.⁴⁶ Although the amounts disbursed were reduced significantly with sequestration, each district continues to receive funds for traditional mental health and substance abuse services for supervisees whose condition requires it, but who are unable to pay on their own. Collectively, the federal judiciary dedicated more than a \$100 million in fiscal year 2012, above and beyond probation officer salaries and expenses, in an effort to reduce the criminogenic factors of persons under federal supervision.⁴⁷

Federal probation officers are also encouraged by judiciary policy to provide positive incentives for change.⁴⁸ As risk issues are addressed and supervisees meet their objectives, officers respond to such positive changes with graduated reductions in the level of supervision—up to and including early termination of supervision.⁴⁹ Under 18 U.S.C. §§ 3564(c) and 3583(e) (1), the court may terminate terms of probation in misdemeanor cases at any time and terms of supervised release or probation in felony cases after the expiration of one year of supervision if satisfied that such action is warranted by the conduct of a supervisee and is in the interest of justice. Policy directs officers to consider the suitability of early termination for supervisees as soon as they are statutorily eligible.⁵⁰ Recently, staff at the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts completed a study examining the effectiveness of the judiciary's guidance to probation officers on recommending appropriate cases for early termination. The report confirmed that the policies allow officers to make responsible decisions about which supervisee to recommend for early termination (see Baber & Johnson, 2013, appearing in this issue of *Federal Probation*; full reference in Footnote 51).⁵¹

While the desired outcome is that persons under supervision change for the better, based on supervisees' risk profile, that may not always be possible. As noted earlier, the overall risk level of the supervisee population has been increasing steadily. A recent snapshot has shown that, on average, persons under supervision have five prior arrests; 16 percent violated a previous term of federal, state, or

local community supervision, and 8 percent have a history of absconding.⁵²

Nearly 9 in 10 supervisees have been convicted of a felony-level offense, most involving drug trafficking, property crimes, firearms, or a crime of violence.⁵³ The majority of supervisees (83 percent) are not on probation but supervised release or another form of post-incarceration supervision.⁵⁴ The average prison term was 60 months for supervisees sentenced to supervised release terms between January 12, 2005, and fiscal year 2009.⁵⁵ While in custody, the supervisees were separated from family and any positive community ties they may have had, and were housed in the very same overcrowded institutions that are recognized now as a problem.

Close to half (43 percent) of supervisees have a history of alcohol abuse and more than a quarter have used opiates. Mental health issues plague 27 percent of the population, and 10 percent have a history of domestic violence.⁵⁶

Almost one in five supervisees are actively engaged in criminal thinking and manifest antisocial values, while 80 percent have a person in their life currently engaged in or promoting drug use or other criminal activity.⁵⁷ At the start of supervision, 34 percent of supervisees were unemployed, and at some point in their supervision terms 60 percent will have a problem with underemployment, employment stability, or the workplace not being conducive to a law-abiding lifestyle. Many supervisees are in debt, owing restitution and child support among other things, and 19 percent require basic housing and transportation services.⁵⁸

Overcoming such entrenched criminal involvement and criminogenic risk is a challenge for the federal probation and pretrial services system. Fortunately, nearly half of supervisees coming under supervision also have access to a prosocial support network, such as a well-adjusted family member, a socially responsible friend, or a caring mentor. An equal number of supervisees are said by their probation officer to be earnestly motivated to change.⁵⁹ Those positive traits, leveraged by probation staff with considerable skill and training,⁶⁰ may explain—in part—the relatively positive results in the federal system.

F. THE FEDERAL APPROACH TO NONCOMPLIANCE

Probation officers' response to noncompliance, new crime and technical alike, is guided by the policies of the Judicial Conference of the United States, the U.S. Sentencing Commission,

and the judge with jurisdiction over the case.⁶¹ Federal policy does not afford much discretion when it comes to felony-level new crime violations. Such violations "shall promptly" be reported by probation officers to the court.⁶² If the court finds the violations proven, the court "shall" revoke supervision and order the supervisee imprisoned between 4 and 63 months, depending on the nature of the violation and the supervisee's original offense and criminal history.⁶³ In instances where the proven violation relates to possession of a firearm, a controlled substance, refusal to participate in drug testing, or repeatedly testing positive for illicit drug use, revocation is mandatory.⁶⁴

In contrast, probation officers have more discretion when dealing with misdemeanor new crime and technical violations. The violations do not have to be reported to the court if the "[probation] officer determines (1) that such violation is minor, and not part of a continuing pattern of violations; and (2) that non-reporting will not present an undue risk to an individual or the public or be inconsistent with any directive of the court relative to reporting violations."⁶⁵ However, even if such violations are not reported to the court, probation officers are still required to take timely and proportional action in response to the violations.⁶⁶ Officers can act within existing conditions of supervision conditions or seek to have the conditions modified by the court with the consent with the supervisee.⁶⁷ But the preferred response is community-based rather than prison-based sanctioning.⁶⁸

Probation offices and courts consider numerous complex and context-specific factors when deciding how to respond to non-compliance. Therefore, it is difficult to draw categorical conclusions about when revocation is appropriate. According to judiciary policy, each intervention in response to noncompliance should be individually tailored to relate to the nature and degree of the noncompliant behavior and to the context in which the behavior occurs. Contextual elements to be evaluated include the past history of the supervisee, his or her overall adjustment during this period of supervision, and the circumstances surrounding the current instance of noncompliance.⁶⁹ Another factor is the uneven availability of rehabilitative services and sanctioning facilities. For example, some districts have access to quality-intense treatment programs, halfway houses, and day-reporting centers, while other districts do not or not to the same degree.⁷⁰

Because of these factors, an intervention used for one supervisee may not be

appropriate for another supervisee even if both engaged in the same conduct. While community-based interventions are preferred for technical violations, there are exceptions, such as when the possible intervention is not available,⁷¹ where a pattern in the supervisee's past has been associated with a significant and imminent public safety threat, or where there is repeated noncompliance after less-intrusive community-based interventions have failed.⁷²

The ultimate objective for officers is to apply the general principles of managing noncompliance to the individual case. Those supervising supervisees always need to individualize the response and to be prepared for exceptions to the rules.⁷³ All responses to noncompliance that involve substantive changes to the terms or conditions of supervision are subject to the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure and require the supervisee's consent, or a court order after the supervisee is afforded a host of procedural protections.⁷⁴

The probation officers' response to minor and technical violations must be both "controlling" and "correctional."⁷⁵ According to judiciary policy, "controlling strategies" serve the dual purpose of: (1) maintaining awareness of a supervisee's activities and (2) encouraging compliance. "Correctional strategies" are designed to provide the supervisee with additional information, skills, resources, and treatment for the purpose of facilitating positive behavioral change during the period of supervision and beyond. This two-pronged approach simultaneously provides a punitive consequence designed to deter further noncompliance and offers the supervisee the means to change his or her behavior over the long term.⁷⁶

Examples of "controlling" community-based sanctions are home detention, imposition of a curfew, issuing a verbal or written reprimand, and intensifying reporting requirements. "Correctional" interventions include enhanced rehabilitative programming and treatment referrals. Two cases selected from the districts of Montana and the District of Columbia demonstrate the use of correctional and controlling interventions. Although the outcomes in the cases are different, they are representative of the use of interim sanctions across the country and the effort to avoid the use of costly incarceration (that would further burden the BOP).

Defendant #1 was convicted of firearms violations and, with a history of substance abuse and mental health problems, repeatedly failed to follow probation officer

instructions, missed treatment sessions and used alcohol despite an abstinence condition imposed by the court. Working together, the court and probation officer developed a response to the noncompliance that did not require imprisonment but rather 4 months home detention. The defendant was also required to read and report on books related to personal responsibility, and to maintain a written calendar with the times and dates of all treatment sessions clearly highlighted. Although there have been some minor setbacks, the defendant has been generally compliant and remains under supervision.

Defendant #2 was convicted of crack cocaine and firearms offenses. He was resistant to the probation officer's efforts to secure him full-time employment. The defendant also interfered with efforts to test him for drug use, and eventually he was found to be using cocaine. Working with the court, the probation office developed a comprehensive, prison alternative, response. The response included 90 days of (electronic) location monitoring, overt surveillance, increased office reporting and drug testing, coupled with outpatient and in-house drug treatment and referrals to support groups. Unfortunately, the defendant persisted in his cocaine use and remained resistant to supervision, and his supervision term was revoked.

These cases are not atypical. An examination of a sample of cases, including all cases closed in five districts during 2012, indicated that 65 percent of supervisees had some degree of noncompliance during their supervision term. Only a third of those supervisees were ultimately revoked and returned to prison. The vast majority were brought back into compliance without resorting to incarceration. Consistent with the graduated nature of the sanction system in the federal courts, most supervisees—88 percent—were exposed to controlling and correctional strategies that operated within their initially imposed conditions.

G. COST CONSIDERATIONS TO REVOCATIONS

Alternatives to incarceration are an effective part of the federal judiciary's response to supervisee noncompliance, and using them produces considerable cost savings and greater potential for supervisee long-term rehabilitation. The most recent figures indicate that incarceration is nine times more expensive than community supervision, and a term of supervision in lieu of prison saves \$25,600 a

year per supervisee.⁷⁷ Community supervision also has the collateral benefit of allowing a supervisee to maintain employment and family connections and to participate in community-based treatment.

In addition, when supervisee rehabilitation does occur, the benefits to society go beyond avoiding the cost of new crimes and incarceration. Supervisees contribute to their communities through paying taxes, supporting dependents rather than relying on welfare, satisfying ordered financial penalties, and performing community service. Although computations are complicated when supervisees transfer across districts, available data indicate that the supervisees completing supervision in fiscal year 2012 paid in the vicinity of \$645 million in restitution, fines, and assessments. The supervisees also contributed \$4 million worth of community service, applying the current minimum wage to their more than 600,000 hours of service. And assuming conservatively that the persons who completed supervision successfully paid \$3,000 in taxes (income, sales, real estate), another \$115 million is added to the total.

H. OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Clearly, the probation system cannot unilaterally solve the BOP's overcrowding problem.⁷⁸ The number of persons revoked from supervision and returned back to the BOP is relatively small when compared to other drivers of the prison population.⁷⁹ However, although it is not a major contributor to the overcrowding problem, the probation and pretrial services system can play a role in alleviating it. The Urban Institute stated in a recent study: "While some aspects of the federal system differ from the states, many lessons can be learned from the state experience. Chief among them is the need for the federal government to enhance its community corrections capabilities and resources as it develops strategies to contain its institutional population and accompanying costs."⁸⁰

The probation system could assume responsibility for inmates released early pursuant to a new statute or in response to policy changes in the Department of Justice allowing for greater community placement.⁸¹ Such an approach has been implemented recently to address budget crises at the state level. There are examples where states have strategically shifted correctional resources from prison to community corrections, reducing overall corrections costs and crime. The Department of Justice has expressed support for such

measures.⁸² The probation system could also serve as a greater sentencing option, with more defendants being sentenced directly to supervision terms rather than to prison.⁸³ The fact is that supervision offers a lot of appeal: an opportunity for defendants to rehabilitate and redeem themselves, the ability to quickly detect and respond to changes in criminogenic risk, and enforcement of community-based punitive conditions (e.g., fines, community service, house arrest, employment restrictions), all at a relatively low cost.

There are risks and benefits to these suggestions. Most would agree that imprisonment carries a greater punitive and incapacitation punch than does supervision, but it is costly and may make some offenders worse in the long run.⁸⁴ On the other hand, supervision is relatively inexpensive and offers a degree of deterrence and incapacitation,⁸⁵ but the community is at greater immediate risk of harm from a wayward supervisee than it is from an inmate behind bars. The challenge is correctly determining which sentencing option or combination of options will produce the best result. That daunting task rests with U.S. district court judges. Even if judges were inclined to use supervision more often to alleviate prison overcrowding and further the goals of sentencing generally, their discretion is currently limited by statutes, advisory guidelines, and procedural rules that suggest and in some cases mandate lengthy custody terms and prohibit judges from revisiting a prison sentence once it is imposed.⁸⁶

Another complicating fact in relation to expanding the role of community supervision is that sequestration and other financial reductions are reducing the capacity of the probation and pretrial services system. Specifically, staffing and treatment resources have been on the decline.⁸⁷ The system's ability to promote positive behavioral change and to timely detect noncompliance will diminish over time, especially if programs like PCRA and STARR cannot be maintained and officers are saddled with large caseloads populated by higher-risk supervisees. The Vera Institute noted that "[w]ithout funds sufficient to ensure that people are receiving appropriate and individualized supervision, communities may see high failure rates, increased victimization, and delayed rather than avoided costs as understaffed agencies return [supervisees] to costly jail and prison beds on technical violations of probation or parole conditions or rules."⁸⁸ In addition, with less money to spend on alternative sanctions for violations, it is possible that

courts may be forced to revoke more rather than fewer supervisees, even if the overall supervision population remains unchanged.

One source for optimism, however, is that the savings from using supervision in lieu of incarceration is substantial, amounting to tens of thousands of dollars per case.⁸⁹ Those savings could be drawn upon by Congress and the agencies involved to experiment with greater use and innovation in community supervision, ideally better protecting the public, reducing costs, and alleviating overcrowding at the BOP.

References

- Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Office of Probation and Pretrial Services. *An Overview of Federal Post Conviction Risk Assessment*. September 2011, http://www.uscourts.gov/uscourts/FederalCourts/PPS/PCRA_Sep_2011.pdf
- Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*. Posted on JNET (federal judiciary intranet).
- Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts. National Probation Automated Case Tracking System (PACTS) Database and Decision Support System (DSS). Washington, DC.
- Baber, L. "Results-based Framework for Post-conviction Supervision Recidivism Analysis." *Federal Probation*, 74, no. 3 (2010).
- Baber, L.M., and J. L. Johnson. "Early Termination of Supervision: No Compromise to Community Safety." *Federal Probation*, 77, no. 2 (2013).
- Byrne, J., A. Gelb, and J. Horowitz. *Maximum Impact: Targeting Supervision on Higher-Risk People, Places and Times*. Washington, DC: Pew Center for the States, 2009.
- Carson, E., and W. Sabol. *Prisoners in 2011*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2012.
- Devers, L. *Plea and Charge Bargaining, Research Summary*. Arlington, Virginia: CSR, Inc., 2011.
- Dowden, C., and D.A. Andrews. "The Importance of Staff Practices in Delivering Effective Correctional Treatment: A Meta-analytic Review of Core Correctional Practices." *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 48 (2004): 203-214.
- Drazga-Maxfield, L., M. Harer, T. Drisko, C. Kitchens, and S. Meacham. *Measuring Recidivism: The Criminal History Computation of the Federal Sentencing Guidelines*. Washington, DC: U.S. Sentencing Commission, 2004.
- Eaglin, J., S. Gilbert, L. Hooper, and P. Lombard. *Descriptive Information About Offenders Grouped by Their RPI Scores*. Washington, DC: Federal Judicial Center, 1997.
- Federal Bureau of Prisons. *About the Bureau of Prisons*. Washington, DC, 2011, <http://www.bop.gov/news/PDFs/ipaabout.pdf>.
- Federal Bureau of Prisons. *Weekly Population Report*. Washington, DC, 2013, http://www.bop.gov/locations/weekly_report.jsp.
- Federal Defenders of New York, Eastern and Southern Districts of New York. *Information for Clients and Families, Supervised Release*. Posted 2013, <http://federaldefendersny.org/information-for-client-and-families/supervised-release.html>.
- Government Accountability Office. *Bureau of Prisons: Evaluating the Impact of Protective Equipment Could Help Enhance Officer Safety*. Washington, DC, 2011.
- Government Accountability Office. *Bureau of Prisons: Growing Inmate Crowding Negatively Affecting Inmates, Staff and Infrastructure*. Washington, DC, 2012.
- Hansen, C. "Cognitive-Behavioral Interventions: Where They Come From and What They Do." *Federal Probation*, 72, no. 2 (September 2008).
- Hughes, T., and D. Wilson. *Reentry Trends in the United States*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2003.
- Johnson, James L., Christopher T. Lowenkamp, Scott W. VanBenschoten, and Charles R. Robinson. "The Construction and Validation of the Federal Post Conviction Risk Assessment (PCRA)." *Federal Probation Journal*, 75, no. 2 (September 2011).
- Judicial Business of the U.S. Courts. www.uscourts.gov.
- Kent, C. "OPPS Releases Search and Seizure Data for Calendar Year 2012." *News & Views*. Washington, DC: Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, April 1, 2013.
- King, R., M. Mauer, and M. Young. *Incarceration and Crime: A Complex Relationship*. Washington, DC: The Sentencing Project, 2005.
- Langan, P., and D. Levin. *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2002.
- LaVigne, N., and J. Samuels. *The Growth & Increasing Cost of the Federal Prison System: Drivers and Potential Solutions*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2012.
- Levitt, S.D. "The Effect of Prison Population Size on Crime Rates: Evidence from Prison Overcrowding Litigation." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 111, no. 2 (1996).
- Lowenkamp, C., A. Holsinger, C. Robinson, and M. Alexander. "Diminishing or Durable Treatment Effects of STARR? A Research Note on 24-Month Re-Arrest Rates." *Journal of Crime and Justice* (2012), <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0735648X.2012.753849>

- Lowenkamp, C., J. Johnson, A. Holsinger, S. VanBenschoten, and C. Robinson. "The Federal Post Conviction Risk Assessment (PCRA): A Construction and Validation Study." *Psychological Services* (2013).
- MacKenzie, Doris Layton. "Evidence-Based Crime Prevention." *Reducing the Criminal Activities of Known Offenders and Delinquents*. Ed. David Farrington, Doris Layton Mackenzie, Lawrence Sherman, and Brandon C. Welsh. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- MacKenzie, Doris Layton. *What Works in Corrections: Reducing the Criminal Activities of Offenders and Delinquents*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Mallik-Kane, K., B. Parthasarathy, and W. Adams. *Examining Growth in the Federal Prison Population, 1998 to 2010*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2012.
- Marvel, T., and C. Moody. "Prison Population and Crime Reduction." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 10: 109–139.
- McGarrell, E., N. Kroovand-Hipple, N. Corsaro, T. Bynum, H. Perez, C. Zimmermann, and M. Garmo. *Project Safe Neighborhoods—A National Program to Reduce Gun Crime: Final Project Report*. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan State University, 2009.
- McGarry, P., A. Shames, A. Yaroni, K. Tamis, R. Subramanian, L.B. Eisen, L. Digard, R. Delaney, and S. Sullivan. *The Potential of Community Corrections To Improve Communities and Reduce Incarceration*. New York, NY: Vera Institute of Justice, 2013, <http://www.vera.org/sites/default/files/resources/downloads/potential-of-community-corrections.pdf>.
- Motivans, M. *Immigration Offenders in the Federal Justice System, 2010*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2012.
- Motivans, M., and T. Kyckelhahn. *Federal Prosecution of Child Sex Exploitation Offenders, 2006*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2007.
- Myfoxmemphis.com. "Feds cracking down on repeat offenders." Posted April 3, 2013, updated April 10, 2013, <http://www.myfoxmemphis.com/story/21872408/feds-cracking-down-on-repeat-offenders>
- Nagin, D., F. Cullen, C. Jonson. "Imprisonment and Reoffending." *Crime and Justice*, 38, no. 1 (2009), 115–200.
- Oleson, J.C., S. VanBenschoten, C. Robinson, C. Lowenkamp, and A. Holsinger. "Actuarial and Clinical Assessment of Criminogenic Needs: Identifying Supervision Priorities Among Federal Probation Officers." *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 35 (2012).
- Petersilia, Joan. "Community Corrections: Probation, Parole, and Prisoner Reentry." *Crime and Public Policy*. Ed. James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Pew Center on the States. *State of Recidivism: The Revolving Door of America's Prisons*. Washington, DC: The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2011.
- Piehl, Anne Morrison, and Bert Useem. "Prisons," in *Crime and Public Policy*. Ed. James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Rhodes, W., C. Dyou, R. Kling, D. Hunt, and J. Luallen. *Recidivism of Offenders on Federal Community Supervision*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Abt Associates, 2012.
- Robinson, C.R., S.W. VanBenschoten, M. Alexander, and C.T. Lowenkamp. "A Random (Almost) Study of Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest (STARR): Reducing Recidivism through Intentional Design." *Federal Probation*, 75, no. 2 (September 2011).
- Robinson, C., C. Lowenkamp, C. Holsinger, S. VanBenschoten, M. Alexander, and J.C. Oleson. "A Random Study of Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest (STARR): Using Core Correctional Practices in Probation Interactions." *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 35 (2012).
- Rowland, Matthew G. Letter to chief U.S. probation and pretrial services officers, dated May 17, 2013, on federal judiciary intranet (JNET), <http://jnet.ao.dcn/sites/default/files/pdf/PPSAD13002.pdf>.
- Sabol, W., and J. McGready. *Time Served in Prison by Federal Offenders, 1986–97*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1999.
- "Top 100 Biggest Cities (2013)." <http://www.city-data.com/top1.html>.
- U.S. Attorney's Office—Eastern District of Virginia. Project Exile, http://www.ojdp.gov/pubs/gun_violence/profile38.html
- U.S. Department of Justice. *Fiscal Year 2013 Budget Request: Prisons and Detention Fact Sheet*. Washington, DC, 2012.
- U.S. Department of Justice. Office of the Inspector General. Evaluation and Inspections Division. *The Federal Bureau of Prisons' Compassionate Release Program*. April 2013, <http://www.justice.gov/oig/reports/2013/e1306.pdf>.
- U.S. Department of Justice. *Federal Prison System, FY 2013 Congressional Budget, Buildings and Facilities*. Washington, DC, 2013, <http://www.justice.gov/jmd/2013factsheets/prison-detention.pdf>
- U.S. Sentencing Commission. *Federal Offenders Sentenced to Supervised Release*. Washington, DC, 2010.
- U.S. Sentencing Commission. *Federal Sentencing Guidelines* (Washington, DC: 2012).
- U.S. Sentencing Commission. *Overview of Statutory Mandatory Minimum Sentences*. Washington, DC: 2009, http://www.usc.gov/Legislative_and_Public_Affairs/Congressional_Testimony_and_Reports/Submissions/20090710_StC_Mandatory_Minimum.pdf.
- U.S. Sentencing Commission. *2010 Sourcebook of Federal Sentencing Statistics*.
- U.S. Sentencing Commission. Notice of Proposed Priorities, #7, "Undertaking a multi-year review of federal sentencing practices pertaining to violations of conditions of probation and supervised release, including possible consideration of amending the policy statements in Chapter Seven of the Guidelines Manual," http://www.usc.gov/Legal/Federal_Register_Notices/20130530_FR_Proposed_Priorities.pdf
- Vance, S. "Federal Re-entry Court Programs: A Summary of Recent Evaluations." *Federal Probation*, 75, no. 2 (September 2011).
- Vincent, B., and P. Hofer. *The Consequences of Mandatory Minimum Prison Terms: A Summary of Recent Findings*. Washington, DC: Federal Judicial Center, 1994, [http://www.fjc.gov/public/pdf.nsf/lookup/conmanmin.pdf/\\$file/conmanmin.pdf](http://www.fjc.gov/public/pdf.nsf/lookup/conmanmin.pdf/$file/conmanmin.pdf).
- Visher, C., N. Smolter, and D. O'Connell. "Workforce Development Program: A Pilot Study in Delaware." *Federal Probation*, 74, no. 3 (December 2010).
- West, H., and W. Sabol. *Prisoners in 2007*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2012.
- Woods, James. A., Statistics Division, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts. Memo, June 10, 2013.
- Wroblewski, Jonathan, Department of Justice. Letter to Sentencing Commission. July 11, 2013, p. 13, <http://www.justice.gov/criminal/foia/docs/2013annual-letter-final-071113.pdf>.

Endnotes

1. The author would like to thank Nancy Beatty and Stephen Vance of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts (AO) for their input on this article and the AO's Dong Nguyen and Ann Meeker of the District of Kansas for assisting in the collection of data.

2. Supervision violators constituted 5.3 percent of the inmate population in 1998, and 3.4 percent in 2010. K. Mallik-Kane, B. Parthasarathy, and W. Adams, *Examining Growth in the Federal Prison Population, 1998 to 2010* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2012), p. 5, Table 1. See also U.S. Sentencing Commission, *Federal Offenders Sentenced to Supervised Release* (Washington, DC, 2010), p. 69 ("According to data provided by the BOP [...], at the end of calendar year 2009 [...], there were 207,815 federal inmates in BOP custody serving sentences of imprisonment; slightly more than six percent [...] of them were serving prison sentences imposed after revocation of their terms of supervised release.")

3. For purposes of simplicity, this article refers to all persons under post-conviction as "supervisees." In reality, the system supervises: probationers; supervised releases; military

parolees; civilian parolees; mandatory releases; juvenile delinquents; persons conditionally discharged (incompetent to stand trial, etc.), and sexually dangerous persons.

4. Federal Bureau of Prisons, *About the Bureau of Prisons* (Washington, DC, 2011), <http://www.bop.gov/news/PDFs/ipaabout.pdf>. See also H. West and W. Sabol, *Prisoners in 2007* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2012), Table 1; Federal Bureau of Prisons, *Weekly Population Report* (Washington, DC, 2013).

5. W. Sabol and J. McGready, *Time Served in Prison by Federal Offenders, 1986–97* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1999); N. LaVigne and J. Samuels, *The Growth & Increasing Cost of the Federal Prison System: Drivers and Potential Solutions* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2012).

6. Federal Bureau of Prisons, *Weekly Population Report* (Washington, DC, 2013); “Top 100 Biggest Cities (2013)” <http://www.city-data.com/top1.html>

7. Government Accountability Office, *Bureau of Prisons: Growing Inmate Crowding Negatively Affecting Inmates, Staff and Infrastructure* (Washington, DC, 2012); Government Accountability Office, *Bureau of Prisons: Evaluating the Impact of Protective Equipment Could Help Enhance Officer Safety* (Washington, DC, 2011) (“From fiscal year 2000 through 2010, assaults on staff in BOP facilities increased from 1,188 to 1,696. During this same period, the number of inmates per BOP staff member increased from 4.13 in fiscal year 2000 to 4.82”); U.S. Department of Justice, *Fiscal Year 2013 Budget Request: Prisons and Detention Fact Sheet* (Washington, DC, 2012); U.S. Department of Justice, *Federal Prison System, FY 2013 Congressional Budget, Buildings and Facilities* (Washington, DC, 2013), <http://www.justice.gov/jmd/2013factsheets/prison-detention.pdf>

8. For various reasons, it is difficult to definitively say if the promotion of community safety has been achieved at a reasonable price. See S.D. Levitt, “The Effect of Prison Population Size on Crime Rates: Evidence from Prison Overcrowding Litigation,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 111, no. 2 (1996): 319–351 (“While calculations of the costs of crime are inherently uncertain, it appears that the social benefits associated with crime reduction equal or exceed the social costs of incarceration for the marginal prisoner.”); R. King, M. Mauer, and M. Young, *Incarceration and Crime: A Complex Relationship* (Washington, DC: The Sentencing Project, 2005) (“While incarceration is one factor affecting crime rates, its impact is more modest than many proponents suggest, and is increasingly subject to diminishing returns.”); T. Marvel and C. Moody, “Prison Population and Crime Reduction,” *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 10: 109–139 (reviewing 44 studies on the impact

of prison populations on crime and concluding that “[r]esearchers reach extremely disparate estimates concerning this impact”); Anne Morrison Piehl and Bert Useem, “Prisons,” in *Crime and Public Policy*, ed. James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 541 (“To the extent that higher rates of incarceration cause reductions in crime, expanding the use of prison has practical social value.... The size of the impact is likely to depend on the scale of imprisonment. Expansions of prison populations will add to deterrence, but if deterrence is already high, then its impact on crime may be low. Similarly, prison expansion will increase incapacitation, but if these expansions involve less serious offenders, either by expanding the categories of crime or by the inclusion of less serious offenders within crime type, again the practical gains may be small. And some authors argue that expansions of prison will lead to increases in crime rates, as the community disruption impacts swamp the other mechanisms.... The crucial issue is not whether some negative effects occur in communities; they most certainly do.... Rather, the key question for the policy debate is whether those effects overwhelm the crime-reducing mechanisms of prison—deterrence and incapacitation—which also most certainly occur under present conditions.”); Doris Layton MacKenzie, *What Works in Corrections: Reducing the Criminal Activities of Offenders and Delinquents* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 36 (“[H]as the dramatic increase in correctional populations been associated with a corresponding decrease in the crime rate? The answer is not clear.... Although almost everyone acknowledges that the increased incarceration rates have had some effect on decreasing crime rates, a great deal of controversy exists about the size of the impact.... The majority of the studies examining the effect of incapacitation demonstrate a small but positive effect in reducing crime.... Debates continue about whether the reduction in crime is worth the additional costs for building and maintaining prisons... and whether there are other more cost-effective methods of crime reduction.”).

9. K. Mallik-Kane, B. Parthasarathy, and W. Adams, *Examining Growth in the Federal Prison Population, 1998 to 2010* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2012) (“This period of growth coincided with several major federal initiatives, including the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984, which introduced mandatory federal sentencing guidelines, implemented an 85 percent truth-in-sentencing requirement, and abolished discretionary parole. Other reforms, such as the Anti-Drug Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988, increased statutory penalties, particularly for drug offenders. These and other lengthy mandatory sentencing requirements continued to affect federal prison population growth through the 1990s and 2000s.”).

10. Federal Bureau of Prisons, *About the Bureau of Prisons* (Washington, DC, 2011), <http://www.bop.gov/news/PDFs/ipaabout.pdf>; M. Motivans and T. Kyckelhahn, *Federal Prosecution of Child Sex Exploitation Offenders, 2006* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2007) (“Child sex offenses among the fastest growing offenses of the Federal criminal caseload”).

11. K. Mallik-Kane, B. Parthasarathy, and W. Adams, *Examining Growth in the Federal Prison Population, 1998 to 2010* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2012), 1–2.

12. E. Carson and W. Sabol, *Prisoners in 2011* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2012), Table 12 (admissions data for 2011); N. LaVigne and J. Samuels, *The Growth & Increasing Cost of the Federal Prison System: Drivers and Potential Solutions* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2012), 5.

13. The average prison term upon revocation in 2010 was 10 months, and that average has held consistent for the past decade, with the mode sentence being 6 months. Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, National PACTS Reporting Database. The average sentence for new federal convictions under the sentencing guidelines in 2010 was 44.3 months. U.S. Sentencing Commission, *2010 Sourcebook of Federal Sentencing Statistics*, Table 13; K. Mallik-Kane, B. Parthasarathy, and W. Adams, *Examining Growth in the Federal Prison Population, 1998 to 2010* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2012), 5, Table 1 (Supervision violators constituted 5.3 percent of the supervisee population in 1998, and 3.4 percent in 2010); U.S. Sentencing Commission, *Federal Offenders Sentenced to Supervised Release* (Washington, DC, 2010), 69 (“According to data provided by the BOP [...], at the end of calendar year 2009 [...], there were 207,815 federal inmates in BOP custody serving sentences of imprisonment; slightly more than six percent [...] of them were serving prison sentences imposed after revocation of their terms of supervised release.”).

14. U.S. Sentencing Commission, Notice of Proposed Priorities, #7, “Undertaking a multi-year review of federal sentencing practices pertaining to violations of conditions of probation and supervised release, including possible consideration of amending the policy statements in Chapter Seven of the Guidelines Manual,” http://www.uscc.gov/Legal/Federal_Register_Notices/20130530_FR_Proposed_Priorities.pdf; Letter from Jonathan Wroblewski at the Department of Justice to Sentencing Commission, July 11, 2013, p. 13 (“We fully support the Commission’s review of recidivism and reoffending. We reiterate our hope that the review will focus in significant part on the circumstances under which offenders who violate their terms of supervised release have those terms of supervision revoked so that they are returned to federal prison.”), <http://www.justice.gov/criminal/>

foia/docs/2013annual-letter-final-071113.pdf; N. LaVigne and J. Samuels, *The Growth & Increasing Cost of the Federal Prisons System: Drivers and Potential Solutions* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2012), 6.

15. Judicial Business of the U.S. Courts (2002 and 2012), Table D-2.

16. Judicial Business of the U.S. Courts (2102), Table D-5.

17. Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, National Probation Automated Case Tracking System Database and Decision Support System (Washington, DC); see also, U.S. Sentencing Commission, *Federal Offenders Sentenced to Supervised Release* (Washington, DC, 2010) (“Specifically, 49.4 percent of unsuccessfully closed immigration cases involved revocation for a major violation [...] The high rate of unsuccessful closure (based on commission of a major violation) for immigration offenders appears to be explained by the large number of felony illegal reentry offenses committed by such non-citizen offenders whose supervision was reactivated upon their arrest in the United States.”), 68; M. Motivans, *Immigration Offenders in the Federal Justice System, 2010* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2012) (“Of immigration offenders first released from federal prison during 2007 following a U.S. district court commitment, 14% were readmitted to federal prison within 3 years. This was similar to a cohort of immigration offenders first released from federal prison during 2000, where 16% were readmitted to federal prison within 3 years.... As the window for observing returns to federal prison increases, the percentage of offenders returning to prison increases.”), 36.

18. Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, National Probation Automated Case Tracking System Database and Decision Support System (Washington, DC).

19. U.S.S.G. §5D1.1(c).

20. U.S.S.G. §5D1.1, Application Note 5.

21. Judicial Business of the U.S. Courts, Table E-2, 1997 and 2012.

22. Memo from James A. Woods, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Statistics Division, June 10, 2013 (figure reflects total cases supervised during the year).

23. E. McGarrell, N. Kroovand-Hipple, N. Corsaro, T. Bynum, H. Perez, C. Zimmermann, and M. Garmo, *Project Safe Neighborhoods—A National Program to Reduce Gun Crime: Final Project Report* (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan State University, 2009), iii (“Increased federal prosecution was intended to incapacitate chronic violent offenders as well as to communicate a credible deterrent threat to potential gun offenders.”); Project Exile, U.S. Attorney’s Office—Eastern District of Virginia (goal “[t]o reduce Richmond’s

homicide rate by detaining dangerous armed felons prior to trial and prosecuting them in Federal court.”), http://www.ojdp.gov/pubs/gun_violence/profile38.html; “Feds cracking down on repeat offenders,” myfoxmemphis.com, posted April 3, 2013, updated April 10, 2013, <http://www.myfoxmemphis.com/story/21872408/feds-cracking-down-on-repeat-offenders>.

24. The Risk Prediction Index takes into account various factors, including the supervisee’s criminal history, possession of a firearm in relation to the federal offense, the supervisee’s age, employment, and education, and marital status. See, J. Eaglin, S. Gilbert, L. Hooper, and P. Lombard, *Descriptive Information About Offenders Grouped by Their RPI Scores* (Washington, DC: Federal Judicial Center, 1997).

25. United States Sentencing Commission Sourcebook, fiscal years 1996 and 2011, Tables 20; L. Drazga-Maxfield, M. Harer, T. Drisko, C. Kitchens, and S. Meacham, *Measuring Recidivism: The Criminal History Computation of the Federal Sentencing Guidelines* (Washington, DC: U.S. Sentencing Commission, 2004), 10 (“Both [criminal history categories] and criminal history points predict recidivism, regardless of whether recidivism is measured with the primary definition or by a re-conviction only definition.... However, the most predictive result occurs when criminal history points are the measure used to predict the primary recidivism measure.”).

26. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, § 310.10(b), Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts (“Not all offenders require the same level of supervision to reach this goal [success under supervision and afterward]. It is the officer’s job to distinguish among them and to implement supervision strategies that are appropriately matched with the offender’s risks, needs, and strengths and neither more nor less intrusive than necessary to facilitate supervision goals. This is key to providing effective supervision that is individualized, proportional, and purposeful. It is also the essence of ‘working smart,’ by devoting the majority of officer time and system resources to the higher risk cases that need them most.”); J. Byrne, A. Gelb, and J. Horowitz, *Maximum Impact: Targeting Supervision on Higher-Risk People, Places and Times* (Washington, DC: Pew Center for the States, 2009), 3–4 (“There is considerable evidence that concentrating both services and supervision on these higher risk, higher rate offenders will result in significant reductions in crime and victimization.”).

27. 18 U.S.C. §§ 3603(2), 3603(3).

28. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, § 450.

29. C. Kent, “OPPS Releases Search and Seizure Data for Calendar Year 2012,” *News & Views* (Washington, DC: Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, April 1, 2013).

30. Various statutes and policies now require probation officers and police to share information. See, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act (VCCA) of 1994, 103rd Congress (1993–1994), H.R.3355, Sec. 20417: Notification of Release of Prisoners. The Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts has developed an automated system, called the Law Enforcement Notification System (LENS), to satisfy the requirements of the VCCA. In addition, the AO has developed another system, Access to Law Enforcement Automated Systems (ATLAS), so that probation officers can be notified by law enforcement if persons under supervision are being investigated, have been arrested, or were the victims of crime. The system works across jurisdictions, so the notification can occur even if the person under supervision has left (with or without permission) the judicial district.

31. Technical violations usually refer to conduct that is not criminal in and of itself, but rather impermissible based on the supervisee’s supervision status. Examples of technical violations include failure to report to a supervising probation officer, associating with known felons, and frequenting known drug and crime locations.

32. Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, National Probation Automated Case Tracking System Database and Decision Support System, Washington, DC.

33. L. Devers, *Plea and Charge Bargaining, Research Summary* (Arlington, Virginia: CSR, Inc., 2011), 1 (“While there are no exact estimates of the proportion of cases that are resolved through plea bargaining, scholars estimate that about 90 to 95 percent of both federal and state court cases are resolved through this process”), 1; Federal Defenders of New York, Eastern and Southern Districts of New York, *Information for Clients and Families, Supervised Release*, posted 2013, <http://federaldefendersny.org/information-for-client-and-families/supervised-release.html> (“In some cases, the parties can reach an agreement where the client will admit to one or more of the specifications, and the other specifications will be dismissed. In some cases, the judge will allow the specification to remain open or pending, to give the client an opportunity to improve his compliance with the terms of supervision. After a certain period of good behavior, sometimes violation specifications can be dismissed or withdrawn.”).

34. Judicial Business of the U.S. Courts, Table E-7A, Post-Conviction Cases Closed 12-Month Period Ending March 31, 2013, <http://www.uscourts.gov/uscourts/Statistics/JudicialBusiness/2012/appendices/E7ASep12.pdf>.

35. L. Baber, "Results-based Framework for Post-conviction Supervision Recidivism Analysis," *Federal Probation*, 74, no. 3 (2010) (updated statistics will be published in future editions of *Federal Probation*).
36. W. Rhodes, C. Dyou, R. Kling, D. Hunt, and J. Luallen, *Recidivism of Offenders on Federal Community Supervision* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Abt Associates, 2012).
37. Pew Center on the States, *State of Recidivism: The Revolving Door of America's Prisons* (Washington, DC: The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2011); P. Langan and D. Levin, *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2002); E. Carson and W. Sabol, *Prisoners in 2011* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2012), Table 12; T. Hughes and D. Wilson, *Reentry Trends in the United States* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2003) ("At least 95% of all State prisoners will be released from prison at some point; nearly 80% will be released to parole supervision").
38. See the large number of Federal Bureau of Prisons program evaluations and research reports on their website: http://www.bop.gov/news/research_reports.jsp.
39. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, Ch. 1, § 150(a).
40. *An Overview of Federal Post Conviction Risk Assessment*, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Office of Probation and Pretrial Services (September 2011), 2, footnote 5 (citing articles reporting on important research on risk, need, and responsivity), http://www.uscourts.gov/uscourts/FederalCourts/PPS/PCRA_Sep_2011.pdf; *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, Ch. 1, § 140(d) ("Officers carry out [their] responsibilities by assessing the risks, needs, and strengths of each offender to determine the appropriate level of supervision. They use skills from various disciplines to simultaneously monitor and, as necessary, control and correct offender behavior. These include the investigative skills of law enforcement and the treatment and service-delivery skills of social workers. Investigative skills are used for the primary purpose of planning for success rather than documenting failure. The primary focus of treatment and service-delivery skills is to improve circumstances that are linked to criminal behavior...").
41. *Ibid.*, 3 ("Higher-risk persons require more intensive services in order to reduce reoffending, while lower-risk persons need less intervention. The risk level is determined by the presence or absence of criminogenic factors, which are personal characteristics and circumstances statistically associated with an increased chance of recidivism. Research has shown that actuarial devices in combination with professional judgment are generally more accurate and consistent than professional judgment alone, which is based solely on the experience and individualized assessment of clinicians, probation officers, and other criminal justice professionals").
42. *Ibid.*, 3 ("Empirical research has shown that the needs most associated with criminal activity include procriminal attitudes, procriminal associates, impulsivity, substance abuse, and deficits in educational, vocational, and employment skills. While an assessment of overall risk suggests the level of correctional services that should be used, the assessment of criminogenic needs suggests the appropriate factors that should be changed in order to reduce recidivism. Though static factors such as criminal history are good predictors of offending, they do not identify what needs should be targeted to reduce reoffending").
43. C. Lowenkamp, J. Johnson, A. Holsinger, S. VanBenschoten, and C. Robinson, "The Federal Post Conviction Risk Assessment (PCRA): A Construction and Validation Study," *Psychological Services* (2013); J.C. Oleson, S. VanBenschoten, C. Robinson, C. Lowenkamp, and A. Holsinger, "Actuarial and Clinical Assessment of Criminogenic Needs: Identifying Supervision Priorities Among Federal Probation Officers," *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 35 (2012), 239; James L. Johnson, Christopher T. Lowenkamp, Scott W. VanBenschoten, and Charles R. Robinson, "The Construction and Validation of the Federal Post Conviction Risk Assessment (PCRA)," *Federal Probation*, 75, no. 2 (September 2011).
44. C. Dowden and D.A. Andrews, "The Importance of Staff Practices in Delivering Effective Correctional Treatment: A Meta-analytic Review of Core Correctional Practices," *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 48 (2004): 203-214.
45. C. Robinson, C. Lowenkamp, C. Holsinger, S. VanBenschoten, M. Alexander, and J.C. Oleson, "A Random Study of Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest (STARR): Using Core Correctional Practices in Probation Interactions," *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 35 (2012), 167; C. Lowenkamp, A. Holsinger, C. Robinson, and M. Alexander, "Diminishing or Durable Treatment Effects of STARR? A Research Note on 24-Month Re-Arrest Rates," *Journal of Crime and Justice* (2012), <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0735648X.2012.753849>; C.R. Robinson, S.W. VanBenschoten, M. Alexander, and C.T. Lowenkamp, "A Random (Almost) Study of Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest (STARR): Reducing Recidivism through Intentional Design," *Federal Probation*, 75, no. 2 (September 2011).
46. S. Vance, "Federal Re-entry Court Programs: A Summary of Recent Evaluations," *Federal Probation*, 75, no. 2 (September 2011); C. Hansen, "Cognitive-Behavioral Interventions: Where They Come From and What They Do," *Federal Probation*, 72, no. 2 (September 2008); C. Visher, N. Smolter, and D. O'Connell, "Workforce Development Program: A Pilot Study in Delaware," *Federal Probation*, 74, no. 3 (December 2010).
47. Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, National Probation Automated Case Tracking System Database and Decision Support System, Washington, DC.
48. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, § 170(d) (probation officers are to "... build on offenders' strengths, and provide offenders with incentives to change").
49. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, § 170(f) ("there is a rebuttable presumption that the intrusiveness and frequency of supervision activities will be reduced over time for stable, compliant offenders who are meeting their supervision objectives").
50. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, § 380.10(b).
51. L. M. Baber and J. L. Johnson, "Early Termination of Supervision: No Compromise to Community Safety," *Federal Probation*, 77, no. 2 (2013). Specifically, early-terminated supervisees were arrested within three years at approximately half the rate of their counterparts who served full terms (i.e., 10.2 percent for early terminated supervisees vs. 19.2 percent for similarly situated full-term supervisees). In fiscal year 2012, more than 7,000 supervisees were early terminated, saving the judiciary more than \$7.7 million.
52. W. Rhodes, C. Dyou, R. Kling, D. Hunt, and J. Luallen, *Recidivism of Offenders on Federal Community Supervision* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Abt Associates, 2012).
53. Judicial Business of the U.S. Courts, Fiscal Year 2012, Table E-3.
54. Judicial Business of the U.S. Courts, Fiscal Year 2012, Table E-2.
55. U.S. Sentencing Commission, *Federal Offenders Sentenced to Supervised Release* (Washington, DC, 2010), 50.
56. W. Rhodes, C. Dyou, R. Kling, D. Hunt, and J. Luallen, *Recidivism of Offenders on Federal Community Supervision* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Abt Associates, 2012), 3.
57. Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Electronic Reporting and Decision Support Systems.
58. W. Rhodes, C. Dyou, R. Kling, D. Hunt, and J. Luallen, *Recidivism of Offenders on Federal Community Supervision* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Abt Associates, 2012), 3; Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Electronic Reporting and Decision Support Systems.
59. *Ibid.*

60. Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Decision Support System (more than half of federal probation officers have a master's degree or doctorate in a related field of study, and officers have an average of seven years prior job experience and 11 years with the federal probation system).
61. Title 18 U.S.C. § 3672 requires the Director of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts to "formulate general rules for the proper conduct of the [supervision] work" and that is accomplished in coordination with the Judicial Conference of U.S. Courts and guidance published in the *Guide to Judiciary Policy* and elsewhere. The U.S. Sentencing Commission is required under 28 U.S.C. § 994(a)(3) to issue guidelines or policy statements related to revocation of probation and supervised release. The Commission's current policy statements are found in Chapter 7 of the Commission's *Guidelines Manual*. Though the policy statements in Chapter Seven of the *Guidelines Manual* are non-binding, the Court is required to consider them, and failure to do so will constitute reversible error on appeal. U.S. Sentencing Commission, *Federal Offenders Sentenced to Supervised Release*, 2010, page 41. Ultimate authority to modify, terminate, or revoke the terms of supervision rests with the judge with jurisdiction over the case. See, 18 U.S.C. § v3583(e).
62. U.S.S.C. § 7B1.1, 7B1.2.
63. U.S.S.C. § 7B1.3(a)(1), 7B1.4(a).
64. 18 U.S.C. 3565(b), 3563(g), 3583(d), 3583(g).
65. U.S.S.C. § 7B1.2(b).
66. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, Ch. 6, § 620(b).
67. Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure § 32.1(c)(2)(A).
68. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, 620.30(a).
69. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, § 620.20).
70. This could be a factor, for instance, when a court determines whether to grant an exception to mandatory revocation for testing positive for drugs. Section 3583(d) of Title 18 provides for a limited exception to the requirement that a court incarcerate an offender for possessing drugs: If a failed drug test constitutes the sole evidence of drug possession, and if the court finds that an offender would benefit from "an appropriate substance abuse treatment program," the court may substitute drug abuse treatment for imprisonment.
71. Intervention requirements should not be impractical in and of themselves (e.g., 80 hours of community service a week) or so burdensome that they will likely interfere with an offender's employment or family responsibilities (e.g., reporting to a distant probation office multiple times a week at 9:00 a.m.) or be beyond the offender's ability to achieve (e.g., getting a job within 24 hours). Unrealistic expectations facilitate failure rather than success. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, § 620.20(d).
72. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, §§ 620.20(e), 620.30(b)(3).
73. The following examples of possible exceptions are illustrative: First, a Driving under the Influence (DUI) is classified as a moderate-severity violation for which revocation is an option but is not favored. Requesting revocation may be appropriate, however, if the supervisee is under supervision for or has a history of DUI, or if there were aggravating circumstances present. Second, unauthorized association with a felon is classified as a low-severity violation, but there may be instances where the nature of the unauthorized association is so closely related to the supervisee's past pattern of criminal behavior that a request for revocation is warranted. Third, testing positive for drugs does not become a high-severity violation until the fourth instance, but a supervisee with a chronic criminal history marked by violence and a negative supervision history who tests positive for phencyclidine and is not attending treatment may be ripe for a revocation request well before the fourth positive. Fourth, the episodic drug user who is actively participating in treatment, is making progress towards other objectives, and is not considered a danger to self or others should be given more consideration. This may be the supervisee who was referred for treatment on the basis of one or more positive tests and, much later following a period of compliance, briefly relapses, thereby generating the third and fourth positives in rapid succession. It is this supervisee, the one who is working in treatment and who is otherwise compliant, for whom the exception to requesting revocation in the "High Severity" category may be appropriate if consistent with circuit case law. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, § 620.50.10.
74. Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure § 32.1.
75. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, § 610(c)(1).
76. *Guide to Judiciary Policy*, Vol. 8E, §§ 610(b), 620.30(e).
77. Letter from Matthew G. Rowland to chief U.S. probation and pretrial services officers dated May 17, 2013 on federal judiciary intranet (JNET), <http://jnet.ao.dcn/sites/default/files/pdf/PPSAD13002.pdf>
78. N. LaVigne, J. Samuels, *The Growth & Increasing Cost of the Federal Prison System: Drivers and Potential Solutions* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2012) ("As with the federal system, states across the country have also experienced burgeoning criminal justice populations and costs. Many have implemented policies to control the growth and increase the effectiveness of spending to enhance public safety goals. These policies include both legislative and administrative measures that change diversion practices; revise sentencing laws; adjust good time and earned time provisions for incarcerated offenders; improve community corrections to reduce the likelihood of recidivism and the return of offenders to prison for technical violations; employ risk and needs assessment tools more consistently across the criminal justice system; and improve correctional and supervision practices to be more consistent with evidence-based practices").
79. *Ibid.*, 7 ("The main drivers are front-end decisions about who goes to prison and for how long... Changes in prison admissions and the time served by offenders are the primary determinants of growth in the [federal] prison population. These factors, in turn, can be understood as the cumulative end product of investigative and prosecutorial practices that determine the number and types of offenses brought to federal courts; decisions about whether to convict in a given case; sentencing decisions about whether and for how long to incarcerate convicted offenders; and release practices that govern length of stay. Together, changes in these factors shape changes in the size and composition of the prison population.").
80. *Ibid.*, at 6; see also J. Petersilia, "Community Corrections: Probation, Parole, and Prisoner Reentry," in *Crime and Public Policy*, ed. James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), at page 500 ("Policymakers at all levels of government are asking the same question: can [community corrections] be strengthened and improved, thereby increasing public safety, decreasing system costs, and fostering offender reintegration?").
81. A bipartisan bill titled the "Public Safety Enhancement Act of 2013" was recently introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives. Among other things, the bill would establish supervisee risk and needs assessment as the cornerstone of the prison system and reward prisoners who reduce their risk of recidivism by providing them with the ability to earn time credits and be placed in home confinement in the community in lieu of a period of imprisonment. See also N. LaVigne and J. Samuels, *The Growth & Increasing Cost of the Federal Prison System: Drivers and Potential Solutions* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2012) at 6 ("Back-end changes can help alleviate the pressure. Although the main drivers of the BOP population are the number of offenders and sentence length on the front end, sentence reductions on the back end can also ease crowding and slow the population growth trend. While BOP plays a lead implementation role in most back-end sentence reductions, current authorities are limited by statute and, in some cases, budgetary constraints.").

82. See Letter from Jonathan Wroblewski at the Department of Justice to Sentencing Commission, July 11, 2013, p. 13 (describing recent Justice Reinvestment initiatives in the states, stating that such reforms “have decreased corrections spending while improving public safety in many of these states by redirecting some resources that might otherwise go to expensive imprisonment towards less expensive community-based efforts,” that these initiatives “commonly include two elements that [the Department of Justice] believe[s] are needed at the federal level: redirected funding and incentives to reduce reoffending, and adjustments to sentencing for non-violent drug offenders,” and describing specific state efforts to “hire new staff to reduce community supervision officer caseloads” and to “provide grants to strengthen community-based supervision, sanctions, and programs”). <http://www.justice.gov/criminal/foia/docs/2013annual-letter-final-071113.pdf>.

83. N. LaVigne and J. Samuels, *The Growth & Increasing Cost of the Federal Prison System: Drivers and Potential Solutions* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2012), 13 (“Efforts to manage future prison population growth may require attention to all stages of the federal criminal justice process. These findings suggest that targeting the length of prison terms—through modified sentencing practices, prison release policies, or both—has the potential to impact this leading source of prison population growth.”). See also LaVigne and Samuels 2012 at 6 (“Front-end changes can most directly contain future growth. Reducing sentence length, particularly for drug offenders, would be the most direct way to slow the projected growth of the BOP population. Decreasing the number of offenders committed to prison—both sentenced offenders and supervision violators—would also reduce the long-term projections and cost for the system. BOP does not control either of these drivers.”).

84. D. Nagin, F. Cullen, and C. Jonson, “Imprisonment and Reoffending,” *Crime and Justice*, 38, no. 1 (2009), 115–200, 123 (“It is possible that these two global views—prisons as criminogenic and prisons as a preventative deterrent—are both correct. Thus, imprisonment might have differential effects, pushing some offenders toward and others away from crime. The effect might be conditioned by characteristics of the offender (e.g., low risk or high risk), of the institution (e.g., harsh or therapeutic), or of the sanction (e.g., length). And the effect is comparative, assessed in relation

to what a noncustodial sanction, if applied instead of custody, might have entailed. Current research is not sufficiently developed to address issues of this specificity.”).

85. D.L. Mackenzie, “Evidence-Based Crime Prevention,” in *Reducing the Criminal Activities of Known Offenders and Delinquents*, ed. David Farrington, Doris Layton MacKenzie, Lawrence Sherman, and Brandon C. Welsh (New York: Routledge, 2006), 330–404, 341, 343 (“Theoretically, increasing the surveillance and control over offenders in the community will prevent criminal activities by reducing both their capacity and their opportunity to commit crimes. Additionally, it is expected that the punitive nature of sanctions will act as a specific deterrence to reduce offenders’ future criminal activity. [Researchers] have found that re-arrests are reduced when offenders receive treatment services in addition to increased surveillance and control of [intensive supervision programs].”).

86. See 18 U.S.C. § 3553 (general factors to be considered in imposing sentence); Federal Sentencing Guidelines (Washington, DC: U.S. Sentencing Commission, 2012); B. Vincent and P. Hofer, *The Consequences of Mandatory Minimum Prison Terms: A Summary of Recent Findings* (Washington, DC: Federal Judicial Center, 1994), 1, [http://www.fjc.gov/public/pdf.nsf/lookup/conmanmin.pdf/\\$file/conmanmin.pdf](http://www.fjc.gov/public/pdf.nsf/lookup/conmanmin.pdf/$file/conmanmin.pdf), (identifying at least 60 federal statutes providing mandatory minimum penalties in effect as of 1994); *Overview of Statutory Mandatory Minimum Sentences* (Washington, DC: U.S. Sentencing Commission, 2009), 1, http://www.ussc.gov/Legislative_and_Public_Affairs/Congressional_Testimony_and_Reports/Submissions/20090710_StC_Mandatory_Minimum.pdf (citing 171 federal offenses with mandatory minimum penalties in effect as of 2009); 18 U.S.C. § 3582(b) (Sentences of imprisonment are final upon imposition, subject only to review by an appellate court, adjustment by the district court for a “clear error” or motion of the government under Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure § 35, or challenge by a defendant under 28 U.S.C. § 2255 for an illegal or unconstitutional sentence. Also, the court may consider release of an inmate based on his or her being infirm or other compelling reason, but only upon motion under 18 U.S.C. § 3582(c) by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons.). See, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General, Evaluation and

Inspections Division, *The Federal Bureau of Prisons’ Compassionate Release Program* (April 2013), 1, <http://www.justice.gov/oig/reports/2013/e1306.pdf> (“We found that, on average, only 24 inmates are released each year through the BOP’s compassionate release program.”).

87. In fiscal year 2013, the salary account for probation and pretrial services was reduced 14 percent and treatment resources were reduced 20 percent. Staffing at the end of fiscal year 2012 was the same as fiscal year 2002, although the number of supervisees increased 29 percent and, as noted earlier in this article, the supervisee risk profile has increased.

88. P. McGarry, A. Shames, A. Yaroni, K. Tamis, R. Subramanian, L.B. Eisen, L. Digard, R. Delaney, and S. Sullivan, *The Potential of Community Corrections To Improve Communities and Reduce Incarceration* (New York, NY: Vera Institute of Justice, 2013), 9, <http://www.vera.org/sites/default/files/resources/downloads/potential-of-community-corrections.pdf>

89. As Joan Petersilia, a renowned scholar of community corrections, put it when discussing community corrections at the state level, “The current fiscal crisis has provided an opening to discuss the appropriate role for a strong community corrections system.... Criminologists have spent the last 20 years improving risk assessments and evidence-based program data to reliably separate those offenders who belong in prison from those who can be kept in the community. It would be a shame if the current prison-crowding crisis served to simply dump offenders into overloaded [community corrections] agencies without commensurate financial support. If that happens, history will repeat itself: offenders will recidivate, community corrections will be blamed for their high failure rates, the public will be again convinced that ‘nothing works,’ and increases in prison commitments will follow. On the other hand, if we use this crisis as an opportunity to implement evidence-based community correctional programs, we might finally demonstrate the critical role that community corrections agencies can play in the promotion of community safety, successful reintegration, and individual accountability.” (“Community Corrections: Probation, Parole, and Prisoner Reentry,” in *Crime and Public Policy*, ed. James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 527.)

Early Termination of Supervision: No Compromise to Community Safety

Laura M. Baber

James L. Johnson

*Office of Probation and Pretrial Services
Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts*

UNDER 18 U.S.C. §§ 3564(c) and 3583(e) (1), the court may terminate terms of probation in misdemeanor cases at any time and terms of supervised release or probation in felony cases after the expiration of one year of supervision, if satisfied that such action is warranted by the conduct of an offender and is in the interest of justice. As such, early termination is a practice that holds promise as a positive incentive for persons under supervision and as a measure to contain costs in the judiciary without compromising the mission of public safety.

Policy Background

Over the past decade, the Judicial Conference has endorsed policies that encourage probation offices to terminate statutorily-eligible offenders from supervision early as a means to limit projected workload growth in probation and pretrial services, and has continued to fine-tune those policies as evidence suggests is appropriate. In 2003, the Judicial Conference approved a policy that encouraged probation officers to seek early termination as soon as offenders were statutorily eligible if the offender had satisfied the conditions of supervision, had successfully reintegrated into the community, and did not pose a foreseeable risk to public safety generally or to any individual third party. In 2005, the Judicial Conference approved policy changes that allowed offenders with outstanding balances on fines and restitutions to be considered for early termination as long as they were otherwise suitable and in compliance with their payment schedule. In 2005, the Committee

revisited the early termination policy, recommending provisions modeled after United States Parole Commission regulations. Specifically, the Conference approved creating a presumption in favor of early termination for non-career and non-violent offenders who 1) have been under supervision for at least 18 months, present no identified risk to the public or victims, and are free from any moderate- or high-severity violations; or 2) have been under supervision for at least 42 months and are free from any moderate- or high-severity violations. These policies remain in effect today.

Policies on early termination have clearly influenced practices in the courts. The number of early terminations granted by the courts increased 50 percent in the year following the Criminal Law Committee's formal endorsement in 2002 of early termination as a cost-containment measure. As Table 1 reports, by 2005, early terminations comprised 21.3 percent of successful closings (i.e., cases closed without revocation). From 2007 to 2011, which were relatively favorable budget years, the percentage fell to 17.9 percent. However, in 2012, perhaps as a response to austere budgets and renewed focus on early termination as a cost-containment strategy, early terminations rose nearly a percentage point to 18.7 percent, comparable to 2008 levels.

The overall decline in the percentage of early-term cases from 2005 may be the result of the changing nature of persons under supervision, as the average risk prediction and criminal history scores of persons under supervision have been steadily rising. Also, belying the

national trend is considerable district-to-district variation, with early termination rates ranging from 46 percent of successful closings in one district to zero in another.

The focus on early termination for purposes of cost containment has been based on the belief that, if limited to appropriate cases, early termination would not adversely affect community safety. A preliminary study conducted by the AO in 2009 seems to confirm that belief. In this study, the AO randomly selected 554 persons granted early termination in fiscal year 2005 and matched them to an equal number of persons who reached full expiration that same fiscal year with comparable criminal histories, Risk Prediction Index (RPI) scores, and personal characteristics. In the three-year follow-up period, persons granted early termination were charged with fewer new offenses than the comparison group, and any new charges were generally less serious. Specifically, 80 persons granted early termination (14.4 percent) had new criminal charges¹ filed against them, while 90 persons (16.2 percent) of the full-term group had new charges filed against them. Of the new charges filed against the early termination group, 30.3 percent were felonies, while 36.5 percent were felonies for the comparison group. There was only one case among the early termination group that resulted in a known conviction for a violent new offense. According to available records most of the new charges were for misdemeanor or petty offenses, and more than 20

¹ This study used new criminal charges recorded in PACTS as the recidivism event. At the time of this study, arrest data was not available to the research team.

TABLE 1.*Percentage of Early Terminations of Successful Terminations (Closings) by Year*

Year	Total Closings (excluding Revocations)	Early Terminations	
		Number	Percent
1995	25,656	4,214	16.4
1996	26,844	4,061	15.1
1997	26,307	3,875	14.7
1998	25,687	3,668	14.3
1999	26,594	3,524	13.3
2000	26,670	3,422	12.8
2001	27,951	3,222	11.5
2002	29,363	3,458	11.8
2003	31,354	5,217	16.6
2004	34,421	7,057	20.5
2005	33,472	7,119	21.3
2006	36,595	7,560	20.7
2007	35,403	6,809	19.2
2008	35,666	6,626	18.6
2009	35,835	6,494	18.1
2010	36,414	6,738	18.5
2011	37,522	6,710	17.9
2012	38,713	7,239	18.7

percent of the charges were either dismissed or ended in acquittal.

Armed with initial empirical evidence suggesting that early termination of appropriate offenders does not compromise public safety, the Judicial Conference continues to pursue early termination as a cost-containment measure. Public safety, of course, remains a paramount concern, however, and the AO continues to monitor the effectiveness of early termination as a measure that permits probation offices to focus supervision resources on persons most likely to recidivate, without compromising the statutory purposes of probation and supervised release.

This year, the AO conducted a similar but considerably broader-scale study on offenders who were granted early termination to determine if the results are consistent with the earlier, more preliminary, study. Using a more recent cohort of offenders whose supervision terminated in 2008, the researchers compared rearrest rates of 1,436 early-terminated offenders with a matched group of offenders who served their entire supervision term. A three-year follow-up period was used to examine the rate at which offenders from the two comparison groups were arrested for new criminal behavior.

Methodology

There were 15,266 supervised release (TSR) and probation cases closed in fiscal year 2008, of which 3,814 were for early termination and 11,452 were for successful expiration of term. This total excludes cases with missing RPI and criminal history scores, offenders younger than 18 years of age, as well as sex and violent offenders. Sex offenses included cases coded in the Probation and Pretrial Services Case Management System (PACTS) as rape or sex offense. Violent offenses included cases coded in PACTS as assault, firearms, homicide, kidnapping, racketeering, robbery, and simple assault. Of the 3,814 early-term cases, 1,436 were successfully matched to full-term cases by RPI category score (low, medium, high), criminal history category, gender, age category (5-year intervals), and district supervised. In total, this analysis includes 2,872 early- and full-term cases.

The research team leveraged the infrastructure built to support its Results-Based Framework (Baber, 2010). Under this framework, arrest records are assembled from criminal history databases and matched with data from PACTS. Consistent with the definition of recidivism established under this framework, the first arrest for new criminal

conduct² within three years following the end of the supervision is analyzed for the two comparison groups.

Description of Study Population

Age

As a result of the matching for this study, average ages of early-term and full-term offenders are nearly identical (Table 2). Full-term cases have an average age of 39.1 years at the start of supervision and 41.5 years at the end of supervision. Early-term cases have an average age of 39.5 at the start of supervision and 41.5 years at the end of supervision. Offenders who completed a full term of supervision were roughly the same age as their early-term counterparts (36.3 years old and 36.25 years old, respectively) at the time of their post-supervision arrest.

Type of Supervision

The proportion of probation and supervised release cases is similar for both study groups. Probation cases accounted for 32.7 percent of all full-term cases and 35 percent of all early-term cases (Table 3).

Risk Level

Because early termination criteria heavily favor low-risk offenders, as expected, low-risk offenders accounted for the majority of offenders in this study (74.4 percent). Medium-risk offenders accounted for 23.7 percent and high-risk offenders accounted for 1.8 percent (Table 4).

Findings

As Table 5 illustrates, almost 15 percent (14.7) of all cases in the study cohort had a new arrest and offenders who served their entire supervision term had a rate nearly twice that of the offenders who received early termination (19.2 percent to 10.2 percent, respectively). Similarly, the rearrest rates for both study groups for major offenses only were tabulated (see Table 6). When minor offenses are excluded, the recidivism rates for both early-term and full-term offenders are considerably lower, but the proportion of rearrests between the two groups is consistent. Only 5.9 percent of early-term offenders were rearrested for a major offense following their release from supervision compared to 12.2 percent of full-term offenders.

² Arrests pursuant to a warrant for a technical violation of federal, state, or local probation or parole were ignored.

TABLE 2.

Age at Start and End of Supervision for All Cases and Cases with a Post-Supervision Arrest

	All Cases				Post-Supervision Arrest			
	Full term		Early term		Full term		Early term	
	Start	End	Start	End	Start	End	Start	End
N	1,436	1,436	1,436	1,436	276	276	147	147
Mean	39.1	41.5	39.5	41.5	34.0	36.3	34.3	36.3
Median	38.0	40.0	38.0	40.0	32.0	34.0	34.0	35.0

TABLE 3.

Supervision Type for All Cases

Supervision Type	All Cases			
	Full term		Early term	
	Freq.	Pct.	Freq.	Pct.
Probation	470	32.7	502	35.0
TSR	966	67.3	934	65.0
Total	1,436	100.0	1,436	100.0

TABLE 4.

Risk Level of All Offenders

RPI category	All Cases			
	Full term		Early term	
	Freq.	Pct.	Freq.	Pct.
Low risk	1,069	74.4	1,069	74.4
Medium risk	341	23.7	341	23.7
High risk	26	1.8	26	1.8
Total	1,436	100.0	1,436	100.0

TABLE 5.

Rearrest Rate for Full-Term and Early-Term Offenders (All Offenses)

New Arrest	All Cases		Post-Supervision Arrest			
	Freq.	Pct.	Full term		Early term	
			Freq.	Pct.	Freq.	Pct.
No	2,449	85.3	1,160	80.8	1,289	89.8
Yes	423	14.7	276	19.2	147	10.2
Total	2,872	100.0	1,436	100.0	1,436	100.0

TABLE 6.

Rearrest Rate for Full-Term and Early-Term Offenders (Major Offenses Only)

	Full term		Early term	
	Freq.	Pct.	Freq.	Pct.
No	1,261	87.8	1,351	94.1
Yes	175	12.2	85	5.9
Total	1,436	100.0	1,436	100.0

Rearrest Rates by Supervision Type

Rearrest rates for offenders serving terms of supervised release (TSR) cases are slightly higher than for probation cases for both early-term and full-term cases. Of the 470 full-term probationers, 17.7 percent (n = 83) were arrested within 36 months of completing their supervision term (see Table 7). In comparison, 9.2 percent (n = 46) of the 502 early-terminated probationers were rearrested within 36 months of completing their supervision term. Of the 966 offenders on TSR who completed a full term of supervision, 20 percent (n = 193) were rearrested within 36 months of completing their supervision term. In comparison, 10.8 percent (n = 101) of the 934 early-term TSR cases resulted in a post-supervision rearrest.

Time to Rearrest

As shown in Table 8, the time to post-supervision rearrest is slightly longer for early-term offenders. On average, full-term offenders were arrested 18.8 months after completing their supervision term while early-term offenders were arrested 19.4 months after being released from supervision.

Risk Level

As expected, an accurate prediction of the risk of re-offending as indicated by the Risk Prediction Index (RPI) holds true for both early-term and full-term offenders who have completed supervision (Table 9). That is, high-risk offenders in both study groups have the highest rearrest rates. However, high-risk offenders who were granted early term were much less likely to be rearrested than their full-term high-risk counterparts. Though only six high-risk early-term offenders were rearrested, high-risk offenders accounted for 53.8 percent (n = 14) of the post-supervision arrests for full-term offenders but only 23.1 percent of arrests for early-term offenders.

Time under Supervision

Early-term offenders were sentenced to supervision terms that were 12 months longer than offenders who completed a full term of supervision (39.8 months to 27.8 months, respectively). Although early-term offenders had longer supervision sentences, on average, they were on supervision 3.8 months fewer than full-term offenders (24 months to 27.8 months, respectively). On average, arrest-free early-term offenders were released from supervision 15.7 months before their scheduled supervision term was set to expire (Table 10).

TABLE 7.
Supervision Type for Cases with a Post-Supervision Arrest

Supervision Type	Post-Supervision Arrest					
	Full term		Early term		Total	
	Freq.	Pct.	Freq.	Pct.	Freq.	Pct.
Probation	83	17.7	46	9.2	129	13.3
TSR	193	20.0	101	10.8	294	15.5
Total	276	19.2	147	10.2	423	14.7

TABLE 8.
Time to Post-Supervision Arrest

	Days to Arrest		Months to Arrest	
	Full term	Early term	Full term	Early term
N	276	147	276	147
Mean	586.9	604.9	18.8	19.4
Median	576.5	647.0	18.0	21.0

TABLE 9.
Risk Level of Offenders with a Post-Supervision Arrest

RPI category	Post-Supervision Arrest					
	Full term		Early term		Total	
	Freq.	Pct.	Freq.	Pct.	Freq.	Pct.
Low risk	147	13.8	77	7.2	224	10.5
Medium risk	115	33.7	64	18.8	179	26.2
High risk	14	53.8	6	23.1	20	38.5
Total	276	19.2	147	10.2	423	14.7

TABLE 10.
Supervision Term, Months Supervised, and Months Saved by Early Termination for Offenders with No Post-Supervision Arrest

	Supervision Term—Months		Months Supervised		Months Saved	
	Full term	Early term	Full term	Early term	Full term	Early term
N	1,160	1,289	1,160	1,289	1,160	1,289
Mean	27.8	39.8	27.8	24.0	0.0	15.7
Median	35.0	35.0	35.0	24.0	0.0	14.0

Types of Offenses

As shown in Figure 1, when both major and minor offenses are included, the proportions of offense types for which the two groups are rearrested are similar. Public order offenses comprise the majority, followed by drugs, and then property offenses. Early-term offenders have a slightly higher percentage of public-order offenses, compared to their full-term counterparts (28.6 percent and 24.6 percent respectively). Drug offenses accounted for nearly an identical percentage of offenses for both study groups (20.4 percent for early-term

offenders and 21 percent for full-term offenders.) Property offenses represented the third most frequent offense for both groups and the percentage of property crimes for early-term offenders was slightly lower than the percentage for the comparison group (15 percent and 17.8 percent, respectively). Violent offenses were a close fourth in terms of most frequent post-supervision arrest for both groups, with a slightly lower percentage of early-term offenders arrested for violence offenses (14.3 percent and 15.2 percent, respectively).

Types of Major Offenses

When arrests for minor offenses³ are excluded from the tabulations, drug, property, and violence offenses remain the most prevalent offenses for which both comparison groups are arrested (Figure 2). Major drug offenses accounted for a slightly greater percentage of arrests for early-term offenders than for full-term offenders (35.3 percent of arrests for early-term offenders and 33.1 percent for full-term offenders.) Property offenses represented the second most frequent major offense for both study groups and early-term offenders were arrested at a slightly lower rate than their counterparts for those property offenses (25.9 percent and 28 percent, respectively). Violent offenses were a close third most frequent arrest for a major offense for both groups, with early-term offenders having a slightly greater percentage than full-term offenders (24.7 percent and 24 percent, respectively).

Months Saved on Supervision for Offenders Who Were Not Rearrested

Early-terminated offenders in fiscal year 2008 who had no post-supervision arrest were released 15.7 months earlier than their scheduled expiration date, which was one month earlier than early-term offenders released in fiscal year 2005. This suggests that even though early-term offenders were released sooner, their risk of re-offending did not increase (see Table 11).

Discussion

Results from the AO's most recent study of offenders terminated in 2008 are compelling. The results suggest that offenders granted early termination under the current policies pose no greater danger to the community than offenders who serve a full term of supervision. These findings reaffirm the notion that early termination policies allow officers to make responsible decisions about which offenders to recommend for an early termination of their supervision term. Nearly twice as many full-term offenders were rearrested for major or minor offenses within three years as their counterparts who were terminated early (19.2 percent versus 10.2 percent respectively, see Table 5). When minor offenses are excluded from the tabulations, the relative proportion

³ When the arrest records lacked information about the level of offense associated with the arrest event, researchers used imputation to make the major versus minor distinction. If the offense is designated as a misdemeanor or lower more than 75 percent of the time across all states, the offense was categorized as minor for purposes of these tabulations.

FIGURE 1.

Offense Type for Post-Supervision Arrest Early- and Full-Term Offenders (All Offenses)

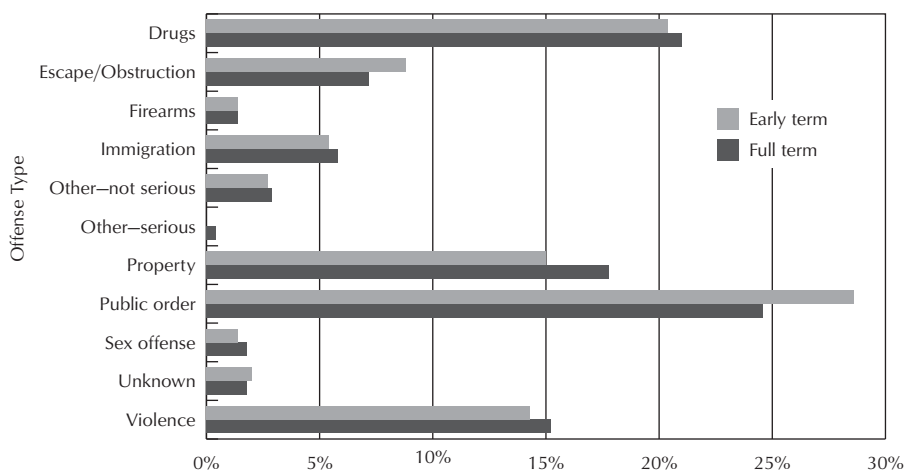


FIGURE 2.

Types of Offense for Post-Supervision Arrest by Close Type (Major Offenses Only)

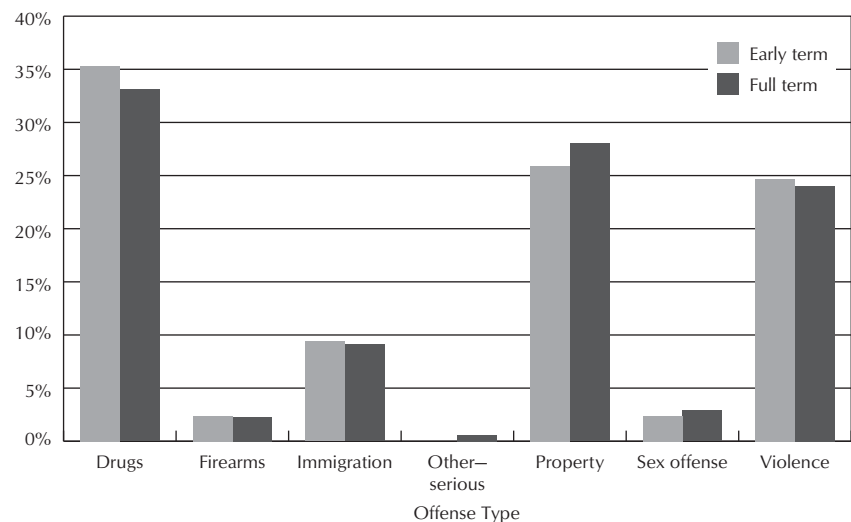


TABLE 11.

Comparison of Months Saved by Early Termination for Offenders with No Post-Supervision Arrest—FY 2005 and FY 2008

	FY 2005 Cases Months Saved		FY 2008 Cases Months Saved	
	Full term	Early term	Full term	Early term
N	443	463	1,160	1,289
Mean	0.0	14.7	0.0	15.7
Median	0.0	12.0	0.0	14.0

of rearrest rates for the two groups remains consistent, but the rates themselves are considerably lower for both groups. Specifically, only 5.9 percent of early-terminated offenders were rearrested for major offenses compared to 12.2 percent of their full-term counterparts (Table 6). This suggests that probation officers should strongly consider offenders' actuarially predicted risk in the decision to recommend early termination of supervision.

Not only are early-terminated offenders arrested less frequently than their full-term counterparts, the time to rearrest is slightly greater. Specifically, early-term offenders remained arrest free for an average of 19.4 months compared to 18.8 for those who were full term. (See Table 8. Median times to arrest were 18 months for full term and 21 months for early term.) Further, the proportions of the types of offenses that constituted the arrests were nearly identical for both groups. For both groups, drug, property, and violent offenses comprised over 85 percent of all first arrests (Figure 2).

Because early termination criteria heavily favor persons at low risk to recidivate as indicated by the RPI or Post Conviction Risk Assessment (PCRA), approximately three-quarters (74.4 percent) of the offenders in this study group were low risk, 23.7 percent were medium risk, and 1.8 percent were high risk (Table 4). Overall, of the 423 offenders who were arrested from both comparison groups, high-risk offenders accounted for nearly 40 percent (38.5 percent) of those who were rearrested in the follow-up period (Table 9). In comparison, low-risk offenders accounted for 10.5 percent of those rearrested.

Perhaps more significantly, the results of the study indicate that while the early termination policy does not, as currently administered, compromise community safety, the attributable cost avoidance is significant. Although early-terminated offenders in the study originally received longer supervision sentences by approximately a year (39.8 months versus 27.8 months, see Table 10), on average they served 3.8 fewer months than full-term offenders (24 months to 27.8 months, respectively). At the most-recently published monthly cost of supervision of \$286.11 per offender,⁴ this equates to \$1,087 per offender terminated early, for a total of \$7,754,039 for the 7,132

⁴ Source: April 10, 2012 memorandum reporting the fiscal year 2011 cost of supervision. The cost of supervision is calculated using the updated work measurement formula, probation/pretrial services officer salary costs, law enforcement account obligations, and miscellaneous operating expenses.

offenders who received early termination in calendar year 2012 alone.

The results of this study may inform other initiatives that are being considered by the Criminal Law Committee and the AO. For example, the Committee and AO staff may wish to consider whether early termination—and the risk principle generally—should be built into the next version of the staffing

formula. Also, the Committee may want to consider whether changes to policy or legislation should be recommended to allow for the early termination of supervision for inmates who are compassionately released from prison under 18 U.S.C. § 3582(c). A recent report by the Inspector General of the Department of Justice critiqued the BOP's management of the compassionate release program. The BOP is

currently reviewing its policies, and the courts should anticipate an increase in the number of inmates who are released from prison early under this authority. Because many of the inmates who are compassionately released are suffering from terminal illnesses, it may be unnecessary from a public safety perspective and inefficient from a resource perspective to continue to provide supervision in these cases.

Extending Our Knowledge about Recidivism of Persons on Federal Supervision

Laura M. Baber

*Office of Probation and Pretrial Services
Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts*

Mark Motivans

Bureau of Justice Statistics

INTEGRAL TO THE FEDERAL probation and pretrial services system's long-term strategic goal to become a result-driven system, the Office of Probation and Pretrial Services (OPPS) of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts (AO) continues its pursuit of understanding criminal recidivism. The roots of this effort are far deeper than academic curiosity. To the contrary, OPPS is pursuing a larger, system-wide objective articulated by the leaders of the court system over a decade ago. In 2000, the Federal Judicial Center (FJC) sponsored a futures-planning session at its biennial conference for federal probation and pretrial services chiefs. At this conference, the leaders of our system reached widespread consensus that Congress and the public will hold the federal justice system increasingly accountable for outcomes, and that we must rise to that challenge by clearly articulating desired outcomes, rigorously measuring progress, and communicating results with fidelity. That conference planted the seed of the system's shared identity and strategic goals. Since then, OPPS has taken steps to clearly articulate our goals in national policies, promote a common understanding of those goals, operationalize measures that speak directly to those goals, and build an infrastructure that promotes systematic measurement of results (Hughes, 2008).

By 2010, OPPS had built a foundation for independently measuring its system's most salient outcome—protection of the community through reduced recidivism by those clients our officers supervise on post-conviction supervision. We were able to learn

definitively for the first time the extent to which persons under federal supervision engage in new criminal activity, both while on supervision and for a follow-up period after supervision ended. (For reasons we will discuss later in this article, this entailed overcoming challenges that had up until then constrained researchers' abilities to study recidivism on a large scale.) That year, OPPS released the results of a study that examined recidivism, using our system's agreed-upon definition—rearrest for new criminal activity. In formal consultation with experts in the field through an Ad-Hoc Panel on Methodology, OPPS adopted rearrest as a primary outcome measure because: 1) unlike convictions, arrests are more available in automated criminal history records; and 2) unlike revocations, arrests are not subject to court culture and probation officer influence, and as such, are a more independent measure (Hughes, 2008). OPPS developed a method for assembling and matching criminal rap-sheet data to clients' records to measure the rate at which offenders were rearrested for new criminal activity. In 2010, OPPS released the results of a study that examined recidivism using the system's agreed-upon definition—rearrest for new criminal activity (Baber, 2010). In this study, OPPS learned that about 23 percent of our offenders under supervision for three years between the years October 1, 2004, and August 13, 2009, were rearrested for a new criminal offense and about 18 percent were rearrested within three years of supervision ending (Baber, 2010).

An important aspect of the AO's outcome-driven culture is active collaboration with other federal criminal justice agencies to further our understanding of federal recidivism. One of the agencies the AO collaborates most closely with is the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). As the agency responsible for collection, analysis, publication, and dissemination of statistical information on crime, criminal offenders, victims of crime, and operations of the criminal reporting information systems on crime in the United States, BJS has an interest in understanding recidivism of persons under all jurisdictions, including federal. Over the years, BJS has conducted several recidivism studies of individuals released from prison using criminal history data from the FBI (Beck & Shipley, 1989; Langan & Levin, 2002; Langan, Schmitt, & Durose, 2003).

Present Study

In 2010, BJS issued a solicitation (2010-BJ-CX-K069) for a study that would build on both BJS's expertise over the last two decades in reporting nationally-representative recidivism findings and the federal probation and pretrial services' system's more recent success in understanding recidivism of persons on post-conviction supervision. The solicitation sought expertise to generate recidivism information on clients under federal supervision in the community and determine whether and to what extent recidivism is affected by offender, probation office, and probation officer characteristics. In 2011, a cooperative agreement was awarded to Abt Associates in response to

this solicitation. The study of recidivism was completed under a collaborative cooperative agreement among BJS, Abt Associates, the AO, and the FBI.

A secondary purpose for this collaboration—but perhaps one of more long-term significance—is that it will position both agencies to improve their respective criminal history data assemblage protocols. In 2010, under contract with Abt Associates, OPPS developed a large-scale automated criminal history data assembly protocol. This protocol—developed for the sole purpose of understanding the outcomes of clients under federal supervision—overcomes a challenge that has historically constrained criminal justice agencies from assembling arrest data on a large scale. Concurrently, BJS is undertaking a similar but far more expansive effort to assemble criminal history data into a database suitable for recidivism studies on all populations and jurisdictions the agency studies. While there are differences in the outputs produced by these two protocols, in their essence, both protocols address the same obstacle. That is, because arrest data appear in disparate formats in individual state repositories, historically researchers were required to read, interpret, and hand-code arrest data from hard-copy “rap sheets.” This made large-scale research prohibitively expensive, time-consuming, subject to error, and therefore practically impossible. OPPS overcame this problem by developing ways to access criminal record “rap sheets” en masse without human intervention, to parse narrative text strings that describe arrests, and to translate those texts into dates and offense codes. To accomplish this, OPPS developed software to feed in batches of hundreds of thousands of FBI numbers and state identifiers to Access to Law Enforcement (ATLAS), a browser-enabled front-end to the International Justice and Safety Network, known as NLETS. The result is that rearrest data on hundreds of thousands of federal clients are in computer-readable form suitable for OPPS researchers to study (Baber, 2010).

Recently BJS designed a new software system to convert large samples of criminal history records directly into a standardized database that can readily be used to conduct recidivism studies on large cohorts of offenders in the criminal justice system. Basically, this software system was designed to 1) request and obtain the rap sheets of all offenders in a study’s cohort; 2) read these rap sheets in their raw form and extract (or parse) common data

from individual rap sheets that vary greatly in structure, format, and content from state to state; and 3) organize these extracted data in their original form into a relational database that could serve research purposes. The study on federal recidivism described in this article used rap-sheet data generated by this parsing software system.

The secondary component of the collaborative contract is a comparison of the results of the AO-developed criminal history data assembly protocol used for earlier iterations of the AO’s recidivism research with those produced by BJS’s new software system. That work remains pending at the time of this writing. When completed, however, it will provide independent validation of BJS’s protocol for producing a standardized data file and further that project’s goals of creating a relational database that could serve a variety of research purposes, including the AO’s future recidivism analysis for outcome measurement.

The first major component of the collaborative contract, the study on recidivism as it is influenced by contextual factors of office and officer characteristics, has been completed. From this study, we sought to learn how district and officer characteristics affected outcomes of clients during and following supervision, an area yet unexplored by OPPS. This study also expanded upon prior OPPS work by examining overall failure rates that include both rearrest and revocation. This study also furthered an understanding of the nature and timing of revocations for supervision. The remainder of this article describes the study and summarizes what we have learned. The report in its entirety, entitled “Recidivism of Offenders on Federal Community Supervision,” may be found on the National Criminal Justice Research Service website at <http://www.ncjrs.gov/App/publications/abstract.aspx?ID=263106>.

Rearrests and Revocation of Supervision

The study examined revocation rates, arrest rates, and rates that combined both measures, both during and post-supervision. These measures are consistent with the goals of supervision as articulated in Judicial Conference policy—that is, protection of the community by minimizing criminal activity during supervision and beyond, and maximizing successful supervision. This study expanded upon earlier work by furthering our understanding of the nature and timing of revocations for supervision.

Study Cohort

The study cohort comprises clients who began active supervision between October 1, 2004, and September 30, 2010, representing 245,362 terms of supervised release (TSR) and probation. Less common types of supervision such as parole and conditional release were not included in the study because of their statutory and other differences. This study used data from five sources:

1. Probation and Pretrial Services Case Management System (PACTS)

PACTS is the case management system used in all federal probation and pretrial services offices and is a rich source of information about offender characteristics, instant offenses, terms of imprisonment, supervision sentences, and the court-ordered conditions for treatment services, financial obligations, and other restrictions that provide specific parameters of the supervision. OPPS creates a national database of all persons charged and convicted of federal offenses by daily merging the separate databases in each of the 94 federal districts. When multiple districts supervise a single client during his or her supervision term, different personal identifiers and court docket numbers may be employed by each of the supervision districts. Therefore, researchers needed to merge supervision terms for the same client by matching on multiple criteria. The result was that each supervision term was represented once, even for supervision terms that have been transferred—both with and without transfer of jurisdiction—across multiple districts.

PACTS data are the backbone for the study. PACTS records a key outcome of clients’ supervision—whether their term ended “successfully” by expiration or early termination of the term or “unsuccessfully” by revocation, which frequently results in the offender’s return to custody.

2. Officer Profile Survey Data

For the past several years, OPPS has annually surveyed federal probation officers about their level of education, primary field of study, years of experience, and languages spoken. The data for this study, obtained in a survey conducted in 2011, were matched with PACTS records that indicate the officer(s) assigned to supervise the offender. The study team matched approximately 80 percent of the survey data with PACTS data on the clients in the study

cohort.¹ Specifically, we obtained the number of years of experience as a federal probation officer, the number of years of experience in law enforcement (including state and local experience), and the education level of the officer. At the time of this survey, there were 5,745 law enforcement officers in the federal probation and pretrial services system.²

Because it is not uncommon for an offender to be supervised by more than one officer during the supervision term, the team analyzed the cases' movement from officer-to-officer. We found that for 60 percent of clients, a single officer supervised the case throughout, and that it is relatively uncommon for an offender to have three or more officers. Nearly 40 percent of clients in the cohort had two or more officers; about 17 percent three or more, about 7 percent four or more, about 3 percent had five or more, and less than one percent had six or more.

For purposes of this study, when more than one officer supervised an offender, the team identified the *primary officer* as the officer who spent the largest proportion of time with the case. Across all cases in the cohort, a single officer accounted for 87 percent of the time in calendar days on average. The self-report survey of officers that OPPS conducts annually gathers data on officers' education, languages spoken, and experience, both in the federal system and with other law enforcement agencies.

While this study did not examine the effect of officer continuity on recidivism, we consider the relatively high continuity revealed by this study encouraging. While longevity, with its inherent stability of the officer-client relationship, does not itself guarantee rapport, such longevity suggests greater opportunity to establish and maintain rapport, an important ingredient of officers' ability to elicit long-term positive changes in clients they supervise. Research supports that the quality and nature of the relationship between the client and the supervision officer have an impact on outcomes (Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Skeem et al., 2007). Further, building positive rapport with clients has been shown to have a beneficial effect on outcomes and an enhancing effect on service delivery (Taxman, 2008a; see also Taxman et al., 2004).

¹ Though the response rate was high (93 percent), not all officers completed the survey. Further, some officers who had supervised clients in the cohort had since left the federal system. Source: OPPS Decision Support System (internal system).

² OPPS internal Decision Support System (DSS).

3. Offender Residential Community Data from U.S. Census Bureau

The research team used these data to analyze what effect, if any, the characteristics of the clients' residential community had on recidivism. The researchers analyzed 14 tract-level variables relevant to education, unemployment, household and per capita income, poverty status, and housing ownership. Using principal components factor analysis, the researchers reduced these 14 factors to 1 factor that explained most of the variance and was used to represent the measure of poverty and transience of the census tract in which the offender resided. Designed to be relatively homogeneous units with respect to population characteristics, economic status, and living conditions at the time they are established, census tracts generally contain between 1,000 and 8,000 people, with an optimum size of 4,000 people (U.S. Census Bureau). The clients' geo-coded addresses in PACTS were aggregated to tract-level and were merged with the U.S. Census Bureau data.

4. District-Level Data from FedStats

FedStats is a portal to databases of statistics compiled by over 100 federal agencies. Data from FedStats is provided at the judicial district level and for this study the following district-level variables were used: estimated population, the net 5-year change in population, average household income, and proportion of American Indians/Alaskan native persons.³ Because offenders from Indian country represent a unique population in the federal system, the proportion of American Indians/Alaskan native persons was analyzed to provide a gauge of district-level differences in recidivism based on this aspect of population composition.

5. Arrest Data

These data were used to provide the basis for examining recidivism defined as new criminal conduct for this study and were extracted from the rap sheets of clients under supervision and for a follow-up period after supervision has ended. As discussed above, arrest data were parsed from rap sheets using software developed by BJS, and those arrest events were merged with the data from PACTS and other sources described above. Because clients may have multiple arrests during the study period, the first chronological arrest was considered to be the recidivism event. The arrest data

³ <http://www.fedstats.gov/mapstats/fjd/51fjd.html> provides district-level data through 2007.

from the arrest strings in the rap sheets were translated into National Crime Information Center (NCIC) codes, which are ordered by offense seriousness. When multiple arrests occurred on the same day, the study team used the NCIC ordering to select the most serious offense to be tabulated. Because jurisdictions vary considerably in the fidelity with which they report minor offenses, for purposes of this study, only arrests for felony-level offenses were tabulated. When the level of offense was missing from the rap sheets, researchers imputed the level based on how states categorize the offense. If the offense is categorized as a felony 75 percent or more of the time, the offense was categorized as a felony. These data provide the basis for examining recidivism defined as new criminal conduct for this study and other studies conducted by OPPS.

Findings: Overall Recidivism, Revocation, and Rearrests within Five Years

Overall recidivism rates that include revocation and rearrests are calculated for clients received for supervision between October 1, 2004, and September 30, 2005 (the FY2005 cohort), since those clients could be observed for five years (n=38,896).

Over 38 percent of clients in the fiscal year 2005 cohort recidivated within five years of commencing supervision. Almost 25 percent were rearrested and 13.5 percent were revoked.⁴ Table 1, an excerpt from the report, shows the rates for clients sentenced to one, two, and three years of supervision. Clients sentenced to longer supervision terms have higher failure rates.

Together drug, property, and violent offenses comprise approximately 80 percent of all new arrests within five years of commencing supervision for the FY 2005 cohort. Drug offenses comprised almost 30 percent, property offenses 26 percent, and violent offenses slightly more than 23 percent. The study team was unable to classify approximately 6 percent of the new arrests. The remaining 15 percent

⁴ Unlike statistics reported on OPPS's internal Decision Support System, revocation rates tabulated in this report are mutually exclusive of arrests tabulated; therefore, the rates reported on this report and in DSS will differ slightly. The tabulations in DSS use the actual date of closing by revocation for the supervision term. For this report, the date of revocation was associated with the arrest date pursuant to warrant for either technical or new criminal conduct violation. Since this report was produced, researchers further refined the date that triggers tabulation of a revocation to be the date of sentencing on the revocation as stored in PACTS.

of arrests, each of which represented less than 3 percent of the total, were for firearms, immigration, escape/obstruction, sex offenses, public order, and other offenses.

Findings: Revocation and Rearrests Within Three Years While on Supervision

Revocation and rearrest rates during supervision include only those clients received for supervision between October 1, 2004, and September 30, 2007, since those clients could be observed for three years (n= 119,126). Many of the clients who began supervision after that time were still under supervision. Including the clients who were still on supervision would underestimate the rates, so ongoing terms were omitted from the tabulations.

Results reveal that 19 percent of clients serving a three-year term of supervision were rearrested and about 14 percent were revoked. Table 2 provides one-, two-, and three-year arrest and revocation rates for clients in that cohort. The types of offenses associated with new arrests of persons under supervision closely parallel the offenses in the overall recidivism rates. Together drug offenses (28 percent), property offenses (25 percent), and violent offenses (24 percent) comprise more than three-quarters (77 percent) of all first arrests tabulated for those under supervision within three years of commencement. All other offense types, including approximately 6 percent that we were unable to categorize, comprised the remainder.

Findings: Contextual Factors as Predictors of Recidivism

The research team built a predictive model of revocation and rearrests using offender demographics and risk and protective factors. The risk and protective factors were derived from supervision case plans that were completed by officers for clients under supervision. At the time of this study, data from the Post Conviction Risk Assessment (PCRA) were not available for merging with other study data, although the risk and protective factors identified in this report were found to closely align with the PCRA domains and responsivity factors, or barriers, that are well-established in the community corrections literature (Gendreau, Little, & Goggin, 1996; Andrews & Bonta, 2006). The study team identified several factors that increased clients' risk of committing new offenses or being revoked:

- Longer criminal histories
- Gender (male)

TABLE 1. *Recidivism Rates for Clients Sentenced to One, Two, and Three Years of Supervision (for the FY2005 Cohort)*

Sentenced	Recidivism Rates (Arrests, Revocations, and Overall)				
	Within 1 year	Within 2 years	Within 3 years	Within 4 years	Within 5 years
1 Year					
Overall	16.2%	21.3%	25.1%	27.8%	29.7%
Arrest	7.6%	12.4%	16.2%	18.9%	20.8%
Revocation	8.6%	8.9%	8.9%	8.9%	8.9%
2 Years					
Overall	18.4%	28.2%	32.4%	35.5%	37.8%
Arrest	9.1%	14.1%	18.2%	21.3%	23.7%
Revocation	9.4%	14.1%	14.2%	14.2%	14.2%
3 Years					
Overall	18.3%	28.1%	34.3%	37.8%	41.0%
Arrest	10.3%	16.1%	19.9%	23.3%	26.4%
Revocation	8.0%	12.1%	14.4%	14.5%	14.5%
Total					
Overall	18.0%	26.9%	32.3%	35.6%	38.4%
Arrest	9.6%	15.1%	18.9%	22.2%	24.9%
Revocation	8.3%	11.9%	13.4%	13.5%	13.5%

TABLE 2. *Recidivism Rates While on Supervision for Clients Sentenced to One, Two, and Three Years of Supervision (for the FY 2005–FY 2007 Cohorts).*

Sentenced	Recidivism Rates (Arrest and Revocation)		
	Within 1 year	Within 2 years	Within 3 years
1 Year			
Arrest	7.7%	—	—
Revocation	9.0%	—	—
2 Years			
Arrest	8.9%	13.4%	—
Revocation	9.8%	14.5%	—
3 Years			
Arrest	10.3%	16.0%	19.1%
Revocation	7.9%	11.9%	14.2%

- Greater indications of substance abuse problems
 - Greater indications of mental health issues
 - Higher levels of unemployment and basic needs, such as adequate housing
- Protective factors that decrease a client's risk of new criminal conduct and revocations included:
- Strong social support system
 - Strong skills and motivation
 - Fewer medical needs
 - Increased age

Findings: District-Level Variables as Predictors of Recidivism

Using the predictive model, the research team examined variation in recidivism across districts and district-level variables. Several district-level variables explain variation in arrest and revocation rates across districts.

The team found that, when risk and protective factors are held constant:

- Districts with large populations had somewhat lower arrest rates and revocation than districts with small population size.
- Districts that experienced an increase in population between 2000 and 2006 had higher rates of rearrests and revocations.
- Increased percentage of Native Americans in the district was associated with a statistically significant increase in revocations, but there was no similar effect on arrests.
- Arrests and revocations were found to vary with household income. New arrests increased with income but revocations decreased with income.

Recidivism and the Offender's Environment

To examine the effect that an offender's environment has on recidivism, the study team analyzed the factor score derived from 14 variables associated with the Census tract of the offender's residential address. The team found that, not surprisingly, when other risk and protective factors are held constant, the neighborhood where an individual resides is an important factor in successful completion of supervision. The factor score provides a measure of poverty and transience. The factor score had a positive effect on both revocations and new arrests. (The size of the effect is 0.92, at $P < 0.001$. The size of the effect for revocations is 0.90, significant at $P < 0.001$.) While the study did not examine the prosocial aspects of an offender's environment per se, poverty and transience may suggest a non-prosocial environment. As such, this finding is consistent with literature that indicates that lack of prosocial support and low levels of vocational and educational skills are predictors of failure on supervision (Gendreau & Andrews, 1990).

Recidivism and Officer Characteristics

Analysis of officer profile survey data reveals that supervision officers are on the whole highly educated and experienced. Officers have a minimum of a bachelor's degree. Slightly less than half have a master's degree, and a few have doctoral degrees. On average, a federal offender is supervised by a probation officer who has 10 years of experience. Twenty-five percent are supervised by officers with 6 or fewer years of experience. Including state and local law enforcement experience, officers' average experience is 11 years.

An important question is whether the relatively high level of education and experience of probation officers pays dividends in terms of reduced recidivism and revocations. At first, the findings appear counterintuitive; that is, holding offender risk and protective factors constant, both arrest rates and revocation rates *increase* with officer experience in the federal probation system. Likewise, arrest and revocation increase when the supervising officer has an advanced degree. One might expect probation outcomes to improve with probation officer experience and education, but that is not the case. We can speculate about this finding from the research on Evidence-based Practices (EBP). The research suggests that regardless of the education or experience level of officers, if supervision is not consistent with risk, needs, and responsivity principles, there is no theoretical basis to believe that officer education and experience by itself will impact offender outcomes (unless principles of EBP are entrenched in their education/experience). Furthermore, research has demonstrated that the most effective approach for changing behavior in the community supervision context is through cognitive behavioral techniques, which involve specific techniques designed to alter clients' dysfunctional thinking patterns. Bonta et al. (2010) affirmed the relationship between specific core correctional skills and the effectiveness of supervision officers, noting that those officers trained in core correctional skills used the skills more often, and that their clients had lower recidivism rates than clients supervised by untrained officers. The existing research (Trotter, 1996; Taxman, 2006; Bonta et al., 2008) is encouraging and points to a need for further research on the training of community supervision officers who provide direct service to clients. Recent AO research that compares the outcomes of clients who were supervised by officers trained in Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest (STARR) versus those that were not trained provides further evidence. Using an experimental design, the study finds that officers trained in specific strategies for use during direct supervision of clients used effective strategies more often post-training, and that client outcomes were positively affected. Clients supervised by the experimental group of officers after the training had superior outcomes, even after controlling for individual client-level characteristics. This effect was most pronounced on moderate-risk clients (Robinson, VanBenschoten, & Alexander, 2011).

Promising Developments in Recidivism Research

Along with parsing raw rap sheets into a relational database containing the original text found on the rap sheet, BJS embarked on an effort to convert the raw rap sheet information into nationally standardized codes. The combined parsing and conversion software system can then be used for other cohorts to produce a database with rich information about study cohort members' criminal history, including nature of the offense, arresting agency, dates of arrest, and disposition of the charges associated with the arrest. The BJS software stores the complete criminal histories in an analytic database; as a result, the database can be used to capture both criminal histories before a specific event (e.g., placement on probation) and recidivism patterns following that event, enabling these data to support a range of research requirements.

As BJS's capabilities to produce research-ready criminal history repositories reach maturity, our agencies have a unique opportunity to leverage our respective efforts. We plan future collaborations in which both agencies can leverage their strengths to further advance the study of recidivism of federal clients. While the population on federal supervision is a proverbial "drop in the bucket" compared to the numbers in state and local systems, the numbers are far from trivial. As of this writing, there are more than 130,000 clients on post-conviction supervision. Forecasts project that this number will continue to grow modestly but steadily over the next decade. Fortunately, technical advances in the field demonstrate promise in large-scale recidivism research that will help public policy makers understand the nature and causes of recidivism. More than a decade after the FJC's future search conference, federal criminal justice stakeholders have not forgotten that promise to themselves.

Introduction to *Federal Probation* Special Focus on Implementing Evidence-Based Practices

Christopher T. Lowenkamp
Guest Editor

THIS SEPTEMBER'S ISSUE of *Federal Probation* is the second to feature a "Special Focus." In this case, the "Special Focus" attempts to improve the implementation of evidence-based practices (EBP) while expanding our understanding of the myriad relevant issues beyond the EBPs themselves. With such lofty goals, we sought the participation of leaders in the field, and I think you will agree that we have assembled a very strong list of authors, mixing emerging talent with justifiably established names in this area.

Guy Bourgon's "The Demands on Probation Officers in the Evolution of Evidence-Based Practice: The Forgotten Foot Soldier of Community Corrections" provides an important contribution to understanding the implementation of evidence-based practices in community corrections in two ways. First is Bourgon's succinct grasp and articulation of the importance of the role of pretrial services and probation officers in implementing evidence-based practices in community corrections. "It is in a closer look at specific details on operations, policies, directives, and how these play out during face-to-face officer/client supervision sessions that one can see the disconnect between real-world practice and what we know about what works (Bonta et al., 2008)." The choice for the line officer is either to embrace the initiative and be a part of its successful implementation or circumvent it and leave it to die on the vine.

Paparozzi and Guy's "The Trials and Tribulations of Implementing *What Works*: Training Rarely Trumps Values" embodies the essence of many of the pieces presented: The success of EBP is dependent on a range of factors well beyond the scope of the research,

process, principles, and tenets of the EBPs themselves. Paparozzi and Guy's article has particular value given the wide range of experience of the authors, including parole officer, assistant corrections commissioner, state parole board chairman, academic, trainer, and union organizer. From that wide experience comes the insight that too little attention in the literature is paid to these crucial factors: 1) implementation; 2) the skills, competencies, and passions of community corrections professionals; 3) organizational factors and issues; and 4) values essential to successful community corrections. Finally, in addressing why, the authors offer the following: "It might be that more attention to programs and less to organizational capital occurs because it is easier, if not safer, to talk about shortcomings of programs rather than ourselves."

Laying at least some of the blame for implementation failures at the foot of practitioners, Paparozzi and Guy single out the following causes: practitioners who 1) hold personal values antithetical to community corrections; 2) believe that punishment not rehabilitation should be the philosophy of community corrections; 3) don't believe that using EBPs can influence offender recidivism; 4) hold that training is not a path to professional development and (unless employed as a trainer) that training is not their responsibility. All of these identified values, if they truly exist in community corrections professionals, have destructive potential—making Paparozzi and Guy's article particularly thought-provoking.

Trotter's article "Reducing Recidivism Through Probation Supervision: What We Know and Don't Know from Four Decades of Research" provides a systematic review of

studies undertaken over the past four decades on the relationship between probation officer supervision skills and client recidivism rates. The review focuses on routine probation supervision rather than group or intensive supervision programs or other specialist interventions, making it particularly relevant to practitioners, since those cases represent the great majority of offenders processed. Eight studies were identified that met the criteria for the review. The studies indicated that when workers used particular practice skills, the recidivism rates of clients under their supervision were up to 55 percent lower than those of the clients of other supervisors, demonstrating the value of these techniques. Improvement rates for all other community corrections programming combined over those same 40 years (electronic monitoring, day reporting centers, workforce development, etc.) are dwarfed by the rates in the programming studied here. We have rightly come to expect a Trotter piece to offer significant contributions to the literature; amazingly, he never disappoints.

Our colleagues in Great Britain (with the apparent exception of Scotland) have (like us) struggled with the appropriate role of officers between the enforcement/monitoring role and the social work/treatment role; Raynor and Ugwudike report that Great Britain has (again like us) come to understand that the true solution lies in balancing the two roles rather than choosing between them. However, our colleagues across the pond seem to have developed their commitment to EBP generally and cognitive programming specifically a full decade sooner than we did, incorporating effective use of authority; anticriminal modeling and reinforcement; problem solving;

use of community resources; and quality of interpersonal relationships between staff and clients into their policies in 2004, while we are just now getting them into policy consistently. Finally, Raynor and Ugwudike cite observed and coded staff interactions as crucial to the successful implementation of the new methodologies, which provides further evidence that similar observation protocols are needed for successful implementation in the United States.

The article by Lowenkamp, Holsinger, Flores, Koutsenok, and Pearl measures the attitudes of probation officers and their motivation to use new supervision techniques. Interestingly, the simple survey conducted pre- and post-training possibly captures a level of ambivalence on the part of the training participants. The importance of the survey and article is that it indicates that officers, like others, might experience ambivalence about changing their roles. While the ambivalence seems to decrease post-test, organizations need to consider and address staff ambivalence in a functional way before embarking on any major changes.

Kathy Waters, Mario Moreno, and Brian Colgan provide a wonderful example of what inter-agency collaboration might really look like. Capitalizing on the existence of inter-agency relationships, the state, county, and federal probation systems in Arizona worked together to develop and support a

collaborative training and sustainability plan to develop officer supervision skills. While this project is still underway, their article provides a detailed picture of how working together builds a practitioner network to support new initiatives.

As the federal system is currently implementing Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest (STARR), that system's experience is relevant to this issue. "Coaching: The True Path to Proficiency, From an Officer's Perspective" by Melissa Alexander, Lisa Palombo, Ed Cameron, Evey Wooten, Matthew White, Michael Casey, and Christopher Bersch, highlights the shift in the role of probation officers from strict monitoring to a balance of monitoring with what has come to be known as the "change agent" role. In teaching these core correctional practices, whatever the name (STARR, STICS, EPICS, JSTEPS), many agencies encounter difficulty implementing follow-up coaching. Given that the quality of the program implemented can significantly hinge on the effectiveness of officer skills, the value added from effective coaching is monumental.

For me, one sure sign that this collection of articles on a topic I am passionate about contains some real gems is my difficulty in selecting a favorite or most effective article; several could easily support such a designation. Among these is an entry by the

relatively less-known team of Rudes, Viglione, and Porter. Total Quality Management (TQM) and/or quality improvement (QI) models, probably most famously used by Japanese car companies after WWII through the present, have been around the criminal justice periphery for decades; Rudes et al. make a compelling argument for their relevance, significance, and potential as a central component in criminal justice EBP. While that may not seem very exciting, it is a feat that others have attempted with considerably less success. Summarizing their article will probably not do it justice; however, if by unhappy chance you can only read one article from this collection, be sure to make that article "Using Quality Improvement Models in Correctional Organizations."

Finally, Faye Taxman contributes an especially timely and necessary piece. While many of the other authors in this issue have focused on staff training and the new role of community supervision officers, Dr. Taxman grapples with implementation. The science on implementation is very well developed, and Dr. Taxman therefore can provide the reader with an "evidence-based approach" to implementing research-supported practices in corrections. The importance of considering the research on implementation and planning for implementation cannot be overstated. Dr. Taxman provides seven strategies that can assist agencies in making "EBPs stick."

The Demands on Probation Officers in the Evolution of Evidence-Based Practice: The Forgotten Foot Soldier of Community Corrections¹

Guy Bourgon
Public Safety Canada

AS COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS agencies become more focused on demonstrating their effectiveness at maintaining public safety, they are placing greater emphasis on incorporating evidence-based practices into everyday community supervision. Drawing largely on the empirical body of knowledge known as “What Works” and its principles of Risk, Need, and Responsivity, policies and practices in community corrections continue to evolve and change. These changes, in turn, have placed greater demands on probation and parole officers. From conducting assessments for presentence reports to evaluating risk and identifying needs to supervising clients through monitoring compliance and facilitating prosocial change, the work of probation and parole officers continues to expand and become more complex (Bourgon, Gutierrez & Ashton, 2011). These increased demands may not be universally welcomed by the troops on the ground. In a number of ways, officers are likened soldiers in the battlefield. They are heavily burdened with numerous responsibilities to the community, the criminal justice system, their organization, and their clients. It is with their skills, abilities, and tools that they try to meet complex and sometimes conflicting “orders” (i.e., demands) the best they can with

the time they have. Recognizing these changing demands, organizations have invested in the continuing education and training of their staff to ensure that they are knowledgeable, skilled, and competent to fulfill these ever-changing roles and responsibilities. Notwithstanding the various systemic factors that influence the success and/or failure of implementing evidence-based practices (see Fixsen, Naoom, Blasé, Friedman, & Wallace, 2005, for an overview), the fidelity of evidence-based practices rests on the community supervision officer, as it is the supervising officers who are being asked to conduct business in a new way. Supporting these officers in delivering effective intervention should be a priority of evidence-based correctional rehabilitation.

Over the last 20 years, I have been training criminal justice professionals on the RNR principles, risk assessments, different treatment programs, and RNR-based management and supervision in both custody and community settings. Throughout this period, the challenge has been to translate the “What Works” empirical knowledge into concrete and practical everyday behaviors that are effective with criminal justice clients. It is self-evident that training places high demands on its participants to learn new practices and implement them in their daily routine. Over the course of the past two decades in these trainings, it has also become evident that there are some common barriers for correctional staff that hinder learning and make change more difficult as organizations continue to evolve. In this article, I briefly illustrate these changes and the related demands on community supervision officers, and describe some of the common personal (or “internal”) learning

hurdles encountered with front-line community corrections staff working in organizations that hope to bring evidence-based practices into their business.

Overview of Evidence-Based Practices

Evidence-based practice begins with scientific research and what the results of such research tell us about reducing reoffending. For over 30 years, research on offender treatment initiated by Andrews and his colleagues in Canada has shown that certain approaches can reduce re-offending (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Hanson, Bourgon, Helmus, & Hodgson, 2009; Lipsey, 2009; Lösel & Schmucker, 2005). This “What Works” body of evidence has demonstrated that not all rehabilitative efforts are equal; interventions can maximize their effectiveness by adhering to the principles of effective interventions known as the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) model of correctional treatment (Andrews & Bonta, 2010).

The *Risk principle* focuses on matching the level of service to the offender’s level of risk. It tells us “who” to focus efforts on and the level (i.e., intensity and/or dosage) of such services, with intensive services allocated to higher-risk clients and minimal services to lower-risk clients. The *Need principle* focuses on the specific targets of the services that are provided to clients. The evidence tells us that services have to target specific criminogenic needs (or the dynamic risk factors) functionally related to criminal behavior to achieve change (such as procriminal attitudes and substance abuse). The *Responsivity principle* focuses on matching the style and mode of intervention to the abilities, motivation, and learning style of

¹ The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of Public Safety Canada. Correspondence concerning this report should be addressed to: Guy Bourgon, 340 Laurier Avenue West, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1A 0P8, or by email at Guy.Bourgon@ps-sp.gc.ca. I would like to thank Leticia Gutierrez for her valuable feedback and comments on drafts of this manuscript, as well as Liz Bourguignon and Dalila Boukhaloua, two probation/parole officers who work the “trenches” supervising clients in the community.

the offender. This principle concerns “how” services are delivered. Research in this area is less extensive than research on risk and need (Polaschek & Ross, 2010); however, that research consistently bears out the importance of employing cognitive-behavioral interventions and techniques to reduce reoffending (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bourgon & Gutierrez, 2012).

The importance of adhering to these three principles cannot be overstated. Andrews and Bonta (2010) have shown that adherence to these three principles mediates the effectiveness (i.e., recidivism reduction) of rehabilitative efforts in a step-wise fashion. Non-adherence to the three principles was actually associated with a small (2 percent) increase in recidivism ($r = -0.02$, $k = 124$). Adherence to at least one of the principles is associated with a small (3 percent) decrease in recidivism ($r = 0.03$, $k = 106$). Larger decreases were observed with increased adherence to the RNR principles, with adherence to two principles demonstrating a 17 percent difference ($r = 0.17$, $k = 84$) and three principles ($r = 0.25$, $k = 60$) showing a 25 percent difference.

The vast majority of the “What Works” evidence has been gleaned from studies examining formal treatment programs that are typically group-based. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to expect that these principles are also relevant in the case of one-on-one supervision of offenders in the community, where it has been argued that community supervision has greater benefits than incarceration (Abadinsky, 2009; Gibbons & Rosecrance, 2005). Research, however, raises questions about the effectiveness of community supervision in reducing recidivism. For example, Bonta and colleagues (Bonta, Rugge, Scott, Bourgon & Yessine, 2008) reviewed 15 studies that compared some form of community supervision with an alternative criminal sanction (e.g., prison sentence, fine) and found that recidivism was only two percentage points lower on average for offenders on community supervision. There was no decrease in violent recidivism associated with community supervision.

In contrast to the more positive results found in reviews of the offender rehabilitation literature, why does community supervision appear to have such minimal effect? The “What Works” research and the principles of effective correctional rehabilitation provide a guide to bring evidence-based practices into community supervision. Researchers are beginning to pay close attention to what goes on behind the closed doors when officers meet

with the clients they supervise. For example, Bonta et al. (2008) examined audio-recorded supervision sessions of 62 probation officers with 154 clients and found that adherence to the principles of Risk, Need, and Responsivity was lacking. Specifically, the frequency of contact between officers and their clients was only mildly related to the offender’s risk level (Risk principle) and officers rarely directly intervened to facilitate change in important criminogenic needs, such as pro-criminal attitudes and friends (Need principle). Officers exhibited cognitive-behavioral techniques in less than one-quarter of the audiotapes (Responsivity principle). Ultimately, the results showed that in order to improve effectiveness (i.e., reduce reoffending), officers supervising clients in the community would benefit from applying the principles of effective correctional rehabilitation to one-on-one supervision sessions.

Specific research on the application of RNR principles to one-on-one supervision is rather sparse. Early work on “core correctional practices” derived from the RNR principles (Andrews & Kiessling, 1980; Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Dowden & Andrews, 2004) demonstrated the importance of certain “change agent” skills such as empathy, firm-but-fair approach, and problem solving in influencing reoffending. Trotter (1996) found that the 93 clients supervised by officers who were trained on and applied prosocial modeling, empathy, and problem solving reoffended less (53.8 percent) over a four-year follow-up than the 273 clients of officers who conducted routine supervision (64 percent). These studies suggested that adherence to RNR principles in one-on-one supervision can reduce reoffending and that training in evidence-based practices was needed.

Recently, Canadian psychologists (Bourgon et al., 2010a; Bourgon et al., 2010b; Bonta et al., 2011) developed the Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS). STICS includes three days of initial formal training and ongoing clinical support activities (i.e., refresher courses, individual feedback, and monthly meetings) on specific, practical, and concrete RNR-based intervention techniques and skills. To examine the impact of training and ongoing clinical support, audio-recorded supervision sessions were examined. The results of this random assignment study (officers were randomly assigned to the STICS training or to a control group) demonstrated that STICS-trained officers significantly improved their evidence-based practices (such

as RNR-based skills and intervention techniques) behind closed doors with clients. In addition to the change in officer behavior, the researchers found that clients supervised by STICS-trained officers had a two-year recidivism rate of 25.3 percent compared to 40.5 percent for clients supervised by the control group officers (Bonta et al., 2011). This project has motivated others to develop similar training programs: for example, Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest (STARR) from Lowenkamp and colleagues at the Office of Probation and Pretrial Services of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, and Effective Practices in Community Supervision (EPICS) from the Corrections Institute of the University of Cincinnati. The results of these efforts are only beginning to emerge and are promising (Robinson, Lowenkamp, Holsinger, VanBenschoten, Alexander, & Oleson, 2012; Robinson, VanBenschoten, Alexander, & Lowenkamp, 2011).

As this body of knowledge increases, so too do the demands placed on community corrections to ensure that services are evidence-based and effective; this often requires modifications to policy and practice. For example, adherence to the *Risk principle* requires the use of empirically validated risk assessment to identify risk/need levels, as well as the development of policies that are congruent with matching risk level to service. Adherence to the *Need principle* requires the evaluation and prioritization of complex and dynamic client needs, developing a case plan that utilizes services to address criminogenic needs rather than focusing on non-criminogenic needs (i.e., those not empirically related to reoffending). Adhering to the *Responsivity principle* is even more complex. To maximize the impact of services on client behavior, interventions should be cognitive-behavioral in nature; therefore, officers need to be trained on such a model and to be skilled at delivering such interventions.

Organizations seeking to be evidence-based and effective can develop and set into place RNR-congruent policies, hire competent and skilled staff, provide adequate training and support for staff to fulfill their responsibilities in a professional and evidence-based manner, and put into place quality assurance procedures. In the past decade, correctional researchers have been paying closer attention to organizational factors that influence implementation of evidence-based programs and practices (Bernfeld, Farrington, & Leschied, 2001; Goggin & Gendreau, 2006; Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Smith, 2006; Taxman,

2008; Taxman, Henderson, & Lerch, 2010). However, there is a significant and arguably greater demand placed on individual community supervision officers, as it is they who need to embody an evidence-based style when working with the clients they supervise. Officers are faced with the expectation of incorporating new skills and techniques into an ever-expanding role and essentially to reflect on their current understanding of what their role is to the organization, client, and community.

The Evolving Work of Community Supervision Officers

As our knowledge about the importance of what happens behind the closed doors of community supervision advances, there is increasing recognition of the need to re-examine and re-focus the work of community supervision. What exactly is the goal of community supervision? This question is one we always pose to officers during STICS training. What we have commonly heard is that there is agreement about the two primary functions or goals. The first part is strictly systemic: The role of probation and parole departments in the criminal justice system is the administration of a sentence (or order) handed down by the courts. The second goal is more social in nature: the enhancement of public safety (i.e., reduce the risk of reoffending). Where there is great diversity of views is on *how* to achieve these two goals and what value to place on each. By looking more closely at specific details of operations, policies, directives, and how these play out during face-to-face officer/client supervision sessions, one can see the disconnect between real-world practice and what we know about what works (Bonta et al., 2008).

The traditional approach to community supervision has been that of a case management model. In this model, officers “manage” their clients by way of sentence administration and the brokerage of services. The emerging evidence of “what works” has brought new demands and ways of conducting case management, including the need to complete risk/need assessments and translate them into case management plans and activities. Although case management varies in definition and practice considerably across jurisdictions, it requires much of community supervision officers. Whether or not the organization emphasizes sentence administration (e.g., enforcement of conditions, urine testing, and

surveillance) or offender rehabilitation (e.g., attending treatment programs), face-to-face contacts with clients tend to focus on compliance, ongoing assessment of risk/needs, and connecting clients to resources to address their criminogenic needs. Enhancing motivation and engaging in problem-solving to resolve various barriers and/or obstacles the client faces in obtaining services are considered key practices and officers are often provided training to better help and support clients to receive these services. During this time, organizations have invested in Motivational Interviewing, partnerships, and service integration. The officer’s work behind closed doors primarily involves monitoring, assisting, motivating, directing, guiding, and supporting the client. In the case management approach, the actual “change-work”—that is, the work of facilitating prosocial change—is considered to be the domain of the professionals who are actually providing the rehabilitation, treatment, and/or social services, as opposed to the case manager.

The case management model appears, on the surface, to be evidence-based and adheres to the principles of Risk and Need. Officers are expected to ensure that they have more contacts with higher-risk clients (identified by a valid risk/need instrument) and facilitate connections to services (the Risk principle). By identifying criminogenic needs in the assessment, connecting to services that target those needs, and continuing to re-assess those needs, the officer’s activities appear to adhere to the Need principle. However, the case management approach lacks specific attention to the Responsivity principle. Although Motivational Interviewing helps officers to be responsive to criminal justice clients known for their resistance and denial, its primary purpose is to enhance motivation enough for the client to initiate his or her journey of change and increase the chances that the client connects with and participates in external services to address his or her needs. The actual change work is considered the domain of the treatment programs, whereas the role and responsibility of the community supervision officer in the therapeutic change work is minimized and only indirect. It is the service providers, not the officers, who are the active and direct “change agents.”

The emerging new research from STICS (Bonta et al., 2011; Bourgon & Gutierrez, 2012; Bourgon et al., 2010a) and other similar projects (e.g., Robinson, VanBenschoten, Alexander & Lowenkamp, 2012) delineates specific concrete skills, techniques, and

practices and presents another challenge for officers to evolve into active and direct “change agents” by engaging in therapeutic work with clients. Evidence around the Responsivity principle indicates that this active change work involves fundamental cognitive-behavioral concepts, skills, and intervention techniques (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bourgon & Gutierrez, 2012; Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005). Empirical evidence through analysis of audio-recorded supervision sessions by Bonta and colleagues (Bonta et al., 2008; Bonta et al., 2011; Bourgon et al., 2010a) suggests that community supervision officers generally do not take on an active or direct role in “change-work” with clients unless they are specifically trained to do so.

Once again, a new and additional demand is placed on community supervision officers by asking them to work with clients therapeutically and to employ skills and techniques that are firmly rooted in RNR principles so that they can *directly* facilitate personal, attitudinal, and behavioral change in their clients. In my work with criminal justice professionals, I have noticed that this shift from a case management to “change agent” approach is significant and challenging. Not only does the shift involve learning specific and concrete “content” (i.e., complex change agent skills and techniques), but it also involves learning the “how to” of applying this new “content” to their work with clients.

In community corrections, a continually changing landscape is nothing new. Corrections has a long history of trying “new” approaches, whether evidence-based or not (Latessa, Cullen & Gendreau, 2002). Thus, community supervision officers find themselves in familiar territory, with management requesting (in many instances, requiring) officers to attend trainings. Of course, the expectation is that the officers will implement the new skills into practice. However, the vast majority of the officers who attend these trainings have years of experience working in the field and have attended all sorts of training initiatives. For better or worse, they have likely seen many of these “new ideas” come and go. It should come as no surprise that some community supervision officers and other front-line staff arrive at trainings with some skepticism and in some cases with reluctance and even resistance to training, particularly to trainings like STICS that promote a rather significant change in the way community supervision operates.

As a trainer, I recognize and understand this skepticism and consequent resistance and reluctance. Because STICS includes long-term ongoing clinical support and communication with the STICS training team, I have had the opportunity to see these reactions and listen to officers as they struggle not only during the formal in-class training, but also in the months and even years following. Having had a seat so close to the professional and personal challenges and difficulties over this evolution, I believe that an appropriate image for the supervising officer is that of a foot soldier. Like the soldier who has marched into the battlefield and, tired, weary, and burdened with the ever-changing orders from the generals, must make crucial decisions all alone, the community supervision officer “follows” the orders of management (i.e., policies and directives) and works tirelessly behind closed doors to promote change in clients characterized as antisocial, lacking motivation or in downright denial, resistant, defensive, aggressive, and criminal. As a trainer, it is my intent to provide participants with information that is backed by strong evidence and that I fully believe will help officers work more effectively with their clients and very likely enhance their work satisfaction. My training is not done to make their lives miserable. For officers to achieve the positive result I intend, they must listen to and understand what is being taught. Because our training includes practical skills and techniques, learning them requires trying them (that is, practicing them in role plays and with clients) as well as listening to and using feedback from others (such as trainers, coaches, peers, and clients) to continue to improve and develop.

In the final section of this article, I would like to discuss the skepticism and resistance that trainers see and hear during the implementation of STICS. I recognize that discussing potential “negativity” of officers may be rather taboo and appear critical, but in fact such reactions are quite understandable. Nonetheless, I believe that this negativity can cause unnecessary barriers, anger, resentment, and dissatisfaction with work before giving new ideas a chance. Below, I present a few common reactions and suggest alternative perspectives about learning and professional change that could benefit the “foot soldier” of community corrections.

Participating in Training

As a trainer, I provide participants with information and encourage new ways to understand and work with clients, including teaching concrete skills through guidance and feedback. For the officer, this training is another in a multitude of trainings received, and I am another “expert” “informing” officers how to improve their work. In this context, it is easy to see how officers, who are often “volun-told” to attend, can sense criticism of their job performance. I have heard some officers suggest that the trainers don’t have the experience (e.g., they are not probation officers like themselves) to truly understand their challenges. For those trainers who do have experience in the criminal justice system, I have heard suggestions that this experience is not the same as their experience, or that the trainers are somehow different from the participants (for example, the trainer is a psychologist and not simply a probation officer). Such skepticism and negativity towards the trainers hinders hearing and understanding the information the trainers present and minimizing its personal and professional relevance. Regardless of the background and experience of the trainers, they are simply providing information backed up with evidence, and they ask only that officers listen and make efforts to understand and learn the material, as it stands to benefit the officers in their work with clients.

The second barrier trainers notice in STICS training is the translation of key cognitive-behavioral concepts and techniques from the scientific/academic world to one that is more responsive to their style of learning. For example, rather than using words such as “reinforcers” and “punishers,” STICS trainers encourage the use of the terms “cookies” and “boots” with clients. Offense cycles and various antecedent—behavior—consequence models are translated into a simple Behavior Sequence and presented to the client through something we call Spot, the Dog. Although cognitive-behavioral terms and approaches are not new to officers, the terminology and methods employed in STICS are a substantive change. It is not uncommon for some officers to tell trainers that they already perform essentially the same thing as cognitive-behavioral interventions with their clients; or that the STICS language and techniques are too simple, condescending, and belittling to the client; or worse still, that they are “just stupid.”

Paradoxically, I have also heard the criticism that STICS is too complicated and too hard to understand. In their frustration and

confusion over newly presented information, some officers understandably express the view that if *they* don’t get it, then their clients never will. Such sentiments can certainly create a substantial barrier to learning if a participant begins to dismiss the potential benefits and functionality of the content of the training. With this dismissal comes a decrease in the likelihood that the new skills and techniques will be implemented back in the office; certainly such sentiments place a barrier to further practice and enhancement of the newly trained materials. However, the skills, concepts, and techniques were derived not just from research and theory, but also from real work with real clients who informed us about “what works” with them. Although some officers may react in a certain way to the materials, the reaction of clients may not be the same. The trainers ask officers to make every effort to learn what is being taught and try the material with clients to see for themselves how it can work. For example, one officer who tested her belief that the terms “cookies” and “boots” would be poorly received was surprised by her client’s positive reaction to the terms and by how quickly the client was able to learn and apply the concepts. As she said, “Who would have thought?”

Another barrier to learning, practicing, and using STICS has been concern over the challenges and difficulties inherent in operational implementation. Officers hear about this new way of conducting supervision and immediately look at the feasibility of actually incorporating it into their day-to-day work. The present demands placed on officers are considerable. Caseloads are high and policies and directives implore officers to meet deadlines for conducting risk/need assessments and presentence reports and contacting collaterals. In addition there are requirements about how often officers must meet with their clients, monitor compliance with conditions, liaise with other partners, and of course, document all information. STICS asks officers to use their time with clients strategically; it asks that they work with clients differently. To some extent, it means initially doing more, since officers must strategically plan supervision sessions before seeing the client. At the beginning, this process may take more time. However, according to reports from officers, as they become more comfortable and fluent in STICS, the work they do with the client becomes more focused and it actually takes *less* time to “get to the work.” STICS assumes a 20- to 30-minute supervision session. Trainers

recognize that implementing STICS will be difficult, but not impossible. There are challenges at the organizational level but also for the officer. It seems likely, however, that as long as there is community supervision, officers will meet face-to-face with their clients. Sure, there are many hurdles for officers and their organizations to implement this new approach, but when the officer and client meet and the doors are closed, officers always have choices about what they say and do and where they will lead those discussions. Those of us who undertake the training ask that officers take the time to learn the material and try to apply this new way of working so that both client and officer may experience the potential benefits of this different way of working.

As officers become more knowledgeable about STICS, I often hear of other barriers to the actual implementation of this new approach behind closed doors. Some officers can see how this new approach could work, but they also are concerned that it won't. Earlier I described the belief of some officers that STICS will be insulting to the clients or too complicated for them to understand, rendering it ineffective. Another common view is that STICS will not work with specific clients because they are too transient, too mentally ill, too mentally challenged, too much in denial, their lives too chaotic or too much in crisis. What I hear is an acknowledgement that STICS can work, but only with the right clients. By focusing on a particular client pool that they assume the new material will not work with, these officers prevent themselves from seeing the potential benefits for every client and even hinder efforts to try the new materials and approach. The trainers encourage officers to recognize that they do not know how each and every client may respond to this new way of doing things; the best way to find out is by learning, practicing, and improving skill level to ensure high-quality "testing" with actual clients.

Last but not least, another barrier to learning and implementation rests solely on the shoulders of the officers: that is their desire to do work with the highest degree of quality. It is very common to hear officers express their worry that they don't know the material well enough, that they are not good enough at using the language, skills, and techniques, that others (whether clients, coaches, and/or supervisors) will see that they haven't mastered the material. They fear looking unknowledgeable, unprofessional, or just "plain stupid" in front of others. These worries

are real for the officer, and in my experience place further barriers to their learning by preventing in-vivo practice with their clients back at the office. All the training in the classroom cannot replace "real world" in-vivo use with clients, where they can observe clients' responses and use them as feedback to further enhance skill level and mastery. All of those officers who strive for and demand excellence from themselves should remind themselves that they have just learned about these new skills, techniques, and approaches. Getting comfortable with them and being "good" at them takes time, practice, and patience. Officers need to continue trying to learn these techniques and approaches, to use them with clients, and to give themselves "cookies" for their efforts, hard work, and dedication to professional development.

Summary

Community corrections agencies continue to change and transform. The "What Works" research and its principles of risk, need, and responsibility have brought significant changes to the way community corrections works. The push to implement evidence-based practices and the corresponding evolution from case management to change agent have made significant demands not only on the daily work of probation officers, but also on their continuing education and professional development. Learning new "behind closed doors" skills and techniques is complex, demanding, and difficult. Anyone who follows the evidence on learning evidence-based practices knows that these skills and practices do not come simply with attendance at a traditional "one-shot" workshop, but develop over time with ongoing clinical support and continuing education activities (e.g., coaching and feedback from actual use with clients; Bourgon et al., 2010a; Walters et al., 2005). Although there are many hurdles to quality implementation, both at an organizational and an individual level, these barriers can be overcome. For each individual officer who faces the prospect of change, it is a daunting task. Organizations and trainers can provide the opportunities and supports, but ultimately, when the door closes and the officer and client meet face-to-face, the officer must decide what he or she will do with the time allotted to clients. Like the lonely foot soldier, laden with a heavy burden alone in the trenches, officers must draw upon their own resources and decide for themselves whether to march forward or stay where they are. The power to choose is theirs.

References

- Abadinsky, H. (2009). *Probation and parole: Theory and practice*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2010). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (5th ed.). New Providence, NJ: LexisNexis Matthew Bender.
- Andrews, D. A., & Kiessling, J. J. (1980). Program structure and effective correctional practices: A summary of the CaVIC research. In R.R. Ross & P. Gendreau (Eds.), *Effective correctional treatment* (pp. 439-463). Toronto: Butterworth.
- Bernfeld, G. A., Farrington, D. P., & Leschied, A. W. (Eds.) (2001). *Offender rehabilitation in practice: Implementing and evaluating effective programs*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
- Bonta, J., Bourgon, G., Rugge, T., Scott, T.-L., Yessine, A. K., Gutierrez, L., & Li, J. (2011). An experimental demonstration of training probation officers in evidence-based community supervision. *Criminal Justice and behavior*, 38, 1127-1148.
- Bonta, J., Rugge, T., Scott, T., Bourgon, G., & Yessine, A. (2008). Exploring the black box of community supervision. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 47, 248-270.
- Bourgon, G., Bonta, J., Rugge, T. & Gutierrez, L. (2010a). Technology transfer: The importance of ongoing clinical supervision in translating "what works" to everyday community supervision. In F. McNeil, P. Raynor & C. Trotter (Eds.), *Offender supervision. New Directions in Theory, Research and Practice*, pp. 88-106. Willan Publishing.
- Bourgon, B., Bonta, J., Rugge, T., Scott, T.L. & Yessine, A. K. (2010b). The role of program design, implementation, and evaluation in evidence-based "real world" community supervision. *Federal Probation*, 74(1), 2-15.
- Bourgon, G., & Gutierrez, L. (2012). The general Responsibility principle in community supervision: The importance of probation officers using cognitive intervention techniques and its influence on recidivism. *Journal of Crime & Justice*, 35, 149-166.
- Bourgon, G., Gutierrez, L. & Ashton, J. (2011). The evolution of community supervision practice: The transformation from case manager to change agent. *Irish Probation Journal*, 8, 28-48.
- Dowden, C., & Andrews, D. A. (2004). The importance of staff practices in delivering effective correctional treatment: A meta-analysis of core correctional practices. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 48, 203-214.
- Fixsen, D.L., Naoom, S.F., Blasé, K.A., Friedman, R.M., & Wallace, F. (2005). *Implementation research: A synthesis of the literature*. Louis de la Parte Florida Mental Health Institute Publication #231. Tampa, Florida.

- Gibbons, S. G., & Rosecrance, J. D. (2005). *Probation, parole, and community corrections in the United States*. Boston, MA: Pearson Allyn and Bacon.
- Goggin, C., & Gendreau, P. (2006). The implementation and maintenance of quality services in offender rehabilitation programs. In C. R. Hollin & E. J. Palmer (Eds.), *Offending behaviour programmes: Development, application, and controversies* (pp. 209–246). Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hanson, R. K., Bourgon, G., Helmus, L., & Hodgson, S. (2009). The principles of effective correctional treatment also apply to sexual offenders: A meta-analysis. *Criminal Justice & Behavior*, 36, 865–891.
- Landenberger, N. A., & Lipsey, M. W. (2005). The positive effects of cognitive-behavioral programs for offenders: A meta-analysis of factors associated with effective treatment. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 1, 451–476.
- Latessa, E.J., Cullen, F.T., & Gendreau, P. (2002). Beyond correctional quackery—professionalism and the possibility of effective treatment. *Federal Probation*, 66(2), 43–49.
- Lipsey, M. W. (2009). The primary factors that characterize effective interventions with juvenile offenders: A meta-analytic overview. *Victims & Offenders*, 4, 124–147.
- Lösel, F., & Schmucker, M. (2005). The effectiveness of treatment for sexual offenders: A comprehensive meta-analysis. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 1, 117–146.
- Lowenkamp, C. T., Latessa, E. J., & Smith, P. (2006). Does correctional program quality really matter? The impact of adhering to the principles of effective intervention. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 5, 575–594.
- Polaschek, D. L., & Ross, E.C. (2010). Do early therapeutic alliance, motivation, and stages of change predict therapy change for high-risk, psychopathic violent prisoners? *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health*, 20, 100–111.
- Robinson, C. R., Lowenkamp, C.T., Holsinger, A.M., VanBenschoten, S.W., Alexander, M., & Oleson, J. C. (2012). A random study of Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest (STARR): Using core correctional practices in probation interactions. *Journal of Crime and Justice* 35(2):167–188.
- Robinson, C.R., VanBenschoten, S., Alexander, M., & Lowenkamp, C.T. (2011). A random (almost) study of staff training aimed at reducing re-arrest (STARR): Reducing recidivism through intentional design. *Federal Probation*, 75(2), 57–63.
- Taxman, F.S. (2008). No illusions: Offender and organizational change in Maryland's proactive community supervision efforts. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 7, 275–302.
- Taxman, F. S., Henderson, C., & Lerch, J. (2010). The socio-political context of reforms in probation agencies: Impact on adoption of evidence-based practices. In F. McNeil, P. Raynor & C. Trotter (Eds.), *Offender supervision: New Directions in Theory, Research and Practice* (pp. 336–378). Willan Publishing.
- Trotter, C. (1996). The impact of different supervision practices in community corrections: Cause for optimism. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 29, 1–18.
- Walters, S.T., Matson, S.A., Baer, J.S., & Ziedonis, D.M. (2005). Effectiveness of workshop training for psychosocial addiction treatments: A systematic review. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 29, 283–293.

The Trials and Tribulations of Implementing *What Works*: Training Rarely Trumps Values

Mario A. Paparozzi

Roger Guy

University of North Carolina at Pembroke¹

“What a program is, research tells us consistently, matters less to program outcomes than how it is carried out.”
—McLaughlin et al., 1975

LET ME STATE up front that I make no attempt in this article to couch my observations and conclusions under the cloak of peer-reviewed scholarly writings, although there will be some reference to them throughout. Instead, I will share some personal experiences that I believe to be representative of many—not all—probation, parole, and community corrections jurisdictions. It is my hope that some of the professional skeletons in the organizational closets of corrections, in particular community corrections, will be better understood as the “last frontier” to be explored and targeted in order to effectively implement evidence-based practices that reduce recidivism.

We have learned a great deal about *what works* with regard to programs associated with offender recidivism reduction. Far too little attention has been paid to the impact of staff and organizational factors—*organizational capital*—on recidivism rates (Paparozzi & Schlager, 2009). Yet, any right-thinking professional is, in all likelihood, acutely aware of the fact that implementation of *good* programs requires *good* people—people who passionately value the purposes of their work and who possess the skills and competencies necessary to

carry it out. In fact, acknowledgement of staff and organizational factors as potential factors that influence recidivism rates has been well documented over the years (Petersilia, 1990; Gendreau & Andrews 2001; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Andrews & Bonta, 2006; Gendreau, Smith, & Thériault, 2009). It might be that more attention to programs and less to organizational capital occurs because it is easier, if not safer, to talk about shortcomings of programs rather than ourselves. That being said, some will likely feel a bit defensive because they do not see themselves as fitting within the professional issues that impede the implementation of evidence-based programs as I have laid them out herein.

To be sure, there are many corrections professionals who are doing excellent work but who, like me, are concerned about larger structural issues that prevent probation and parole from being all that they can be as viable and broadly valued public safety and justice components of the criminal justice system. If you are a corrections professional possessing the values and competencies required by our business, be assured that my concerns are not addressed to you. In fact, my guess is that you will share my concerns about why the plethora of *what works* research evidence has difficulty negotiating certain headwinds that stunt professional growth and development.

Background Information

Some background on the first author is essential if what is said in this article is to have any credibility with its readers.

It has been 40 years since I entered into the corrections profession. Thirty of those years were spent as a practitioner, working my way up the organizational ladder from parole officer trainee to assistant corrections commissioner and ultimately state parole board chairman, overseeing all aspects of community corrections programs and parole. In addition to my work on the streets, my professional involvement includes the following: 1) founder of a labor union representing community corrections line staff and managers; b) mid-level manager and administrator; c) chief executive officer; d) leadership roles in several professional associations related to corrections; and e) countless conference talks, training workshops, consulting services, and technical assistance to practitioner agencies in 44 states and 8 foreign nations.

My professional activities have provided me with opportunities to understand my beloved profession from a perspective that would have been impossible from a more parochial vantage point. Moreover, such an expansive perspective has revealed to me that social forces produce similar staff behaviors and organizational dynamics in most correctional jurisdictions, whether in North America or abroad—the differences are only in the matter of degree. Among these is a reverberating echo of the critical importance of values and attitudes of leaders and line staff.

Of course there are many other correctional insiders who are just as involved, if not more so, than I have been over the years. And, in the multitude of backstage conversations that I have had with the overwhelming

¹ The second author assisted with background research, editing, and reference citations. The reference to the first person throughout the article refers to the first author.

majority of them over the years, common themes arise about staff characteristics of correctional practitioners at all organizational levels. Some of the major themes are captured in recurring comments made to me during my interactions with practitioners. In fact, I have a record of many, but the following seem most apropos to the topic at hand and go beyond being merely anecdotal. They are that many practitioners:

- Possess personal values that are antithetical to the goals and objectives of the correctional enterprise—“Most offenders can never be changed, and even if they could be, they are not worth the effort” (a statement to me by a correctional agency head).
- Believe that punishment—not rehabilitation—should be the primary philosophical underpinning of correctional programs and practices—“Community service is not a teaching moment; it is better thought of as a cheap and public form of punishment. That is why I required a probationer to clean the front doors of the courthouse with a toothbrush” (a statement made to me by a judge responsible for overseeing and making policy for a probation department).
- Are convinced that they have little or no influence in reducing individual offender recidivism by making use of evidence-based practices—“These latest flavor-of-the-month programs are nothing new. The administration really doesn't believe in them either; they just make us do them so that we don't appear to be professional Neanderthals” (a statement made to me by a line staff probation officer on the job for eight years).
- Do not see training as a pathway to professional development:
 - ▶ “We are required to have 40 hours of staff training each year. When we hand out paychecks every month, we have a brief meeting to discuss new policies; this qualifies as staff training” (a statement made to me by a mid-level manager of a probation/parole agency).
 - ▶ “It does not matter what programs we get trained on. All the agency cares about is how many contacts we make, and if we are making them as required by policy. We don't get bad performance ratings if the offenders that we supervise become recidivists, but we do if we miss a contact or are late with a report” (a statement made to me by a parole officer on the job for two years).

- ▶ “Training is not my responsibility. If my agency does not pay for it, then I am not going to participate” (a statement made to me by a probation officer about why more line staff do not hold membership in professional associations or attend professional conferences).

Now, while drawing conclusions based on personal generalizations can range from banal to damaging to individuals and organizations, some credibility should be conferred upon them when they are shared by many and also supported by scholarly writings (Gendreau, Goggin, Cullen, & Paparozzi, 2002; Latessa, Cullen, & Gendreau, 2002). In my interactions with practitioner colleagues, I find many who share my views—some publicly, but most quietly. In any case, my purpose here is to constructively advance the profession, and the primary point is that the elephant in the living room is very often us!

There are some among us who, from the start, were never a good fit with the vision, mission, goals, and objectives of corrections. Many, as I have heard countless times over the years, desired careers in law enforcement upon graduation from college, but for one reason or another were unable to achieve their personal career goal and begrudgingly fell back on careers in probation and parole. Others were looking for careers in which they could *help people in need and who wanted to be helped*. Some simply wanted a job with a decent income, benefits, and job security. And, lest we forget the unsavory role of politics in our profession, many are the result of “must hire”² political patronage jobs (see also for example Estes & Allen, 2011). There are, as well, some individuals who intentionally sought careers in probation, parole, and community corrections because they were passionate about its value to public safety and justice for all; my impression is that they are in the minority either in number or in the supremacy of their voice. In any case, their actual numbers and their influence within agencies in many instances are, in my view, often insufficient to establish and maintain organizational cultures deserving of the name “professional.”

² As political administrations change, it is often the case that community corrections agencies are asked, in some instances required, to hire individuals referred by politicians. In some quarters, hiring the referred individual is required—ergo the term “must hire.” Even when the hire is not mandatory, agency heads exercise the option not to hire at their own peril. In fact, the first author experienced this scenario numerous times during his career.

Indeed, I came to the profession quite haphazardly, and my own story is an excellent example of the kind of thing that I wish to highlight. I understand that not everyone's story mirrors mine, but in my experience, too many do. That being said, even if only 10 to 20 percent of new hires into the profession share a similar story, there would be a significant downward drag on mission accomplishment.

I was a college senior applying for just about any civil service job for which my degree in sociology would qualify me. My career goal was to get a job that was not shoveling asphalt or working in a factory for minimum wage. I had virtually no knowledge of the criminal justice system, let alone any aspect of community corrections, except through my association with a few acquaintances who had served time in juvenile detention, adult jails, and prisons and then on probation or parole. I passed a civil service exam for parole officer trainee—there were no questions related to the career that I was about to embark upon, a fact unknown to me at the time. I remember one multiple-choice question on the exam that asked for the definition of the word *ovoid*. (I later found out that ovoid means elliptical. After all of these years, I still wonder why someone thought this word important enough to include on a screening exam for a community corrections job applicant.) I passed the exam, and one year later, when my rank-ordered exam grade queued up, I was called for an in-person interview.

My interview consisted of being asked to name the top three of nine locations where I would like to be assigned. The three that I named were known to me to be very nice areas. After hearing my choices, my interviewer (the chief of the agency) said that he could not hire me because the areas that I named were highly desirable, and that many in-house people with lots of seniority wanted transfers to those locations. He added that had I mentioned one particular city—one well known for being plagued by social and economic ills and with high staff turnover—I would have been hired immediately. I responded by telling my interviewer that I was born in that city, and I had always wanted to return to my roots. I was hired. He made no inquiries about my personal values or beliefs about helping criminals versus punishing them, nor was I queried about my knowledge base regarding the criminal justice system in general. At the time, none of this mattered to me. In retrospect, I am convinced that it should have mattered to both of us.

The Relevance of Staff Attitudes and Values—Who Are We Anyway?

People end up in community corrections careers for a panoply of reasons. If one spends an appreciable amount of time in the business, all are likely to be countenanced. With such an array of individuals, very often possessing contradictory values, the skill and competency levels vary widely. As such, the task of developing a competency-based staff-training program that could reach such a fractured audience would be daunting, if not impossible. Even if such a program could be developed, there still would remain the matter of addressing individual values and psychosocial attributes that may be inconsistent with effectively performing the social casework, community advocacy, and law enforcement functions of the profession.

When individual values are congruent with evidence-based practices for offender recidivism reduction, rigorous training may produce competent professionals. Too often, however, core values are overlooked in hiring decisions and staff performance evaluations related to correctional practitioners (Paparozzi & Caplan, 2009). Inappropriate values, for example, filter new information and impede their objective assessment. This may be why some practitioners (and political policymakers) have lukewarm feelings about the efficacy of academic research and scholarly theories about crime and criminal behavior (Gendreau, Smith, & Thériault, 2009). Moreover, because they are deeply ingrained, values are extremely difficult to change through training and education.

The personal characteristics of probation and parole officers and the effete potential of training to correct deficits in values were noted as far back as 1941, and they are still relevant today:

- “Let me disclaim immediately..., that training can work any special miracles. Sending a poor officer [to training before or on the job] is no guarantee that he will be better when he returns....”
- Individuals “...may be brilliant intellectually...yet fail...because they lack... [sensitivity]..., quick perception, fundamental respect for [offenders], and flexibility” (Witte, 1941).

The fact is that professional values and competencies that support the implementation of an evidence-based “what works” agenda are too often lacking (Anonymous, 1911; Layne, 1937; Lawes, 1937; Witte, 1941; Butler, 2009;

Conrad, 1979; Fonger, 2009; Goldmacher, 2008; Martin, 1954; Petersilia, 1990; Fulton, Stichman, Travis, & Latessa, 1997; Paparozzi & Caplan, 2009; Lowenkamp, Holsinger, Robinson & Cullen, 2012). Paparozzi & Guy (2009) note that individual values serve to predispose correctional practitioners toward attitudes that facilitate or impede professional goals. Similarly, Gendreau, Goggin, Cullen, and Paparozzi (2002) note that failure to give due diligence to the qualifications and personal commitment of individuals charged with the administration of correctional programs can often lead to the development of policies and practices that may seem to derive from common sense but in reality are more akin to professional quackery.

Probation and Parole Officers Are Social Workers and Law Enforcers

For decades, probation and parole practitioners have been debating whether they are primarily social workers or law enforcers. (My view is that probation and parole officers must be both.) Sadly, this debate seems no closer to resolution today than when I entered the profession 40 years ago. Arguments have been made over the years about whether one individual can be both a helper and an enforcer (Clear & Latessa, 1993; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Whetzel, Paparozzi, Alexander, & Lowenkamp, 2011). I believe that individuals with appropriate values and skills can be both—I have met many over the years. Likewise, I believe that there are individuals with polarized values and that their effective crossover into one or the other domains is not possible—I have met many of these too.

Academically speaking, the community corrections component of the criminal justice system is expected to enhance public safety by managing offender risk in the short term and changing offender behavior in the long term (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Wodahl & Garland, 2009). However, many “street-level bureaucrats” (Lipsky, 1980) primarily define their jobs as:

- Unreservedly enforcing conditions of probation and/or parole—whatever they are.
- Making and documenting the required number of office, home, and community contacts.
- Writing reports for the court and/or paroling authority.
- Incarcerating technical violators.

A few years back, I wrote that in order for probation, parole, and community corrections to effectively accomplish its goals and objectives, it is necessary to understand the importance of Treatment + Surveillance + Enforcement—in that temporal ordering (Paparozzi & DeMichele, 2008). Failure to ground community correctional practice in this paradigm misses the point of what is expected from us as a profession and is also a misunderstanding of the nature of our involuntary and potentially dangerous clientele.

To breathe life into each aspect of the paradigm requires different operational considerations:

1. *Treatment* requirements:
 - Ground risk assessments criminogenically.
 - Provide appropriate services to offenders.
 - Provide proactive case management and planning.
2. *Surveillance* requirements:
 - Monitor the quality and delivery of services.
 - Assure the offender’s active engagement and progress in treatment and services.
3. *Enforcement* requirements:
 - Hold offenders accountable at all times.
 - Protect the public from harm by ratcheting up community, and if needed, custodial controls.

My observation is that the surveillance and enforcement functions are frequently misunderstood and given disproportionate emphasis.

Surveillance is too often understood to mean the following: curfew checks, electronic monitoring, increased offender reporting, and home contacts for the purpose of expediting the violation of offenders under supervision. Surveillance does indeed play an important role in the work of community corrections, and at certain times, *bed checks* are justified. Their central objective, however, should not be punitive. The primary import of surveillance derives from the need to monitor the delivery of quality services and the offender’s progress during the course of supervision—a point that is often given less attention by individuals and agencies that possess a skewed law enforcement bent and a penchant for violating offenders. Only through surveillance activities that are understood within the context of changing offender behavior as well as risk management (e.g., targeting dynamic criminogenic needs, modifying case plans, etc.) can the full potential of probation and parole be realized.

The *enforcement* component, intentionally last in the temporal ordering, speaks to the need to hold offenders accountable at all times and to protect the public from imminent harm. Typically, the enforcement continuum spans from holding offenders accountable through graduated sanctions to incarceration. Graduated sanctions reached a zenith in the 1990s (Cronin, 1994; Petersilia, 1998), and many policies developed to implement them seem to make sense. Less obvious, however, are the quantitative and qualitative variations in the use of graduated sanctions. Some line staff are quick to pull the trigger while others are too late on the draw (Clear & Hardyman, 1990; Lurigio & Petersilia, 1992; Paternoster, Brame, Bachman, & Sherman, 1997). The critical importance of whether probation/parole officers are social workers or law enforcement officers, or both, is paramount to how the enforcement function of probation and parole is carried out.

There has been increased attention to the law enforcement functions of community corrections over the past three decades (Wodahl & Garland, 2009). Concerns for staff safety, the belief that today's probationers and parolees are far more dangerous than those in the past (a belief that I personally do not agree with—they were always dangerous), and public calls for offender accountability and punishment have all contributed to a distorted emphasis on the enforcement component of probation, parole, and community corrections.

Andrews and Bonta (2010), Trotter (2006), and Skeem, Eno Loudon, Polaschek, and Camp (2007) all note that when the enforcement function is highly valued by line staff, establishing a positive working relationship with the offender and effectively implementing evidence-based programs for offender rehabilitation are obstructed. The question for the profession is this: *Can the enforcement function of probation and parole be performed without degrading efforts to accomplish offender rehabilitation?* My belief is that it can. The offender rehabilitation and public safety expectations of probation and parole are inextricably intertwined: The former (offender rehabilitation) is the best evidence-based strategy for accomplishing the latter (public safety). Offender rehabilitation is not a goal: It is a strategy for achieving the goal.

In fact, I have long been a proponent of arming probation and parole officers (Paparozzi, 1990) and providing these officers with the ability to make arrests and execute fugitive warrants. The basis for my advocacy

in arming probation and parole officers is twofold. First, line staff need to feel safe at all hours of the day and night working in the communities where offenders reside. The work of community corrections cannot be accomplished by working bankers' hours in an office (Corbett, 1999). Second, when community corrections agencies rely on outside agencies to enforce fugitive and/or violation warrants, their warrants often receive a low priority. When this happens, probation and parole warrants filed with outside agencies are, for the most part, enforced after the offender commits a new crime, or to a much lesser extent, when records are checked by a police agency. This kind of reactive scenario for warrant execution jeopardizes public safety and places probation and parole in the vulnerable position of having to account to the general public and politicians for why its fugitives were often missing in plain view until they committed a new crime.

Unfortunately, many community supervision agencies have improperly and prodigiously latched onto the law enforcement component of the community supervision function. The result is a serious diminution of the longstanding and basic human service delivery function of probation and parole, which is fundamental to evidence-based offender rehabilitation programs. I have observed several examples of this organizational dynamic in probation and parole jurisdictions across the nation. One agency, for example, expanded its line-staff training to include underwater rescue and traffic stops. Another changed the titles of its community corrections supervisory staff to police-like titles such as captain, lieutenant, and sergeant. Still another that I encountered was having difficulty settling a debate about whether or not line staff should be required to wear pants with a stripe similar to that of corrections officers.

Agency line staff, managers, and department heads that favor law enforcement activities over social casework generally cannot effectively do the work of community corrections; the reverse is also true. My personal view is that treatment, surveillance, and enforcement should be done in-house, whenever possible. My personal views aside, it is the function that is important, not who performs it. Therefore, if any or all of the three functions can be effectively executed through brokerage to outside agencies, the integrity of the model stands. What is important is that each of the three components, and their temporal ordering, are valued by leaders and line staff and

that those performing them possess the values and competencies necessary to perform each of them in ways that comport with the philosophy and practice of community corrections.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In the dominions of prisons, jails, probation, parole, and community corrections, a major organizational objective is offender recidivism reduction. To the extent that recidivism is reduced, there will be fewer victims of crime and reduced criminal justice system costs (Morris & Tonry, 1990). A wealth of knowledge regarding how to best accomplish offender recidivism reduction has been produced and widely disseminated over the past 40 years (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000). This comprehensive knowledge base, which continues to grow with each passing year, is quite specific about effective and ineffective principles for enhancing public safety through offender recidivism reduction.

Given the corporeality of "what works" knowledge related to effective and ineffective principles for offender recidivism reduction, it is fair to ask why practical applications of what is known have not been easily, broadly, and effectively transformed into practice. In fact, certain community corrections practitioners and academic scholars are increasingly perplexed by the fact that there remains individual and organizational resistance (Bonta, Ruggie, Scott, Bourgon & Yessine, 2008; Bonta, Bourgon, Ruggie, Scott, Yessine, Gutierrez & Li, 2011), not to mention external political aversion, to proactive implementation of offender rehabilitation programs that are built on a foundation grounded in research evidence.

As recently as 2008, it was reported that offenders under community supervision that purportedly used evidence-based practices versus offenders who received no such supervision experienced only 2 percent reduction in recidivism (Bonta et al., 2008). For violent offenders under supervision, no difference was found. Bonta et al. (2008) suggest that the reason for this poor result can be explained by poor program implementation. They found that: 1) risk, need, and responsivity principles—a staple of the principles for effective intervention—were not consistently applied; 2) a majority of relevant criminogenic need factors were ignored; and 3) no more than 25 percent of the staff made use of cognitive behavioral techniques. Bonta et al.'s (2008) findings mirror those of Andrews, Dowden, and Gendreau (1999), and my own personal

experiences. Andrews et al. (1999) found that 87 percent of the correctional programs that they examined made no mention of evidence-based principles for offender recidivism reduction, and there was virtually no concern for the therapeutic integrity of program implementation. Not surprisingly, these programs had no effect on recidivism.

Equally on point is the fact that, depending upon the politics of the day, agency leaders with a variety of values and competencies are appointed to establish agendas and oversee operations. These leaders are often political appointees who serve at the pleasure of the elected officials to whom they owe their jobs; this too is a long-standing professional problem (Witte, 1941; Tabor, 1942). Such a politicized environment is very often antithetical to professional development. Therefore, the actualization of principles that are professionally sound but politically unpopular either is adulterated or fails to occur at all.

A few leadership examples drawn from my personal experiences with chief executive officers (CEOs) of community correctional agencies will help drive this point home. Among the community correctional CEOs I have met, one had work experience as an owner/operator of fast food restaurants, one was a lottery commissioner, one was a civil law attorney, one was an elected sheriff, one was a police officer, one was a public school teacher, and one was a social worker. Which value and skill set is best for probation and parole? What message is sent to line staff when their leaders keep changing and possess such a broad range of values and skill sets? If leaders can come from such a broad array of backgrounds, then why can't all agency personnel too? It is extremely doubtful that more and better staff training can assure that evidence-based programs and practices will be implemented effectively in such organizational environments.

The importance of the relationship between committed and competent leaders and successful program implementation cannot be overstated (Tabor, 1942; Witte, 1941; Petersilia, 1990; Pappozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Reinventing Probation Council, 2000; Beto, Corbett, & DiIulio, 2000). This is a fact that is rarely stated publicly but is well-known by insiders. Is it any wonder then why many evidence-based programs experience implementation difficulties and have not produced expected results (Gendreau & Andrews, 1979; Peeler & Latessa, 2004)?

I hope that by now I have made the case that acquiring knowledge about how to accomplish organizational objectives is a necessary but insufficient basis for producing desired results. While it is true that not all knowledge is produced for some utilitarian purpose beyond intellectual, philosophical, or esoteric endeavors, knowledge related to best practices for making communities safer places to live should give birth to action (Guy, 2011; Buroway, 2005). Failure to do so is professionally negligent. To meet the demands and challenges of organizational objectives such as recidivism reduction, knowledge must be translated into action. And it is precisely this point that is, in the words of the now legendary Paul Harvey, "the rest of the story."

Bridging knowledge and practice has not been an easy task, especially in the corrections profession. I can recall countless correctional conferences, training sessions, and workshops dating back to the early 1970s that lamented the failure to build such a bridge. This story line, however, has a much deeper history in probation and parole, at least 70 years, as far as I can determine, as of the writing of this article. Witte (1941) noted that it "... appears that specific casework principles are more accepted in theory than in actual practice in the field of probation and parole."

The failure to build the knowledge/practice bridge has public safety implications. In recent years, construction on such a bridge seems to be further underway than at any time previously. In spite of improvements with regard to the merging of knowledge and practice, too many correctional agency managers still struggle with getting staff to robustly embrace and implement cutting-edge evidence-based practices.

Turning to staff training is a common response for resolving the knowledge to practice conundrum. While staff training is certainly extremely important, its limitations are often poorly understood. Staff training, for example, does little to modify deeply-held values that run counter to the entire notion of rehabilitating offenders. It should come as no surprise to any experienced corrections practitioner, for example, that the continuum of staff and management values runs from beliefs in retributive punishment and the notion that offenders cannot be changed—ever—to assumptions that offender rehabilitation enhances public safety and is humane—the right thing to do. This range of conflicting beliefs/values about the correctional enterprise has been well known to correctional

insiders for many years. In fact, sometimes individual practitioners do lack the necessary skills to implement new programs. Staff training, however, when layered atop individual values and political environments that are philosophically contrary to the underpinnings of clearly articulated evidence-based practices, is ineffective. The values and belief systems of individual correctional practitioners and organizational cultures must be concerns of the first order.

Examples of some very basic values that are essential to the effective practice of our profession include the belief that: 1) risk levels can be actuarially determined through the identification of criminogenic factors; 2) providing services that target criminogenic need factors reduces the probability of recidivism; and 3) offenders should be afforded every opportunity to fully reintegrate into society. Many corrections professionals embrace these foundational values, but many do not. Others within the profession simply have no opinion. Regardless of whether these values are embraced, abhorred, or irrelevant to the holder, the *corrections professional* title is applied with impunity. Should we not be telling some of these emperors that they have no clothes on?

What seem to be the most pressing problems facing all facets of the corrections profession relate more to *organizational capital* than to a paucity of sound empirical research evidence and credible psychological and/or sociological theory about specific practices and programs that embrace principles for effective intervention—commonly referred to as the "what works" model. The time has come to gain a better understanding of these issues:

1. organizational structures that stunt professional growth and development,
2. the critical importance of leadership,
3. professionalism, and
4. politics.

The issues related to each of the foregoing components of organizational capital within the corrections profession are critical to the effective implementation of evidence-based practices, and they represent the last frontier for effective correctional policy (Pappozzi & Schlager, 2009).

Some policy recommendations going forward are:

- Articulate specific core competency and credential requirements for hiring staff.
- Hire agency leaders who are properly credentialed and professionally—not politically—qualified.

- Give increased attention to individual values when making hiring decisions.
- Develop training and staff certification in offender treatment and community collaborations that balance offender rehabilitation and social services with enforcement functions.
- Establish management information systems and staff performance evaluations that reflect a commitment to short-term risk management and long-term behavioral reform as primary operational goals.

References

- Andrews, D.A., & Bonta, J. (2010). Rehabilitating criminal justice policy and practice. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 16 (1): 39–55.
- Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2006). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (4th Ed.). Newark, NJ: LexisNexis/Matthew Bender.
- Andrews, D. A., Dowden, C., & Gendreau, P. (1999). *Clinically relevant and psychologically informed approaches to reduced reoffending: A meta-analytic study of human service, risk, need, responsivity, and other concerns in justice contexts*. Unpublished manuscript. Ottawa, Canada: Carleton University.
- Anonymous (1911). The indeterminate sentence. *The Atlantic Monthly*, 108, 330–332.
- Beto, D. R., Corbett, R. P., & DiIulio, J. J. (2000). Getting serious about probation and the crime problem. *Corrections Management Quarterly*, 4, 1–8.
- Bonta, J., Ruggie, T., Scott, T., Bourgon, G., & Yessine, A. (2008). Exploring the black box of community supervision. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 47, 248–270.
- Bonta, J., Bourgon, G., Ruggie, T., Scott, T., Yessine, A. K., Gutierrez, L., & Li, J. (2011). An experimental demonstration of training probation officers in evidence-based community supervision. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 38, 1127–1148.
- Buroway, M. (2005). 2004 American Sociological Association Presidential address: For public sociology. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 56(2): 259–294.
- Butler, D. (2009). Parole board appointment came up in talk with O'Brien: Tory MPP. *The Ottawa Citizen*. May 28, 2009. Retrieved from <http://www.ottawacitizen.com/Business/Parole+board+appointment+came+up+during+talk+with+Brien+Tory/1636897/story.html>.
- Clear, T. R., & Latessa, E. J. (1993). Probation officer roles in intensive supervision: Surveillance versus treatment. *Justice Quarterly*, 10, 441–462.
- Clear, T. R., & Hardyman, P. L. (1990). The new intensive supervision movement. *Crime & Delinquency*, 36, 42–61.
- Conrad, J. P. (1979). Who needs a doorbell pusher? The case for abolishing parole. *The Prison Journal*, 59 (2): 17–26.
- Cronin, R. C. (1994). Boot camps for adult and juvenile offenders: Overview and update 5 (October). Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice.
- Corbett, R. (1999). “Broken Windows” probation: The next step in fighting crime. Civic Report 7, Center for Civic Innovation at the Manhattan Institute.
- Cullen, F. T., & Gendreau, P. (2000). Assessing correctional rehabilitation: Policy, practice, and prospects. In J. Horney (Ed.), *Criminal justice 2000: Vol. 4. Policies, processes, and decisions of the criminal justice system* (pp. 109–175). Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.
- Estes, A., & Allen, S. (2011). The Speaker's words and his ways: DeLeo vows to battle patronage, but he sponsored many for probation jobs. *The Boston Globe*, January 23, 2011. Retrieved from http://www.boston.com/news/local/massachusetts/articles/2011/01/23/deleo_vows_to_battle_patronage_but_sponsored_many_for_probation_jobs/.
- Fonger, R. (2009). Ted Hammon's parole job spurs criticism from residents, attention from lawmaker. *The Flint Journal*. April 25, 2009. Retrieved from http://www.mlive.com/news/flint/index.ssf/2009/04/ted_hammoms_parole_board_job_s.html.
- Fulton, B., Stichman, A., Travis, L., & Latessa, E. J. (1997). Moderating probation and parole officer attitudes to achieve desired outcomes. *The Prison Journal*, 77, 295–312.
- Gendreau, P., & Andrews, D. (1979). Psychological consultation in correctional agencies: Case studies and general issues. In J. Platt & R. Wicks (Eds.), *The Psychological Consultant*. New York, NY: Grune & Stratton.
- Gendreau, P., & Andrews, D. (2001) Correctional Program Assessment Inventory–2000 (CPAI–2000), Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada.
- Gendreau, P., Goggin, C., Cullen, F. T., & Pappozzi, M. (2002). *The common sense revolution and correctional policy*. In J. McGuire (Ed.), *Offender rehabilitation and treatment: Effective programs and policies to reduce re-offending* (pp. 359–386). Chichester, UK: Wiley.
- Gendreau, P., Smith, P., & Thériault, Y. (2009). Chaos theory and correctional treatment: Common sense, correctional quackery, and the law of fartcatchers. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 25(4):384–396.
- Goldmacher, S. (2008). Parole board confirmation timeline. *The Sacramento Bee*. June 18, 2008. Retrieved from <http://www.sacbee.com/static/weblogs/capitolalert/latest/013345.html>
- Guy, R. (2011) Applied sociology and prisoner reentry: a primer for more successful reintegration. *Journal of Applied Social Science*, 5 (2): 40–52.
- Latessa, E. J., Cullen, F., & Gendreau, P. (2002). Beyond correctional quackery—Professionalism and the possibility of effective treatment. *Federal Probation*, 66(2): 43–49.
- Lipsky, M. (1980). *Street Level Bureaucracy: The Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Service*. New York: Russell Sage.
- Layne, W. (1937). Parole as social treatment. *Social Service Review*. 11:1/4 March/December, 216–233.
- Lawes, L. E. (1937). The parole question. *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, 176, 645–651.
- Lowenkamp, C. T., Holsinger, A. M., Robinson, C. R., & Cullen, F. T. (2012). When a person isn't a data point: Making evidence-based practice work. *Federal Probation*, 76 (3). Retrieved from <http://www.uscourts.gov/viewer.aspx?doc=/uscourts/FederalCourts/PPS/Fedprob/2012-12/index.html>.
- Lurigio, A. J., & Petersilia, J. (1992). The emergence of intensive probation supervision programs in the United States. In J. M. Byrne, A. J. Lurigio, & J. Petersilia (Eds.), *Smart sentencing: The emergence of intermediate sanctions* (pp. 3–17). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Martin, J. B. (1954). *Break Down the Walls*. New York, NY: Ballantine.
- McLaughlin, G.W., Montgomery, J.R., & Malpass, L.F. (1975). Selected characteristics, roles, goals, and satisfactions of department chairmen in state and land-grant institutions. *Research in Higher Education*, 3, 243–259.
- Morris, N., & Tonry, M. (1990). *Between prison and probation: Intermediate punishments in a rational sentencing system*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Papozzi, M. (1990). Firearms—Debating the Issues for Probation and Parole. *Perspectives*, Summer: 9–10.
- Papozzi, M., & Caplan, J. (2009). A national profile of paroling authorities in America: The strange bedfellows of politics and professionalism. *The Prison Journal*, 89(4): 401–424.
- Papozzi, M., & Gendreau, P. (2005). An intensive supervision program that worked: Service delivery, professional orientation, and organizational supportiveness. *The Prison Journal*, 85(4): 445–466.
- Papozzi, M., & DeMichele, M. (2008). Probation, parole, and community corrections: misunderstood, underappreciated, overworked—But why? *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 47(3): 275–296.

- Paparozzi, M., & Guy, R. (2009). The giant that never woke: Parole authorities as the lynchpin to evidence-based practices and prisoner reentry. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 25(4): 397–411.
- Paparozzi, M., & Schlager, M. (2009). Reconciling what works and broken windows: The policy relevance of individual and social correlates to recidivism reduction. *Victims and Offenders*, 4, 427–434.
- Paternoster, R., Brame, R., Bachman, R., & Sherman, L. W. (1997). Do fair procedures matter? The effect of procedural justice on spouse assault. *Law and Society Review*, 31, 163–204.
- Peeler, J., & Latessa, E. (December 2004). Applying the principles of intervention to juvenile correctional programs. *Corrections Today*, 26–29.
- Petersilia, J. (1990). Conditions that permit intensive supervision programs to survive. *Crime and Delinquency*, 36(1): 126–145.
- Petersilia, J. (1998). A decade of experimenting with intermediate sanctions: What have we learned? *Federal Probation*, 62(2), 3–10.
- Reinventing Probation Council (2000). *Transforming probation through leadership: The "Broken Windows" model*. New York, NY: The Manhattan Institute.
- Skeem, J., Eno Loudon, J., Polaschek, D., & Camp, J. (2007). Assessing relationship quality in mandated community treatment: Blending care with control. *Psychological Assessment*, 19(4): 397–410.
- Tabor, R. C. (1942). In planning for the juvenile probationer and parolee. *The Pennsylvania Probation and Parole Quarterly*, 1(9): 9–14.
- Trotter, C. (2006). *Working with involuntary clients. A guide to practice* (2nd Ed). London: Sage.
- Whetzel, J., Paparozzi, M., Alexander, M., & Lowenkamp, C. T. (2011). Goodbye to a worn-out dichotomy: Law enforcement, social work, and a balanced approach. *Federal Probation*, 75(2): 13–15.
- Wodahl, E. J., & Garland, B. (2009). The evolution of community corrections: The enduring influence of the prison. *The Prison Journal*, 89(1): 81S–104S.
- Witte, E. F. (1941). Proceedings of the Annual Congress of Correction of the American Correctional Association. New York: American Correctional Association.

Reducing Recidivism Through Probation Supervision: What We Know and Don't Know From Four Decades of Research

Chris Trotter

Monash University, Australia

THIS ARTICLE IS about the relationship between recidivism rates and supervision skills used by probation officers (or others who supervise offenders on community-based orders or parole). It focuses on routine day-to-day supervision rather than on intensive supervision programs or other specialized programs or interventions.

The general issue of what works and what doesn't work with offenders has received a lot of attention since the Martinson report (1974) suggesting that nothing works. Many meta-analyses have been undertaken, covering many hundreds of studies. These meta-analyses have attempted to identify the characteristics of effective practices and in many cases have attempted to quantify the impact of different types of intervention (e.g., Andrews & Dowden, 2006; Lipsey & Cullen, 2007). Andrews and Dowden (2006), for example, argue based on their meta-analysis that effective practice can be conceptualized as focusing on the principles of risk, needs, and responsivity. They suggest that effective practice concentrates on medium- to high-risk offenders, criminogenic needs, and the delivery of programs or interventions that take account of individual needs and make use of structured cognitive behavioral techniques or interventions.

The meta-analyses undertaken to date have primarily concerned community-based interventions, including group programs and specialized programs such as drug treatment and clinical interventions. A meta-analysis covering studies up to 1998 undertaken by Dowden and Andrews (2004) attempted to identify core staff skills—in other words, the specific practices that human service workers

use in criminal justice interventions and how they relate to recidivism. They found the following core practices to be significantly related to reduced recidivism: relationship factors, skill factors, effective reinforcement, effective disapproval, problem solving, structured learning, effective modelling, and effective use of authority. The meta-analysis, however, is not clear about the extent to which the studies included in the meta-analysis focused on routine community-based supervision of offenders rather than on more specialist or group interventions.

There is some debate about the conclusions reached in some of the meta-analyses regarding the impact of different staff skills and also on the emphasis placed by researchers on various aspects of the skills. Fortune, Ward, and Willis (2012), for example, argue that a focus on collaboration, offender goals, offender strengths, and a sense of meaning are more important than the focus on risk and risk reduction that is supported by Andrews and Bonta (2008). Fortune, Ward, and Willis (2012) maintain that offenders are likely to desist from crime through a process of changing identity, a process that involves movement towards personal goals and community and social support. It seems clear that there is no universal agreement about what works in offender programs or offender supervision (see McNeill, Raynor, & Trotter, 2010, for more detailed discussion of this issue).

There is also no universal agreement regarding what works in routine offender supervision. While a number of studies, particularly in recent years, have examined the relationship between staff practices and

recidivism in community-based supervision, few if any meta-analyses or other literature reviews have focused on this issue. This review is an attempt to fill this gap.

This article takes the form of a literature review rather than a meta-analysis. While meta-analysis has done much to further knowledge about effective practice in criminal justice, it has also drawn some criticism. Berk (2007), for example, argues that because meta-analysis uses data that has not been generated through random sampling, the statistical conclusions are not valid. He recommends the use of conventional methods of research reviews. Others have criticized meta-analysis for bias in selection of studies towards those that have significant results, for including studies with poor methodology, and for combining different ways of measuring recidivism (see Pratt, 2012, for a summary and rebuttal of criticisms).

Literature reviews may therefore also have a place in developing knowledge about what works and what doesn't in criminal justice settings. Jesson, Matheson, and Lacey have argued that systematic literature reviews provide a more rigorous approach to synthesizing the literature on a particular topic compared to the more open style of conventional reviews (2011). According to Jesson and colleagues (2011), systematic reviews are clear about their aims, what databases have been searched, and what studies have been included and excluded and why; in addition, systematic reviews have a narrow focus and report on the quality of studies that have been examined. The review presented in this article is more akin to a systematic review than to a conventional literature review (Jesson et al., 2011).

Research Question

The research question that I examine here is: What is the impact on offender recidivism of different worker skills and practices used by supervisors in the one-to-one supervision of offenders on probation or other community-based orders?

Offender recidivism is defined in terms of the measures used in the various studies, including rearrest, re-conviction, further offense, or failure to comply with conditions of the court order. Most of the studies have used a two-year follow-up period for recidivism.

Literature Search

I searched criminal justice abstracts and ProQuest Criminal Justice (a comprehensive database of U.S. and international criminal justice journals) using the terms probation, effectiveness, recidivism, community, skills, and supervision. The search also used other methods recommended by Jesson et al. (2011), including scanning reference lists of articles consulted, consulting with colleagues with expertise in the topic, and manual searching of relevant journals.

The search focused on studies that examined routine supervision on probation or other court orders rather than specialist interventions. It excluded group work with offenders or studies that examined only particular groups of offenders, such as drug users or sex offenders. It included studies focusing on adults and young people, although care is taken to distinguish between the two. It should be noted, however, that in some studies young people may be classified as under 16 while in other studies young people include those up to 25.

The studies were then analyzed in terms of their methodology, particularly in terms of sample size, use of statistical tests of significance, and use of regression analyses to isolate the impact of various skills and allow for offender risk levels. The search gave preference to published articles in peer-reviewed journals, on the understanding that the peer-review process ensures at least some degree of methodological rigor. The studies were then analyzed according to the different skills used by the workers in the study, the nature of those skills, and the relationship of the skills to recidivism.

One of the difficulties encountered in doing the review was that in most cases a group of skills is described, usually in terms of evidence-based practice, and those skills as a group are related to recidivism. I located

only five studies that examined individual skills (e.g., relationship skills, problem-solving skills) for their relationship to recidivism. In some cases only one or two skills or practices were highlighted: for example the use of single-case study (Vered Slonim-Nevo, 1999), working with offenders on family issues (Denning & Homel, 2008), or socialization levels of workers (Trotter, 1990). These studies have not been included in this review.

Several studies have examined the impact of training on the performance of community corrections officers and the subsequent impact on recidivism. While this review is concerned with the impact of skills on recidivism rather than with the impact of training, I have included these studies where they have shown that the training has influenced the performance of the probation officers and the study has considered the recidivism of clients supervised by the trained officers.

The Studies

Eight studies have been identified and included in this review consistent with the criteria referred to above. Each of the studies examined the relationship between the use of evidence-based practices in probation and recidivism or the relationship between training, use of practices, and recidivism. Five of the studies examined the relationship between a range of individual skills used by probation officers and recidivism. The others considered the impact of a general set of skills but did not examine individual skills for their impact on recidivism. The studies are summarized here in the order in which they were published. Several of the studies have built on knowledge from earlier studies.

The earliest study located, conducted by Andrews et al. (1979), was published as a report by the Canadian government rather than in a refereed journal; however, it is included in this review because it was the first study on the relationship between workers' skills and offender recidivism reported in the databases and it was the precursor to a number of subsequent studies. The study analyzed more than 200 audiotapes of worker/client interviews (workers could be professional probation officers or volunteers) in probation in Canada and used regression analysis to examine the relationship between workers' practices and recidivism. The authors found the following practices of probation officers to be significantly related to reduced recidivism: appropriate use of authority, problem solving, prosocial modelling, and reinforcement. The

practice of reflective listening was also related to recidivism when accompanied by appropriate use of authority.

Trotter (1996) did a study based on principles similar to those used in the Andrews et al. (1979) study. File notes were examined in more than 300 adult probation and parole client files (of more than 50 officers). Using a regression analysis, the author found that recidivism rates were significantly lower than those of a control group when workers showed evidence in file notes of use of prosocial modeling and problem solving, although problem solving only related to failure to comply with conditions. The study also examined role clarification and empathy, neither of which significantly related to low recidivism, although role clarification was used more often with high-risk offenders.

Taxman (2007, 2008) examined a project that implemented (through training, supervision, and management) an evidence-based approach to supervision. A total of 274 adult probation clients supervised by officers in the Practice Community Supervision model were then compared to 274 matched probationers receiving routine probation supervision. The Practice Community Supervision model included use of the Level of Supervision Inventory Revisited to assess risk and need factors, case plan, referral, learning about triggers to offending, incentives, and sanctions and review. Use of the model as a whole was related to recidivism, although relationships between individual skills and recidivism were not reported.

Pearson et al. (2011) examined a program in the United Kingdom known as citizenship. This was a structured probation supervision program, based on "what works" principles, that aimed to engage offenders in targeted interventions complying with the risk principle and included training in motivational interviewing and prosocial modeling; the offender also worked through problem-solving modules depending on the offender's particular risk and needs. An experimental and control group was made up of about 7000 offenders. Through use of regression analysis and other statistical techniques, authors concluded that the program had an impact on recidivism. Some associations between skills and recidivism were reported. Pearson et al. (2010) found that the skill of promoting contact with other agencies was related to recidivism and that low- to medium- and medium- to high-risk offenders gained most benefit from the citizenship program.

This program is somewhat different from the others referred to in this review, as it involved worksheets, community contact, and specific modules rather than examining routine supervision. It is included nevertheless because it does report on the implementation of evidence-based practices across a large probation sample.

Bonta et al. (2011) examined audiotapes of interviews between 80 officers and 143 of their adult clients and examined structuring skills, relationship-building skills, behavioral techniques, and cognitive techniques and how these relate to recidivism. The authors used a random design and regression analysis to control for extraneous variables and found that the use of skills was related to low recidivism. Bonta et al. found that cognitive techniques had the strongest impact on recidivism.

Robinson, VanBenschoten, Alexander, and Lowenkamp (2011) examined tapes of more than 700 interviews between adult probation officers and their clients. They examined the use of active listening, role clarification, use of authority, effective disapproval, effective reinforcement and punishment, problem solving, and use of the cognitive model. Using a multivariate analysis of the data, they showed that the clients of those using the model had significantly lower recidivism. They did not report on the relationship between individual skills and recidivism.

Trotter (2012) directly observed interviews in a juvenile justice setting in Australia. The interviews were also audiotaped. This was one of the few studies undertaken with young people (up to the age of 20 years). One hundred and seventeen interviews were observed and then coded for use of various skills, such as relationship, role clarification, prosocial modeling, problem solving, and use of CBT techniques. The researchers used a global score as a measure of overall use of the skills as well as scoring individual skills. The global score was significantly related to client recidivism, after taking account of other factors through a regression analysis. The only individual items that reached or were close to statistical significance included the use of rewards and a non-blaming attitude by the worker.

Smith, Schweitzer, Labrecque, and Latessa (2012) in a United States study provided training to 21 youth and adult probation officers in effective practices including anti-criminal modeling, reinforcement, effective disapproval, structured learning, problem solving, cognitive restructuring, and relationship skills. They then analyzed audiotapes

from 272 clients, including those supervised by the trained officers and those in a control group. The results were somewhat mixed, with trained officers who used more skills generally doing better, but with varying results across the different locations. The authors referred to limitations, including the fact that the experimental group was selected by departmental administrators and the officers selected offender participants.

Raynor, Ugwudike, and Vanstone (forthcoming) examined videotapes of 75 clients supervised by 14 staff in the probation service of the channel island of Jersey. They coded each tape for overall use of skills. Using regression analysis, they found that the workers with more skills had clients with significantly lower re-offending rates. They also found that individual skills of verbal and non-verbal communication, motivational interviewing, and problem solving were significantly related to lower recidivism after two years.

The Impact of Probation Officer Skills

All of the studies that could be located which examined the practices of probation officers, whether through examining file notes or audiotapes of interviews or by direct observation, have found that when probation officers use evidence-based practice skills their clients have lower recidivism. All but one of the studies showed a significant difference between the recidivism rates of those supervised by more skilled officers and recidivism rates of those supervised by less skilled officers. The extent of the differences varied and in some cases varied according to risk levels of the clients (as I will discuss later).

Trotter (1996) reported that the clients of those officers who showed evidence in file notes of using the evidence-based model had a further offense rate after one year of 28 percent, compared to 44 percent for those who did not use the model. After four years the difference was 46 percent to 64 percent. Taxman (2007) reported a rearrest rate of 32 percent for clients supervised in the Proactive Community Supervision group, compared to 41 percent in the non-Proactive Community Supervision group. Pearson et al. (2010) reported a rate of reconviction of 41 percent after two years for clients in the citizenship group, compared to 50 percent in the comparison group. Bonta et al. (2011) reported a further offense rate of 25 percent recidivism after two years for officers trained in effective practice skills, compared to 40 percent in a control group. Trotter (2012)

reported that those supervised by workers rated as using more evidence-based practices had a further offense rate after two years of 62 percent, compared to 81 percent for those supervised by workers with low ratings on the skills. Robinson et al. (2011) reported a rearrest or failure on supervision rate of 34 percent for moderate- to high-risk clients supervised by untrained staff, compared to 26 percent for moderate- to high-risk clients supervised by trained staff. Raynor, Ugwudike, and Vanstone (forthcoming) found that 26 percent were re-convicted after two years when supervised by more skilled officers compared to 58 percent supervised by less-skilled officers.

Six of the eight studies examined in this review show that clients supervised by workers with more skills have lower recidivism than clients supervised by workers with less developed skills. The differences were between 20 percent and 55 percent. In relation to the other two studies, Andrews et al. (1979) reported strong correlations between the use of individual skills and client recidivism but did not report an overall impact of the use of skills. The only study that has not shown clear differences between recidivism rates of those supervised by workers using evidence-based practices and other clients is the Smith et al. (2012) study. While their results generally favored those who were trained in and used evidence-based practices, the results were mixed. The researchers found that clients of high-fidelity officers (those rated as using more skills) had lower incarceration rates and arrests for new crimes but had more technical violations. The authors discuss limitations in the methodology that might explain the results.

It seems reasonable to conclude that if probation officers or others who supervise offenders on court orders use evidence-based practice skills, their clients are likely to offend less often.

Skills or Practices that Are Consistently Related to Reduced Recidivism

While it seems clear that probation officers with evidence-based practice skills are likely to have clients with lower recidivism, there is less clarity about the precise nature of the effective practice skills and which of those skills contribute most to reductions in offending. In this section I outline the skills identified in the studies and consider the extent to which each impacts recidivism.

Prosocial Modeling and Reinforcement

Prosocial modeling and reinforcement has been included as one of the skills in each of the studies, although in some of the studies it is defined as anti-criminal modelling and reinforcement (Bonta et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2012). Despite the different terminology, prosocial modeling and reinforcement and anti-criminal modeling and reinforcement share similar characteristics. Both involve modeling prosocial values such as fairness, reliability, and non-criminal lifestyle and reinforcing statements and activities of offenders that reflect those values. They also involve carefully and respectfully challenging pro-criminal comments and actions (e.g., making excuses for offending). Taxman (2007:19) summarizes the concept in terms of “using incentives and sanctions to shape offender behaviours” (p. 19).

Most of the studies examined in this review that have considered the relationship between prosocial modeling and reinforcement have found strong relationships to low recidivism. Andrews et al. (1979) found that differential reinforcement of probationers’ prosocial and anti-criminal expressions and the expression of prosocial sentiments was related to low recidivism. Trotter (1996) found that evidence of prosocial modeling in file notes was more closely related to reductions in recidivism than any other skill, and Trotter (2012) found the use of rewards by youth probation officers to be related to recidivism (although not quite at statistically significant levels). Raynor et al. (forthcoming) found prosocial modeling significantly related to low recidivism at one-year and two-year follow-up (although it was only statistically significant after one year).

Bonta et al. (2011), on the other hand, found that behavioral skills, including effective use of reinforcement and disapproval, were not significantly related to low recidivism. They found cognitive skills (discussed below) to be the only skills related to recidivism, after taking risk into account. Their definition of cognitive skills was, however, a broad one and incorporated some of the micro-skills that other researchers (e.g., Trotter, 1996, 2012) referred to as prosocial modeling and reinforcement—for example, helping offenders re-frame pro-criminal expressions into prosocial ones.

Each of the other studies considered in this paper incorporated the concept of prosocial modeling and reinforcement. They did not, however, examine its specific relationship with recidivism. Prosocial modeling and

reinforcement is therefore a core component of each of the eight studies examined in this review. It was significantly related to recidivism in four of the five studies that considered its direct relationship with recidivism.

Problem Solving

Most of the studies refer to the use of problem-solving techniques. Sometimes these are included as part of cognitive techniques (e.g., Bonta et al., 2011) and sometimes they are defined as a separate skill (e.g., Trotter, 1996, 2012). The definitions of problem solving are nevertheless reasonably consistent across the studies. The definitions commonly involve identifying offense-related problems (e.g., family issues, accommodation, drugs), setting goals to address the problems, and then developing strategies to address the goals. There is, however, variation in the way problem solving is undertaken, particularly in terms of the extent to which the problems to be worked on and the goals that are set are developed by the clients, the worker, or the two in collaboration. Trotter (1996, 2012), for example, emphasizes working with client definitions of problems. Robinson et al. (2011) suggest that the most important aspect of the skill is allowing the client to articulate the problem and the potential solution. Taxman (2007) refers to working with one criminogenic need and at the same time working with an interest of the client in order to motivate the client to commit to the change process. Bonta et al. (2011), on the other hand, emphasize working with criminogenic needs that are identified through a risk assessment undertaken by the worker.

Support for problem solving in whatever form is provided by most of the studies. Andrews et al. (1979) found that problem solving with a concrete community focus was significantly related to recidivism. Trotter (1996) found that problem solving (emphasizing a focus on client-defined problems and goals) was related to recidivism but only significantly related to compliance with conditions rather than re-offending. Raynor (forthcoming) found that problem solving was significantly related to reduced offending at both one-year and two-year follow-up. Bonta et al. (2011) found cognitive techniques to be significantly related to recidivism and included problem solving as part of cognitive techniques. Smith et al. (2012), Robinson et al. (2011), Pearson et al. (2010), and Taxman (2007) all included problem solving in their repertoire of skills, although they did not examine its specific relationship to recidivism.

It seems that problem solving is a key skill in effective supervision; however, there remains some doubt about the extent to which problem solving should be a collaborative process that involves working on offense-related issues as the client defines them or whether it should involve working on criminogenic needs that emerge from a risk assessment undertaken by the worker.

The Use of Cognitive Techniques

Many of the studies have included the use of cognitive techniques. Perhaps the best example of a cognitive technique is the ABC technique referred to by Lowenkamp, Alexander, and Robinson et al. (forthcoming), which involves teaching offenders about Antecedents that lead to Behaviors that lead to Consequences. As already mentioned, there is some overlap in the various publications between the definitions of cognitive skills and problem solving and prosocial modeling and reinforcement skills. Bonta et al. (2011), for example, refer to a cognitive technique known as cognitive restructuring as including reinforcement and problem solving. Similarly, prosocial modeling in Trotter (2012) includes helping clients to reframe their pro-criminal comments into prosocial ones and reinforcing client comments that reflect an understanding of the relationship between thoughts and behaviors.

Despite the confusion over definitions, the studies generally support the use of cognitive techniques. Cognitive techniques were part of the overall group of skills in each of the studies, with the exception of the two earlier studies by Andrews et al. (1979) and Trotter (1996). Some of the studies examined the relationship between cognitive techniques and recidivism. Bonta et al. (2011) found that the only intervention techniques predicting lower recidivism were cognitive techniques—however, as I have noted, cognitive techniques were broadly defined. Raynor et al. (forthcoming) found cognitive restructuring significantly related to reduced offending, but only at one-year follow-up. Trotter (2012) did not find a significant association between worker use of cognitive behavioral techniques and recidivism; however, the author noted that cognitive behavioral techniques were used infrequently.

Worker-Client Relationship

Again, there are varying definitions of the concept of the worker-client relationship. Andrews et al. (1979) used a psychological test of empathy and found that scores on an empathy scale were unrelated to client recidivism (a

finding replicated by Trotter, 1996). Similarly, the practice of reflective listening when identified through the examination of audiotapes of interviews was found to be unrelated to recidivism by Andrews et al. (1979). Bonta et al. (2011) examined relationship skills, which included role clarification and active listening skills; however, these were not found to be independently related to reduced recidivism at statistical levels. Trotter (forthcoming) found that clients who were judged by the observer to be disengaged in the interview still benefited from the use of skills by their workers. Engagement in the interview was defined as a relationship measure.

On the other hand, Raynor et al. (forthcoming) found that verbal and non-verbal communication were related to low recidivism at one year and two years, but not the way the interview was set up or the legitimate use of authority, both of which were also defined in the study as relationship skills (as opposed to structuring skills such as problem solving). Trotter (2012) found a non-blaming attitude by the probation officer to be significantly related to low recidivism. Smith et al. (2012) found that offenders who perceived a trusting relationship with their supervisor were significantly less likely to be arrested for a new crime.

The relationship was included in each of the other studies, albeit with different definitions. Robinson et al. (2011) referred to active listening, role clarification, and feedback. Taxman (2007) referred to expectation and ground rules. These studies did not, however, consider the specific interaction between the client-worker relationship and recidivism.

Like prosocial modeling and problem solving, the varying definitions of "relationship" make it difficult to generalize about its nature or its relationship to reduced recidivism. The studies seem to support a hypothesis that the practice of active listening or the use of empathy may not necessarily be important in probation supervision; however, a process that leads to a trusting and non-blaming relationship may be.

Risk Levels of Clients

Andrews and Dowden (2006), among others, have argued that medium- and high-risk offenders generally benefit more from intensive correctional interventions and that low-risk offenders benefit less from intensive interventions. The studies considered in this paper provide varying support for this principle. Each of the studies have used some sort of actuarial assessment of risk; in some cases

(e.g., Trotter, 1996, 2012; Bonta et al., 2011) the Level of Supervision Inventory (Andrews & Bonta, 2008) in one of its forms.

Smith et al. (2012) found most impact with high-risk offenders; however, the impact was not statistically significant overall. Robinson et al. (2011), on the other hand, found among a group trained in effective practices that the greater impact on offending was with moderate-risk offenders, with less impact on high-risk offenders. Trotter (1996, 2012, forthcoming) found in both studies that low-medium and high-risk offenders all had lower re-offending when their workers had good skills. Pearson (2010) found that medium-to-low- and medium-to-high-risk clients benefited from skilled intervention but that high-risk offenders did not. Taxman (2007) included risk assessment as one of the effective practice skills that led to improved outcomes, but did not specify the impact of the various skills on offenders with different risk levels. Similarly, Raynor et al. (forthcoming) did not specify the impact on offenders with different risk levels.

Other Factors

A number of other factors were referred to in the various studies but have not been examined often enough to reach any firm conclusions about them. Taxman (2007) found that community support and referral were related to lower recidivism. Pearson et al. (2011) found that contact with other agencies was related to reduced recidivism. Pearson et al. (2010) and Raynor et al. (forthcoming) also found that motivational interviewing training was related to reduced recidivism.

Role clarification has also been included in some of the studies (Bonta et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2012; Trotter, 1996, 2012) as part of the repertoire of effective practice skills. Bonta also refers to discussions about conditions of probation as being related to higher recidivism (Bonta et al., 2011). There is, however, insufficient data on the direct relationship to recidivism to reach any firm conclusions about these practices.

Conclusion

The research on effective probation supervision has come a long way since the seminal study by Andrews and colleagues in 1979. The studies have some limitations, particularly in terms of the varying nature of the definitions of skills used by different researchers. For example, elements of prosocial modeling and reinforcement and problem solving are

included in cognitive techniques by some researchers. Problem solving is focused on client definitions of problems in some studies and on risk-related problems in others. The client-worker relationship in particular is defined in different ways in different studies. For example, different studies have examined relationship in terms of empathy, active listening, trusting, non-blaming, expectation, engagement in interviews, ground rules, and role clarification.

Nevertheless, all of the studies that have examined the use of skills and client recidivism found that when probation officers used certain practice skills, their clients offended less often. In seven of the eight studies this was at statistically significant levels.

The more recent studies have built on the earlier studies, particularly on the seminal work undertaken by Andrews et al. (1979). Each of the studies examined included prosocial modelling, problem solving, and worker-client relationship, with the more recent studies also including cognitive techniques and the role that client risk levels may play in the supervision process.

It seems reasonable to conclude that prosocial modeling and reinforcement, problem solving, and cognitive techniques are core skills for reducing recidivism in probation supervision. These three skills have been present in the studies in one form or another (even though cognitive skills were less specifically examined in the earlier studies), and they have generally shown significant associations with recidivism.

It is difficult to reach any firm conclusions about the impact of the worker-client relationship. Trusting and non-blaming relationships with good communication seemed to be more effective than those characterized by reflective listening practices or even engagement of the client in the interview.

Of the five studies that examined risk, four found that medium-risk probationers benefited from skilled supervision more than high-risk probationers did. In two of the studies, low-risk offenders exposed to effective practice skills also had lower recidivism. The previous research generally suggests that medium- to high-risk offenders benefit from intensive interventions; however, the supervision offered in the studies identified in this paper was not necessarily intensive. The studies generally examined practice skills in routine probation supervision; they seem to suggest that when supervisors have good

skills, their clients offend less often regardless of their levels of risk.

Further Research

We know that the application of certain skills in probation supervision is likely to lead to lower recidivism when compared to the absence of those skills. We know that certain key skills relate to low recidivism; however, the definitions of these skills in some cases remain unclear. Detail about the practice of good supervision is not generally available in the refereed journal articles, presumably because of the space limitations. Some of the studies have attempted to describe the skills examined in their studies in detailed reports, for example, Lowenkamp et al. (forthcoming); however, in most cases the workbooks, training packages, and examples of good and not-so-good skills are not available in the public domain. Publication of the precise nature of the skills, including transcripts of interviews, would help further training and implementation of practice skills.

Many other skills have also been identified as evidence-based practices in probation but have not been specifically examined in the research referred to in this paper. Taxman and Sachwald (2010), for example, refer to 18 evidence-based practices, including family therapies, drug testing, and staff qualifications. The cause of evidence-based practice in probation would be furthered by research on these and other practices.

Most of the research (Pearson et al., 2011, excepted) has been undertaken with relatively small samples. More work on the implementation of effective practices across whole organizations, such as that done by Taxman and Sachwald (2010), might provide information regarding the potential for consistent and widespread implementation of the effective practice skills.

Overall, however, the studies pointing to low recidivism rates among probationers supervised by skilled workers clearly suggest that probation supervision can reduce recidivism. Hopefully future research can tell us more about how this is done and how the effective practices can be implemented more widely.

References

- Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2008). *The psychology of criminal conduct*. Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing.
- Andrews, D., & Dowden, C. (2006). Risk principle of case classification in correctional treatment: A meta-analytic investigation. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 50(1):88–100.
- Andrews, D. A., Kiessling, J. J., Russell, R. J., & Grant, B. A. (1979). *Volunteers and the one to one supervision of adult probationers*. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services.
- Berk, R. (2007). Statistical inference and meta-analysis. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 3:247–270.
- Bonta, J., Bourgon, G., Ruge, T., Scott, T.-L., Yessine, A.K., Gutierrez, L., & Li, J. (2011). Community supervision: An experimental demonstration of training probation officers in evidence-based practice. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 38(11), 1127–1148.
- Denning, R., & Homel, R. (2008). Predicting recidivism in juvenile offenders on community-based orders: The impact of risk factors and service delivery. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 46(3–4), 189–215.
- Dowden, C., & Andrews, D. A. (2004). The importance of staff practice in delivering effective correctional treatment: A meta-analytic review of the literature. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 48(2), 203–214.
- Fortune, C. A., Ward, T., & Willis, G. (2012). The rehabilitation of offenders: Reducing risk and promoting better lives. *Psychiatry, Psychology, & Law*, 19, 646–661.
- Jesson, J., Matheson, L., & Lacey, F. (2011). *Doing your literature review: Traditional and systematic techniques*. London: Sage.
- Lipsey, M., & Cullen, F. (2007). The effectiveness of correctional rehabilitation: A review of systematic reviews. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 3, 297–320.
- Lowenkamp, C., Alexander, M., & Robinson, C. (forthcoming). Using 20 minutes wisely: Community supervision officers as agents of change. In J. Smykla & M. Crow (Eds.), *Offender re-entry: 21st century issues*. Burlington, MA: Jones and Bartlett.
- Martinson, R. (1974). What works? Questions and answers about prison reform. *The Public Interest*, 35:22–54.
- McNeill, F., Raynor, P., & Trotter C. (2010). *Offender supervision: New directions in theory, research and practice*. Willan, Cullompton.
- Pearson, D., McDougall, C., Kanaan, M., Bowles, A., & Torgerson, D. (2011). Reducing criminal recidivism: Evaluation of Citizenship, an evidence-based probation supervision process. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 7:73–102.
- Pratt, T. (2012). Meta-analysis and its discontents revisited. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 35(1), 23–41.
- Raynor, P., Ugwu-dike, P., & Vanstone, M. (forthcoming). The impact of skills in probation work: A reconviction study. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*.
- Robinson, C., VanBenschoten, S., Alexander, M., & Lowenkamp, C. (2011). A random (almost) study of Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest: Reducing recidivism through intentional design. *Federal Probation*, 75(2).
- Smith, P., Schweitzer, M., Labrecque, R. M., & Latessa, E. J. (2012). Improving probation officers' supervision skills: An evaluation of the EPICS model. *Journal of Crime & Justice*, 35(2), 89–199.
- Taxman, F. (2007, May/June). The role of community supervision in addressing re-entry from jails. *American Jails*.
- Taxman, F. (2008). No illusions: Offender and organizational change in Maryland's Proactive Community Supervision Efforts. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 7(2), 275–302.
- Taxman, F. S., & Sachwald, J. (2010). Managing chaos: Techniques to improve the quality of supervision. In F. McNeill, P. Raynor, & C. Trotter, *Offender supervision: New directions in theory, research and practice*. Willan, Cullompton, 172–192.
- Trotter, C. (1990). Probation can work. A research study using volunteers. *Australian Journal of Social Work*, 43(2), 13–18.
- Trotter, C. (1994). *Effective supervision of offenders*. Ph.D. thesis. LaTrobe University, Melbourne.
- Trotter, C. (1996). The impact of different supervision practices in community corrections. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 29(1), 29–46.
- Trotter, C. (2012). Effective supervision of young offenders. *Trends and Issues in Criminal Justice*, 448.
- Trotter, C. (forthcoming). Effective supervision of young offenders. In *Offender Compliance*. London: Routledge.
- Vered, S.-N. (1999). Evaluating the effectiveness of juvenile probation officers: An Israeli study. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 28(3–4), 77–90.

Skills and Training in British Probation: A Tale of Neglect and Possible Revival

Peter Raynor

Pamela Ugwudike

Swansea University, Wales

ATTENTION TO SPECIFIC practice skills in the training of probation officers in Britain has been inconsistent, variable, and even haphazard. (The following comments apply mainly to England and Wales; Scotland has no separate Probation Service and uses Criminal Justice Social Workers instead.) Like most welfare services in Britain, the Probation Service enjoyed a period of major expansion and professionalization during the third quarter of the twentieth century, and people seeking appointment as probation officers had to receive appropriate training, either on the small courses run by the Home Office (the responsible government department at that time) or, increasingly, in the rapidly-expanding university social work courses. The Home Office courses were specifically for probation; the university courses were increasingly wedded to the idea of social work as a generic profession, and offered probation as a minority option with varying degrees of specialization.

By way of illustration, one of the authors of this article was sponsored by the Home Office at the beginning of the 1970s to train as a probation officer on a university social work course, in which the main elements of specialization were practical placements in probation teams and 10 lectures on criminology. He joined the course expecting to receive at the end of it a Home Office Letter of Recognition, but by the time the end came two years later the social work profession had succeeded in introducing a new generic qualification, the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work, and rather to his surprise he was awarded one of these instead. In Scotland the process of unification went further and the separate

Probation Service ceased to exist: Criminal Justice Social Workers there train on social work courses with specialist input. In England and Wales the unification process helped to fuel decades of debate about genericism versus specialism, practical training versus academic knowledge (sometimes presented as a choice between teaching social work or teaching *about* social work), and whether the Probation Service should be seen as part of the criminal justice system or part of the Welfare State (of course it was both all along).

Much of this discussion and debate had little to do with the practicalities of probation work or its effectiveness (largely undemonstrated at the time). Many of the leaders of the profession, like many of the university social work teachers, were enthusiastic adherents of the theories of psychodynamic social case-work that had reached Britain from the United States, and many of their students, particularly after the 1960s, added critical social theory and concerns about poverty and social justice to the mixture. By the 1980s most universities that trained social workers were also training probation officers on the same courses, and the Conservative government of the time became concerned that training probation officers on social work courses made them too left-wing, too lacking in specialist knowledge, and not “tough” enough. One Home Secretary (the Minister in charge of the Home Office) tried to abolish probation officer training completely. Eventually these political debates led to the situation we have today, in which probation officer training is separate from social work training and offered by only three universities, largely by distance learning, and

most of the universities that carry out research on probation work do not provide initial training for any probation officers.

Throughout this period the question of practice skills was largely left to supervisors of practical placements, who became known as “practice teachers” and were experienced probation officers but could be adherents of a variety of different models of practice. The psychodynamic tradition placed a useful emphasis on the quality of relationships and on paying attention to what offenders said, but it also tended to assume that insight alone would bring about change in thinking and behavior, and it understated the need to help offenders learn new ways of thinking and behaving. Ideas about more effective ways of working based on social learning theory eventually entered the probation field from psychologists such as Philip Priestley and James McGuire, whose book *Social Skills and Personal Problem Solving* appeared in 1978 (Priestley, McGuire, Flegg, Hemsley, & Welham, 1978) and was an immediate hit in probation services, backed up by their own short courses. These inputs were generally at the level of post-qualification and in-service training: A few academics and trainers tried to introduce skill-centered training to basic qualifying courses for social workers and probation officers (see, for example, Raynor & Vanstone, 1984), but the necessary small-group work was hard to sustain with the limited resources available to most social work courses.

By the time British probation became committed to evidence-based practice and “What Works” in the 1990s, this was seen as mainly to do with cognitive-behavioral group programs and the skills needed to deliver them.

The ordinary process of one-to-one supervision of offenders by probation staff, which all supervised people experienced regardless of whether they did programs, was not seen as a contributor to effective rehabilitation, until very high attrition rates on programs began to redirect attention to the individual supervision process. Some British probation researchers began to use the concept of “core correctional practices” (CCPs) derived from Canadian research (Andrews & Kiessling, 1980; Dowden & Andrews, 2004; Raynor, 2004a, 2004b) and these practices were eventually mentioned in official guidance (National Offender Management Service, 2006).

According to Dowden and Andrews (2004), the CCPs are:

- Effective use of authority
- Anti-criminal modeling and reinforcement
- Problem solving
- Use of community resources
- Quality of interpersonal relationships between staff and client

Andrews and Bonta (2010) further categorize the CCPs into relationship and structuring principles.

Relationship Principles

The CCP “quality of interpersonal relationships” is a component of relationship principles. This CCP involves using effective communication techniques such as being respectful towards the clients, showing enthusiasm and empathy, facilitating collaborative decision making, and recognizing that the client is an autonomous individual. While relationship principles comprise the CCP “quality of interpersonal relationships,” the remaining CCPs constitute structuring principles.

Structuring Principles

The CCPs “effective use of authority,” “anti-criminal modeling and reinforcement,” “problem solving” and “use of community resources” are structuring principles. “Effective use of authority” involves being “firm but fair.” This means that practitioners should clarify rules and expectations (see also Trotter, 1996). “Effective use of authority” also involves using compliance strategies that demonstrate disapproval but are not domineering or abusive. “Anti-criminal or prosocial modeling” involves exhibiting or demonstrating prosocial behavior and using structured learning processes to help offenders develop prosocial skills. Structured learning is a form of learning through process: The practitioner defines the skill to be learned, models the skill, and uses role-play

scenarios to encourage the client to practice the skill. Structured learning also involves providing feedback to the offender on his or her progress. Effective “reinforcement” involves responding to an act of noncompliance by disapproving of the behavior and encouraging the client to reflect on why the behavior has attracted the disapproval of the supervisor. This CCP also involves showing approval once the client exhibits the desired prosocial behavior. It also involves rewarding prosocial behavior (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Dowden & Andrews, 2004). Structuring principles comprise additional CCPs: “problem solving” and “use of community resources.” “Problem solving” entails helping clients learn how to solve problems using prosocial strategies. The CCP “use of community resources” or “advocacy/brokerage” involves referring clients to agencies and services that can help them address their criminogenic and other needs.

Cognitive restructuring and motivational interviewing are not listed as CCPs, but they represent structuring principles. Cognitive restructuring is a technique for helping clients learn how to replace potentially harmful thoughts with less risky or prosocial thoughts (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Motivational interviewing is a strategy for encouraging clients to progress from a state of not being ready or willing to change to a state where they become open to the need to change and actively participate in the change process (Emmons & Rollnick, 2001; Miller & Rollnick, 2002). It is a technique that relies on the practitioner’s ability to develop a rapport with the client, show empathy, and challenge resistance not by being confrontational, authoritarian, or punitive but by using questioning styles that help the client focus on the change process. Motivational interviewing techniques also include encouraging the client to recognize the discrepancy between his or her current and desired states. Practitioners should demonstrate that they believe that the client is capable of making the desired attitudinal and behavioral changes. In other words, they should support the client’s self-efficacy. The overall objective of motivational interviewing is to help the client develop the self-motivation required for positive behavioral and attitudinal change.

The official recognition of CCPs in the NOMS document mentioned above (see, National Offender Management Service, 2006) led some experienced practitioners to believe that their long-established social-work skills were being recognized at last, and this was at least partly true, though CCPs went

further than traditional social-work practice. However, the overall picture well into the new millennium was that little consistent attention was paid, either in training or research, to the quality of individual supervision skills. Quality was understood more as a matter of meeting enforcement targets and filling in assessment forms correctly.

One exception to this, originating within the British Isles but outside England and Wales, was a study that we carried out (with Maurice Vanstone of Swansea University) to examine the skills probation officers use during supervision. Proceeding on the basis that the evidence-based and multidimensional CCPs are useful skills for promoting attitudinal and behavioral change in offenders (Dowden & Andrews, 2004), we devised a checklist that is based on the CCPs and used it to observe and assess supervision sessions in the Jersey Probation and Aftercare Service (JPACS).

The Jersey Supervision Skills Study

The study was commissioned by JPACS, which is located in the island of Jersey. The island is the largest of the Channel Islands in the United Kingdom. It is a relatively small island covering only approximately 45 square miles. Its entire population was approximately 98,000 in 2011 and it has a relatively high (by European standards) gross national income per capita. The probation service is small, with a revenue budget of approximately £1.6 million and a professional staff of 21, of whom 16 are trained probation officers. The clients supervised by the service typically have previous criminal convictions (Jersey Probation and Aftercare Service, 2011). Unlike several Western jurisdictions, the service is accountable to the judiciary. It is not an agency of a government department. Therefore the service is not subject to undue political pressures.

The Jersey Supervision Checklist

The study sought to examine whether probation officers in JPACS employ the CCPs during supervision sessions. We devised a checklist that is based on the multidimensional CCPs, and we used the checklist to observe and score videotaped supervision sessions for compliance with CCPs. Initial attempts to apply the checklist met with suspicion from some probation officers. For these officers, their reluctance to participate stemmed from the understandable fear that the recorded interview sessions would eventually be used by management for staff appraisal purposes. After reassuring the

officers that the objective of the study was to contribute to staff-oriented self-assessment processes, we were able to secure their active participation and support.

To enhance inter-rater reliability, the three of us involved in the study piloted the checklist by scoring the same sessions and then comparing our scores. We also presented the checklist to a meeting of the Collaboration of Researchers for the Effective Development of Offender Supervision (CREDOS) held in Glasgow in 2008. Membership of CREDOS comprises researchers from 10 different countries who have contributed significantly to the field of offender rehabilitation research, and they were able to help us to develop better assessment of structuring skills. We eventually arrived at a seventh version of the instrument, which we developed even further with more piloting until we were satisfied that we had attained an adequate degree of inter-rater reliability. We named the final checklist The Jersey Supervision Checklist Version 7 (C). The checklist comprises nine groups of skills:

- Set up
- Non-verbal communication
- Verbal communication
- Use of authority
- Motivational interviewing
- Prosocial modelling
- Problem solving
- Cognitive restructuring
- Overall interview structure

The checklist assesses not only skills and practices but also the context of the interview. For example, the first item, “set up,” assesses the physical setting of the interview. The item was included in the checklist because the emerging evidence suggests that a client is more likely to feel assured of privacy and confidentiality, and consequently to disclose useful information, if the supervision setting is one in which there are limited external distractions like phone calls and other parties entering the room (Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2006). The item “set up” also assesses whether the seating arrangement is such that there is appropriate distance between both parties (not too wide or too close) and they appear relaxed. Similarly, the item “overall interview structure” enables the assessor to examine the overall context of the interview. To devise this item, we drew on research evidence indicating that effective skills such as CCPs are best applied in a context that promotes active client participation. This is more readily achievable if the interview is structured appropriately, so that the practitioner

summarizes the key themes covered in the previous interview, sets out the objectives of the current interview, encourages disclosure, gives some feedback to the client, schedules the next interview, and gives the client tasks for the interim (Taxman et al., 2006).

In terms of the remaining Checklist items, it is clear that using Andrews and Bonta’s (2010) taxonomy of CCPs, the remaining items can be classified as relationship and structuring principles. As such, the items “non-verbal communication and verbal communication” are relationship principles that have been described above. Equally, the items “use of authority,” “motivational interviewing,” “prosocial modeling,” “problem solving” and “cognitive restructuring” are structuring principles. It is worth noting that the Checklist item “problem solving” assesses not only whether practitioners help clients learn how to solve problems using prosocial strategies but also whether the practitioners apply the CCP “use of community resources” or “advocacy/brokerage.”

Applying the Jersey Supervision Checklist Version 7(C)

The Checklist comprises the nine categories listed above made up of 63 individual items—see Table 1 below. The observer scores the checklist by observing a supervision session and, when the practitioner exhibits a skill in the checklist, ticking the relevant subcategory. For example, if a practitioner “models alternative thinking,” which is a subcategory of “cognitive restructuring,” the observer ticks the subcategory. Each tick represents a score and the total score obtainable is 63, which is the total of the subcategories (see Table 1).

TABLE 1.
Checklist items and maximum scores obtainable

Skill clusters	Number of items/possible scores
Set up	4
Non-verbal communication	5
Verbal communication	10
Use of Authority	5
Motivational Interviewing	9
Prosocial modeling	5
Problem solving	10
Cognitive restructuring	7
Overall interview structure	8
Total	63

Findings

After piloting the checklist, we used it to observe 95 videotaped supervision sessions by 14 different probation staff. The clients’ risk assessment scores before and after supervision were also recorded. Our current findings are based on observations of 10 officers who recorded 5 to 15 interviews each. The findings show that the Checklist does reveal differences between participating practitioners who use more of the skills in the checklist and those who use fewer skills. We found that officers who used more of the skills and as such obtained average checklist scores that were close to 60, used the skills consistently across several interviews. In Table 2, it is clear that the checklist shows differences between the officers according to the skills they use.

Table 2 reveals the mean scores the 10 practitioners received compared to the maximum scores they could have obtained for each of the checklist items. The table also shows the average scores a high-scoring officer received compared with the average scores of a low-scoring practitioner. In addition, the table shows that although the lower-scoring practitioner attained quite good scores on the skills that make up the relationship principle, namely non-verbal communication and verbal communication, the lower-scoring officer attained lower-than-average scores on the skills that represent dimensions of the structuring principles. These are prosocial modeling, problem solving and cognitive restructuring. This finding in respect of the low-scoring officer in Table 2 was consistent for most of the lower-scoring officers in the study. By contrast, Table 2 demonstrates that the high-scoring officer maintained consistently high scores across the entire skills-set. Again this finding appeared to be the same for all the high-scoring officers. It follows that a key difference between the high-scoring officers and the lower-scoring officers is that unlike the lower-scoring officers, the high-scoring officers tended to use the range of skills that make up the structuring principle. It is quite possible that both high-scoring and lower-scoring officers tended to score highly on the skills that constitute relationship principles because the training scheme in place for probation officers in JPACS is grounded in social work principles, which emphasize the importance of developing good working relationships with clients.

TABLE 2.

Mean scores for group of 10 staff members compared with possible scores

Checklist Item	Possible Scores	Mean Scores	Higher Scorer	Lower Scorer
Set up	4	3.9	4	3.5
Non-verbal communication	5	4.7	5	4.2
Verbal communication	10	7.8	9.8	6.5
Use of Authority	5	4.5	5	4.7
Motivational Interviewing	9	6.2	8.8	3.7
Prosocial modeling	5	3.8	5	3.5
Problem solving	10	5.7	7	3.5
Cognitive restructuring	7	3.2	7	0.0
Overall interview structure	8	6.2	7	5.9
Total	63	45.9	58.6	35.5

The Impact of CCPs on Risk Scores and Reconviction Rates

The study used two outcome measures to assess the impact of CCPs. The measures are the initial and follow-up risk scores of the clients supervised by the participating practitioners, and the clients' reconviction rates after one year.

Initial and follow-up risk scores

JPACS uses the Level of Service Inventory—Revised assessment tool (LSI-R). The LSI-R is used to assess the client's risk and needs, and it is a good predictor of reconviction (Andrews & Bonta, 1995; Miles & Raynor, 2007). Studies have shown that people who attain lower LSI-R scores as supervision progresses tend to reconvict less (Raynor, 2007). As Table 3 indicates, when we looked at interviewees who had both initial and follow-up risk assessments, we found that clients who were supervised by high-scoring officers (that is, by officers who attained above-average checklist scores) had greater reductions in their LSI-R scores compared with clients who were supervised by the lower-scoring officers. In other words, the clients supervised by the higher scorers achieved more positive behavioral and attitudinal change.

Initial and Post-Supervision Reconviction Rates¹

Our recent reconviction analysis focuses on 75 clients for whom we had interview assessments and reconviction data. This is a lower number than the total of interviews because a number of clients appeared in more than one interview, and in those cases only the score

¹ For a fuller account of our reconviction study, please see Raynor et al. (forthcoming).

from the first interview is used. We controlled for risk, and we found that clients who were supervised by the higher-scoring officers had slightly higher initial risk scores compared with the initial risk scores of the clients supervised by the lower-scoring officers. As Table 4 shows, the clients supervised by the higher-scoring officers had substantially lower rates of reconviction compared with the reconviction rates of those who were supervised by the lower-scoring officers.

In sum, the clients supervised by the higher-scoring officers performed substantially better. This result supports the view that supervision skills make a real difference, and the focus on CCPs is justified by results.

TABLE 3.

Mean initial and follow-up LSI-R risk assessments of people interviewed by 7 staff with below-median skill ratings, compared with interviewees of 7 staff with above-median skill ratings (N of staff = 14; N of interviewees = 54)

Interviewed by:	First LSI-R	Second LSI-R	Change	Significance of change (t-test)
Staff using fewer skills (N=23)	20.7	19.0	-1.7	Not significant
Staff using more skills (N=31)	20.6	17.2	-3.4	p = 0.003

TABLE 4.

Two-year reconviction rates of people interviewed by 7 staff with below-median skill ratings, compared with interviewees of 7 staff with above-median skill ratings (N of staff = 14; N of interviewees = 75)

Interviewed by:	Not reconvicted	Reconvicted	% reconvicted
Staff using fewer skills (N=23)	15	21	58%
Staff using more skills (N=31)	29	10	26%

Significance: p = .004

Conclusions

The Jersey study has led to a number of publications, including a chapter in the edited collection *Offender Supervision* (Raynor, Ugwu-dike, & Vanstone, 2010) and a forthcoming article in a criminological journal (Raynor, Ugwu-dike, & Vanstone, forthcoming). However, so far the most immediate practical effects have come from dissemination of the checklist used in the research (the Jersey Supervision Interview Checklist version 7c: Raynor, Ugwu-dike, & Vanstone, 2009) and the manual prepared in the late stages of the project to facilitate use of the checklist by practitioners (Vanstone & Raynor, 2012). This manual, based on our own procedures and criteria used during the interview analysis stage of the research, was produced when, rather to our surprise, the probation staff in Jersey asked to be trained in the use of the checklist. We had thought that they would be relieved that the study was over, but instead they spotted the potential of the interview analysis process to aid staff development, which had up to then been a theoretical possibility in our minds rather than a practical project. The result was that one of the authors led a training day in Jersey in which groups of probation staff watched recorded interviews and completed checklists, with lively discussion of the assigned scores. The other author led a workshop at a conference in Scotland to introduce participants to the process, and the chief probation officer of Jersey showed a

recorded interview for assessment at a conference in Australia. The latest information from Jersey is that the Checklist is being used there in staff development. We should not, perhaps, have been surprised that probation staff showed more obvious enthusiasm for practical applications of the research instruments than they had shown for the time-consuming and inconvenient business of collecting our research material.

We are still at an early stage in the dissemination of this research, but there have already been some impacts beyond Jersey. The project has been discussed in the international research network CREDOS (the Collaboration of Researchers for the Effective Development of Offender Supervision) and interim results have been presented to the National Offender Management Service in England and Wales, which has itself initiated an Offender Engagement Programme (OEP) to enhance probation officers' skills in direct work with offenders and to reinstate skills at the center of the offender management process. The Jersey project has been one influence on this program (others were the work of Chris Trotter in Australia and the work of Jim Bonta and his colleagues in Canada) and one of the authors has been appointed to an advisory group for the project, as well as giving advice on the training component of the program, known as SEED (Skills for Effective Engagement and Development). The results of the OEP are awaited with interest and may prove important in the development of British probation. This rediscovery of skills is undoubtedly welcome, but the fact that it is happening as a part of post-qualification in-service training raises questions about the effectiveness of probation officers' initial preparation.

Probation services in England and Wales are facing a period of unprecedented change: The current coalition government in London is engaged in a widespread program of competition and privatization in public services, and it is likely that up to 70 per cent of the Probation Service's work will in future be undertaken by private companies. The future shape of training for the staff of these new services is as yet unknown, but much of their work will be similar to the work of probation staff today—indeed, some of them will be the same staff. We can state with confidence that skills will still be important, and that skilled staff will produce better results than unskilled staff. Current plans indicate that at least part of the income of new service providers will depend on how successful they are in

reducing re-offending, and attention to staff skills may be a cost-effective strategy, but it is still impossible to predict how these issues will be addressed, or whether this will be done any more effectively than in the past.

References

- Andrews D. A., & Bonta J. (1995). *The Level of Service Inventory-Revised Manual*. Toronto: Multi-Health Systems.
- Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2010). *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct* (5th ed.). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.
- Andrews, D. A., & Kiessling, J. J. (1980). Program structure and effective correctional practices: A summary of the CaVIC research, in R.R. Ross & P. Gendreau (Eds.), *Effective correctional treatment*. Toronto, Canada: Butterworth.
- Dowden, C., & Andrews, D. (2004). The importance of staff practice in delivering effective correctional treatment: A meta-analysis. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 48(2), 203–214.
- Emmons, K. M., & Rollnick, S. (2001). Motivational interviewing in healthcare settings: Opportunities and limitations, *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 20, 68–74.
- Jersey Probation and Aftercare Service (2011, November). *Jersey Probation and After Care Service (JPACS): Working with offenders in the community*, 29 & 30 November 2011. Lisbon, Portugal. <http://www.probation.je/reports> (accessed March 2011).
- Miles, H., & Raynor, P. (2007). Evidence-based probation in a microstate. *European Journal of Criminology*, 4(3), 299–293.
- Miller, W.R., & Rollnick, S. (2002). *Motivational Interviewing: Preparing People for Change*. New York, Guilford Press.
- Priestley, P., McGuire, J., Flegg, D., Hemsley, V., & Welham, D. (1978), *Social Skills and Personal Problem Solving: A Handbook of Methods*. London: Tavistock.
- National Offender Management Service (2006). *The NOMS Offender Management Model*. London: National Offender Management Service.
- Raynor, P. (2004a). The probation service “pathfinders”: Finding the path and losing the way? *Criminal Justice*, 4(3), 309–25.
- Raynor, P. (2004b). Rehabilitative and reintegrative approaches. In A. Bottoms, S. Rex, & G. Robinson (Eds.), *Alternatives to Prison*. Cullompton: Willan, pp. 195–223.
- Raynor, P. (2007). Risk and need assessment in British probation: The contribution of LSI-R. *Psychology. Crime and Law*, 13(2), 125–138.
- Raynor, P., Ugwudike, P., & Vanstone, M. (2009). *The Jersey Supervision Interview Checklist version 7c*. St. Helier: Jersey Crime and Society Project.
- Raynor, P., Ugwudike, P., & Vanstone, M. (2010). Skills and strategies in probation supervision: The Jersey study. In F. McNeill, P. Raynor, & C. Trotter (Eds.), *Offender Supervision: New directions in theory, research and practice*. Abingdon: Willan, pp. 113–129.
- Raynor, P., Ugwudike, P., & Vanstone, M. (forthcoming). The impact of skills in probation-work: A reconviction study. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*.
- Raynor, P., & Vanstone, M. (1984). Putting practice into theory—An in-college skills training programme. *Issues in Social Work Education*, 4(2), 85–93.
- Taxman, F. S., Shepardson, E. S., & Byrne, J. M. (2006). *Tools of the trade: A guide to incorporating science into practice*. National Institute of Corrections, U.S. Department of Justice and Maryland Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services.
- Trotter, C. (1996). The impact of different supervision practices in community supervision: Cause for optimism. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 29(1): 29–46.
- Vanstone, M., & Raynor, P. (2012). *Observing interview skills: A manual for users of the Jersey Supervision Interview Checklist*. St. Helier: Jersey Probation and After-Care Service.

Changing Probation Officer Attitudes: Training Experience, Motivation, and Knowledge

Christopher T. Lowenkamp

Alexander M. Holsinger

University of Missouri, Kansas City

Anthony W. Flores

California State University, Bakersfield

Igor Koutsenok

Center for Criminality & Addiction Research, Training & Application

University of California, San Diego School of Medicine

Natalie Pearl

San Diego County Probation

SEVERAL DECADES OF correctional research have served to identify the most effective strategies for reducing offender recidivism. This research has led to the development of a core set of intervention principles that, when adhered to, show meaningful and consistent reductions in recidivism. These principles of effective intervention are so strongly supported empirically that they are now considered a necessary component to any successful rehabilitative initiative. Initial investigations into “what works” have now become more focused on how to improve upon the reductions in recidivism gained from implementing these established principles. Recent empirical inquiries have identified the potential importance of probation and parole officer (PO) attitudes in shaping their behavior with correctional clients and in turn influencing the outcome of the offenders they supervise.

In one of the earliest theories of probation supervision, Klockars (1972) posited that PO attitudes influence officer role perceptions and officer behavior. Klockars stated that the practice of probation supervision ultimately results from the interaction of departmental context, the legal and logical definition of revocation, the psychological approach of the probationer, and, most important, the

“working philosophy” of the officer. Clear and Latessa (1993) studied role conflict among POs and found that officer philosophies are a function of both personal and organizational factors, and that officer attitudes can be changed. More recent research conducted by Paparozzi and Gendreau (2005) supports the view that community-based supervision programs would do well to employ POs with balanced law enforcement/social casework orientations. Clearly, research regarding the importance of PO attitudes is gaining more significance. Many community correctional agencies are changing their organizational policy from being grounded in compliance to focusing on research-based rehabilitative strategies that bring about offender change and reduce recidivism (Bourgon, Gutierrez, & Ashton, 2011).

Recently, POs have been asked to do more than just serve as case managers. Their everyday tasks have evolved as the research on effective intervention strategies has gained support. In brief, this literature shows that punishment-based strategies fail to have an appreciable effect on offender outcome (Gendreau, Goggin, Cullen, & Andrews, 2000). In order to positively affect the rate at which offenders recidivate, correctional

interventions must include models for change that adhere to the principles of effective intervention. The correctional literature has come to term these practices the “what works” model of offender rehabilitation.

Over the last several decades, research attempting to identify the best practices in correctional intervention has shown that rehabilitation programs can reduce recidivism. However, this is not to say that all rehabilitative efforts are equal. Programs that show the largest reductions in recidivism adhere to the well-established principles of effective intervention. In fact, meta-analytic evidence has suggested that the clinically relevant and psychologically informed principles of risk, need, and responsivity are associated with significant reductions in recidivism (Andrews et al., 1990; Dowden & Andrews, 1999a, 1999b; Lipsey, 1989). The risk principle states that the intensity of the program should match the risk level of the offender (e.g., higher-risk cases receive more intensive services). The need principle, on the other hand, suggests that offender intervention strategies target criminogenic needs (dynamic risk factors) that are causally related to criminal behavior, such as pro-criminal attitudes, anti-social associates, and antisocial personality. Finally,

the responsivity principle denotes the importance of matching the style and mode of intervention to the abilities, motivation, and learning style of the offender. Research has further indicated that cognitive behavioral/social learning-based interventions are generally the most effective with offenders. In their most recent review of these principles, Andrews and Bonta (2010) state that the more a program adheres to the principles of risk, need, and responsivity, the larger the observed reductions in recidivism.

To further enhance the positive outcomes associated with offender rehabilitation, Andrews and Kiessling (1980) introduced the five dimensions of effective correctional practice. These five dimensions are considered to be at the core of effective treatment delivery and are seemingly just as important as meeting the principles of risk, need, and responsivity. The five dimensions are: effective use of authority, anti-criminal modeling and reinforcement, problem solving, use of community resources, and quality of interpersonal relationships between staff and client. These five dimensions are based on the social learning theory of criminal behavior and echo the most empirically validated intervention strategies for aiming to obtain positive behavioral change within offenders (Andrews & Kiessling, 1980).

Of late, an influx of new training programs has offered POs guidance toward the implementation of the principles of effective intervention and the five dimensions of effective treatment delivery (Bonta, Rugge, Scott, Bourgon & Yessine, 2008; Lowenkamp, Lowenkamp, & Robinson, 2010; Lowenkamp, Robinson, VanBenschoten, & Alexander, 2009; Taxman, 2008; Trotter, 1996). A specific program of this type is the Integrated Behavioral Intervention Strategies (IBIS) developed by Lowenkamp, Koutsenok, and Lowenkamp (2011). IBIS consists of two main components: motivational interviewing and EPICS-II. The developers of the program argue that while each component is based on effective intervention research, IBIS is a different approach to training, because it integrates each component into a comprehensive set of practices (Lowenkamp et al., 2010).

Not surprisingly, there is a large body of literature that highlights the importance of staff training on programs that adhere to the principles of effective intervention and stress the core dimensions of effective treatment delivery. This body of research indicates that training can significantly impact client/

officer interactions and can also lead to lower offender failure rates. Evaluations of these models demonstrate empirical effectiveness and consistently show a relative reduction of recidivism of up to 25 percent (Bonta et al., 2008; Dowden & Andrews, 2004; Robinson et al., 2012; Taxman, 2008; Trotter, 1996). Furthermore, research has indicated that when POs are trained on the principles of effective intervention, they focus more on the rehabilitative function of the job and dedicate more time to strategies that promote behavioral change (Fulton, Stichman, Travis, & Latessa, 1997).

Bonta et al. (2008) found that probationers receiving supervision from POs trained on the "what works" literature recidivated at a rate of 46 percent, while probationers receiving supervision from untrained POs recidivated at a rate of 64 percent. Additionally, the simple act of discussing criminogenic needs with probationers led to significant reductions in recidivism (Bonta et al., 2008). In a preliminary attempt to decipher the relationship between PO attitudes/orientations and client outcome, Whetzel, Pappozzi, Alexander, and Lowenkamp (2011) surveyed POs in three federal districts who had previously been trained in evidence-based practices. The survey data indicated that the federal POs who completed the surveys were balanced in their approach to offender supervision (Whetzel et al., 2011). In a related research study analyzing the effect of on-the-job coaching for trained POs, Lowenkamp et al. (2012) found that face-to-face coaching sessions after POs were initially trained in evidence-based practices increased the likelihood that officers would actually use their newly learned skills.

This body of research shows that training on evidence-based practices for use in community correctional settings can change a PO's attitude toward a more balanced supervision approach and can increase the likelihood that POs will feel positive about delivering treatment to their clients (Fulton et al., 1997). This research examines the effect that evidence-based training has on increasing officer knowledge of the "what works" literature and changing officer attitudes toward service delivery.

Methods

The current study uses data from a sample of San Diego County POs ($N = 300$) that were engaged in a three-day training. Specifically, the data were gathered through a survey that was administered immediately before the

beginning of Day 1 of the training, and again immediately after the training was over on Day 3 of the training curriculum. The survey (Table 1) was designed to glean the participants' knowledge, views, and attitudes about several aspects of their own training participation, criminogenic needs, and the prospect of offender change. The current study does not use demographic or professional experiential data, although there was non-systematic variation regarding years on the job and other aspects of job experience.

The Training

The training that the San Diego County POs participated in was titled Integrated Behavioral Intervention Strategies, or IBIS (Lowenkamp, Lowenkamp, & Robinson, 2010). The IBIS training involves an intensive three-day curriculum that covers several areas of evidence-based correctional intervention strategies. Specifically, IBIS includes instruction on the theory and rationale behind motivational interviewing, as well as on several aspects of EPICS II—Evidence-Based Practices in Correctional Supervision—II.

Motivational interviewing (MI) is a strategy of officer-client interaction that is gaining wider implementation across many correctional agencies in the U.S. (Miller & Rollnick, 2002). The fundamental principles and practices of MI involve first teaching trainees the theory behind the strategy as well as research supporting its efficacy. Other concepts include the expression of empathy, supporting self-efficacy in the individual, and developing discrepancy. Specific micro-skills involved in MI training (i.e., the vehicles through which the aforementioned concepts are implemented) include the use of open-ended questions, affirmations for prosocial statements and behaviors, various types of reflections designed to reveal to the offender ways in which their thinking and behaviors are problematic, "rolling with resistance" to avoid power struggles, shifting focus and helping the offender reframe antisocial sentiments, and helping the offender to elicit "change talk," further reinforcing the beginnings of behavioral change (Miller & Rollnick, 2002).

As noted above, IBIS training includes aspects of the EPICS-II curriculum/skill set, including the importance of appropriate relationship building and coaching skills and instilling the ability to give constructive feedback. Also included are knowledge and exercises designed to impart the skills that allow the officer to explain behavior (and in

TABLE 1.

Survey Item	Pre		Post	
	N	%	N	%
How would you describe yourself as it relates to this training?				
Prisoner	77	26	30	10
Prodigy	91	30	29	10
Pupil	60	20	214	71
Passenger	72	24	27	9
We can predict how offenders will do (adjustment) based on how we as officers interact with them.				
True	132	44	248	83
False	168	56	52	17
The top criminogenic needs are:				
Substance abuse, gang affiliation, employment	94	31	19	6
Attitudes, peers, personality	73	24	270	90
Family, substance abuse, financial	87	29	10	3
Housing, attitudes, self-esteem	46	15	1	<1
Motivation is something that people either have or they do not.				
True	188	63	46	15
False	112	37	254	85
People with problematic behavior must accept their problem.				
True	183	61	72	24
False	117	39	228	76
External pressure and consequences is the only way to make people change.				
True	129	43	37	12
False	171	57	263	88
POs' expectations for their probationers' abilities to change have NO effect upon whether change occurs.				
True	102	34	14	5
False	198	66	286	95
Eliciting probationers' thoughts or viewpoints on their behavior can be helpful to increase their motivation toward change.				
True	170	57	258	86
False	130	43	42	14
The best way to motivate probationers to change is to help them to resolve their ambivalence about change.				
True	114	38	242	81
False	186	62	58	19
How motivated are you to utilize IBIS in your work?				
Not motivated at all or unsure	211	70	53	18
Somewhat to very motivated	89	30	247	82
To what extent do you expect that IBIS will be successful in working with your clients?				
Not successful at all to unsure	197	66	61	20
Somewhat to very successful	103	34	239	80

turn behavioral change)—in other words, breaking down the basic elements of behavior in an effort to increase the offender's awareness of his or her own behavior, how that behavior originates, and how to change it.

A great deal of information regarding radical behavioral change strategies is included in IBIS as well. For example, methods of effective reinforcement, effective disapproval, and the appropriate use of authority are covered as means by which prosocial behavior can be reinforced while antisocial behavior can be extinguished. In addition, the founding principles and theory behind the cognitive model are included as well, focusing on problem solving and integrating cognitive principles with behavioral reinforcement strategies.

Data Elements from the Survey

The survey asked officers to assess their attitudes toward their training participation (i.e., how they see their role/status as a trainee). In addition, officers' views regarding the top criminogenic needs were assessed, as were officers' beliefs regarding the prospect for offender change, the importance (and source of) motivation to change, the importance of gleaned offenders' views, and the officers' attitudes regarding their own motivation to use the skills they were being taught by the IBIS training.

Results

Table 1 presents the results of the pre-post analysis using the survey data. Several noteworthy changes appear to have occurred, at least attitudinally, between the pre-survey assessment and the post-survey assessment. For example, the first question asked: "How would you describe yourself as it relates to this training?" The possible responses included "prisoner," "prodigy," "pupil," or "passenger." The percentage of training participants who rated themselves as "prisoners" dropped 16 percent (from 26 percent to 10 percent pre- to post), while the percentage who described themselves as "pupils" increased 51 percent (from 20 percent to 71 percent pre- to post). A 20 percent decrease from pre- to post-survey was observed in the number of those who considered themselves a "prodigy" (30 percent to 10 percent), while the percent who considered themselves "passengers" decreased from 24 percent to 9 percent. It appears that trainees responded to the training in a way that reduced their obstinacy, decreased over-estimation of their existing skills, increased

their views of their need to learn more, and reduced complacency.

The extent to which POs have influence over offenders through the officer-client interaction was assessed by this true/false question: "We can predict how offenders will do (adjustment) based on how we as officers interact with them." The percentage of officers who answered this question as "true" increased nearly 40 percent from before to after the training (44 percent to 83 percent). Officers were also asked to choose one of four different sets of criminogenic needs (i.e., "the top three criminogenic needs are:"). The sample was spread fairly evenly across all four different sets at the pre-survey measurement point; however, the percentage of respondents that chose the "top three" that included attitudes, peers, and personality increased from 24 percent to 90 percent after the training. The responses to this question indicate that trainees gained a more empirically-based view of what the top criminogenic needs are within the offender population. For comparison, consider that the set listed as "housing, attitudes, self-esteem" dropped from 15 percent to less than one percent after the training.

Several more indicators of positive change in the training participants occurred through the use of six true/false questions designed to tap a number of different aspects of behavioral change in the offender population. For example, when presented with the statement "Motivation is something that people either have or they do not," those responding "false" increased from 37 percent to 85 percent. The importance of offenders "accepting" their problems was assessed through the statement "People with problematic behaviors must accept their problems," where those responding "false" increased from 39 percent to 76 percent. The effect of coercive supervision practices was assessed through the statement "External pressure and consequences are the only ways to make people change," where the percentage of those answering "true" decreased from 43 percent to 12 percent.

The officer-client interaction was assessed through three true/false questions as well. For example, officers' expectations were assessed through the statement "POs' expectations for their probationer's abilities to change have NO effect upon whether change occurs." Training participants answered "false" at a rate of 66 percent before the training and 95 percent afterward. Similar change was revealed through the statement "Eliciting probationers' thoughts or viewpoints on their behavior can

be helpful to increase their motivation toward change," where those who responded "true" increased from 57 percent to 86 percent post-training. Likewise, the statement "The best way to motivate probationers to change is to help them to resolve their ambivalence about change" resulted in an increase of 38 percent (pre-training) to 81 percent (post-training). These three questions in particular reveal positive changes regarding training participants' beliefs in the power of their expectations, the importance of gleaned offenders' thoughts about their own lives and motivation, and the best ways to motivate offenders.

Two questions were included to ascertain the PO's views regarding the IBIS training as a whole. For example, the statement "How motivated are you to utilize IBIS in your work?" resulted in an increase for the response "Somewhat to very motivated" from 30 percent to 82 percent post-training. Likewise, the statement "To what extent do you expect that IBIS will be successful in working with your clients?" resulted in an increase from 34 percent to 80 percent for the response "Somewhat to very successful."

While the results presented above do not involve the use of a comparison group and do not incorporate statistical control, it appears that the training had an immediate effect on several indicators regarding knowledge of evidence-based correctional practices, belief in self-efficacy regarding offender change (on the part of probation officers), and an increasing awareness of the importance of core correctional practices and the effectiveness of the IBIS skills. All tests of the relationship between response contingencies pre and post training were statistically significant ($p < .05$).

Discussion

The present research represents a comparison of pre-training knowledge and beliefs to post-training knowledge and beliefs for a sample of San Diego County POs who participated in a three-day skill-based training. The current study did not incorporate a control/comparison group or statistical control. Nonetheless, there were several important findings.

The training appears to have had an immediate effect on several beliefs and knowledge bases noted above. At the very least, these changes represent an attitudinal change on the part of the POs who were participating in the training. While attitudinal change on the part of the PO does not automatically equate to behavioral change, the importance of attitudinal change should not be underestimated. For

example, Fulton et al. (1997) demonstrated the statistically significant effect of parole officer attitudes and how they relate to desired correctional outcomes (i.e., successful discharge from supervision).

More recently, and within the context of evidence-based practices in supervision, Bourgon et al. (2011) demonstrated the importance of officer attitudinal change (on the part of the correctional officer) and how this change can relate to increases in positive outcomes for probationers. Indeed within the context of Bourgon et al. (2011), it appears that training for POs in particular may hold great importance when it comes to changing attitudes regarding effective curricula and practice.

References

- Andrews, D.A., & Bonta, J. (2010). *The psychology of criminal conduct*. New Providence, NJ: Mathew Bender and Company, Inc.
- Andrews, D. A., & Dowden, C. (2006). Risk principle of case classification in correctional treatment: A meta-analytic investigation. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 50(1), 88-100.
- Andrews, D.A., & Kiessling, J.J. (1980). Program structure and effective correctional practices. A summary of CaVIC research. (pp. 441-463). In R.R. Ross & P. Gendreau (Eds.), *Effective correctional treatment*. Toronto: Butterworths.
- Andrews, D., Zinger, I., Hoge, R., Bonta, J., Gendreau, P., & Cullen, F. (1990). Does correctional treatment work? A clinically relevant and psychologically informed meta-analysis. *Criminology*, 28(3), 369-404.
- Bonta, J., Ruge, T., Scott, T., Bourgon, G., & Yessine, A.K. (2008). Exploring the black box of community supervision. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 47(3), 248-270.
- Bourgon, G., Gutierrez, L., & Ashton, J. (2011). The evolution of community supervision practice: The transformation from case manager to change agent. *Irish Probation Journal*, 8, 28-48.
- Clear, T.R., & Latessa, E.J. (1993). Probation officer roles in intensive supervision: Surveillance versus treatment. *Justice Quarterly*, 10, 441-462.
- Dowden, C., & Andrews, D.A. (2004). The importance of staff practice in delivering effective correctional treatment: A meta-analytic review of core correctional practices. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 48(2), 203-214.
- Dowden, C., & Andrews, D.A. (1999a). What works for female offenders: A meta-analytic review. *Crime and Delinquency*, 45(4), 438-452.

- Dowden, C., & Andrews, D.A. (1999b). What works in young offender treatment: A meta-analysis. *Forum on Corrections Research, 11*, 21–24.
- Fulton, B., Stichman, A., Travis, L., & Latessa, E.J. (1997). Moderating probation and parole officer attitudes to achieve desired outcomes. *The Prison Journal, 77*, 295–312.
- Gendreau, P., Goggin, C., Cullen, F. T., & Andrews, D. A. (2000). The effects of community sanctions and incarceration on recidivism. *Forum, 12*(2), 10–13.
- Klockars, C. B. (1972). A theory of probation supervision. *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 63*(4), 550–557.
- Lipsey, M.W. (1989). *The efficacy of intervention for juvenile delinquency: Results from 400 studies*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology. Reno, NV.
- Lowenkamp, C. T., Koutsenok, I., and Lowenkamp, M. S. (2011). *Integrated Behavioral Intervention Strategies (IBIS)*. San Diego, CA: University of California, San Diego.
- Lowenkamp, C.T., Lowenkamp, M.S., & Robinson, C.R. (2010). *Effective Practices in Correctional Settings—II*. Raleigh, NC: Lulu Publishing.
- Lowenkamp, C.T., Robinson, C.R., VanBenschoten, S., & Alexander, M. (2009). *Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Rearrest*. Washington, DC: Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts.
- Lowenkamp, M.S., Robinson, C.R., Lowenkamp, C.T., Koutsenok, I., & Pearl, N. (2012). A brief survey of probation officers: The importance of coaching. *Federal Probation, 76*(2): 36–40.
- Miller, W.R., & Rollnick, S. (2002). *Motivational interviewing: Preparing people for change*. 2nd ed. New York: Guilford Press.
- Paparozi, M., & Gendreau, P. (2005). An intensive supervision program that worked: Service delivery, professional orientation, and organizational supportiveness. *The Prison Journal, 85*, 445–66.
- Robinson, C.R., Lowenkamp, C.T., VanBenschoten, S., Alexander, M., Holsinger, A.M., & Oleson, J.C. (2012). A random study of Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Rearrest (STARR): Using core correctional practices in probation interactions. *Journal of Crime & Justice, 1–22*.
- Taxman, F.S. (2008). No illusion, offender and organizational change in Maryland's proactive community supervision model. *Criminology and Public Policy, 7*(2), 275–302.
- Trotter, J. (1996). The impact of different supervision practices in community supervision: Cause for optimism. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 29*(1), 29–46.
- Whetzel, J., Paparozi, M., Alexander, M., & Lowenkamp, C.T. (2011). Goodbye to a worn-out dichotomy: Law enforcement, social work, and a balanced approach (A survey of federal probation officer attitudes). *Federal Probation, 75*(2), 7–12.

Capitalizing on Collaboration in Arizona: Working Together to Advance the Use of Evidence-Based Officer Skills at All Levels of Community Corrections

Kathy Waters

Director of Adult Services, Arizona Supreme Court

Mario Moreno

Chief United States Probation Officer, District of Arizona

R. Brian Colgan

Supervisory United States Probation Officer, District of Arizona

IF THE FIELD of community corrections increasingly knows “what works,” why does our profession, as a whole, continue to struggle with “making it work”?

Consider this observation by Morris Thigpen: “From years of working with jurisdictions across the country, the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) has concluded that collaboration and rational planning are the keys to creating an effective criminal justice system” (McGarry & Ney, 2006, p. ix). Or consider *Collaboration: A Training Curriculum to Enhance the Effectiveness of Criminal Justice Teams* (Carter, Bumby, Gavin, Stroker, & Woodward, 2005). The authors point out that the term “collaboration” has become a “buzz word” that can be misunderstood and offer the following description of collaboration:

It is the effort to improve the capacity of others that makes collaboration a unique enterprise. Collaboratives are different from cooperatives and coalitions because they involve more formal and sustained commitment, and rely on the conviction that, while retaining their uniqueness and autonomy, organizations that share and pursue common goals can accomplish much more together than they can alone. (Carter et al., 2005, p. 5)

Regarding the possible benefits collaboration can yield, Carter explains:

Collaboration changes the way we work and requires a profound shift in our conception of how change is created. Collaboration shifts organizational focus from competing to consensus building; from working alone to including others; from thinking about activities to thinking about results and strategies; and from focusing on short-term accomplishments to demanding long-term results. (Carter et al., 2005, p. 5)

Amid 20 factors cited as important dimensions of successful collaboration reported by Mattessich, Murray-Close, and Monsey (2001), the authors believe that five of the factors are key to the project we describe in this article. First, there is a history of collaboration between the stakeholders. Second, informal relationships and communication links already exist. Third, participants see the collaboration project as beneficial to each of their jurisdictions. Fourth, there are concrete, attainable goals and objectives. Finally, there is a shared vision regarding the problem to be solved and the solution to be used.

In line with the “rational planning” noted by Thigpen, Nutt (2002) studied how decisions are made, what works, what doesn’t, and why. His work spanned more than 20 years and involved closely examining over 400 decisions made by managers in private, public, and nonprofit organizations across the United

States, Canada, and Europe. Essentially, he is describing a “rational planning” process. His key finding is startling: “...decisions fail half of the time. Vast sums are spent without realizing any benefits for the organization” (Nutt, 2002, p. ix).

Among the most critical methods Nutt identified for achieving successful change was a process based on logical and ethical rationality that examines and clearly identifies the intended direction (or need) of an agency or community. Further, a collaborative problem-solving process is then used to develop and implement a responsive plan. He found that there were three general categories of what he termed “blunders” that lead to failure: “...rushing to judgment, misusing resources, and applying failure prone tactics” (Nutt, 2002, p. x). Ironically, he points out that: “...decision making practices with a good track record are commonly known, but uncommonly practiced. Nearly everyone knows that participation prompts acceptance, but participation is rarely used” (Nutt, 2002, p. 4).

From our perspective, the guidance from Nutt noted above regarding collaboration and rational planning is foundational to succeeding at making “what works” a reality for our agencies and our profession. In this article, we hope to offer an example of what it might look like if the community corrections agencies in a state began to join together to implement

evidence-based officer skill-training curricula following a process based on the principles discussed above regarding collaboration and rational planning. We have begun by sharing resources, strategy, and implementation processes, all with the shared vision of reducing recidivism. In this instance, we are building on a strong history of effective collaboration, strong communication ties, and an agreement to use the same curriculum (how to solve the problem of recidivism).

The Training Curriculum Used for This Project

The current project used the EPICS-II curriculum (Lowenkamp, Lowenkamp, & Robinson, 2010). The EPICS-II curriculum is similar to other supervision-based training curricula currently in use in correctional settings. Models like Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS) (Bonta, Bourgon, Rugge, Scott, Yessine, Gutierrez, & Li, 2010), STARR (Lowenkamp, Robinson, VanBenschoten, & Alexander, 2009), Proactive Community Supervision (PCS) (Taxman, Yancey, & Bilanin, 2006), and Working with Involuntary Clients (Trotter, 1999) all use similar skill sets and most target offenders' cognitions. Many of these models have been evaluated to determine their impacts on offender outcomes, with favorable results (see Bonta et al., 2010; Robinson, Lowenkamp, Holsinger, VanBenschoten, Alexander, & Oleson, 2012; Lowenkamp, Holsinger, Robinson, & Alexander, 2012; Trotter, 1996; and Taxman, Yancey, & Bilanin, 2006).

A Foundation of Multi-Jurisdictional Collaboration in Arizona

In 2008 and 2009, under the leadership of the United States Attorney's Office (USAO), a coalition of more than 60 stakeholders representing law enforcement, the courts, corrections, public defenders, probation, housing providers, substance abuse and health care providers, educators, nonprofits, the faith-based community, and other concerned citizens began meeting to discuss how "to promote the successful reintegration of men and women leaving the correctional system in order to reduce crime and recidivism, and increase public safety" (USAO AZ, 2010, p. 3). The significance of this collaboration was discussed in the August 2011 publication by the Department of Justice: "Reentry Toolkit for United States Attorneys' Offices" (p. 16). Speaking specifically about the sustained and

significant nature of the collaborative work in Arizona, the report noted:

The USAO's reentry initiative represents a unique and extraordinary statewide collaboration of all the key reentry stakeholders in Arizona. Through the leadership and convening power of the USAO, this initiative has produced a comprehensive series of reentry recommendations as well as an ongoing structure that globally addresses all aspects of reentry in Arizona. (DOJ, August 2011)

We mention this information to illustrate the tradition of collaboration that served as the context for the project discussed in this article. The following governmental organizations all played key roles in the leadership of the USAO reentry initiative: AOC Adult Services Division, the Maricopa County Adult Probation Office, Maricopa County Manager's Office, Yavapai County Adult Probation Office, Arizona Department of Corrections (ADOC), the Phoenix Police Department, and the United States Probation Office. While the current project focus has narrowed and these agencies' roles have changed, all the agencies noted above that deliver community corrections services in Arizona are involved in this project.

Evidence-Based Practices in the County Community Corrections System in Arizona

In 2002, the county Chief Adult Probation Officers, in collaboration with the Adult Probation Services Division of the Administrative Office of the State Supreme Court (AOC), made a significant decision to adopt the use of the Offender Screening Tool (OST) as the standardized assessment tool for all 15 adult probation departments in the State of Arizona. This decision was the starting point for the use of Evidence-Based Practices (EBP) in Adult Probation across the entire state and was fully implemented by 2003. During the next several years, changes in the Arizona Codes of Judicial Administration and local department policies as well as mandatory training paved the way for all 15 adult probation departments to become certified and approved as Evidence-Based Practice counties by the Arizona Supreme Court.¹

This and other EBP-based systemic reforms have begun to positively impact outcomes in the county adult probation system. Revocations to the ADOC have been reduced

by 44 percent from FY 2008 to FY 2012.² In addition, new felony convictions by persons on probation supervision have been reduced by 38 percent during the same time frame.³ The use of risk assessments to prioritize and inform supervision activities and the corresponding allocation of resources by the adult county probation departments has become the norm and is becoming institutionalized as the way business is done in Arizona.⁴ The Supreme Court of Arizona now identifies EBP as the business model in its ongoing strategic agendas of the court. This pronounced level of leadership and support from the court has enhanced our efforts and contributed significantly to their success.⁵

The State of Arizona Committee on Probation includes public members and other disciplines beyond probation experts. Logical members also include the United States probation chief as well as the Community Corrections Operations director from the ADOC. In 2012, the AOC began to discuss what topics would be included in the next round of EBP training for the county adult probation departments. Based on findings in our periodic Operational Reviews, a decision was made to focus in part on EBP-based officer skills. In addition, the county probation departments were requesting training in Motivational Interviewing. During discussions with the Adult Chief Probation Officers, it was determined that providing the EPICS II (Lowenkamp et al., 2010) training was our best option. A similar curriculum was evaluated in the federal system and those results persuaded us that this was the best option available. In addition, this curriculum would complement any future training in Motivational Interviewing. All the chiefs agreed that this was the logical next step for Arizona, given that we were approaching a second decade of work to implement EBP and realizing that line officers were the critical link in achieving additional reductions in recidivism.

From the involvement of United States Probation in the Arizona Committee on Probation, AOC learned that United States Probation in Arizona had begun the process

² Additional information can be found at <http://www.azcourts.gov/apsd/SafeCommunitiesAct.aspx>

³ Additional information can be found at <http://www.azcourts.gov/apsd/SafeCommunitiesAct.aspx>

⁴ The juvenile probation system in Arizona has made major strides in this area as well. Their work in this area is not in the purview of this article.

⁵ Additional information about the court's strategic plans can be found here: <http://www.azcourts.gov/justice2020/Justice2020.aspx>

¹ Additional information can be found at <http://www.azcourts.gov/AZSupremeCourt/codeofjudicialadministration.aspx>

of training their officers in STARR and had staff knowledgeable in EPICS II. The federal probation office in Arizona's experience and willingness to participate made them a welcome addition to the training the AOC began to plan; we concluded that their involvement could only enhance our efforts to reduce recidivism.

Evidence-Based Practices in United States Probation, District of Arizona

The steps that federal probation in Arizona has taken to implement evidence-based practices have been based on the leadership and direction of the Office of Probation and Pretrial Services (OPPS) of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts (AO) and guidance from the Criminal Law Committee of the Judicial Conference.

The adoption of an evidence based philosophy requires the use of assessment tools; the development of supervision and programming options that are informed by evidence; the use of research; and the development of staff skills to support programming and service delivery. The supervision and programming principles derived from research, when implemented well, lead to a more efficient and effective system, maximizing the reduction in recidivism. (Hurtig & Lenart, 2011, p. 35)

The federal probation system has followed a blueprint that is based on three goals:

“Educate all and provide a common foundation and understanding of EBP”; “Implementing an Actuarial Risk Assessment”; and “Teaching officers supervision skills that will have the greatest effect on reducing recidivism” (Hurtig & Lenart, 2011, p. 35).

To achieve the third goal of this EBP blueprint (teach officers supervision skills with the greatest effect on reducing recidivism), OPPS developed STARR (Lowenkamp, Robinson, VanBenschoten, & Alexander, 2009). While national training efforts are well under way, the District of Arizona was not selected as a participant for the first round of STARR training.

The District of Arizona probation system made an internal commitment in late 2012 to develop additional volunteer coaches (in addition to the OPPS STARR-trained coaches) to assist with the pending implementation of STARR in our district. We decided that we wanted to seek volunteers who were willing to become effective role models in their use of the skills associated with Core Correctional

Practice (CCP), Motivational Interviewing (MI), and Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT). To comply with OPPS directives regarding the use of the STARR curriculum by non-OPPS staff, federal probation in the District of Arizona used Effective Practices in Correctional Settings II (EPICS II).⁶

Our district determined to increase our coaching capacity to maximize our ability to effectively train more than 80 officers in STARR. We recognized from the experience of the nine OPPS STARR-trained coaches and the scope and nature of the curriculum that this endeavor was going to be significantly different from a conventional training program. Successful implementation of STARR would require a thorough evaluation of our allocation of resources. Even more important, we realized that this process would involve a fundamental shift in philosophy to a focus on promoting long-term change in the people we investigate and supervise (Bourgon, Gutierrez, & Ashton, 2011). This long-term change process centers around helping offenders understand that their behavior is a “...direct result of their thoughts alone and for no other reason” (Bourgon et al., 2011:36).

To form our group of USPO coaches, we conducted a series of detailed sessions for interested volunteers intended to give them a preview of what involvement in the coaches' development project would look like. That process included pre-session reading assignments and a discussion of the project objectives and planned training activities. After completing the preview process, participants were asked to volunteer if they were interested in becoming coaches. At the end of the recruitment process, 17 officers (including 3 from the presentence division) and 5 supervisors (including 1 from the presentence division) volunteered to learn, practice, and begin using the skill sets mentioned above (this group included the 9 OPPS STARR-trained coaches, 2 of whom are supervisors).

The Role of Coaching in this Project

While the intent of this article is not to fully describe all the theoretical underpinnings of the entire implementation process associated with this project, we think that some discussion of the coaching component of this project is warranted. In the context of staff development for teachers, Joyce & Showers (2002) found that conventional training (theory,

demonstration, practice time, and feedback) without post-instruction job-site coaching infrequently transfers into the day-to-day delivery of service. In the education field, post-training use of new practices occurred less than 10 percent of the time, without post-instruction on-site coaching. With post-instruction on-site coaching, the transfer rate to day-to-day delivery of service can reach 95 percent. More broadly, Alexander (2011) noted that post-instruction on-site coaching has consistently and broadly been demonstrated in a number of disciplines to be a necessary element for the transfer of a new skill to the workplace. It is clear that the involvement of coaches greatly enhances the learning process and therefore increases the transfer of these important skills to the point of service. Therefore, the role of the coach is critical to the successful implementation of this curriculum.

The Collaborative Training Event

In March 2013, the Adult Probation Services Division of the Arizona AOC planned, funded, and hosted the first of a series of training events (in progress) using the EPICS-II curriculum. This series of events is designed to build agency self-sufficiency to implement the skills contained in the training curriculum. The goal of this process is to build the internal capacity of each county adult probation agency so they can become self-sustaining in their ability to train officers in EPICS II. The first step of this process involves the training and development of internal coaches, who after demonstrating skill proficiency by the submission of recordings, will be integral in the subsequent training of other officers in their agencies. In addition, as described below, since the curriculum is being shared throughout the State of Arizona, the possibility exists for agencies to share their coaches as needed.

This event brought together participants from all of Arizona's 15 adult probation departments. Also in attendance were observers from governmental and nongovernmental stakeholder groups. Organizations in attendance included staff from the ADOC and representatives from the Judicial Education and Juvenile Justice Services Divisions of the Arizona Administrative Office of the Courts.

The initial training included two days of classroom instruction, which included a significant portion of time devoted to skill-practice role plays. To assist the students (county adult probation officers) in learning the EPICS-II skills, coaches from United

⁶ The third author is certified as an EPICS-II trainer and coach.

States Probation Office (USPOs) from the District of Arizona coached the students during the practice of the skills during role play sessions. After the students completed their rehearsal of a skill during the training role plays, the USPO coaches then provided structured feedback on the students' use of the newly learned skills. During this process, the USPO coaches answered questions that the students posed about the use of the skills and offered encouragement intended to promote the students' learning.

After the two-day classroom portion of the training, the student officers participated in a three-part, one-on-one coaching session with one of the two training instructors. This comprised 1) addressing questions and concerns about the curriculum, 2) directly observing the students' use of a new skill with a person on supervision, and 3) debriefing and giving feedback following the observation.

For this coaching event, the student officers were observed using the skills in one-on-one sessions with a person on supervision whom the student did not actually supervise. In other jurisdictions where the same or similar training has taken place, the direct observation has involved the student officer rehearsing the skills with someone they supervise. Our adaptation involved the students conversing with a person on supervision with the Maricopa County Adult Probation Department. Specifically, these individuals were from Maricopa County's Drug Court program. Even the student officers from the Maricopa County Adult Probation Department were not paired with people they supervised. This adaptation was necessary given the significant travel times between the training site and the students' place of work.

Future training events will focus on developing coaches and trainers from all community corrections agencies in the State of Arizona.

What Did We Learn?

The progress made by both the state adult probation system and the United States Probation Office in Arizona in adopting EBPs provided an effective context for this project. The previously built foundation of collaboration led to the decision to work together on evidence-based officer skill training. Our different agencies share a common aim: to reduce recidivism. This gave us agreement on the scope and nature of the problem to be solved. The

stakeholders involved in the decision-making process believe that the selected training curriculum, EPICS II, provides a shared way for community corrections agencies at all levels to work on reducing recidivism. Based on our history of past successful collaboration, there was a high degree of open communication and consensus building, which made a successful training event possible.

In the one-on-one debriefings with the training instructors, the student officers reported that the involvement of the USPO coaches in the skills-practice role plays was extremely helpful. As a result of the structured feedback from the USPO coaches, the students reported that they were able to refine their rehearsal of the skills with each iteration of the role play. In addition, comments from student officers indicated that the presence of officers from other counties and the federal system created a heightened sense of the significance of the training project.

The debriefing process with the student officers also yielded another interesting theme: Student officers commented that they were less nervous practicing the skills during the "real play," since they did not have to worry as much about making a mistake in front of someone on supervision they would not see again.

When asked about working with the county officers, the USPO coaches reported that they were able to see progress from the students after each rehearsal, and on day two the improvement was even more pronounced. Several of the less-experienced USPO coaches indicated that the opportunity to coach students they did not directly work with made learning the feedback and coaching process less intimidating. The consensus of the group of USPOs was that their involvement in this training event enriched their own learning of the skills and their ability and confidence to eventually coach USPO peers.

Comments received from both the student officers and the USPO coaches regarding this event align with what was reported by Lowenkamp, Robinson, Koutsenok, Lowenkamp, and Pearl (2012). More specifically, coaching assisted student officers in understanding the skills, since they were able to resolve concerns and get answers to their questions. More important, the experience reduced their uncertainty about the value of the skills in general.

Moving Forward

Collaboration can maximize the impact of increasingly scarce resources and make it possible to learn vicariously from other organizations trying to solve similar problems. The shared vision of this ongoing project is to 1) train officers in evidence-based tools to reduce recidivism and 2) support and learn from our community corrections partners in Arizona as this skill acquisition moves forward. We have already begun to make that vision a reality. As agencies continue in this process, the ability to share resources—especially skilled coaches—will greatly enhance the learning process. That said, we believe it is important to keep in mind that our progress will directly depend on the level of adherence we have to "what works."

Research regarding the successful implementation of innovation clearly shows that the kind and extent of training are crucial. Alexander (2011) cites Fixsen, Naoom, Blase, Friedman and Wallace (2005) in cautioning that mandating changes in the correctional system, in and of itself, is ineffective. Further, research throughout many human-service disciplines consistently shows that simply providing information and a conventional approach to training will not cause sustained change.

The purpose of this article was not to add to the scholarly work that increasingly forms what we have referred to here as "what works." Instead, we are sharing our pursuit to apply that knowledge in a multi-jurisdictional project to enhance the evidence-based skills of community corrections officers in an effort to lower recidivism. We have learned much through this initial phase of our collaboration, and we are sure that new lessons await us. Going forward, as fiscal resources become increasingly scarce, we have the opportunity to creatively solve common problems with shared solutions based on evidence.

We conclude where we began this article: "From years of working with jurisdictions across the country, the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) has concluded that collaboration and rational planning are the keys to creating an effective criminal justice system." (McGarry & Ney, 2006, p. ix).

References

- Administrative Office of the Courts Adult Probation Services Division (2012). *Safer Communities*.
- Alexander, M. (2011). Applying implementation research to improve community corrections: Making sure that "new" thing sticks! *Federal Probation*, 75, 2.
- Bonta, J., Bourgon, G., Rugge, T., Scott, T.-L., Yessine, A.K., Gutierrez, L. & Li, J. (2010). The Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision: Risk-need-responsivity in the real world. Ottawa: Public Safety Canada.
- Bourgon, G., Gutierrez, L., & Ashton, J. (2011). The evolution of community supervision practice: The transformation from case manager to change agent. *Irish Probation Journal*, 28–48.
- Carter, M. M., Bumby, K., Gavin, F., Stroker, R., & Woodward, W. (2005). *Collaboration: A training curriculum to enhance the effectiveness of criminal justice teams*. State Justice Institute.
- Department of Justice, Reentry Toolkit for United States Attorneys' Offices (August, 2011). http://www.nationalreentryresourcecenter.org/documents/0000/1163/Reentry_Council_Reentry_Toolkit.pdf
- Fixsen, D. L., Naoom, S. F., Blase, K. A., Friedman, R. M., & Wallace, F. (2005). *Implementation research: A synthesis of the literature*. Tampa, FL: University of South Florida, Louis de la Parte Florida Mental Health Institute, The National Implementation Research Network (FMHI Publication #231).
- Hurtig, J. E., & Lenart, L. M. (2011). The development of the evidence-based practices blue print and where we are now. *Federal Probation*, 75(2).
- Joyce, B., & Showers, B. (2002). *Student achievement through staff development* (3rd ed.). Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Lowenkamp, C. T., Holsinger, A., Robinson, C. R., & Alexander, M. (2012). Diminishing or durable treatment effects of STARR? A research note on 24-month re-arrest rates. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, DOI:10.1080/0735648X.2012.753849.
- Lowenkamp, C. T., Lowenkamp, M. S., & Robinson, C. R. (2010). *Effective Practices in Correctional Settings II*. Raleigh, NC: Lulu Publishing.
- Lowenkamp, C. T., Koutsenok, I., Lowenkamp, M.S., & Robinson, C.R. (2011). *Integrated Behavioral Intervention Strategies (IBIS)*. San Diego, CA: San Diego County Probation Department.
- Lowenkamp, C. T., Robinson, C. R., VanBenschoten, S., & Alexander, M. (2009). *Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest*. Washington, DC: Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts.
- Lowenkamp, M. S., Robinson, C. R., Koutsenok, I., Lowenkamp, C. T., & Pearl, N. (2012). The importance of coaching: A brief survey of probation officers. *Federal Probation*, 76(2).
- Mattessich, P., Murray-Close, M., & Monsey, B. (2001). *Collaboration: What makes it work, 2nd edition: A review of research literature on factors influencing successful collaboration*. Wilder Publishing Center.
- McGarry, P., & Ney, B. (2006). *Getting it right: Collaborative problem solving for criminal justice*. Center for Effective Public Policy: Silver Spring, Maryland NIC Accession Number 019834.
- Nutt, P. T. (2002). *Why decisions fail: Avoiding blunders and traps that lead to debacles*. Barrett Koehler Publishers, Inc.
- Robinson, C., Lowenkamp, C., Holsinger, A., VanBenschoten, S., Alexander, M., & Oleson, J. (2012). A random study of Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest (STARR): Using core correctional practices in probation interactions. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 1–22.
- Taxman, F. S., Yancey, C., & Bilanin, J. (2006). Proactive Community Supervision in Maryland: Changing offender outcomes. College Park: University of Maryland, Bureau of Governmental Research.
- Trotter, C. (1996). The impact of different supervision practices in community supervision: Cause for optimism. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 29 (1), 29–46.
- Trotter, C. (1999). *Working with involuntary clients: A guide to practice*. London: Sage.
- United States Attorney's Office, District of Arizona (2010). http://www.justice.gov/usao/az/reports/Newsletter/LECC_WS_Reentry_Initiative_Report_2010.pdf
- White-Berch, R. (2010). A vision for the future of the Arizona Judicial Branch. Supreme Court of Arizona.

Appendix

All 20 domains of the "Wilder Collaboration Factors Inventory." Mattessich, P., Murray-Close, M., & Monsey, B. (2001). Wilder Collaboration Factors Inventory. St. Paul, MN: Wilder Research.

History of collaboration or cooperation in the community

Collaborative group seen as a legitimate leader in the community

Favorable political and social climate

Mutual respect, understanding, and trust

Appropriate cross section of members

Members see collaboration as in their self-interest

Ability to compromise

Members share a stake in both process and outcome

Multiple layers of participation

Flexibility

Development of clear roles and policy guidelines

Adaptability

Appropriate pace of development

Open and frequent communication

Established informal relationships and communication links

Concrete, attainable goals and objectives

Shared vision

Unique purpose

Sufficient funds, staff, materials, and time

Skilled leadership

Coaching: The True Path to Proficiency, From an Officer's Perspective

Melissa Alexander

Lisa Palombo

Ed Cameron

Evey Wooten

Matthew White

Michael Casey

Christopher Bersch

U.S. Probation Office, Middle District of North Carolina

THE PAST SEVERAL decades have seen a dramatic shift in the understanding of community corrections and effective supervision. In general, researchers have found that implementation of the Risk-Need-Responsivity model can significantly impact recidivism rates (see Andrews & Bonta, 2010a, for a review of this research and Lowenkamp, Flores, Holsinger, Makarios, & Latessa, 2010, for a review of its application to supervision-based programs). A recent meta-analytic review (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a) demonstrated that adherence to all three principles leads to the greatest reductions in recidivism, while non-adherence to these principles leads to increases in recidivism. Unfortunately, analysis of conversations between officers and offenders have demonstrated that there is little adherence to the RNR model (Bonta, Ruggie, Scott, Bourgon, & Yessine, 2008). For probation officers, the shift has focused on moving from a strict monitoring role to one that balances monitoring with what has come to be known as the “change agent” role. The officer as change agent focuses on officers having a more therapeutic role, understanding the principles of cognitive-behavioral intervention and social learning, and assisting offenders with learning skills and applying them to high-risk situations. The idea of officer as change agent has been

detailed elsewhere (i.e., Bourgon, Gutierrez, & Ashton, 2011, Lowenkamp et al., in press), but overall these techniques have come to be known as Core Correctional Practice (CCP). Andrews and Kiessling (1980) defined these correctional practices as:

1. use of authority,
2. role modeling/reinforcement,
3. problem-solving strategies,
4. use of community resources, and
5. relationship factors.

Dowden and Andrews (2004) provided a meta-analytic review of the core correctional practices, indicating that the use of authority, disapproval, reinforcement, modeling, teaching problem-solving skills, and structured learning are all related to the effectiveness of correctional services. While much of the research reviewed by Dowden and Andrews was devoted to treatment programs, other research has examined the use of these skills in community supervision settings (Trotter 1996, 1999; Taxman et al., 2006). Several studies have demonstrated favorable results for these approaches (e.g., Bonta et al., 2010; Robinson et al., 2012), with decreases in recidivism ranging from 25 percent to almost 50 percent relative risk reduction when compared to traditional supervision. Clearly, using these types of interventions can fundamentally change the work of probation officers.

While the potential effectiveness of these core correctional practices is becoming clear, what has been less clear is the ability of agencies to implement these changes at the officer level. Since 1998 a number of training protocols have focused on shifting officers from “check-in” supervision to a more skill-focused interaction between the corrections professional and the client, including training curriculums from Trotter (1996) and Taxman (2006); more recent trainings include the Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS, Bonta et al., 2010), Effective Practices in Correctional Settings (EPICS), and Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Rearrest (STARR, Robinson et al., 2012). All of these curriculums emphasize teaching officers specific skill strategies to be used during client contacts, in the hopes that they will help offenders internalize prosocial thinking and behavior. While these trainings differ from one another, they all focus on teaching core correctional practices through lecture, role play, and most important, follow-up coaching and feedback. Unfortunately, many agencies have had difficulty implementing all aspects of these training curriculums, particularly in regards to follow-up coaching. Importantly, the quality of implementation can significantly impact the effectiveness of an intervention. For instance, in a review

of cognitive-behavioral programs (CBT) for offenders, Lipsey (2007) found that effective implementation was one of the three main elements that impacted the effectiveness of CBT. In a similar review of juvenile offender interventions, Lipsey (2009) concluded "...in some analyses, the quality with which the intervention is implemented has been as strongly related to recidivism effects as the type of program, *so much so that a well-implemented intervention of an inherently less efficacious type can outperform a more efficacious one that is poorly implemented*" (p. 127). In this article we focus on the importance of coaching in skill development.

Coaching

A review of implementation research consistently demonstrates that trainings focused simply on knowledge transfer, with no skill training or follow-up, do not lead to changes in everyday practice (Fixsen et al., 2005). For example, Joyce and Showers (2002) reviewed the research on skill acquisition for teachers. When workshops focused on theory and discussion, there was little change in skill use in the classroom; even when demonstration and practice within the training were added, there was only a 5 percent use of the skill in the classroom. Only after on-the-job feedback and coaching were included were substantial gains (95 percent use in the classroom) achieved. Similarly, greater proficiency in MI is demonstrated by those individuals who receive coaching and feedback versus those who only receive workshop training (Miller, Yahne, Moyers, Martinez, & Pirritano, 2004). Research on training in cognitive-behavioral therapy suggests that the use of follow-up/coaching is essential to increased knowledge and use of the skill (Cully, Teten, Benge, Sorocco, & Kauth, 2010). And several studies of cognitive therapy have shown that outcomes improve as therapist skill level improves (Shafran, Clark, Fairburn, Arntz, Barlowe, Ehlers, Freeston, Garety, Hollon, Ost, Salkovskis, Williams, & Wilson, 2009). Research in other areas suggests that having a mentor and participating in discussions with others about new practices are more likely to lead to integration of new techniques into daily practice (Cook, Schnurr, Biyanova, & Coyne, 2009), pointing to the importance of developing an environment of colleagues that support the new intervention. Finally, Cully et al. (2010) and Miller et al. (2004) have demonstrated that on-the-job coaching is essential to ensure successful skill transfer from the

classroom to the community. The coaching relationship relies on having a knowledgeable coach as well as developing a safe atmosphere in which trainees will feel comfortable discussing the questions, concerns, and issues they are experiencing when attempting newly learned skills. Additionally, it is important for trainees to receive appropriate feedback, which means that coaches need a means to accurately assess the skill level of the trainee. This is where audio (or video) taping of interactions comes into play. Without such data, it is impossible to know exactly what has occurred in an interaction. For instance, Miller and Rose (2009) observe about training in Motivational Interviewing (MI):

We know of no reliable and valid way to measure MI fidelity other than through the direct coding of practice samples. Clinicians' self-reported proficiency in delivering MI has been found to be unrelated to actual practice proficiency ratings by skilled coders (Miller & Mount, 2001; Miller et al., 2004), and it is the latter ratings that predict treatment outcome.

While there is little research to date on the impact of audiotaping and coaching on probation officer skill level, some findings are emerging. Bonta et al. (2010) found that officers who were more involved in the clinical support (coaching) activities demonstrated more of the skills and focused conversations on appropriate risk factors. Research on MI training (Alexander, Robinson, & Lowenkamp, in press) found that officers only received one follow-up coaching session and, not surprisingly, very few officers were found to have beginning proficiency or competency as measured by the Motivational Interviewing Treatment Integrity (MITI) scale. Research has also suggested that officers find value in the coaching experience. Lowenkamp et al. (2012) found that a majority of officers reported that coaching sessions helped them better understand how they could use the skills. Officers also indicated that having coaching sessions increased the likelihood that they would use the skills taught.

Current Study

This article explores officers' views on audiotaping and coaching, expanding on the previous research by Lowenkamp et al. (2012). Additionally, we report on the extent of skill use. All officers underwent training in STARR, which included initial 1–3 day classroom training followed by mandatory audiotaping and attendance at coaching

sessions. The initial group trained in STARR was coached by an expert trainer and, once they reached proficiency, the members of this group were approached about becoming coaches for the next groups of officers trained. All officers agreed to become coaches and completed a minimum of two days of training in coaching STARR, followed by mentoring from the expert trainer. Coaching responsibilities included listening to audiotapes and giving individual feedback, as well as running group coaching sessions ("boosters") with their assigned officers. Coaches were assigned no more than three officers to coach at a time. Group coaching sessions included didactic review of skills, discussion of problems/issues encountered, tips for using the skills, listening of audiotapes and peer feedback, and role play of skills with immediate peer and coach feedback. In general, the coaching sessions lasted 1–1½ hours, with sessions occasionally lasting as long as three hours.

All officers trained in STARR were asked to complete an anonymous survey covering both audiotaping and coaching. Of the 15 officers trained, 13 completed the survey, an 87 percent response rate. As part of their STARR training, all officers were expected to attend at least monthly coaching sessions and turn in 1–2 audiotapes per month. Officers have turned in an average of 28 tapes since training began in 2012, with a range of 13–53 audiotapes submitted. Officers have also attended a significant number of coaching sessions, averaging at least one per month, with some locations having sessions twice monthly or once every three weeks following the initial training (the three locations held 10, 12, and 16 sessions, respectively).

Results

Audiotaping

Officers universally experienced anxiety about taping before beginning to tape contacts. As one officer stated: "During my initial STARR training, I was informed that I would be asked to submit recordings of live personal contacts to a STARR coach, who in turn would provide me with feedback. I vividly remember feeling nervous, anxious, and overwhelmed because of the idea of somebody evaluating my performance of a newly acquired skill." Another officer commented: "At first I was skeptical and hesitant to use STARR techniques. I felt uncomfortable recording my conversations with offenders, it felt scripted and robotic." Another officer's statement captures the importance of audiotaping: "After

going through initial STARR training I really wasn't sure what to do. I was hesitant to record my interactions and the thought of role play made me nervous. I would attempt a STARR skill in my office with an offender but really have no clue as to how I had performed. I had not recorded it and my coach had not observed it." Once they got over their initial anxiety, officers quickly began to see the value in audiotaping. Nearly all (77 percent) of the officers indicated that they listen to every contact they audiotape, and 38 percent agreed or strongly agreed that the conversation was different from how they remembered it. Officers overwhelmingly felt that the requirement to audiotape ensured that they actually practiced the skills and that taping was the litmus test to determine if they actually performed the skill with fidelity. They found it helpful to be able to listen to themselves so that they could accurately identify errors, missed opportunities, and missed steps as well as things they did well. Eighty-five percent of officers indicated that listening to the tape before coaching sessions helped them learn more during the session, and anecdotally coaches reported that there was a "clear difference" between coaching officers who had and had not listened to their tape before the session. Additionally, all of the officers indicated that listening to their audiotape helped them critique their own skill level, and nearly all (92 percent) agreed or strongly agreed that listening to their tapes enhanced their skills.

Coaching

A smaller but still significant proportion (46 percent) of officers reported anxiety about being coached before the commencement of coaching. One officer stated "I remember being nervous about taping my sessions and about being 'critiqued.' Although I had been performing the job of a probation officer for many years, my confidence was low about whether I'd be able to master these skills and become proficient." Officers participated in both individual and group coaching sessions, and both appear to be useful in enhancing skills, but perhaps for different reasons. All of the officers agreed or strongly agreed that the coaching sessions (group and individual) were helpful to them. Group sessions appeared useful in hearing other officers' use of the skills, receiving peer feedback, and sharing struggles they are experiencing. Individual sessions allowed the coaches to provide more targeted, individualized feedback, which may assist more with actual skill development. Despite

the initial anxiety, all of the officers subsequently reported that coaching and booster sessions were useful in helping them understand when and how to apply the skills. One officer stated:

... contrary to my initial feelings about having a coach, I found the coaching sessions to be extremely supportive, encouraging, and motivating. My coach instilled the belief in me that I was putting forth effort, making progress, and quickly becoming proficient in STARR. I would take the feedback received during each session and try to incorporate the recommendations into my next contact. In addition to my coach providing me constructive feedback on the skill usage, I was also taught to answer questions on my own about why I was learning the skills, how it might be beneficial to the client, and also how I could identify opportunities to incorporate the skills into my supervision duties.

Several officers also expressed surprise that the coaching differed from their expectations:

The coaching sessions were not what I expected. I was given an opportunity to provide my own feedback first about what I thought I did well and my coach and I would discuss those areas and other areas that she may have picked up. We would then discuss areas that I thought could have gone better. Sometimes she would offer suggestions I hadn't thought of, and together we'd discuss my goals for the next time I would use this skill. It was a very safe exchange and left me feeling good about my efforts and my ability to improve my skill level.

Interestingly, one officer connected the coaching to his fundamental reason for doing the job, helping people: "The most gratifying part of being coached was that for the first time in my career I was actually being trained on how to bring about pro-social change in an offender. Helping people, that is why I chose this profession."

In general, the group sessions occur monthly, and the majority (77 percent) of officers felt this frequency of coaching was "just right." Perhaps most important, 92 percent of officers indicated that the coaching sessions made it more likely that they would actually use the skills. It is likely that this process becomes a positive feedback loop—as officers audiotape contacts and attend coaching sessions, they receive feedback that improves both their skill and confidence; in fact, 92 percent strongly

agreed or agreed that the coaching sessions increased their understanding of how to apply the skills. As one officer stated:

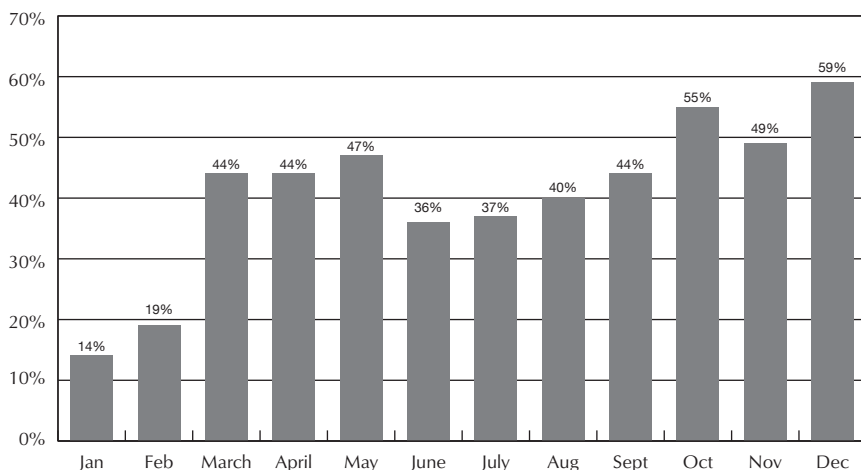
My experience of being coached has been an extremely positive one, and I feel that coaching was the primary reason my STARR skill level and usage is where it is today. I have always thought I was good at evaluating myself and what I needed to improve on, but it helps to have the "outside" point of view from the coach. I was pretty hard on myself in the beginning when first learning the skills, and my coach helped me to see the positive things I was doing as well. This helped me get through that period of discomfort and anxiety when trying to do something new like STARR, and get over the fears of recording.

Increased understanding, coupled with confidence in using the skills, makes it more likely that the officers will use the skill in the future. As one officer bluntly stated, "I can honestly say that without the individual coaching and booster (coaching) sessions my use of STARR would have declined or stopped shortly after returning from my initial STARR training." As the coaching allowed them to overcome this tendency, officers began to see the usefulness of the skills. One officer commented:

I became more comfortable and developed my own style. This allowed me to deepen my conversations with clients. These conversations resulted in offenders opening up and discussing daily life, risky behaviors, drivers of risk factors, ways to address them and allowed clients to think about benefits and consequences of their actions. Contacts with clients became more collaborative. I am now talking with offenders rather than at them. STARR guides offenders to think for themselves and to make the appropriate choices. Additionally, I like to think that STARR has allowed me to maintain a better rapport with clients. I realized that STARR was a powerful tool when I had a conversation with a member of the Bloods. A hardened criminal opened up to me, discussed personal issues that drove his criminal behavior, and cried. At the end of the conversation he made a commitment to get back on track and work on staying out of trouble.

Such testimonials are substantiated by the data regarding skill use. Since the training/coaching began, there has been a steady increase in skill usage as time progressed (see Figure 1). The slight drop in usage in June

FIGURE 1.
STARR Skill Use as Percentage of Contacts, by Month, 2012



reflects a new group of officers being trained and added to the data. To date, over 70 percent of the officers trained are using the skills in at least half of their contacts.

In addition to surveying the trained officers, we asked the STARR coaches to reflect on their experience of coaching. All of the coaches began as peer coaches, having no supervisory oversight of those they were coaching. Coaches reported that the experience has been both challenging and rewarding. One coach noted:

It was a challenging transition as I began to provide feedback to my coworkers on their interactions with offenders. This was not a role that I was accustomed to. Typically, officer and offender interactions were done in a private setting and I was beginning to listen in on these conversations. Fortunately, the officers that I worked with were very coachable and appreciated the feedback that I provided.

Another stated:

Some of the challenges of being a STARR coach are modeling the use of STARR skills at a high frequency of contacts with competency, providing meaningful and constructive feedback to my fellow coworkers (some of which are very experienced officers), responding to criticisms about the use of STARR in supervision, and motivating people to try something new.”

Another coach stated:

I think the fact that all of us coaches were new learners is an asset that we can bring

to a coaching relationship. I think it’s valuable for my peers to hear about instances in which I got stuck trying out a new skill for the first time as they realize that they are not alone in their learning curve. One thing I’ve noticed in almost all of my interactions with my officers is that they are oftentimes much harder on themselves than me! They want to talk about their areas of improvement before discussing all of the things they did well when executing the skill. I think the coaching relationship gives the officer a chance to get feedback in a safe setting.

The coaches also noted that having to coach others helped them hone their own skills:

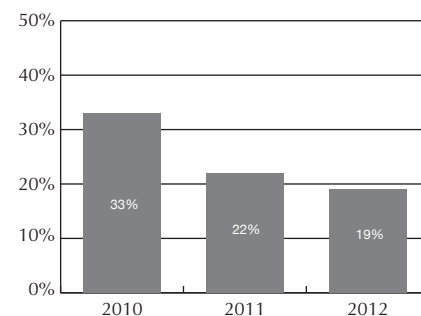
My experience as a coach has not only allowed me to help those who I coach become better in their application and usage of the skills, but has also allowed me to become better in my use of the skills. I truly believe that hearing others demonstrate the STARR skills, in addition to using them myself, has helped me in my skill development. Coaching has also helped me improve certain interpersonal skills, such as listening to and providing someone constructive feedback. My greatest challenge was to provide someone feedback that would still give them the blueprint for improvement but not deteriorate their motivation. My sense of empathy has also become greater, as I recognize what the officers are going through when they first learn and start using the skills, because I was once in their shoes.

Another coach noted that having to coach others develops other leadership and management skills: “As I reflect upon the coaching experience, it provides tremendous leadership training. I was evaluating performance and leading meetings in my office.” One coach was subsequently promoted to a supervisor position, and has commented:

It [coaching] has been beyond rewarding. As their coach and SUSPO [Supervisory United States Probation Officer], I see on a daily basis the transformation in supervision skills and practices that has occurred. I have also seen a decrease in violation reports and increase in positive officer/offender rapport. I have been approached by countless offenders that recognize the efforts of their officers. I hear statements like, “I have never had a probation officer speak with me or treat me like this before.” It is gratifying to know that as a coach I have played a small part in helping that officer and offender achieve success.

Since beginning implementation of the RNR model and use of STARR skills, the district has seen revocation rates steadily decrease, as evidenced in Figure 2. Currently, the revocation rate is one-third lower than the national average for federal probation districts. Research is underway to determine exactly which RNR and CCP strategies may be influencing this reduction.

FIGURE 2.
12 Month Revocation Rates



Conclusion and Next Steps

The survey results support research demonstrating that coaching is absolutely essential to officer skill development in Core Correctional Practices. Although most of the officers expressed significant anxiety before the audio-taping and coaching, they overwhelmingly felt that both were indispensable to the learning

process. Clearly, management must assist officers in working through this initial resistance and create a safe learning environment that allows officers to take full advantage of the coaching experience. Additionally, we recommend addressing organizational issues in order to assist officers in finding the time to invest in learning activities. Providing officers with both the emotional and logistical support necessary to undertake this structured learning process is more likely to result in successful implementation of CCPs such as STARR. Specific strategies for implementing new initiatives can be found in resources such as the National Implementation Research Network (NIRN) and previous articles on implementation (e.g., Alexander, 2011). Future research will focus on developing specific competency-rating scales for each of the STARR skills and exploring how competency and frequency of STARR skill use is related to recidivism.

References

- Alexander, M. (2011). Applying implementation research to improve community corrections: Making sure that "new" thing sticks! *Federal Probation*, 75(2).
- Alexander, M., Robinson, C., & Lowenkamp, C. (in press). A tale of two innovations: Motivational Interviewing and Core Correctional Practices in US Probation. In *What works in offender compliance*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2010a). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (5th ed.). New Providence, NJ.
- Andrews, D. A., & Kiessling, J. J. (1980). Program structure and effective correctional practices. A summary of CaVIC research (pp. 441–463). In R.R. Ross & P. Gendreau (Eds.), *Effective correctional treatment*. Toronto: Butterworths.
- Bonta, J., Ruge, T., Scott, T., Bourgon, G., & Yessine, A.K. (2008). Exploring the black box of community supervision. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 47 (3), 248–270.
- Bonta, J., Bourgon, G., Ruge, T., Scott, T.-L., Yessine, A.K., Gutierrez, L., & Li, J. (2010). The Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision: Risk-need-responsivity in the real world. Public Safety Canada. Ottawa, Ontario.
- Bourgon, G., Gutierrez, L., & Ashton, J. (2011). The evolution of community supervision practice: The transformation from case manager to change agent. *Irish Probation Journal*, 28–48.
- Cook, J.M., Schnurr, P.P., Biyanova, T., & Coyne, J.C. (2009). Apples don't fall far from the tree: Influences on psychotherapists' adoption and sustained use of new therapies. *Psychiatric Services*, 60 (5), 671–676.
- Cully, J. A., Teten, A. L., Benge, J. F., Sorocco, K. H., & Kauth, M. R. (2010). Multidisciplinary Cognitive-Behavioral therapy training for the Veterans Affairs primary care setting. *Primary Care Companion, Journal of Clinical Psychiatry*, 12(3).
- Dowden, C., & Andrews, D. A. (2004). The importance of staff practice in delivering effective correctional treatment: A meta-analytic review of core correctional practice. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 48(2), 203–214.
- Fixsen, D. L., Naoom, S. F., Blase, K. A., Friedman, R. M., & Wallace, F. (2005). Implementation research: A synthesis of the literature. Tampa, FL: University of South Florida, Louis de la Parte Florida Mental Health Institute, The National Implementation Research Network (FMHI Publication #231).
- Joyce, B., & Showers, B. (2002). Student achievement through staff development. Alexandria, Virginia: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Lipsey, M. W., Landenberger, N. A., & Wilson, S. J. (2007). Effects of cognitive-behavioral programs for offenders. Campbell Collaboration Systematic Review.
- Lipsey, M. W. (2009). The primary factors that characterize effective interventions with juvenile offenders: A meta-analytic overview. *Victims & Offenders*, 4(2), 124–147.
- Lowenkamp, C. T., Alexander, M., & Robinson, C. R. (2013). Using 20 minutes wisely: Probation & parole officers as agents of change. In J. Smykla & M. Crow (Eds.), *Offender Reentry: 21st Century Issues*. Burlington, MA: Jones & Bartlett.
- Lowenkamp, C. T., Flores, A.W., Holsinger, A. M., Makarios, M., & Latessa, E. J. (2010). Intensive supervision programs: Does program philosophy and the principles of effective interventions matter? *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38(4): 368–375.
- Lowenkamp, M.S., Robinson, C.R., Koutsenok, I., & Lowenkamp, C.T. (2012). The importance of coaching: A brief survey of probation officers. *Federal Probation*, 76(2).
- Miller, W. R., & Mount, K. A. (2001). A small study of training in motivational interviewing: Does one workshop change clinician and client behavior? *Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapy*, 29, 457–471.
- Miller, W. R., & Rose, G. S. (2009). Toward a theory of motivational interviewing. *American Psychologist*, 64(6), 527–537.
- Miller, W. R., Yahne, C. E., Moyers, T. B., Martinez, J., & Pirritano, M. (2004). A randomized trial of methods to help clinicians learn motivational interviewing. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 72, 1050–1062.
- Robinson, C. R., Lowenkamp, C. T., VanBenschoten, S., Alexander, M., Holsinger, A. M., & Oleson, J. C. (2012). A random study of Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Rearrest (STARR): Using core correctional practices in probation interactions. *Journal of Crime & Justice*, 1–22.
- Shafran, R., Clark, D. M., Fairburn, C. G., Arntz, A., Barlowe, D. H., Ehlers, A., Freeston, M., Garety, P. A., Hollon, S. D., Ost, L. G., Salkovskis, P. M., Williams, J. M.G., & Wilson, G. T. (2009). Mind the gap: Improving the dissemination of CBT. *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 47, 902–909.
- Taxman, F.S., Yancey, C., & Bilanin, J. (2006). Maryland's proactive community supervision initiative: Findings from an impact and outcome evaluation. College Park, Maryland: University of Maryland, Bureau of Governmental Research.
- Trotter, C. (1996). The impact of different supervision practices in community supervision: Cause for optimism. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 29 (1), 29–46.
- Trotter, C. (1999). *Working with involuntary clients: A guide to practice*. London: Sage.

Using Quality Improvement Models in Correctional Organizations

Danielle S. Rudes

Jill Viglione

Courtney M. Porter

George Mason University

Center for Advancing Correctional Excellence (ACE)

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE IS complicated. Within even the most nimble and adaptable organizations, changes in practice or policy face significant barriers, including structural inertia, goal and role conflicts, and resistant organizational cultures and climates. This holds true within many correctional agencies, where change is a daunting endeavor fraught with obstacles that affect both change processes and outcomes. Sluggishness regarding change within correctional organizations (Battalino, Beutler, & Shani, 1996; Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Latessa, 2004; Taxman & Belenko, 2011) may evolve from a number of comingled factors. First, correctional organizations possess a nearly immovable mechanistic organizational structure (Burns & Stalker, 1961) rife with key components that make change tough (Duffee, 1986; Latessa, 2004; Toch & Klofas, 1982). These include centralized decision-making, stagnated managerial and staff hierarchies, and tall, complex bureaucratic designs. By and large, these structures are stable and feasible. The general framework underlying today's correctional organizations has required very little change over hundreds of years.

Second—and also largely unchanged throughout U.S. history—correctional agencies face a paradoxical goal and role conflict problem (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Garland, 2001; Rudes, Lerch, & Taxman, 2012) coupled with internal and external political, social, and moral pressures (Caplan, 2006; Ellsworth, 1990; Garland, 2001; Hepburn & Albonetti,

1980; Taxman, 2002; Thomas & Poole, 1975) that periodically privilege punitiveness over rehabilitation or vice versa. As the so-called metaphoric pendulum swings between bifurcated goals and ideologies, correctional organizations must align and realign current practices and policies with the punishment thinking of the day.

Third, this torpid structure contributes to an organizational culture/climate that mostly views organizational change with apathy and/or resistance (Agocs, 1997; Battalino et al., 1996; Ferguson, 2002; Lin, 2000; Rudes, 2012). Correctional workers and managers come to see the status quo as the most likely mechanism to ensure community safety (Battalino et al., 1996) and allow actuarial processes to overtake more human-focused ones (Simon, 1993). As a result, history reveals a prevalence of slow or non-existent change in U.S. correctional agencies.

However, in the last 10 years, the correctional landscape has seen some external changes that may be creating an opening for internal organizational change to occur. These include tight budgets that demand stretching scarce dollars wisely and pressure to change gut-level policies and practices into evidence-based ones (Rhine, Mawhorr, & Parks, 2006). Yet, armed with history, many correctional agencies do not desire or understand how to overhaul their current ways of doing business by replacing them with policy and practices backed by science.

Outside corrections, other mechanistic organizations, such as automobile manufacturing companies, have at times faced a strong external push to change. In the 1970s and 1980s, for example, Japanese car companies, trying to keep up with or overtake American automobile production, relied heavily on alternative organizational managerial structures to increase productivity and happiness within their workforce while lowering employee turnover and health-related issues (Ahire, Golhar, & Waller, 1996; Cusumano, 1994; Powell, Rushmer, & Davies, 2008). The Total Quality Management (TQM) quality improvement (QI) models used by these Japanese car companies are just one such process design geared to help historically rigid and dormant organizations mount successful change. However, bringing a QI model—an organizational change process designed to add structure, consistency, voice, and flow to change efforts—to correctional agencies is just another modification these organizations must contend with in a field now immersed with possible change options. This makes change an even more complicated enterprise.

In this article, we present a review of the literature on quality improvement models designed to enhance organizational change. Next, we highlight evidence of one quality improvement model's use—PDSA—within probation. Finally, we offer some theoretical and practical implications of using QI models within modern correctional organizations. Throughout this piece, we note the limited

scholarly evidence showing effective and/or efficient process improvements from QI model use.

Review of Relevant Literature

Process improvement is an approach for helping organizations identify and resolve inefficient and ineffective processes through problem solving and pilot-testing change strategies (Evans, Rieckmann, Fitzgerald, & Gustafson, 2007). There are several QI processes for organizations that cover a wide range of activities. As organizations have unique structures, histories, and challenges that influence the change process, they need to consider these intra- and inter-organizational factors when making decisions regarding what kind of quality improvement process will work best (Powell et al., 2008). To date, the most commonly used QI processes include TQM, The Change Book, PDSA, and NIATx.

Total Quality Management (TQM)/Continuous Quality Improvement (CQI)

Developed in the 1950s in Japan, Total Quality Management (TQM)/Continuous Quality Improvement (CQI) (Ahire, Golhar, & Waller, 1996; Powell et al., 2008) was adopted by some large manufacturers in the United States during the 1980s as a model focusing on products as the result of production processes (Powell, 1995). There are few comprehensive definitions of TQM/CQI; however, Powell (1995) previously defined TQM as an integrated management philosophy and a set of practices that emphasize continuous improvement, meeting customer requirements, and creating the ability for organizations to do things right on the first attempt. Quality TQM processes ensure measurability of desired outcomes; thus, the quality of the process (Taxman & Belenko, 2011), not just how the organization completes the process, exemplifies the TQM model.

Through a narrative review of quality improvement models, Powell and colleagues (2008) identified four key tenets necessary for TQM/CQI to work:

1. Emphasizing leadership involvement on project teams,
2. Viewing QI as a continuous and normal process within organizations,
3. Focusing on organizational systems (Taxman & Belenko, 2011) and avoiding mistakes, and
4. Evaluating and measuring for continuous improvement.

These four principles are crucial to the successful implementation of a TQM process

(Westphal, Gulati, & Shortell, 1997). Further, some researchers believe that TQM/CQI works best in process-oriented organizations that are customer focused and where management employs additional methods for improvement (Kennerfalk & Kelfsjo, 1995). For example, using quality function deployment (QFD), a tool used to manage and control product development processes (Kennerfalk & Kelfsjo, 1995) is helpful when implementing TQM processes. Other helpful tools include policy deployment, process management, and benchmarking as a form of performance evaluations (Kennerfalk & Kelfsjo, 1995), as well as working with internal and external customers to meet their needs, improving satisfaction, and emphasizing teamwork allowing organizations to identify and solve QI problems on their own (Powell et al., 2008).

To provide context to the TQM process, several studies identify key factors useful as a framework for organizations (Yusof & Aspinwall, 1999; Porter & Parker, 1993; Black & Porter, 1995). One set of such factors includes:

- management behavior,
- TQM strategies,
- TQM organization,
- TQM communication,
- TQM training,
- employee involvement,
- process management and systems, and
- quality technologies (Porter & Parker, 1993).

Similarly, Black and Porter (1995) developed a list that includes:

- people and customer management,
- supplier partnerships,
- communication of improvement information,
- customer satisfaction orientation,
- external interface management,
- strategic quality management,
- teamwork structures for process improvement,
- operational quality planning,
- improvement measurement systems, and
- corporate quality culture.

Through a research questionnaire, Black and Porter (1995) ranked the key factors, identifying strategic quality management as most important to the TQM process. Both studies (Porter & Parker, 1993; Black & Porter, 1995) found through organizational surveys that these factors are instrumental to the implementation of TQM, although some may be more important than others.

To date, there is limited evidence of the efficacy of TQM/CQI. Perhaps this is due to difficulty defining the vast number of

processes that fall under the TQM heading (Yusof & Aspinwall, 1999; Powell et al., 2008) and measuring or assessing key factors such as strategic quality management (Black & Porter, 1995). Available evidence shows variability in outcomes, indicating that TQM is helpful but may not address all the needs of an organization (Powell, 1995). Overall, TQM emphasizes meeting customer needs (Kennerfalk & Kelfsjo, 1995) through a holistic approach to improve quality by “identifying the underlying causes of poor performance” (Powell et al., 2008, p. 10). By producing a foundation that allows organizations to create processes to meet benchmarks (Taxman & Belenko, 2011), TQM uses scientific methodologies to improve outcomes and meet customer needs (Powell et al., 2008). Initially used in the manufacturing industry (Ahire, Golhar, & Waller, 1996), public enterprises such as health care organizations (Madsen, 1995; Powell et al., 2008) and service organizations in the private sector (Madsen, 1995; Powell, 1995) commonly employ TQM strategies to generate change. TQM is foundational in the field of QI, influencing many different initiatives to help organizations improve their end products and address organizational change (Taxman & Belenko, 2011), including *The Change Book*, PDSA, and NIATx.

The Change Book

Similar to TQM’s management philosophy, the Addiction Technology Transfer Center (ATTC) developed a strategy that translates Rogers’ (2003) diffusion of innovation model into a technology transfer model, setting out the result in a comprehensive guide called *The Change Book*.

Rogers’ (2003) diffusion of innovations model refers to the way members communicate an innovation through organizational channels. This diffusion of innovation model contains four components: 1) the type of innovation, 2) communication, 3) timing, and 4) social structures (e.g., the hierarchal nature of a bureaucracy) (Rogers, 2003; Taxman & Belenko, 2011). For ATTC and *The Change Book*, technology refers to any knowledge, skills, or attitudes equivalent to Rogers’ type of innovation, relevant to the field in question. *The Change Book* includes principles, steps, strategies, and activities for organizations to implement change from within. There is also a supplemental workbook that organizations can use to walk through the transfer process described in *The Change Book*.

The Change Book identifies seven principles needed for the successful transfer of technology (ATTC, 2004).

1. A change initiative needs to be *relevant*, meaning the organization needs to recognize that the change in question has a practical application.
2. The initiative must be *timely*, meaning recipients should know that the need for change is now or in the near future.
3. There must be *clear* articulation of the language and process used to transfer the technology into an easily understood format.
4. Any change initiative must be *credible*, with the audience having confidence in the source of the technology.
5. It must be a *multifaceted* change initiative with a host of activities individualized for organizations.
6. The change needs *continuous reinforcement of new behavior* at all levels.
7. Communication throughout the change process must be *bi-directional*, with individuals given opportunities to communicate directly with those implementing the change (ATTC, 2004).

In addition to these guiding principles, *The Change Book* offers steps to help organizations design, develop, implement, evaluate, and revise plans for change (ATTC, 2004, p. 15). The steps are as follows:

1. Identify the problem.
2. Organize a team for addressing the problem.
3. Identify the desired outcome.
4. Assess the organization or agency.
5. Assess the specific audience to be targeted.
6. Identify the approach most likely to achieve the desired outcome.
7. Design action and maintenance plans for your change initiative.
8. Implement action and maintenance plans for your change initiative.
9. Evaluate the progress of your initiative.
10. Revise your action and maintenance plans based on evaluation results (go back to step 8).

Through *The Change Book*, ATTC (2004) also provides strategies and activities organizations can use to help implement change. Which of these is appropriate depends on the level where change is attempted (i.e., organizational level versus client/patient level). Strategies for effecting change at the organizational level include responding to staff concerns and providing non-threatening feedback, while strategies at the client/patient level

include education regarding the evidence and effectiveness of the innovation (ATTC, 2004).

Various articles credit *The Change Book* process when implementing organizational change (Courtney, Joe, Rowan-Szal, & Simpson, 2007; McCarty, Rieckmann, Green, Gallon, & Knudsen, 2004), reference *The Change Book* as a guide for change implementation (Gotham, 2006; Slayers et al., 2007), or simply reference its existence (Brown & Flynn, 2002; Luongo, 2007). However, none of the studies cited evaluate *The Change Book* process. Despite the lack of empirical evaluation (Taxman & Belenko, 2011), *The Change Book* provides organizations with a map to implementing change. McCarty, Rieckmann, Green, Gallon, and Knudsen (2004) provide an example of how organizations can use *The Change Book* to facilitate change. Using the 10-step blueprint as a guide for system development and technology transfer activities, rural counties in Oregon began implementation of The Opioid Medication Initiative for Rural Oregon Residents (OMIROR). Consistent with *The Change Book* recommendations, each county formed a team and met before the official training sessions. These meetings fostered relationships, involved stakeholders, identified needs, and enhanced communication among members. After successful training sessions on OMIROR in seven counties in Oregon, McCarty and colleagues (2004) report that using *The Change Book* “helped teams progress through tasks and become more confident in their plan and committed to implementation” (p. 207).

Plan-Do-Study-Act (PDSA)

The Plan-Do-Study-Act (PDSA) model is an iterative quality improvement process derived from TQM/CQI (Cox, Wilcock, & Young, 1999; Langley, Nolan, Nolan, Norman, & Provost, 1996). The PDSA process originates out of the work of Deming (1986), known for his work in QI (Best & Neuhauser, 2005; Cleary, 1995). Statistician Walter Shewhart, who introduced a cyclical process for learning and improvement in organizations, calling it the Plan-Do-Check-Act (PDCA), influenced Deming’s work. In the 1950s, Deming introduced an adapted PDSA cycle, which replaced the “check” stage with “study” (Cleary, 1995; Deming, 1986).

The PDSA process is similar to a “trial and learn” approach in which one makes a hypothesis or suggested solution for improvement and runs small-scale tests before applying

the change throughout an entire organization (Varkey, Reller, & Resar, 2007). This QI process typically involves staff from all organizational levels, incorporating them into designing reform processes that can improve their understanding and buy-in (Langley et al., 2006). This gives staff the opportunity to understand organizational processes, assess organizational functionality, design change, and ask questions.

The PDSA process allows organizations and staff to identify goals they want to accomplish and determine how they want to integrate those goals into organizational activities. Specifically, this process involves four steps:

1. *Plan*: identify what is not working well and identify a goal to work towards,
2. *Do*: implement specific steps to work towards the identified goal,
3. *Study*: reflect on the outcomes and results of the process, and
4. *Act*: adopt, abandon, or adapt new practices.

This ongoing process allows organizations to constantly look for ways to improve fit and goal alignment (Langley et al., 2006) and improve the confidence of staff about changing workplace arrangements (Cox, Wilcock, & Young, 1999). Langley and colleagues (2006) propose three fundamental questions as a framework for improvement processes: 1) What are we trying to accomplish? 2) How will we know a change is an improvement? and 3) What changes can we make that will result in improvement? The PDSA process helps answer these questions as it involves building knowledge about current practice and choosing benchmarks to measure whether the planned changes result in improvement. In addition, the model incorporates staff in the continuous process, ensuring that individuals learn as they go and use what they have learned to inform future efforts (Langley et al., 2006). PDSA is also known as a rapid-cycle process because it focuses on quick decision making regarding how the process should be altered, benchmarks to define progress, and the desire to change practice (Taxman & Belenko, 2011). The PDSA process is the most commonly used approach for rapid-cycle improvement in health-care settings (Varkey, Reller, & Resar, 2007), but is also used in management and business settings (Hwang, Wen & Chen, 2010; Shewhart & Deming, 1939), and recently in criminal justice settings (Rudes et al., 2012).

NIATx

A nationwide effort by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and the Center for Substance Abuse Treatment formed The Network for the Improvement of Addiction Treatment (NIATx) with a goal of identifying and addressing barriers to access and retention in addiction treatment (Ford et al., 2007). NIATx created a nationwide learning collaborative to work towards the improvement of addiction treatment services (Capoccia et al., 2007). The NIATx model, founded on the concepts of TQM and the PDSA model, provides learning opportunities and technical support to agencies so they can initiate and sustain process improvement approaches such as increasing retention and access to treatment (Capoccia et al., 2007; Ford et al., 2007). The overarching premise of the NIATx model is that addictions treatment agencies need to become more client-focused. More specifically, NIATx employs the PDSA concept of rapid-cycle testing to determine what processes need alteration to remove inefficiencies that result in delayed admissions and attrition (McCarty et al., 2007).

NIATx sets out to generate improvements in key benchmark areas, including reducing days to admission, enhancing retention in care, strengthening the quality of treatment, and increasing admissions (McCarty et al., 2007). The NIATx model has five core principles:

1. Understanding and including the customer in the process,
2. Identifying and fixing key problems and processes,
3. Identifying powerful and respected change agents,
4. Incorporating the ideas from individuals internal and external to the organization, and
5. Using rapid-cycle testing (Capoccia et al., 2007).

One of the first processes an organization goes through when working with the NIATx model is to engage in a learning collaborative meeting with an identified change team to learn techniques to analyze their system and work together (Taxman & Belenko, 2011). Organizations also conduct walk-through exercises in which staff walk through the experience of the customer to identify problematic practices and processes as a means to address the needs of customers and improve service delivery (Gustafson, 2004). Through this process, agencies identify a range of problems, such as poor staff engagement with clients, procedures and processes

that are burdensome, challenges associated with addressing the needs of clients, treatment admission problems, and other related infrastructure problems (Ford et al., 2007). Making minor improvements in these areas can improve clients' experiences in meaningful ways. Organizations involved in the NIATx process find positive changes in improving access to and retention in treatment (Ford et al., 2007; McCarty et al., 2007).

Almost 3000 behavioral health organizations around the country, most of them health-care providers, use the NIATx model (NIATx.net). More recently, two criminal justice settings—a drug court and an offender reentry program—used the NIATx model. NIATx provided technical assistance for an adult treatment drug court to improve access to and engagement in drug-court services to increase recovery and reduce recidivism (Wexler, Zehner, & Melnick, 2012). In this study, 10 drug courts participated, each conducting a walk-through, identifying a single aim (reducing wait time, increasing admissions, or reducing no-shows), forming change teams, and identifying an executive sponsor and change agents. Through modified scheduling practices, paperwork reduction, and institution of more thorough communication practices, drug courts saw a 57 percent reduction in client wait time over the course of 12 months. Additionally, admissions improved three to four times after a coordinator was

placed on-site to meet with clients on the day of court and after improvements in outreach and education about the drug court. Last, no-show rates declined and participation increased after introducing reminder phone calls, escorting participants to programs, and directly reporting to the drug court attendance at programs (Wexler, Zehner, & Melnick, 2012). The use of the NIATx model in an offender reentry program is still relatively new and has not undergone evaluation yet (NIATx.net).

Table 1 illustrates the similarities and differences in the four QI models discussed above. As mentioned, TQM provides the foundation for *The Change Book*, PDSA and NIATx; thus each of the latter three models includes key characteristics of TQM. However, the models also diverge from one another. For example, *The Change Book* is a manual providing a systematic guide to implementing change. The PDSA model is more process-oriented, providing a thorough progression that guides staff through various stages of change. Finally, NIATx incorporates the full PDSA process, but targets behavioral health organizations and adds a walk-through component.

There are many forms of QI processes. Organizations must consider the structure, environment, and goal(s) of each when deciding which process will work best for them. As the previous literature highlights, we know little about how QI processes play out in criminal justice settings and which forms of QI are most

TABLE 1.
Key Factors in Quality Improvement Models

Key Factor	TQM/ CQI	The Change Book	PDSA	NIATx
Leadership Involvement	X	X	X	X
Continuous Processes	X	X	X	X
Focus on Organizational Systems	X	X	X	X
Evaluation & Measurement	X	X	X	X
Communication	X	X	X	X
Teamwork Structures	X	X	X	X
Guidebook to Change Process		X		
Focus on One Goal/Change		X	X	X
Focus on Multiple Goals/Changes		X		
Broad Application		X	X	X
Process Oriented			X	X
Benchmarks			X	X
Designed Specifically for Behavioral Health Care				X
Includes Walkthrough				X
Includes Rapid Cycle Process			X	X

useful in these settings. Criminal justice organizations are unique in that they must balance goals of punishment and rehabilitation that are often in direct conflict with one another (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Garland, 2001). This competing goal structure and the current movement towards the use of evidence-based practices (EBPs) can result in implementation and change processes that are often slow and unsuccessful (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000). Thus, examining how criminal justice organizations can use QI processes will improve understanding of how to initiate and implement change in these settings. The following section provides evidence from one of the few documented attempts to implement a QI model (PDSA) within a criminal justice setting.

QI Process in Criminal Justice Setting

Conducted by Faye Taxman and colleagues, the Justice Steps (JSTEPS) project exemplifies a QI process in a criminal justice setting. JSTEPS was a multi-site research project that guided several problem-solving courts and probation agencies through the implementation of an individualized contingency management (CM) protocol. CM is a behavior modification program involving the use of gradual reinforcements and sanctions (Stitzer & Petry, 2006). Based on the premise of operant conditioning (Skinner, 1948), the underlying principles of CM suggest that using positive reinforcements for certain behaviors (i.e., drug abstinence) will encourage individuals to continue those behaviors. In an attempt to restructure behavior, positive reinforcers help shape individuals' thinking patterns as individuals learn to replace punishable behavior with reward-earning behaviors (Griffith, Rowan-Szal, Roark, & Simpson, 2000; Lussier, Heil, Mongeon, Badger, & Higgins, 2006; Petry & Martin, 2002; Rudes et al., 2012).

Typically used in substance abuse treatment settings, CM can help reinforce abstinence and treatment attendance (Stitzer & Petry, 2006). Meta-analyses confirm that CM is generally effective at promoting abstinence among drug users (Griffith et al., 2000; Lussier et al., 2006; Prendergast et al., 2006). While CM is common in the substance abuse treatment literature, there are only a few studies examining the use of CM with criminal justice-involved populations (Polakow & Doctor, 1974; Marlowe, Festinger, Dugosh, Arabia, & Kirby, 2008; Marlowe & Wong, 2008; Friedmann, Green, Rhodes, Harrington, & Taxman, 2010). Because criminal justice organizations are typically punitive and control-oriented environments, introducing a

program that involves rewards/incentives and a focus on offender change (rehabilitation) presents many challenges. Specifically, implementing evidence-based policies (EBPs) in probation/parole settings requires organizations to alter policies, practices, and ways in which organizational actors view their jobs (Rudes, Viglione, & Taxman, forthcoming). In this study, researchers used the PDSA process for several purposes. These included: 1) allowing each site to tailor the CM protocol to fit their unique needs and circumstances, 2) assisting staff in determining if CM provides advantages over current practice (Rudes et al., 2012), and 3) moving existing ideologies to support new ideologies (Rudes, Viglione, & Taxman, forthcoming). The following information outlines the learning process that the PDSA process facilitated as part of the JSTEPS study:

Plan: Each site learned about the features of CM, including key principles such as providing positive incentives with a point system.

Do: Each site designed their own protocol to fit within the organizational context. At this stage, sites created their own point system and mechanisms by which participants could earn positive incentives.

Study: Each site received feedback from researchers on how well their individual protocols aligned with the principles of CM. Common areas of difficulty were when to reward participants and what behaviors to reward them for.

Act: Each site refined their protocols based on a reexamination of the scientific principles of CM. Using information gained in the *study* phase, sites redesigned their protocols to align with CM. For many sites, this meant reducing the number of behaviors they focused on and improving point systems to ensure that reward distribution occurred early and frequently.

JSTEPS incorporated the PDSA process as a means to educate staff about CM, help staff design protocols that fit the needs of their organization, and refine protocols based on feedback and alignment with the core principles of CM (Rudes, Viglione, & Taxman, forthcoming). This process differs greatly from what often happens—telling staff they are going to be doing things a new way and assuming they will accept and implement an innovation. Throughout the process, it was evident that staff struggled to understand the purpose of using rewards, a key tenet

of CM, with criminal justice populations. In particular, staff were hesitant to reward behavior that they expected of probationers, such as providing clean urine samples. Thoughts about rewards began to change as staff worked through the PDSA process and understood how rewards could fit in their existing organizational context. As staff worked through perceived challenges, they began to see the potential for incorporating CM into their current organizational systems and routines. Ultimately, staff found CM both acceptable and feasible, displaying more positive attitudes and beliefs after the PDSA process was complete (Rudes et al., 2012). The JSTEPS PDSA process helped provide a collaborative environment that allowed staff members to facilitate organizational learning, build consensus on key operating principles, and assist teams throughout the implementation process.

Discussion

The PDSA model afforded the JSTEPS-involved probation organizations a systematic approach to implementing evidence-based change. Using the four-stage Plan-Do-Study-Act model, probation agencies teamed up with academic researchers, with each side learning from the other throughout the change process. The importance of this collaborative approach cannot be overstated. In essence, the JSTEPS PDSA model involved all levels of the probation organization in the change process, while simultaneously creating a bridge between scholars and street-level correctional staff. This generated a win-win for both scholars and correctional staff. By teaming up with the *producers* of evidence-based practice (scholars), the *consumers* (probation staff) add legitimacy to their change process. That is, when a correctional organization implements evidence-based practices, the organization's status increases within the broader corrections field that values their use of money-saving and effective best practices. At times, this leads some correctional agencies to become a model for others. It also theoretically improves the likelihood of receiving external affirmation, recognition, and funding for organizations that are early adopters of research initiatives, as they help define what becomes evidence-based (Rogers, 1995).

However, while QI models offer a structural design *capable* of introducing and implementing change within organizations with the potential of creating effective, long-lasting policy or practice improvements, QI

models have some salient shortcomings. For the most part, these limitations relate to the scant scholarship on the QI model *effectiveness*. Hence, if QI models are to offer a way out of traditional change stagnancy within correctional agencies and researchers present these processes with evidence-based practices, then we must be able to show that QI models are evidence-based, too. Otherwise, correctional workers will return to doing what *feels right*, rather than what the science suggests will produce desired results.

To date, the literature yields little help in this regard. Hordes of studies of change processes using QI models within medicine (Courtney et al., 2007; Madsen, 1995; McCarty et al., 2004; Powell et al., 2008) and industry (Ahire et al., 1996; Cleary, 1995; Deming, 1986; Powell, 1995; Powell et al., 2008) provide data on the outcome of change implementation, but yield nothing suggesting that QI processes have any effect on change success or failure. This couples with the distinct infrequency with which QI models are used within correctional reform and the long-standing overemphasis on correctional outcomes, with negligible attention to process (Wilson & Davis, 2006). That said, NIATx does offer some evidence suggesting positive outcomes, but they do not specifically test the QI model. Therefore, we cannot definitively determine if the improved outcomes relate to the QI model or some other practice, process, or framework.

One possible solution is to use the criminal justice-favored randomized controlled trial (RCT) experimental design to examine both organizational change outcomes *and processes*. In this way, statistically matched organizations trying to make the same change would divide into control and treatment groups based not only on the change, but also on the process design. Control organizations would continue with the status quo without a QI model, with additional study arms representing treatment organizations undergoing change within a QI model design and those undergoing change without the QI model design. In this way we would be in a better position to conclude that QI models offer a substantial effective improvement over current change models. Many might contend that QI models could not make correctional change any slower or less effective than it already is; however, researchers and correctional agencies must set the bar high for measuring QI model effectiveness and efficiency if they are to facilitate evidence-based practice usage to improve


clients, organizations, and communities as they desire.

References

- Addiction Technology Transfer Centers (2004). *The Change Book: A blueprint for technology transfer*, 2nd Edition. Kansas City, MO: Addiction Technology Transfer Center National Office. Retrieved from http://www.nattc.org/pdf/The_Change_Book_2nd_Edition.pdf.
- Agocs, C. (1997). Institutionalized resistance to organizational change: Denial, inaction and repression. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 16, 917-931.
- Ahire, S. L., Golhar, D. V., & Waller, M. A. (1996). Development and validation of TQM implementation construct. *Decision Sciences* 27(1), 23-56.
- Battalino, J., Beutler, L., & Shani, A. B. (1996). Large-system change initiative: Transformation in progress at the California Department of Corrections. *Public Productivity & Management Review*, 20(1), 24-44.
- Best, M., & Neuhauser, D. (2005). W. Edwards Deming: Father of quality management, patient and composer. *Quality and Safety in Health Care*, 14(4), 310-312.
- Black, S., & Porter, L. J. (1995). An empirical model for total quality management. *Total Quality Management*, 6(2), 149-164.
- Burns, T., & Stalker, G. M. (1961). Mechanistic and Organic Systems. In Jay M. Shafritz & J. Steven Otto (2005), *Classics of Organization Theory*. Chicago: Dorsey Press.
- Brown, B. S., & Flynn, P. M. (2002). The federal role in drug abuse technology transfer: A history and perspective. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 22, 245-257.
- Caplan, J. M. (2006). Parole system anomie: Conflicting models of casework and surveillance. *Federal Probation*, 70, 32-36.
- Capoccia, V. A., Cotter, F., Gustafson, D. H., Cassidy, E. F., Ford, J. H., Madden, L., et al. (2007). Making "stone soup": Improvements in clinic access and retention in addiction treatment. *Journal on Quality and Safety Improvement*, 33(2): 93-103.
- Cleary, B. A. (1995). Supporting empowerment with Deming's PDSA cycle. *Empowerment in Organizations*, 3(2), 34-39.
- Courtney, K. O., Joe, G. W., Rowan-Szal, G. A., & Simpson, D. D. (2007). Using organizational assessment as a tool for program change. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 33(2), 131-137.
- Cox, S., Wilcock, P., & Young, J. (1999). Improving the repeat prescribing process in a busy general practice: A study using continuous quality improvement methodology. *Quality in Health Care*, 8, 119-125.
- Cullen, F. T., & Gendreau, P. (2000). Assessing correctional rehabilitation: Policy, practice and prospects. In J. Horney (Ed.), *Criminal Justice: Policies, Processes, and Decisions of the Criminal Justice System*, Vol. 3. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.
- Cusumano, M. A. (1994). The limits of "lean." *Sloan Management Review*, 35, 27-27.
- Deming, W. E. (1986). *Out of the crisis*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology. *Center for Advanced Engineering Study*, 6.
- Duffee, D. (1986). *Correctional management: Change and control in correctional organizations*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Ellsworth, T. (1990). Identifying the actual and preferred goals of adult probation. *Federal Probation*, 54, 10-15.
- Ferguson, J. L. (2002). Putting the "what works" research into practice: An organizational perspective. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 29(4), 472-492.
- Ford, J. H., Green, C. A., Hoffman, K. A., Wisdom, J. P., Riley, K. J., Bergmann, L., and Molfenter, T. (2007). Process improvement needs in substance abuse treatment: Admissions walk-through results. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 33(4), 379-389.
- Friedmann, P. D., Green, T., Rhodes, A., Harrington, M., & Taxman, F. S. (2010). *Collaborative behavioral management reduces drug-related crime, substance use among drug-involved parolees*. Washington DC: Association for Medical Education and Research in Substance Abuse.
- Garland, D. (2001). *The culture of control: Crime and social order in contemporary society*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Gotham, H. J. (2006). Advancing the implementation of evidence-based practices into clinical practice: How do we get there from here? *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 37(6), 606-613.
- Griffith, J. D., Rowan-Szal, G. A., Roark, R. R., & Simpson, D. D. (2000). Contingency management in outpatient methadone treatment: A meta-analysis. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 58, 55-66.
- Gustafson, D. (2004). Institute for healthcare improvement, information gathering tools: Walkthrough (IHI tool). Retrieved from <http://www.ihl.org/IHI/Topics/LeadingSystemImprovement/Leadership/Tools/Walkthrough.htm>
- Hepburn, J. R., & Albonetti, C. (1980). Role conflict in correctional institutions: An empirical examination of the treatment-custody dilemma among correctional staff. *Criminology*, 17(4), 445-460.

- Hwang, Y. D., Wen, Y. F., & Chen, M. C. (2010). A study on the relationship between the PDSA cycle of green purchasing and the performance of the SCOR model. *Total Quality Management*, 21(12), 1261–1278.
- Kennerfalk, L., & Klefsjo, B. (1995). A change process for adapting organizations to a total quality management strategy. *Total Quality Management*, 6(2), 187–197.
- Langley, G. J., Nolan, K. M., Nolan, T. W., Norman, C. L., & Provost, L. P. (1996). *The improvement guide: A practical approach to enhancing organizational performance*. Jossey-Bass: San Francisco.
- Latessa, E. J. (2004). The challenge of change: Correctional programs and evidence-based practices. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 3(4), 547–560.
- Lin, A. C. (2000). *Reform in the making: The implementation of social policy in prison*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Luongo, G. (2007). Re-thinking child welfare training models to achieve evidence-based practices. *Administration in Social Work*, 31(2), 87–96.
- Lussier, J. P., Heil, S. H., Mongeon, J. A., Badger, G. J., & Higgins, S. T. (2006). A meta-analysis of voucher-based reinforcement therapy for substance use disorders. *Addiction*, 101, 192–203.
- Madsen, O. N. (1995). Public enterprise and total quality management. *Total Quality Management*, 6(2), 165–173.
- Marlowe, D. B., Festinger, D. S., Dugosh, K. L., Arabia, P. L., & Kirby, K. C. (2008). An effectiveness trial of contingency management in a felony preadjudication drug court. *Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis*, 41(4), 565–577.
- Marlowe, D. B., & Wong, C. J. (2008). Contingency management in adult criminal drug courts. *Contingency management in substance abuse treatment*, 334–354.
- McCarty, D., Rieckmann, T., Green, C., Gallon, S., & Knudsen, J. (2004). Training rural practitioners to use buprenorphine: Using The Change Book to facilitate technology transfer. *Journal of Substance Treatment*, 26(3), 203–208.
- McCarty, D., Gustafson, D. H., Wisdom, J. P., Ford, J., Choi, D., Molfenter, T., et al. (2007). Network for the Improvement of Addiction Treatment (NIATx): Enhancing access and retention. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 88, 138–145.
- Petry, N. M., & Martin, B. (2002). Low-cost contingency management for treating cocaine and opioid-abusing methadone patients. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 70(2), 398–405.
- Polakow, R. L., & Doctor, R. M. (1974). A behavioral modification program for adult drug offenders. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 11, 63–69.
- Porter, L. J., & Parker, A. J. (1993). Total quality management—the critical success factors. *Total Quality Management*, 4(1), 13–22.
- Powell, T. C. (1995). Total quality management as competitive advantage: A review and empirical study. *Strategic Management Journal*, 16, 15–37.
- Powell, T. C., Rushmer, R. K., & Davies, H. T. O. (2008). A systematic narrative review of quality improvement models in health care. *Social Dimensions of Health Institute at The Universities of Dundee and St Andrews*.
- Prendergast, M. M., Podus, D., Finney, J., Greenwell, L., & Roll, J. (2006). Contingency management for treatment of substance use disorders: A meta-analysis. *Addiction*, 101, 1546–1560.
- Rhine, E. E., Mawhorr, T. L., & Parks, E. C. (2006). Implementation: The bane of effective correctional programs. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 5(2), 347–358.
- Rogers, E. M. (1995/2003). *Diffusion of Innovations* (5th ed.). New York: The Free Press.
- Rudes, D. S. (2012). Getting technical: Parole officers' continued use of technical violations under California's parole reform agenda. *Journal of Crime & Justice*, 35(2), 249–268.
- Rudes, D. S., Lerch, J., & Taxman, F. S. (2012). Implementing a reentry framework at a correctional facility: Challenges to the culture. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 50(8), 467–491.
- Rudes, D. S., Taxman, F. S., Portillo, S., Murphy, A., Rhodes, A., Stitzer, M., Luongo, P. F., & Friedmann, P. D. (2012). Adding positive reinforcement in justice settings: Acceptability and feasibility. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 42(3), 260–270.
- Rudes, D., Viglione, J., & Taxman, F. S. (forthcoming). Professional ideologies in United States probation and parole. In Fergus McNeil and Loan Durnescu (Eds.), *Understanding penal practices*.
- Shewhart, W. A., & Deming, W. E. (1939). *Statistical method from the viewpoint of quality control*. Dover Publications.
- Simon, J. (1993). *Poor discipline: Parole and the social control of the underclass, 1980–1990*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Skinner, B. F. (1948). "Superstition" in the pigeon. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 38, 168–172.
- Slayers, M. S., McKasson, M., Bond, G. R., & McGrew, J.H. (2007). The role of technical assistance centers in implementing evidence-based practices: Lessons learned. *American Journal of Psychiatric Rehabilitation*, 10, 85–101.
- Stitzer, M., & Petry, N. (2006). Contingency management for treatment of substance abuse. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, 2, 411–434.
- Taxman, F. S. (2002). Supervision—Exploring the dimensions of effectiveness. *Federal Probation*, 66(2), 14–27.
- Taxman, F., & Belenko, S. (2011). *Implementing Evidence-Based Practices in Community Corrections and Addiction Treatment*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Thomas, C. W., & Poole, E. D. (1975). Consequences of incompatible goal structures in correctional settings. *International Journal of Criminology and Penology*, 3(1), 27–42.
- Toch, H., & Klofas, J. (1982). Alienation and desire for job enrichment among correctional officers. *Federal Probation*, 46, 35–44.
- Varkey, P., Reller, M. K., & Resar, R. K. (2007, June). Basics of quality improvement in health care. In *Mayo Clinic Proceedings*, 82(6), 735–739. Elsevier.
- Westphal, J. D., Gulati, R., & Shortell, S. M. (1997). Customization or conformity? An institutional and network perspective on the content and consequences of TQM adoption. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 42, 366–394.
- Wexler, H. K., Zehner, M., & Melnick, G. (2012). Improving drug court operations: NIATx organizational improvement model. *Drug Court Review*, 8(10), 80–95.
- Wilson, J. A., & Davis, R. C. (2006). Good intentions meet hard realities: An evaluation of the Project Green Light reentry program. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 5(2), 303–338.
- Yusof, S. M., & Aspinwall, E. (1999). Critical success factors for total quality management implementation in small and medium enterprises. *Total Quality Management*, 10(4/5), S803–S809.

7 Keys to “Make EBPs Stick”: Lessons From the Field

Faye S. Taxman,  D.¹
George Mason University

RECENT EVIDENCE TO improve the implementation of evidence-based supervision has focused on new training initiatives for staff. While training of staff is important to advance skills and knowledge about these practices, training can be very limited. Organizational strategies are needed to sustain the effort in evidence-based supervision. This article focuses on seven strategies:

1. *Build capacity through an organizational plan and structure that supports and sustains the implementation of evidence-based practices and quality supervision.*
2. *Build capacity through a revised Mission that focuses on the changes related to RNR supervision.*
3. *Build capacity by planning for change in key areas.*
4. *Build resiliency through internal supports and learn the skills, practice the skills.*
5. *Build resiliency through improvements in work processes.*
6. *Collaborate with agencies toward a common goal of improving offender outcomes and promoting public safety.*
7. *Build resiliency by altering offender involvement in key decisions.*

Together these strategies will help organizations reengineer supervision to be a more effective tool to reduce recidivism.

The new approach to evidence-based practices (EBPs) is to train and then coach staff to use cognitive restructuring skills in supervising

offenders. This new generation of trainings and curriculums is for pretrial, probation, parole, case managers, and other types of supervision officers to better use assessment tools, establish case plans, problem-solve, and use principles of motivational interviewing, cognitive restructuring, and cognitive behavioral approaches. These trainings have different names, including Effective Practices in Community Supervision (EPICS), Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Rearrest (STARR), Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS), Proactive Community Supervision (PCS), and the new web-based Skills for Offender Assessment and Responsivity in New Goals (SOARING2), but they have similar goals and draw upon similar skills for officers. Each has intensive training components (several days) followed by some type of booster or reinforcement efforts. Some use the new methods of audiotaping or videotaping several officer-offender interactions, grading the tapes, and providing feedback to the officer. This approach is now considered the *du jour* approach to EBPs. Trainers and organizations hope these new sets of training will galvanize and rally staff around the EBPs concepts. And, these trainings acknowledge and then reinforce that the EBPs are new, novel approaches that were not part of routine practices.

Like other efforts to reengineer the system by introducing new skills, programs or services, this new set is more likely to have traction if there are complementary organizational and systematic processes to integrate new skills into the existing environment. That is, giving officers new skills is likely to increase their job satisfaction, but it may not be likely to transform the supervision practice unless greater attention is given to placing these skill

sets within the organizational context. This requires a companion set of organizational activities that can garner internal and external support for *this approach to supervision*, which is vastly different from the expectations and approaches used in prior years (when a more enforcement or compliance focus on accountability reigned). In fact, a growing group of scholars recognize that the policies of mass incarceration have fueled more punitive sanctions in the context of community supervision, which affects how the justice and (correctional system) responds. In other words, the “culture of control” (see Garland, 2001) invaded community supervision as the roles and expectations for probation supervision adapted and emphasized offender accountability, enforcement and compliance with conditions, and stiffer sentences with many conditions of release (see Taxman & Thanner, 2004). On the other hand, supervision under the EBP framework provides a balance between offender change and accountability while embracing a new tool-kit that officers can use to facilitate these goals (Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2004; Taxman, 2008).

The evidence-based supervision model (referred to as RNR Supervision) is landing onto an organizational landscape where the “culture of control” has existed for over 30 years. To successfully place RNR supervision within these existing organizations, with their mimic mass-incarceration policies and practices (i.e. punitive, severity, etc.), organizations need to address the systematic issues that have thrived and existed for the last 30 years—and that present barriers for the new innovation or refined probation practices to thrive and exist. In this article, the focus is on

¹ This paper is the compilation of various studies on implementation. Special thanks to Danielle Rudes and Lincoln Sloas for their assistance in this article. Special acknowledgement to Edward Banks, Ph.D., Ernest Eley, Tia Brunson, Lester Wingrove, and Marcus Hodges.

the organizational approaches and strategies to address the systemic and organizational issues that may prevent the uptake of RNR Supervision. Stated simply, a great need exists for ways to make evidence-based supervision "stick" or become glued to the foundation and norms of supervision organizations. Without attention to these organizational issues, it is likely that the current efforts to develop skills of offenders will be undermined by the work processes that support accountability and compliance management. In this article, we discuss six strategies that make things "stick" (sustain) to the organizational practices.

What Is all the Hoopla About?

The evidence-based supervision model identifies the officer as the facilitator of offender change (Taxman, 2002; 2008) instead of merely an enforcer of conditions of release. The focus on the officer is novel in that the majority of the EBP literature is about correctional programs (whether they are cognitive behavioral therapy, therapeutic communities, counseling, employment preparedness, etc.) as the means to advance individual-level change. The evidence-based supervision notion is that the officer affects the degree to which the individual, justice-involved person (offender) understands his or her risk and why participation in a correctional program is important; the officer monitors and reinforces the importance of participating in programming and fulfilling the conditions of release, and uses incentives and sanctions to deal with how well the person is progressing on supervision. That is, the evidence-based supervision approach does not dismiss the importance of correctional programming but rather positions the programming as part of an integrated model that includes the supervision officer. And it empowers supervision officers to use their "leverage" or relationship as a tool to facilitate offender change and progress on conditions of release. In essence, the model bolsters the benefits that can be gained from correctional programming by emphasizing the importance of the officer-offender interaction. Officers need to develop the skill sets for this model because this new approach is not just about the style of supervision but rather about the fundamental role of the officer. However, it is unclear whether the officer sees the role change and consequent added responsibility in the areas of: *Help offender understand the need for change* → *motivation for change* → *facilitate entrance into appropriate programming and services and work on criminal thinking* → *monitor entrance and*

progress including all conditions → *incentive to maintain momentum in the change process*. This is where the rubber meets the road in terms of supervision, and where the officer, supervision agency, treatment agency or agencies, judiciary, prosecutors, defenders, and larger community must support this role change as part of the appropriate process for supervision. Essentially, the organization and system affects the success of the reengineering/change process.

As studies have emerged in this area of research, they are generally supportive of the approach but offer suggestions to advance the efforts to reengineer supervision to minimize the "culture of control" and to emphasize the importance of offender change. The Washington State Institute for Public Policy, an organization devoted to synthesizing the science and then placing efforts on a continuum of effectiveness, conducted one of the first efforts to understand the potential impact of the evidence-based supervision model, dubbed the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) supervision model. Drake (2011) reviewed its effectiveness in a meta-analysis, finding that standard probation had no impact on recidivism but probation with treatment reduced recidivism by 10 percent and Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) supervision reduced recidivism by 16 percent. RNR involved several components, including reduced caseload size, use of a third-generation risk-need assessment tool, placement of offenders in appropriate programming, if warranted, and use of incentives and sanctions. The primary studies varied in terms of their emphasis on the various elements, but the core components were similar and echoed much of the evidence-based supervision models.

Recent evidence is accumulating about the impact of training officers that support the efforts to develop the specific skill sets to support RNR supervision. Taxman (2008) discussed how the training for the Maryland Proactive Community Supervision model focused on the four components of assessment, case planning, problem solving, and monitoring and the training's impact on reduced recidivism. Essentially, most studies find that officers do not understand the concepts behind criminal thinking and criminogenic risk factors, and therefore have difficulty in applying them in supervision processes (Oleson et al., 2012; Robinson et al., 2011; Bonta et al., 2011). For example, Bonta and colleagues (2011) and Bourgon et al. (2012) report on the STICS training, which discovered several interesting findings,

including: 1) officers did not understand the concept of criminogenic needs, 2) exposure to the training improved an understanding and resulted in a greater adherence to the RNR principles, and 3) trained officers used cognitive-behavioral techniques and were more likely to address the procriminal attitudes of their clients. Offenders supervised by officers trained in STICS had slightly better outcomes than offenders supervised by traditional methods. For offenders under federal probation, Robinson and colleagues (2012) and a small pilot study conducted by Smith and colleagues (2012) generally report that officers exposed to the training were more likely to use the techniques involved in RNR supervision, and that the offenders supervised had lower rates of reoffending or technical violations. There appears to be growing evidence that the specific trainings improve officers' skills, and that these improved skills, using techniques of cognitive restructuring and behavioral management, have a positive impact on offender outcomes.

The rationale for focusing on the officer is clear—the officer has tremendous discretion over what types of behaviors and performance of the individual offender are considered compliant or noncompliant. The officer exercises this discretion in determining what aspects of the conditions of release to emphasize, how best to respond to compliance (or noncompliance), and what types of behavior are sufficient to consider a probationer successful. In other words, the officer's response to the actions of the individual offender can determine outcomes. In addition, officers have different styles when they work with offenders, which may also affect outcomes. But most important, the general correctional literature reinforces that control-oriented supervision has no effect on recidivism, whereas supervision that involves treatment or use of the RNR supervision model improves offender outcomes (Drake, 2011). Helping officers learn to use discretion appropriately and to expand the tool-kit of how to "work with" an offender may therefore improve supervision and supervision outcomes.

The question about training is whether officers will sustain the new skills developed in the normal work processes of supervision. In a study of training probation officers in motivational interviewing, Miller and Mount (2001) found that within three months the probation officers were back to using their traditional strategies. All of the training studies cited above examine shorter-term outcomes (for a small number of officers). Prior research

confirms that decay is a frequent occurrence. And, in fact, the organizational environment often affects whether officers use a new innovation or maintain it (even innovations such as skills). Makarios, McCafferty, Steiner, and Travis (2012) reported that parole officers did not use the administrative sanction grid in which they were trained and that their lack of use was tied to officers' perception of middle-management's support for the innovation. The limit on officer discretion in the sanctioning process was considered too great, and officers resisted losing that discretion. In a study of parole officers in California, Turner and colleagues (2012) also found that officers were hesitant to limit their discretion and that the use of the reform (sanction grid) was minimal. Rudes (2012), in an ethnographic study, found that parole officers developed strategies to deal with noncompliant offenders that defied management's desire for more correctional programming; among these strategies were *partnering* with police for searches, piling on charges, and using paperwork strategies to continue the control-oriented supervision. Miller and Maloney (2013) reported that risk and need assessment use in supervision decisions varied considerably and that the use depended on the practitioners' acceptance of the risk/needs tools, the efforts placed on the organization for training officers in using the tools in the monitoring of the offenders, and the officers' perception of procedural justice. The literature suggests that, in addition to initial training, organizations need a complementary set of organizational strategies to reinforce the innovation and ensure that it is valued in all aspects of the organization.

Strategies at the Organizational Level: Complementing the Skill Building

In this section, we identify seven key strategies at the organizational level to facilitate greater officer appreciation and belief in the innovation (such as RNR supervision). These organizational strategies advance the adoption and implementation of EBPs to facilitate sustainability, or the routinization of the EBPs into the core business of supervision. Much of the material in this article draws on Taxman and Belenko (2012), *Implementation of Evidence-based Practices in Community Corrections*; Fabelo, Nagy, and Prins (2011), *Ten Step Guide to Transforming Probation Departments to Reduce Recidivism*; and Crime and Justice Institute (2009), *Implementing Evidence-Based Policy and Practice in Community Corrections*.

A common theme throughout these pieces is that more attention must be given to the organizational approaches to support RNR supervision and evidence-based supervision policies and practices in the broader context, and to integrating the officer skill sets into routine supervision practices. These sources also focus on two additional components: building capacity and building resiliency among the internal and external partners.

Strategy 1: *Build capacity through an organizational plan and structure that supports and sustains the implementation of evidence-based practices and quality supervision.*

RNR supervision cannot be successfully implemented without creating a learning environment that supports the capacity of the organization to understand and implement this new approach. The preparation of leaders and staff includes three main themes: 1) understand the science behind RNR/EBPs to comprehend the core components; 2) differentiate between RNR/EBPs and current practice and identify the steps needed to implement RNRs; and 3) learn the Plan_Do_Study_Act (PDSA)² and quality-improvement processes as a way of aligning RNR supervision with existing work processes. All three of these themes build the capacity of the organizations and the individuals within them.

To build knowledge, it is important to provide intensive training in five key areas: (1) assessment, (2) case planning, (3) the use of appropriate interventions and controls, (4) compliance management, and (5) working relationships with offenders. Continued training and staff development are needed to work with the offender population in a manner that supports behavioral change. Relevant skills include motivational enhancement strategies, problem-solving strategies, criminogenic needs assessment, offender engagement, development of target goals, performance monitoring, and feedback. These skills are needed in all four areas of the supervision process.

One first critical step is to provide a *visual or mental map* of how the revised RNR process will work. Along with the map should be the supportive evidence for each phase of the RNR supervision model. For example, engagement through assessment and case planning; early change through responsiveness;

² The Plan_Do_Study_Act process is a quality improvement process designed to improve operations by giving teams an opportunity to try a new idea and see how it affects outcomes. It is a short-term alignment-process focused on improving outcomes through staff/leaders (teams) developing different strategies for improving operations.

sustained change through compliance management (sanctions and rewards) and building natural supports (i.e., family, friends, etc.), and work relationship with offenders (department, engagement). As shown in Figure 1, this mental map allows everyone to see how the new revised processes will work and also how existing supervision processes are integrated into redefined processes. This alignment, combined with the visualization process, is an important first step to assisting others to understand that quality supervision under RNR supervision is tied to what the officers are involved in, the processes used, and the emphasis on key components that ultimately affect offender outcomes.

As part of this visualization, there are three main components of the supervision process that affect offender outcomes and that require the officer to use good working relationship strategies to affect success. These include: 1) engagement (getting the offender to understand the criminogenic needs and supervision requirements), 2) early change (the formal and natural processes to facilitate offender change), and 3) sustained change (the environmental and situational factors that will facilitate a person's continued success in a crime-free, drug-free lifestyle). The intensive training needs should incorporate the supporting scientific evidence, the policies and procedures to support the new approach, and the desired outcomes.

Strategy 2: *Build capacity through revised Mission that focuses on the changes related to RNR supervision.*

Many correctional and supervision agencies have embedded the use of EBPs in their mission and goal statements. Even more so, many state legislatures have mandated this as part of their efforts to reform the justice system. This is a core component of justice reinvestment where the goal is to reduce incarceration by investing in community corrections and expanding the use of evidence-based programming as a routine part of correctional practice. But these mission statements may not go far enough to affect the work processes and the integration of EBPs into daily routines.

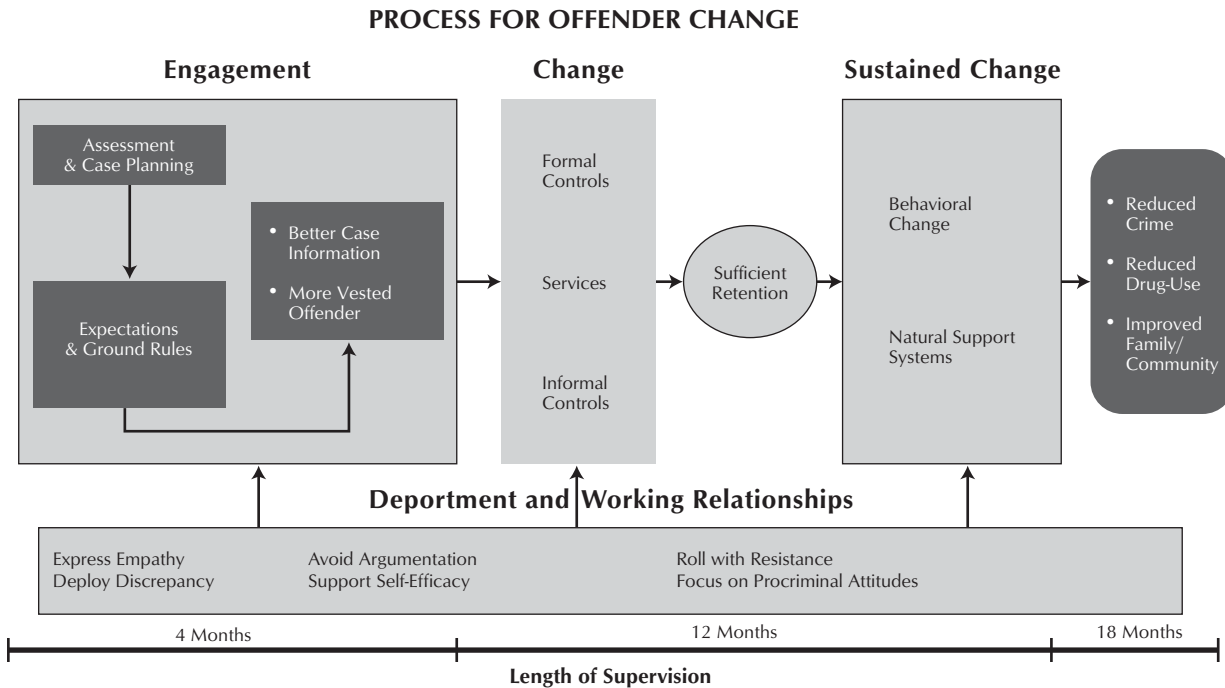
Below, we present a few mission statements from various state correctional systems:

Travis County Probation Department

Mission Statement: The mission of Travis County Adult Probation Department is to impact the community by making it safer and changing the lives of those placed

FIGURE 1.

Mental Image of RNR Supervision Models with Redefined Work Processes and Offender Outcomes



Adapted from Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne (2004)

under its supervision. We work with the community so each individual successfully:

- Makes restoration to the community/victims.
- Meets their supervision conditions.
- Fully participates in programs and services to positively change their lives and be law abiding. (doi: http://www.co.travis.tx.us/community_supervision/mission.asp)

California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation

Mission Statement: The overarching mission is to improve public safety through evidence-based crime prevention and recidivism reduction strategies. (Doi: http://www.cdcr.ca.gov/About_CDCCR/vision-mission-values.html)

With a specific mission for a subunit of the agency that focuses on programs and services, the mission of the Community and Reentry Services (CRS) unit is to provide evidence-based rehabilitative programming opportunities for individuals reentering their communities after a period of incarceration. CRS relies on individual assessments to identify the risks and needs of parolees in order to provide programming that best meets those needs.

CRS strives to ensure that parolees are immediately engaged in programs upon parole into the community, ensuring a seamless and effective community reintegration and ultimately reducing recidivism and increasing public safety. (doi: http://www.cdcr.ca.gov/rehabilitation/ofs/community_and_reentry_services.html)

Pennsylvania Department of Corrections

The Pennsylvania Department of Corrections operates as one team, embraces diversity, and commits to enhancing public safety. We are proud of our reputation as leaders in the corrections field. Our mission is to reduce criminal behavior by providing individualized treatment and education to offenders, resulting in successful community reintegration through accountability and positive change. (doi: http://www.cor.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/about_us_our_mission/20857)

As shown in these mission statements, the emphasis is on the key components of mass incarceration (supervision) correctional programming and offender accountability. To embrace the importance of rehabilitation ideals in a punitive context requires a focus on what the offender should do (i.e., participate in treatment programming, be accountable,

be integrated into programming, etc.) and not how the system should perform.

None of these mission statements acknowledge the change in mission, the change in roles and responsibilities of key staff, the change in relationship to organizations external to the corrections agency, and any other changes. That is, none of the statements emphasize the importance of these changes that are necessary to highlight how the agency is moving forward. While it may not be typical for mission statements to recognize the change, in an environment where the reengineering alters the work processes and makes drastic changes in the core functions of an agency, mission statements that highlight the change help visualize and dramatize the changes. This is consistent with Rogers' (2003) approach of exemplifying the added value of the innovations. A revised mission statement might emphasize:

The mission of [name of agency] is to use evidence-based practices to transform the corrections agency from one focused on public safety to public safety with humane and efficacious efforts to deliver correctional experiences that address the factors that affect the involvement of individuals in criminal behavior. To achieve its mission, [name] will provide:

- 1) Accurate and timely dissemination of

evidence-based information to the community; 2) Accurate processes to integrate EBPs within the core functions of this agency; and 3) Bidirectional exchange of constructive knowledge related to effective programs and efforts to maintain public safety and reduce recidivism.

Strategy 3: Build capacity by planning for change in key areas

A good strategic plan facilitates implementation at all levels of the agency. This plan should incorporate an acknowledgment of the supporting practices for the RNR Supervision model, including: 1) What instrument(s) will be used as the core

assessment tool? 2) What case planning will be required and how will criminogenic needs be included? 3) What criteria will be needed to assign offenders with certain risk-need profiles to appropriate programs and services? 4) What rewards and sanctions will be used (and by whom) to respond in a way that shapes offender behavior? These decisions need to be supported from the beginning.

The plan needs to cover the following goals at each office within an agency. Having each office prepare a plan engages the staff and managers in the change process and allows local issues to be addressed (since not all issues exist in all areas). Each of these goals has a

companion set of documents available in the field that organizations can use as resources.

For a further example, Goal 4 of Table 1, the RNR Simulation Tool (www.gmuace.org/tools), can assist with understanding the offender population through three processes: 1) assess the current/available programs and services in their jurisdiction according to the EBP treatment and control literature; 2) use the existing risk and need information to determine the treatment and controls needed to address offender's risk and needs; and 3) identify gaps in services to adequately serve and control offenders in that jurisdiction. Figure 3 outlines the distribution of existing programs and recommended program capacity.

This jurisdiction has too much capacity in programs in categories D (interpersonal skills), E (life skills), and F (punishment only). More capacity is needed in program levels A (drug treatment for addiction disorders), B (criminal lifestyle

FIGURE 2.

Overview of Goals and Process to Develop RNR Supervision

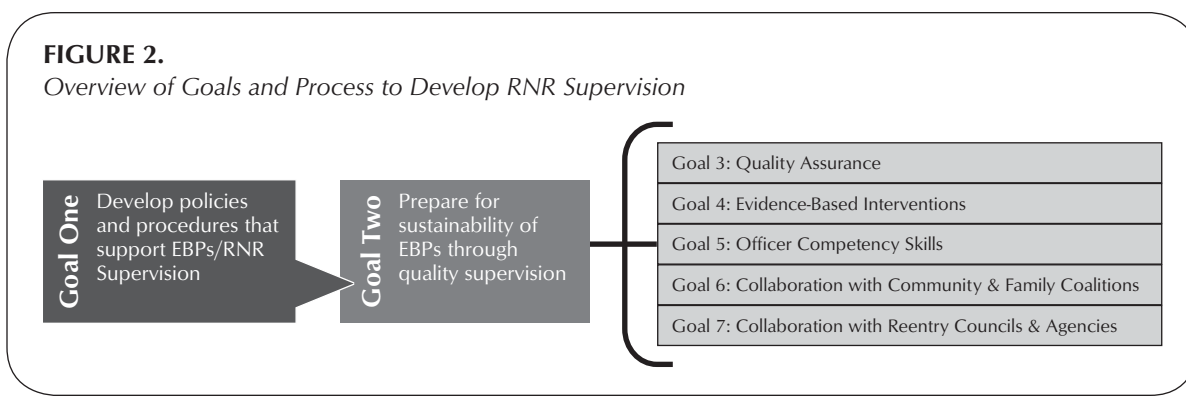
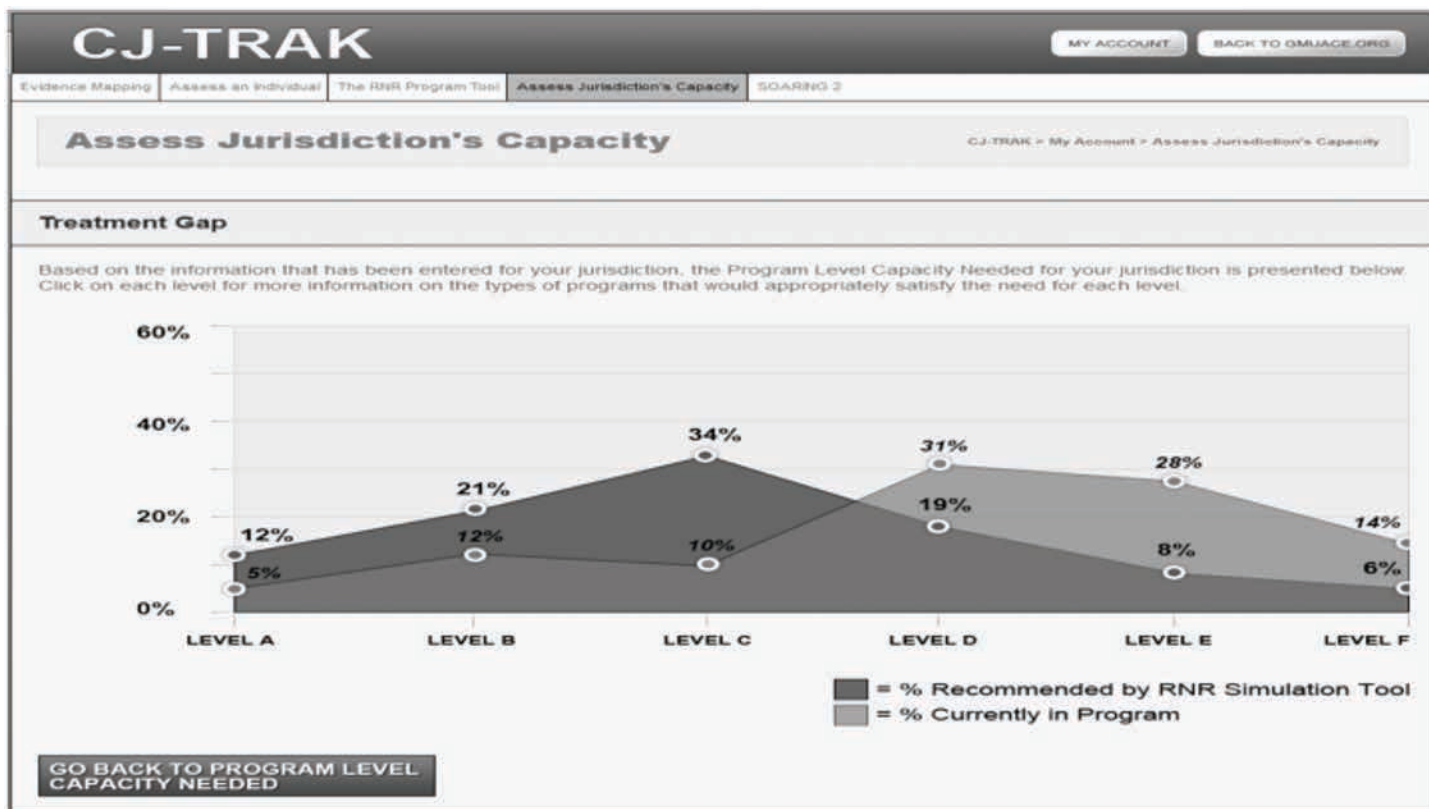


TABLE 1.

Resources to Achieve Different Implementation Goals

Goal	Resources
Goal 1: Develop the policies and procedures to support the use of RNR/EBP supervision in all offices and/or districts.	Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2004 Taxman and Belenko, 2012 Fabelo, Nagy, & Prins, 2011 Crime and Justice Institute, 2009
Goal 2: Develop an organizational structure that supports and sustains the implementation of RNR/evidence-based practices and quality supervision.	Taxman and Belenko, 2012 Fabelo, Nagy, & Prins, 2011 Crime and Justice Institute, 2009
Goal 3: Develop and implement a quality improvement process for each component of the RNR Supervision model (assessment, case planning, programming, rewards/sanctions, working relationship).	Howe & Joplin, 2005 Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2004
Goal 4: Assess the use of evidence-based interventions and controls in each office and then develop services that could be used more effectively to meet the risk-need profiles of offenders in your jurisdiction. Work with existing programs to ensure that programs and services use evidence-based curriculums, target key criminogenic needs, and address risk factors.	Taxman & Pattavina (2013) <i>RNR Simulation Tool</i> , www.gmuace.org
Goal 5: Implement a structure to support competency development for all staff in the five areas of RNR supervision.	Carey, 2010 EPICS STARR STICS PCS
Goal 6: Support meaningful and long-term community and family involvement in informal social controls (natural support systems).	Family Justice Program at Vera Institute (http://www.vera.org/centers/family-justice-program?qt-centers_family_justice_program=7#qt-centers_family_justice_program)
Goal 7: Collaborate with agencies toward a common goal of improving offender outcomes and promoting public safety.	Taxman & Belenko, 2012

FIGURE 3.
Gap Analysis in Evidence-Based Programming



and cognitions), and C (drug treatment for abusers or those with lifestyle).

Scenario: A probation agency trained its officers to use EBP supervision using the EPICS curriculum. A third of the officers received training in the strategy and these officers were encouraged to share the material with their colleagues. They were asked to speak at staff meetings about their experience in using the skills. Yet, each week, the supervisor sent out an email applauding the officer that upheld public safety by filing the most warrants for technical violations. Not unexpectedly, few officers were interested in discussing their use of the EPICS skills.

As shown above, mixed messages frequently occur that serve to reinforce existing goals and objectives, even when staff are trained in the new set of tool kits. Therefore a concerted effort is needed to alter the culture of the agency to align with the concepts of RNR supervision. One way of doing so is to establish a set of routinely used performance measures to signal when RNR processes are being used and when achievements are obtained. These measures can serve as benchmarks to monitor specific organizational initiatives to see if they are aligned with the principles of RNR supervision. The benchmarks can also

provide monthly feedback on the acquisition of the goals (i.e., number of assessments that resulted in placement in a program, number of offenders that were accountable, number of people supervised that did not have warrants (filed by risk level), number of offenders with jobs, number of offenders that participate in treatment, number of negative urine tests, etc.)—such feedback can then galvanize the office around these benchmarks. Refer to the Council of State Government's *A Ten-Step Guide to Transforming Probation Departments to Reduce Recidivism* for other set of benchmarks for further information.

Strategy 4: *Build Resiliency through internal supports and learn the skills, practice the skills.*

Although training and conferences are valuable for exchanging information, there are challenges to successfully transferring information from a seminar/conference to daily work. The seminar/training provides an opportunity to learn new information and skills, but often does little to assist staff in applying the material to existing work processes. In fact, research continues to find that less than 10 percent of the material covered in training is retained. As a result, the importance of booster sessions or refresher efforts has been emphasized to help

jurisdictions integrate the material presented in training sessions into actual work components. Booster sessions reinforce the material and allow smaller groups to discuss and digest it.

A recent study of a randomized controlled trial examining the impact of three types of post-training booster sessions in a juvenile justice setting illustrates the importance of post-training efforts, particularly the value of different types of booster sessions. The study involved a three-day intensive training similar to the Proactive Community Supervision curriculum, with added material on youth developmental issues, risk and need assessment for youth, and use of motivational enhancements for youth. This was followed by: 1) use of internal experts to champion the change in practice and work on social support in the office; 2) use of an external consultant to provide booster sessions focused on learned material and emphasizing using the material provided in the training; and 3) a standard group that received no additional training. The study found that the social support and network boosters improved youth caseworkers' perception of the importance of the new practices, helped staff learn to integrate them into their existing work (Taxman, Henderson, Young, & Farrell, 2012), and reduced the

rearrest rate of youth supervised by caseworkers that used the new skills (Young, Farrell, & Taxman, 2012). In other words, both developing organizational support and providing boosters are equally important in supporting the use of materials learned in training and impacting the supervision of delinquent youth when it comes to introducing new initiatives. In fact, the findings suggest that boosters that merely focus on the learned material have no added advantage over any post-training efforts. Therefore organizations need to develop a supportive climate for change and develop internal champions for new practices in order to sustain new innovations. A recent study in Colorado that focused on building “communities of care” or internal champions also illustrates how useful these strategies are in improving outcomes when building new skills in staff (Bogue et al., 2013). As noted in the change literature, internal champions and opinion leaders are critically important to routinizing practices into work processes. Innovations can occur when organizations adopt techniques that involve building skills of staff while also building organizational capacity and resiliency around using the skills and modifying the workflow.

Building organizational expertise begins with some basic skill building. The new RNR supervision model requires professionals to depart from mass incarceration policies that emphasize compliance, the previous “law enforcement” approach, and offender accountability. The more balanced approach of the RNR supervision model requires behavioral management techniques that include cognitive restructuring and cognitive behavioral strategies. Internal processes including coaching and a community-wide approach play an important role in initial skill acquisition and long-term sustainability. Skill learning is a gradual process. One of the keys to this process is to get the participants (staff) to engage in the behavior immediately and repeatedly. Using “champions” to facilitate practice with feedback, and then more practice, is critical to advancing staff’s knowledge of the new skill and comfort level in it. This occurs initially in training but must also be part of a continuous learning environment where people can learn and adapt the skills to their workplace and work processes. Figure 4 shows a number of integrated skills that need to be developed and worked through the internal processes for staff and managers to be competent in applying the RNR supervision model.

Strategy 5: *Build resiliency through improvements in work processes.*

A renewed interest in quality improvement (QI) processes emerged from the need to integrate the core components of RNR supervision into work processes, similar to Figure 1. That is, the techniques underscoring RNR supervision need to focus more on how to align the offender management process to integrate all of these skills. As noted in the article by Rudes, Viglione, & Porter (this issue), the quality improvement process is a rapid-cycle change process where staff members develop ideas, test the ideas, measure the outcomes, and implement them if the outcomes are desired. The *Plan_Do_Study_Act* (PDSA) model is an important tool that the coaches will learn and use to advance the achievement of performance objectives. QI processes integrated Strategy 3 (performance measures) with work processes to determine what impact the QI processes have on the ability of the organization to be responsive to the changes.

Attention should be given to modifying policies and procedures in the office to advance the use of RNR supervision. At this stage of the change process, the organization needs to equip supervisors with RNR supervision strategies and help each office develop its own policies and procedures to accommodate the RNR supervision vision. Each office should define and adjust its vision to the EBP supervision model, beginning with identifying a general vision for the agency that will inspire the development of their own policy and procedures to accommodate the vision, including: 1) understand the context of revised supervision policies and practices

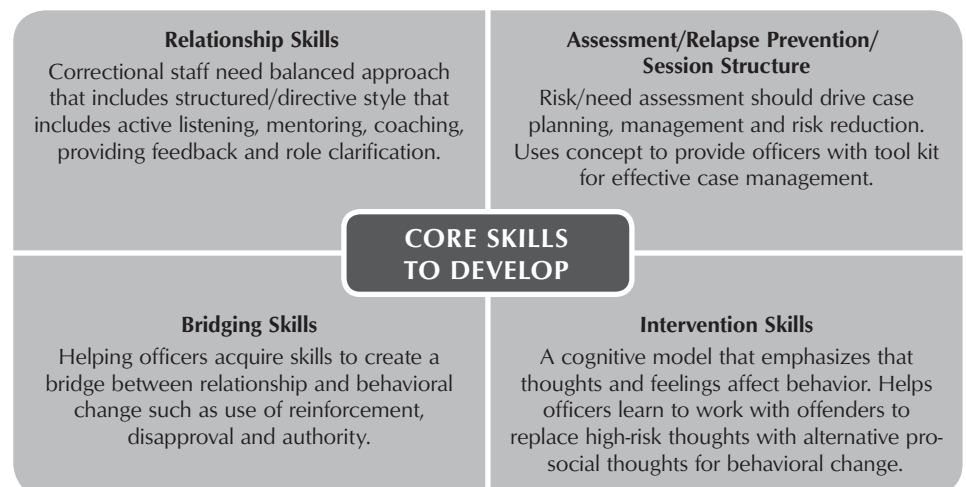
to achieve this vision; 2) learn some of the strategies to communicate motivationally to line staff; and 3) understand how to determine whether the risk and needs assessment is being used in case plans. Among possible sources of information for this third point are management audits of officers’ caseloads, the Quality Contact Standards form used in the Maryland Proactive Community Supervision (PCS) project (see Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2004), or other readily available information. The case study of Travis County, Texas (see Fabelo, Nagy, & Prins, 2011) also provides examples of how one jurisdiction improved its work processes under RNR supervision.

Strategy 6: *Collaborate with agencies toward a common goal of improving offender outcomes and promoting public safety.*

The criminal justice system is like a village—it has a number of players and contributors that need to be comfortable with current policies and procedures. In order for change to be sustainable, vested stakeholders—reentry councils, law enforcement, courts, businesses, non-profits, former offenders, families and crime victims, treatment agencies, prosecutors, defenders, and others—need to be informed and participate in the reengineering activities. The village is needed to develop the resources, provide support for alternative approaches, and advance new ideas. Problem-solving courts are an example of criminal justice reforms that garner political support for change in practice and policies.

There are generally three concepts to consider in creating collaborative environments that support reengineering efforts. The first is *policy and system integration*, in which the

FIGURE 4.
Core Skills that Require Internal Champions



Adapted from EPICS, SOARING2 and PCS curriculums

organizations (justice and community) have complementary policies regarding the use of risk and need assessment instruments, eligibility for different programming, type of programming and controls needed to manage the offender population in the field, criteria for success and failure of individuals (offenders) and programs, and roles of each party. These policies are needed to ensure that there is general agreement across the vested interests in efforts to administer and manage the system. The second is *service integration*, in which the services and programs are integrated at the operational level and players are involved as appropriate for their position in the justice, health, and community. Service integration focuses on delivering the broader range of “services” (i.e., programs, tools, use of registries, etc.) that are relevant for different offenders based on their risk and need profiles. At the service level, as shown in Figure 5, there are different levels of integration; the more integration that occurs, the more likely that system is to adopt new innovations (Taxman & Belenko, 2012) and to deliver programs and services that meet the needs of the community. The items on this checklist are designed to assess what practices exist that would support a collaborative, integrated model of service delivery—these items were used in a series of analyses to illustrate the importance of more service integration to improve system performance. The third component is *person integration*, in which the offender and victim are integrated into the decision-making processes. Including victims in some of the options can further restorative justice and help offenders better understand the impact of their options.

To build and sustain the village, a multi-pronged strategy is needed that involves: 1) disseminating information about the rationale for and the likely policies and practices of the new RNR supervision process to the judiciary, prosecutors, defenders, treatment providers, and other agencies; 2) forming or expanding community partnerships (including partnerships with local colleges, treatment agencies, and policy groups) to garner further support for the policies and to build resources to support supervision goals; 3) assessing existing collaborations and information sharing through joint staffings, reporting joint-policy manuals and procedures, pooled funding for key initiatives, modified protocols to meet the needs of multiple agencies, treatment plans, shared budgetary oversight, program oversight, staff cross-training, and

FIGURE 5.

Measuring Interagency Collaboration at the Operational Level: The Collaboration Index Tool (see Fletcher et al., 2009; Taxman & Belenko, 2012)

Below is a list of common activities that sometimes occur between agencies. In the columns, indicate the name of the organizations that your agency routinely works with; feel free to add more columns. Please check the activities that you routinely engage in with your service provider agencies regarding the treatment programs or services that that are provided to offenders in your jurisdictions. (Check all that apply for each row.)

	Work with substance abuse treatment programs	Work with judiciary	Work with other service agencies
a. We share general information about the overall needs of offenders in our system but not specific to a person	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
b. Our organizations have agreed to use similar requirements for program eligibility across our programs	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
c. We have written agreements for space for (substance abuse) services for some programs in our facilities	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
d. We hold joint staffings/ case reporting consultations, involving players from many agencies	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
e. We have developed joint policy and procedure manuals for our programs	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
f. More than two organizations have pooled funding to offer offender (substance abuse) services	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
g. We have modified some program/service protocols to meet the needs of other agencies	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
h. We share budgetary oversight of some treatment programs	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
i. We share daily operational oversight of some treatment programs	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
j. Our organizations cross-train staff on EBPs and services	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
k. We have written protocols for sharing offender information such as HIPAA, CFR 42, and CFR 25.	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
TOTAL	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>

written protocols for sharing electronic data (see Figure 5 and Taxman & Belenko, 2012, for a discussion); and 4) providing performance measures to the group to assess progress, to garner support for difficult issues, and to identify systems and service integration issues that the stakeholders need to address. Partnerships are bidirectional and the information needs to flow in these different directions.

Strategy 7: Build resiliency by altering offender involvement in key decisions.

The RNR supervision model positions the offender as a participant with a decision-making role in the process. Under the enforcement model of supervision, the officer has an authoritarian role in terms of determining what the offender should do; therefore, this model is not compatible with the RNR supervision model, which elevates the role and responsibilities of the offender to those of a partner in decisions that are made. For cognitive restructuring to occur, the offender must be offered opportunities to make decisions, to learn about alternative decisions, to test out decisions, to be successful (and fail), and to accept the consequences, whether positive or negative. If the goal is to facilitate change, particularly better decision making, then the offender needs to be part of the process. This subtle change is critically important to include in all organizational work, since mass incarceration policies have positioned offenders to be recipients and not co-decision-makers.

What is the importance of this new position for offenders? The American Psychological Association's two recent task forces—*Empirically Supported Therapy Relationships* (Norcross, 2002) and *Empirically Based Principles of Therapeutic Change* (Castonguay & Beutler, 2005)—identified that outcomes are a result of client characteristics, nature of the therapy (intervention), nature of the clinicians/therapists, and the client-therapist relationship. The two task forces find that client-therapist rapport is more important in affecting patient outcomes than the type of therapy provided. Significant factors in the therapeutic alliance or working endeavor include how the client interacts with and values the input of the therapist; perceptions of trust (i.e., the client is willing to be honest and open), caring, and support in the change process are factors in this alliance. These factors have been identified as important in justice settings where offenders are asked to change their behaviors (Taxman, 2002; Taxman & Ainsworth, 2009; Skeem & Manchak, 2008). The person being asked to change is unlikely to do so unless he or she has a "voice" in the

process (Walters et al., 2007); therefore, it is important for people to feel that they are valued and part of the process (Tyler, 2010).

Prochaska, DiClemente, and Norcross (1992), who proposed the stages of change model (precontemplation, contemplation, determination, action, and maintenance), suggest that more attention should be given to the precontemplation and contemplation phases, where the client is ambivalent about the prospects of change and uncertain that the new altered behaviors will be "worth the effort" (similar to the issues of making good). Focusing on these early stages in the change process recognizes that motivation coming from within an individual rather than from others (such as the state in coerced treatment models) is more likely to result in long-term change (Miller & Rollnick, 1991). In the correctional literature, this is consistent with efforts to focus on motivation to improve outcomes (McMurran, 2009). Overall, motivational enhancement therapy is recognized as an evidence-based practice in the substance abuse treatment literature (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2000). It is through attention to intrinsic motivation that the offender can become aware of the change process, assume responsibility, and define his or her own action plan.

Another related theory is shared decision-making. Most patient education models are based on the individual understanding the nature of their disorder, which then leads to improved compliance. The individual has choices regarding the nature of the intervention, and these choices are bounded by cost, safety, impact on others, and alignment with values. This is relevant in justice settings. As defined by Légaré et al. (2008):

The health decision-making process is complex, as it brings together a health professional, considered a scientific content expert, and an individual, considered an expert in his own personal values. It is in this context that there is considerable interest today in the process of shared decision-making (SDM). SDM is defined as a decision-making process jointly shared by patients and their health care provider, and is said to be the crux of patient-centered care. It relies on the best evidence about risks and benefits associated with all available options (including doing nothing) and on the values and preferences of patients, without excluding those of health professionals. Therefore, it includes the following components: establishing a context in which patients' views about treatment

options are valued and deemed necessary; reviewing the patient's preferences for role in decision-making; transferring technical information; making sure patients understand this information; helping patients base their preference on the best evidence; eliciting patients' preferences; sharing treatment recommendations; and making explicit the component of uncertainty in the clinical decision-making process.

The shared-decision making process recognizes that the offender is a contributor to the process. The RNR supervision model is built on a similar principle that the offender jointly develops the supervision plan. Both the motivational enhancement and shared decision-making theories are built on the common ground that the individual needs to be part of the process, and that action by correctional or supervision staff needs to involve the offender in the planning and discharge process. The goal is to have the offender involved in outlining the plan for change, setting target behaviors for progress, and reviewing their progress with appropriate action based on performance.

Under a shared decision-making role, organizations must embrace the sharing of information with offenders and offenders must be offered the opportunity to participate in decisions that are made. This is the essence of cognitive restructuring. In a practical sense, this requires the supervision agency to provide the offender with: 1) results from the risk and need assessment, including an explanation of factors that affect these risk and need assessments and choices that can be made that can facilitate change; 2) options regarding programming, services, controls, with a preference for the offender selecting the best option; 3) review of progress, where the offender is asked to assess how well he or she has done; and 4) changes in the supervision plan based on the offender (and the officer in a shared decision-making model) input. These may appear to be subtle changes; however, these changes are critical to advancing an offender's ability to benefit from RNR supervision. This means that officers and supervision agencies that are hesitant to share the results of a risk and need assessment with the offender will not be able to properly implement and sustain RNR supervision. Without this clear restatement of the role of the offender, followed by policies and procedures that support this effort, then the system will "regress" to prior supervision practices where the offender is "told" what to do. Such efforts undermine cognitive restructuring. This subtle

change requires the organization to emphasize that offenders are customers of this service. The legitimacy of RNR supervision and the ability to overturn policies that emerge from mass incarceration efforts hinges on accepting that cognitive restructuring is a process where the offender needs to have a key role in decision-making.

Conclusion

In the past several decades or so, the policies of mass incarceration have affected the policies and practices of community supervision. The RNR supervision model, armed with evidence that practicing this form of supervision reduces recidivism, is being promoted in community correctional agencies. New training and skill-building strategies have evolved to train and prepare supervision staff to use the approaches. But unless the supervision agencies and the companion stakeholders accept this form of supervision, then it is unlikely that advances will be routinized. This paper has outlined seven organizational strategies to make RNR supervision stick—or glue it to the core components of community corrections. These strategies are designed to build capacity and resiliency, and to expand implementation to allow RNR supervision to become routine. RNR supervision is possible if these organizational strategies are used.

References

- Bonta, J., Bourgon, G., Rugge, T., Scott, T., Yesine, A., Gutierrez, L., & Li, J. (2011). An experimental demonstration of training probation officers in evidence-based community supervision. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 38* (11).
- Bogue, B., Pampel, F., & Pasini-Hil, D. (2013). Progress toward motivational interviewing proficiency in corrections: Results of a Colorado staff development program. *Justice Research and Policy, 15*(1): 37–66.
- Bourgon, G., & Gutierrez, L. (2012). The general responsiveness principle in community supervision: The importance of probation officers using cognitive intervention techniques and its influence on recidivism. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 35*(2): 149–166. doi:10.1080/0735648X.2012.674816
- Carey, M. (2010). *Coaching Packets*. Silver Spring, MD: Center for Effective Public Policy.
- Castonguay, L. G., & Beutler, L. E. (2005). *Principles of therapeutic change that work*. Oxford Series in Clinical Psychology (1st ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Crime and Justice Institute (2009). *Implementing Evidence-Based Policy and Practice in Community Corrections*, 2nd ed. Washington, DC: National Institute of Correction. Doi: <http://www.co.el-paso.tx.us/wtc/Documents/ImplementingEBP2ndEdition.pdf>.
- Drake, E.K. (2011). "What works" in community supervision: *Interim report* (Document No. 11-12-1201). Olympia: Washington State Institute of Public Policy. <http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/rptfiles/11-12-1201.pdf>.
- Fabelo, T., Nagy, G., & Prins, S. (2011). *A Ten-step guide to transforming probation departments to reduce recidivism*. New York: Council of State Government. Doi: <http://csgjusticecenter.org/corrections/publications/ten-step-guide-to-transforming-probation-departments-to-reduce-recidivism>.
- Fletcher, B. W., Lehman, W. E., Wexler, H. K., Melnick, G., Taxman, F. S., & Young, D. W. (2009). Measuring collaboration and integration activities in criminal justice and substance abuse treatment agencies. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence, 103*, S54–S64.
- Garland, D. (2001). *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society*. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press.
- Howe, M., & Joplin, L. (2005). *Implementing evidence-based practices in community corrections: Quality Assurance Manual*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections.
- Légaré, F., Elwyn, G., Fishbein, M., Frémont, P., Frosch, D., Gagnon, M., Kenny, D. A., et al. (2008). Translating shared decision-making into health care clinical practices: Proof of concepts. *Implementation Science, 3*, 1–6.
- Makarios, M. D., McCafferty, J., Steiner, B., & Travis, L. F. (2012). The effects of parole officers' perceptions of the organizational control structure and satisfaction with management on their attitudes toward policy change. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 35*(2): 296–316. doi = 10.1080/0735648X.2012.690261.
- McMurrin, M. (2009). Motivational interviewing with offenders: A systematic review. *Legal and Criminological Psychology, 14*, 83–100.
- Miller, J., & Maloney, C. (2013). Practitioner compliance with risk/needs assessment tools: A theoretical and empirical assessment. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, July 2013, 40*(7), 716–736.
- Miller, W. R., & Rollnick, S. (1991). *Motivational interviewing: Preparing people to change addictive behaviour*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Miller, W. R., & Rollnick, S. (2002). *Motivational interviewing: Preparing people for change*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Miller, W. R., & Mount, K. A. (2001) A small study of training in motivational interviewing. Does one workshop change clinician and patient behavior? *Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapy, 29*, 457–471.
- National Institute on Drug Abuse (2000). *Principles of drug abuse treatment for criminal justice populations: A research-based guide*. Washington, DC:
- Norcross, J. C. (2002). *Psychotherapy relationships that work*. APA Division of Psychotherapy Task Force on Empirically Supported Therapy Relationships. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Oleson, J.C., VanBenschoten, S., Robinson, C., Lowenkamp, C.T., & Holsinger, A.T. (2012). Actuarial and clinical assessment of criminogenic needs: Identifying supervision priorities among federal probation officers. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 35*(2).
- Prochaska, J. O., DiClemente, C. C., & Norcross, J. C. (1992). In search of how people change: Applications to addictive behaviors. *American Psychologist, 47*(9), 1102–1114.
- Robinson, C. R., Lowenkamp, C. T., Holsinger, A. M., VanBenschoten, S., Alexander, M., & Oleson, J.C. (2012). A random study of Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest (STARR): Using core correctional practices in probation interactions. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 35*(2): 167–188. Doi: 10.1080/0735648X.2012.674823.
- Robinson, C., VanBenschoten, S., Alexander, M., & Lowenkamp, C. (2011). A random (almost) study of staff training aimed at reducing re-arrest (STARR): Reducing recidivism through intentional design. *Federal Probation, 75* (2).
- Rogers, E. M. (2003). *Diffusion of innovations* (5th ed.). New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Rudes, D. S. (2012). Getting technical: Parole officers' continued use of technical violations under California's parole reform agenda. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 35*(2): 249–268. doi 10.1080/0735648X.2012.677572.
- Rudes, D.S., Viglione, J., & Porter, C. (2013). Using Quality Improvement models in correctional organizations. *Federal Probation 77*(2).
- Skeem, J., & Manchak, S. (2008). Back to the future: From Klockars' model of effective supervision to evidence-based practice in probation. *International Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 47*, 220–247.
- Smith, P., Schweitzer, M., Labrecque, R. M., & Latessa, E. J. (2012). Improving probation officers' supervision skills: An evaluation of the EPICS model. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 35*(2): 189–199. doi 10.1080/0735648X.2012.674826.

- Taxman, F.S., & Pattavina, A. (2013). *Simulation strategies to reduce recidivism: Risk need responsivity (RNR) modeling in the criminal justice system*. New York: Springer.
- Taxman, F.S., Henderson, C., Young, D.W., & Farrell, J. (2012). The impact of training interventions on organizational readiness to support innovations in juvenile justice offices. *Administration of Mental Health Policy and Mental Health Services Research*. DOI: 10.1007/s10488-012-0445-5
- Taxman, F. S. (2012). Crime control in the twenty-first century: Science-Based Supervision (SBS), *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 35(2): 135–144. doi = 10.1080/0735648X.2012.686583
- Taxman, F.S., & Belenko, S. (2012). *Implementation of evidence-based community corrections and addiction treatment*. New York: Springer.
- Taxman, F.S., & Ainsworth, S.A. (2009). Correctional milieu: The key to quality outcomes. *Victims and Offenders*, 4(4), 334–340.
- Taxman, F. S. (2008). No illusions: Offender and organizational change in Maryland's proactive community supervision efforts. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 7 (2), 275–302.
- Taxman, F.S., Shepardson, E., & Byrne, J. M. (2004). *Tools of the trade: A guide to implementing science into practice*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections, 2004. <http://www.nicic.org/Library/020095>
- Taxman, F.S., & Thanner, M. (2004). Probation from a therapeutic perspective: Results from the field. *Contemporary Issues in Law*, 7(1): 39–63.
- Taxman, F.S. (2002). Supervision—Exploring the dimensions of effectiveness. *Federal Probation*, 66(2): 14–27.
- Tyler, T. R. (2010). Legitimacy in corrections. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 9(1), 127–134.
- Turner, S., Braithwaite, H., Kearney, L., Murphy, A., & Haerle, D. (2012). Evaluation of the California Parole Violation Decision-Making Instrument (PVDMI), *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 35(2): 269–295. Doi: 10.1080/0735648X.2012.683636
- Walters, S. T., Clark, M. D., Gingerich, R., & Meltzer, M. (2007). *Motivating offenders to change: A guide for probation and parole*. Washington DC: National Institute of Corrections, U.S. Department of Justice.
- Young, D.W., Farrell, J., & Taxman, F.S. (2012). Impacts of juvenile probation training models on youth recidivism. *Justice Quarterly*. DOI: 10.1080/07418825.2012.673633

CONTRIBUTORS

To This Issue

Melissa Alexander

Chief Probation Officer, U.S. Probation, Middle District of North Carolina. Ph.D., University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center at Dallas. Co-author of "Using 20 Minutes Wisely: Probation & Parole Officers as Agents of Change," in J. Smykla and M. Crow (Eds.), *Offender Reentry: 21st Century Issues* (2013).

Laura M. Baber

Chief, Program Guidance Branch, Office of Probation and Pretrial Services, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts. Masters, Information Project Management, George Washington University. Co-author of "Pretrial Services Outcome Measurement Plan in the Federal System: Step One, Improve Data Quality" (2007).

Christopher M. Bersch

Probation Officer, U.S. Probation, Middle District of North Carolina. Bachelor's degree from Pennsylvania State University.

Guy Bourgon

Senior Researcher, Public Safety Canada. Previously, Psychologist, Rideau Correctional & Treatment Centre. Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology, University of Ottawa. Co-author of "The Evolution of Community Supervision Practice: The Transformation from Case Manager to Change Agent," *Irish Probation Journal* (Volume 8, October 2011).

Edward Cameron

Supervisory U.S. Probation Officer, Middle District of North Carolina. B.A. in Political Science, University of North Carolina at Charlotte.

Michael Casey

U.S. Probation Officer, Middle District of North Carolina. Bachelor's degree in Criminal Justice and Sociology, University of North Carolina at Wilmington.

R. Brian Colgan

Supervisory U.S. Probation Officer, District of Arizona. M.A., Northern Arizona University.

Anthony W. Flores

Lecturer, California State University, Bakersfield. Ph.D., University of Cincinnati. Co-author of "Intensive Supervision Programs: Does Program Philosophy and the Principles of Effective Intervention Matter?" *Journal of Criminal Justice* (2010).

Roger Guy

Associate Professor, University of North Carolina at Pembroke. Ph.D., University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee. Co-author of "Reentry: Parole by Any Other Name," in Matthew S. Crow and John Ortiz Smykla (Eds.), *Offender Reentry: Rethinking Criminology and Criminal Justice* (2013).

Alexander M. Holsinger

Professor, University of Missouri—Kansas City. Ph.D., University of Cincinnati. Co-author of "Identifying the Predictors of Pretrial Failure: A Meta-Analysis," *Federal Probation*, Vol. 75, no. 2 (Sept. 2011).

Igor Koutsenok

M.S., M.D., Director, Center for Criminality & Addiction Research, Training & Application, University of California, San Diego, School of Medicine.

Christopher T. Lowenkamp

Social Science Analyst, Office of Probation and Pretrial Services, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts. Ph.D., University of Cincinnati.

Mario Moreno

Chief U.S. Probation Officer, District of Arizona. M.A. in Organizational Management, University of Phoenix.

Mark Motivans

Senior Statistician, Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice. Ph.D., Penn State University. Author of *Immigration Offenders in the Federal Justice System 2010* (July 2012).

Mario Papanozzi

Professor and Department Chair, University of North Carolina at Pembroke. Previously, Chairman of the New Jersey State Parole Board. Ph.D., Rutgers University. Co-author of "Reentry: Parole by Any Other Name," in Matthew S. Crow and John Ortiz Smykla (Eds.), *Offender Reentry: Rethinking Criminology and Criminal Justice* (2013).

Lisa Palombo

Deputy Chief U.S. Probation Officer, Middle District of North Carolina. M.S. in Administration of Justice, Virginia Commonwealth University.

Natalie Pearl

Director of Research, San Diego County Probation. Previously, Associate Professor of Criminal Justice, San Diego State University School of Public Affairs. Ph.D., Brandeis University—Heller School of Public Policy. Co-author of "The Importance of Coaching: A Brief Survey of Probation Officers," *Federal Probation* (Sept. 2013).

Courtney M. Porter

Graduate Research Assistant, George Mason University. M.A., Marymount University.

Peter Raynor

Professor of Criminology, Swansea University, Wales. Ph.D., University of Wales. Co-editor of *What Works in Offender Compliance?* (2013).

Matthew G. Rowland

Assistant Director, Office of Probation and Pretrial Services, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts. Previously, Deputy Chief U.S. Probation Officer, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of New York. J.D., Brooklyn Law School. Author of "Probation Supervision of Legal and Illegal Aliens: A Study," *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, Vol. 14, no. 5 (March/April 2002).

Danielle S. Rudes

Assistant Professor in Criminology, Law & Society, George Mason University. Deputy Director, Center for Advancing Correctional Excellence (ACE!). Ph.D., University of California, Irvine. Author of "Getting Technical: Parole Officers' Continued Use of Technical Violations Under California's Parole Reform Agenda," *Journal of Crime & Justice*, 35(2), 2012.

Faye S. Taxman

Professor, George Mason University, VA. Ph.D., Rutgers University. Author of *Strategies to Reduce Recidivism* (May 2013).

Chris Trotter

Professor, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. Ph.D., LaTrobe University Melbourne. Author of *Working with Involuntary Clients* (2006, Sage Publishing).

Pamela Ugwudike

Lecturer in Criminology, Swansea University, Wales. Ph.D., University of Wales. Co-editor of *What Works in Offender Compliance?* (2013).

Jill Viglione

Graduate Research Assistant in Criminology, Law & Society, Center for Advancing Correctional Excellence (ACE!), George Mason University. M.A., Villanova University. Co-author of "Front-stage Stars and Backstage Producers: The Role of Judges in Problem-Solving Courts," *Victims & Offenders*, 8(1), 2013.

Kathy Waters

Director of Adult Services, Arizona Supreme Court

Matthew J. White

U.S. Probation Officer, Middle District of North Carolina. B.S. in Criminology, Florida State University. M.B.A., University of Phoenix.

Evey Wooten

Senior U.S. Probation Officer, Middle District of North Carolina. B.A., Elon University, North Carolina.

United States Government

INFORMATION

Order Processing Code

***5876**

Federal PROBATION

*a journal of correctional
philosophy and practice*

Please send me _____ subscription(s) to *Federal Probation* at \$16.50 each (\$22.40 foreign) per year. The total cost of my order is \$_____.

Price includes shipping and handling and is subject to change.

(PLEASE TYPE OR PRINT) NAME OR TITLE

COMPANY NAME ROOM, FLOOR, OR SUITE

STREET ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP CODE + 4

DAYTIME PHONE INCLUDING AREA CODE

PURCHASE ORDER NUMBER (OPTIONAL)

Method of Payment

Check payable to: Superintendent of Documents

GPO Deposit Account _____

Credit Card Visa MasterCard Discover

CARD NUMBER EXPIRATION DATE

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

ORDER ONLINE FROM
<http://bookstore.gpo.gov>

FAX YOUR ORDER TO
202-512-2104

PHONE YOUR ORDER TO
202-512-1800 or
866-512-1800

MAIL YOUR ORDER TO
Superintendent of Documents
P.O. Box 979050
St. Louis, MO 63197-9000

IMPORTANT!

Please include your completed order form with your remittance

*thank you for
your order!*



FEDERAL PROBATION

Administrative Office
of the United States Courts

Washington, DC 20544