the journal of the American Probation and Parole Association

# PERSPECTIVES

www.appa-net.org

Volume 30 Number 2 Spring 2006

# PAROLE SUPERVISION: Pursuing the Balance

Avoid drug screening issues

# *Think Outside the Cup®*

- **Eliminate Gender Issues**
- **Eliminate Test Adulteration**
- **Eliminate Urine Collection**

Swab

Snap

Seal

Intercept® is appropriate for all testing situations with high accuracy, reliability and defensibility.

**For more information and a <u>FREE</u> demonstration device contact us at:**

**1-800-869-3538 · www.4intercept.com/parole**

*Laboratory Confidence*
*Oral Fluid Convenience℠*

Intercept®
*Oral Fluid Drug Screening*

Intercept® and Think Outside the Cup® are registered trademarks of OraSure Technologies, Inc. © 2003, 2006 OraSure Technologies, Inc.
INT0017 (rev.01/06)

# President's Message

by Mark E. **Carey**

Before you read on, get comfortable. Sit back, put up your feet, take three deep breaths, holding and then slowly letting the air escape from your lungs at the end of each breath. Clear your mind of work and home pressures. Relaxed? Now, I want you to think in pictures. I'm going to give you a word and let's see what image pops into your head. Ready? Here goes.....

- Disney™
- Police
- Geico™
- Judge
- Budweiser™
- Probation

Let me guess. Within the briefest snap of time, you probably "saw" in your mind's eye Mickey Mouse, handcuffs or a badge, the cute, talking lizard, a black robe and gavel, and the Clydesdale horses. But, when you got to probation there was this "white noise" in your head. No immediate image popped up. You had to think hard to even come up with something, and that "something" was not likely a compelling image.

As a professional in the field of community corrections you already know what I am about to say. We suffer from the lack of a compelling image, an image that could put an indelible and positive mark on the minds of the public, funders and policy makers. That is, unlike Coca-Cola, the National Football League or the Internal Revenue Service we have not branded our image, our field. We are largely faceless to the general public. Surveys of the public usually reveal confusion between probation and parole and frequent survey responses in the "dk" or "na" category (don't know/not applicable).

What is the consequence of our predicament? At times, this is a blessing. By being largely invisible, we are seldom the target of criticism or shrill calls for reform by the public or electorate. We can coast under the radar screen and pop our head up only when we want some attention, and then dive under the water when we want safety again.

But, this "benefit" comes with a price. The cost is an unaware public who cannot exercise their right to influence how their tax dollars and policies are being applied in community corrections since they don't know what is or is not happening. The cost is an inability to stockpile goodwill through positive exposure in order to balance or offset high profile media exposure when something goes wrong (as it inevitably will). The cost is our inability to demonstrate our added value to community interests pertaining to public protection and victim restoration because we are a hidden entity and an unknown contributor. We are a silent partner amidst a group of high profile, clear-image players. We are "the others" among the cast of characters. We are the extras among the stars and character actors. The lack of us having a value-added message leaves our field scrambling to be heard when funding decisions are being made and solutions to crime are being bantered about. When the "Clinton cops" were funded, there was no subsequent funding set aside for community supervision despite the fact that the COPS funding would generate a significant increase in arrests, prosecutions, and individuals placed under supervision. A more recent example would be when federal funding for law enforcement was provided, probation and parole was not recognized as an important part of counter terrorism. It costs something to be visible, to be understood. But, the gains outweigh the costs. And, the costs of being invisible are no longer bearable, if they ever were.

Why are we as a field having such a difficult time branding an image of ourselves? There are many reasons, however two stand out. First, our work is imageless. We are not predominantly conducting arrests so handcuffs don't suffice for an image. We spend a lot of time in the field intervening with offenders and talking to collateral contacts. So, what is the image for that: a pair of shoes, paper and pencil, two people sitting at a table? That will neither hold anyone's attention nor does it give a compelling image of what value our work adds toward public safety and victim restoration. Secondly, we ▷▷▷

> "We do many things as a profession such as conducting investigations, providing the courts with information, monitoring, counseling, surveillance, changing offender behavior, making treatment referrals, assisting victims, and developing intermediate sanctions to save costs. How do you put that eclectic collection of duties into an image?"

have suffered from an identify crisis. We do many things as a profession such as conducting investigations, providing the courts with information, monitoring, counseling, surveillance, changing offender behavior, making treatment referrals, assisting victims, and developing intermediate sanctions to save costs. How do you put that eclectic collection of duties into an image? As a field, we can't seem to agree on our primary identity, our primary objective, or an image that adequately describes what we do without oversimplifying and even misleading the receiver of that communication.

And so, for decades we have been wringing our hands and yearning for some way out of this dilemma. It is time to take control of our own destiny and brand our value.

Not everyone has been sitting idly by waiting for some solution. Some jurisdictions have taken this on and are making a difference. As an example, consider the Arizona "Probation Works" initiative. Arizona community corrections' jurisdictions decided around the year 2000 to portray the value of probation to the public through a simple message: Probation Works. On their documents you will see the message over and over again: Probation Works, Probation Works, Probation Works. In some jurisdictions, the surveillance officers are wearing jackets with PROBATION in clearly visible letters. Work crew vans have community supervision signs on them. And, placed-based supervision officers are knocking on doors to let the community know that they are present and available to serve them. There is a reason private companies air their commercials and publish their ads on visual, audio and written media over and over again. It is because we remember through repetition. Imagine if our profession had an image and a hard hitting and memorable saying, and that we repeated this over and over again across each jurisdiction throughout the world?

One of the images I cannot get out of my mind is McGruff the Crime Dog who delivered the message of crime prevention. If you recall, his memorable saying was "Take a bite out of crime." What if the community corrections profession could develop a consensus on our primary identity, our value-add, and an image that portrayed this? I believe that it would help us communicate with the public, add to our predominantly faceless image, and convey a compelling message that community supervision is a good investment towards safer communities and victim satisfaction.

Don't get me wrong. There is no better way to communicate our value than in providing solid, meaningful and relevant service to the public. It is word of mouth that makes the biggest difference. However, the vast majority of community corrections' personnel don't wear uniforms, drive in clearly marked cars or have TV shows or movies made about them. And, our encounters with the public are far less frequent that those the public has of police or Starbucks.

The American Probation and Parole Association is seeking to do something about this. An effort has begun to develop our identity, image and branding message. Bill Burrell and Elyse Clawson are leading an initiative to extract the best thinking from the field, hold focus groups, consult with a marketing experts and present to the Association some concepts. Once we agree on a message and image, we will be seeking ways to provide materials to community corrections agencies and media outlets so that we can meet our objective to repeat the message that "Community Corrections Works."

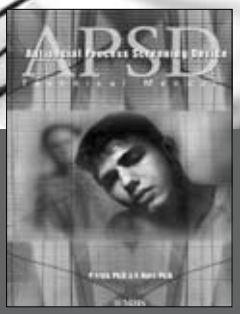
Who knows? Maybe we will get our own Geico lizard or McGruff dog in the process. ▷▷▲

MHS
PUBLIC SAFETY

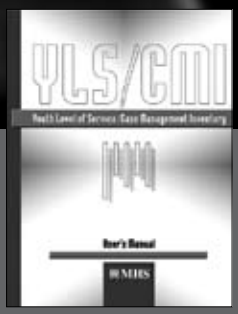
# Keep them on the right side of the fence

## with the help of the MHS suite of products for juveniles.


**Jesness Inventory–Revised (JI–R™)** has new scales and a template to reduce scoring time and ensure accuracy, when assessing personality and behavior and outlining treatment and risk.




**Antisocial Process Screening Device (APSD™)** is designed to detect antisocial processes that may lead to crime in young populations, and is also designed to implement preventive measures.




**Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (YLS/CMI™)** provides a risk/needs assessment with a case management component and is designed for adolescents and teenagers.


**Hare Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version (PCL:YV™)** measures interpersonal, affective, and behavioral features related to psychopathy and it yields dimensional scores for clinical or research purposes.

**Phone:** 1.800.456.3003 or +1.416.492.2627 • www.mhs.com • customerservice@mhs.com

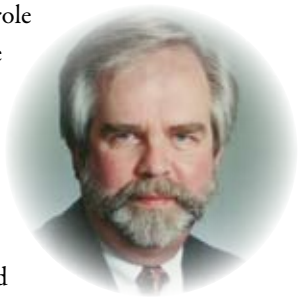
# Editor's Notes

by William **Burrell**

Welcome to the spring issue of *Perspectives*. We are very pleased to present a special issue focusing on the future of parole supervision. Ed Rhine, member of the Editorial Committee and a highly regarded expert on parole, has assembled a stellar group of authors to address this issue. While the focus is on parole, many of the challenges and recommendations apply to probation as well.

This special issue has its roots in a report entitled "Does Parole Work?" published early last year by the Urban Institute. In short, the report said that parole supervision had little effect on the high recidivism rates of released offenders. This finding caused a flurry of concern in the field, including a number of responses issued by APPA. The responses criticized the report for using old data, not including data from all states and generally for rehashing issues that had already been settled.

While it is true that the Urban Institute's researchers used a Bureau of Justice Statistics data set that had already been reported on and was not representative of all states, the issues raised in the report about the effectiveness of parole supervision have not been settled. In fact, as Ed Rhine notes in his introduction to the special issue, parolee recidivism rates have remained stubbornly and unacceptably high. The re-involvement of released offenders in criminal activity is a critical measure of the effectiveness of parole supervision. The Urban Institute report, like the two BJS reports that preceded it, sends a clear message: too many offenders released from prison are returning to crime.



If this message has been consistent over time, and it has, the logical question to ask is: "What have we, as the professionals in community corrections done about this consistently high recidivism rate? Have we reinvented parole supervision? Have we implemented state of the art, evidence-based practices? Have we critically examined our strategies and practices, leaving behind what doesn't work and embracing those proven to be effective? Have we improved our performance? While some agencies and jurisdictions could answer those questions affirmatively, they are the exceptions and not the rule.

Some readers may dismiss this as much ado about nothing. After all, the recidivism data has been poor for years and parole is still around. I think we need to be mindful of the history of parole in the United States. Until the 1970s, parole was an accepted part of the criminal justice system in all 50 states and the federal government, and had been that way for decades. The decade of the 1970s was hard on parole. With the attack on the indeterminate sentence and discretionary parole release, sixteen states abolished parole release altogether and most others curtailed it significantly. While the primary criticism was targeted to parole release, supervision is so closely linked to release that it too came under withering criticism.

Some 30 years later, the focus again is on the release of offenders: how they get from prison to the community and what happens to them once they arrive. The current focus is through the lens of prisoner reentry, a perspective that is much more constructive and positive than the attacks on parole three decades ago. This different perspective does not mean, however that there is no risk to parole, at least as we now know it.

The reentry movement has rightfully focused on the disposition of some 650,000 prisoners who will be leaving prison every year for the foreseeable future. Given the well documented propensity of released offenders to recidivate, we are looking at the potential for a decade-long crime wave if things don't change!

The framework for reentry redefines the incarceration-release-supervision process. All aspects of the process will have to change if the correctional and parole systems are to effectively manage the flow of offenders out of the prisons into the community. This provides a tremendous opportunity for parole supervision to reinvent itself and become more effective at its core responsibility, supervising offenders in the community.


## Editorial Committee

**William Burrell, Chair**
Associate Professor
Temple University
Gladfelter Hall, 5th. Floor
1115 W. Berks Street
Philadelphia, PA 19122-6089
Phone: (215)204-3051

**Arthur J. Lurigio**
Dept. of Criminal Justice
Loyola University of Chicago
820 N. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, IL 60611
(312) 915-7564

**Edward E. Rhine, Ph.D.**
Special Projects Administrator
Division of Parole and Community Services
Ohio Dept. of Rehabilitation and Correction
1050 Freeway Drive N
Columbus, OH 43229
(614) 995-3599

**Faye S. Taxman, Ph.D.**
Director
Bureau of Government Research
Professor
Dept. of Criminology & Criminal Justice
Room 2220, LeFrak Hall
University of Maryland
College Park, MD 20742-8235
(301) 405-4781

Parole supervision must be focused on reducing recidivism. Some years ago, some of the best minds in community corrections gathered in Washington, DC to discuss the future of probation. One of the recurring issues from that event was whether probation should "own recidivism" as a key measure of effectiveness. I don't think there is any question that probation and parole must own recidivism. And with the ownership of recidivism must also come a commitment to working to reduce it.

I don't think there is any question that the public expects probation and parole to be responsible for reducing offender recidivism, and rightly so. I also suspect that public, if asked, would also expect probation and parole professionals to be using the most effective strategies and techniques to reduce recidivism. In such an environment, how do we explain the persistence of the *"trail 'em, nail 'em and jail 'em"* mentality that exacerbates jail and prison crowding and does nothing to change offender behavior? When we know *'what works'* in changing behavior, why are we not doing those things?

If we don't take advantage of the opportunity that reentry presents to recast parole as a balanced model, then we have no one to blame but ourselves for our future. That future could be very different than what we have now. One influential individual in the reentry field has suggested that perhaps some entity other than parole would be best suited to managing the community component of reentry. Jeremy Travis has coined the term *justice intermediary,* an organization "that would operate at the community level to facilitate the reintegration of returning prisoners". That sounds a great deal like what parole officers should be doing.

Let me conclude with a baseball metaphor, as this is the spring issue. If BJS does another recidivism study of released offenders, we'll be caught looking at the proverbial third strike of recidivism studies. Unless we reinvent parole supervision and begin to show some results, we won't have much of a chance. If we can begin to demonstrate that reinvented parole supervision can work, perhaps we can foul off the pitch and stay alive at the plate for another chance. If not, we're out and the game is over. ▷▷▲

## Thank You Sponsors!

The American Probation and Parole Association expresses its deepest gratitude to the following companies for their generous support of the APPA 2006 Winter Training Institute held in Austin, Texas on January 8-11, 2006. Their contributions truly enhanced the quality of the Institute. Only through this support can APPA maintain its high standards of Institute Training.

### Platinum Sponsors

**Corrections Software Solutions**

Corrections Software Solutions, based in Austin, Texas provides a case management system utilized by community supervision departments. This web browser based system allows the department to control their case management costs, improve efficiency, and benefit from our experience and proven success. You will find it easy to use, flexible and utilizing the latest technologies.

**Scientific Testing Laboratories**

Scientific Testing Laboratories, Inc. owns and operates an independent laboratory, providing drug testing to corporations, institutions, criminal justice departments, and clients seeking to deter the use of illegal drugs. STL is certified by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/ SAMHSA(formally NIDA) which qualifies urine drug testing for Federal Agencies.

**Syscon Justice Systems**

With more than twenty-five years of specialized experience, Syscon is now the world's largest company dedicated exclusively to the development and implementation of corrections information and case management software systems. Our signature product, TAG, is the most widely-implemented large-scale COTS offender management package available in the marketplace.

**Varian Inc.**

When public safety is under your influence, test SMARTER with Varian, Inc. As a leading drug testing manufacturer with the highest rate of accuracy in the industry, our SMARTesting™ program offers integrated data management that gives you outcomes for selecting the most cost effective test for each situation. Our patented manufacturing process uses advanced latex technology to deliver immediate, accurate, and consistent results with legally defensible findings. Count the true cost of getting the right answer the first time with Varian's OnSite® and OnTrak products.

### Silver Sponsor

MHS

the journal of the American Probation and Parole Association

# PERSPECTIVES

www.appa-net.org

Volume 30 Number 2 Spring 2006

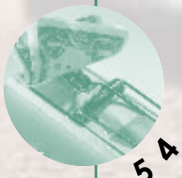
## FEATURES













## DEPARTMENTS



## PLUS!



### Instructions to Authors

*Perspectives* disseminates information to the American Probation and Parole Association's members on relevant policy and program issues and provides updates on activities of the Association. The membership represents adult and juvenile probation, parole and community corrections agencies throughout the United States and Canada. Articles submitted for publication are screened by an editorial committee and, on occasion, selected reviewers, to determine acceptability based on relevance to the field of criminal justice, clarity of presentation, or research methodology. *Perspectives* does not reflect unsupported personal opinions. Submissions are encouraged following these procedures:

Articles should be submitted in MS Word or WordPerfect format on an IBM-compatible computer disk, along with a hard copy, to Production Coordinator, *Perspectives* Magazine, P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, KY, 40578-1910, or can be emailed to smeeks@csg.org in accordance with the following deadlines:

**Fall 2005 Issue – May 20, 2006 ● Winter 2006 Issue – August 21, 2006 ● Spring 2007 Issue – November 11, 2006 ● Summer 2007 Issue – February 17, 2007**

Unless previously discussed with the editors, submissions should not exceed 10 typed pages, numbered consecutively and double-spaced. All charts, graphs, tables and photographs must be of reproduction quality. Optional titles may be submitted and selected after review with the editors.

All submissions must be in English. Notes should be used only for clarification or substantive comments, and should appear at the end of the text. References to source documents should appear in the body of the text with the author's surname and the year of publication in parentheses, e.g., (Jackson, 1985: 162-165). Alphabetize each reference at the end of the text using the following format:

Anderson, Paul J. "Salary Survey of Juvenile Probation Officers." Criminal Justice Center, University of Michigan (1982).

Jackson, D.J. "Electronic Monitoring Devices." *Probation Quarterly* (Spring, 1985): 86-101.

While the editors of *Perspectives* reserve the right to suggest modifications to any contribution, all authors will be responsible for, and given credit for, final versions of articles selected for publication. Submissions will not be returned to contributors.

PERSPECTIVES
the journal of the American Probation and Parole Association
www.appa-net.org

Editorial Committee
William Burrell, Chairman
Arthur J. Lurigio
Edward Rhine
Faye S. Taxman

Executive Committee

| | |
|---|---|
| Mark E. Carey | President |
| Gary Hinzman | President-Elect |
| Don Evans | Past Preseident |
| Barbara Broderick | Vice President |
| James Birrittella | Treasurer |
| Julie Howe | Secretary |
| Linda Layton | At-Large Member |
| Carmen Rodriguez | At-Large Member |
| Denny McFarland | At-Large Affiliate |
| Carl Wicklund | Executive Director |

Production Staff

| | |
|---|---|
| Susan Meeks | Production Coordinator |
| John R. Higgins | Graphic Designer / Layout |
| Lynda Wilkerson | Editorial Assistant |

Services Directory

| | |
|---|---|
| General | (859) 244-8000 |
| General Institute | (859) 244-8204 |
| Resource Expo | (859) 244-8205 |
| Legislative Information | (859) 244-8196 |
| Membership | (859) 244-8207 |
| Perspectives Advertising | (859) 244-8205 |
| Publication Orders | (859) 244-8207 |
| Request for Training | (859) 244-8211 |

Communications should be addressed to:
American Probation and Parole Association
c/o The Council of State Governments
P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40578-1910
Fax: (859) 244-8001, E-mail: appa@csg.org
Website: www.appa-net.org

*Perspectives* is published four times annually by the American Probation and Parole Association through its secretariat office in Lexington, Kentucky. ISSN 0821-1507

**Reprints and back issues.** To order back issues, single copies of articles or reprints of articles in quantities of 100 or more, please call Anita Threet at (859) 244-8207.
**Reprint permission.** Direct requests for permission to use material published in *Perspectives* in writing to Anita Threet.

Copyright 2006
The Council of State Governments

**APPA** *We see a fair, just and safe society*

# vision

*where community partnerships are restoring hope by embracing a balance of prevention, intervention and advocacy.*

## We seek to create a system of Community Justice where:

**A full range of sanctions and services** provides public safety by insuring humane, effective, and individualized sentences for offenders, and support and protection for victims;
**Primary prevention initiatives** are cultivated through our leadership and guidance;
**Our communities are empowered** to own and participate in solutions;
**Results** are measured and direct our service delivery;
**Dignity and respect** describe how each person is treated;
**Staff are empowered** and supported in an environment of honesty, inclusion, and respect for differences; and
**Partnerships with stakeholders** lead to shared ownership of our vision.

The American Probation and Parole Association is an affiliate of and receives its secretariat services from the Council of State Governments (CSG). CSG, the multibranch association of the states and U.S. territories, works with state leaders across the nation and through its regions to put the best ideas and solutions into practice.

## APPA Affiliate Members

AZ Chief Probation Officers Assn.
Assn. of Paroling Authorities Int'l.
Assn. of Women Executives in Corrections
CA Probation, Parole & Corrections Assn.
Canadian Training Institute
Chief Probation Officer's Assn. of NJ
Chief Probation Officers of CA
Conference Permanente
Crime Prevention Coalition of America
Dismas Charities, Inc.
Federal Probation and Pretrial Officers Assn.
FL Assn. of Community Corrections
GA Probation Assn.
IA Correctional Assn.
IL Probation & Court Services Assn.
International Community Corrections
International Corrections & Prisons Assn.
Insterstate Commission on Adult Offender Supervision
KS Assn. of Court Services Officers
KY State Parole Officers Assn.
MA Parole Officers Assn.
MN Assn. of Community Corrections Act Counties
MN Assn. of County Probation Officers
MN Corrections Assn.
MO Probation & Parole Officers Assn.
Middle Atlantic States Corrections Assn.
NC Probation & Parole Assn.
NJ State Parole Officers' PBA #326
NYS Council/Prob. Administrators
NYS Probation Officers' Assoc.
Nat'l Assn. of Drug Court Professionals
Nat. Assn. of Probation Executives
New Eng. Council on Crime & Delinquency
New Zealand Assn. of Probation Officers
OH Chief Probation Officers Assn.
OR Assn. of Community Corrections
PA Assn. of Probation,Parole & Correction
President/Probation Assn. of NJ
Probation & Comm Corr Assn. of Australia
Probation & Parole Compact Admin. Assn.
Probation Officers Assn. of Ontario
SC Probation & Parole Assn.
TX Corrections Assn.
TX Probation Assn.
UT Correctional Association
VA Community Criminal Justice Assn.
VA Probation & Parole Assn.
Volunteers of America
WV Assn. of Probation Officers
Western Correctional Assn.

# Technology Update

by Joe **Russo**

## Monitoring Offender's Driving Conditions

How does your agency deal with offenders with suspended, revoked or restricted drivers licenses? How do you monitor compliance with these court orders? How do you really know whether your offenders are driving when they are not supposed to? Various research studies have concluded that up to 75 percent of all drivers with suspended/revoked licenses continue to drive. The harsh reality is that these are very difficult conditions for community corrections officers to enforce, and with caseloads being what they are, monitoring an offender's driving conditions may not receive the attention it should.

If this situation has been a source of frustration for you, take heart because a new technology on the horizon may soon be available to help agencies better supervise the problem-driver. The technology is called the License Sanction Enforcement System (LSES™) and was developed by L-3 Communication's Titan Group. Because of the uniqueness of the technology and its potential application in community corrections, L-3 Titan's Paul Chase, the LSES™ Project Manager, was invited to present his work to the APPA Technology Committee during the 30th Annual Training Institute in New York City. The purpose of the presentation was to expose the committee members to innovative technology in development and to provide the developer with important feedback from practitioners regarding the usefulness of the product.

The LSES™ is, at its core, a sensing and surveillance technology which detects and records a subject's body movements or data signatures and compares them with data signatures that are consistent with those involved in operating a motor vehicle. It accomplishes this through the use of ankle bracelets worn on each leg that contain accelerometers and rate gyros which collect and store the relevant data created by the foot to brake and gas pedal actions and acceleration associated with driving. The LSES™ can store and process subject data for up to 30 days. It is envisioned that an offender monitored via this technology would be instructed to report to his or her supervision officer on a monthly basis at a minimum at which time the officer would upload the stored data from the ankle bracelet to a software program. The program would then analyze the data and determine if and when any motions consistent with driving have occurred. In the case of a restricted license, the data would be compared to the offender's individual situation to determine if the driving event occurred at a time that was prohibited, e.g. outside of normal work hours, etc.

As with any other technology, LSES™ has limitations and some were quickly pointed out by members of the committee. For example, the technology is ineffective for handicapped offenders, who use hand controls to operate motor vehicles and some activities such as operating a riding lawn mower need to be tested further to determine if they could create false positives.

These limitations notwithstanding, the committee felt that the technology could represent a potential solution to a long-standing problem confronting criminal justice. The system passively monitors the subject – not the vehicle – and may prove to be a very useful tool to fill a critical technology gap. In the upcoming months, L-3 Titan will be testing and evaluating prototype devices in the field.

For further information on the APPA Technology Committee or the LSES™ technology please feel free to contact Joe Russo at 800-416-8086 or jrusso@du.edu ▷▷▲

***Joe Russo*** *is Corrections Program Manager for the National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Center in Denver, Colorado and is a chair of the APPA Technology Committee.*


# SMARTesting™ cuts costs, not testing

With more offenders to test — and budgets decreasing — getting a **better return-on-investment** with your drug testing program counts. SMARTesting combines Varian's quality testing products with intelligent data management that helps you **select the most cost effective testing protocol** by:

- identifying positive rates of specific drugs within a geographic region
- eliminating tests that have limited significance
- reducing use of muli-panel tests — targeting drugs of choice

To learn more about SMARTesting:

- call **1•800•737•9667 x3**
- visit our Web site at **www.varian-onsite.com**

VARIAN

# Call for Presenters

American Probation and Parole Association
2007 Winter Training Institute
Atlanta, Georgia • February 11-14, 2007

The American Probation and Parole Association is pleased to issue a call for presenters for the 2007 Winter Training Institute scheduled to be held in Atlanta. Institute participants include community supervision and corrections personnel, the judiciary, treatment providers, criminal justice researchers and others who are interested in the field of community justice. Presentations should relate to the following topics:

- Local Issues
- Staff Health & Safety
- International Issues
- Staff Development/Training
- Juvenile Justice
- Victims
- Direct Supervision/Line Staff Issues
- Evidenced - Based Practices
- Diversity
- Judicial
- Collaborative Effort
- Technology
- Intensive Workshops
- Federal Initiatives and Corporate Sponsors
- Leadership
- Offender Programs
- Restorative Justice

The above-suggested topics are not all-inclusive. Other topics related to the field of community supervision and corrections are acceptable.

## Submission Guidelines

Persons interested in submitting a proposal for consideration should provide the following information needed to comply with APPA training accreditation requirements and to apply for permission to grant continuing education units to a variety of professions (i.e., Social Workers, Substance Abuse Counselors, Continuing Legal Education, etc).

Workshop proposals should provide the following information:

1. **Length of Workshop**:
   - Workshop, 90 minutes (workshops held on Monday, February 12 and Tuesday, February 13)
2. **Workshop Title**: A snappy title that catches the attention of participants and identifies the primary focus of the workshop.
3. **Workshop Description**: A clear, concise, accurate description of the workshop as it will appear in the program (average length is 30 words; submissions in Microsoft Word are preferable).
4. **Training/Learning Objectives**: Describe the measurable skills, knowledge, and/or new capacity the participant will gain as a result of workshop (i.e., at the end of the training, participants will be able to list five of 10 causes of suicide.) List a minimum of three training/learning objectives.
5. **Faculty Information**: Provide name, title, agency, address, phone, and email for all proposed faculty. Panel presentation should consist of no more than two or three persons; however, a fourth can be added as a moderator.
6. **Resume or Vitae**: Include brief resume or vitae of each faculty member.
7. **Primary Contact**: Submit name and complete contact information for person submitting workshop proposal.

Presentation summaries may be emailed **by May 14, 2006** to rloftus@apd.maricopa.gov. Questions regarding submissions should be directed to the National Program Chair:

Rebecca Loftus, Ph.D
Supervisor
Maricopa County Adult Probation
P.O. Box 83345
Phoenix, AZ 85071
Phone: (602) 506-4419
Email: rloftus@apd.maricopa.gov

**Workshop proposals should be received no later than May 14, 2006 and must be received in electronic format in order to be considered.** Winter Institute program committee members will contact the person who nominated the workshops(s) to indicate their selection for the Institute. Please note that it is APPA's policy that, regrettably, expenses and fees associated with participation cannot be reimbursed by APPA.

# Spotlight on Safety

by Robert **Thornton**

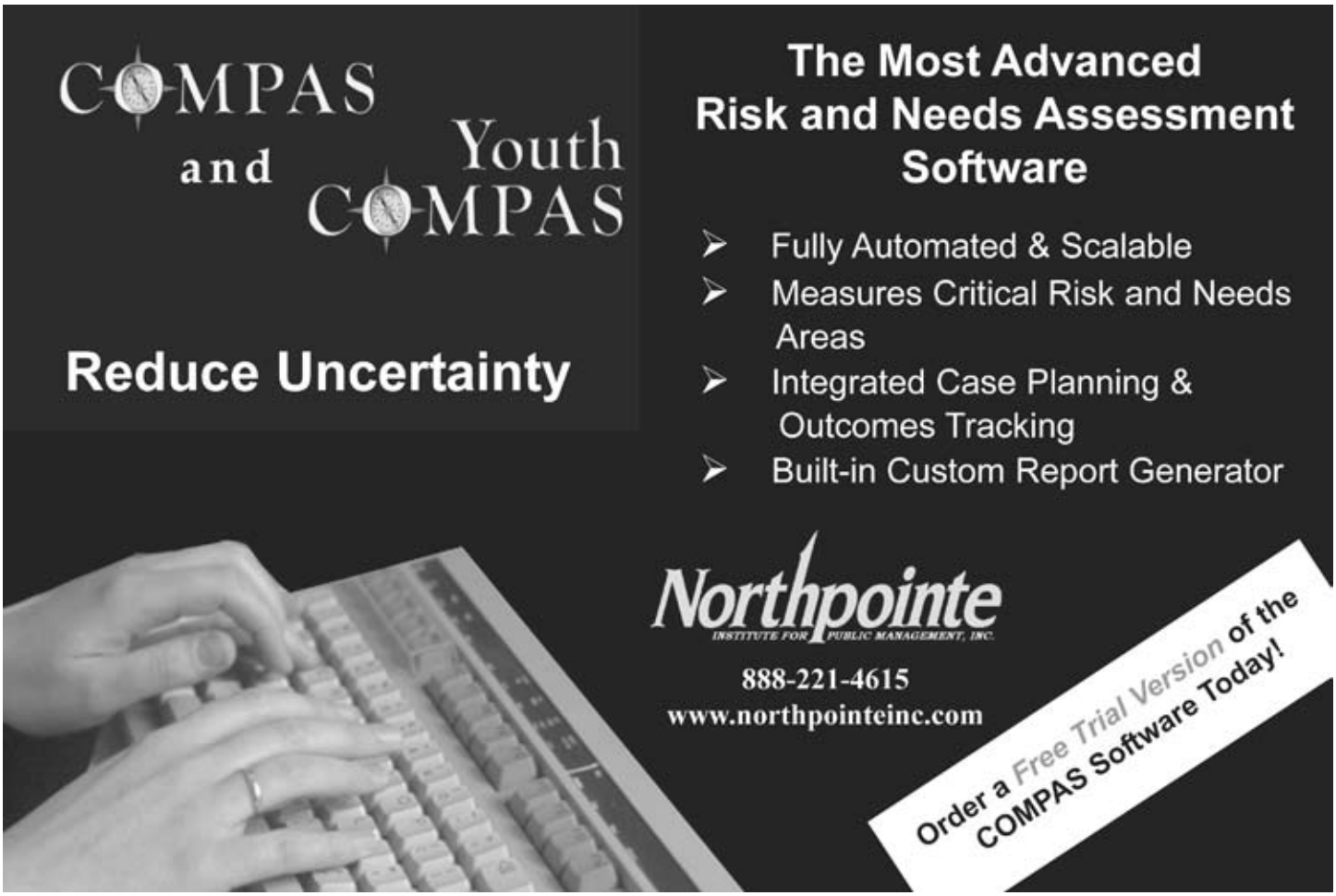
## Establishment of a National Hazardous Incident Reporting Process: A Status Report

APPA has been working with the FBI's Unified Crime Reporting Center, and the Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted (LEOKA) Program to establish a system whereby hazardous duty incidents incurred by all federal, state and local parole, probation and community supervision officers can be reported, and the statistics compiled and published yearly. The benefits of this are numerous, and will hopefully lead to enhancement of evidence based safety training.

At the APPA 2006 Winter Training Institute in Austin, Texas, the Health and Safety Committee again met with representatives of the FBI. After continued discussion, it was decided by all involved that the next course of action is for the committee to review hazardous duty reporting procedures currently in place by various community corrections agencies nationally, and then create a model reporting form that can be presented to the Board of the FBI Crime Reporting Unit for approval. The Health and Safety Committee will also be working with the FBI to establish a process for verification of the information collected.

In the winter 2006 issue of *Perspectives* the "Resolution on Probation, Parole and Community Supervision Officers Killed or Assaulted While on Duty" was published. As stated in the resolution, it is APPA's hope that these statistics will ultimately be collected and published by the FBI. However, APPA is continuing to support H.R. 484, which was also discussed in the "Spotlight on Safety" column of the winter issue of *Perspectives,* which calls for collection of hazardous duty information by the Bureau of Justice Statistics. The bill was referred to the House subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism and Homeland Security on March 2, 2005 and is still in committee.

In either case, a model collection form for the collection of hazardous duty ▹▹▹



information is needed. To that end, APPA is requesting your input regarding hazardous duty issues you feel are important and should be collected. While you may have a hazardous duty reporting form in place, we are asking that you do more than just forward a copy of that form. Let us know specifically what types of hazardous duty information should be collected, keeping in mind that with this information we can help agencies provide sound, evidenced based training that will enhance the safety of all officers, both in the office and in the field.

Please forward your responses, policies and forms to Diane Kincaid at dkincaid@csg.org or fax them to her at (859) 244-8001 by April 15, 2006. ▷▷▲

***Robert L. Thornton*** *is the Chair of the APPA Health and Safety Committee and the Director of the Community Corrections Institute in Springdale, WA.*

**ADE Incorporated**

Computerized Assessment Instruments for Substance Use Disorders

**ADE is an industry leader, providing quality, proven, tools for efficient assessments and accurate referrals for more than 20 years.**

**NEEDS** *Comprehensive Assessment Instrument for Adults*

**SALCE** *Substance Abuse Life Circumstance Evaluation*

**JASAE** *Juvenile Automated Substance Abuse Evaluation*

**ADE's instruments feature:**

- Reliability, Objectivity & Consistency
- DSM IV and ASAM Guidelines for Substance Abuse
- Over 95% agreement with professional interviews
- Automatically accumulated database
- Free database analysis program
- Outcome measures
- Client Tracking Program
- English and Spanish versions (written and audio)

**For more information on how ADE can help with your assessment needs, call 1-800-334-1918**

ADE Incorporated
P.O. Box 660
Clarkston, MI 48347
www.adeincorp.com

Software Solutions
For Human Problems

As a member of APPA, have you...

**...been receiving the e-newsletter, CC Headlines and More...twice each month?**

**...been receiving notices on new training opportunities for probation, parole and community corrections?**

**...been receiving notices about free on-line training seminars?**

Do you want to know when APPA's resource kit for Probation, Parole and Community Supervision Week is available?

Have you received surveys from APPA asking you for information and opinions on such topics as supervision of illegal aliens, leadership succession planning or hazardous incident reporting?

If you are not receiving all these messages, we may not have your correct email address. Please contact Diane Kincaid at dkincaid@csg.org with your current email address or if you have questions about the emails you receive from APPA.

APPA wants to make sure you are up to date on all association activities and we need feedback from you on what's happening in the field — so, stay in touch!

American Probation and Parole Association

# Corporate Members

*Corporations with an interest in the field of probation, parole and community corrections are invited to become APPA corporate members. Corporate members receive benefits such as enhanced visibility among APPA's nationwide network of community corrections professionals, as well as shared information on the latest trends and issues that specifically affect community corrections.*

*For more information on corporate membership, please contact:*
**Susan Meeks, APPA, c/o The Council of State Governments, P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40578-1910 (859) 244-8205 Fax (859) 244-8001, Email: smeeks@csg.org**

### American Bio Medica Corporation
Carol Hall
Marketing Administrative Assistant
122 Smith Road
Kinderhook, NY 12106
Phone: (800) 227-1243
Fax: (518) 758-8172
Email: chall@abmc.com
Website: www.abmc.com

### BI Incorporated
Monica Hook
MarketingCommunications Manager
6400 Lookout Road, Suite 101
Boulder, CO 80301
Phone: (800) 241-2911
Fax: (303) 218-1250
Email: monica.hook@bi.com
Website: www.bi.com

### G4S Justice Services, Inc.
Daniel McPhee
Sales Manager
30201Adventura
Rancho Santa Margarita, CA 92688
Phone: (800) 589-6003
Fax: (800) 327-1178
Email: daniel.mcphee@us.gs4.com
Website: www.g4s.com

### Hythiam, Inc.
Arlandis Rush
V.P. of Government Affairs
11150 Santa Monica Blvd. #1500
Los Angeles, CA 90025
Phone: (310) 444-3456
Fax: (310) 444-5300
Email: arush@hythiam.com
Website: www.hythiam.com

### iSecuretrac Corporation
Marke Trampe
Marketing Coordinator
5078 S. 11th Street
Omaha, NE 68137
Phone: (402) 537-0022
Fax: (402) 537-9847
Email: mtrampe@isecuretrac.com
Website: www.isecuretrac.com

### Loryx Systems
Robert Schwab
395 Oyster Point Blvd
South San Francisco, CA 94080
Phone: (650) 872-5000
Fax: (650) 873-7194
Email: rob@loryxsystems.com
Website: www.loryxsystems.com

### National Curriculum and Training Institute
Gary Bushkin
President
319 East McDowell Road
Suite 200
Phoenix, AZ 85004-1534
Phone: (602) 252-3100
Fax: (602) 252-4736
Email: gbushkin@NCTI.org
Website: www.ncti.org

### roboCUFF℠
Andrew Cohen
V.P. Business Development
344 Maple Avenue West
Suite 250
Vienna, VA 22180
Phone: (703) 242-9400
Fax: (703) 941-2152
Email: acohen@anytransactions.com
Website: www.anytransactions.com

### Varian, Inc.
Jacquie Sheehey
Marketing Manager
13000 Weston Parkway
Cary, NC 27513
Phone: (800) 737-9667
Email: jacquie.sheehey@varian.com
Website: www.varian-onsite.com

MHS
PUBLIC SAFETY

# SHQ–R Reveals the Whole Story


The ***Clarke Sex History Questionnaire for Males–Revised (SHQ–R)*** examines the potential for multiple deviance, regardless of the behavior the adult male presents. When the offender completes the self-report questionnaire, he records his sexual history and preferences and reveals the true range of his sexual experience.

- The Clarke SHQ–R multiple-choice questionnaire gathers the details of the entire sexual history.
- Recently revised, the 30-year-old SHQ–R has two additional scales that add to the overall validity of the assessment.
- The assessment measure six main categories of sexual experiences, each of which has various scales for quantitative assessment.

Contact an MHS Client Service Specialist today to learn more about the Clarke SHQ–R and many other Public Safety assessment tools.

**Phone:** 1.800.456.3003 or +1.416.492.2627 • www.mhs.com • customerservice@mhs.com

# Research Update

by David **Karp**, Rebecca **Herman** and Tamara **McEwan**

## Recent Research on the Families of Inmates

*In 1999, an estimated 721,500 state and federal prisoners were parents to 1,498,800 children under the age of 18. This number had risen by over 500,000 since 1991 and is likely to be much larger today (Mumola 2000). In this research update, we examine the effect that incarcerated parents have on their children. We look at the extent of the problem, the effect of death sentences on offenders' families, the impact on children for both incarcerated fathers and mothers, and research on parental training programs for incarcerated parents.*

### Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report: Incarcerated Parents and Their Children.

Mumola, Christopher J., U.S. Department of Justice. August, 2000.

This report is based on the 1997 Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities by the Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics. In 1997, nearly 1.5 million American children have one or more incarcerated parents. However, only 44 percent of the fathers and 64 percent of the mothers reported living with their children prior to incarceration. Therefore, in many cases, the detrimental effects of witnessing a parent's arrest or sudden absence from the home may be less traumatic for these children. Imprisoned fathers frequently cite their child's mother as the current caregiver during his imprisonment and mothers tend to cite the child's grandparents or other relatives. In addition, 48 percent of the parents in State prison and 38 percent in federal prison report they have never been married.

The children who may warrant the most concern are those who find themselves abandoned when their parent(s) get arrested. According to this study, 31 percent of imprisoned mothers, about one-third, had been living alone with their children in the month before their arrest. Additionally, a majority of parents in both state ▷▷▷

(62 percent) and federal (84 percent) prison were in custody more than 100 miles from the location of their children.

Forty-five percent of fathers in state prison were violent offenders, compared to 26 percent of mothers, who were most likely to have been incarcerated for drug offenses. Approximately one in seven parents in state prison reported mental illness and 18 percent of mothers in state prison had been homeless in the year prior to admission.

### Incarcerated Mothers reports of Their Daughters' Anti-Social Behavior, Maternal Supervision, and Mother Daughter Relationships

Shonda Lawrence-Wills, Ph.D, *Journal of Family Social Work*, 2004. 8: 55-73

Given that the number of incarcerated mothers has grown 106 percent since 1990, this study examines the consequences for mother-daughter relationships. Do, for example, daughters follow in their mothers' footsteps? This study measures the effects of positive mother-daughter relations on the level of antisocial behavior exhibited by their daughters and whether strong maternal supervision produced less antisocial behavior and delinquency. In this study, the mother-daughter relationship refers to the amount of interaction, communication and affection between the mother and her daughter. Maternal supervision refers to maternal monitoring and guidance of daughter's activities before incarceration. The study included 99 incarcerated mothers who had at least one daughter between the ages of 10-17, and who lived with their daughters immediately prior to incarceration. The author found that the more positive the mother-daughter relationship the lower levels of involvement in anti-social behavior. This finding is important because it shows that despite incarceration, mothers can have positive relationships with their daughters. However, maternal supervision was not statistically associated with anti-social behavior or delinquency. This finding reinforces the need for positive relationships because the findings show that maternal supervision alone does not affect daughters' involvement in anti-social behavior. The research implies that mother-daughter relationships do not necessarily require high levels of maternal supervision; almost two-thirds of the daughters continued to have contact with their mothers by means of telephone.

### Parental Training for Incarcerated Fathers: Effects on Attitudes, Self-Esteem, and Children's Self-Perceptions

Kim Harrison, *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 1997. 137: 588-593.

Incarcerated fathers comprise almost half of the prison population and each father is likely to have at least two children. Most incarcerated fathers (80 percent) say they would like to improve their parenting skills and have positive relationships with their children. This study hypothesized that parental training will lead to positive outcomes for both the fathers and their children. The study was conducted with 30 inmates in an Oklahoma correctional facility and their children, aged 8 to 17. Half of the inmates were assigned to the experimental group and received education in parenting and behavior-management. The curriculum included child development (pregnancy to adolescents), behavioral management techniques, the roles of parents and step-parents, discipline, children's confidence, and communication. The program lasted six weeks, meeting 7.5 hours per week. The control group did not receive instruction; instead, they viewed videotapes on parenting and discussed the videos among themselves.

The training for the experimental group was found to be more effective than the training received in the control group by improving fathers' attitudes towards child rearing. However, the program did not improve the inmates' or the children's self esteem. The author notes some important obstacles to the training. First, communication between father and child was limited due to lack of transportation, insufficient funding, distance between child's home and the prison and stigmatization of incarceration. Even when the father's were encouraged to communicate with their children via telephone, the father's expressed feelings of embarrassment and guilt, which may have been induced by the program's emphasis on proper parenting.

### Offenders' Family Members' Responses to Capital Crimes: The Need for Restorative Justice Initiatives

Sarah Eschholz, Mark D. Reed, Elizabeth Beck, and Pamela Blume Leonard, *Homicide Studies:* 2003, 7: 154-181

The authors conducted 19 qualitative interviews with family members of men convicted of a capital homicide. The only two conditions for participation were that the family member continued their relationship with the offender and that the victim was not an immediate family member. The family members involved in the interviews were at various stages of the criminal justice system. Thirteen of the offenders related to the interviewees received the death sentence, while the others received life sentences. The authors found that offenders' family members are greatly distressed by the crime. Much like homicide victims' families, offenders' families often experience (1) intrusion—which means that a family member reported repeated thoughts or dreams about the event, (2) avoidance or numbing — characterized by diminished relations to certain people or communities after the event, and (3) hyperarousal — the inability to sleep, becoming irritable and difficulty concentrating. Many family members also felt guilt; one family

member stated, "I mean we all felt like we had the gun in our hands that day." Many also reported feeling guilt for having to testify against their own family member.

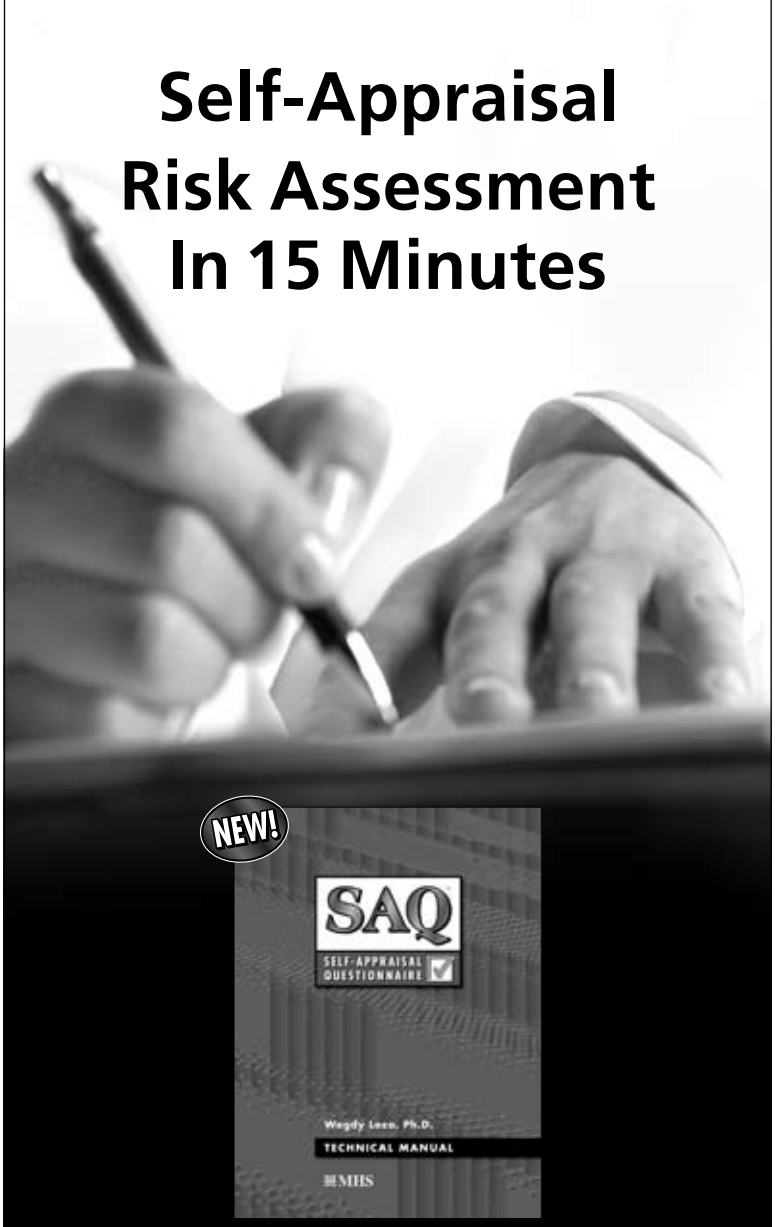
Because the offenders' families often experience similar traumatic emotions to victims' families, the authors propose using restorative justice in place of retribution. They advocate facilitated dialogue between offenders' and victims' families to offset the courts' tendency to foster an adversarial relationship that fails to meet either family's needs. ▷▷▲

---

***David R. Karp*** *is an Associate Professor of Sociology at Skidmore College in Saratoga Springs, New York.* ***Rebecca Herman*** *and* ***Tamara McEwan*** *are sociology majors at Skidmore College.*

MHS
PUBLIC SAFETY

# Self-Appraisal Risk Assessment In 15 Minutes




The **Self-Appraisal Questionnaire (SAQ)**, new from MHS, provides an estimate of risk without reliance on interviews or extensive file reviews.

The SAQ takes *only 15 minutes* to complete, and requires minimal training to administer, which makes it a very cost-effective instrument.

**Order the SAQ today.**

**Phone:** 1.800.456.3003 or +1.416.492.2627
www.mhs.com • customerservice@mhs.com

American Probation and Parole Association

# 31st Annual Training Institute

## Embracing the Winds of ChaNge

July 23-26, 2006 • Chicago, Illinois

### Attend the #1 Educational Resource for Commmunity Corrections!

Over **80** educational sessions tailored to your issues and packed with practical ideas.

**Build** your career with continuing education credit.

**Connect** with your peers as you enjoy networking opportunities.

**Energize** yourself and return to your job ready to motivate others.

### Where it All Happens

As one of the world's great cities, Chicago provides wonderful cultural and leisure attractions: spectacular shopping, incredible dining, internationally renowned museums, exciting nightlife and much more. Come explore Chicago and discover everything this beautiful city has to offer.

**The Hilton Chicago Hotel,** located in the heart of all Chicago centers of business and culture, offers guest a picturesque view of Grant Park and Lake Michigan. A city-within-a-city, the Hilton Chicago offers contemporary amenities such as a state-of-the-art athletic club and diverse dining options from pub food to steak to bistro like fare.

APPA has secured a reduced rate of $137 for single or double occupancy for Institute attendees. To make lodging reservations, call the Hilton Chicago at 312-922-4400 or toll-free at (877) 865-5320. Please state that you are attending the APPA Institute to receive the group rate *(Nominal fee included to cover equipment and labor costs.)*

### Supporting Partners

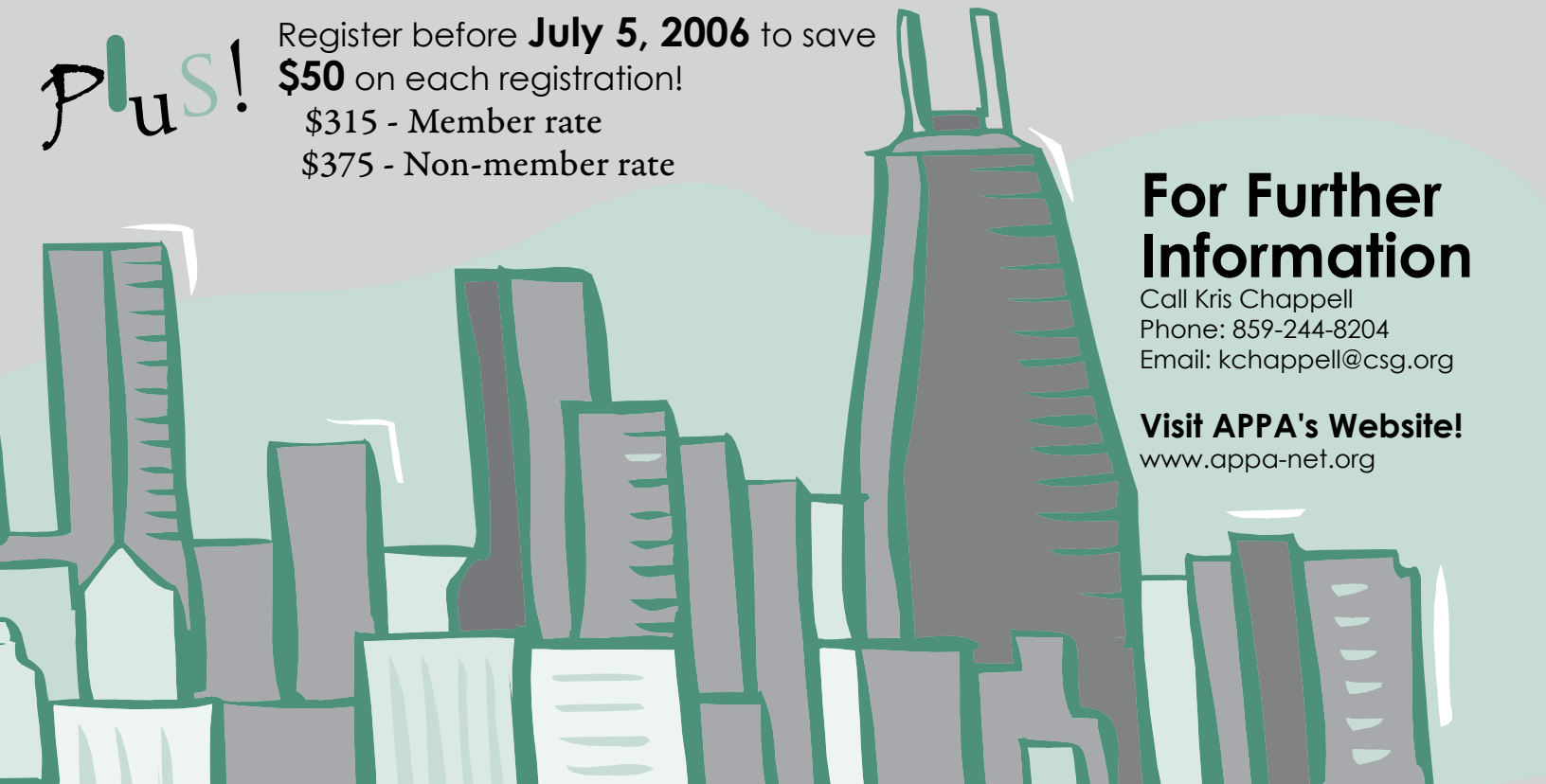
Illinois Probation and Court Services Association
Federal Probation and Pretrial Officers Association

### Host Agency

Cook County Adult Probation Department

### Plus!

Register before **July 5, 2006** to save **$50** on each registration!
$315 - Member rate
$375 - Non-member rate



### For Further Information

Call Kris Chappell
Phone: 859-244-8204
Email: kchappell@csg.org

**Visit APPA's Website!**
www.appa-net.org

# Registration Form

APPA 31st Annual Training Institute • July 23-26, 2006 • Chicago, IL

Please use a photocopy of this form for each registrant. Please print clearly.

Last Name: _____ First Name: _____

Title: _____ Agency/Organization: _____

Business Telephone: _____ Business Fax: _____

Address: _____

*(location where confirmation should be sent)*

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Email Addresss: _____

## Registration Fees

| *Includes general sessions, exhibit receptions and workshops. (All fees are per person.)* | Early Rate Before July 5 | On or After July 6 | Amount |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Member of APPA or co-sponsoring Assn.** | $315 | $365 | $ _____ |
| To qualify for this rate you must be a member of one of the following (please mark those that you hold current membership in)<br>❒ APPA Member - Please indicate your membership category and your membership number.<br>❒ Individual member ❒ Agency member<br>Membership # \|_\|_\|_\|_\|_\|_\|_\| Expiration Date \|_\|_\| — \|_\|_\|_\|_\|<br>❒ Illinois Probation and Court Services Association ❒ Federal Probation and Pretrial Officers Association | | | |
| **Non-member** | $375 | $425 | $ _____ |
| If you are not a member of APPA or or the co-sponsoring associations, you are required to pay the regular registration fee. Memberships will be verified. | | | |
| **New! Student Registration – Attend 7/25** | $99 | N/A | $ _____ |
| Student registration includes all workshops and exhibit hall entrance for Tuesday, July 25. (Rate does not include lunch, however tickets may be purchased.) Student registration is available to full-time students not employed in the corrections field. Copy of student ID required with registration form. Student registration ends July 5. | | | |
| **APPA Accredited Contact Hours** | $10 | $10 | $ _____ |
| **Intensive Sessions** | $35 | $35 | $ _____ |
| Available only to registrants of Institute. Attendance at intensive sessions only is not permitted.<br>Specify Intensive Session #_____ | | | |
| **Family Registration** | $75 | $75 | $ _____ |
| This rate is available to immediate family members not employed in the corrections field.<br>Allows entry into general sessions, exhibit receptions and workshops. Luncheon is not included.<br>Specify Family member's name _____ | | | |
| **Luncheon Ticket (July 25)** | $55 | $55 | $ _____ |
| One luncheon ticket is included in full registration. Registration fee for family members does not include a luncheon ticket | | | |
| **CSOM Training** ❒ check box to register | | | |
| In order to attend the CSOM training, advance registration for the APPA Institute is required. All CSOM training participants must be paid registrants of the APPA Institute. The CSOM training is offered at no additional charge, however space is limited. | | | |
| **APPA Membership**<br>One year of individual membership. | $50<br>❒ New Member | $50<br>❒ Renewal | $ _____<br>61-16-00-1000-4020 |
| **Grand Total Enclosed** | | | $ _____<br>61-16-00-2070-4401 |

## Payment

❒ Check Enclosed ❒ Government Purchase Order Enclosed; PO # _____

Charge to: ❒ VISA ❒ MasterCard ❒ American Express

Card Number: _____

V code: _____ Expiration Date: _____

*(3 digit code located in the signature line on the back of the card immedialty following credit card number)*

Signature: _____ Date: _____

## Special Assistance

❒ Please check if you require special provisions to fully participate in this Institute. Attach a written description of needs.

## Confirmation/Refund Policy

A full refund, less a $50 processing fee, is available until July 5, 2006. **No refunds are available after July 5.** In order to receive a refund, written requests must be sent to the APPA Institute, c/o The Council of State Governments, P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40578-1910 or faxed to (859) 244-8001. All requests for refunds must be postmarked or faxed by July 5.

## Mail this form to:

APPA Institute
c/o The Council of State Governments
P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40578

## or Fax to:

(859) 244-8001

or register online at www.appa-net.org

To better plan Institute workshops and activities, please supply us with the following information.

**Job Jurisdiction**
- ❒ Federal
- ❒ State
- ❒ County
- ❒ City
- ❒ Private firm/business
- ❒ Academic Institution
- ❒ Province
- ❒ Nonprofit organization
- ❒ Other _____

**Primary Work Area**
- ❒ Juvenile Probation & Parole
- ❒ Adult Probation & Parole
- ❒ Adult Probation
- ❒ Adult Parole
- ❒ Juvenile Probation
- ❒ Juvenile Parole/Aftercare
- ❒ Residential
- ❒ Non - Residential
- ❒ Treatment Provider
- ❒ Academia
- ❒ Other _____

**Length of Experience in Corrections**
- ❒ Less than 2 years
- ❒ 2-5 years
- ❒ 6-10 years
- ❒ 11-15 years
- ❒ 16-20 years
- ❒ 21-25 years
- ❒ More than 26 years

**Highest Level of Education**
- ❒ Graduate Equivalency Diploma(GED)
- ❒ High School Diploma
- ❒ Associate's Degree
- ❒ Bachelor's Degree
- ❒ Master's Degree
- ❒ Doctorate

**Geographical Area**
- ❒ Urban (pop. over 50,000)
- ❒ Rural (pop. under 50,000)

**Gender**
- ❒ Male
- ❒ Female

**Professional Category**
- ❒ Line Personnel
- ❒ Commissioner/ Director/Chief
- ❒ Administrator
- ❒ Consultant
- ❒ Trainer
- ❒ Parole Board Member
- ❒ Judge
- ❒ Attorney
- ❒ Educator/ Researcher
- ❒ Private Sector/ Corporate
- ❒ Retired
- ❒ Student
- ❒ Other

**Race/Ethnicity**
- ❒ African American
- ❒ Caucasian
- ❒ Hispanic
- ❒ Native American
- ❒ Asian
- ❒ Other

**Mark all Expenses that are Reimbursed**
- ❒ Registration
- ❒ Travel-Air
- ❒ Travel-Ground
- ❒ Meals

**Mark Past Attendance at APPA Annual Institute**
- ❒ First Time
- ❒ 2-4
- ❒ 5-6
- ❒ 7-9
- ❒ 10 or more

APPA Federal ID # 56-1150454

# Recasting Parole Supervision As We Know It!

## Revisiting Parole and Community Supervision

There is a renewed interest in the role and efficacy of parole and other forms of post-release supervision. Jeremy Travis (2005) has called for a "new jurisprudence of parole" grounded in new language and new operational constructs informed by the recognition that the vast majority of those sent to prison return home. Under President Mark Carey, the American Probation and Parole Association has formed an Ad Hoc Committee on Reentry to consider parole supervision. The committee plans, among several tasks, to produce a "blueprint for practice;" a document that addresses how best to link preparation in prison with parole supervision strategies supportive of offenders' successful transitions home during the first 90 days following their release. Recently, the Committee on Law and Justice, a standing committee of the National Research Council, appointed an ad hoc committee to prepare a report assessing the current state of parole and post-release supervision practices. It will also review new and emerging models of community supervision and make recommendations regarding their effectiveness in promoting rehabilitation, desistance from crime, and successful reentry.

This welcome surge of attention springs from the national dialogue centering on the reentry movement in corrections. In many respects, efforts to retool under reentry represent a still nascent trend within the field. Nonetheless, it reflects an energizing redirection in emphasis targeting how offenders are prepared to return to the community following a period of incarceration. In a relatively brief span of time, numerous efforts have been launched to build more effective and innovative responses to the myriad challenges presented by reentry. A growing body of publications is now beginning to emerge as well offering timely and insightful analyses of what is known and not known in terms of research and knowledge about this topic (Petersilia, 2003; Travis 2005; Travis and Visher, 2005).

The ever expanding interest in reentry is fueled by many factors. Perhaps the most notable one is the acknowledgement by legislators, correctional leaders, and other key stakeholders that public safety is sorely compromised when hundreds of thousands of prisoners released from prison are singularly ill-equipped and poorly supported in their attempts to succeed in the free world. If past and current recidivism trends offer an accurate barometer relative to the risks these offenders present to public safety in years to come, the forecast is sobering.

## The Constancy of Recidivism and the Urban Institute's Report on Parole

Starting with Daniel Glaser's well-known classic entitled *The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System* (1964), and continuing through the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) cohort studies done for releasees from both 1983 (Beck and Shipley, 1989), and 1994 (Langan and Levin, 2002), the outcomes show one thing very clearly: rates

by Edward **Rhine,** Ph.D

of recidivism for offenders released from prison over several decades have demonstrated a remarkable constancy. They have remained stubbornly, and from a public policy point of view, unacceptably high. It is important to note that there are significant differences in those who are released after serving their first term in prison versus what happens to all those who are released from confinement. As Tonry notes, "[o]f those released from prison the first time, only about a third reoffend. Of all people released from prison, typically two-thirds reoffend" (2004: 171). Tonry's admonition is important to keep in mind as prevailing sensibilities about crime control have directed the focus towards the releasee population as a whole. Nonetheless, it is within the latter group that the challenges associated with offender recidivism are found.

The most recent of the BJS cohort studies referenced above reinforces Tonry's observation. As it reveals, two-thirds of the individuals released from prison in 1994 were rearrested for at least one crime, including felonies or serious misdemeanors, within three years following their prison stay. Just under one-half were convicted of a new crime. One-quarter were re-sentenced to prison based on their convictions for such crimes ((Langan and Levin 2002). In a comprehensive and incisive treatment of reentry, Petersilia (2003: 144) states that "persons being released from prison today are doing less well than their counterparts released a decade ago in successfully reintegrating into their communities. More of them are being rearrested; these arrests are occurring more quickly; and as a group, ex-convicts are accounting for a larger share of all serious crimes experienced in the United States."

In 2005 the Urban Institute issued a report called *Does Parole Work? Analyzing the Impact of Postprison Supervision on Rearrest Outcomes* (Solomon, Kachnowski, and Bhati). The goal of the report was to contribute to the rather thin knowledge base relative to what was known about the efficacy of parole supervision in increasing public safety and supporting offenders' reentry transitions. The authors drew primarily on a sample of 38,624 prisoners representative of the 272,111 offenders from the original 1994 BJS cohort study. The report presented a comparative analysis of those individuals granted discretionary release, mandatory releases, and those released without supervision using rearrest outcomes for a two year follow-up period.

The results of this study indicated that on the whole parole supervision exerted little impact on the rearrest rates of new prisoners. The authors found that the greatest percentage of released prisoners, mandatory parolees, performed no better on supervision than similar offenders released without supervision. Those offenders subject to discretionary parole release fared only slightly better when personal characteristics and criminal histories were taken into account. According to Solomon, Kachnowski, and Bhati, "the public safety impact of supervision is minimal and often nonexistent among the largest shares of the release cohort – male property, drug, and violent offenders...While postprison supervision may have modest effects on recidivism in some cases, it does not appear to improve rearrest rates for the largest subsets of released prisoners" (2005: 15).

The report presented several reasons why parole, as "typically implemented," was not as effective as it might be. It also looked to the future in commenting that the opportunity now exists to rethink, if not reinvent, parole supervision. The aim of such an undertaking, according to the authors, should be to strengthen its effectiveness relative to producing public safety outcomes that increase the likelihood of successfully reintegrating the more than 650,000 offenders returning home each year following a period of confinement.

## Sustaining the Dialogue

The articles that follow are intended to extend the dialogue that ensued after the publication of the Urban Institute's report (see: Paparozzi 2005; Taxman 2005; Wicklund 2005). The articles were written by well-known public policy analysts, academicians, and researchers in the field of community corrections. The articles are not designed to provide "solutions" per se to the seemingly problematic outcomes associated with parole supervision, nor to criticize the good faith efforts of professionals in the field who seek to make a difference in the work they do. If the reexamination of parole is to create public value and produce practices that contribute tangibly to public safety, it is first necessary to engage in a robust, research-informed and policy-resonant debate about getting parole supervision right!

Amy Solomon, the lead author of the Urban Institute's study, begins the series with a thoughtful and condensed commentary of the original report. Her article entitled "Does Parole Supervision Work? Research Findings and Policy Opportunities," begins by observing why it is important to study parole supervision, followed by a summary of the research findings presented in the initial report, including an assessment of its limitations. At the same time, she addresses several of the methodological criticisms that were directed at its findings. Subsequent sections of her paper highlight the unique policy opportunities and supervision strategies that might be considered by parole agencies challenging those approaches that represent a continuation of "business-as-usual." As Solomon concludes, given the national momentum associated with offender reentry, "there is a real opportunity – if not obligation – to think big and expect more from parole."

The next article by Faye Taxman poses the question "What Should We Expect From Parole (and Probation) Under a Behavioral Management Approach?" Taxman states that the findings reported in the Urban Institute's study should not come as a surprise given the disproportionate reliance by many parole agencies on antiquated supervision technologies focusing mainly on offender monitoring and face-to-face contacts. She goes on to offer a comparative ▷▷▷



summary of these 1st generation parole supervision strategies, followed by a consideration of 2nd generation programming (wherein treatment is folded into community supervision). Taxman continues with an incisive discussion of 3rd generation advancements in supervision. The latter is framed within a "behavioral management strategy" that targets supervision outcomes, purposive goal-directive face-to-face contacts, and the changing role, functions, and responsibilities of parole officers and other community supervision agents in instructing and modeling prosocial behavior. As Taxman argues, "the day has come for community supervision to step up and become the most critical component of the correctional and criminal justice system."

A similar question, albeit with a different conclusion, is posed by Jim Austin in his article entitled "What Should We Expect From Parole?" He begins by commenting on several methodological issues associated with the Urban Institute's study. His primary focus, however, is to explain why it is unreasonable to expect any correctional agency to have sufficient organizational capacity to change offender behavior over a one to two year period of time. Austin describes what is known about the relative efficacy (and ineffectiveness) of parole and probation supervision drawing on extant research, challenging many traditional assumptions expressed in the discourse of policymakers and community corrections practitioners. He goes on to discuss the elements of a reconfigured, evidence-based system of parole (and probation) supervision that looks very different than what is done by field agencies in most jurisdictions today. His proposed model is intended to bring a dose of reality to the mission of community supervision consistent with the constraints imposed currently by its budgeted resources and work force. He closes by stating that "asking parole to reduce crime and recidivism rates is simply a burden that parole should no longer bear."

The next article by Anne Morrison Piehl is entitled "Debating the Effectiveness of Parole." She notes that it is very difficult to answer the question "Does Parole Work?" raising concern that despite the laudable efforts by the Urban Institute to draw policy lessons from the existing database, it is not possible to offer a straightforward response one way or the other. Piehl offers a compelling discussion of what the term "parole" means, as well as what the term "work" or parole success and failure means, especially when comparing differences in supervision outcomes across states. She argues that the evaluation of parole supervision must begin with an empirical understanding of the effects of multiple system parts, most notably, laws, agencies, and practices that shape not only who receives parole, but the duration, intensity, and enforcement patterns of those responsible for post-release supervision. She proposes an ambitious, multi-pronged research agenda to assist decision-makers in refining both their policy positions, and case management strategies by truly testing ideas about the best way to organize and conduct community supervision – as a necessary pre-condition to meaningful and lasting reform within the field.

## Conclusion

Despite some variation in emphasis, the articles above share several themes in common. First, they recognize that it is important and timely to refocus attention on the mission and strategies adopted by parole or post-release supervision agencies in conversation with the larger reentry movement in corrections. Second, they support the need to guide the development of future policies and reforms by drawing on available research and knowledge, or what is increasingly referred to as evidence-based practice. The articles call for a more informed approach to enacting policies, programs, and supervision strategies that are mindful of the extent to which offenders' liberty interests, as well as the prospects for their prosocial change may be facilitated (or compromised) during the period of time they are under community supervision.

As is well known, the parole population totaled well over three-quarters of a million offenders at the end of 2004 (Glaze and Palla: 2005). Somewhere between six and seven million offenders will be released from prison during the next decade. These numbers suggest there is an urgency to recraft the narrative, discourse, and practice of parole or post-release supervision. Engaging in a sustained dialogue aimed at understanding and improving the chances of successful reentry through the revitalization of parole and other forms of community supervision is essential if released offenders are to establish crime-free lives. The articles above show that this dialogue is already well underway. ▷▷▲

## References


Beck, A and B Shipley. (1989). "Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1983." Washington, D.C.: *Bureau of Justice Statistics.*

Glaser, D. (1964). *The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System.* New York. Bobbs-Merrill.

Langan, P. and David Levin. (2002). "Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994." Washington, D.C.: *Bureau of Justice Statistics.*

Paparozzi, M. (2005). "Does Parole Work? Asked and Answered!" American Probation and Parole Association.

Petersilia, J. (2003). *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Solomon, A., V. Kachnowski,, and A. Bhati. (2005). *Does Parole Work: Analyzing the Impact of Postprison Supervision on Rearrest Outcomes*. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.

Taxman, F. (2005). "What Do We *Really* Expect From Parole?" American Probation and Parole Association.

Tonry, M. (2004). *Thinking About Crime: Sense and Sensibility in American Penal Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Travis, J. (2005). *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry.* Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press.

Travis, J. and C. Visher. (2005). eds. *Prisoner Reentry and Crime in American.* Cambridge, England: The Urban Institute Press.

Wicklund, C. (2005). "Response to the Urban Institute Report – *Does Parole Work*?" American Probation and Parole Association


***Edward Rhine, Ph.D.*** *is the Deputy Director of the Office of Policy and Offender Reentry at Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction*

MHS
PUBLIC SAFETY

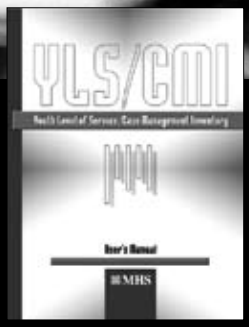
# Flexibility At Your Fingertips

The ***Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI™)*** and the ***Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (YLS/CMI™)*** are available in a variety of formats. Choose the one that best suits your institution's size and needs:

- Customize and integrate your current offender management system and intake procedures, using our turnkey software solutions.
- Generate accurate reports at a click of the mouse, using our stand-alone software.
- Administer with ease and minimal training, using the paper and pencil format.

Contact an MHS Client Service Specialist today to learn more about these and many other Public Safety assessment tools.


Designed for adult males and females, the **LS/CMI™** assists probation officers, psychologists, and correctional workers in assessing client needs and strengths. It combines risk assessment and case management into one evidence-based practice system.




Designed for adolescents and teenagers, the **YLS/CMI™** is an evidence-based practice system that assists probation officers, psychologists, and correctional workers in assessing client needs and strengths. It is a risk/needs assessment with a case management component.

**Phone:** 1.800.456.3003 or +1.416.492.2627
www.mhs.com • customerservice@mhs.com



# Does Parole Supervision Work?

## Research Findings and Policy Opportunities

### Introduction

My first real job was in a parole office – "field supervision unit" as they called it. As a VISTA Volunteer developing transition programs for prisoners reentering the free world, I saw firsthand the complexities of reentry and the parole officer's role in the process. I learned immensely from my parole and treatment staff colleagues. I was constantly impressed with their ability to both sanction and encourage parolees, particularly in the face of high caseloads and limited time, tools and resources. It was also apparent, however, in my office – as around the country – that parole officers were driven by making their contacts and monitoring compliance with the many conditions of release. The ultimate goal – preventing reoffending, breaking substance abuse habits, and, in the end, changing parolees' lives for the better – was often more elusive.

This job was an important, inspiring work experience for me, cementing my long-term interest in criminal justice policy and, specifically, the issue of prisoner reentry. Over the past 15 years I have changed hats, moving from practitioner to researcher. The study, entitled, *Does Parole Work? Analyzing the Impact of Postprison Supervision on Rearrest Outcomes*,[1] describes a recent attempt to assess the impact of parole supervision on recidivism. This article begins with an argument

by Amy L. **Solomon**

for why we should study supervision, followed by an overview of the research. It concludes with some thoughts about policy opportunities for the field, arguing that the current focus on prisoner reentry provides a timely opportunity to "reinvent" parole.

## Why Study Post-Prison Supervision?

There are many important reasons to study community supervision, including:

**Many people are on parole.** Each year, over 650,000 individuals are released from state and federal prisons across the country (Harrison and Beck 2005). Most – about 80 percent – are released to supervision in the community following their prison stay. Parolees spend an average of 26 months on post-prison supervision (Hughes et al., 2001), and at any given time there are about 765,000 on parole (not to mention another four million on probation) (Glaze and Palla 2005).

**Failure rates are high.** Less than half (46 percent) of all parolees successfully complete parole without violating a condition of release, absconding, or committing a new crime (Glaze and Palla 2005). As a result, over 200,000 parolees return to prison each year (BJS 2000). Nationally, parole violators account for about one third of all prison admissions, and therefore account for a sizable fraction of many state's correctional budgets (Jacobson 2005).

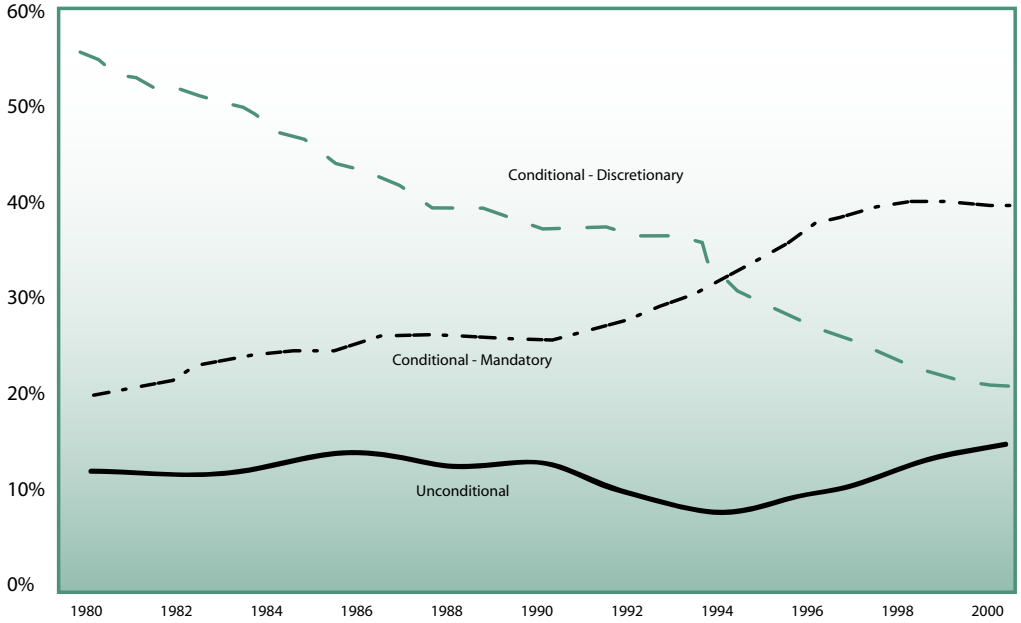
**The way prisoners are released has changed substantially over time.** While the majority of prisoners used to be released by a parole board, "discretionary release" has declined from about 55 percent of all releases in 1980 to just 24 percent in 2000 (Hughes et al., 2001). Mandatory releases now account for about 40 percent of all releases from prison, up from less than 20 percent in 1980. Prisoners released without supervision account for about one-fifth of all prison releases. (See "Three Study Groups" below, for more discussion about each type of release.) It is unclear how this major shift in method of release has impacted recidivism outcomes, although the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) studies indicate that more than half of discretionary parolees successfully complete their term of supervision compared with one-third of mandatory parolees (Hughes et al., 2001).

**Parole supervision is implemented differently in each state.** The use, duration and intensity of post-prison supervision varies significantly across states (Travis and Lawrence 2002). In some states, virtually all prisoners are released to supervision; in others it's less than half. Moreover, different supervision practices are employed state to state. Some states rely heavily on drug testing; others are focused on community-based responses to parole violations. A few states are experimenting with neighborhood supervision, others with Global Positioning Satellite (GPS) tracking technologies. And many states are conducting routine office visits as they always have. The bottom line is that parole practices and policies vary substantially state to state and sometimes jurisdiction to jurisdiction, providing a rich – if complex – research opportunity to document which strategies work best.

**Limited research exists on the topic of parole effectiveness.** Given the widespread use of parole and the diversity of practice, it is remarkable how little attention has been paid to the impact of parole on public safety. There have been a few studies comparing recidivism outcomes of parolees and unsupervised ex-prisoners, but they tend to be small, dated, or based in international settings (Ellis and Marshall 2000; Gottsfredson and Mitchell-Herzfeld 1982; Jackson 1983; Nuttal et al., 1977; Sacks and Logan 1980; Sacks and Logan 1979; Waller 1974). Although these studies measure recidivism in different ways, most find a small but statistically significant benefit from parole supervision in terms of recidivism outcomes.

More generally, most of the larger, more rigorous correctional studies and meta-analyses suggest that surveillance does little to improve recidivism outcomes, unless it is coupled with treatment ▷▷▷

**Figure 1. Share of State Prisoners Nationwide Released Conditionally and Unconditionally, 1980-2000**




Source: Hughes, Wilson and Beck, "Trends in State Parole, 1990-2000" and National Corrections Reporting Program



# "Does Parole Work?

## A Word on the Title

*There has been a good deal of criticism of our study, much of it centered on the title itself. Why? Probably because the first half of the title, "Does Parole Work?," begs a one-dimensional answer – YES or NO – that grossly oversimplifies the issue. I concede that point (see "Limitations"). But I would also argue that the question itself is not only a fair question to ask, but a crucial one – one that every state should be asking itself. How can the criminal justice community focus so much attention on prisoner reentry and NOT demand to know if post-prison supervision – the biggest reentry intervention there is – is contributing to public safety?*

interventions (Sherman et al., 1997; MacKenzie 1997; Petersilia 1998). Even intensive monitoring, involving lower caseloads and more frequent contacts, does not produce reduced recidivism (Petersilia and Turner 1993; Sherman et al., 1997). Taxman (2002) provides an excellent overview of this literature.

In sum, there are large numbers of people on parole, high failure rates, substantial variation in practice across states, and changes in release methods. At the same time, relatively little is known about whether and how supervision increases public safety. To the study authors, this context begged the question – the title of our study - *Does Parole Work*?

## The Study

The study, *Does Parole Work? Analyzing the Impact of Postprison Supervision on Rearrest Outcomes*, compares prisoners released to supervision, via discretionary and mandatory release, to prisoners released without supervision. Using data from the BJS, we aimed to assess, at an aggregate level, whether parole supervision "works" at reducing crime – as measured by rearrests – among the parole population.

The study is organized around three key questions. First, do prisoners released with and without supervision differ with respect to demographics, incarceration characteristics and criminal histories? Second, do prisoners released with and without supervision recidivate at different rates? And third, if so, for whom does supervision matter most?

## Three Study Groups

The study tracks outcomes for three groups: Those released via discretionary release to community supervision, those released via mandatory release to community supervision, and those released unconditionally.

(1) **Discretionary release** involves a parole board decision to release a prisoner before he has served his full sentence, serving the remainder of his sentence under community supervision. Parole boards essentially screen prisoners and use their discretion to determine who is most "ready" to return to the community. Parole boards may consider criminal histories, the incarceration offense, institutional conduct, prisoner attitude and motivation, participation in prison programs and positive connections to the community such as employment, housing arrangements and ties to family. In this article, prisoners released by parole boards are referred to as *discretionary parolees*.

(2) **Mandatory release** occurs when a prisoner has served his original sentence, less any accumulated good time credit, serving the balance of his sentence under supervision in the community. Mandatory releasees have not received a determination of fitness to return to the community from a parole board or other authority. This group is referred to as *mandatory parolees*.

Community supervision resulting from either discretionary or mandatory release is not systematically different. In most states, conditions of supervision are similar for both types of parolees, although discretionary parolees often spend more time on supervision.

(3) **Unconditional releasees** leave prison after serving their full term behind bars. These individuals were not granted early release via a parole board in states retaining discretionary parole, nor did they receive good time credit enabling mandatory early release. Therefore, unconditional releasees exit prison without any conditions of release, community supervision or reporting requirements.

## Data Sources and Methodology

Our study relies primarily[2] on BJS data on 38,624 prisoners released in 1994 from prisons in 15 states. This sample is representative of the 272,111 prisoners released from those states in 1994 – two-thirds of all prisoners released nationwide in 1994. The states included in the BJS study are Arizona, California, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Texas and Virginia. Due to issues with the data, Delaware is excluded from our analysis.

BJS tracked recidivism outcomes – rearrests, reconvictions and reincarcerations – for these prisoners for three years after their release. We chose to use rearrest outcomes at two years post-release instead of three to more closely mirror the average time on parole (26 months in 1999, Hughes et al., 2001). The BJS findings resulted in their landmark report, "Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994," by Patrick Langan and David Levin (Langan and Levin 2002).

We used descriptive analysis to address the first two questions – whom states release conditionally versus unconditionally, and whether these groups recidivate at differential rates. To address the remaining research question, for whom does supervision matter most, we utilized a combination of multivariate regression and simulation analyses. For further information on our data sources and methodology, please refer to the full study or a more detailed technical report, on file with the authors.

## Limitations

The BJS source data discussed above is by far the largest, most complete, most current dataset that exists to address recidivism of prisoners. Because BJS had captured a variable indicating how prisoners were released, and thus if they were supervised or not after release, it offered a rare research opportunity to examine the different recidivism outcomes of prisoners released with and without supervision. At the same time, the BJS recidivism study was not designed – and the data not collected – to examine the impact of supervision on recidivism. Accordingly, it is not a perfect fit, resulting in several limitations to our analysis.

Arguably the most problematic limitations are that the study could not address state-level variation or identify, across states, what types of supervision strategies are most effective. Our reliance on arrests as a measure of recidivism in lieu of actual offending is also less than ideal. Less challenging are the critiques about old data and a universe of only 14 states. These issues are summarized below.

**Our study does not address state-level variation.** Ours was a multi-state analysis that described a national-level story, when, as discussed above, the reality is that parole practices and outcomes vary substantially across states, and even across jurisdictions within those states. The aggregate nature of our analysis buries what are surely substantial differences at the state level relative to the outcomes associated with parole.

**The analysis could not address which types of parole strategies are more effective than others.** While the source data provided important information on the personal and criminal histories of released prisoners, information on the nature of supervision – such as intensity of supervision, length of supervision, reporting requirements and services received at the individual level – was not available. Our data also did not include system-level data about risk assessment tools, contact standards, caseload averages, case planning, case management strategies and neighborhood-based supervision models. Without such information, we were unable to get inside the "black box" of supervision – to consider how various types of supervision affect rearrest outcomes and assess what types of parole strategies work better than others. ▷▷▷

An important note for those interested in replicating the analysis: *When coding the original BJS data, we based many of our decisions on protocols developed by Richard Rosenfeld and Anne Morrison Piehl, who were part of a working group devoted to – and resulting in a book on -- reentry and public safety (Travis and Visher 2005). Allen Beck from BJS was also part of this group, and early on he identified problems with the codes for the release type variable. Drs. Rosenfeld and Piehl, in consultation with staff at BJS, created "fixes" to account for these coding errors and we followed their example. Data from California, Michigan and North Carolina in particular had to be recoded. Details are provided in the technical report.*



**The analysis uses rearrests as a proxy for actual reoffending.** The BJS collected three measures of recidivism – rearrest, reconviction and reincarceration. We chose to focus on arrests as the closest proxy to offender behavior because they involve the least amount of policy interventions. Still, because rearrests reflect a combination of both criminal activity and other decisions (e.g., to report a crime, to arrest an individual, to revoke parole), those on supervision may be watched more closely by law enforcement and parole officers. Thus criminal activity committed by parolees may be more likely to be detected than by unconditional releasees.

**The study relies on data that are about ten years old.** Our analysis involves recidivism outcomes for individuals released from prison in 1994 and "tracked" for two years. With the emergence of prisoner reentry as a major policy focus for the criminal justice community, the corrections environment has certainly changed in the last ten years. Yet it is not at all clear that parole supervision writ large has changed dramatically in this time frame. While there are innovations occurring in many parole agencies across the country, in most states these new approaches are implemented more on the margins than the mainstream of parole practice. Further, given the increasing demands on state budgets, caseloads may be even higher and service resources lower than was the case a decade ago. Accordingly, there is no reason to believe that replicating the analysis using release data from, say, 2003, would yield more favorable results.

**The study includes data from only 14 states,** e.g. the universe of the BJS recidivism study minus Delaware. While true, taken together, prisoners released from these 14 states accounted for about two-thirds of all prisoners released in 1994 (Langan and Levin 2002). It is worth noting that because California heavily influences national trends, we re-analyzed the data including all states except California. These results are reported in the "Findings" section of the article.

## Findings

### Do prisoners released with and without supervision have different demographics, incarceration experiences, or criminal histories?

**Figure 2. Characteristics of prisoners released in 1994, by supervision status at release**

| | Unconditional releasees | Mandatory parolees | Discretionary parolees |
|---|---|---|---|
| **DEMOGRAPHICS** | | | |
| Average age at release (years) | 32.7 | 32.6 | 31.9 |
| Male (%) | 93 | 92 | 90 |
| Black (%) | 55 | 42 | 54 |
| **CRIMINAL HISTORY** | | | |
| Previously arrested (%) | 93 | 94 | 92 |
| Average number of prior arrests | 9.6 | 9.5 | 7.5 |
| Previously arrested for violent offense (%) | 67 | 63 | 55 |
| Prior incarcerations (prison or jail, %) | 68 | 69 | 67 |
| Average number of prior incarcerations | 2.7 | 2.5 | 2.3 |
| **INCARCERATION CHARACTERISTICS** | | | |
| Incarcerated for violent offense (%) | 27 | 21 | 23 |
| Incarcerated for drug offense (%) | 30 | 31 | 34 |
| Incarcerated for property offense (%) | 33 | 35 | 31 |
| Incarcerated for public order offense (%) | 9 | 9 | 10 |
| Average time served (months) | 32.0 | 18.5 | 21.3 |

Source: Urban Institute analysis of Bureau of Justice Statistics data.

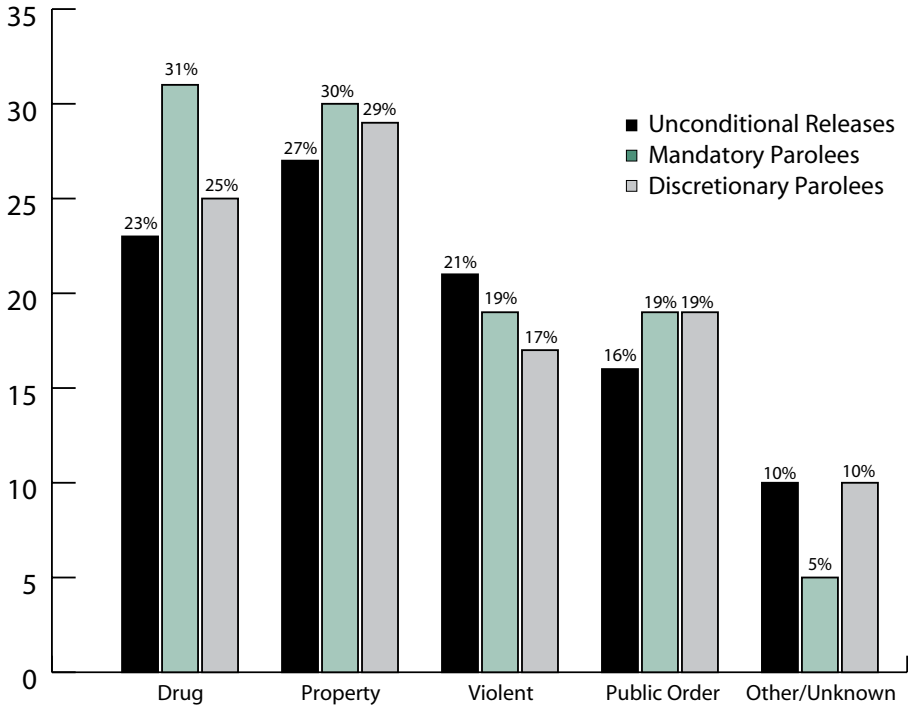
As illustrated in Figure 2, there are statistical differences across groups, but generally there are not large substantive differences. The average age at release for all three groups was 32 or 33 years old, and the vast majority of releasees was male. Just over half of unconditional releasees and discretionary parolees were black, compared with about 40 percent of mandatory parolees.

In terms of criminal histories, more than 90 percent of each group had been arrested in the past. Unconditional releasees and mandatory parolees, however, had slightly higher average numbers of prior arrests than discretionary parolees. We also looked at prior arrests for violent crimes as an indicator of potential risk to the community upon release. Larger shares of prisoners released unconditionally had previously been arrested for a violent offense than had mandatory parolees, with discretionary parolees the least likely to have been arrested for a violent offense in the past.

About two-thirds of each group had been confined to prison or jail in the past, two to three times on average. In terms

of their most recent incarceration offense, about one-fourth of each group had been incarcerated for a violent offense, about one-third for a drug offense, another one-third for a property offense, and about ten percent for a public order offense. Finally, unconditional releasees served substantially more time behind bars, suggesting they may be more disconnected from positive social networks than their supervised counterparts.

Figure 3. First rearrest of prisioners who were rearrested at least once, by supervision status at 1994 release




## Do prisoners released with and without supervision recidivate at different rates?

Sixty-two percent of unconditional releasees were rearrested at least once over two years, compared with 61 percent of mandatory parolees and 54 percent of discretionary parolees. Individuals in each group had between two and two and a half rearrests, on average, during the two-year period. These findings mirror unpublished analysis by BJS of a 1983 release cohort tracked for an earlier recidivism study. BJS found that 62.3 percent of conditional releasees were rearrested within three years, compared to 64.8 percent of unconditional releasees (Petersilia 2002).

## First Rearrest Offenses

We examined offense types of those rearrested at least once. Similar shares of all three groups were first rearrested for property offenses, while a somewhat higher share of mandatory parolees were first rearrested for drug offenses, and a slightly higher share of unconditional releasees were first rearrested for violent crimes (Figure 3).

It is important to note that a small subset of public order offenders were actually charged with technical violations as their new offense. Most also had a concurrent charge for another offense, or were charged with a new offense before or after the technical violation. In other words, very few individuals (340 in the original sample) were rearrested only for a technical violation, and arguably many of those involved an underlying crime. In any case, since our study was published we have re-analyzed the data, excluding all rearrests for technical violations. Rearrest outcomes for unconditional and mandatory releasees barely changed, if at all; rearrest rates for discretionary parolees went down slightly (1.5 percentage points).

## Comparing Similar Individuals

Because the three release groups were not identical on available attributes, we conducted regression analysis to control for these differences. The results indicated that when comparing two individuals with similar demographics and criminal histories, their rearrest outcomes — based exclusively on their supervision status — differed only slightly. Specifically, when all other variables were controlled for, 61 percent of both mandatory parolees and unconditional releasees were expected to be rearrested at least once over two years, as compared to 57 percent of discretionary parolees.

As noted earlier, we re-analyzed the data in order to determine the extent to which California was influencing the results. The recidivism findings change when California is excluded, but not dramatically: The predicted probability of rearrest for unconditional releasees rises to 63 percent, compared with 60 percent for mandatory parolees and 56 percent for discretionary parolees.

## Interpreting the Differences

Mandatory parolees, who today account for the largest share of released prisoners, fare no better with supervision than similar prisoners released without supervision in terms of rearrest outcomes. While discretionary parolees are somewhat less likely to be rearrested, this difference is relatively small considering that parole boards are selecting the "best risks" for release.

Clearly there is a value judgment being made here, in characterizing a four percentage point difference as "relatively small," differing "only slightly." In the criminal justice arena, where reductions in recidivism ▷▷▷



## Is Discretionary Parole the Answer?

Whether one perceives a four percentage point difference as large or small, all can agree that discretionary parolees were rearrested at a lower rate than their mandatory parole and unconditionally released counterparts. That given, some would contend that discretionary parole should be re-expanded to more states and prisoners (Rosenfeld 2005; Petersilia 2003). But discretionary release is arguably a "solution" with a ceiling. By allowing parole boards to choose the lower-risk, more-ready prisoners for release, the implication is that higher-risk, less-ready individuals stay incarcerated longer. The unintended consequence of this policy is that those higher-risk, less-ready prisoners may be released with little or no supervision at the end of their sentence. In other words, while discretionary release are stubbornly hard to come by, some will see this same difference and determine it evidence that parole does work.

Because parole boards take into account factors such as a prisoner's attitude and motivation level, institutional conduct, preparedness for release and connections to the community – important factors that our model could not control for -- I would expect this group to be substantially, rather than marginally, less likely to recidivate. The suggestion here is that the lower rearrest rates may be largely due to who is selected for discretionary release rather than discretionary supervision itself, which is not systematically different than mandatory supervision across states

## For Whom Does Supervision Matter Most?

Certain prisoners appear to benefit more from supervision than others in terms of rearrest outcomes. Specifically, females, individuals with few prior arrests, public order offenders and technical violators were less likely to be rearrested if supervised than their unsupervised counterparts (Figure 4). For example, the likelihood of rearrest for a female parolee is 51%, as compared to 67 percent for a similar female released without supervision. There is a similar pattern for public order offenses, although not as pronounced.

Those who had a combination of these characteristics – typically lower risk, lower level offenders – yielded even greater benefits. It is possible that these individuals are more responsive to the sanctions and services provided by supervision given their minimal prior involvements with the justice system.

Conversely, supervision did not appear to improve rearrest outcomes for some of the higher rate, more serious offenders – arguably those who warrant supervision most. The

**Figure 4. Predicted probability of rearrest two years after release, by supervision status at 1994 release**

| | Unconditional releasees (%) | Mandatory parolees (%) | Discretionary parolees (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **OVERALL** | **61** | **61** | **57** |
| Male | 60 | 62 | 58 |
| Female | 67 | 51 | 51 |
| Black | 68 | 67 | 61 |
| Non-black | 54 | 56 | 53 |
| Few prior arrests | 53 | 49 | 44 |
| Medium prior arrests | 59 | 57 | 52 |
| High prior arrests | 68 | 70 | 66 |
| Low release age | 61 | 60 | 57 |
| Medium release age | 62 | 62 | 58 |
| High release age | 52 | 53 | 48 |
| Violent offense | 55 | 56 | 55 |
| Property offense | 68 | 67 | 62 |
| Drug offense | 56 | 61 | 54 |
| Public order and other offense | 65 | 57 | 55 |
| New sentence | 56 | 58 | 54 |
| Revocation + new sentence | 59 | 62 | 53 |
| Revocation (technical) | 71 | 68 | 63 |

Source: Urban Institute analysis of Bureau of Justice Statistics data. See "Methodology" section of original study for definitions of characteristics shown in figure.

expected rearrest rates for those incarcerated for a violent offense is about 55 percent, whether one is supervised or not. The likelihood of rearrest for a mandatory parolee with high prior arrests is 70 percent, compared with 66 percent for discretionary parolees and 68 percent for unconditional releasees.

It is notable that technical violators released unconditionally have higher expected rearrest rates than any other release group. The policy implication is that responding to technical violations by reincarcerating violators for the remainder of their sentence does not solve the problem. When these individuals are then re-released from prison without supervision, they are highly likely to be rearrested – even more so than their counterparts who are released to supervision.

## How Does Supervision Affect the Largest Release Groups?

Few prisoners have a combination of characteristics likely to yield either the highest or lowest benefits from supervision. In fact, the public safety impact of supervision is minimal and often nonexistent among the largest shares of the release cohort – males convicted of property, drug and violent offenses who account for 80 percent of 1994 releases. As illustrated in Figure 5, supervision impacts rearrest outcomes differently based on the incarcerating charge.

Specifically, supervision does not play much of a role among those incarcerated for a violent offense (roughly one-fifth of the released population). Discretionary parole does seem to benefit property offenders (roughly one-third of the released population), although predicted rearrest rates for mandatory parolees are virtually the same as ▷▷▷

**Figure 5. Predicted probability of rearrest two years after release for largest release groups, by supervision status at 1994 release**

| | | PREDICTED PROBABILITY OF REARREST (%) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Percent of 1994 release cohort | Unconditional releasees | Mandatory parolees | Discretionary parolees |
| **PROPERTY OFFENDERS** | | | | |
| Young males | 11.7 | 68 | 67 | 62 |
| Medium males | 8.5 | 68 | 68 | 63 |
| Older males | 10.5 | 59 | 60 | 53 |
| **DRUG OFFENDERS** | | | | |
| Young males | 10.7 | 55 | 61 | 54 |
| Medium males | 8.0 | 55 | 62 | 55 |
| Older males | 9.7 | 45 | 54 | 45 |
| **VIOLENT OFFENDERS** | | | | |
| Young males | 8.5 | 55 | 56 | 56 |
| Medium males | 5.4 | 55 | 58 | 57 |
| Older males | 7.4 | 45 | 49 | 47 |

Source: Urban Institute analysis of Bureau of Justice Statistics data. See "Methodology" section of full report for definitions of age groupings.

enables to states choose lower-risk candidates for release, it is still critical to have an effective supervision component for those higher risk individuals who may never pass the "readiness" test and may in fact warrant supervision most of all. At the same time, there may be important lessons from the discretionary release process that could be transferred to post-release supervision. For example, there may be ways other than a parole board appearance to stimulate good behavior and better prepare a greater share of prisoners for release to the community. Jeremy Travis (2005) introduces an innovative twist on good time credits, suggesting to transform it into something prisoners must earn by participating in treatment and training and preparing for their return to the community. This idea could be implemented within the current legal framework and offers prisoners a tangible, meaningful incentive to use the time behind bars productively.



for unconditional releasees. On the other hand, the predicted rearrest rates for drug offenders are the same for discretionary parolees and unconditional releasees, while mandatory parolees actually have higher rearrest rates than the other two groups

## Discussion

### Unanswered Questions

What these findings tell us is that the big picture warrants attention. The analysis suggests that on balance, looking at a group of large states, parole has not contributed substantially to reduced recidivism and increased public safety. The public safety contributions of parole need to be carefully examined and, more importantly, improved.

At the same time, the study does not conclude that parole can't work. In fact it may work quite well in certain states and jurisdiction. But our study could not address how parole was practiced in various states, nor its level of success in specific places. As discussed above, parole practices and policies operate independently in each state, and vary substantially from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. A rich research opportunity exists to study various models and determine which practices are associated with the best outcomes (Piehl 2005).

As discussed above, our study could not get inside the "black box" of supervision. We did not have the data to address what types of parole strategies work better than others. Specifically, we could not take into account what impact various factors – such as the length, type or intensity of supervision, assessment tools, access to programming and treatment, caseload size and contact standards – had on recidivism outcomes.

While the research did shed light on the types of individuals who benefit most from supervision, the important next step is to figure out why parole works for some better than others and how similar gains could be realized for larger subsets of the parole population. Conversely, the finding that the higher risk, more serious individuals benefit least from parole supervision has confounded many experts who expect higher risk individuals to be most impacted by supervision, as they are by treatment. All of these issues warrant further study.

### Supervision in Perspective

While the analysis is imperfect and the remaining questions substantial, the implication that parole may not be particularly effective at reducing reoffending should not come as a surprise to many in the field. For years, community corrections leaders have alluded to a "broken" system[3] (Petersilia 2003:193) in need of "a major overhaul" (Jacobson 2005: 148). According to Petersilia (2003:12), "No one believes that the current prison and parole system is working."

Little hard evidence exists as to why supervision may not be as effective as it could be, but the realities of parole point to some clues. To begin with, supervision in most cases is quite minimal. Parole officers' caseloads average 70 parolees apiece, translating to one or two 15 minute meetings a month (Petersilia 2003). While lower caseloads do not ensure success (Taxman 2002), such high caseloads make it virtually impossible (Rhine et al., 1991). Additionally, parole officers are typically based in downtown offices far from the communities where their parolees reside, and therefore lack the context and relationships that neighborhood-based supervision – similar to community based policing – could provide.

Supervision today is more surveillance-oriented than was once the case, despite that research shows it takes a mix of treatment and surveillance to change offender behavior (Petersilia 2003; Sherman et al., 1997). Additionally, the response to parole failure is often a failure itself. In many states responses to violations are inconsistent and inappropriate to the seriousness of the infraction, therefore diminishing any deterrent value and costing the public millions in reincarceration costs (Jacobson 2005).

Over the last decade several groups of practitioners and academics have examined these issues, as well as the future of community corrections. In the late 1990s, the Office of Justice Programs (Department of Justice) held a two-day meeting of about 50 community corrections practitioners to rethink community supervision and community safety. They determined that the field was at a critical crossroads, facing both "a moment of vulnerability" and "a moment of opportunity" (Dickey and Smith 1998). Around the same time but over a longer period, a group of a dozen prominent practitioners met under the auspices of the "Reinventing Probation Council." After three years of deliberation, they issued an bold, candid, forward-thinking report, entitled *Transforming Probation Through Leadership: The Broken Windows Model* (Reinventing Probation Council 2000). It argued that probation should adopt a community-centered, public safety-oriented approach similar to the "Broken Windows" law enforcement model.

More recently, the Re-Entry Policy Council issued bi-partisan consensus statements aimed at improving prisoner reentry. Some two dozen recommendations address parole specifically, from the release decision to responses to parole violations (Report of the Re-Entry Policy Council 2005). Many of the ideas emanating from these groups are also consistent with the sentiments of correctional experts who were interviewed by Joan Petersilia (Petersilia 2002). According to Petersilia, there is substantial agreement that a new supervision model should be community-based, focus on the highest risk offenders, deliver appropriate treatment as well as sanctions, and include an array of intermediate sanctions in response to technical violations.

These policy discussions and interviews reveal a broad consensus among seasoned practitioners and academics that community supervision can and should work, but that change is necessary. Parole

has the potential to make a big contribution to public safety and successful reentry. The fact that parole officers have the legal authority to set and enforce rules for a high risk population, to coerce – and access – treatment and training for parolees, is largely under appreciated. To borrow from the Reinventing Probation Council, "As a matter of social policy, [community supervision] occupies the borderland between law enforcement and human services. As a justice system sanction, [community supervision] is invested with wide-ranging leverage to influence the conduct of offenders. Its strength lies in its authority and capacity to repair broken lives and hold offenders accountable for the harm their actions have caused to victims and communities" (Reinventing Probation Council 2000:3).

### Policy Opportunities

This section outlines some broad opportunities for the paroling profession. None of these ideas is particularly original. In fact, most echo recommendations of the groups discussed above. Some of these proposals have research backing; others are testable and should be evaluated. While the ideas themselves are straightforward, implementation would be complex and difficult, requiring enormous change, especially in terms of organizational culture. Perhaps that is why more parole agencies have not put into practice more of these approaches, despite the fundamental consensus among many in the field. But the time to experiment with reinvention is now. If nothing else, the Urban Institute study calls into question the efficacy of "business-as-usual." And importantly, the national policy interest in prisoner reentry affords a rare window of opportunity for parole to test out new strategies in the name of improving prisoner reentry and reintegration outcomes.

### Agency Level

Starting at the top, parole should **adopt a mission that puts public safety first** (Reinventing Probation Council 2000; Kleiman 2005). The field should be clear about its purpose and own the recidivism problem, even if it is not responsible for all of it.

Parole agencies should operationalize this mission by **setting – and being accountable for – explicit public safety benchmarks** (Reinventing Probation Council 2000; Kleiman 2005). Following the lead of the policing profession, parole agencies should set performance goals that aim to reduce reoffending rates by a specific amount. In the probation context, Beto, Corbett and DiIulio (2000) suggest the goal that only 10 percent of all probationers commit a new crime within three years. The Reinventing Probation Council argues that "embracing [such a] goal as a benchmark against which to measure the performance of the field serves as a bold yet necessary step in addressing the crisis afflicting probation" (Reinventing Probation Council 2000:6). While that specific statistic may be unrealistic in the parole context – maybe the target is closer to 40 or 50 percent – defining success in such a way would be a sea change. It could both raise parole's credibility with the public and signal to line staff that controlling crime among parolees is possible.

Parole agencies should also **take full advantage of what the research community has found to be effective** (Bogue et al., 2004; Burke 2004; Bureau of Justice Assistance 2004). As discussed elsewhere in this journal, evidence-based practices represent a body of knowledge about programs and interventions proven to reduce recidivism.[4] Despite the empirical base, few agencies implement these principles in their mainstream supervision practices.

Given the substantial treatment, health, housing, education and employment needs of the parole population, it is also essential for parole to **partner with other agencies** – such as community health care providers, housing authorities and workforce development boards – who are now recognizing aspects of the reentry problem as their own (Report of the Re-Entry ▷▷▷

## Parolee Attitudes

*Interviews with parolees for the Urban Institute's Returning Home study suggest parolees are respectful of the their parole officers, open to help, and have high expectations about the assistance they anticipate (La Vigne and Kachnowski 2005; Visher et al., 2004; Visher et al., 2003). About nine out of ten parolees believe their parole officer treats them with respect, is trustworthy and acts professionally. The vast majority express wanting help from their parole officers finding jobs and expect their parole officer to be helpful with their transition. Unfortunately, they expect more than is often delivered. Only about half said their parole officer had actually been helpful and thought supervision would help them stay out of prison.*



Policy Council 2005; Reinventing Probation Council 2000; Bureau of Justice Assistance 2004; Petersilia 2003; Travis 2005; Burke 2004). Collaborating with other agencies is a way to expand the capacity of parole without necessarily having to develop and pay for it alone.

## Supervision Strategies

In terms of supervision strategies, parole agencies should:

**Align supervision resources with the risks**, placing a premium on the highest risk offenders, the highest risk places, and the highest risk time for offending (Report of the Re-Entry Policy Council 2005; Reinventing Probation Council 2000; Petersilia 2002; Petersilia 2003; Travis 2005; Burke 2004). There is broad consensus – supported by evidence-based principles – to focus resources on high risk populations. The fact that the Urban Institute study indicated parole was least effective with this population should only heighten concerns that the highest risk parolees may not be receiving the right interventions in the right dosage levels. High risk places are those neighborhoods with the most returning offenders and/or the highest crime rates. And the highest risk times are known to be the first days, weeks and months after a prisoner is released (Travis 2005; Langan and Levin 2002). Focusing both surveillance and treatment resources where the risks are highest should ensure that the resources invested have the greatest impact.

**Supervise parolees in their home neighborhoods** (Report of the Re-Entry Policy Council 2005; Reinventing Probation Council 2000; Petersilia 2002; Petersilia 2003; Travis 2005)**.** There is good reason to end "fortress" parole that takes place in an office between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m. (Reinventing Probation Council 2000). Following the lead of police, community-based parole officers would be responsible for geographically-based caseloads, getting to know their neighborhood resources and high-risk areas, and would thus be in a better position to meaningfully assist and sanction parolees on their caseloads. By supervising parolees where they live, fostering relationships with those who know them best, parole officers could play an enhanced role in making places safer.

**Emphasize both surveillance and treatment** (Report of the Re-Entry Policy Council 2005; Petersilia 2002; Petersilia 2003; Taxman 2002). The research speaks clearly to the point that it takes a mix of surveillance and treatment to reduce recidivism most effectively (Sherman et al., 1997). Parolees should be assessed to identify risks and needs, in accordance with evidence-based principles, and be provided appropriate treatment, training and services. Even when parole can not directly provide the services, they should access and connect parolees to appropriate interventions and mandate their involvement.

**Prioritize – and communicate – only rules and conditions that can be realistically monitored and enforced** (Kleiman 2005)**.** Conditions of release should be few, tied to positive expected outcomes and tailored to individual risks and needs. Moreover, these rules and the consequences for breaking them must be explicitly communicated if they are to impact offender behavior. In other words, parolees need to know the ground rules and expect them to be enforced if conditions are to help deter reoffending (Kennedy 1998; Kleiman 1999; Harrell et al., 1999; Taxman 2002).

**Instill swift, certain, consistent, predictable responses to failures** (Burke 2004; Report of the Re-Entry Policy Council 2005; Reinventing Probation Council 2000; Petersilia 2002; Kleiman 2005; Travis 2005). The research literature suggests that to be effective, punishment should be immediate and predictable, with clear, enforceable consequences for violations (Burke 1997; Harrell et al., 2003; Taxman et al., 1999). This ideal is far from actual practice in many states, where parolees may violate conditions without being caught or may be caught several times but receive nothing more than a warning, and then a seemingly random violation results in their return to prison for the remainder of their sentence. This recommendation is dependent both on parole policy about responses to violations and, importantly, the availability of intermediate sanctions in the community.

**Introduce a range of incentives to induce and reward successes** (Travis 2005; Report of the Re-Entry Policy Council 2005; Burke 2004). Research indicates that incentives and positive reinforcements may be more effective than negative sanctions (Andrews et al., 1990). Concrete incentives such as increasing curfew hours or reducing the number of contacts could serve to motivate parolees to comply with conditions and stay on the right track. Ultimately, parolees should be allowed to earn their way off parole early by achieving certain milestones such as keeping a job and staying sober (Travis 2005; Farabee 2005).

## Looking Forward

In closing, there is a major opportunity to reform parole, or "reinvent" it in the words of others (Corbett 1996; DiIulio 1997; Dickey and Smith 1998; Rhine and Paparozzi 1999; Reinventing Probation Council 2000; Lehman 2001; Petersilia 2002). While parole generally is not producing large, visible reductions in crime among its caseload, it has the potential to do so. In many ways, the situation is reminiscent of the policing profession in the 1980s, when crime was high and confidence in the police was low. The public expected police to catch and arrest criminals – to react, but surely not prevent crime. Similarly, we count on parole officers to catch parolees. Missed appointments, failed drug tests and of course new crimes may all result in parole violations and a return to prison. But few expect parole to actually deter and *prevent* new crimes from occurring.

Community policing has shown us what is possible: We now expect police to help keep communities safe. In many ways parole has advantages over their policing colleagues in the task at hand: Parole officers know specifically who to watch – their caseloads – and they have legal authority over them. Moreover they can set rules for these individuals and implement a system of sanctions and incentives to help coax good behavior. These are powerful tools that should be strategically employed, not minimized.

At the same time, supervision should not be expected to single-handedly reform former prisoners. More broadly, parole agencies must

work together with their prison and community-based colleagues to prepare inmates for release, help parolees navigate those first critical hours and days of freedom, and connect those motivated to jobs, treatment, healthcare, housing and a supportive network of family and friends. Supervision is only part of the reentry solution – but a very important part.

Given the national momentum on the topic of prisoner reentry, there is a real opportunity – if not obligation – to think big and expect more from parole. There is no better time than now to improve supervision and make it deliver on its potential to reduce crime, particularly among the highest-risk individuals who warrant it the most. ▷▷▲

## Endnotes

[1] *Does Parole Work? Analyzing the Impact of Postprison Supervision on Rearrest Outcomes* is available in full at http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=311156. For a copy of the technical report, please contact the authors directly.

[2] We also used data from the Census Bureau and National Corrections Reporting Program

[3] The full statement from Joe Lehman, former Commissioner of the Washington State Department of Corrections, was, "We have a broken parole system. Part of the problem is that parole can't do it alone, and we have misled the public in thinking that we can – hence the frustration, and the cries to abolish parole. We don't need to abolish parole, but a new model is sorely needed."

[4] See National Institute of Correction website for a series of papers that discuss evidence-based practices and principles in the community corrections setting (http://www.nicic.org/Library/019342).

## References


Andrews, D.A., Zinger, I., Hoge, R.D., Bonta, J., Gendreau, P., and Cullen, F.T. (1990). *Does Correctional Treatment Work? A Clinically Relevant and Psychologically Informed Meta-Analysis*. Criminology 28, no. 3: 375.

Beto, D.R., R.P. Corbett and J.J. Dilulio (2000). *Getting Serious About Probation and Crime Problem.* Corrections Management Quarterly. (4) 2: 1-8.

Bogue, B., N. Campbell and E. Clawson (2004). *Implementing Evidence-Based Principles in Community Corrections: Collaboration for Systemic Change in the Criminal Justice System.* Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections.

Bureau of Justice Statistics (2000). *Conditional Release Violators Returned to State or Federal Jurisdiction*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Prisoner Statistics Data Series (NPS 1) August 2000.

Burke, P. (1997). *Policy-Driven Responses to Probation and Parole Violations*. Silver Spring, MD: Center for Effective Public Policy.

Burke, P. (2004). *Parole Violations Revisited: A Handbook on Strengthening Parole Practices for Public Safety and Successful Offender Transition.* Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections.

Corbett, R.P. (1996). *When Community Corrections Means Business: Introducing "Reinventing"* Themes to Probation and Parole, NCJ 168868. Federal Probation, 60, 1, (March 1996), 36-42. 1/1996.

Dickey, W. and M. Smith (1998). *Dangerous Opportunity: Five Futures for Community Corrections.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs. http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/probation/.

DiIulio, J.J. Jr. (1997). *Reinventing Parole and Probation*. The Brookings Review. Vol.15 No.2, pp 40-42.

Ellis, T., and P. Marshall (2000). *Does Parole Work? A Post-Release Comparison of Reconviction Rates for Paroled and Non-Paroled Prisoners.* Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology. Vol.33, n. 3, pp 300-317.

Farabee, D. (2005). *Rethinking Rehabilitation.* Washington, DC: The AEI Press.

Glaze, L.E., and S. Palla (2005). *Probation and Parole in the United States, 2004.* Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin.

Gottsfredson, M.R., and S.D. Mitchell-Herzfeld (1982). *Another Look at the Effectiveness of Parole Supervision*. Journal of Research and Delinquency, Vol. 19 (2) 277-299.

Harrell, A. V., S. Cavanagh, and J. Roman (1999). *Final Report: Findings from the Evaluation of the DC Superior Court Drug Intervention Program*. Washington DC: The Urban Institute, 1999.

Harrell, A.V., O. Mitchell, J. Merrill, and D. Marlowe (2003). *Evaluation of Breaking the Cycle*. Washington DC: The Urban Institute, 2003.

Harrison, P. A. Beck (2005). *Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 2004. Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice

Hughes, T., D. Wilson, and A. Beck (2001). *Trends in State Parole, 1990–2000. Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.

Jackson, P. (1983). *Some Effects of Parole Supervision on Recidivism.* British Journal of Criminology. Vol.23, n.1, pp 17-34.

Jacobson, M. (2005). *Downsizing Prisons.* New York and London: New York University Press, 2005.

Kennedy, D. (1998). *Pulling Levers: Getting Deterrence Right.* National Institute of Justice Journal, no. 236.

Kleiman, M. A. R. (1999). *Controlling Drug Use and Crime Among Drug-Involved Offenders: Testing, Sanctions, and Treatment.* In Phillip H. Heymann and William N. Brownsberger, eds. Drug Addiction and Drug Policy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Kleiman, M.A.R. (2005). *When Brute Force Fails: Strategic Thinking for Crime Control.* Report submitted to National Institute of Justice, March 31, 2005. mimeo.

Langan, P., and D. Levin (2002). *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994.* Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.

La Vigne, N.G., and V. Kachnowski (2005). *Texas Prisoners' Reflections on Returning Home*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Lehman, J.D. (2001). *Reinventing Community Corrections in Washington State.* Corrections Management Quarterly, 5 (3), 41 - 45.

MacKenzie, D.L. (1997). *Evidence-Based Corrections: Identifying What Works.* Crime and Delinquency, 46: 457-471.

Nuttal, C.P., and Associates (1977). *Parole in England and Whales.* Home office Research Studies No. 38. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Piehl, A., and S. LoBuglio. 2005. *Does Supervision Matter?* In *Prisoner Reentry and Crime in America,* edited by Jeremy Travis and Christy Visher. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Petersilia, J. (1998). *A Decade of Experimenting with Intermediate Sanctions: What Have We Learned*? Federal Probation 62(2): 3–9.

Petersilia, J. (2002). *Reforming Probation and Parole.* Lanham, MD: American Correctional Association, 2002.

Petersilia, J., and S. Turner. (1993). *Intensive Probation and Parole.* In *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, vol.17, edited by Michael Tonry. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Petersilia, J. (2003). *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Reinventing Probation Council (2000). *Transforming Probation Through Leadership: The "Broken Windows" Model.* New York: Manhattan Institute.

Council of State Governments (2005). *Report of the Re-Entry Policy Council: Charting the Safe and Successful Return of Prisoners to the Community.* New York, NY. Council of State Governments. www.reentrypolicy.org.

Rhine, E.E. and M. Paparozzi (1999). *Reinventing Probation and Parole: A Matter of Consequence.* Corrections Management Quarterly. (3) 2: 47-52.

Rhine, E.E., W.R. Smith, and R.W. Jackson (1991). *Paroling Authorities: Recent History and Current Practice.* Laurel, Maryland: American Correctional Association.

Rosenfeld, R., J. Wallman, and R. Fornango. (2005). *The Contribution of Ex-Prisoners to Crime Rates.* In *Prisoner Reentry and Crime in America*, edited by Jeremy Travis and Christy Visher. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sacks, H., and C. Logan (1980). *Parole: Crime Prevention or Crime Postponement?* Storrs: University of Connecticut School of Law Press.

Sacks, H., and C. Logan (1979). *Does Parole Make a Difference?* Storrs: University of Connecticut School of Law Press.

Sherman, L.W., D. Gottfredson, D. MacKenzie, J. Eck, P. Reuter, and S. Bushway (1997). *Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising. Research in Brief.* Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Taxman, F., D. Soule, and A. Gelb (1999). *Graduated Sanctions: Stepping Into Accountable Systems and Offenders.* Prison Journal 79 (2): 182-205.

Taxman, F. (2002). *Supervision—Exploring the Dimensions of Effectiveness.* Federal Probation 66 (2): 14-27.

Travis, J. (2005). *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.*

Travis, J. and C. Visher, eds. (2005). *Prisoner Reentry and Crime in America.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Travis, J., and S. Lawrence (2002). *Beyond the Prison Gates: The State of Parole in America. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.*

Visher, C., V. Kachnowski, N. La Vigne, and J. Travis (2004). *Baltimore Prisoners' Experiences Returning Home. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.*

Visher, C., N. LaVigne, and J. Farrell (2003). *Illinois Prisoners' Reflections on Returning Home. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.*

Waller, I. (1974). *Men Released from Prison.* Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press.


---

***Amy L. Solomon*** *is a Senior Research Associate at the Urban Institute's Justice Policy Center.* *The author is grateful to Vera Kachnowski and Avinash Bhati, the study's co-authors; Christy Visher, who provided critical feedback on both the study and this article; and the JEHT Foundation which funded the research. The views expressed in this article are those of the author and should not be attributed to the Urban Institute, its trustees, or its funders.*

# What Should We Expect From Parole (and Probation) Under A Behavioral Management Approach?

by Faye **Taxman**

Although it is the arm of the correctional system that is most directly responsible for public safety, community supervision is just beginning to be recognized as a valued component of the criminal justice system. Little attention has been given over the last several decades to community supervision. While intensive supervision, boot camps, drug courts and a few other innovations occurred over the last two decades, the core function of supervision was not altered as part of this effort. Yet, research over the same period of time, has identified key structural components that, if employed, would improve community supervision as a crime-reduction strategy. This research is slowly being translated into new models for handling over 4.8 million offenders under probation and/or parole supervision. The transformation of supervision from a "slap on the wrist" to crime reduction strategy will evolve after the use of a principled, focused strategy to address criminogenic risk factors of the individual and related communities to make gains in reducing crime. Success will place supervision in the forefront of our criminal justice policy.

The "what works" research that grew out of the Canadian's experience (now referred to as Evidence-Based Practices) (refer to Andrews and Bonta, 1998), and recent attention to reentry has propelled attention to community supervision. New models of community supervision are currently being piloted that change the focus of the supervision process from enforcing conditions to managing risky behaviors, and from holding the offender accountable to facilitating offender change and holding the system accountable. This paper will review some of these models, and outline a new generation of probation and parole supervision programming that redefines the nuts and bolts of the core business function of supervision – face-to-face contacts and supervision levels. The challenge before us is whether supervision is ready and willing to be part of the forefront of public policy.

## The Past: Parole Supervision (First Generation)

The Urban Institute paper on "Does Parole Work?" raised a number of issues regarding the efficacy of parole supervision (Solomon, Kachnowski, & Bhati, 2005). (Note: Although the discussion is focused on parole, the broader discussion pertains to all community supervision.) Regardless of the data used in the study, which has been the subject of much discussion (e.g., the data was dated, the data only pertained to 14 states, the data included California which has unique patterns, and so on), the report basically illustrates that parole supervision based on monitoring and face-to-face contacts has little saliency. In other words, as one would expect, parole does not suspend the recycling of offenders through the criminal justice system, and may even contribute to it. And, the use of antiquated supervision technologies results in little effect on offending behavior.

The findings of this study should come as no surprise to anyone. Parole supervision in the 14 states under study involved face-to-face contacts that were intensified to monitor the conditions of the offender. Few agencies used risk instruments to determine the supervision level or even to identify the criminogenic needs that affect criminal behavior. Conditions were assigned to hold the offender accountable. The numerous intensive supervision experiments in the 1990s basically found that the number of contacts did not reduce recidivism, technical violations, and often did not result in increased access to services (Taxman, 2002; Mackenzie, 2000). This type of monitoring or contact falls into the category of "watch 'em" where offenders are given a number of conditions, the parole agent monitors the conditions, and the offender often fails to meet the expectations. The supervision process can then contribute to the number of failures due to increased revocations.

In an analysis of the caseload size and intensive supervision literature, I previously observed that the monitoring and face-to-face contacts supervision model is atheoretical (Taxman, 2002). Stated simply, the monitoring function focuses on compliance or external controls by formal institutions that place demands on individuals. Since negative behavior is likely to draw the attention of the criminal justice system, supervision agencies are responsible to respond to the negative behavior. In many ways, monitoring ▷▷▷



is an unforgiving process where the attention is drawn to what has NOT been done instead of any small, incremental gains that the offender might have made.

The burden of the monitoring protocol is on the offender as the sole party responsible for meeting the assigned condition(s). The offender is responsible for paying supervision fees (even if the offender is un-or-underemployed or can not afford basic life essentials such as rent or food) finding treatment (even if there are no services readily available in the community), becoming sober immediately after a rather long period of alcohol or drug use or finding a sober, crime-free place to live (even if other members are under community supervision or have substance abuse problems). All of these scenarios are not to excuse the offender dilemma but rather to illustrate how the correctional/supervision system can be unforgiving regarding the burden of the offender and the community that many offenders reside in. That is, the monitoring generally provides the offender with little assistance in learning how to be responsible or accountable.

Adding conditions to the standard parole (and probation) orders during the late 1980s-1990s has had a number of unintended consequences. The first and most obvious is the increased potential for technical violations that might result in incarceration. With added conditions of drug testing, electronic monitoring, house arrest, curfews, or other new tools, offenders have more chances for not being compliant or failing to meet expectations. Most parole agencies themselves recognize that the effectiveness of these new tools is likely to be tied to the ability for offenders to learn to change their ways. Unfortunately funds were given for the tools but seldom for providing the accompanying behavioral interventions that would assist offenders in learning to change their ways.

Second, monitoring has translated into more parole agencies adopting an enforcer model, coupled with law enforcement technologies. Many parole/probation agencies assumed a law enforcement perspective that included arming their staff, with 41 states allowing their parole officers to be armed (38 for probation officers) (Fuller, 2002). For some organizations this raised the profile of the probation/parole staff, including access to benefits afforded law enforcement (e.g. most notably retirement systems which are usually better than other state employees, salary enhancements for clothing). It also forced the organizations to participate in law enforcement-type training, particularly the certification for gun use. And, it served to reinforce the commitment to rigorous "enforcement of conditions" as a form of accountability for the offender. The graduated sanction movement in the early 1990's reinforced this mentality with a focus on responding to violations, and the importance of accountability.

Some parole officers subscribed to the law enforcement perspective while others continued to straddle the gap between law enforcement and social work. Some rigorously enforced the conditions, while others did not. And some officers suggest they become "frustrated" with offenders and their actions contributing to an acrimonious climate for supervision. In frequent scenarios, parole officers and offenders often get into verbal tugs of war that generally have negative results. The use of sanction guidelines (Burke, 1999) were developed to assist the parole staff in working productively with offenders where the potential for recycling would be guarded through careful steps to sanction behavior before pursuing revocation. But, like other guidelines in the criminal justice system, these are difficult to implement because the staff resist the structure that the guidelines impose (e.g., it affects their professionalism, staff desire to individualize responses, staff believe that it gives the offender too many "bites at the apple," parole officers do not agree with the premise of the guidelines).

The punitive tone, emphasizing the messages of individual accountability and responsibility, appears to be characteristic of parole agencies. Taxman and Thanner (2003) have noted that these messages of accountability and the actions of the parole/probation systems can create scenarios where some offenders are treated differently than other offenders. That is, procedural justice can not occur in parole settings because some parole officers will respond vigorously to violations of conditions, while others will ignore the conditions unless the offender is arrested, while others will reinforce some conditions but ignore others. Studies in other fields would suggest that such an environment of unjust punishment that is doled out under varying conditions is likely to lead to more disobedience of the conditions than compliance (Tyler, 2004; Skogan and Frydl, 2004, Taxman & Thanner, 2003/2004).

## Second Generation Programming: Accountability within the Framework of Treatment as Part of Supervision

The intermediate sanction experiments have generally found that increasing the intensity of supervision through a variety of external controls has not improved offender outcomes (Taxman, 2002; Mackenzie, 2000). In fact, similar results are likely to occur for enhanced technical violations due to the detection that occurs from increased visibility of the offender. In the early 1990s new programs were developed that included drug courts, "break the cycle" and other seamless efforts, diversion to treatment (both front-end and back-end), and enhanced programs that built on traditional community supervision. Most of these programs emphasized treatment, drug testing and sanctions. Overall the research has found that the provision of quality treatment services serves to reduce recidivism. The key programmatic components that have been tied to effective interventions are:

- Participation in treatment programs, particularly those that involve multiple levels of care (more intensive followed by less intensive

services) such as in-prison based treatment services followed by aftercare, intensive outpatient services followed by less intensive services;
- Appropriate placement of higher risk offenders into treatment services;
- Engagement in clinical treatment services for at least 90 days;
- Participation in clinical treatment services that involve certain types of therapeutic interventions such as cognitive behavioral therapy, contingency management systems (reward systems), social learning based therapies and therapeutic communities;
- Programs that use positive reinforcers are more likely to shape behaviors than sanctions (Festinger, 2005); and,
- Programs that are well-implemented and maintain some integrity.

Most programs that are delivered are constrained by the failure to target offenders into appropriate programs based on their needs (Taxman & Marlowe, 2006; Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Hoslinger, 2006; Lowenkamp and Latessa, 2005), to implement programs that use more effective clinical strategies, or to manage the compliance of offenders.

During this era, the focus of the criminal justice system was finding the best avenue to facilitate offender participation in treatment programs. Drug courts, ISP "break the cycle," boot camps and other criminal justice programs that incorporated some types of treatment services developed different techniques to link offenders with services:

- *Brokerage:* The parole officer refers the offender to another agency for assessment and/or services without having input into the assessment process and/or the services delivered.
- *Case Management:* The parole officer monitors participation in the assessment and service participation of the offender. The emphasis is on compliance with the order.
- *Dedicated Services:* The parole office offers services on-site where assessment and services are provided at the same location. Sometimes these services are paid by the parole office, other times they are offered by community and other services.

Although few quality studies have assessed the relative merits of the different linkage approaches, a review of the literature does suggests that dedicated staff using behavioral management techniques (e.g., assessment tools, clinical, client-centered interviewing techniques) are more likely to yield greater participation in treatment services. Depending on the nature of the treatment services, it is unclear whether these services have an impact on the overall outcomes. The major issue regarding treatment services is retention in treatment since 60 percent of the addicts that participate in treatment services do not fully complete their programs (McLellan, 2003).

The drawback to this era of programming is that the role of the supervision staff in the acquisition of treatment services and retention in treatment services has not been advanced. For the most part, the styles of supervision basically conformed to those used in some of the intensive supervision projects where the emphasis was on more face-to-face contacts to fulfill requirements. The actual nature of the contact was focused on compliance, and to make sure that the offender is meeting the conditions of release. That is, the offender was in the forefront of ensuring that conditions were fulfilled, regardless of the actions taken by the supervision staff. The research did not examine the role of the supervision staff in achieving public safety goals.

> "But, like other guidelines in the criminal justice system, these are difficult to implement because the staff resist the structure that the guidelines impose (e.g., it affects their professionalism, staff desire to individualize responses, staff believe that it gives the offender too many "bites at the apple," parole officers do not agree with the premise of the guidelines)."

## Third Generation Advancements in Supervision: A Behavioral Management Strategy

While the research over the last three decades has many limitations, it does provide guidance to improve criminal justice public policy and supervision practice. Much of the relevant research derives from studies in substance abuse treatment, education and vocational training outside traditional correctional and criminal justice. The research identifies themes that need to be weaved into current policies and practices: 1) the supervision period should be short with clearly defined goals and objectives that speak to punishment/reparation of harms (for low risk offenders), and habilitation (for moderate to high risk offenders); 2) informal social controls (e.g. families, friends) are more effective in controlling behavior than formal government agencies; 3) many of the external control tools (e.g. curfews, drug testing) merely serve to fuel the churning process and provide limited efficacy in improving offender outcomes (which suggests that it might advisable to limit the use or eliminate the use for the vast majority of offenders); 4) ▷▷▷



treatment-based interventions should be delegated to moderate to high risk offenders that have clearly addressable criminogenic needs where clinical or pharmacological programming would be well-served; and, 5) clarifying expectations to the offender, limiting the use of discretion and developing rapport with offenders are key programmatic components that can improve offender outcomes. All of this can be translated into a behavioral management approach that supervision staff can use with offenders, particularly for moderate to high risk offenders that are susceptible to the churning wheel.

Overall, the research suggests that efforts should be devoted to reducing the overarching umbrella of the correctional system for the clear purpose of focusing supervision resources on offenders and communities in the greatest need. Stated simply, core resources should be devoted to moderate to high risk offenders, particularly those that reside in highly disadvantaged geographical areas (e.g. high concentration of poverty, higher levels of instability), as a means to improve public safety and community well-being. Such a policy would require the criminal justice system to diversify responses in a manner that concentrates efforts on offenders that are likely to return to the community (as are most) and that are likely to have problem behaviors. Other offenders would be handled in ways that benefit the community and that require less intensive restrictions/interventions. This is particularly for the low risk offenders which might be better suited to be handled by using punishment and reparation goals.

The following provides a prescription for moving towards this new generation of supervision that is focused on offender outcomes. It should be noted that this prescription provides the framework to achieve public safety goals within current resource constraints.

**1. Systems should have validated risk tools that assist in making decisions about the likelihood an offender will present a public safety risk.** Risk tools are critical in assisting agencies to shift and sort offenders into categories which will determine the appropriate level of service. Low risk offenders should be placed in more punishment or reparation-oriented programming. The risk tool should be used to identify medium to high risk offenders that need assistance in managing their behaviors to increase public safety. These risk tools are vital to provide systematic decision making, and will clarify how different offenders should be handled. It will also preserve the most expensive community-based options for offenders that are more likely to benefit. Latessa and Lowenkamp have shown how important the use of risk level is in determining appropriate placement in services, and how better outcomes can be achieved by placing offenders in appropriate levels of services. *(Lowencamp, Latessa and Holsinger, 2006, Lowencamp and Latessa, 2005)*

**2. Systems would need to adopt some policy based contingency management systems that would guide decisions regarding reinforcing positive behaviors and pursuing revocation.** Discretionary decisions by parole officers contribute to problems in the supervision system by allowing some offenders with similar behavior to be treated differently from other offenders. This situation does not bode well for compliance to general conditions of supervision (Taxman & Thanner, 2003/2004). Contingency management systems provide for swift and certain rewards (positive reinforcers) to facilitate prosocial behavior. They change the focus of the criminal justice system from acknowledging failures to recognizing gains. As part of the process, negative behaviors can be similarly handled in a swift and certain manner. Policy-based guidelines should include both incentives to shape positive behavior and sanctions for negative behaviors. Modeled after parole guidelines (see Burke, 2001), contingency management systems can be delivered that provide a formula for focusing attention on improvements. (For a discussion of contingency management, see Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2004 and Petry, Tedford, Austin, Nich, Carroll, & Rounsaville, 2004). Offenders should not be reincarcerated for failure to comply with violations that are not criminal behaviors, which should reduce reincarceration rates.

**3. Supervision should not be longer than 18 months for moderate to high risk offenders.** Any longer period of supervision requires too many resources that are not likely to yield public benefits. Reducing the length of supervision will reduce the workload of supervision staff and focus their efforts on achievable goals. During the tenure of supervision, the goal should be to transfer the control from formal institutions to natural support systems.

**4. Pharmacological interventions (e.g., medications for drug use, alcohol use, mental health) should become more common in habilitation efforts for moderate to high risk offenders.** Advancements in medications have made these tools useful in assisting people to learn to control their behavior and to become more productive citizens. Medications should not be perceived as a crutch but as a mechanism to improve the offender's cognitive capabilities. Some medications also serve to address addictions issues, and along with behavioral therapies, have been shown to be effective in changing offender behavior.

**5. Parole staff should be certified in different skills as they advance through the organization.** The development of staff should be towards client-centered skills such as interviewing and communication techniques, behavioral contracting and problem-solving. On the social work-law enforcement continuum of goals, these skills do not shift the officer in one direction or another but rather emphasize the tools that have been shown to be most effective in assisting the offender to move towards changing his/her own behavior.

**6. Low Risk Offenders should be given swift and certain punishments that have reparative principles.** For the most part, these offenders should not be under any form of supervision for any more than a month. The goal should be to handle these punishments expediously, and to have the offenders focus their efforts on reparation to communities. The model can replicate to day the fines experiments in the early 1990s or the community service (e.g., weekend service) concept that minimizes the period of correctional control, but is focused on clear outcomes. This could be part of the strategy of supervision agencies addressing some of the needs of communities or neighborhoods that are highly disadvantaged (e.g., high poverty levels, high degree of instability). Reinvesting in these communities, where many offenders happen to reside, would serve the benefit of increasing stability in the neighborhoods and contribute to healthier communities.

**7. Moderate to High Risk Offenders should be placed in supervision that is designed to facilitate offender change.** The risk tool should guide the identification of the types of behaviors that contribute to criminal conduct such as violence or power/control issues, substance abuse/dependency, predatory sexual behavior and detached or dissociated supervision. The core component is a behavioral contract that includes the conditions for release and short term goals for the offender. The supervision plan should be encompassed in the behavioral contract to allow for one guiding document for the offender and the parole officer. The behavioral contract is a negotiated agreement where the conditions are designed to ameliorate criminogenic risk and need factors. The process of developing and monitoring the contract should involve:

- Establishment of agreed upon milestones;
- Feedback provided to the offender on the progress on the contract;
- Revisiting situations when the offender struggles with a particular issue;
- Using incentives and sanctions to shape offender behaviors where feedback is provided;
- Timely communication with the offender to review progress on the case plan and achievement of supervision goals; and,
- Development of natural supports to assist the offender in having a support system that offers assistance upon the completing of supervision.

Focusing our attention on behavioral management strategies for moderate to high risk offenders, the role of the supervision agent in this model shifts significantly. The supervision officer does not merely have enforcement responsibilities, but also has responsibilities to instruct and model prosocial behavior. This changes the basic function of the supervision business to goal-directive face-to-face contacts. Goal directive face-to-face contacts recognizes that in each interaction (e.g. interviews, collateral contacts, phone contacts, etc.), the purpose of the contact needs to be clear. Generally there are four main goals of contacts:

- **Engagement:** To assist offender in taking ownership of their supervision contract and behavioral plan. Ownership derives from the offender's understanding of the rules of supervision (e.g., the criteria for being successful, the rewards for meeting expectations, the behaviors that will end in revocation), the offender's criminogenic drivers that affect the likelihood of involvement with the criminal justice system, the dynamic criminogenic factors that can be altered to affect the chance that the offender will be likely to change, and the prosocial behaviors that will be rewarded by the community (and criminal justice system).
- **Early Change:** To assist the offender in addressing dynamic criminogenic factors in a manner meaningful to both the offender and the criminal justice system. As part of the change process, all individuals have certain interests and needs that can be used to motivate them to commit to a change process. The change process begins by allowing the offender to act upon these interests, as well as begin to address one dynamic criminogenic driver (which will eventually lead to addressing other criminogenic traits). The trade-off in achieving this goal is that the offender's interests in being a parent, provider, or addressing specific needs (e.g., religious, health) should be acted upon simultaneously to the needs identified in the standardized risk/needs tool as a means to assist the offender in taking ownership over his/her own change process.
- **Sustained Change:** The goal of supervision is to transfer external controls from the formal government institutions to informal social controls (e.g., parents, peers, community supports, employers). This is best achieved by assisting the offender as gains are made in the change process to stabilize in the community, and to utilize informal social controls to maintain the changes. Part of the supervision process should be to identify those natural support systems that the offender has, or to develop these natural support systems to be a guardian for the offender to provide the support mechanisms.
- **Reinforcers:** part of each contact, the goal is to reinforce the change process. Formal contingency management systems assist with this goal by providing supervision staff with the tools to reward positive gains and to address negative progress. The formal process of swift and certain responses provides the protective process for the offender by showing that the supervision staff recognizes small incremental steps that facilitate change and sustain change.

In essence, placing an emphasis on incorporating goal-directive contacts within a process of supervision will advance supervision to the next level.▷▷▷



Many supervision agencies have recognized that to put in place behavioral management systems requires other organizational changes and enhancements. These are needed to facilitate the behavioral management goals, as well as to develop new resources within system to achieve these goals. And, as part of the advancements to improve reentry efforts and to change the nature of supervision, a need exists to ensure that the supervision system addresses these goals. Some examples of new approaches are as follows:

- Advancing the use of motivational interviewing and other strategies to assist the staff to communicate constructively with the offender. Many agencies are training their staff on motivational interviewing techniques and other strategies for the purpose of providing a technique to focus on client-centered approaches that build trust and rapport. Communication becomes the key strategy for the behavioral management approach because parole officers must provide consistent feedback to the offender and community to assist the offender in the change process. And, to be effective in shaping behavior the offender needs to have timely and consistent information about performance under the case plan.
- Employing supervision plans that incorporate behavioral contracts, targeted goals to address criminogenic needs, conditions of supervision and incremental steps to achieve goals. The supervision plan is more than a piece of paper; instead, it is a document that is subject to revision based on the progress of the offender and changing goals of supervision (e.g., engagement, change, sustaining progress). The plan also incorporates the contingency management agreements which hold both the offender and the system actors accountable.
- Integrating natural supports as part of the reentry and supervision process. More agencies are developing programs and services that include the community in the supervision process. As part of some of the reentry efforts, community guardians (e.g., civic activists, community volunteers) are being assigned to offenders to assist them in the transition from prison to community, to assist offenders in retention efforts as part of jobs/employment, schooling, or treatment services, and to assist offenders in developing a network that does not involve criminal peers or associates. These efforts are designed to both address retention issues as well as lay the groundwork for building those natural support systems.
- Expanding the service options to accommodate both the offender's interests and a broader array of services that can be used to address criminogenic needs. Many parole agencies have expanded the service providers to include more natural supports in the community such as faith-based organizations, civic associations, educational institutions, employers or local businesses Opening the doors of the correctional system has the potential of assisting the offender in the change and maintenance process.
- Using place-based strategies to adopt new innovations and affect the surrounding community that the offender resides (and that the parole officer is located). Place-based strategies allow the parole office to achieve key benchmarks that affect the whole office, while the integration of community-based services are more likely to occur since the parole office is drawing on the community to be part of the supervision process. Place-based strategies can have collateral impact by improving community well-being, thereby assisting supervision agencies in becoming a more valued component of the community.
- Employing performance management systems to provide weekly feedback on progress. The old saying, "what gets measured, gets done" is being translated into strategic management sessions where supervision staff are held accountable for the gains in meeting supervision goals. In some offices these meetings are held weekly, in others monthly. But the goal is to use the performance management system to monitor outcomes (e.g., assessments and case plans completed, employment retention, treatment sessions attended, drug test negative results, rearrests, warrants for violations), and then to build the organization to achieve these outcomes.

## Conclusion

Supervision and community corrections are the backbone of the correctional system with over 4.8 million adults under the control of these agencies. While researchers, scholars and policymakers focus on the need to change current policies to reduce the use of incarceration, this is not possible until the public has confidence that supervision and community corrections can be effective in protecting the public. Prior efforts to improve correctional programs have neglected one of the core functions — the role of parole or supervision officer. Research has shown that the type of treatment programming is important as is the type of offender that is placed in these programs, yet many prior efforts have not developed the role of the parole officer in achieving these goals.

This article has highlighted some of the core components that are necessary to move in this direction of a behavioral management approach. Efforts are underway to implement many components of a behavioral management approach in Maryland (the proactive community supervision model), the National Institute of Correction's evidence-based practice cooperative agreement work in Maine and Illinois, Oklahoma, Virginia, New Jersey's parole system, Maricopa County, Arizona, Multnomah County, Oregon and other jurisdictions. Evaluation findings are also available on the Maryland proactive community supervision model which demonstrates reductions in rearrests and requests for violation of parole/probation warrants.

Tools of the Trade: A Guide to Incorporating Science into

Practice (Taxman, Shepardson, and Bryne, 2004) describes the core components and can guide practitioners in the development of their own behavioral management approach. Judith Sachwald's (Director of Maryland's Division of Parole and Probation (MDPP)) foreword in the manual reiterates that movement into this third generation of supervision programming requires a commitment of the organization. Her model consists of preparing the organization, clarifying the vision, establishing key benchmarks and meeting these benchmarks, building community supports and implementing core components of the model in an incremental process (organizational change similar to individual change). Sachwald writes that:

> *"Without ongoing thoughtful professional development, supervision based on science and offender outcomes will become a fad and quickly extinguishes the recent spark of interest in community supervision (2004:viii)."*

These are words to the wise — the day has come for community supervision to step up and become the most critical component of the correctional and criminal justice system. Altering the role of the supervision officer and maximizing the benefits from the core function of contacts can not be realized without a commitment to a revised policy, vision and programmatic components. Supervision agencies must also make a commitment to use the key tools of the trade communication, assessment tools, supervision plans, contingency management systems, using effective treatment and service programs, and policies that focus the efforts on moderate to high risk offenders and disadvantaged communities. This is where the most gains will occur, as well as how public safety goals can be achieved. ▷▷▲

## References


Andrews, D. & Bonta, J. (1998). The Psychology of Criminal Conduct (2nd ed.). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

Burke, P. (2001). Responding to Parole and Probation Violations: A Guide to Local Policy Development. Washington, DC; National Institute of Corrections. http://www.nicic.org/Library/016858

Festinger, D. (2005). Personal Communication on study on positive reinforcers in drug court studies.

Fuller, K (2002). Adult and Juvenile Probation and Parole Firearm Survey. Lexington, Kentucky: American Probation and Parole Association. http://www.appa-net.org/information%20clearing%20house/survey.htm

Lowenkamp, C.T., Latessa, E.J., & Hoslinger, A (2006). Risk Principle in Action: What have we learned from 13,676 Offenders and 97 Correctional Programs? Crime and Delinquency. 52: 77-93

Lowenkamp, C. T. & Latessa, E. J. (2005). Increasing the effectiveness of correctional programming through the risk principle: Identifying offenders for residential placement. Criminology and Public Policy, 4, 2: 291-310.

MacKenzie, D. L. (2000). "Evidence-Based Corrections: Identifying What Works." Crime and Delinquency. 46 (4): 457-461.

McLellan, T (2003). "Myths About and the Future of Addiction Treatment". Washington, D.C., National Association of Alcohol and Drug Directors. September 15, 2003.

Petry, N. M., Tedford, J., Austin, M, Nich, C, Carroll, K M. & Rounsaville, B J. (2004) Prize reinforcement contingency management for treating cocaine users: how low can we go, and with whom? .Addiction 99 (3), 349-360.

Sherman, L. W., Gottfredson, D., MacKenzie, D., Eck, J., Reuter, P., and Bushway, S. (1997). Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising: A Report to the United States Congress. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

Skogan, W. and K Frydl (2004). Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence. Washington DC: National Research Council.

Solomon, A., V. Kachnowski, A. Bhati (2005). Does Parole Work? Analyzing the Impact of Postprison Supervision on Rearrest Outcomes. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute. http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=311156

Taxman, F.S. & Marlowe, D. (2006). Risk, Needs, Responsivity: In Action or Inaction? Crime & Delinquency, 52: 3-6.

Taxman, F. S., Shepardson, E. S., and Byrne, J.M. (2004). Tools of the Trade: A Guide to Incorporating Science into Practice. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, National Institute of Corrections. http://www.nicic.org/Library/020095

Taxman, F.S. (2004). "The Offender and Reentry: Supporting Active Participation in Reintegration," Federal Probation, September:31-35.

Taxman, F.S., & Thanner, M. (2003/2004). "Probation from a Therapeutic Perspective: Results from the Field," Contemporary Issues in Law, 7(1):39-63.

Taxman, F. (2002). "Supervision – Exploring the Dimensions of Effectiveness," Federal Probation 66(2): 14-27.

Tyler, Tom. (2004). "Enhancing Police Legitimacy," The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 593: 84 - 99.



***Faye Taxman*** *is a Professor at Virginia Commonwealth University, School of Govt & Public Affairs in Richmond, Virginia.*




It's been over 150 years since John Augustus, the "father of probation," initiated what has today become the most common and prevalent form of correctional supervision. From 1841 to 1859, he convinced Boston judges to either release mostly drunkards to him by paying their bails or having them serve short probation sentences. His pioneering efforts were so inspiring that in 1878, Massachusetts passed the first legislation that allowed probation to be an official sanction for the court.

Unlike today, probation officers back then were unpaid volunteers. Some 80 years later all states had some form of probation supervision with the probation officer becoming a professional and government employee. In 1877, the first parole system in the U.S. was implemented subsequent to the appointment of Zebulon Brockway as Superintendent of Elmira Reformatory in 1876. Release decision-making was performed by a Board of Managers, while supervision was provided by police chiefs, district attorneys, NY Prison Association members, and citizen volunteers.[1] By the 1950s all states had some form of parole supervision.[2]

Over the past 159 years, parole has generally flourished with some bumps along the way. The most serious "bump" began in the 1970s when the indeterminate sentencing structure was questioned in terms of its fairness and effectiveness. While 16 states have abolished discretionary parole by a parole board, there are no states that have completely abolished parole or post- prison release supervision. So the vast majority (estimated by the Bureau of Justice Statistics at 80 percent) of the 600,000 – 700,000 prisoners released each year face some form of correctional supervision after completing their prison term.[3]

by James **Austin,** Ph.D

So despite these recent efforts to curtail parole, as shown in the Table 1, the parole population has more than tripled since 1980. However, it is also true that since 2000, the parole population has grown at a relatively slow rate of 1.3 percent per year. While some have linked this slow growth rate to legislative reforms restricting the use parole, it should also be noted that most parole boards have significantly reduced their parole grant rates for prisoners who are eligible for parole.

It is also noteworthy that in terms of the seven million adults under some form of correctional supervision, the vast majority are under probation supervision (over four million) with another 2.1 million either in prison or jail. Another way to look at the correctional system is the number of persons admitted to each system component (see Table 2). The jail system touches far more persons than another with component with an astronomical 11.4 admissions as estimated by BJS in 1999.[4] Of course there is some level of double counting in this number (a person who is repeatedly booked within a year for multiple arrests or court orders). But my own studies have found that anywhere from 65-80 percent of these jail admissions are mutually exclusive persons. From this perspective, the parole system represents only about 3 percent of the total correctional intake. Further if one were to delete California which constitutes approximately 155,000 or 30 percent of the national data, the total admission stream drops to 348,798 or only 2 percent of the total intake.

In terms of length of stay (or LOS), the jail admission is, on average, quite short (23 days), since so many of the admissions are released on bail or pretrial release within a few days. The other systems, on average, hold their "clients" for about two years with of course considerable variation among the states and among the offenders themselves.

Within this context the Urban Institute's recent publication entitled "Does Parole Work" has reopened the long-standing debate on the utility of parole (and even probation) supervision as presently constituted.[5] To briefly summarize, the study is a re-analysis of the BJS study of recidivism for prisoners released from 15 of the 50 states.[6] The authors look at recidivism rates by the three major forms of release (conditional, mandatory, and unconditional). They initially that those released on conditional parole (parole approved by the parole board) have a significantly lower re- ▷▷▷

**Table 1. Adult Correctional Populations, 1980-2004**

| Population | 1980 | 2004 | % Change |
|---|---|---|---|
| Probation | 1,118,097 | 4,151,125 | 271% |
| Jail | 182,288 | 713,990 | 292% |
| Prison | 319,598 | 1,421,911 | 343% |
| Parole | 220,438 | 765,355 | 247% |
| Total Adults Under Supervision | 1,840,421 | 7,052,381 | 283% |
| ***Adult Population*** | ***162.8 million*** | ***209.4 million*** | ***29%*** |
| ***Supervision Rate per 100,000 Adults*** | ***1,132*** | ***3,175*** | ***180%*** |

*Sources: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Prisoners in 2004, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Probation and Parole in the United States 2004,; Margaret Werner Cahalan, Historical Corrections Statistics in the United States, 1850-1984, Rockville Maryland, Westat, Inc, 1986.*

**Table 2. Estimated Admissions and Length of Control by Correctional System**

| Correctional System | Admissions | % | ADP | Estimated LOS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jails | 11,400,000 | 77% | 713,990 | 23 days |
| Probation | 2,217,900 | 15% | 4,151,125 | 23 months |
| Prison | 600,000 | 4% | 1,421,911 | 28 months |
| Parole | 503,200 | 3% | 765,355 | 18 months |
| Without California | 348,798 | 2% | 634,787 | 22 months |
| ***Totals*** | ***14,721,100*** | ***100%*** | ***7,052,381*** | |

*Sources:* U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Prisoners in 2004,* U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Probation and Parole in the United States 2004,* U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Census of Jails, 1999.*



arrest rate (54 percent versus 61 percent for mandatory releases — those placed on parole supervision but were denied parole by the board or were ineligible for parole, and 62 percent for unconditional — those who max out with no supervision). But because the three groups were not statistically comparable, further analysis that controlled for such differences had to be completed. The "controlled" analysis resulted in no differences between the three release groups in their re-arrest rates.

*"It goes without saying that most of our current correctional and sentencing practices as well as most of the innovative treatment programs have not undergone such scrutiny. This dismal situation is largely the result of policymakers either being unwilling ("I don't care what the research shows") or unable ("I have no resources to evaluate or no political support") to conduct such field experiments."*

There are several methodological problems associated with this study. First, the data are dominated by California whose extremely high recidivism rate and large number of releases dwarfs the other states. The authors concede that there is substantial variation among the states in terms of the key variables in question – method of release and recidivism. At a minimum, the analysis should have been done with California deleted to see if the results are sustained.

It's also not clear the substantive difference between the parole releases (conditional) and mandatory releases in terms of the nature of the parole supervision. My understanding of some of the states that are in the study (California, Maryland, Illinois, Michigan, Texas and Virginia) suggests there is no difference for these two types of releases in the type of parole supervision being provided by the parole officers.

Third, the fact that only 14 states participated in the study raises questions about the extent to which one can generalize these findings to other jurisdictions. Finally, trying to statistically control for differences in various analytic groups is always problematic, compared with than conducting a true random assignment experiment or a more rigorous matching process. These issues aside, I would concur with the Urban Institute's conclusions that there are not significant (either statistical or substantive) differences between the three release groups in their re-arrest rates.

This finding (and other similar findings) should not be surprising to anyone. For reasons that are summarized below, one should not expect any correctional agency notwithstanding the agency's office name or letter head to have sufficient organizational capacity or skill to fundamentally change any person over a one to two year time period. This is not to say that educational, vocational training and other well structured programs are not needed or should not be offered. No matter what we expect of parole supervision, there must be opportunities for released prisoners to get help. The question is how best to accomplish this and other objectives.

What follows is the argument that underpins this perspective. My intention is not to merely criticize the current state of parole (and probation) but to offer some clear cut strategies for meaningful reform. My experience with many well intentioned and dedicated probation and parole officials suggests that they are largely unfamiliar with what is known and how such knowledge should be guiding important reforms that are badly overdue. As will be suggested here, there is strong evidence that suggests many of the current attributes of probation and parole are ineffective and should be discontinued simply because they are not "evidence based."

## Be Careful for What You Ask For - - Implications of "Evidence Based" Corrections

Lately the new rallying slogan of "evidence based research" (or EBR) policies has appeared on the policy making landscape. A casual Google search on the internet will locate numerous firms and publications that support the EBR movement (e.g., Evidence Based Research, Inc., The Centre for Evidence Based Social Services, etc.).[7] Initially grounded in medicine and now extended to the social sciences, it would appear at first blush that adoption of the evidence based research model would be a very positive departure from business as usual in criminal justice and corrections. At its core there are two major tenets to an evidence based ideology, which often run contrary to how criminal justice policies are developed and implemented. First, the major practices of correctional agencies should be based on rigorous evaluations on the impact and effectiveness of correctional interventions. When I say "rigorous," this implies experimental field studies where subjects on a randomization process to differing or experimental interventions (e.g. low versus high supervision, short versus long period of incarceration, etc.)

It goes without saying that most of our current correctional and sentencing practices as well as most of the innovative treatment programs have not undergone such scrutiny. This dismal situation is largely the result of policymakers either being unwilling ("I don't care what the research shows") or unable ("I have no resources to evaluate or no

political support") to conduct such field experiments.

The second major implication of EBR for corrections is that any major change or innovation to existing correctional practices would *not* be adopted on a full scale or system-wide level until it had shown to be effective via a number of experimental field tests. Too often, the traditional pattern of correctional reform is for some well intentioned innovator or policy maker to hypothesize why a new idea should be tried. If properly marketed with no or little research evidence, the federal government is lobbied to provide "seed money" to launch the new program or policy in a number of jurisdictions. Some time later, it's finally decided that a national evaluation is needed to see if the growing number of new programs or policies actually work. Far too often the after the fact evaluation tells us the reform did not work largely due to improper implementation of the concept or the concept itself had no empirical basis from other studies.

This non-researched based approach to reform has led to a whole series of either ineffective or highly questionable innovations such as boot camps, scared straight programs, shaming, mandatory drug testing, electronic monitoring, residential substance abuse treatment programs, drug courts, intensive supervision programs, mandatory sentencing, truth in sentencing, and cognitive restructuring. If we had adhered to these two tenets of evidenced corrections, most of these reforms never would have been brought to the correctional market. But under EBR, this well recognized ineffective reform process would cease.

## What We Know About Parole and Probation Supervision

With these thoughts in mind, how can we begin applying the EBR standard to parole and probation supervision? As noted earlier, 2.7 million adults are admitted and released from either parole or probation supervision each year. They will spend slightly less than two years under supervision. This "average" period of supervision is no doubt skewed in that a sizeable number of the probationers and parolees will fail to complete their period of supervision. So what is being accomplished by this enormous adult control system? What follows are the key findings that have been generated over the past three decades that should be guiding our reform efforts.

Table 3. Success Rates off of Probation and Parole – 1995-2003

| | Probation | Parole |
|---|---|---|
| **Successful Completions** | | |
| 1995 | 62% | 45% |
| 2000 | 60% | 43% |
| 2003 | 59% | 47% |
| **Reason for Failures** | | |
| Re-incarcerated | | |
| *New Conviction and Sentence* | 5% | 11% |
| *Revocation* | 7% | 26% |
| *Other* | 4% | 0% |
| *Absconded* | 4% | 9% |
| *Other* | 22% | 6% |

Source: Parole and Probation, 2003, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005

### 1.Recidivism and/or Success Rates for Probation and Parole Are Not Improving.

Table 3 summarizes the most recent success rates and the reasons for not successfully completing probation or parole supervision. Here one can see that "successful completion" rates are relatively low (about 45 percent for parole and about 60 percent for probation) and have not changed since the BJS began reporting them in 1995.

The same identical finding can be found for recidivism rates for prisoners released from prison. Table 4 shows the three recidivism ▷▷▷

Table 4. 1983 and 1994 Prisoner Release Rates

| Recidivism Measure | 1983 Prison Releases | 1994 Prison Releases |
|---|---|---|
| Re-Arrested | 63% | 69% |
| Re-Convicted | 47% | 47% |
| Re-Imprisoned | 41% | 40-52%* |

Sources: Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994, Bureau of Justice Statistics, June 2002
Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1983, Bureau of Justice Statistics, April 1989.
*52% re-admission to prison with California prisoners included, 40% without California prisoners.



Table 5. 1999 and 2004 Readmission to Prison Rates For Canadian Prisoners

| Release Type | 1999 Prison Releases | 2002 Prison Releases |
|---|---|---|
| Full Parole | 28% | 27% |
| Statutory Releases | 42% | 42% |
| ***Totals*** | ***39%*** | ***39%*** |

Source: Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness, 2004. *Corrections and Conditional Release Statistical Review.* Ottawa, Canada.

rates the 1983 and 1994 release cohorts. So despite the many innovations to alter the manner in which offender are punished, treated and supervised, there appears o be no impact on recidivism.

It should also be noted that the Canadian Correctional system, which is often cited as a model of EBR correctional treatment is showing the same trends. In Canada, the prisons are much smaller in size and far more costly to operate (over $80,000 per year Canadian dollars or about $72,000 US dollars). Yet despite the higher expense and greater adherence to a treatment or rehabilitative model, model, the overall recidivism rate for all releases is approximately 40 percent and remains unchanged since 1999 (see Table 5).

### 2. Most of the parole and probation failures for are for technical violations and/or drug and property crimes.

Another conclusion to be noted from Table 3 is that the primary cause of failure is not strictly related to parolees and probationers being convicted of new crimes. For parolees only 11 percent were sentenced for a new crime with an even lower rate of 5 percent for probationers. Significantly, the higher numbers "fail" due to non-compliance with conditions of supervision or being arrested for a new crime but never being convicted. One often hears that these "technical violations" really represent new crimes that will not be prosecuted as it is less expensive to simply revoke the person's probation or parole terms and effect a re-incarceration. However, this justification for technical violations has never been thoroughly tested.

### 3. There is no evidence that re-incarcerating a technical violator prevent more serious crimes from occurring.

As suggested above, this is one of the most cherished myths held by prosecutors and correctional officials for justifying the decision to re-incarcerate a technical violator for which there is either no scientific evidence to support such a policy. I use the word "myth" to simply indicate there are no rigorous studies on this issue. Yet it is often cited as the primary reason why it's important to re-incarcerate tens of thousands of persons for length periods of time for behavior (criminal or non-criminal) that an ordinary citizen could not be sentenced for. To test this proposition would require an experimental field test where a pool of technical violators is randomly assigned to non-incarceration or incarceration sanctions. The "non-incarceration" technical violator group would be the test to see if they continue to become involved in more dangerous and serious criminal behavior.

### 4. Prisoners released with no supervision have significantly lower re-incarceration rates and similar re-arrest rates.

Table 6 shows the recidivism rates (return to prison) by the method of release for three states. Here one can see that those who "max out" have significantly lower recidivism rates as compared to those placed on parole supervision. The obvious explanation is that prisoners who "max out" and have no supervision obligations can only be returned to prison if they are convicted of a new felony crime. Conversely, people place on parole and probation can be re-incarcerated for either non criminal behavior or misdemeanor crimes – behavior that people who are not on probation or parole can be not be sent to state prison. In addition to the Urban Institute study discussed earlier, there are several studies showing no relationship in recidivism between reduced or no parole supervision.[8]

Table 6. Re- Incarceration Rates by Type of Release For Selected States

| Release Type | Kentucky | Texas | Pennsylvania |
|---|---|---|---|
| Parole Supervision | 53% | 26% | 50% |
| Discharges | 18% | 11% | 19% |
| ***Total*** | ***35%*** | ***25%*** | ***42%*** |

Source: Austin, James and Patricia Hardyman. April 2002. *Exploring the Needs and Risks of the Returning Prisoner Population.* Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

### 5. There is no relationship between the period of supervision and recidivism.

One of the hallmarks of probation and parole is the requirement that the offender spend several years under supervision. Most formal probation and parole terms are in the 3-5 year range (or longer). Yet there is no evidence that such lengthy periods of control are useful or effective. There was one study in California in this area and it showed no relationship between the time on supervision and parole success.[9]

### 6. Released Prisoners' Criminal Activity is Declining and Not Increasing.

There have been a few studies done that looked at recidivism using the suppression analytic approach.[10] Unlike traditional recidivism studies which simply record the proportion of offenders who fail parole or probation supervision over a three year follow-up, the suppression effect measure seeks to learn if the *rate of offending* in declining. For example, just knowing that an offender was re-arrested once in a three follow-up period is not as insightful as learning that three years prior to the imposition of a sentence, the same person had been arrested four times over a three year period. Thus there has been a significant decline in the offender's rate of offending as measured by arrests. Where these studies have been completed, they all show that all forms of court intervention have a significant suppression effect.

Why this occurs is largely attributable to three sources – maturation (aging), regression to the mean (high rates must be followed by lower rates), and the intervention itself (the cumulative and unpleasant effects of being arrested, jailed and then sentenced). From a policy perspective it is important to note that the suppression effects are largely the same for all interventions and any variations thereof (changing the intensity and duration of the intervention).

### 7. Two of the more intrusive forms of supervision (electronic monitoring and drug testing) have no impact on recidivism and public safety.

Two common forms of supervision are electronic monitoring and drug testing. In those few experimental studies that have been conducted, both of these intrusive forms of control electronic monitoring[11] and drug testing[12] have not proven to be effective in reducing recidivism. In fact experimental controls were found to have slightly higher recidivism rates perhaps due to the tendency to select low risk offenders for such programs. Despite this evidence, their usage continues to be expanded. For example in the District of Columbia, *all* probationers and released prisoners are initially drug tested including tests for marijuana even though marijuana use has not been linked to recidivism.[13]

### 8. Released prisoners and parolees are responsible for a small proportion of crime being committed in a jurisdiction.

One of the consistent findings on released prisoners is that the crimes they commit after release constitute a very small proportion of all the crimes being committed in a jurisdiction. Several studies by the U.S. Department of Justice and others have found that less than 5 percent of all arrests can be linked to released prisoners.[14]

This fact, coupled with the other findings listed above, means that the ability of parole to reduce recidivism is largely inconsequential on the overall crime rate. A number of recent studies that compare crime rate trends for selected cities and states with very different approaches to the crime problem. For example, while New York City's dramatic reduction in crime rates have been attributed to the application of a "broken windows" approach to police patrols and its COMPSTAT technology, other major cities achieved the same reductions in crime without implementing such reforms. Similarly, states that have abolished parole and have extended prison terms and prison populations have not demonstrated a greater reduction in crime than states that did not implement such reforms.[15]

### 9. Informal (friends, family, community, religion) controls are more effective than formal (government or state imposed) controls.

So if the criminal justice system and parole in particular has little impact on crime rates, what does? This question is addressed by recognizing that what sociologists refer to as "informal" social controls are far more effective than "formal" controls or sanctions imposed by government.. The latter form of controls is what parole and probation supervision represent. It only take a few days hanging around a parole or probation office to see that today's parole and probation officer is culturally, economically and professionally isolated from those they are charged with changing. From the "offender's" perspective, the parole officer reflects yet another long line of government "strangers" who either have too little time or too little empathy for their current situation. Nor is the parole or probation officer likely to serve as an advocate or a source of assistance in the key areas of securing stable employment or residency. Most parole and probation officers are middle class professionals and understandably do not desire to reside in the high crime rate or economically impoverished urban areas where most of parolees reside. So it is little wonder that the episodic 10 -15 minute office visit (often after the drug test has been completed) carries little weight with parolees.

What does have "weight" are the same factors that influence all of us to varying degrees. Specifically, such factors include interactions with family members, friends, and the beliefs and values that have been developed over early developmental years and the socio-economic ▷▷▷



conditions that surround us in the communities we live in. Where these interactions have led to a deviant lifestyle, it will take a number of years to break away from what have become a well-established lifestyle that is unlikely to change with or without parole supervision.[16]

## Evidence Based Policy Implications for Parole and Probation Supervision

If one were to look at the evidence to date, one would have to conclude that parole supervision is not a viable method for reducing crime or recidivism. My position is that we need to have a far more realistic view of what parole (and probation) supervision can achieve with the resources it now has. Such a view would also take into account that local and state governments are not going to be providing large amounts of additional funding to add more parole and probation officers and/or to increase the amount of treatment services. So with these two driving forces (inability to reduce recidivism and no additional resources) what should we expect from parole?

The future system as recommended below would substantially reduce the numbers of persons under supervision and incarcerated by reducing the period of supervision and restricting the capacity of criminal justice agencies to re-incarcerate persons in state prisons for non-felony crimes. Intrusive supervision techniques that are not cost effective (electronic monitoring and especially drug testing for marijuana) would be eliminated.

Supervision and social services would be delivered by existing community based organizations who have proven track records of helping persons who require the twin engines of positive self-esteem – meaningful employment and residency. Finally, the new system would provide a number of economic incentives whereby parole agencies and parolees are rewarded for reducing recommitments to prison. Collectively, such reforms would serve to reduce the current costs of corrections. These resources could and should be redirected to other non-criminal justice initiatives that would serve to improve the socio-economic conditions in our most blighted and largely urban areas.

How would this look? Here are some specific recommendations. Where relevant those jurisdictions where this is currently being done or was done in the past with great success are so noted.

### 1. Technical violations and persons convicted of misdemeanor crimes would not be sent to state prison.

This policy would have a dramatic impact on the size of the nation's prison population. Current estimates are that about 60-70 percent of all prison admissions are either parole or probation violators (technical or new crimes). About one-half of these admissions are technical violations or convictions for misdemeanor crimes. By implementing this policy prison admissions would decline by 30-45 percent. This equates to about 200,000 fewer prison admissions and somewhere between a 200,000 to 400,000 drop in the nation's prison population. Washington State has had such a policy in place since the 1980s.

### 2. With few exceptions, the length of parole supervision would be reduced to no more than 12 months.

Whatever benefits can be derived from traditional parole or probation supervision should be realized within a 12 month period. The vast majority of new arrests for parolees occur within the first 12 months of release. So it makes sense to narrowly focus only on the first year of supervision. The exceptions would be those offenders who have been assessed as posing a high risk to public safety or have been convicted of heinous crimes. These parolees only represent about 20 percent of the entire parole or probation populations and could be more effectively managed with existing agency resources. But even this population would also serve no more than three years on supervision. Low risk offenders (also based on actuarial assessments) would have no supervision requirements.

Adoption of this reform would shrink the current probation and parole population by at least 50 percent with the goal of reducing caseloads and improving the level of care and supervision. California's original determinate sentencing law provided statutory that the length of parole supervision would not exceed 12 months.

### 3. Most services and supervision tasks would be conducted by less expensive, private not for profit community based agencies that operate within those communities that have high concentrations of parolees and probationers.

It's difficult at best for the probation and parole officer to fulfill the dual responsibility of law enforcement officer and treatment provider. A far better arrangement would be for all services and supervision contacts to be provided by the far less expensive non-profit agencies. Such agencies would be contracted by the courts to provide the necessary levels of intervention and to adhere to agreed upon performance-based measures.

### 4. The use of electronic monitoring, drug testing, and mandatory treatment would be eliminated or sharply curtailed.

Both of these forms of supervision enhancements have failed to prove they are effective with respect to reducing recidivism. Electronic monitoring seems to function primarily as no more than a symbolic control mechanism that gives the court or correctional agency some level of comfort. These forms of supervision did not exist prior to the 1980s. Since their wide spread application (particularly drug testing) there has been no reductions in recidivism.

### 5. Parole and probation agencies would be financially rewarded for lowering current return to prison rates.

This is probably the cornerstone of all of the proposed parole reforms. Currently, there is no financial incentive for parole agencies to perform at a more productive level. In many ways they are rewarded for non-productive conduct. Under this model reasonable performance standards would be established for parole boards and the supervising agencies. These performance standards would set measurable goals for each agency to achieve each funding cycle. For example, the parole board would be expected to grant parole for 80 percent of the low risk prisoners it reviews. Parole offices would be allocated a number of prison or jail beds it could use to hold parole violators. If these measures were exceeded, the amount of money saved by the state would be returned to the agency to further its work. If the performance measures were not exceeded, the agency would be fined or otherwise financially penalized.

There was one attempt to implement such an approach. In a two year period beginning in 1990, the California Department of Parole was able to lower its revocation rate from 58 percent to 36 percent and also reduce disparity in revocation rates by the parole offices unit return rates by 67 percent. This resulted in approximately 10,000 fewer parole revocations in 1992 and a reduction in 3,000 few prison beds being used. This was achieved by creating a financial incentive model where avoided prison expenses were redirected to parolee support services. More directly, each parole region was given an allotted number of prison beds to use for revocations. If that figure was surpassed, parole budgets were reduced. If the bed usage was reduced, a portion of the prison bed savings were passed on to the parole office. But like many truly promising reforms, the program was terminated. [17]

The above suggestions would serve to redirect parole supervision to those tasks and responsibilities it is best suited for consistent with its budgeted resources and work force. Those responsibilities include ensuring that high risk released prisoners receive the proper level of supervision. For the rest of released prisoners, its level of intervention should be minimized consistent with the evidence that further supervision is not effective and may even be counter-productive. The delivery of needed basic social services mostly in the areas of securing employment, residency and obvious medical and mental health services would be left to other non-criminal justice agencies that are better equipped and more motivated to help ex-prisoners. We need parole to temper and not aggravate the excessive use of imprisonment in this county. But asking parole to reduce crime and recidivism rates is simply a burden that parole should no longer bear. ▷▷▲

## Endnotes

[1] Rhine, Edward E., William R. Smith and Ronald W. Jackson, 1991. *Paroling Authorities: Recent History and Current Practice*. Laurel, MD: American Correctional Association. Pp. 8-9.

[2] Stinchcomb, Jeanne B. 2005. *Corrections: Past, Present and Future*. Lanham, MD: American Correctional Association. P. 341.

[3] Hughes, Timothy, Doris Wilson, and Allen Beck, 2001. "Trends in State Parole 1990-2000". *Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report.* Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.

[4] Bureau of Justice Statistics is the statistical reporting agency for the US Department of Justice. The numbers cited here are taken from the BJS website http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/reentry/reentry.htm.

[5] Solomon, Amy L., Vera Kachnowski, and Avinash Bhati. 2005. *Does Parole Work? Analyzing the Impact of Post-Prison Supervision on Re-Arrest Outcomes.* Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

[6] Langan, Patrick A. and David J. Levin. June 2002. "Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994". *Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report.* Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.

[7] See http://www.ebrinc.com, http://www.ripfa.org.uk/aboutus/archive/, .

[8] See Hudson, C. "An Experimental Study of the Differential Effects of Parole Supervision for a Group of Adolescent Boys and Girls: A Summary." Minneapolis Department of Corrections, 1972. and Star, Deborah. *Summary Parole: A Six and Twelve Month Follow-up Evaluation.* Research Report No. 60. California Department of Corrections, 1979. and Jackson, Patrick G. "Living Together Unmarried: Awareness Contexts and Social Interaction." *Journal of Family Issues,* 1983. and Jackson, Patrick G. "Bay Area Parole Project." California Department of the Youth Authority. Mimeographed, 1978.

[9] Jaman, D., L. Bennett, and J. Berecochea. *Early Discharge from Parole: Policy, Practice and Outcome.* Research Report No. 51. Sacramento: California Department of Corrections, 1974.

[10] Austin, James. 1986. "Using Early Release to Relieve Prison Crowding: A Dilemma in Public Policy." *Crime and Delinquency* 32:404-502 and Murray, Charles and Louis A. Cox, Jr. 1979. *Beyond Probation: Juvenile Corrections and the Chronic Delinquent*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

[11] Austin, James and Patricia Hardyman. 1991. *The Use of Early Parole With Electronic Monitoring to Control Prison Crowding: Evaluation of the Oklahoma Department Of Corrections Pre-Parole Supervised Release With Electronic Monitoring.* Unpublished report to the National Institute of Justice. Baumer, T.L., Maxfield, M.G., and Mendelsohn, R.I. 1993. "A comparative analysis of three electronically monitored home detention programs". *Justice Quarterly,10*, 121-42.

[12] Haapanen, Rudy and Lee Britton. 2002. "Drug Testing for Youthful Offenders on Parole. An Experimental Evaluation Study." *Criminology and Public Policy.* Vol. 1, No.2: 217-244. Deschenes, Elizabeth, Susan Turner, Peter Greenwood, and J. Chiesa,. 1996. *An Experimental Evaluation of Drug Testing and Treatment Interventions for Probationers in Maricopa County, Arizona*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corp.

[13] Boyum, David A, and Mark A.R. Kleiman. 2002. "Substance Abuse Policy from a Crime-Control Perspective". In *Crime: Public Policies for Crime Control,* ed. James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia, 331- 382. Oakland, California: Institute for Contemporary Studies. Austin, James. 2005. *Re-Thinking the Consequences of Decriminalizing Marijuana.* Washington, DC: JFA Institute.

[14] U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, April 1989. *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1983.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice; U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, June 2002. *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice; Austin, James. 1986. "Using Early Release to Relieve Prison Crowding: A Dilemma in Public Policy." *Crime and Delinquency* 32:404-502; McGinnis, Kenneth and James Austin, 2001. *Texas Board of Pardons and Paroles Guidelines Project*. Austin, Texas: Texas Board of Pardons and Paroles.

[15] See Austin, James and Tony Fabelo. 2004. *The Diminishing Returns of Incarceration*. Washington, D.C.: The JFA Institute; Spellman, William. 2000. "The Limited Importance of Prison Expansion" in *The Crime Drop in America,* edited by Alfred Blumstein and Joel Wallman. NY, NY: Cambridge University Press.

[16] For a review of this substantial literature see Sampson, Robert. 2001. "How Do Communities Undergird or Undermine Human Development? Relevant Contexts and Social Mechanisms." in *Does it take a Village? Community Effects on Children, Adolescents, and Families,* edited by A. Booth and A. Crouter. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erbaum Associates; Sampson, Robert J. and John H. Laub, 1993. *Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Linsky, Arnold S. and Murray A. Straus. 1986. *Social Stress in the United States.* Dover, MA: Auburn House.

[17] Holt, Norm. 1995. *Reducing Parole Revocations By Improved Decision Making: The California Experience.* Unpublished manuscript.

***James Austin, Ph.D.*** *is the President of the JFA Institute located in Washington D.C.*



# Debating the Effectiveness of Parole

by Anne Morrison **Piehl**

# *"Does Parole Work?"*

It sounds like a simple question. And most casual observers of criminal justice policy likely assume it is a question that the profession has a very good handle on. Recent commentary on this topic and the current symposium might prove baffling to an unsuspecting reader who happened upon this journal.

And yet, this debate is routine for the field. The research reported by Amy L. Solomon, Vera Kachnowski, and Avi Bhati of the Urban Institute in "Does Parole Work? Analyzing the Impact of Postprison Supervision on Rearrest Outcomes" poses a question that has been posed frequently in the past. And while there is some disagreement about the answer, and whether it has changed over time, there can be no disagreement that it is a question that requires a clear answer. With three-quarters of a million people on parole supervision in the United States on any given day, society requires evidence on which to base key policy decisions such as: How many people should be on parole and for how long? Are some people more likely to have success on parole? How much parole supervision is enough? Which conditions of supervision are most efficacious for which parolees?

## Does Parole Work? The Urban Institute Study

The Urban Institute report conducted their analysis of parole in the United States using data collected by the Bureau of Justice Statistics to study recidivism. This ambitious effort involved collecting and merging information from state and federal sources to create profiles of nearly 35,000 inmates released from state prisons in 1994. The data sample was drawn from prisoners in 15 states, and these include the larger states, so that the database is representative of two-thirds of all inmates in the nation. These profiles cover information on the inmates from their term in prison, their release, and for three years following release. The data underlying these profiles come from official criminal history records, so they include events that are essential to law enforcement in each jurisdiction, including date and type of arrests and convictions and, key to the Urban Institute report, date and type of release from prison.

The goal of the Urban Institute report was to provide the "big picture" about parole in America, using reliable information on a representative sample of inmates. Their research design necessarily would leave out much of the local detail that is essential to understanding ▷▷▷



how law enforcement is accomplished "on the street." At the same time, policy discussions frequently take place at the national level. Even in state or local discussions of policy, the first question is generally "what are other states doing?" So this report attempts to assess parole from vantage point of "10,000 feet" elevation.

The Urban Institute researchers ambitiously tried to discern policy lessons and wisdom from the available data, but the quality of the extant data defies even their sophisticated analytical approach. I have used these data myself, and they do not allow the policy conclusions drawn in the Urban Institute report. Unfortunately, one cannot hope to answer the question of whether parole works either negatively or positively using their approach. There are statistical and substantive reasons for this conclusion. But before turning to these, and to the main question of whether parole works, we must begin by being clear about our definitions.

## What does "parole" mean?

The Urban Institute report begins by distinguishing between release type and supervision. There has been a sharp decrease in the proportion of inmates released due to the discretionary decisions of a parole board from 55 percent in 1980 to 22 percent in 2003 (Glaze and Palla 2005). This trend resulted from policy choices in many states to put more determinacy into criminal sentences (Hughes et al. 2001), and also from the decisions of parole boards and inmates themselves to less aggressively seek discretionary release. Distinguishing between type of release and type and extent of supervision is essential to understanding how and whether parole works. However, much more work is necessary before we can claim to understand the salience of separating the decision about the timing of release from decisions about supervision intensity and length.

If the term "parole" was ever sufficient to describe the various state practices for monitoring ex-inmates in the community, it certainly is not sufficient now. Depending on the state, post-incarceration supervision can be provided by parole departments (some of which fall under departments of correction), probation departments, other entities, or some combination of these. In a shift from its historical role as providing an alternative to incarceration, probation now plays a substantial role in supervising adults following release from prison. An estimated 320,000 adults were supervised by probation following incarceration, which constituted 8 percent of the 4 million adults on probation at yearend 2002 (Glaze and Palla 2005).[1]

Across the United States, requirements for those under community supervision include a mix of elements, often crafted for individual offenders. Just as states vary in the way they organize post-incarceration supervision, they also vary in the extent to which they do it. Some states leave many released from prison unsupervised, while others require supervision of nearly all of those released. For some ex-inmates, terms under supervision may be decades long; for others, only a few months. In addition, what constitutes supervision at any given point is subject to interpretation. Intensive supervision in one state may mean monthly contact between a parolee and an agent in a regional parole office; in another, it may mean 24-hour electronic monitoring with officers in the field checking compliance of daily itineraries. In some systems, for some inmates, a continuum of supervision sanctions exists, allowing for progressive sanctioning for offenders in non-compliance with their terms of conditional release.

## What does "work" mean?

The Urban Institute report takes one definition of effectiveness of parole: reduction in recidivism. This is clearly a goal of parole supervision, but there are additional ways to operationalize the idea. Several recent reports on parole and prisoner reentry have developed and utilized the concept of parole "success" rates (Hughes et al. 2001, Travis and Lawrence 2002). This statistic is defined as the number of parolees who completed their terms of supervision without having their parole revoked, being returned to jail or prison, or absconding, divided by the total number of parolees leaving parole in a given year. The success rate for the nation as a whole has hovered just above 40 percent for the past ten years (Glaze and Pella 2005). Hughes et al. (2001) reports that those released for the first time on the current sentence are much more successful than re-releases and that discretionary releases are substantially more successful than mandatory releases. The nationwide figures mask the tremendous amount of variation across states. Massachusetts was one of two states with the highest "success" rates (83 percent), and California had the lowest (21 percent).[2]

The Bureau of Justice Statistics report notes that many factors affect measured "success" and cautions that these other factors may explain observed differences in this statistic. "When comparing State success rates for parole discharges, differences may be due to

> "Without a way to adjust for the differences in risk of further criminal activity or even violating conditions of supervision, it is impossible to credibly compare alternative supervision schemes over a substantial period of time."

variations in parole populations, such as age at prison release, criminal history, and most serious offense. Success rates may also differ based on the intensity of supervision and the parole agency policies related to revocation of technical violators" (Hughes et al. 2001). Despite such qualifications, these "success" numbers have gained a fair bit of currency in the discussion of prisoner reentry. For example, Travis and Lawrence (2002) utilize the same measure to rank states, and Petersilia (2003) uses them to support an argument in favor of discretionary release.

Although these authors note that there are other factors one would like to examine in order to make sense of these numbers, the qualifications have not received the same attention as the raw numbers, though they are arguably more important. Reitz critiques these measures for being more a reflection of state policies than measures of the behavior of those supervised:

*Simply put, it is a serious error to equate failure rates on postrelease supervision with the actual behavior of prison releasees. The states are far too different in their revocation practices to allow us to consider the data compatible from state to state. In any jurisdiction, the number and rate of revocations depends to some degree on the good or bad conduct of parolees, to be sure, but it also depends at least as much on what might be called the "sensitivity" of the supervision system to violations. Sensitivity varies with formal definitions of what constitutes a violation, the intensity of surveillance employed by parole field officers, the institutional culture of field services from place to place, and the severity of sanctions typically used upon findings of violations. (Reitz 2004).*

If these outcomes largely reflect policy differences, then they cannot be used to evaluate policies. In order to assess the effectiveness of parole, we must be able to identify which part of the observed difference is the result of behavior – of those supervised and of those doing the supervising. Only with clear information on individual and institutional behavior can we begin to know what works and to generalize that knowledge to other jurisdictions and other settings.

Success, as defined above, may well be a reasonable outcome measure for a supervising agency, when used with other statistics to evaluate performance. One could argue that parole agencies that improve their success rates are likely to have improved their operations. But comparing these measures across agencies is likely to lead to large errors. For example, it is likely that a thorough analysis of Massachusetts' stellar performance on this measure is largely driven by its limited reliance on post-incarceration supervision. In fact, that state is working to broaden its use of parole, as officials were worried that too many inmates were released with no community supervision, the result of determinate sentencing practices, reductions in the granting of discretionary release, and inmates deciding to finish out their terms rather than seek parole hearings (Piehl 2002).

A more general approach to assessing the effectiveness of parole would begin by acknowledging that it proves difficult to understand post-release supervision as a separate program, distinct from the mechanisms that assign and provide it. Rather, any evaluation of supervision must begin with an understanding of the effects of the multiple system factors -- laws, agencies, and practices – that govern who receives parole (or its equivalent), and the duration, intensity, and enforcement practices of the post-release supervision. The role of sentencing laws and practices has already been noted. In addition, the enforcement of the terms of conditional release may be affected by the actions of police and other law enforcement agencies working independently or cooperatively with correctional agencies. Crime sweeps enforcing nuisance laws may (intentionally or not) target recently released offenders and necessitate action by correctional agencies. Perhaps the most important question, from fiscal and justice perspectives, is whether jurisdictions respond too harshly to non-criminal violations of the terms of conditional release. Modest changes in the revocation rate translate into substantial changes in prison populations. Given these factors, considering post-release supervision as just one criminal sanction in a set of interrelated punishments may be the most appropriate way to judge whether it is "working."

Before concluding this section on parole effectiveness, it is worth remembering that the parole population has characteristics that are associated, not surprisingly, with poor success in the broader society (Petersilia 2003). Recidivism rates are very high; nearly 50 percent of those released in 1994 were reconvicted for a new crime within three years of release (Langan and Levin 2002). And, those released from prison and entering parole supervision are increasingly likely to have previously exited prison during the same criminal sentence (Blumstein and Beck 2005). These facts represent the challenges that parole agents and agencies face every day.

## Does supervision matter?

Last year I published a review of the evidence on the effectiveness of community supervision written with Stefan LoBuglio, chief of pre-release and reentry services for Montgomery County (Maryland) and a Ph.D. candidate at Harvard. In that work, we attempted to cull from the literature the evidence that would best inform judgments about effectiveness of parole. As you will see, the research literature is not sufficient to provide a detailed answer to this question, but does provide some insight, and suggestions for improving the research base. This section draws heavily on that earlier work (Piehl and LoBuglio 2005).

An ideal test of whether post-release supervision of recent inmates reduces the probability of criminal re-offending would be based on the random assignment of a pool of soon-to-be released prisoners to either a treatment group that would provide post-release supervision, or to a control group that would have no supervision. With random ▷▷▷



assignment, a simple comparison of the rates of criminal activity across the two groups would provide definitive evidence on the effect of supervision. Unfortunately, there is an inherent problem with this research design: the outcome – recidivism – is intrinsically linked with supervision. In practice, increased supervision will likely lead to greater detection of rule violations and new criminal offenses. Furthermore, in non-experimental studies comparing the post-release criminal activity of offenders released under discretionary parole with those released under mandatory parole or released without supervision, selection bias proves problematic in drawing reliable inference. Parole boards will generally grant parole to those offenders who pose the least risk of re-offending and would be expected to have fewer arrests, on average, than those offenders who were turned down for parole, and those who received mandatory parole. This follows from parole board members doing their jobs as charged.

Another challenge to research in this area comes from difficulty in comparing offenders in prison to those under supervision. No matter how effective supervision services are, the risk to public safety will always be greater if an individual is supervised in the community rather than in prison. Studies of offender supervision typically compare offenders under different intensities and mixes of surveillance and treatment services. Necessarily, some behavior will be sanctioned by additional time behind bars. If there is any difference in the extent to which alternative programs rely on incarceration, then the outcomes are incomparable. Without a way to adjust for the differences in risk of further criminal activity or even violating conditions of supervision, it is impossible to credibly compare alternative supervision schemes over a substantial period of time.

## Experimental evidence on intensive supervision

Over the past half century, periods of prison overcrowding have led some jurisdictions to implement intensive supervision programs both as a solution to divert offenders from prison, and to release inmates earlier from confined institutions into transitional programs. The few significant studies of intensive supervision conducted have focused on its effectiveness in reducing prison overcrowding without significantly increasing the public safety risk. In the 1950s, Richard McGee, noted penologist and then director of the California Department of Corrections, initiated a number of randomized research studies to determine the effectiveness of early parole as a function of offender risk and parole officer caseloads in the state. From a cost-benefit perspective, McGee concluded that intensive supervision was effective for offenders on the margin of choosing between criminal and law abiding behaviors, and not effective for either low risk offenders who may not have needed additional supervision to succeed or high-risk offenders who probably would have failed regardless of the nature of the supervision (Glaser 1964).

The 1980s saw a resurgence of states' interests in Intensive Supervision Programs (ISP), touted as relatively low-cost intermediate alternatives to vastly overcrowded prisons. From 1986-91, the National Institute of Justice funded RAND to conduct a large randomized experiment of intensive supervision programs (ISP) in fourteen sites and nine states to assess their cost effectiveness. As reported by Petersilia and Turner (1993), who designed and oversaw the implementation of this evaluation, at the end of the one-year follow-up, 37 percent of the ISP treatment group had been rearrested as compared to 33 percent of the control group. Sixty-five percent of ISP offenders experienced a technical violation compared to 38 percent of the controls. Also, 27 percent of ISP offenders were recommitted to prison compared to 19 percent of the controls.

There are two ways to interpret these findings: either the program led to increased criminal behavior of those under heightened supervision (in the opposite direction of the anticipated effect), or the increased surveillance led to an increased probability of detection. If the latter is true, it is impossible to know whether there was in fact a deterrent effect that was overwhelmed by the surveillance effect. Also, the researchers speculated that the ISP may have sanctioned these infractions more harshly in an effort to shore up the credibility of the program (Petersilia and Turner 1993). This too would obscure any true deterrent effect.

Although the evaluation could not provide any definitive evidence that increased supervision intensity provided public safety benefits, the highly elevated rate of technical violations for those in the treatment group suggests that the surveillance did in fact increase the rate of detection. Then the interesting question becomes whether technical violations are a proxy for criminal behavior. Experience in Washington State in the mid-1980s from a program that decreased the average number of conditions of release for probationers and de-emphasized the sanctions for technical violations does not support this hypothesis (Petersilia and Turner 1993).

Despite the experience of hundreds of intensive supervision programs in this country and many studies, albeit few experimental, we still know very little about the effectiveness of these programs to reduce prison overcrowding or to reduce crime in detectable ways. The same issues that hinder our learning from many criminal justice practices are at work here. There is no consistency in the design and implementation of ISP programs; their surveillance and monitoring practices, caseloads, and their incorporation of rehabilitative requirements vary significantly both within and between programs. Some researchers have found that judges begin filling ISPs with lower-risk offenders who are not prison-bound – so called net-widening – and believe that the investment of additional supervision resources for this population can backfire and lead to increased rates of violations and re-incarceration. However,

if ISPs serve to enforce release conditions that were not previously being enforced under standard probation, and the detected infractions were directly or indirectly related to criminal activity, there could be a public safety benefit. Similarly, ISPs may serve to ensure the quicker detection and apprehension of violations by higher-risk offenders. Also, as McGee found, it is entirely possible that these programs may deter criminal offending from those offenders who are at the margins of choosing between licit and illicit behaviors. The bottom line is that the public safety benefit of intensive supervision programs relies on two mechanisms that have yet to be proven: the deterrence value of supervision, and the value of responding to technical violations to prevent crime.

## The connection between the release process and the extent and effectiveness of supervision

Some analysts have used success measures to assess the efficacy of different approaches to prison release, comparing the outcomes of those released by a discretionary release process to the outcomes of those released at the completion of their sentences. In addition to the critiques offered above with regard to the way success is measured, there is a fundamental problem with this inference – it does not account for how individuals are assigned to release status. That is, inmates who are released at the discretion of a parole board are likely to have a lower risk of recidivism than inmates whom a parole board chooses not to release. Further complicating matters is the variety of statutes that govern whether or not inmates with given criminal histories are eligible for discretionary release; differences in these laws across states will affect average success measures by release type. Research on this topic does not generally investigate whether discretionary release was available for those who were released at the expiration of their sentence.

Given that it is not straightforward to compare the effect of release type on the effectiveness of supervision in controlling the criminal behavior of those released from prison, what can be said about the connection between release policy and supervision? Mandatory release may or may not lead to a period of post incarceration supervision. Discretionary release generally leads to supervision for at least several months or the parole board would not take time to hear the case. When faced with an inmate who appears to pose a risk for public safety, a parole board must trade off the benefits and costs of discretionary release and the supervision opportunities that provides against the benefits and costs of keeping the inmate incarcerated until the maximum release date. For better or worse, under a policy of mandatory release, these tradeoffs are not considered on a case-by-case basis.

Inherently, discretionary release works against the notion that those least equipped to reintegrate should be subject to a period of post-release supervision from prison. Mandatory release polices provide a greater certainty that these individuals will receive supervision, but then raise a secondary resource allocation question. Certainly, if supervising all prisoners dilutes the intensity of supervision of high-risk offenders and needlessly interferes with the reintegration process of low-risk offenders, it could prove costly and counterproductive to making supervision "matter."

Critics of mandatory release call for a return to discretionary release in order to increase the incentives to encourage rehabilitative behavior among prisoners, and to balance disparities in sentences across offenders and jurisdictions. There are two other types of benefits of discretionary release that should also be considered. When making a release decision, a parole board can know about the inmate's plans: Does he have a job? Where will she live? Is there anyone who can vouch for these plans? Having established supports in place may be the most important determinant of successful reentry, and it is useful to require these before agreeing to release a person from confinement. Finally, the existence of discretionary release provides incentives for correctional institutions to provide rehabilitative opportunities and incentives for inmates to take advantage of these opportunities. It is a topic of lively debate whether the discretionary release process entails moral and practical benefits that are not just as easily achieved through other means (Petersilia 1999, Reitz 2004).

In the end, the issue of whether discretionary release is preferable to mandatory release has many dimensions in addition to its relationship to successful reentry following release from prison. From the perspective of reentry and public safety, release policy is important both to how parole outcomes are interpreted and to how other aspects of reentry and supervision are designed. Most states have some people released under the discretion of a parole board and others released at the end of their sentences. This fact suggests that the debate about "mandatory" versus "discretionary" should begin to consider the best way to support reentry in a system that contains multiple release types.

## The role of changing technology in community supervision

New technologies have transformed the ability of supervising agencies to detect non-compliance among offenders, but now raise questions about whether we can learn too much and be forced to sanction without a clear benefit to public safety (Burrell 2005). As technology becomes more effective and less expensive, it provides opportunities and challenges for supervising agencies. Faced with rising caseloads and few support resources in the community, the shift of supervising officers' roles from providing assistance to surveillance was probably inevitable, but certainly greatly accelerated by new technologies. Now, agencies could benefit from specific research on which technologies work best with certain types of offenders, and the development ▷▷▷



of best practices that would moderate the natural inclination to use technology excessively. This discussion brings us back to the need for a clear research agenda on what the goals of supervision are within the larger system of law enforcement.

## Why don't we have better answers?

Why is it so hard to know the right answer to whether "parole works"? As some of the other commentators have noted, perhaps it is not very helpful to pose the question in this broad form. Rather, perhaps it is only really useful to assess effectiveness of any activity in a particular time and place. But this perspective is not sufficient. In other areas of social policy we seek to take advantage of tremendous cross-jurisdiction variation to build generalizable knowledge. The questions posed by the Urban Institute report and by the other authors in this special series are inherently difficult, but also immensely important to society.

A critical starting point is to accept that lively debate is necessary for making piecemeal progress toward an understanding the empirical relationships at work. Too much money is being spent in this country, and too many people are living with their freedoms restricted, not to pursue (actively and systematically) a research agenda that is likely to assist making better policy choices. We now have plenty of descriptive information about those under supervision, but we need more and better information on other parts of system. And we certainly need more and better studies of the actions of inmates, parole boards, field agents, judges, prosecutors, and others in response to the multiple goals and varied policies that govern criminal justice. Without more analysis of what each party is doing within the larger system, we will not be able to improve policies or practices, nor will we have reliable evidence on which to base recommendations.

One might think that the enormous variation in sentencing laws, discretionary release policies, and supervision practices across and within states would provide natural experiments from which to learn much about the effectiveness of supervision. However, as noted earlier, the inability to cleanly delineate differences in supervision practices from system differences makes inference from cross-jurisdictional comparisons suspect. It would certainly make cross-jurisdictional analyses better to have complete information on these system differences, something that is not easily attainable now. The fact that it is difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of supervision irrespective of system factors that determine who receives supervision, along with the duration, intensity, and enforcement of the terms of conditional release should lead us to consider alternative research strategies.

We also miss opportunities for developing research knowledge when political considerations dictate how resources are allocated. The Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiative authorized over $100 million to be spent on prisoner reentry programs, research, and evaluation. And it appears that this will be a missed opportunity for both practice and research. Grant funding was spread equally over 50 states, not strategically allocated to those jurisdictions with promising models and agency commitments. While some jurisdictions have put their money to good use, not all have done so. The result has been many marginal programs, most of which are likely to disappear with the funding. And with each program design so specific to its setting, and without a coordinated research effort to understand the drivers of program success, little generalizable knowledge will outlive the federal effort. It is a shame that such a large commitment may not result in reliable evaluation of the practice of prison release and community supervision.

## What research agenda would shed more light on these questions?

We need a lively debate where people are open to refining their policy positions depending upon the outcomes of the research. That is, the debate should first emphasize the facts and ideas before turning to the solutions. And it may require substantial social investments to accomplish. The Moving to Opportunity experiments, designed to learn about the effects of neighborhoods on a variety of social outcomes (including some in criminal justice), cost the federal government as much as $70 million.[3] Federal contracts for research ran about $1 million per year, and academic researchers raised another $7 million in research funding from 2000-2005 to extend the research capacities of the federal effort. Other substantial experimental efforts, like those that laid the groundwork for welfare reform, also required large amounts of funding. What this means is that one key element of a research agenda would be the development of a large-scale randomized experiment.

Another vital element of such an agenda should be the systematic collection of data from criminal justice agencies that are meaningful for cross-jurisdictional analysis. Of course, practices and laws vary by jurisdiction. As a result, under current data efforts, so does the meaning of the data elements. All large data sets for studying these questions have been based on administrative data defined by agencies in order to carry out their law enforcement functions. Therefore, it is possible to know whether an inmate was released due to a discretionary parole board decision or at the expiration of his sentence. But it is not possible to know which inmates were eligible for parole consideration, and whether it was the inmate or the parole board who decided against discretionary release. Nor do we know whether the corrections department facilitated the inmate's preparation for a parole hearing. Similarly, in trying to understand outcomes on supervision, we do not have systematic information on caseloads, standard expectations of parolees, or the behavior that did or did not trigger violations. Until we have a resource that defines policies and actions in a way that does not depend on the

vagaries of each jurisdiction – that is, data collected for research, not for law enforcement – we will always be able to have debate over what, if anything, we have learned from non-experimental evidence.

As noted earlier, we cannot understand post-release supervision as a separate program distinct from the mechanisms that assign and provide it. Rather, any evaluation of supervision must begin with an understanding of the effects of the multiple system factors -- laws, agencies, and practices – that govern who receives parole (or its equivalent), and the duration, intensity, and enforcement practices of the post-release supervision. Therefore, a third element of a research agenda is to conduct much more comprehensive evaluations that consider the system variables affecting supervision outcomes.

The fourth element of a research agenda is the one where we are currently doing the best – focusing on basic practices. For prisoners of certain attributes (offenses, age, employment/education history, return destination) what should be the supervision strategy? How many times a month should these type of offenders report to supervising officers and what is the nature of this reporting relationship? For offenders who seem to pose a significant threat to public safety such as sexual predators, what type of technology proves most useful in providing round the clock surveillance, and what pharmacological and other treatment remedies are most effective? Does it make sense to front-load supervision services? Some of these studies have been conducted in Washington State and elsewhere. They are eminently doable, can have an immediate effect on practice, and take advantage of the existing variation in practice. To make the results generalizable to other locations, however, it is essential that research on a local effort contain sufficient information on the system factors that determine the characteristics of the target population and their incentives for compliance. Efforts to collect more information on cross-jurisdictional differences would benefit the effort to generalize studies of best practices.

The current symposium provides a challenge. Are we ready to put in place an ambitious research agenda that truly tests ideas about the best way to organize and apply community supervision? If so, it is reasonable to undertake an agenda that addresses the question from different levels, 10,000 feet and ground level, and evaluates innovative ideas and standard practices with equal intensity. This is the only way to increase the knowledge base. ▷▷▲

## Endnotes

[1] It is hard to reconcile these figures with others on the use of probation for post-incarceration supervision. For example, among those released from prison, approximately 10 percent are listed as being conditionally released to probation (National Prisoner Statistics, 2001, unpublished data provide by the Bureau of Justice Statistics). These figures are starkly different from those calculated from the Annual Probation and Parole Surveys cited in the text. It is likely that the National Prisoner Statistics (NPS) miss some inmates with subsequent probation terms. In Massachusetts, for example, case studies of correctional populations reveal substantial post-incarceration probation (Piehl, 2002), yet the NPS reveals no people in this category.

[2] Because California is so large and is an outlier, the nationwide figures are very sensitive to the experience of this state. In fact, the BJS reports that "[w]hen California data are excluded, the "success" rate for all parole discharges rises to 53 percent (from 42 percent), and the rate for mandatory parolees increases to 64 percent (from 33 percent) in 1999" (Glaze 2002).

[3] The most commonly cited numbers on MTO cost are in http://www.huduser.org/publications/pdf/mto.pdf, pages 9 and 29. $70m appropriated for vouchers; $3m for housing counseling. The net cost of the vouchers is unclear, however, because many families in MTO ended up with vouchers allocated from the usual housing authority turnover. I thank Jeffrey Kling of the Brookings Institution for providing these figures.

## References


Blumstein, Alfred and Allen J. Beck, "Reentry as a Transient State between Liberty and Recommitment" in Jeremy Travis and Christy Visher, eds., *Prisoner Reentry and Public Safety in America*, New York: Cambridge University Press (2005).

Burrell, William, D. "Trends in Probation and Parole in the States", *Book of the States, vol. 37*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, (2005).

Glaze, Lauren E. *Probation and Parole in the United States, 2001*. Washington, D.C., Bureau of Justice Statistics (2002).

Glaze, Lauren E. and Seri Pella, *Probation and Parole in the United States, 2004*. Washington, D.C., Bureau of Justice Statistics (2005).

Glaser, D. *The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company (1964).

Hughes, Timothy, Doris Wilson, and Allen Beck, *Trends in State Parole, 1990-2000*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice (2001). http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/pub/pdf/tsp00.pdf.

Langan, Patrick and David Levin, *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs (2002).

Petersilia, Joan, *When Prisoners Come Home*. New York,: Oxford University Press (2003).

Piehl, Anne Morrison, *From Cell to Street: A Plan to Supervise Inmates after Release*. Boston: Massachusetts Institute for a New Commonwealth (2002).

Piehl, Anne Morrison and Stefan F. LoBuglio, "Does Supervision Matter?" in Jeremy Travis and Christy Visher, eds., *Prisoner Reentry and Public Safety in America*, New York: Cambridge University Press (2005).

Reitz, Kevin, "Questioning the Conventional Wisdom of Parole Release Authority" in Michael Tonry, ed., *The Future of Imprisonment in the 21st Century*. New York: Oxford University Press (2004).

Solomon, Amy L., Vera Kachnowski, and Avi Bhati, *Does Parole Work? Analyzing the Impact of Postprison Supervision on Rearrest Outcomes*, Urban Institute (2005).

Travis, Jeremy and Sarah Lawrence, *Beyond the Prison Gates: The State of Parole in America*. Washington, D.C., The Urban Institute (2002).



***Anne Morrison Piehl*** *is an associate professor in the economics department and in the program in criminal justice at Rutgers University and a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research.*

# APPA Professional Development Training

**Each highly interactive and skill-based training topic will be open for registration nationally; but may be limited to 30 participants – REGISTER EARLY!!**

**Needed: Agency or affiliate to host an APPA Selected Training**

- **Each sponsoring group agreeing to provide the appropriate training space and assist with registration will receive one free registration.**

- **Each group attending the training and registering ten or more participants will receive one free registration.**

## Current Trainings Open for Registration

### Officer Safety
Safety Strategies for Mental Health and Social Workers
March 28-29, 2006 – Topeka, KS

### Real World Motivational Interviewing
May 16-17, 2006 – Fairfield, CA

### Natural Response Control Training: Training for Trainers
April 17-20, 2006 – Harrisburg, PA

### Managing Sex Offenders' Computer Use
June 1-2, 2006 – Golden, CO

### Supervising the Sexual Offender
April 20-21, 2006 – Fairfield, CA
September 19-20, 2006 – Fairfield, CA

### Strategies for Officer Safety
May 25-26, 2006 – Orlando, FL

Register online or for a complete list of available topics, please visit our website at www.appa-net.org - click on the button "Professional Development Training Opportunities."

For additional information regarding APPA Professional Development Program, Selected Trainings contact:

Karen L. Dunlap, Training and Technical Assistance Coordinator
American Probation and Parole Association
PO Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40511
Phone: (859) 244-8211, Email: kdunlap@csg.org

# Calendar of Events

## 2005 - 2006

| | |
|---|---|
| March 16-18, 2006 | **SAMHSA- The Road Home: National Conference,** "Road Home: National Conference on Returning Veterans' and Their Families' Behavioral Health." Washington Hilton, Washington, DC. Visit www.samhsa.gov to register. |
| **March 18-19, 2006** | **Safety Strategies for Mental Health and Social Workers, APPA Selected Trainings, St. Louis, MO. Contact Karen Dunlap at (859) 244-8211, kdunlap@csg.org or visit www.appa-net.org for more information.** |
| March 23-24, 2006 | **Ensuring the Sustainability of Drug Courts,** Sheraton Denver West Hotel, Denver, CO. Visit www.dcpi.ncjrs.org/dcti.html or phone (443) 328-0443 for more information. |
| March 26-28, 2006 | **Correctional Education Association Leadership Forum,** Annapolis, MD. Visit www.ceanational.org for more information. |
| March 27-30, 2006 | **NCIA ENTERPRISE 2006 ,** Bally's Atlantic City Hotel Atlantic City, NJ. Visit http://nationalcia.hosting-advantage.com/e2006/e2006_confreg_form.html for more information |
| April 8-9, 2006 | **American Council on Criminal Justice Training 1st Annual Training Conference**, Mount Bachelor Village Resort, Bend, Oregon. Call (800) 547-5204 for more information. |
| April 8-11, 2006 | **36th National Council for Community Behavioral Healthcare Annual Training Conference**. Visit www.nccbh.org/orlando for more information |
| April 11-13, 2006 | **National Offender Workforce Development Conference Productive Workforce Development,** Adam's Mark, St. Louis, MO. Visit www.proworkdev.com for more information. |
| April 22-26, 2006 | **Treating People with Dignity: Working with Criminal Justice and Health Care Systems,** American Association for the Treatment of Opioid Dependence, Hyatt Regency Atlanta, Atlanta, GA. Register for the conference online at www.aatod.org. |
| April 24-28, 2006 | **ICAC Child Sex Offender Accountability Training.** For further information visit www.icactraining.org/icaccso.htm |
| May 14-19, 2006 | **National Association of Workforce Development Professionals Annual Conference**, The Westin Charlotte, Charlotte NC. Visit http://www.nawdp.org/conference.htm for more information. |
| May 21-25, 2006 | **American Jail Association's 25th Annual Training Conference & Jail Expo.** Visitwww.corrections.com/aja/vendor/annual_expo.shtml or http://www.corrections.com/aja for more information. |
| June 26-30, 2006 | **ICAC Child Sex Offender Accountability Training.** For further information visit www.icactraining.org/icaccso.htm |
| July 7-9, 2006 | **National Career Development Association Global Conference**, Hilton Chicago Hotel, Chicago, IL. Register at http://www.ncda.org/ |
| July 17-21, 2006 | **ICAC Child Sex Offender Accountability Training.** For further information visit www.icactraining.org/icaccso.htm |
| **July 23-26, 2006** | **APPA's 31st Annual Training Institute, Hilton Chicago, Chicago, IL. Contact Kris Chappell at kchappell@csg.org or (859) 244-8204 or visit www.appa-net.org for more information.** |
| July 30- August 2, 2006 | **CEA 61st International Conference**, Anaheim Marriott, Anaheim, CA. Contact Jennier Valdez at valdez@mindsync.com or Mike Lawson at Mike.Lawson@cdcr.ca.gov for more information. |
| August 12-17, 2006 | **American Correctional Association 136th Congress of Correction,** Charlotte, NC. Visit www.aca.org for more information. |
| September 17-20, 2006 | **New England Council on Crime and Delinquency 67th Annual Training Institute**, Marriott Hartford Downtown, Hartford, CT. For more information visit neccd.org or contact Andrew Cannon at Andrew.Cannon@jud.state.ct.us or Paula J. Keating at pj.keating@yahoo.com. |
| September 25-29, 3006 | **ICAC Child Sex Offender Accountability Training.** For further information visit www.icactraining.org/icaccso.htm |
| November 5-8, 2006 | **Probation Officers Association of Ontario 52nd Annual Symposium,** Stratford, Ontario, Canada. Visit www.poao.org or contact darlene.humeniuk@jus.gov.on.ca |
| **February 11-14, 2007** | **APPA's Winter Training Institute, Atlanta, GA. Contact Kris Chappell at kchappell@csg.org or (859) 244-8204 or visit www.appa-net.org for more information.** |
| **July 8-11, 2007** | **APPA's 32nd Annual Training Institute, Philadelphia Downtown Marriott, Philadelphia, PA. Contact Kris Chappell at kchappell@csg.org or (859) 244-8204 or visit www.appa-net.org for more information.** |

To place your activities in Calendar of Events, please submit information to:
Darlene Webb
American Probation and Parole Association
P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40578
fax (859) 244-8001, email dwebb@csg.org


the journal of the American Probation and Parole Association
PERSPECTIVES
www.appa-net.org

Nonprofit Organization
U.S. Postage
PAID
Lexington, KY 40578
Permit No. 355

American Probation and Parole Association
c/o The Council of State Governments
P.O. Box 11910
Lexington, KY 40578-1910