

the journal of the American Probation and Parole Association

PERSPECTIVES

w w w . a p p a - n e t . o r g
Volume 30 Number 3 Summer 2006



Evidence Based Practices

President's Message

by Mark E. Carey

I am emphasizing re-entry as an issue to our association members because it is an area that requires our “think time” and a “cultural shift.” By re-entry, I mean that critical period of time between a period of incarceration (jail, residential treatment, halfway house, prison, etc.) to release into the community. It is during that time of placement that offenders often lose their community residence, employment, support systems, access to medication and other key ingredients for success. The breadth and scale of what is being done under the rubric of re-entry is both inspiring and daunting. There is truly a re-entry movement in corrections that enjoys widespread support, offering the promise of a paradigm shift capable of altering the DNA of how we do business. However, I am both troubled by this topic as much as encouraged. Let me start with my concerns in the hope that it does not sound pessimistic.

In the United States, our track record on transitioning offenders back into the community is not good. We continue to face astronomically high re-arrest rates which leads me to the presumption that our worldview about re-entry issues is flawed. That is, we are facing a cultural problem in the same way that NASA saw some of the same issues surface long after the first shuttle tragedy resulting in a 248 page report and headlines that read “NASA culture blamed for Columbia disaster.” Homeland security is another example. Despite millions and millions of invested capital and countless hours of toil we still hear reports of fragmentation and poor coordination leaving us in a similarly vulnerable position as a nation. The issues are similar: bureaucracy, egos, disparate communication systems, dysfunctional smokestacks, turf wars, unequal division of labor and a failure to truly cooperate.

Let's examine re-entry a bit more closely. Scott Taylor (Oregon Department of Corrections and co-chair of the re-entry ad hoc committee along with Ed Rhine, Ohio Department of Correction and Rehabilitation) conducted a simple survey asking practitioners and offenders alike this simple question: “Please circle the five priorities for those being released from incarceration.” The top five answers were largely predictable. In order of most common response they were:

- Housing
- Family/support system
- Employment/education
- Mental health medication in first 30 days
- Transportation (tied)
- Offender knowing release conditions (tied)



These issues scream for the need to collaborate with other groups such as business, faith communities, labor, housing, mental health, social services, law enforcement, substance abuse treatment, medical, public health, education, family members—broadly defined and others. However, each of these entities has rules, statutes, policies, histories, priorities, funding requirements, constituencies, biases and political, social, legal and economic pressures that make alignment challenging. To further complicate matters, leadership frequently changes and re-entry planners have to re-initiate, re-persuade, re-motivate and re-convince the new regime why and how working with and providing services to ex-criminals coming out of jails and prisons is in the public's and even the politician's best interest. This is especially difficult when the new administration wants to set its own course and leave some distance between past administrations and political parties.

Then, there is the issue of funding that ebbs and flows, programs and strategies that are in favor and then out of favor. Just as troubling is the massive challenge of creating a way of thinking and creating a set of policies and processes that adhere to models that work. Without implementing a process for this adherence, implementation atrophy sets in. Services are delivered that no longer hold fidelity to the model's design. An estimated 85 percent of all major change initiatives fail to reach their potential not because of a poor design but due to poor implementation and adherence to fidelity. Re-entry initiatives have all the markings of being in that eighty-five percent. Should this prove to be the case in years to come, I believe it will set back the next generation of correctional practitioners causing them to lose faith in the legitimacy and value of pursuing offender re-entry or any other reform-oriented initiatives in the future. >>>

Sound dismal? It can be a daunting challenge, but it is a compelling reason why we cannot leave this to chance. How is it that I can be encouraged despite these obstacles? Because, we know most of the pitfalls that will confront us. Further, we are reasonably sure of what will work and won't work. And, we are not doing anything that is new here with re-entry that we haven't already tried before. What *is* new is the breadth and constellation of groups that must come together. The knowledge, if applied conscientiously, can change our present course. Christopher T. Lowenkamp and Edward J. Latessa in their article, "Developing Successful Reentry Programs: Lessons Learned From the 'What Works' Research," *Corrections Today*, April 2005, state without equivocation that the design for a good re-entry program has already been drafted. In fact, they say, that "the amount of evidence on what constitutes an effective correctional intervention is massive" and includes focusing resources on higher risk offenders, targeting criminogenic needs, providing social learning techniques, implementing effective staff training/evaluation support, and enhancing program integrity. By adding to this list those items listed in the survey we have a recipe for success.

So then, what else is needed? It is not enough to be knowledgeable. We need to institutionalize this knowledge, routinely implement it across all facets of operations so it becomes an expected and predictable way of doing our work. It has to become part of our culture, part of our accountability systems and part of our basic practice. I remember when the idea of community corrections needing to serve victims and help address their needs was considered controversial. Now, it is an accepted part of the way corrections should do its work. To do anything less is considered incomplete and wrong-minded. The same transformation is occurring relative to our thinking about drunk driving. It is not a minor issue and one to be brushed off by community corrections. It is unacceptable behavior and many non-traditional partners have joined in the battle against drunk driving. A culture shift is occurring.

The question should no longer be whether or when to implement effective re-entry practices, but rather *how*. The question is *how* to get all of our disparate systems to work together to accomplish the mission of re-entry as a moral mandate. Let us develop a shared accountability model so much so that we hear from every elected official, every justice system player, every community leader the same call for integration and prioritization. Then, and only then, will we see a significant reduction in the re-arrest rates for the historically unprecedented numbers of ex-offenders returning home to neighborhoods. Every justice system is challenged to follow a simple model of reviewing what is missing in the area of re-entry, bringing together the key players of those groups that can fill the service gaps, developing key indicators to know if the changes are meeting or exceeding expectations, and agreeing that each discipline will prioritize its resources so that those who are most in need receive services required to prevent crime from reoccurring. >>>▲



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Editor's Notes

by William Burrell

In this issue of *Perspectives*, we focus on Evidence-Based Practices (EBP). Much, if not most, of the writing and discussion of EBP has focused on determining which are the empirically proven strategies and programs that reduce offender recidivism. As the articles in this issue show, there is a great more to know if we are to be effective at putting EBP into practice. President Mark Carey sets the tone in his message, noting that in re-entry, we need to know *how* to successfully implement re-entry programs as much as we need to know *what* programs and strategies to implement.

In his article on implementing EBP in probation in Connecticut, Tom White recounts the difficult lessons of implementation. Successful planned change in organizations has two major components. The first, determining what program to implement, gets most of the attention. The second, and equally important, is how to implement this new program. Unfortunately, successful organizational change is not self-executing. It must be carefully guided and directed. As many new initiatives fail from poor implementation as fail from a poor program design. The Connecticut experience holds many valuable lessons for us all as we confront the challenges of doing EBP.

One of the research challenges in assessing strategies and programs is being able to state with confidence that the intervention produced the observed change, not other factors. The best method to use in random assignment, but that is very difficult to do in criminal justice. In the article on domestic violence supervision in Rhode Island, Ann Crowe and her colleagues describe how the geography of the state and the organization of probation services provided a natural environment for an experiment on domestic violence supervision strategies. The results of the evaluation (a partnership between APPA and Botec Analysis Corporation) reveal promising improvements in outcomes with only modest differences in supervision practices. This evaluation suggests directions for agencies looking to improve their domestic violence supervision, and demonstrates the need for continuing development and evaluation of specialized supervision models.

Empirical evidence will tell us what works, as well as what doesn't. As Tom White states in his article, he has more confidence in the research on what doesn't work. We may not always know exactly what to do, but we know a great deal about *what not to do*. Studies of programs that did not work can often tell us a great deal, about both the substance of the intervention as well as the implementation process. Both aspects of "failed" programs can be informative. In his article reviewing the evaluation of juvenile Intensive Aftercare Program (IAP), Davis Altschuler shows how exploring the details of the evaluation can reveal critical factors that help to explain the lack of results. Small sample sizes, little difference in services delivered between the experimental and control groups, and weakness in the implementation all contribute to the findings that there was little difference between youth in IAP and those in regular parole. If we "unpack" the evaluation findings, we see the nuances. It isn't that the IAP model isn't effective, it is rather that in this particular evaluation, the findings did not demonstrate a significant effect. This shows the risk of "throwing the baby out with the bathwater" if we don't read the evaluation fully.

Having laid the foundation in his first article on Motivational Interviewing (MI) in the Winter 2006 issue, Mike Clark presents an excellent discussion of this critical EBP. His exploration of the nuts and bolts of MI opens up one part the "black box" of supervision and helps us understand how and why this process works. It is clear why this model is a core component of EBP in community corrections.

One of the frustrations of the EBP approach is that it never seems to end. There is always more research to be done, more articles and reports to read, and always the need to keep updating what we know about what we do. Knowledge is dynamic and evolutionary, and we have to stay abreast of it if our commitment to EBP is genuine. The good news is that there are many people who are working to develop new knowledge, and provide easy access to it. One excellent example in the Criminal Justice Drug Abuse Treatment Studies (CJ-DATS) project, a major initiative involving several federal agencies, ten academic partners and criminal justice agencies at the federal, state and local level. In their article, >>>



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
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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

Bennett Fletcher and Harry Wexler provide an overview of this exciting project. CJ-DATS will produce new assessment tools, investigate ways to improve the linkage between corrections and treatment providers, and explore means to increase the effectiveness of substance abuse treatment. Given the correlation between drugs and crime, and the growing literature showing the impact of treatment in reducing crime and delinquency, CJ-DATS will provide critical information for us on EBP.

In the Research Update, David Karp and his students provide additional evidence about the effectiveness of treatment for sex

offenders. They show some of the complexity of this question while providing some positive results. The Research Update is part of our commitment at *Perspectives* to provide you with some of the information you need to stay current with the rapidly developing body of knowledge in community corrections. We hope you find this, your professional journal, helpful in your quest for knowledge. Let us know how we are doing. We'd love to hear from you! >>>

Bill Daniel

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by David M. Altschuler, Ph.D

EVIDENCE-BASED PRACTICE IN PROBATION AND PAROLE THE IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGE

by Thomas White

NATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE DRUG ABUSE TREATMENT STUDIES: UPDATE AND PROGRESS

by Bennett W. Fletcher and Harry K. Wexler, Ph.D

IMPORTANCE, CONFIDENCE AND READINESS TO CHANGE: MOTIVATIONAL INTERVIEWING FOR PROBATION AND PAROLE

by Michael D. Clark, Scott Walters, Ray Gingerich and Melissa Meltzer

"WHAT WORKS" IN THE SUPERVISION OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE OFFENDERS: PROMISING RESULTS FROM A STUDY IN RHODE ISLAND

by Matthew T. DeMichele, Ann Crowe, Ph.D, Andrew R. Klein,
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- Chicago Illinois, July 23-26, 2006

Instructions to Authors

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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.

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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@csa.org
Website: www.appa-net.org

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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



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Fax: (402) 537-9847
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Website: www.isecuretrac.com



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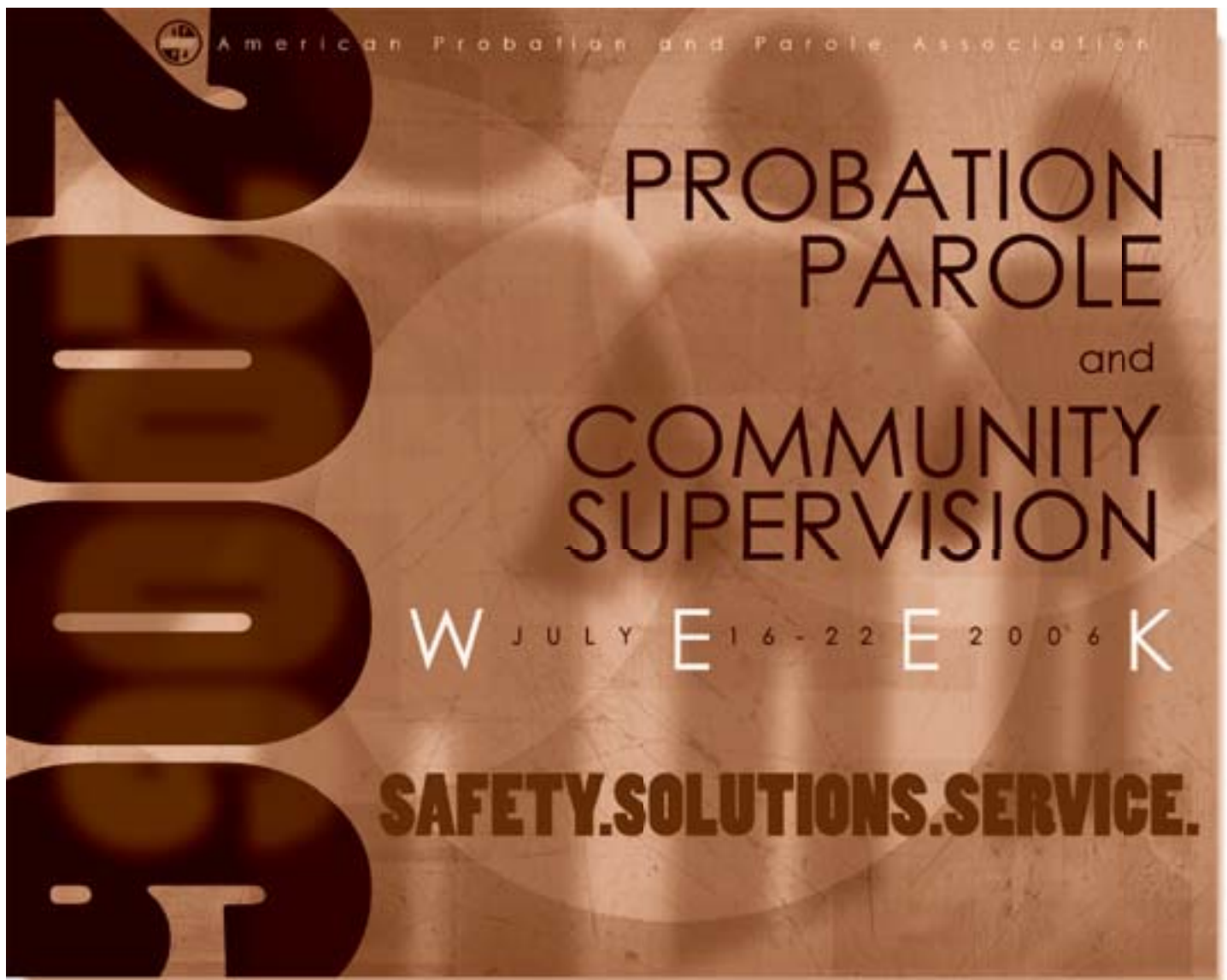
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2006 Probation, Parole and Community Supervision Kit Now Available!

The 2006 Probation, Parole and Community Supervision Resource Kit is now available on APPA's website! The new poster for this year displays our theme: Safety.Solutions.Service. You can also find new ideas for celebrating the week and getting your community involved in recognizing the amazing work done by community corrections

professionals. Also, check out the newly designed PowerPoint presentation that you can customize for your agency. This year it's shorter and matches the poster that you can download, print and display during your presentation to local community organizations and neighborhood groups. Also new this year is a page on Victim Services with ideas on

how to raise awareness of victims issues in your community. Here's the link to the kit: www.appa-net.org/Media2006/default.htm. We would love to hear how you plan to celebrate the Week – send your notes to Diane Kincaid, APPA Public Relations Coordinator at dkincaid@csg.org.



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NLECTC Initiatives to Support Community Corrections

The National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Center (NLECTC) works to provide the criminal justice field with information and tools they need which will enhance public safety. In this update I would like to draw the membership's attention to two recent NLECTC initiatives that directly support community corrections.

Community Corrections Technology Electronic Newsletter

In order to help keep practitioners informed and up to date on technology issues that impact the field, NLECTC has created the Community Corrections Technology Electronic Newsletter. The newsletter is published monthly and is distributed free of charge via e-mail. Topic areas include such issues as electronic monitoring, drug and alcohol testing and treatment, information technology and training events. Newsletter items provide readers with links to news articles, published studies and reports, training and conference announcements and other useful bits of information. This service has been warmly received since its launch in July 2005. To date, approximately 3000 community corrections professionals receive the newsletter. Practitioners can subscribe to the newsletter by going online to <http://www.nlectc.org/nlectcrm/>. An archive of previous newsletters is available online as well at www.nlectc.org/nlectcrm/publications.html.

Field Search

Many agencies across the country are beginning to understand the need to monitor a sex offender's computer. Both APPA and NLECTC offer an important training course entitled Managing Sex Offender's Computer Use, developed and delivered by Dr. Jim Tanner, a nationally recognized expert in the

area of computer forensics and community corrections. The course trains probation and parole officers to understand why they should be concerned about what a sex offender is doing on his computer and how to use both freeware and commercially available tools to monitor this use. Agencies that have sent officers to this training often report that the free tools don't meet the needs of probation and parole and that some of the commercially available tools are cost prohibitive or difficult to use. Responding to this need, NLECTC developed Field Search. Field Search is a free software product designed specifically to assist non-technical probation and parole officers to quickly and efficiently scan an offender's computer and create a detailed report of their findings. Field Search quickly and automatically retrieves Internet histories from several popular browsers. Results are displayed in an easy to read format that include the date and time each website was visited. Field Search quickly finds all logical images in JPG, BMP, PNG or GIF formats. Images are automatically displayed in a gallery view. Field Search also allows officers to search for text in any logical file. Keywords are used to search for such things as sexually explicit materials or the victim's name. Officers can create reports by selecting any of the above items for inclusion. A built in report function automatically creates a document which includes each item's associated path and date/time stamp. In the case of images, a thumbnail is included in the report.

Field Search has become the primary tool used in the Managing Sex Offender's Computer Use training and it is provided, with many other resources, to each student. While it is preferred that agencies send officers to the Managing Sex Offender's Computer Use training before using Field Search it is

understood that it may not be possible. For officers unable to attend the training, the software is also available for download on the NLECTC website which is at www.justnet.org/fieldsearch/.

As indicated in the training, however, Field Search is intended to be used as part of an overall strategy to monitor an offender's computer use and as such it should be approved for use and supported by agency policies and procedures before it is used in the field.

For further information on these initiatives or the APPA Technology Committee 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.

Spotlight on Safety

by Robert Thornton

Safety Training: Share Your Knowledge

Fortunately, due to the efforts of APPA and others, safety training for community supervision officers is receiving more attention. Still, incidents occur and officers continue to be seriously injured and killed. The murder of a probation officer, Elizabeth Hicks of Kerrville, Texas on June 30, 2004 in front of her home, continues to go unsolved.

However, another recent murder points to the need for safety training by another group of public servants who community supervision officers work with closely, and with whom they have many offenders in common. On March 15, 2006, Victoria, Texas social worker Sally Blackwell, 53, was found strangled to death along side a road, a day

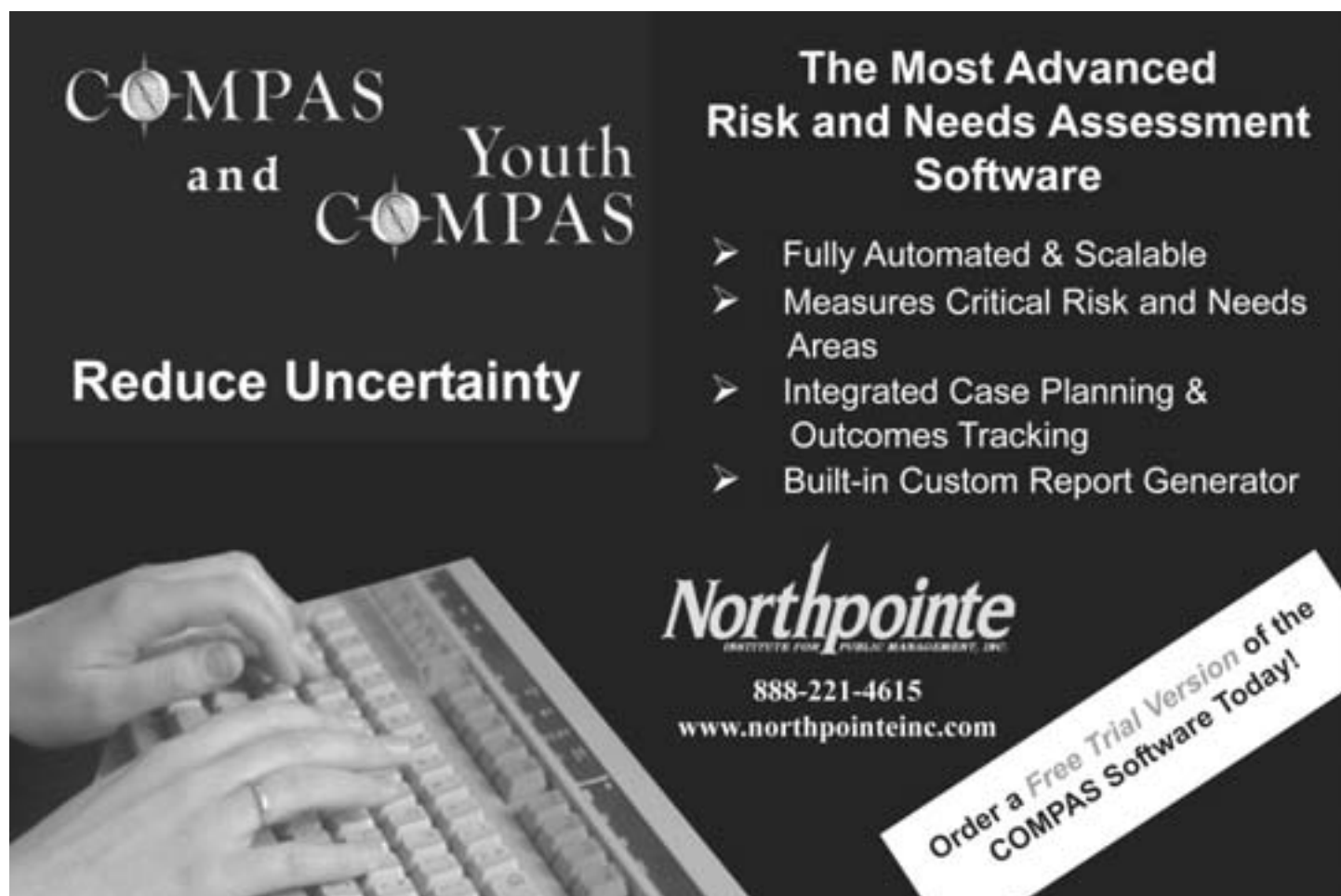
after she failed to show up for work. Police are continuing to investigate.

The killing comes a year after a woman fired a shotgun at two caseworkers that had come to her home near Alice, Texas after receiving a child abuse complaint. The caseworkers fled on foot, hiding in a ditch before walking through darkness to a store a mile away.

A 2006 study by the National Association of Social Workers found that 55 percent of licensed social workers surveyed said they face personal safety issues on the job. A 2002 survey of 800 social workers found 19 percent had been victims of violence and 63 percent had been threatened. These figures

are in keeping with the statistics found by Bill Parsonage in his 1990 studies of hazardous duty incidents incurred by community supervision officers.

While it is not known with certainty that the murders of Ms. Hicks and Ms. Blackwell were job related, we do know that Kansas mental health worker Terri Zenner, who was killed in August 2004, died at the hands of a juvenile probationer. Other social workers in Texas have advised reporters, "We don't have weapons, we don't have training in self defense, we didn't go through a police academy and we're dealing with the same people they are [referring to police]." >>>



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them know about the safety training offered by APPA, which is listed on the APPA website under Professional Development Programs. You might even consider networking with them and making field contacts together. >>>▲

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



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Research Update

by David R. Karp, Rebecca Herman, Tamara McEwan, Rebecca Balder and Anne Raup-Kounovsky

Recent Research on Sex Offender Treatment

Sex offender recidivism is a controversial topic. In this research update, we look at recent studies of sex offender treatment programs and their effectiveness. The studies consider central questions: (1) Is programming effective for offenders who have no interest in changing their behavior? (2) Does prison programming work? (3) Do community-based treatment programs work? (4) What general conclusions can we draw from the current body of knowledge on sex offender treatment?

Terry, Karen J. and Edward W. Mitchell. 2001. "Motivation and sex offender treatment efficacy: Leading a horse to water and making it drink?" *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 45:663-672.

Treatment is often required for incarcerated sex offenders, frequently a requirement for early release. With this indirect coercion, many offenders participate in programming even though they express little or no motivation to change their behavior. Terry and Mitchell studied 31 incarcerated sex offenders in England. Sixteen of the offenders exhibited intrinsic motivation to participate in the program. Fifteen were not motivated, but felt pressured to participate either because they believed they had no choice or because they were seeking instrumental benefits, such as prison privileges or parole. Treatment success was measured by the reduction of seven cognitive distortions, or faulty thought patterns. These distortions included minimizing or denial, justification or excuse-making, lack of victim empathy, triggering factors or blaming behavior, fantasies, avoidance of behavior management, and victim grooming or planning. Analyzing documents and conducting semi-structured interviews, Terry and Mitchell found that treatment was effective for 22 out of the 31 participants. A key finding is that half (11) of the successful offenders were *unmotivated* offenders. Terry and Mitchell state, "Though

no social policy should exist that promotes a therapeutic tyranny for sex offenders, this study shows that it is possible to reduce [cognitive distortions] in offenders who do not think that they need help or have a problem" (p. 670). Because it is often assumed that offenders must desire change in order for treatment to work, this study is noteworthy. However, it is a small sample and a reduction of cognitive distortions does not automatically lead to behavioral changes; in other words, it will be important to compare recidivism data of unmotivated and motivated sex offenders.

Nicholaichuk, Terry, Gordon Arthur, Deqiang Gu and and Stephen Wong. 2000. "Outcome of an Institutional Sexual Offender Treatment Program: A Comparison between Treated and Matched Untreated Offenders." *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment* 12:139-153.

The authors of this study note at the outset that prior research on sex offender treatment has yielded pessimistic conclusions. Therefore, they sought to evaluate the effectiveness of a correctional treatment program in a locked psychiatric center in Canada. The treatment group included 296 male sexual offenders who participated in an intensive six to eight-month cognitive/behavioral program. A comparison group of 283 untreated offenders was matched for age at the time of the offense, date the offense was committed, and criminal history. In general, offenders who completed

the treatment program were significantly less likely to be readmitted to prison for a sexual offense than those who did not participate in a treatment program. Among offenders who had undergone treatment for a first offense, only nine percent reoffended sexually, as opposed to 27 percent of untreated first-time offenders. Among offenders who had prior offenses, 24 percent of treated offenders and 43 percent of untreated offenders reoffended. Offenders from the comparison group reoffended sooner after being released from prison, and reoffended at higher rates during a 10-year period after release. As a cautionary note, the authors found no differences between the rates of reoffending for nonsexual crimes. Although this study did not use a true experimental design, it employed a rigorous design for matching treatment and comparison offenders, and overall finds that correctional treatment can reduce sex offender recidivism.

Wilson, Robin J., Lynn Stewart, Tania Stirpe, Marianne Barrett and Janice E. Kripps. 2000. "Community-Based Sexual Offender Management: Combining Parole Supervision and Treatment to Reduce Recidivism." *Canadian Journal of Criminology* 42:177-188.

If treatment in correctional settings is effective, then what about community-based treatment? Furthermore, how should community-based treatment be integrated with parole supervision? This study examines

parole supervision and sex offender relapse prevention treatment in Toronto over an eight year period. The authors evaluated two programs, a maintenance program for low risk offenders on regular parole supervision, and a high risk offender program for offenders under either intensive supervision or residing in a correctional half-way house. Samples of 75 participants in the maintenance program and 32 participants in the high risk program are compared after approximately three years post-release. This study does not provide a comparison group; however, the authors report a low rate of sex offense recidivism for both programs: 6.3 percent for high risk offenders and 2.7 percent for the low risk maintenance group. The authors argue that effective sex offender management must be guided by the following principles. Valid and ongoing risk assessment is necessary throughout the sentencing period. Treatment must target criminogenic factors. The level of supervision should be based on risk assessments. Finally, collaboration and information-sharing is necessary between parole officers and treatment providers.

Losel, Friedrich and Martin Schmucker. 2005. "The Effectiveness of Treatment for Sexual Offenders: A Comprehensive Meta-Analysis." *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 1: 117-146.

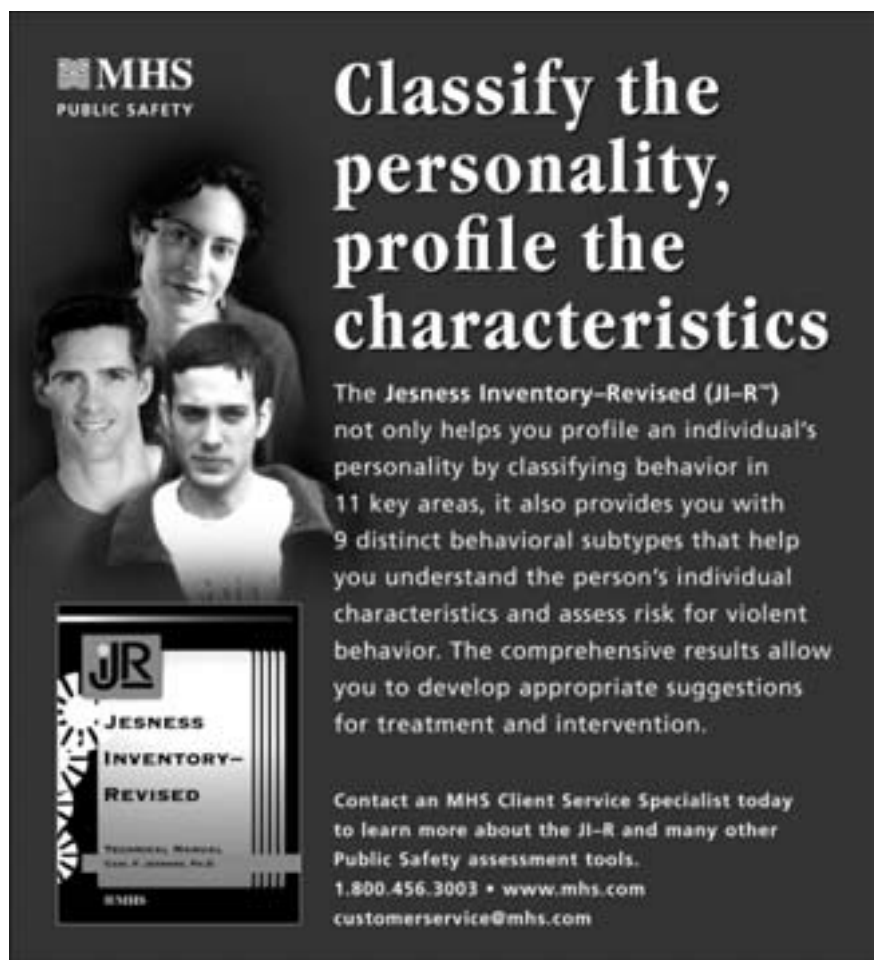
Meta-analysis is a "study of studies." The researchers compile the best research studies and conduct a statistical analysis of their collective results in order to find out the effectiveness of treatment in general. This study is a reporting of a meta-analysis of outcomes of sexual offender treatment programs. The authors analyzed 69 studies from five different countries with a total of 22,181 offenders. The studies that were included had to meet the following criteria: they had to be a study of sexual offenders, have an evaluation of

treatment, have recidivism be the dependent variable, contain a control group, and have a sample size of at least 10.

The most important finding of the study demonstrates that sex offenders with treatment have lower sex offense recidivism rates (11 percent) than those without treatment (18 percent). They also have lower recidivism rates for non-sexual offenses. The authors tried to further examine what kinds of treatments have the greatest impact. In particular, they considered medical treatments, such as surgical castration and hormonal therapies, and psychological treatments, such as behavioral, cognitive-behavioral and non-behavioral therapies. However, methodological limitations of the studies make their findings somewhat cautious. Part of the problem is that the best and most numerous studies were of psychological treatments. But the small sample of medical

treatments showed very strong results. This may be an artifact of the small number of studies, or perhaps because such treatments are used only with a small number of offenders, who by volunteering, demonstrate a high commitment to change. Thus, the authors are cautiously optimistic about medical treatments. More confidently, they assert the effectiveness of behavioral and cognitive-behavioral approaches, demonstrating with a stronger set of studies their greater effectiveness than non-behavioral approaches. To date, this is the most comprehensive analysis of sex offender treatment, and also provides the most encouraging results. >>>▲

David R. Karp is Associate Professor of Sociology at Skidmore College in Saratoga Springs, New York. Rebecca Herman, Tamara McEwan, Rebecca Balder, and Anna Raup-Kounovsky are students at Skidmore College.



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Juvenile Offender Reentry and Intensive Aftercare: Lessons from an Outcome Evaluation

by David M. Altschuler, Ph.D

Much attention these days is placed on evidence-based practice, performance goals and outcome measurement. Anecdotes, testimonials and undocumented or unsubstantiated claims are rightly regarded as insufficient as a basis to objectively judge results. In the absence of impartial, transparent and methodologically sound research, there is no way to establish scientifically what works and what doesn't. Evaluation research is looked to as the ultimate referee on determining the impact of policies, strategies, programs and practices.

Though in scientific and evaluation research circles the results of a single study is not viewed as sufficient to establish what strategies or programs produce the desired impact, in the public policy arena one study may indeed be enormously influential in making the case for adapting or stopping a specific approach. Individual studies are important, not only because they are used to justify particular policies and programs, but they also are increasingly combined with other studies to form meta-analytic databases in which the results of multiple studies are analyzed for their collective effects. Even when individual studies are combined into a meta-analytic database, certain methodological standards must be met and thus not all studies are suitable.

The purpose of this article is to take a close look at one recently released outcome study that proclaims there is no evidence that a five-year, multi-site juvenile offender intensive aftercare project had its intended impact of reducing recidivism among high-risk juvenile parolees" (Wiebush et al., 2005). One question of interest is whether the study does in fact have evidence of no impact, which if it does could then be used to argue against adopting the tested approach. A second broader question of interest is what social scientific evidentiary standard should be met in order for a policy or program to be considered evidence-based and therefore worthy of public policy support.

The Intensive Aftercare Program (IAP) was the subject of a five-year national demonstration that ran from 1995 through 2000 in Colorado, Nevada and Virginia and was sponsored by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), U.S. Department of Justice (Altschuler and Armstrong, 2001). The IAP model, which has received a great deal of attention across the country, was developed for OJJDP by David Altschuler and Troy Armstrong in the early 90s. The model involves not only intensive supervision and enhanced service delivery after institutional release, but a concerted focus on preparation for reentry during confinement along with a highly structured and gradual transition phase that occurs both before and after return to the community. Its central feature is overarching case management, which includes assessment and classification, individualized case planning incorporating family and community, a mix of supervision and services, a blending of graduated consequences and incentives, and linkages

with community resources. A separately funded evaluation of the implementation and outcomes of the IAP demonstration was conducted by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD).

The NCCD outcome evaluation sought to address three basic questions: 1) To what extent was the model implemented as designed, 2) To what extent did IAP affect the subsequent delinquent/criminal involvement of participants, and 3) To what extent did IAP affect areas of youth functioning (e.g., substance abuse, family functioning) that are theoretically and empirically linked to recidivism? The second of these questions is the one that focuses directly on the impact of IAP in terms of recidivism. Study findings indicate quite clearly that in two of the three study sites (Colorado and Virginia), the impact on recidivism (measured by official record data) cannot be definitively determined. This is because the sample sizes in Colorado and Virginia were too small "...to determine whether IAP may have had a small yet meaningful impact on recidivism" (Wiebush et al., p87). In Colorado, moreover, "...the evaluation ended up comparing IAP with a form of parole that in many ways looked similar to IAP" (Wiebush et al., p84). Additionally, the provision of services to the IAP and control youth while incarcerated was similar.

The study maintains that IAP did not work in the Nevada demonstration site noting "...no significant differences were found between IAP and control youth on any outcome measures, except that IAP youth were more likely to be charged with a technical violation" (Wiebush et al., p88). What do the data suggest as to why the IAP youth in Nevada had the same recidivism outcomes as those under standard parole?

Interestingly, the study found a variety of substantial implementation weaknesses that potentially could undermine effectiveness. These are as instructive and revealing with significant implications for reform. First, family contact during the institutional phase and family involvement in planning as well as service delivery were limited. Second, the institution-based liaison worker turned over numerous times resulting in extended vacancies. Reportedly, coordination and the delivery of transition-oriented pre-release life-skill services suffered. Third, Nevada did not implement its community provider network until the final year of the demonstration, which limited the provision of individualized and specialized services in the community. Fourth, Nevada never created a formal IAP management team, which may have contributed to the duration of the liaison vacancies and the community provider contracting problems.

In short, the evaluation could not conclude definitively what impact IAP had in two of the sites and in Nevada it appeared that the identical recidivism impact may have been at least in part because a number of critical implementation problems were in evidence. Based on the evaluation findings pertinent to recidivism, it would therefore >>>



appear appropriate to reach two conclusions. First, in two of the three demonstration sites the evaluation was unable to determine definitively what if any impact IAP had on recidivism. Second, in the third site, the IAP and control groups experienced identical recidivism on all but one measure and this occurred in a context where implementation weaknesses in four areas were evident.

The evaluation sought to answer two other fundamental questions that are central to understanding how well the IAP model was implemented and whether the three sites were able to reduce the very risk factors frequently found to influence recidivism. The importance of knowing whether the IAP intervention, such as it was, had an impact functioning in areas such as family functioning; substance abuse; cognitive, behavioral and psychological attributes (e.g., aggressiveness, thinking and attention problems, anxiety and depression); and peer relationships cannot be overstated. Since these areas are the principle targets of IAP intervention and because it is through improvement in these areas that IAP aims ultimately to reduce recidivism, the evaluation findings on functioning, attitudes, behavior and well-being are critical. Referred to by the evaluation as “intermediate outcomes,” the research design called for the administration of a set of standardized interviews with IAP and control group participants both before and after the intervention. Unfortunately, due to low completion rates and missing data, no analysis of pre and post-intervention changes was performed. As a result, there are no data available on most of the intermediate outcome measures, including self-reported delinquency. While the evaluation created some alternative measures from other data sources, they are largely inadequate as a means 1) to assess whether IAP affected key areas targeted for intervention by IAP, and 2) to understand the connection between the intermediate outcomes and recidivism.

There were some evaluation findings on intermediate outcomes that did not require pre-post test results. These findings indicated that IAP youth in Nevada and Virginia had significantly fewer institutional misconduct incidents per month (i.e., frequency) than control youth but this did not extend to the percentage (i.e., prevalence) of youth having incidents (IAP youth in Nevada were more likely than controls to have misconduct reports and in Virginia there was no difference). In Colorado and Virginia, the findings suggested that IAP transition-related practices were associated with a reduced length of stay at the institution. In Colorado and Nevada, IAP youth were significantly less likely than controls to test positive for substance abuse while on parole, but this finding does not address whether IAP contributed to the difference. Moreover, there were no significant differences between the groups in any site in the percentage or frequency of arrests for drug charges during follow-up, but here again there is no way to know what impact IAP may have had.

The final question the evaluation sought to answer was how well the

sites implemented the IAP model. Having less than definitive answers to the two other questions discussed above, the evaluation is more resolute in its determination of implementation “fidelity.” Even here, however, a close reading of the evaluation reveals a finding that is less than clear-cut, particularly in terms of the Nevada demonstration. Though in the Executive Summary of the evaluation the authors characterize the Nevada IAP as reasonably well implemented, the identified shortcomings summarized above are elsewhere in the report noted as significant weaknesses (Wiebush et al., p80) that hampered transitional services and were found in both the institutional and community phases. To be sure, as the evaluation points out, the Nevada demonstration is all the more impressive when viewed in the context of the state’s traditional control and surveillance-oriented parole strategy and the program’s limited access to specialized services in the community (Wiebush et al., p35). At the same time, the weaknesses identified by the evaluation could well be implicated in the explanation of why recidivism among IAP and control youth was similar.

As disappointing as it is to have no answer about the impact of IAP on recidivism in two of the three demonstration sites, it is important not to assume that pursuing the implementation and evaluation of efforts such as IAP is too difficult to do or not worth doing. To those tempted to wonder what this one evaluation means for how to proceed, a sensible recommendation would be to continue implementation and testing, being sure to take steps regarding the need to generate a sufficiently large sample size and to maintain a control or comparison group that does not fundamentally compromise the research design. On the broader question of what constitutes an “evidence base” sufficient to justify the adoption or abandonment of an approach or program, it would seem prudent to have 1) methodologically rigorous evaluation results from multiple studies and/or 2) multiple meta-analytic studies that offer reasonable assurances that the approach or program can produce the desired impact.

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David M. Altschuler, Ph.D. is with the Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies in Baltimore, Maryland.

Evidence-Based

Practice in

Probation and

Parole:

The Implementation Challenge

Several decades of research on offender rehabilitation programs indicate clearly that effective supervision and treatment services can be developed and implemented resulting in a significant reduction in offender recidivism. To improve probation and parole effectiveness and enhance the safety of our communities, we must therefore adopt offender supervision practices that are supported by the existing evidence of the causes of crime, and the existing knowledge of which correctional programs and practices have been proven to positively change offender behavior.

The field of corrections has and continues to develop the knowledge, tools and program models needed to decrease recidivism and increase public safety, however, few correctional agencies have been willing or able to change the way they function. The adage, “if you always do what you have always done, you will always get what you have always gotten,” is well ingrained in correctional practice.

It has been nearly five years since we began to implement *evidence-based practice* or what is commonly referred to as “what works,” in the Connecticut adult and juvenile probation system. Although we have made significant changes within our network of contracted treatment services, as well as in the focus of probation supervision, we still have a long way to go in operationalizing *evidence-based practice* and principles.

Upon reflection, there are a number of things that I would have done differently if I knew at the time what I know now. From my perspective, the primary struggle in the implementation of *evidence-based practice* is not in determining what needs to be done, but rather in how to do it. In an approach that is dependent upon measuring impact and outcome, it may be the implementation process that holds the key to the success and sustainability of *evidence-based practice*. The combination of organizational cultures that resist change and administrators and supervisors who have little experience and knowledge on how to create change, can prove lethal to any change effort. As a result, any attempt to implement evidence-based practice must be based on both a thorough understanding of the “what works” research, and an equal understanding of the concepts and process of organizational change.

The following recommendations and observations are derived from my own experiences, have not been empirically tested, and therefore ironically are not evidence-based. They should be read with a degree of caution and skepticism until sound evidence dictates otherwise.

1. Establish a Vision / Mission:

- Establish and articulate a clear vision and mission of contributing to public safety through recidivism reduction by facilitating offender behavior change.

Over my career I have participated in workshops, retreats, committees, focus groups and meetings in order to create an agency vision and mission statement. As a result, I often react by rolling my eyes and wanting to leave the room when someone suggests that we need to begin by establishing a vision and mission. However the truth is that a clearly articulated vision that describes where you want to go and what it will look like, along with how you will get there (mission), is a critical first step toward implementing evidence-based practice.

For any organizational change effort to be successful, we need to understand that whenever staff are asked to support something, they need to know why it is important and to what end. Without a clear vision and mission that is understood and embraced by agency staff, a clever strategy or a detailed strategic plan can rarely inspire the kind of action necessary to produce and sustain a change in what we do and how we do it. This cannot be a static process or a task to “get done.” If the outcome of a vision process is a written statement that is hung on the wall, very little in how staff do their work will change.

For many probation and parole officers, a shift from primarily a monitoring and control model to a behavior change approach is not congruent with how they were trained and reinforced to do their job. A generation of probation and parole officers have come to view their primary role to be the enforcement of court or parole board ordered conditions, and the detection of violation activity. While the goal of behavior change was not discouraged, in many ways it became ancillary to the primary mission of holding offenders accountable for compliance with conditions. As a result, many probation and parole



officers have viewed their job as follows:

I tell offenders what they are obligated to do and make it clear to them that failure on their part will result in severe consequences. I document this advice in my case notes. I then try to uncover evidence that they are failing to comply. Once I catch them, I might give them a break, or I might violate them. If they go to jail, they brought it upon themselves. After all, I warned them what was going to happen and they ignored me.

Unfortunately with this view of probation and parole supervision, offenders who were likely to succeed on the day their supervision began will probably complete their supervision successfully. Offenders with multiple cognitive and behavioral deficits are far more likely to have a quick trip to court or jail. Paradoxically, the latter group of offenders probably presents the greater risk to society. Improving the behavior of someone who was probably going to cause harm has more value than monitoring the behavior of someone who was probably going to do well anyway.

It was naïve on my part to believe that staff would easily embrace a clearly articulated vision of recidivism reduction, and support the application of evidence-based offender behavior change strategies. A change in values, attitudes, and beliefs must precede a change in behavior. I also discovered that no matter how well it is delivered, a PowerPoint presentation doesn't change a person's values and beliefs, let alone their behavior. Even if staff understand the logic of a new vision and mission, unless they believe that change is actually needed, it won't happen. Change is difficult, and staff resistance and cynicism is at times a reflection of their fear of trying new skills and approaches that they are unfamiliar with. Resistance is natural and should be expected. Therefore, one should not be too quick to judge resistant staff as unwilling to change and not on board. Furthermore, telling resistant staff what you expect them to support, what they should be doing, and how they should behave, whether by policy, training, memos, or face-to-face communication, is only likely to increase their resistance. The principles of motivational interviewing apply equally well to staff (express empathy; avoid arguments; roll with resistance; and look for opportunities to provide positive reinforcement through verbal affirmations).

2. Don't Marginalize Staff

- Communicate that recidivism reduction is an extension of, not a replacement for the past and present activities of probation and parole supervision.
- When introducing evidence-based practice and the need for change, avoid sending messages that can be interpreted as marginalizing or devaluing what your staff have done, or are doing.

- Evidence-based practice that facilitates offender behavior change and reduces recidivism can only be effective through the hard work and dedication of skilled and committed staff, never underestimate their importance or believe that any positive change can occur without their support.

I quickly discovered as we set out to identify, develop, and implement evidence-based practice that it is not what you say that is important, only what people hear. The evidence has been very consistent in establishing that contact-driven supervision, surveillance, and condition enforcement by itself, has had a limited ability to change offender behavior or to reduce the likelihood of recidivism. This is not to say that this approach doesn't have some impact on controlling or suppressing an offender's criminal behavior while they are under probation or parole supervision. Certainly, monitoring and enforcement activities remain important and necessary elements of the supervision process. However in the absence of other activities geared toward offender behavior change, they are insufficient to enhance public safety through recidivism reduction. When the above statement is not fully explained or clearly articulated by management, it is easy for line staff to feel that what they are doing is not appreciated or valued. Changing our own behavior is difficult under the best of circumstances, and when staff start to believe that agency leadership neither understands or supports the work they have been doing, implementing evidence-based practices will become impossible. In my own attempts to convince staff of the merits of a new agency vision, I unintentionally sent messages that probation supervision as it was being practiced was ineffective and not working. Rather than reducing staff's understandable resistance in many cases it increased it. The more passionate and insistent I was, the more entrenched the resistance became and the less comfortable staff felt in vocalizing it. The application of the evidence-based principles I was so strongly promoting, would have served me better if I had applied them with greater consistency in my own organizational change efforts. There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of our staff are conscientious employees who want to make a positive difference with the offenders they supervise. No one becomes more personally frustrated with the often seeming futility of changing offender behavior than those who deal with this population every day. Evidence-based offender supervision strategies require skill sets that are not easy to learn. Staff must be given the time and support they need to incorporate these skills into their daily activities. The fact remains that in the final analysis, it is what our staff do, and not what we say, that will be the determining factor in the success of any organizational or offender change effort. Implementing a new vision and mission of recidivism reduction is not about finding fault with what is, but of pursuing what could be.

3. Don't Oversell It And Stay Current

- Acknowledge that although there is empirically sound research that has established what doesn't work and what works better in changing an offender's criminal behavior there are no panaceas or absolutes.
- New findings that are based on more sound research continue to emerge. Stay current and don't stop learning. Be willing to change what you are doing when sound evidence indicates you should.

If there is one overarching conclusion that can be drawn from the research to date, it is that when it comes to changing an offender's criminal behavior, there is no silver bullet. Evidence-based practice by its nature must be tested, retested, revised and expanded. The fact is that we are truly at the earliest stages of the "what works" research and the development of evidence-based practice. It is easy to get so caught up in the "what works" agenda that we make it seem to our staff that we have found the answer to how we can change offender behavior. The truth is much more sobering. No one approach or practice works equally well in every situation. Much of the research has demonstrated only modest improvements in recidivism reduction. I certainly have a higher degree of confidence in what the research indicates doesn't work than does work. There is a need for more and better conducted research on the promising practices in which previous research has produced positive outcomes. I am not suggesting that we should not move forward in adopting practices and programs that have been linked through credible research to recidivism reduction. On the contrary, based upon the evidence that presently exists, I feel it would be irresponsible not to begin to incorporate evidence-based practice into our daily probation and parole operations. Even modest reductions in recidivism, when translated into economic impact and a decrease in crime and victim suffering, leave us no ethical option other than to move our agencies in this direction. Overstating, however, the efficacy of any single model or approach to our staff in order to underscore the need to change, or because of some misguided belief that we can shock staff into supporting our efforts, is likely to result in just the opposite. Wisdom is not being confident about what we think we know, but rather in being aware of what we don't know. We must keep learning, challenging, growing, and encouraging our staff to do the same.

4. Be Strategic and Don't Dummy It Down:

- *Evidence-based strategies* are difficult to implement and sustain. Change needs to occur incrementally over time. Don't try to change everything or everybody at once. Be strategic but start small and celebrate and build on the short-term successes that are supportive of evidence-based practice.
- In an attempt to make evidence-based practice easy to understand

and implement, don't oversimplify it to the point that it no longer has any resemblance to what the evidence has identified that works.

Many of us who are in management and leadership positions have demonstrated our skills in solving problems while minimizing their impact. Throughout our careers we have been in situations that require immediate solutions, and therefore we have learned to think and act tactically. The thinking skills and processes that have served us well in the crisis environments in which we work will not serve us well to implement a major organizational change initiative. The complexity of the components of an evidence-based probation and parole model requires us to think and act strategically. The ability to see issues in the context of systems and their relationships to all other components of the organization, as well as to view the daily tactical issues in a broader context is the key to strategic thinking. Big changes require small steps and take time, usually lots of time, and always more than we thought. Developing the capacity of staff to perform critical evidence-based tasks takes significant time. These critical tasks include:

- Accurately determine an offender's risk and needs by administering a validated risk and needs assessment tool;
- Accurately interpret and share the results with the offender;
- Understanding an offender's degree of motivation and have the interactive skills to facilitate their willingness to change;
- Collaborating with the offender in developing an individualized change plan;
- Placing the offender in an appropriate program to address their identified criminogenic needs;
- Acquiring and using the knowledge and skills to support the offender's successful program completion;
- Using each supervision contact as an opportunity to increase the offender's desire and ability to change;
- Applying the principles of positive reinforcement; and
- Collaborating with an offender's family and other members of the community in providing ongoing support for the offender

The implementation of these evidence-based approaches cannot occur all at once and with all staff. Having tried to do too much too quickly I can attest to the need to move slowly and incrementally with both patience and persistence. No single individual, no matter what their position is within the agency, or even a small group of talented and dedicated staff, is ever able to develop a compelling vision, communicate it to large numbers of people, eliminate all the resistance and obstacles, generate a broad base support, and integrate the new practices in the organization's culture. For any change effort to be successful it can not be viewed by staff as only a central office initiative.



I certainly subscribe to the belief that the ability to take what is complex and to make it understandable so it can be operationalized in daily practice is a key leadership skill. However in many probation and parole agencies, it is time that we raise the level of the conversation around the water cooler. We need to support and encourage staff to not only act and do things, but also to question and think. Based on my experience, evidence-based practice although not easy to understand and learn, is doable. In an attempt to lower staff resistance and speed up implementation, we must be careful that we don't oversimplify offender change strategies that are evidence-based to the point that they are no longer effective.

5. Demonstrate Leadership

- Evidence-based practice will illuminate the need to do things differently and therefore will inevitably encounter resistance from both within and outside the agency. It therefore can not be undertaken partially, selectively, or hesitantly. Better that you do not begin this journey if you are not willing to take risks, or will ignore the evidence when it is unpopular.
- Discontinue what the evidence indicates doesn't work, and operationalize what does work.
- Avoid making decisions that are only a political response and are not supported by the evidence. The hypocritical message this sends to staff that you are asking to embrace evidence-based practice can be insurmountable.
- Don't spin the evidence to support your position or to avoid looking bad. When it comes to sound empirical evidence, it is what it is. Doing well must take precedence over looking good. When the evidence is used for quality improvement that leads to better outcomes, everybody wins.

The benefits of evidence-based practice in reducing recidivism will not be realized immediately and therefore will remain invisible to both internal and external stakeholders. Funding sources, advocacy groups, and staff are often impatient when it comes to promises of positive results that may not be measurable for a number of years. The fact remains however, that there are no shortcuts to changing organizational culture or offender behavior. The principles of evidence-based practice and effective behavior change are interdependent and they can't be effectively implemented selectively or partially. In Connecticut after selecting our risk and needs assessment tools, we trained all our probation supervisors and officers for three days in the use of the assessment tools and Motivational Interviewing. Following the training, each probation officer had their completed assessments reviewed by our training team until they displayed an acceptable level of proficiency. Despite our intentions there was little ongoing observation and reinforcement of our staff's Motivational Interviewing skills. The result has been that

today few officers are actually using these skills in their daily supervision contacts.

To address this we have decided to retrain every probation supervisor and officer in motivational interviewing. The probation supervisors working in our Center for Best Practices developed a comprehensive plan that includes extensive follow-up and reinforcement for each participant after they complete the classroom training. In the introduction to their implementation plan they wrote the following:

"Our agency should have no illusions about what it is undertaking. Achieving these goals will take significant time and patience, unprecedented focus, and the sustained commitment of leaders at every level of the organization. If this endeavor is viewed as a momentary (though highly disruptive) diversion from our routine so that we can prove we are responding to outside pressure, or as a stand alone event by which we swallow the bitter Motivational Interviewing training pill during one frenzied year, then the result will be worse than insignificant. We will have squandered precious public resources and the good will of the dozens of employees who want to provide effective service to the people of Connecticut. We will have created a staff that is confused at best and at worst, is convinced that Motivational Interviewing doesn't work, or takes too long. The lure of cynicism is already too powerful in our work. If we are not committed to fundamentally changing what probation officers do when they meet with offenders for years to come, then we should not undertake this initiative." (Coco and Hogan, 2005, p.4)

The key to creating and sustaining the organizational change that the implementation of evidence-based practice will require is leadership. Leadership will be needed not only at the top of the agency but throughout the entire organization. Leaders will need to be able to step out of their comfort zones; honestly assess their successes and failures; aggressively pursue information and ideas from others; be flexible and maintain an open mind; and carefully and actively listen. The greatest obstacle to overcome in operationalizing evidence-based practice is the presence of an agency leader who always chooses what is practical, doable, and politically safe, even when it contradicts empirically sound evidence.

6. Change Organizational Culture

- Create an organizational culture that facilitates and reinforces recidivism reduction activities and encourages and supports evidence-based practice.
- Changing organizational culture (values, beliefs, attitudes and behavior) occurs through positive modeling and positive

reinforcement. Train, practice, and reward what you want. The evidence is clear that in the long run, you won't mandate or force staff into compliance. It doesn't work.

Evidence-based practice will not become the way our staff does their work unless it is embedded in the organization's culture and more importantly the local office culture. For years we have often been frustrated when we send staff to training in the hope that with new ideas and skills, they will become more effective employees. A few months after they return to the office we discover that they are pretty much doing things the same way they always were. The reality is the office culture is more powerful in shaping their behavior than the training. Culture refers to norms of behavior and shared values among a group of individuals. The culture of an organization is important regardless of its level or location because it has a powerful impact on the beliefs, attitudes, and actions of staff. Furthermore, because the culture is often invisible, it is difficult to identify and change. There are a number of ways in which an agency's culture is created and reinforced: statements or documents concerning the vision, mission and goals; established policy, procedures, and systems of operation; criteria used to select, reward, and promote staff; the activities that are measured and monitored; how the agency reacts to crisis; and perhaps most importantly, the actions and behavior of its leaders. As leaders our creed must match our deeds. Incongruence between what leaders say and do will not only condemn them for their hypocrisy, but will derail their efforts to promote the change they profess to believe in. Leaders change behavior by their action and inaction, and by what they model and reinforce. You can't expect your staff to use new and difficult skills when they work with offenders if you do not use the same skills when interacting with them.

7. Measure The Right Things:

- If it is true that what gets measured is what gets done, then if you are measuring the wrong things you will be doing the wrong things. Make sure that the information you are collecting, reporting, and reinforcing are supportive of evidence-based practice.

With the explosion of information technology systems, we are collecting and reporting more data than we could have ever imagined just a few years ago. The ability to collect information and measure outcomes is the cornerstone of evidence-based practice. However that is only true if we are measuring and analyzing the right information.

Our ability to collect data has outpaced our ability to effectively manage it. The fact we can measure something doesn't mean we should. When it comes to information technology, more is not necessarily better. If our goal is to determine whether or not we are moving in the direction of increased public safety through recidivism reduction, then we need to

be collecting and analyzing the right information. It is what an agency measures and rewards that is the most honest indicator of what is truly valued. Unfortunately there is often a significant difference between what is said to be valued and what is actually measured and rewarded. If a probation or parole agency primarily measures, audits, and reports the timeliness of completing an assessment and the frequency of offender supervision contacts, and not the quality, then no matter what you feel or say to the contrary, staff will know what is really important. Often measurement is exclusively used to identify staff who are not measuring up. Once identified, staff are informed of their poor performance along with some possible negative consequences if they don't improve. It's no wonder that so many staff avoid being measured whenever possible. No one wants to be identified as a poor performer and a problem. When we are measuring the right things that are aligned with our vision and mission, then measurement in and of itself is not bad. The problem in measurement comes from the way it is used. If it is used to judge and punish rather than to inform, teach and reward, staff will go to extraordinary lengths to avoid being measured.

I wonder what would happen if we told our staff that we were not going to measure on an ongoing basis any of their job activities. Rather their performance was only going to be measured by the recidivism rates of the offenders they supervise. Of course we would equalize work units and develop agency norms to compare recidivism by the offenders' assessed risk. We then would inform staff that we were going to collect recidivism data both during and after the offenders' period of supervision. Furthermore, we would share with staff that there are a number of evidence-based strategies that have been identified that are directly linked to decreasing criminal behavior. We would tell them that we are going to conduct training in these strategies and establish a system to provide staff ongoing feedback on their use of these skills. It would be their choice on whether they participated in the training or not. I wonder what would happen. Would staff begin to see the importance and correlation between the agency vision, the skills being taught, and what they are or should be doing.

The fact is that what gets measured is not what gets done. What gets measured and positively reinforced is what gets done. If we are to effectively implement evidence-based practice, then we need to be clear on the results we are going to reward and which behaviors and activities we need to reinforce. Too often when we develop a new agency vision, identify the staff behaviors that are associated with the vision, and train staff in the required skills to operationalize it, staff still don't change. It is not because they can't change but because management continues to measure and reinforce the same activities they always have. The way to change individual behavior is to provide them with the required skills, set achievable goals, positively reinforce their efforts, and celebrate their accomplishments.



8. Implement Quality Improvement:

- The most thoroughly researched correctional practice, principle, or program, that is poorly implemented and fails to maintain fidelity and integrity to the evidence-based model, will result in unintended and disappointing outcomes. Systems for ongoing quality assurance and improvement must be incorporated into the design and implementation of every new practice and program.

When an evidence-based program model or strategy is not providing the outcomes that were suggested by the research, we often are quick to conclude that the research was wrong or the results can not be replicated and therefore it doesn't work. Like many other things in life, if an evidence-based strategy or program is not paid monitored after it has been implemented, and if it is not nurtured and properly supported, then it will not produce the results that are expected. In the business that we are in, people are both the ends and the means. Therefore we need to continue to monitor, support, coach, and reinforce the staff who are implementing the evidence-based service. Whether it is called quality control, quality assurance or quality improvement, ongoing systems to facilitate the maintenance of required performance standards are essential. In many cases, this will require trained supervisors and coaches to directly observe staff while they are delivering services. For probation and parole officers this will mean that their supervisors or someone else will actually be observing them while they are meeting with offenders during an office or field contact. It will be a new experience for many staff and needs to be conducted with sensitivity. If as a result staff feel judged and criticized, it will not lead to improved performance. In addition, when delivering an evidence-based treatment program, steps need to be taken to ensure the program is being delivered as it was designed. Evidence-based programs and strategies that are poorly implemented and operated, will fail to achieve the desired results.

9. Create A Learning Organization:

- Make a commitment to not only implement evidence-based practice, but also to create an organizational capacity to develop and learn from your own evidence of what works to change offender behavior.

A significant amount of research has been conducted that has identified principles, programs, and practices that are linked to reducing criminal behavior. Although clear trends have emerged concerning recidivism reduction strategies, there should be no assumptions that we have definitive answers to the question: What works? While much progress has been made, the need for ongoing research to support the development of more effective interventions must also be acknowledged. Evidence-based practice should be a continuous process of evaluation,

and agencies need to understand the importance of the interrelationship between research and practice. Most correctional agencies have not built the internal capacity to identify and collect the required data elements, analyze the data, and use sound research methods to make conclusions concerning the effectiveness of their own operations. The ability to conduct in-house research and make the necessary organizational and operational changes that support the findings is the cornerstone of evidence-based practice. We should not rigidly or blindly commit ourselves to a set of static principles, beliefs, or any single approach to changing criminal behavior. Rather we need to establish within our agencies a value and capacity to continue to develop and learn from our own evidence.

Conclusion

I've worked in the field of corrections for over thirty years and now more than at any other time, I am excited and hopeful about our future. We know more today about how to change criminal behavior than ever before. As we look back and learn from our mistakes, we should not be distracted from the real achievements we have made, or our own potential. I have no illusions about the difficulty of the obstacles that will need to be overcome to fully implement evidence-based practice in community corrections.

The implementation of evidence-based practice will be a paradigm shift that undoubtedly will require agency self-reflection and self-adjustment. It will require a change in organizational cultures that for some staff has supported a "us versus them" approach to their work. It will require a well-crafted collaborative implementation strategy; a strategy that fosters the development of a core set of shared values and beliefs that support a vision and mission of recidivism reduction and increased public safety. Above all, it will require courage and leadership.

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Thomas White is the Director of operations at the Connecticut Judicial Branch in the Court Support Division.



National Criminal Justice Drug Abuse Treatment Studies:

Update and Progress

*I*n 2002, with support from several federal partners¹, the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) launched the National Criminal Justice Drug Abuse Treatment Studies (CJ-DATS), a major research initiative. Under CJ-DATS, researchers from ten academic research centers and NIDA are working together with federal, state, and local criminal justice partners to develop and test integrated approaches to the treatment of offenders with drug use disorders (see Table 1). At present, there are 11 major studies underway in CJ-DATS. This work will include the development of assessment tools suited to criminal justice populations and contexts, studies to understand and improve the linkage between drug treatment and criminal and juvenile justice settings, multilevel surveys of how drug treatment is organized and delivered in prison and parole settings, and research on alternative treatment approaches. An important goal of CJ-DATS is to ensure that its findings have practical and useful application.

by Bennett W. **Fletcher**, Ph.D and Harry K. **Wexler**, Ph.D



Background

In 2003, it was estimated that about 6.9 million individuals were under some form of correctional control, with nearly 2.1 million in prison or jail and about 4.8 million under community supervision (Glaze & Palla, 2004). There is a high prevalence of drug problems among offenders. In the 1997 Department of Justice survey of inmates in state and federal prisons, it was estimated that 69 percent of state prisoners were drug- or alcohol-involved, and 56 percent reported using illicit drugs in the month prior to the offense (Mumola, 1999). About 600,000 offenders are released from state and federal prisons each year (Travis, 2000). Many of these returning inmates could benefit from drug abuse treatment, but treatment capacity in correctional facilities is lacking (Belenko & Peugh, 2005). Mumola (1999) reported that in 1997, only 32 percent of state and 21 percent of federal substance-involved prisoners had participated in treatment while under correctional supervision (excluding Alcoholics Anonymous, other peer support and educational programs). About two-thirds of drug offenders are reincarcerated within three years of their release (Langan & Levin, 2002). The lack of effective treatment may contribute to relapse and return to incarceration.

A large body of research shows the effectiveness of drug abuse treatment in reducing drug use and criminal behavior for individuals with drug problems who are involved with the criminal justice system. To briefly summarize these findings, those with legal involvement (under arrest, pending trial or legally referred to treatment) who are admitted to community-based treatment are retained in treatment longer and have positive outcomes – reduced drug use and reduced criminality – that are comparable to those who are not criminal justice-involved (Farabee, Prendergast & Anglin, 1998)). Felony offenders with drug problems who are given the alternative of drug treatment in lieu of incarceration have better outcomes on average than similar offenders who do not participate in treatment (Lang & Belenko, 2000), with the caveat that the treatment alternative should be designed for the specific needs of drug-involved offenders. Inmates who participate in drug abuse treatment during incarceration have positive outcomes, particularly if prison-based treatment is followed by treatment after release (Simpson, Wexler, & Inciardi, 1999). Evidence is emerging that drug courts are effective in reducing recidivism; however, while preliminary evaluations of other outcomes have been promising, more research is needed (U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2005).

Given this body of research, there is reason to be optimistic about the effectiveness of treatment for offenders with drug use disorders. However, there is much that is still unknown about effective treatment for the reentering offender. Areas in which more work is needed include assessing drug treatment needs and targeting interventions to those needs, linking the offender with effective treatment and other >>>

Table 1

Research Centers

Central States Research Center

Carl G. Leukefeld, D.S.W.
Univ. of Kentucky

Connecticut Research Center

Linda K. Frisman, Ph.D.
CT Dept. of Mental Health & Addiction Services

Florida Research Center

Howard A. Liddle, Ph.D.
Univ. of Miami

Mid-Atlantic Research Center

James A. Inciardi, Ph.D.
Univ. of Delaware Ctr for Drug & Alcohol Studies

Midwest Research Center

Nancy Jainchill, Ph.D.
National Development & Research Institutes

Pacific Coast Research Center

Michael L. Prendergast, Ph.D.
UCLA Integrated Substance Abuse Program

Rhode Island Research Center

Peter D. Friedmann, M.D.
Lifespan Hospitals and Brown Univ.

Rocky Mountains Research Center

Harry K. Wexler, Ph.D.
National Development & Research Institutes

Southwest Research Center

Kevin Knight, Ph.D.
TCU Institute of Behavioral Research

Coordinating Center

CJ-DATS Coordinating Center
Faye S. Taxman, Ph.D.
Virginia Commonwealth Univ.

National Institute on Drug Abuse

NIDA Collaborating Scientist
Bennett W. Fletcher, Ph.D.
National Institute on Drug Abuse

services in the community, increasing treatment retention and reducing risk behavior, and coordinating drug abuse treatment and other reentry needs with correctional supervision requirements.

CJ-DATS Studies

There are currently 11 major multisite studies underway in CJ-DATS. Table 2 lists the major CJ-DATS studies together with a brief description.

The CJ-DATS research initiative is composed of individual, rigorously designed multi-site collaborative studies that test well-articulated research hypotheses. These are described in more detail in brief reports on each study, available at www.cjdat.org. These studies are also valuable in their ability to address important cross cutting issues in criminal justice and drug abuse treatment in dealing with the drug-involved offender. Several of these underlying issues are highlighted below, along with the CJ-DATS efforts related to them.

Assessing Offender Problems

Assessment is the first step in determining what interventions or services are needed. Offenders often have multiple problems, including drug use, criminal behavior, mental problems, and difficulty finding and keeping employment and housing. For offenders transitioning from incarceration back into the community, behavior that increases the risk of infectious disease, including HIV, hepatitis C, and other chronic illnesses, can adversely affect the community's public health and, for those who are reincarcerated, burden correctional health care resources as well.

The first step in dealing with these problems is to assess their nature and extent. Although there are good measures for some problems areas (such as drug problems and HIV risk behavior), other areas do not have measures that are well adapted to the drug-involved offender. Two CJ-DATS studies have focused on developing and testing assessment tools designed for use by criminal justice and drug abuse treatment providers with offender populations.

Inmate Pre-Release Assessment (IPASS). Participation in drug abuse treatment is often a condition of release for offenders with a drug problem who are reentering the community. The type of treatment that is needed depends on the type and severity of their problems, their participation and progress in treatment during incarceration, and the level of risk suggested by their criminal history. The IPASS, being developed under UCLA's leadership, will obtain input from both the counselor and the inmate to measure these factors. The value of the post-release treatment and supervision recommendations from IPASS will be tested in CJ-DATS.

Co-Occurring Disorders Screening Instrument for criminal justice populations (CJ-CODSI). Co-occurring mental problems, which are prevalent among individuals with drug disorders, can complicate the treatment of substance use disorders, interfere with adherence to drug treatment, and contribute to relapse. Diagnosis of mental problems requires significant resources and training. NDRI-Colorado is taking the lead in developing the CJ-CODSI, a brief tool for use with offenders that is intended to help with treatment planning needs and to provide criminal justice staff with information to determine whether a full psychiatric diagnosis is indicated.

Measuring Progress in Treatment and Recovery

Individuals who enter drug abuse treatment as a criminal justice requirement must still engage in the therapeutic process if it is to be effective. Effectiveness depends upon the participant's willingness to change as well as upon the treatment provider's ability to engage the client in a change-oriented process and to deliver services that meet the client's needs. Determinants of client treatment performance are multidimensional, including measures of motivation and readiness, psychological and social attributes, and social functioning, as well as treatment process domains including rapport with counselor and developing recovery support networks.

Performance Indicators for Corrections (PIC). Instruments to evaluate client motivation and treatment needs were developed and tested in the PIC study, carried out under the leadership of Texas Christian University (TCU). These instruments are the Client Evaluation of Self and Treatment for Criminal Justice (CJ-CEST) and the Client Assessment Inventory (CAI). David Kressel of National Development and Research Institutes (NDRI) authored the CAI, which consists of 14 scales corresponding to domains targeted for improvement in therapeutic community-based treatment. The CJ-CEST, developed at TCU, includes four scales measuring treatment needs and motivation, six scales measuring psychological and social functioning, and five scales measuring treatment process.

Many offenders are characterized by belief systems or patterns of thinking that lead to trouble (i.e., criminal thinking errors). The TCU Criminal Thinking Scales, which measure six criminal thinking domains, are an important addition to the CJ-CEST and are also available as a stand-alone measure.

Linking Criminal Justice and Drug Abuse Treatment

A fundamental assumption underlying CJ-DATS was that improving the prospects for successful reentry of drug-involved >>>

Evidence Based Practices



Study Title	Lead Center	Participating Centers	Study Description
Performance Indicators for Corrections (PIC)	Texas Christian Univ.	Univ. of Delaware UCLA/Pacific Coast NDRI-Colorado Univ. of Kentucky	Develop and test CJ-CEST (TCU) and CAI (NDRI). Goals are to (1) develop assessment tools to track changes in inmate attitudes, expectations, adherence, and satisfaction through various program phases; (2) test psychometric properties across multiple sites.
Inmate Pre-Release Assessment (IPASS)	UCLA	Brown Univ. Texas Christian Univ. Univ. of Kentucky	Tests pre-release risk measure designed as an aftercare placement tool for prison-based substance abuse treatment graduates. A prospective design will test IPASS's prediction of relapse and recidivism. A concordant/ discordant passive matching strategy will assess its use in aftercare level placement.
Co-occurring Disorders Screening Instrument for Criminal Justice Populations (CJ-CODSI)	NDRI-Colorado	Texas Christian Univ. UCLA/Pacific Coast Brown Univ.	Will develop and test a screening instrument for co-occurring mental and drug use disorders usable by most correctional and drug tmt staffs
Targeted Interventions for Corrections (TIC)	Texas Christian Univ.	Univ. of Delaware UCLA-Pacific Coast Univ. of Kentucky	Randomized tests of brief manualized interventions. Module 1: Anger Management Module 2: HIV Prevention
Transitional Case Management (TCM)	UCLA/Pacific Coast	Univ. of Connecticut Univ. of Delaware Univ. of Kentucky NDRI-Colorado	Randomized trial compares TCM intervention with usual parolesupervision. TCM intervention combines techniques of team case conferencing and case management to increase participation in drug treatment and other community services following prison-based treatment.
Step'n Out	Brown Univ./ Lifespan	Univ. of Connecticut Univ. of Delaware UCLA/Pacific Coast VA Commonwealth Univ.	Randomized trial compares Step'n Out intervention with usual probation supervision. Step'n Out intervention teams correctional supervision officers (COs) with treatment counselors and provides COs with systematic reward/ sanction structure to manage client progress.
Comparison of Three Reentry Strategies for Drug Abusing Juvenile Offenders	NDRI-Midwest	Univ. of Miami Univ. of Delaware	Randomized trial of comparing FFT, CR, and usual aftercare services for drug-abusing adolescents. FFT, functional family therapy, is a 3-stage model to improve how family members interact. CR, cognitive restructuring, changes juvenile offender belief structures contributing to criminal behavior and drug use.
HIV Prevention for Drug-Involved Offenders During Re-entry	Univ. of Delaware	Univ. of Kentucky VA Commonwealth Univ. Texas Christian Univ.	Randomized trial of culturally-targeted interactive DVD-based HIV/HCV prevention intervention compared with standard HIV intervention
Restructuring Risky Relationships-HIV (RRR-HIV)	Univ. of Kentucky	Univ. of Delaware Virginia Commonwealth Univ.	Study to develop and test intervention to teach female offenders to recognize and change relationship thinking errors to reduce their HIV risk behaviors.
National Criminal Justice Treatment Practices (NCJTP) Survey	Virginia Commonwealth Univ./ Univ. of Maryland	UCLA/Pacific Coast Brown Univ./Lifespan Texas Christian Univ. NDRI-Midwest Univ. of Connecticut Univ. of Kentucky NDRI-Colorado Univ. of Delaware Univ. of Miami	Four-tiered survey design: (1) State directors of correctional agencies, state substance abuse directors; (2) regional criminal justice administrators; (3) sample of criminal justice and treatment facility administrators; and (4) sample of criminal justice and community treatment facility staff. Will survey goals, mission, structure, cross- and interagency coordination, organizational culture, and other factors influencing how treatment services are provided to drug-involved offenders.
eCourt: Technology Transfer in Drug Courts	Virginia Commonwealth Univ./ Univ. of Maryland	UCLA/Pacific Coast Texas Christian Univ. Univ. of Kentucky Univ. of Delaware Univ. of Miami	Will develop and pilot test a web-based performance management system, examine how performance information affects the operation of the drug court and treatment providers, and will conduct a national survey of drug court programs to understand how information on treatment, testing, and sanctions can improve progress monitoring and offender outcomes.

offenders would require a focus on how drug abuse treatment and criminal justice systems interact. Correctional supervision has the potential for facilitating the offender's recovery from drug disorders, but too often the parole or probation officer does not have the time or the resources to become an effective change agent for recovery and successful reentry. Thus, an important goal of CJ-DATS was to develop ways that drug abuse treatment can be better coordinated with criminal justice requirements or integrated into criminal justice settings. Three CJ-DATS studies have undertaken the challenge of developing interventions that address the needs of both offenders and criminal justice staff. Each of these studies uses a randomized trial design comparing the CJ-DATS intervention to a condition approximating "business as usual" (for example, usual treatment or parole supervision). The two reentry studies will follow subjects at three and nine months.

Treatment Interventions for Corrections (TIC). The TIC study, under TCU's leadership, involves developing and testing a series of

"Effectiveness depends upon the participant's willingness to change as well as upon the treatment provider's ability to engage the client in a change-oriented process and to deliver services that meet the client's needs."

brief (four-session), flexible, evidence-based treatment interventions targeting specific offender problems. These interventions employ a user-friendly modular format that does not require extensive staff training, and the modules themselves are intended to serve either as stand-alone interventions or as components of a comprehensive treatment program. The initial modules are currently being developed and tested in prison-based treatment settings. They include anger management, HIV risk reduction and changing thinking errors.

Transitional Case Management (TCM). Often individuals with drug problems either do not enter treatment when they are released from prison or soon drop out. There is a need, therefore, to improve the process of transition between prison and the community so that offenders in correctional treatment enter and engage in community-based treatment. To address this, the TCM study, under UCLA's leadership, is a test of a parole reentry model based on strengths-based case management, which builds on the offender's accomplishments,

prosocial abilities and goals, and supportive network. TCM starts as part of discharge planning within prison. The first stage is to assess the individual's strengths and to set reentry goals. This is followed by a telephone case conference call involving the inmate, the parole officer, the case manager, and other significant members involved in reentry. After the offender is released, he or she receives 12 weeks of intensive strengths-based case management to support treatment participation and access to needed services, followed by another 12 weeks of less intensive contact with the case manager.

Step'n Out. The tool of graduated sanctions – increasing the level of correctional requirements for non-compliant behavior – is well understood in criminal justice. Positive reinforcement, or rewarding behavior to increase its likelihood, is the complement to behavioral sanctions. Unlike sanctions, positive reinforcement has not been systematically employed by correctional supervision, although there is considerable research to suggest that positive reinforcement is an important component in any behavior management program.

The Step'n Out study, under the leadership of Brown University/Lifespan, is intended to fully integrate drug abuse treatment counseling with parole supervision, and at the same time to provide parole officers with a behavioral supervision approach that systematically rewards progress and punishes lack of adherence. Step'n Out

uses principles from learning theory and role theory, and incorporates concepts of procedural justice in its design.

The Step'n Out program is a "collaborative behavioral management" approach that involves biweekly sessions between parole officers, treatment counselors, and clients at the treatment site over a 12- >>> week period. During these sessions, supervision and treatment requirements are monitored, client reentry goals are set and specific target behaviors (e.g., remaining abstinent, attending supervision and counseling sessions, calling potential employers) are agreed to. The structure of the intervention encourages formal and informal communication and collaboration between the parole officer and the treatment counselor. Client progress on target behaviors and compliance with requirements counts toward (mostly non-monetary) rewards, and lack of adherence brings graduated sanctions. The goal of Step'n Out is to better integrate the work of the parole officer and treatment counselor to improve the likelihood that the drug-involved offender will be able to successfully transition back into the community.

Adolescent Interventions

Most of the research on drug abuse treatment with criminal justice-involved individuals has focused on adults. Adolescents in the criminal justice or juvenile justice system present their own challenges. Adolescent drug-related problems are multidimensional, often including conduct problems, troubled families (including parents with poor parenting skills, abusive parents or other family members, alcohol or drug use by family members), school problems, and developmental problems. Troubled adolescents often engage in risky sexual behavior, increasing their risk for infectious disease, and may also manifest criminal thinking patterns. Two studies in CJ-DATS focus on the adolescent drug-involved offender. Both are testing intervention approaches using randomized clinical designs, with a 12- to 15-month follow-up.

Three Reentry Strategies for Juvenile Offenders. This study, under the leadership of NDRI-Midwest, is intended to compare usual aftercare services for juveniles with two very different treatment approaches: *Functional family therapy*, an intervention that focuses on the family to improve communication patterns, parenting practices, and family bonding; and *cognitive restructuring*, an intervention that targets the adolescent's distorted or negative thinking patterns. Cognitive restructuring has been studied in adult offenders, but this will be the first major study on its application with adolescents. The participants in this study will be youth returning home from secure residential treatment facilities, and the goal of the study will be to determine the optimal intervention for youth with drug problems under juvenile justice supervision.

Facilitating Adolescent Offenders' Reintegration from Juvenile Detention to Community Life (DTC). The DTC study is led by the University of Miami. The intervention, which is based on the Multidimensional Family Therapy (MDFT) model, begins as the adolescent enters the juvenile detention facility. The MDFT therapist intervenes with the youth in detention and with the parents in their homes. After the youth is discharged from detention, the therapy continues for 4 months in the community with youth and family together. The juvenile detention facility thus serves as an entrée to the youth and the family, in which the MDFT therapist begins a process of therapeutic change that bridges the substance abuse and juvenile justice systems as the youth returns to the community. Adolescents who abuse substances may be more likely to engage in behavior that increases

the risk for contracting infectious disease. The DTC intervention incorporates a structured, family-based HIV prevention module during the outpatient treatment phase.

HIV/Hepatitis Risk Reduction

Adult offenders with drug problems are also at high risk for infectious disease. The rates of HIV and hepatitis C (HCV) infection are higher among those who are incarcerated than in the general population. The period of time immediately following release from incarceration can be particularly hazardous because the offender may feel justified in engaging in high-risk behaviors "to make up for lost time." Braithwaite and Arriola (2003) found that infectious disease risk behaviors that are present prior to incarceration resume or increase after release. Thus, the period immediately following release from prison is an important time to intervene to reduce HIV risk behavior.

HIV/Hepatitis Prevention for Re-entering Offenders. Under the leadership of the University of Delaware, this study will test the effectiveness of an HIV/HCV prevention intervention based on an interactive DVD and workbook tailored to specific gender and ethnic groups and risk behaviors. The intervention draws upon communications research and learning theory. The new DVD intervention will be compared to the "NIDA standard" HIV intervention in a sample of community corrections clients.

"The period of time immediately following release from incarceration can be particularly hazardous because the offender may feel justified in engaging in high-risk behaviors 'to make up for lost time'"

Restructuring Risky Relationships to Reduce HIV Risk (RRR-HIV). Rates of HIV infection are higher among female inmates than among male inmates and higher than in the general population (Maruschak, 2001). In addition to sharing injection equipment, women are at risk from infectious disease through engaging in unprotected sex with drug-injecting partners, having sex with multiple partners, and engaging in sex exchange work. The nature of the relationships that female offenders have with men can lead them to engage in behaviors that put them at greater risk for HIV infection (Logan, Cole, & Leukefeld, 2002). Because relationships are important to women, "thinking errors" in the context of intimate partner relationships can increase a woman's risk for engaging in unsafe behaviors, including risky sex, drug >>>

use, and criminality. Little work has been done on how relationship thinking errors may increase HIV risk behavior or on how to correct these errors.

The Restructuring Risky Relationships (RRR-HIV) study, under the leadership of the University of Kentucky, will develop and test an intervention that helps incarcerated women about to reenter the community to recognize and change relationship thinking errors in order to reduce their HIV risk behaviors. The intervention is based on cognitive restructuring concepts and the relational model, which emphasizes how women develop interpersonal connections (Covington & Surrey, 1997; Kassebaum, 1999). It is designed to be delivered in prison in five one-hour sessions over a five week period. After the woman returns to the community, two follow-up sessions are scheduled, one in the first week and the other in the third month after release from prison.

Understanding Systems

Criminal justice and drug treatment agencies have implemented many approaches in and across multiple settings to address the problems of drug-involved offenders. There is a need to better understand how treatment services are structured and delivered to drug-involved offenders in criminal justice and community settings in order to ensure that research is relevant to criminal justice needs. The individual research projects in CJ-DATS include organization and systems measures to help provide the organizational context needed to disseminate its research findings and products. It is also critical to obtain basic information in areas such as the level of access, availability, and utilization of correctional and drug treatment as well as the types of treatment in the criminal justice system. Thus, a key study in the CJ-DATS is a comprehensive study of services provided to offenders with drug problems.

National Criminal Justice Treatment Practices (NCJTP) Survey. A multilevel survey is being undertaken of criminal justice and drug abuse treatment organizations that work with substance abusing offenders. For both adult and juvenile agencies, the survey encompasses four levels: (1) state-level directors of corrections and community corrections agencies and state directors of drug and alcohol services; (2) regional directors and administrators of correctional agencies and of correctional facility drug and alcohol services; (3) samples of administrators of correctional institutions, probation/parole administrators, and directors of outpatient drug treatment programs serving criminal justice-involved clients; and (4) samples of correctional and treatment staff working in respondent institutions or agencies.

The goals of the NCJTP are to identify the types of drug abuse treatment services available to drug abusers under criminal or juvenile justice control and to provide national data on organizational factors

such as mission, workplace climate, staff development, resources, and inter- and intra-agency coordination activities that are expected to influence the availability and quality of treatment for drug-involved offenders.

eCourt. The eCourt study was conceived to form a partnership between the court and drug treatment to achieve the common goals of stopping illicit drug abuse and curtailing related criminal activity. Information is critical to the effective integration of drug treatment and criminal justice practice. The eCourt study will examine how an integrated web-based information system can facilitate monitoring offender progress in the drug court. The study, being undertaken with support from the Office of Justice Programs, has three components. The first is the development and pilot testing of the web-based performance monitoring system. The second is to examine the organizational factors in adopting this new technology. The third component is a national survey of structural and process factors in drug courts related to the use of web-based information technology to monitor offender progress and improve outcomes.

Conclusion

At the outset, CJ-DATS investigators identified eight broad priority areas of research, including screening and referral, modifying treatment programs and interventions for reentering offenders, improving engagement and retention, linking services in the community, improving coordination with criminal justice reentry processes, addressing the needs of special populations, understanding the general organizational and contextual factors in treating offenders, and understanding current treatment practices for the drug-involved offender. In the studies described above, the work has begun in all of these priority areas.

CJ-DATS has created an important research infrastructure with the ultimate goal of improving outcomes for offenders with substance use disorders by developing and testing approaches to better integrate drug abuse treatment with public safety and public health systems. The success of CJ-DATS will depend upon whether the assessment tools and interventions being studied improve the chances that the drug-involved offender will successfully return to the community.

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Endnotes

Together with NIDA, the agencies that are supporting the CJ-DAT'S are:

Department of Health & Human Services:
Center for Substance Abuse Treatment;
Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration;
National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism; and
National Institutes of Health Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Department of Justice:
National Institute of Justice;
Office of Justice Programs;
Bureau of Prisons; and
National Institute of Corrections. >>>▲

Bennett W. Fletcher, Ph.D. is a Senior Research Psychologist, Services Research Branch, Division of Epidemiology, Services and Prevention Research at the National Institute on Drug Abuse and National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland. **Harry K. Wexler, Ph.D.** is a senior staff member of the National Development and Research Institutes, Inc. in New York, New York.



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by Michael D. **Clark**, Scott **Walters**, Ray **Gingerich** and Melissa **Metzler**

Editors note: This article is the second part of a two-part series. Part one of this series appeared in the Winter 2006 issue (Vol. 30, No. 1).

Historically, motivation has been viewed as something that resides within the offender. Probation and parole officers hope for enough motivation to make some progress but often end up frustrated when they find very little. Regardless of amount, motivation has usually been thought to be a characteristic of the offender — it's theirs to give ("cooperative," "workable") or theirs to withhold ("resistant," "poor attitude"). Within this model, the officer becomes an enforcer of a legal contract, but not necessarily an active participant in the behavior change of the offender. Here is a common description of an officer's role:

The probationer, in consultation with his lawyer, negotiates for probation supervision (and conditions) in lieu of jail time. In our initial meeting, and throughout our work together, I tell the probationer what is expected of him and make it clear what the penalties will be should he fail to comply. We have regular meetings to verify that he is making progress on his conditions and I answer any questions he might have. If he breaks the law or shows poor progress on his conditions, I see to it that appropriate sanctions are assessed. Throughout the process, the probationer is well aware of the behavior that might send him to jail, and if he ends up there, it's his own behavior that gets him there.

Reflected in this statement is an officer who is essentially *cut out of the change process*, except as an observer. Motivational Interviewing (MI) brings officers back into the "business of behavior change" (Clark, 2006). It champions the idea that we don't have to wait for the offender to "get motivated" — motivation is interactive. There may be quite a lot we can do to raise motivation, even during brief interactions.

and Readiness to Change

Motivational Interviewing for Probation and Parole

Understanding Motivation

How we understand motivation will directly affect what we do (or don't do) to increase it. Understanding motivation involves five important issues:

1. Motivation is changeable. Motivation is not a fixed trait like height or eye color; it can be increased or decreased. Although there will always be some factors that are out of our control, there may be quite a lot we can do to raise motivation.

2. Motivation predicts action. Motivation predicts how likely an offender will begin an action and carry through with it. Motivation to change is not a guarantee of action, but it does predict the likelihood that a client will change. Because of this, motivation is fundamental to behavior change.

3. Motivation is behavior-specific. To say an offender is "unmotivated" in a global sense (as a personality description) is to misunderstand how motivation works. For example, an offender may not be motivated to "stop drinking" but may feel the need to work on their anger. They may be reluctant to comply with a certain condition of their probation, yet have a strong desire to "get off probation." >>>

4. Motivation is interactive. Motivation changes because of relationships between people. Exchanges between the officer and probationer have the potential to increase or decrease the offender's perceived importance and confidence for change. The questions and statements that an officer chooses can influence what an offender talks and thinks about, and subsequently *how he behaves*.

5. Motivation can be affected by both internal and external factors, but internally motivated change usually lasts longer. Consider two offenders who agree to complete a substance abuse evaluation. One agrees to the evaluation to avoid jail, while the other agrees because he is concerned that his drug use is causing family problems. Both may be compliant, but the second is more likely to make changes that lower the probability that he will engage in future criminal behavior. Research repeatedly finds that internally motivated change is far more enduring over time (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Viets, et al., 2002).

Given the right situation, most probation and parole officers would strive to help offenders towards behavior change, — but few are equipped with the right tools. Simple notions of what things “should” motivate offenders are often insufficient. Change, when it happens, seems to be the result of a combination of factors — a sort of motivational “alignment” — rather than increased levels of just one factor.

The findings regarding motivation suggest at least four conclusions¹:

1. In community corrections, the interaction between a probation officer and offender can have a large impact on a offender's motivation. The way an officer interacts with an offender can raise or lower motivation.
2. Often, the things that we assume would be motivating to an offender simply are not. Thus, motivation is a process of finding out what things are most important to a particular individual, as well as what plan will work best for attaining them.
3. Not all moments are created equally. There seem to be “teachable” windows where people are more receptive to feedback from their environment and more interested in trying out new behaviors. Looking for where the momentum *is*, rather than where it is *not*, seems to be a sensible first step.
4. A desire to achieve an outcome (importance), belief that it can be achieved (confidence), and a belief that the new behavior is freely chosen (autonomy), seem to be the optimal conditions for change.

The Spirit Of Motivational Interviewing – Embracing a helpful style

No two offenders are alike — they enter our probation departments and parole agencies with a complex array of different experiences, traits, values and personality styles. So if offenders come in, each with their

individual characteristics, what conclusion could be reached if one heard mainly arguing and resistance talk coming from any one probation office or cubicle? It would stand to reason that it is not the offenders who are responsible for the negative responses but rather the officer's approach. Probation/parole officer style can be a major determining factor whether the offender comes down on the side of resistance, or alternately, increases their readiness to change during meetings. An officer's “style” is simply the way they relate to offenders. As noted in the first of this two-part series (Clark, 2006) one style can be “tough-as-nails” and coercive while another style can be more encouraging and motivational.

Consider this example of officer style. In departments where intake and supervision are separated, supervising officers report that the ease or difficulty of their first meeting with a new probationer or parolee is heavily influenced by what happened during the intake interview. An officer from a small probation department gave this description:

For the initial appointment, I can predict what kind of attitude the offender will show up with depending on which of the two intake officers this person met with. If I see one name, I know the person will be reluctant to come in and I'll spend a portion of my time trying to undo all of the damage that has been done. If I see the other name, not only do I know the client will show, I know I will have a hard time living up to the positive image that this person created of a probation officer. It's like night and day—actually, more like heaven and hell!

These differences are due to staff “style.” The second intake officer seems to have embraced a style that best aligns with this Motivational Interviewing (MI) spirit. The spirit of MI (Miller & Rollnick, 2002) boils down to three components, collaboration, evocation and autonomy:

- **Collaboration.** Partnership is key to increase motivation. This spirit of MI is to explore rather than press, to support rather than argue. Compliance can occur without the offender feeling understood and respected — the same cannot be said if one wants to induce behavior change. We create a respectful partnership with an offender, not because we disregard their illegal behaviors, but rather because it creates the necessary climate for lasting change.
- **Evocation.** We have always relied heavily on “telling,” educating and reasoning. However, this approach has more to do with eliciting and “pulling out” from the offender rather than installing or “putting in.” When working for behavior change, we set aside the traditional probation role of the dominating expert who tells the submissive recipient how to change. We want the offender in an active-speaking role, rather than a passive-listening role.
- **Autonomy.** Change is more likely to occur when the person feels



that he or she is in charge of their own behavior, that what he or she does is by their own choice. In general, if people think that they are making changes for their own reasons, they are more likely to stick with new behaviors. Too much pushing can actually make people less likely to change.

A Road Map For Motivational Interviewing

Completing a brief examination of motivation, how might an officer raise motivation levels? Moyers & Waldorf (2004) offer a helpful analogy of a “map” to describe how to “do” Motivational Interviewing. A seasoned traveler would want to (1) pick a destination, (2) use a roadmap to decide directions and (3) be attentive to potential trouble spots along the way.

(1). The Destination: The Principles of Motivational Interviewing

The goal of any probation/parole officer’s actions is to “arrive” at these principles. Aside from the compliance tasks of gathering information and documenting adherence to court or parole board orders, any efforts to motivate an offender will land an officer at these principles—they represent the “destination.” These principles include:

- Express Empathy
- Roll With Resistance
- Develop Discrepancy
- Support Self-Efficacy

Express Empathy

Motivational Interviewing involves a sincere attempt on the part of the officer to understand the offender’s point of view and to understand that the offender has a choice in how they respond to supervision orders and officer directions. Aside from understanding, empathy also involves an effort to draw out concerns and reasons for change from the client, holding back the urge to push the officer’s own agenda. Our field has had several decades of viewing offender motivation solely from our perspective. McMurren (2002) notes, “A different and potentially more useful perspective is to look at motivation to change from *the offender’s point of view*” (p.5 – emphasis added). Empathy and reflective listening are frequently a core part of counseling, negotiation, and sales techniques.

Roll with Resistance

Since motivation has been viewed more like a fixed offender trait, some officers have thought that the best strategy is to directly confront the offender’s denial, rationalization, and excuses.

- You’ve got a problem.
- You have to change.
- If you violate, you’ll go back to jail. Is that what you want?

Other staff shy away from a heavy-handed approach, instead relying on suggestions or logic to persuade the offender.

- Can’t you see how this behavior is affecting your kids?
- Why don’t you just...
- Here’s how you should go about this...

Past suggestions to probation staff (Clark, 1996) have cautioned, “Do not argue or debate with the offender. You are not likely to change their mind through reasoning. If this approach was going to work, it would have worked by now.”

Unfortunately, the evidence suggests that both of these strategies, especially early on, tend to make things worse. When confronted with external pressure, the typical response is to defend the current negative behavior or troublesome situation.

Officer Confronts	Offender Resists
<i>You’ve got a problem because...</i>	<i>No, I don’t because...</i>
<i>Why don’t you...</i>	<i>That won’t work for me because...</i>
<i>If you don’t you’ll...</i>	<i>My friend did and he...</i>

Motivational Interviewing suggests, “Confrontation is the goal, but not the style.” What that means is confrontation is the goal for many probation interactions—helping an offender see and accept an uncomfortable situation. That would be done, however, with a motivational strategy rather than through a style of force or argument. MI gives us the option of turning away from confrontational or logic-based approaches, while still keeping the focus on change. We can, and should enforce the appropriate legal sanctions, but for long-term change, it is better if the confrontation is between the probationer *and their own issues* (discrepancy), rather than the officer and probationer (coercion).

Develop Discrepancy

The best interaction is one in which the offender voices the arguments for change. How does an officer facilitate this? The first step is to build a positive and collaborative relationship (express empathy). A positive relationship creates a place of trust where offenders can feel more comfortable talking about change. Given a positive working relationship, we then move to find out what the person values, and if their current behavior is in conflict with these deeply-held values. If there is a gap between what they value and their current behavior, this gap is called “discrepancy.” This gap becomes fertile ground for discovering and amplifying *the offender’s own reasons for change*. The officer looks for ways to create an “appetite” for change. >>>

Considering the *Stages of Change* theory (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983), some offenders will enter probation or parole in the precontemplation stage, not believing that there is any reason to change. A few more enter supervision in the preparation or action stage, having acknowledged the problem during the first appointment and needing only minimal assistance to begin change efforts. Throughout this process, ambivalence is an internal battle between “I want to do this, but I know I shouldn’t.” These mixed feelings are a normal part of the change process.

Staff have long been taught to see ambivalence as a classic form of “denial,” yet for the motivationally-inclined officer it demonstrates a reason for optimism! Rather than being a sign that a person is moving away from change, ambivalence is a signal that change may be on the horizon. *Ambivalence makes change possible — it is the precursor to positive behavior change.*

Offenders can change if they can successfully negotiate this ambivalence. The balance tips to one side or the other. The challenge therefore, is to identify and call attention to this ambivalence. There will be a small percentage of offenders who have no ambivalence around their current behavior. However, the large majority of offenders will enter our departments with a certain amount of concern regarding their behavior (if only about the legal consequences). Where the discrepancy goes depends on whether an officer recognizes and uses it to elicit self-motivational speech.

Support Self-Efficacy

Part of motivation is an estimate of how likely we are to succeed if we wanted to change. Obviously, people who are discouraged about their chances are less likely to attempt change. If you’ve raised someone’s value of importance to change by negotiating ambivalence and invoking a discrepancy in their thinking, change is still not certain. Even if you’ve found the importance to change, you remain stuck if you have no *confidence* in your abilities to carry out the change. For this reason, we go out of our way to remind the offender of personal strengths and resources, and support him or her through encouraging statements and finding past successes.

In the face of so many problems and failures by offenders, how does the officer find optimism to believe in the offender’s ability to change — and help the offender to believe in themselves as well? Many probation and parole departments are turning to a more positive, constructive way of solving problems. The Strengths Perspective (Saleebey, 1997) and Positive Psychology (Seligman, 1998) first developed in the fields of social work and psychology have made the transition into juvenile justice (Clark, 1996, 1998; Kurtz & Linnemann, 2006), adult community corrections (Clark, 1997) and prisoner reentry programming (Maruna & Lebel, 2003; Burnett & Maruna, 2006). This approach seeks to

find a better balance of amplifying strengths rather than a sole focus on repairing weakness and fixing flaws. Community corrections has long been concerned with uncovering a person’s deficits, weaknesses, and problems. For so many offenders, their talents and abilities go unrecognized — and more importantly — *unused*.

Many offenders have developed survival skills that run opposite to what they might need to achieve. For example, the skills and behaviors that makes up a “good” parolee or probationer often fall under the category of compliance and “giving in” — yet compliant behaviors are rarely associated with achievement or growth, which often involve taking some risks and demonstrating personal choice and initiative (Rapp, 1998).

(2). Roadmap—Directions for Reaching the Destination

There are often many routes to arrive at the same destination. Plotting a course occurs with strategies and techniques, in much the same way as a driver decides which direction to take when faced with the many turns and forks in the road. A motivational roadmap includes:

- Decisional Balance
- Eliciting “Change Talk” (Self-Motivational Speech)
- Preparing People for Change

These “directions” keep the issues of change in focus. Bill Miller notes, “In most instances, people talk a little bit about changing, then a little bit about not changing and then they stop talking about change. Motivational Interviewing is a method for keeping change talk on the front burner.” (Miller, 2003)

Decisional Balance

There is a common sense view of motivation in that offenders do things because they perceive them as being better in some way than not doing them (West, 1989). From this position, it is easy to see motivation as a decision-making process. In this “What’s in it for me?” approach, offenders will try to anticipate whether a course of action is likely to be useful to them before they act, assessing both the positive and the negative consequences of a behavior. When individuals are confronted with two or more options, they will select the one that, relative to the other options, will provide the most benefit at the least cost (von Winterfeldt & Edwards, 1986).

The “Decisional Balance Sheet” can be a helpful tool for understanding the thinking, emotional, and motivational aspects of decision-making. With this decisional balance tool, the gains of starting a behavior change are contrasted with the costs of not undertaking the change. Decisional balance is a comparative model because it is not the total number of gains and losses that influences the decision but the number of gains and losses in relation to each other. What “tips”



Sample Decisional Balance Sheet – “my alcohol use”

Continuing On As Before		Making a Change	
Benefits	Costs	Costs	Benefits
Helps me relax Feel like I fit in Don't worry about my bills Love the buzz	Spouse gets mad Spend all my money Ended up here at this court Suspended from my job	Won't have a way to relax What about my friends? Life will be boring	Family would trust me again Marriage would go better Better at my job More money Get off probation sooner

the balance from one side to the other is not always logic, but rather a subjective appraisal made by the person.

Decisional balance sheets (Figure 1) are one way to frame such a dilemma. For instance, a simple way to broach the subject of change is to ask offenders about some of the “good things” and “not-so-good” things about a target behavior. The two questions can be asked of almost anyone, no matter what their interest in change. They’re also useful when an officer really doesn’t know what to say to an offender who has taken a very resistant stance.

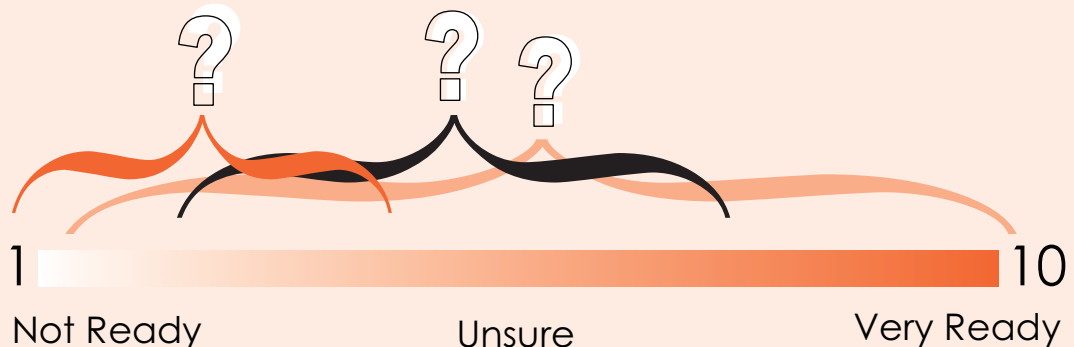
- What are some of the good things about...?
- What are some of the not-so-good things about...?

First, the officer begins with an open question (usually asking about the “good things” first) and immediately follows with a reflection. The officer continues to ask open questions (e.g., “What else?”) until the offender has listed several items. Most offenders can list several items on both sides, and so the officer does not stop asking after the first or second item. Second, the officer does not shy away from asking about the “good things” about drug use. This officer is comfortable with

the fact that drug use, like all problem behaviors, has some positive aspects for the user. This offender who created the list above is ambivalent about drinking, seeing both pros and cons. This is despite the fact that he may have a no-drinking condition of probation or parole. Similarly, a sex offender may have mixed feelings around admitting to the offense, even though it is a condition of his probation. Third, the officer avoids labeling the behavior or using this exercise as a way to bully the offender into change. The questions invite the offender to talk on both sides of the issue; we strategically prompt the offender to give both sides of the argument.

In community corrections, it is important to be able to appreciate how internal and external forces work together to facilitate positive behavior. Because we work with a mandated population, change might begin because of external pressure (e.g., conditions of supervision), >>>

Motivational Continuum



People come in with a certain range. **What you say makes a difference from there.**

but later can be continued for internal reasons (e.g., offender sees personal benefits). The process would ideally look something like, “I have to, I need to, I want to.” Officers can choose to use strategies that moves change to the “inside” or just as easily allow compliance to remain pressure-driven and superficial.

Eliciting “Change Talk” (Self-Motivational Speech)

People can literally “talk themselves in and out of change” (Walters, et al., 2002) and MI-inclined officers turn to skills that elicit “change talk.” There are linguistic studies that suggest that the speech of the staff person sets the tone for the speech of the client, which in turn, influences the ultimate outcome (Amrhein, et. al., 2003). In short, certain statements and questions—and especially a certain officer style—seem to predict whether people decide to change during brief conversations. Offenders may come in with a certain range of readiness, but what the officer says from that point on makes a difference in how the offender speaks and thinks, and ultimately, in how they choose to behave in the future.

Preparing People for Change

The old adage, “You can’t make a person change if they don’t want to,” is only partially true. In fact, there may be quite a lot you can do to prepare people to find a job, address chaotic family life, or give up substance abuse. The art lies in getting people to want to make changes in these areas. Frequently, officers want to jump straight to problem solving.

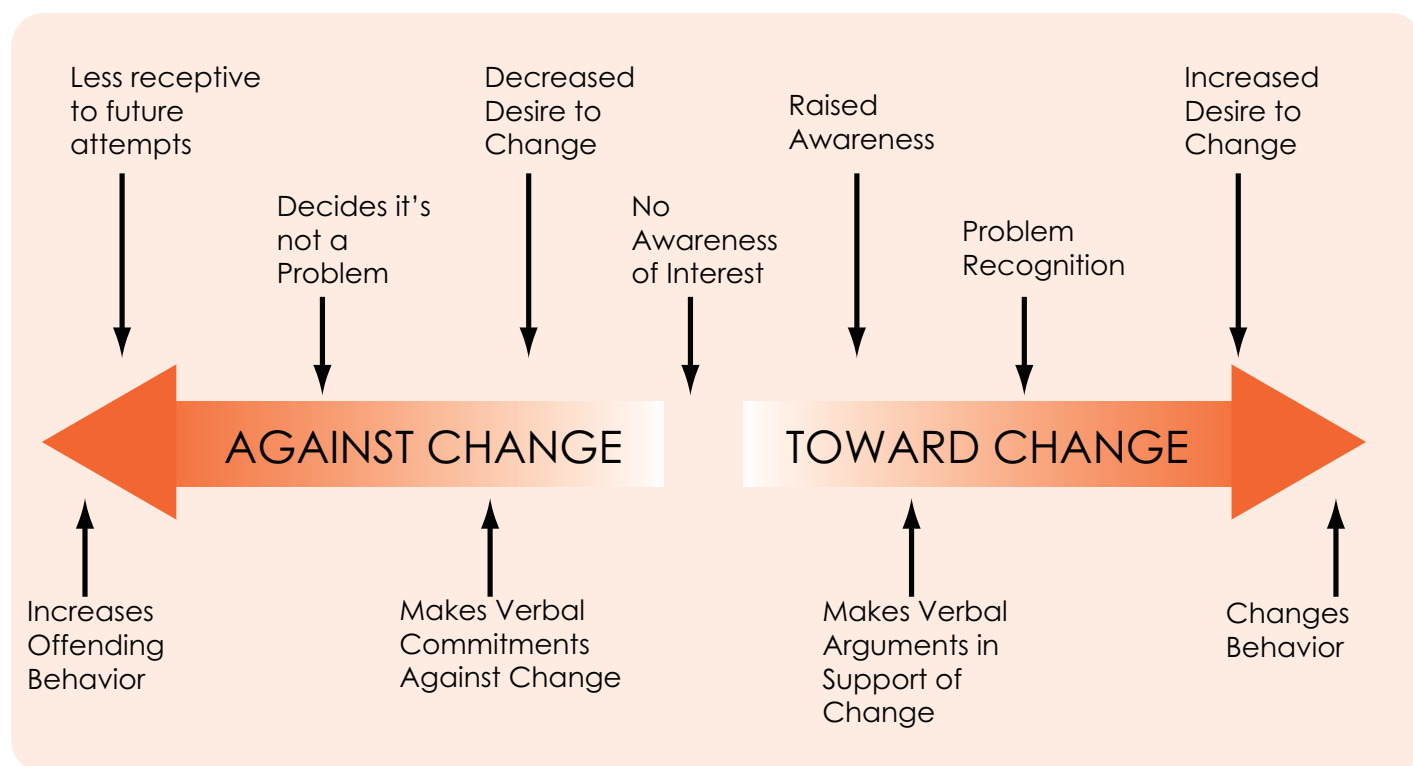
However, this approach ignores the fact that most people need to be prepared for change. This section talks about specific ways to prepare people to think about change. Motivational Interviewing trains staff in basic listening and speaking strategies:

- Ask Open Questions.
- Affirm Positive Talk and Behavior
- Reflect What You are Hearing or Seeing
- Summarize What has Been Said

These four techniques (sometimes referred to by the “OARS” acronym, for Open Questions, Affirm, Reflect, and Summarize) get an offender thinking about change, and help us to gather better quality information so we can assist the person in planning. They become an “accelerator” for conversations.

Figure 3 illustrates some of the markers that help to determine whether the interaction is a good one, that is, whether the offender is moving closer towards change.

Training in Motivational Interviewing offers instruction in ways of using these techniques to strategically steer a conversation in a particular direction. However, steering in itself is worthless without the ability to move the conversation forward. Many officers are dominating discussions with offenders and talking themselves out of effectiveness. Video-tape research (Clark, 2005) of offender/ officer appointments find many officers far “out-talk” offenders in short (15 minute) sessions. For example, in one particular session, there were 2,768 words spoken



between officer and offender. The breakdown? The officer spoke 2,087 words while the probationer was limited to only 681 words. Although listening by itself is no guarantee of behavior change, the ability to both listen while using strategies to get the offender talking, is a prerequisite to being an effective motivational interviewer.

(3) Potential Trouble Spots: Enforce Orders And Deliver Sanctions Without Leaving A Motivational Style

One of the things that make probation and parole officers unique is their conspicuously dual role. We help the offender to plan, but dispense sanctions if he fails; we ask for honesty, but also report to the court. Indeed, it is understandable why some officers have a hard time navigating this dual role. The tendency is to move to one side — to become too harsh or too friendly — when a more middle-of-the-road approach is called for. In reality, probation and parole officers are more like consultants, in that we manage the relationship between the court or paroling authority and the offender. This is not as far-fetched as some would believe. In truth, we neither make decisions for the offender or for the court or parole board. If we treat the position from the perspective of a consultant, we can avoid some of the pitfalls inherent in this dual role. Adopting this middle-of-the-road stance makes us not only an effective advocate for the court or parole board, but also allows us greater power to influence the actions of the offender.

Motivational Interviewing can make change more likely, but it is by no means a magic bullet. When violations occur, there are a couple of strategies for keeping a motivational edge.

1. Explain your dual roles (Become the “go-between”)

Motivational Interviewing encourages officers to be honest with offenders about all aspects of their supervision, including conditions, incentives, and sanctions. Officers should fully explain up front to the offender about their dual role—yet do so as someone who represents “both sides.” For instance:

I want to make you aware that I have a couple of roles here. One of them is to be the court’s representative, and to report on your progress on the conditions that the court has set. At the same time, I act as a representative for you, to help keep the court off your back and manage these conditions, while possibly making some other positive steps along the way. I’ll act as a “go-between”—that is, between you and the court, but ultimately you’re the one who makes the choices. How does that sound? Is there anything I need to know before proceeding?

2. Address Behavior with an “Even Keel” Attitude

Adopting a new approach like Motivational Interviewing is clearly a process. Even after an initial training, there is a common pitfall for many officers when compliance problems occur. At some point, if an offender remains ambivalent (e.g., lack of progress), they believe it makes sense to move out of a motivational style and switch over to more coercive and demanding strategies. Staff who initially found the benefits of motivational work will justify heavy-handed tactics — perceiving them to be a natural response to resistance, even remarking that difficult offenders seem to be “asking for it.” A critical idea is missed—*there is a difference between enforcing sanctions based on lack of progress, and switching styles to a more heavy handed approach.* One can enforce orders and assess sanctions as appropriate, >>>

Early studies of Motivational Interviewing

attracted intense interest, as they were sometimes able to match the same amount of improvement in single sessions as compared to several months of outpatient work (Miller, et al., 1980; Chapman & Huygens, 1998). Linguists became interested and began to study the speech content of these motivational sessions. This is what makes this linguistic research so interesting for probation efforts—the majority of any interaction between officer and offender involves talking and conversation. Linguists studied the actual words spoken between staff and client that proved to determine positive behavior change. What they found were five conversation dimensions of desire, ability, reason, need and commitment talk. These conditions were placed in an easy-to-remember acronym of DARN-C:

Desire (I want to, prefer, wish)

Ability (I can, able, could, possible)

Reasons (I should, why do it?)

Need (I must, importance, got to)

Committment (I will, I’m going to...)

The researchers were quick to point out that not every dimension had to be voiced for behavior change to start. Simply getting the offender to verbalize one of the four constructs (DARN) might be enough. However, the same could not be said for Commitment—for it was Commitment talk that actually predicted behavior change. In training sessions, staff review these dimensions at length and learn the skills to elicit these important kinds of change talk.

without leaving motivational strategies behind.

Force, for all its bluster, can often make a situation worse. This is especially true when addressing violations. Offenders may already be on the defensive about their progress, and an agitated officer can make the offender's attitude worse. For this reason, we suggest that officers address violations with an "even keel" attitude, addressing the behavior, dispensing the appropriate sanction, but not getting agitated or taking the violation personally.

Motivationally-inclined officers offer their support — and their regrets — to the offender who might be considering a violation of the conditions of supervision:

PO: We've talked about this before. In another two weeks, you will be in violation of this court order. We have also talked about how it is up to you. You can certainly ignore this order but sanctions will be assessed.

Offender: "Darn right I can ignore it—this is so stupid!"

PO: "It seems unfair that you're required to complete this condition. It feels to you like it might be a waste of your time."

Offender: "Yeah. I can't believe I have to do this!"

PO: "It's important that I tell you that my (supervisor, judge, responsibilities, policy, position) will demand that I assess a consequence if it's not completed before the next two weeks."

Offender: "You don't have to report this."

PO: "Unfortunately, that's part of my job. I have to follow orders here. So, this will be something I'll have to do."

Offender: "You mean you can't just let it go?"

PO: "No, I don't have a choice. But—you have a choice, even if I don't. Is there anything we can do to help you avoid these consequences before the end of the month (next meeting, court deadline)?"

Offender: "I'll think about it, it just seems unfair."

A confrontational approach is always an option, but at this point simply recognizing the offender's reluctance, and fairly informing him or her about what is likely to happen, improves the likelihood that a decision for compliance will eventually overtake the emotions of the moment.

In this example, the officer refuses to leave the middle, neither defending the order, nor siding with the offender to stop the sanction. When it comes to the specific sanction, the officer defers to the court or parole board, and re-emphasizes a collaborative relationship: "How do we (you, significant others and myself) keep them (the judge, the parole board) off your back?" Finally, the officer emphasizes the offender's personal responsibility. Offenders don't have to complete their conditions; they always have the option of taking the sanction.

Motivational Interviewing steers clear of both the hard and soft approaches. The "hard" approach is overly-directive and defends the court or parole board's authority ("You better do this!", "Drop the attitude, you're the one who broke the law," "Don't blame the judge"). Less examined is the "soft" approach. This approach leaves the officer defending the offender, ("I won't tell this time — but don't do it again," "Do you know what the court or parole board would do if I brought this to their attention?"). A positive alliance is not the same as ignoring violations to keep a good relationship at any cost ("You better get it together or I'll have to do something"), nor is it the same as allowing the situation to become personal and attempting to "out-tough" the offender ("I'll lock you up!"). Both approaches miss the mark as they prevent the officer from occupying the "middle ground."

A motivational approach is about finding the middle ground as a consultant who works with both sides (the court/parole board and the offender). Officers can work in partnership with the offender, while still being true to their court roles. Officers can respect personal choice, but not always approve of the offender's behavior. By their skills and strategies, agents can supervise for compliance and, at the same time, increase readiness for change.

Conclusion

This two-part article series has made the call for the field of probation and parole to re-enter the "business of behavior change." With new tasks facing our departments, Motivational Interviewing (MI) represents a helpful approach to retool our direct practice methods. It is one of the few approaches named directly as a science-based method for probation work by the National Institute of Corrections "Evidence-Based Policy and Practice" initiative (NIC, 2004). MI is a practice included among the eight principles of effective interventions to reduce the risk of recidivism. Within these eight principles, the second principle of evidence-based practice cites:

"2. Enhance Intrinsic Motivation - Research strongly suggests that "motivational interviewing" techniques, rather than persuasion tactics, effectively enhance motivation for initiating and maintaining behavior change." (p.1)

This series has attempted to lend substance to this recommendation by reviewing the many benefits Motivational Interviewing offers to probation staff. The American Probation & Parole Association has responded to the call by offering Motivational Interviewing training as part of their professional development series. All lends encouragement and optimism to community corrections—for the offender, officer and the hopeful communities they impact.



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Endnotes

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Michael D. Clark, MSW, CSW is the Director of the Center for Strength-Based Strategies in Mason, Michigan. Scott T. Walters, Ph.D. is an Assistant Professor of Behavioral Sciences at the University of Texas School of Public Health in Dallas, Texas. Ray Gingerich is retired from the Texas Dept of Criminal Justice, Community Justice Assistance Division and currently provides Motivational Interviewing training. Melissa L. Meltzer is a Graduate Student at the University of Texas School of Public Health in Dallas, Texas.

“What Works” In The Supervision Of Domestic Violence Offenders:

Promising Results From A Study In Rhode Island

J. R., age 29, was given a one-year suspended sentence on April 24, 2002, for a domestic assault against his girlfriend. He had two prior domestic violence probation sentences, one for a domestic assault in 1997 against his mother and one for a domestic disorderly in 2000. He had been ordered into the batterer program both times. He also had been convicted of drunk driving in 1992 and ordered into the drunk driving program. Finally, he had been on probation for three additional years between 1995 and 1998 for drug offenses. J. R. was single with no children, living with a friend, not the victim. The court continued the no-contact order for the course of his probation. J. R. worked as a plasterer earning \$10 per hour.

R.C., age 34, was placed on probation on July 19, 2002, for a domestic assault against his wife. He had two daughters. He was ordered to have no contact with the victim for the course of his probation. He had a prior arrest for a non-domestic assault for which he also was given a concurrent probationary sentence on July 19.

In which of these cases is the victim more likely to avoid further assault and feel satisfied with the probation supervision of her intimate partner? That is the question behind a recent research study on specialized domestic violence probation conducted by the American Probation and Parole Association in partnership with BOTECH Analysis Corporation and the Rhode Island Department of Corrections with funding from the National Institute of Justice. In 1994, Rhode Island implemented specialized domestic violence probation units (DVU) in the northern part of the State. The southern part of Rhode Island continues to use traditional probation strategies to supervise domestic violence offenders on generic, mixed caseloads. The results indicated that with modest differences in supervision strategies, the majority of offenders in the DVU had slightly lower reoffending rates and longer periods arrest-free.

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There were at least three central differences between the specialized and general probation units: (1) specialized units had more contact with offenders; (2) this contact led to a greater number of technical violations; and (3) officers in the specialized unit took proactive steps to include victims in the supervision process.

This article will first briefly sketch justice system interventions in domestic violence. Next, the characteristics of the Rhode Island specialized domestic violence unit will be described. Then, findings from the evaluation are presented. The article concludes by pointing to policy implications and practical strategies for improved domestic violence probation supervision.

by Matthew T. **DeMichele**, Ann **Crowe**, Ph.D, Andrew R. **Klein**, Ph.D and Doug **Wilson**, Ph.D



Domestic Violence and Probation

Despite the extent and severity of intimate partner violence, many such cases are not prosecuted as felonies. Instead, domestic violence offenders often receive misdemeanor convictions and subsequently are placed on probation (Thistlethwaite, Wooldredge, and Gibbs, 1998; Wooldredge and Thistlethwaite, 2002). Given this sentencing structure, probation services are frequently the criminal justice system's central intermediary in domestic violence sanctions. The Bureau of Justice Statistics in the Annual Probation Survey indicates that there are more than four million adult men and women under some sort of probation supervision, of whom more than half received a misdemeanor conviction and seven percent were convicted for domestic violence (Glaze and Palla, 2002).

Probation is seen as a way to alleviate jail and prison crowding problems, deliver serious punishment, promote public safety and contribute to rehabilitating offenders. To accomplish these multiple goals, probation departments began creating specialized and intensive units. These units typically focused attention on specific offenders (e.g., sex offenders, domestic violence offenders, DWI offenders) or risk classifications (e.g., high risk). A central aspect of these programs is that officers and offenders are to have more interaction as well as being "more stringent and punitive than traditional probation but less expensive and coercive than incarceration" (Petersilia and Turner, 1991: 611). Specialized caseloads were seen as a way to reduce officer caseloads, punish chronic offenders more effectively, and protect the public better¹. The findings from this evaluation demonstrate the difficulty of supervising domestic violence offenders.

An interesting feature of domestic violence is that estimates suggest that only about half of these incidents are ever reported to the police for many reasons (Rennison & Welchans, 2000). Frequently victims are intimidated by the court process, fear further victimization, are economically dependent upon their abuser, or have other reasons for not reporting the abuse. Therefore, many victims are unlikely to participate fully in the justice process, and specialized units are one way to begin addressing this problem. The bulk of research documenting probation outcome effectiveness points out that certain populations of probationers appear more amenable to rehabilitation (i.e., not reoffending or committing technical violations). Petersilia and Turner (1991: 646) suggest that probation research needs to move beyond asking simply "did it work?" Instead, administrators and researchers need to ask "for whom did it work best?" When measuring probation effectiveness, certain offender characteristics are recognized as having a greater probability of success or failure. These characteristics include education, employment, counseling, community service, home confinement, lack of prior crimes/convictions, and no substance abuse (Maxwell & Gray, 2000; Morgan, 1994; Noonan & Latessa, 1987;

Petersilia & Turner, 1991; Ulmer, 2001). In the end, it appears that probation practices should attempt to incorporate both surveillance and treatment functions, respond quickly to violations and new crimes, and target treatment to offender characteristics (Andrews, et al., 1990).

The research findings on domestic violence offenders and probation performance include: (1) the general inability of criminal justice domestic violence interventions alone to prevent recurrent abuse; (2) the tendency of many offenders to be persistent law violators (e.g., general criminal activity); (3) criminal history is a strong predictor of future offending; (4) the tendency for repeat offenders to be younger, unmarried, unemployed, and lack a stable residence; and (5) the promising strategy of multi-agency approaches (e.g., combining the law enforcement, judiciary, correctional subsystems and victims services in multilateral communication and response).

Criminal Justice Interventions

The justice system response to domestic violence cannot be placed on probation alone. Rather, a broad strategy incorporating a combined response including both justice professionals and community services providers is needed. The evaluations of mandatory arrest policies provide several important findings relevant for reducing recidivism. First, despite the mixed results of mandatory arrest policies there is still unequivocal support for immediate law enforcement action (i.e., arrest) in domestic violence cases. Second, individual characteristics influence the effectiveness of arrest (e.g., employment, stable residence, married) (see Sampson & Laub, 1993). Third, the mandatory arrest studies signal a need for multiagency responses. This last point might be the most important to consider as researchers have tended to find little system intervention following arrest, with few offenders incarcerated, placed on community supervision, or fined (Sherman & Berk, 1984). Justice system professionals need to communicate and develop a unified response to domestic violence offenders.

A recent investigation of prosecutorial actions with domestic violence probationers found that many repeat offenders have charges dismissed. Kingsnorth, MacIntosh, and Sutherland (2002) discovered that arrested probationers for domestic violence are rarely charged with a new criminal offense, but instead are prosecuted as probation violators. The authors suggested that because prosecutors typically want to avoid "risking an acquittal" and probation violations have a diminished standard of proof, prosecuting violations is easier and requires fewer resources (Kingsnorth et al., 2002: 560). This is not to say that technical violations are not important, because they are. It is extremely important for probation officers to file technical violations for behavior fitting such a classification. However, for repeat domestic violence offenders (and other repeaters) it might be more appropriate for them to be charged with a new crime. >>>

Research Methods

A sample of 552 male misdemeanor domestic violence offenders on probation in Rhode Island on January 1, 2003, was selected and followed through January 1, 2004, to measure recidivism. Recidivism was indicated by a new arrest for any crime or reabuse demonstrated by an arrest, victim report, or police report of domestic violence. This sample allowed for comparisons between 370 offenders in the specialized unit and 182 similar male offenders in a traditional supervision unit. Using file data and arrest records, their characteristics and offending behavior were documented to determine similarities and differences in community performance between the different supervision strategies.

Recidivism and reabuse rates were compared between specialized and traditional supervision. The analysis proceeds along three tracks: (1) descriptive analysis of offender characteristics, (2) analysis of survival times, and (3) regression analysis to determine recidivism and reabuse probabilities according to risk.

Research continually identifies the importance of understanding the potential public safety risk presented by each offender. The specialized unit in Rhode Island contains an intensive supervision component for individuals especially likely to reoffend. The offenders placed in the intensive unit of the DVU are considered high risk, with risk decisions based upon three criteria: (1) repeat domestic abuser, (2) caused serious injury, and (3) history of substance abuse or mental health problems. These criteria are used in regression analyses to compare the high- and low-risk offenders.

Information about the probation agency, criminal justice system, and State laws was collected and reviewed to contextualize the quantitative analysis. Traditional and DVU probation officers and other criminal justice officials were interviewed. Researchers also observed domestic violence court hearings. A sample of victims was interviewed to better understand how probation officers may affect victims' experiences related to the probation supervision. These qualitative data were analyzed and compared to determine differences between the two types of supervision.

A few studies point to the conclusion that an important role for probation and the courts is to hold offenders accountable, promote changes in their behavior, and restrict their access to victims. Olson and Stalans (2001) compared 124 offenders on probation for domestic violence offenses with a group of 287 probationers convicted of other violent offenses. The domestic violence offenders tended to receive shorter probation sentences than other violent offenders, although they were more likely to revictimize the same individuals than their counterparts in the generally violent offending group.

Thistlethwaite, et. al. (1998) evaluated the effectiveness of more severe sanctions in Cincinnati, Ohio, which has mandatory arrest policies. The findings suggest that sentence severity—jail and probation—is significantly more likely to reduce repeat abuse, although length of sentence was not significant; sanctions were most effective with individuals having a strong stake in conformity (Thistlethwaite, et. al., 1998). Tolman (1996) recommends a combined criminal justice response (e.g., probation supervision with batterer intervention or electronic monitoring), and encourages rigorous enforcement of sanctions and system accountability (see Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, & Rooney, 2000).

Probation exists within a much larger justice system composed of several subsystems that have fundamentally different purposes, policies and practices. Probation and community corrections in general, lack uniform policies across the country, making it virtually impossible to refer to a typical probation department. Given this diversity, it is necessary to briefly explain the legal and organizational structures specific to the departments evaluated.

Not only is this deeper understanding important for making sense of the findings, but it is necessary to accomplish one of the central goals of this article: to contribute to developing evidence-based practices to improve probation functioning nationally (i.e., using research and evaluative techniques to lend administrators and policymakers unbiased, accurate information on which to base their decisions). Probation's caseloads are determined by arrest, prosecution, and court sentencing practices over which probation staff have little control. How that caseload is supervised is also greatly influenced by jurisdictionally determined criminal justice practices and policies also outside the control of probation personnel. These decisions include, but are not limited to, court-ordered conditions, whether probation absconders are warranted and arrested by police or whether violators are imprisoned or maintained on probation.



Rhode Island Probation and Domestic Violence

Rhode Island defines domestic violence broadly and mandates arrest and a batterer program for abusers. In Rhode Island, domestic violence offenses include violent behaviors between several “domestic” relationships (i.e., spouses, former spouses, adult persons related by blood or marriage, adult persons living together within the past three years, persons with a child in common, and persons intimately involved within the past year). Unlike many other states, in Rhode Island, several offenses constitute domestic violence, with the more common misdemeanor charges including domestic violence assault, disorderly conduct, harassing phone calls, refusal to allow phone calls, vandalism, trespassing, stalking, and violating a no-contact or protective order.

Rhode Island has adopted a mandatory arrest law for domestic violence. This requires that suspects are arrested within 24 hours of receiving a domestic violence report or a warrant is issued in cases involving victim injuries or fear of injuries as well as for the violation of a civil protective or criminal no-contact order. Rhode Island’s legal system recognizes the likelihood that domestic violence offenders may revictimize the same person, and stipulates that offenders are not released from custody without first appearing before the court or bail commissioner. Neither may release the defendant without issuing a “no-contact order” prohibiting the person charged or arrested from having contact with the victim.

The Rhode Island criminal justice system as a whole takes domestic violence seriously and takes an aggressive stance toward abusers. Rhode Island law enforcement arrests large numbers of abusers and has one of the highest rates of domestic violence arrests nationally. In 2001, there were more than 6,500 suspects arrested of domestic violence, or 6.6 per 1,000 population, compared with 1.5 per 1,000 in California that same year.² Research on mandatory arrest policies suggests that arresting suspects has a dampening effect on repeated abuse, but similar to what Sherman and Berk (1984) found in the initial Minneapolis study, there is little that can be achieved without a strong court response.

Prosecutors must be willing to prosecute the domestic violence arrestees. Rhode Island prosecutors bring charges against most of the arrested domestic violence offenders. Most offenders are either convicted of or plead guilty to one of the state’s specific domestic violence charges. Following conviction (or plea), offenders are placed on probation supervision and ordered to complete a batterer intervention program. Batterer intervention programs have been shown to have inconclusive results of reducing the likelihood of repeated abuse, altering hyper-masculine attitudes, and helping offenders accept responsibility for the abuse (see Dalton, 2001; Gondolf, 2000; Taylor, Davis, & Maxwell, 2001). Once arrested for domestic violence, defendants are uniformly charged in court. The dismissal rate for domestic violence charges in

Rhode Island was reported to be 29.25 percent in 1999—relatively low, compared with other jurisdictions that track domestic violence prosecutions.³

The Rhode Island Domestic Violence Unit

The Rhode Island probation domestic violence unit was established in 1994 and was modeled after a similar probation unit in Quincy, Massachusetts, focusing on increasing officer-offender contacts and direct communication with victims. The specialized domestic violence unit, in Rhode Island, was created to improve victim safety, more effectively hold offenders accountable, and increase the batterer intervention program completion rate. The domestic violence unit was instituted in half of the state, and only includes adult male misdemeanants. There are several differences between the domestic violence unit and supervision practices in a traditional unit:

- DVU offenders were seen more frequently
- DVU victims were more likely to be contacted by a probation officer
- DVU probation officers were more likely to return probationers to court for technical (nonoffense) violations.

One administrative goal of operating a specialized unit is to maintain reduced caseloads. The domestic violence unit officers had caseloads of between 58 and 97 cases. Besides the special domestic violence unit supervising misdemeanor domestic violence offenders, certain high-risk domestic violence offenders were placed in a specialized intensive supervision unit. The cases assigned to the intensive units were either repeat domestic abuse offenders, perpetrators causing serious injuries, or offenders with special treatment needs (e.g., mental health, substance abuse). Table 1 provides a summary of the offenders in the traditional and DVU sample caseloads and demonstrates that offenders in the intensive specialized unit are clearly distinguishable from those not classified as intensive.

Offenders placed in the intensive unit have had far more interaction with the criminal justice system than their nonintensive counterparts. Two-thirds of intensive probationers have prior arrests for domestic violence, about 50 percent fewer lower risk offenders have been arrested for domestic violence before the current offense. Slightly more than 45 percent of the high-risk offenders served a prior probation sentence for domestic violence, compared to about 16 percent for the lower risk offenders. Three times as many high-risk probationers (21 percent) had a concurrent sentence and slightly less than twice as many (48 percent) were given a suspended or split sentence when compared to the lower risk probationers (7 percent and 26 percent, respectively).

Nearly 15 percent of all probationers in Rhode Island had at least one active domestic violence related charge. More than 90 percent of all domestic violence offenders are male, with ages ranging from >>>

Table 1: Comparison of Traditional and DVU Cases and Comparison of Intensive and Nonintensive DVU Cases

	Traditional Caseload	DVU Caseload	Intensive DVU Caseload	Nonintensive DVU Caseload
Number	182	370	129	241
Prior DV Arrests	47.8%	44.6%	66.0%	33.40%
Prior DV Probation	28.6%	26.8%	45.7%	16.60%
Concurrent DV Sentence	11%	11.6%	20.9%	6.60%
Suspended/ Split Sentence	42.1%	33.8%	48.1%	26.15%

* The third and fourth columns show a breakdown of the DVU Cases by intensity. Traditional cases were not classified by intensity.

18 to 83 years old, and an average age of 33 years old. The domestic violence unit supervises nearly one-third of all domestic violence offenders in the state. The rest are supervised on mixed, regular caseloads that encompassed many types of offenders, including felons and misdemeanants, and did not have special supervision protocols for particular types of offenders (i.e., domestic violence).

Conditions of Probation

Rhode Island mandates three special conditions for domestic violence offenders: (1) completion of a batterer intervention program; (2) a no-contact order; and (3) payment of a fine. The mandatory batterer intervention program is certified by a state oversight board. The batterer program consists of between 20 and 27 weekly group sessions after an intake session. It allows three unexcused absences before returning the case to the supervising probation officer (or the nonprofit agency that monitors filed cases). If failing to complete the program, offenders begin the program again unless specifically excused by the court or probation officer. Each week a batterer program professional reports to the probation officers on attendance and any disciplinary problems.

No-contact orders are first imposed when the defendant is arrested for a domestic violence offense. Once the defendant is placed under probation supervision, the no-contact order becomes a supervision condition. Judges may cancel the order, and often seek victim input before doing so, but do not always follow the victim's wishes. Domestic violence offenders are required to pay a \$25 cost assessment earmarked for Rhode Island's general fund, and pay court costs and restitution. These payments are monitored directly by the court, and nonpayment is not considered a probation violation, but is contempt of court.

Supervision Process

The amount of contact varied between those supervised as intensive and nonintensive within the specialized caseload. Regular monthly office visits were scheduled for most probationers during the first six months of the probationary period. After batterer programs were completed, probationers were seen less often, if at all. If a probationer did not report as scheduled, he was often telephoned and told to report within the next week, or if he could not be reached by telephone, a letter was sent directing him to report the next month.

The following is how the two offenders introduced at the beginning of the article were supervised.

The probation officer supervising a traditional caseload saw J. R. for the first time on May 17, 2002. He was seen again that month and thereafter was scheduled for appointments once a month in June and July. In July, J. R. failed to report for the first scheduled meeting on July 22, but did report on July 31. He reported once in August. In August, the probation officer received notice that J. R. had been discharged from the batterer intervention program for missing too many weekly meetings. The probation officer brought the case back to court for a probation violation hearing on August 28. The defendant re-enrolled, and the hearing was continued for review in November, then February, and finally April of the next year. The probation officer saw J.R. in October. J. R. failed to report for his scheduled November meeting. He resumed monthly meetings in January and February. He was seen a last time in April when he also completed the batterer program. The probation violation was withdrawn in court on April 16, 2003.

The DVU probation officer sent R. C. a letter on August 2 to report on August 23, which he did. The officer sent a letter on July



23 to the victim informing her of the probation officer's identity and availability and explaining the defendant's probationary conditions. The officer referred R. C. to the batterer program on September 3. The officer saw him on a weekly basis in September. The defendant missed his first October visit, and the officer sent him a letter to report, which he next did on October 28. He reported late once in November and left a note. He reported once in December and missed his first January office visit. He was sent a letter the next day and reported the next week. He failed to report in February and March despite the probation officer sending him two letters to report. Notwithstanding his nonreporting, the probation officer was notified that he completed the batterer program on March 24. He reported for his probation appointments on March 31, June 16 and July 17 when the case was closed.

Probation officers relied on the court to enforce probationer compliance, with completion of a batterer program being extremely important. Particularly in regard to those on traditional caseloads, court reviews often substituted, in effect, for periodic personal contact with probationers by their officers.

Both traditional and DVU probation officers experienced similar difficulty in getting offenders to report as ordered. Their failure to report reduced the number of contacts officers had with the offenders during the course of the probationary period. The standard probation response was to send a letter for the missed meeting and hope offenders respond. If they failed to respond, the officers could bring the cases to court for violation hearings or court reviews. Once they failed to attend court, the court response was to issue a warrant for their arrest. It generally took several weeks for the warrants to be processed and served after the court default.

Once an offender is assigned to a probation officer's caseload, a letter is sent to the offender to report within two weeks. If the offender misses the first meeting, he is usually rescheduled for the following week, unless the offender does not have a telephone, in which case another letter is sent explaining the need for the offender to report immediately. At the first meeting, the probation officer will identify the certified batterer programs, and require the offender to enroll in one of them within two weeks. This process can become extremely time consuming, and some officers began providing the batterer program information in the initial letter. This allows an offender to enroll in a program before coming to the first probation appointment. These probationers were to bring verification of their enrollment to the first meeting with the officer. The goal is to expedite the process and work toward instituting swift punitive mechanisms combined with a rehabilitative component. This allows the offender to know that his actions are taken seriously by

the justice system as well as getting him in batterer intervention groups quickly.

Attitudes of Probation Officers

Crucial to evaluating the effectiveness of any justice system program is to understand better the attitudes of the people conducting the programs. Officer interviews revealed that the specialized caseloads are perceived by many officers as more work. This perception in fact seems true as the specialized unit officers made more victim and offender contacts and more closely scrutinized their program performance. Despite the smaller caseloads, the officers in the domestic violence unit were more involved with the offenders, victims, and programs. Several of the officers in traditional units mentioned understanding the need for the domestic violence unit to have reduced caseloads as they recognized the need for these officers to provide more direct supervision.

In fact, some officers working in a general caseload left the special unit because they found it more taxing and felt they would not burnout as quickly with more variety of cases. Surprisingly, however, the smaller caseloads seemed to provide a few benefits such as officers becoming more familiar with local domestic violence related resources. The difficulty with working in a specialized caseload is that it often requires more individual attention. One officer summarized this by stating that "the important variable is the probation officer, not the probation caseload." When speaking with domestic violence officers this sentiment was confirmed, as many of them believed that working in this unit allowed them a better opportunity to receive training, the ability to focus on a single criminal area, and the potential to make a difference.

The domestic violence unit probation officers appeared to take a more proactive and dedicated stance toward working with domestic violence cases. This is not to diminish the job of the officers working in mixed, general caseloads, but rather to highlight the benefits of concentrating one's time toward a single issue. Also, the bulk of the officers working in the special caseload had prior experience or familiarity with domestic violence issues before joining the unit. One officer had a heightened awareness of the relationship between firearms and domestic violence, and he displayed a poster reminding offenders (and others, too) of the federal prohibition to possess a firearm if convicted of any domestic violence crime.

A marked attitudinal difference between the officers interviewed was in their perspective on the central goal for probation supervision. Officers supervising general caseloads tended to view the main goal of supervision as enforcing court-ordered conditions, whereas many officers working on the specialized domestic violence unit perceived their main goals as victim safety and prevention of recidivism. >>>

Study Findings

Offender Characteristics

Reviewing these program characteristics and officer attitudes illustrates how the specialized domestic violence unit functions in Rhode Island. It is also important to review some of the offender characteristics, offenses, and sentences to understand exactly what probation faces when supervising domestic violence offenders. Rhode Island domestic violence offenders are similar to domestic violence offenders throughout the country. The average probationer was about 34 years old. Probation research consistently finds that married offenders are less likely to reoffend due to the greater potential to possess stronger social bonds and a stake in conformity. The greatest percentage of offenders was either current (35 percent) or former (7 percent) unmarried intimate partners, with nearly one-third of all probationers either married to or divorced from their victim. Another one-fifth of offender-victim relationships were characterized as having a child or children in common. Table 2 lists the victim-offender relationships.

Table 3 demonstrates several distinguishable groupings of offenders based on abuse patterns. The bulk of offenders (43 percent) were placed on probation for domestic violence and were not subsequently rearrested for domestic violence, referred to as “one-time only abusers.” Slightly less than one-quarter of the probationers were “one-time reabusers” arrested for reabusing the same victim once after being placed on probation for domestic violence. Another quarter of the probationers reabused the same victim more than once after being placed on probation for domestic violence; these were “persistent abusers.” Finally, there was a small contingent (9.5 percent) of probationers who abused multiple victims after being placed on probation for domestic violence, referred to as “multiple-victim abusers.” In sum, the Rhode Island probation offices included in this study were faced with about 60 percent of the

offenders committing another domestic violence offense between 2003 and 2004, and nearly half (47 percent) of the victims experienced more than one incident of abuse during that period.

The data highlight several interesting differences among these abuse patterns. Table 3 demonstrates that the multiple-victim abusers were less likely to be married to their victim and more likely to either be cohabitating or formerly cohabitated with their victim(s). The one-time only abusers were less likely to have prior arrests, substance abuse arrests, prior probation, and prior jail. Although one-time only abusers scored much lower on these criminal history indicators—all routinely recognized as strong recidivism predictors—more of these offenders did receive technical violations.

Sample Charges

The sample of 552 domestic violence probationers was collectively placed on probation for 1,108 separate criminal complaints, the vast majority for domestic violence charges. The average probationer was convicted and placed under probation supervision for two charges, although the actual numbers ranged from one to a half-dozen charges. A little more than two-thirds (66.8 percent) of the probationers were supervised by probation for at least one charge of domestic assault. Table 4 lists the most serious charges of the probationers. In other words, even though an offender may have had multiple charges, he is represented only once in Table 4 in the charge category considered most serious among those he received.

Sample Sentences

Although all of the probationers were supervised by the probation department as of January 1, 2003, their underlying sentences varied. Most offenders (65 percent) received straight probationary sentences,

Table 2: Victim-Offender Relationship

Relationship	Number	Percent
Married	149	28.9
Ex-Married	19	3.7
Intimate Partner (living together)	179	34.8
Ex-Intimate Partner (formerly lived together)	38	7.4
Child in Common (never lived together)	110	21.4
Dating (not living together)	4	0.8
Other	15	2.9
Total*	514	100.0 (of reported relationships)

*The relationship between the offender and victim was not reported in 38 cases.



Table 3: Percentages of Abuser Types Based on Victimization Patterns*

	One Time Only Abuser	One Time Reabusers Same Victim	Persistent Abusers Same Victim	Multivictim Abusers Different Victim
Number	195	101	110	43
Supervised for Domestic Assault	70.2%	77.2%	66.4%	69.80%
Mean Age	33.7	32.6	32.8	32.6
Married/Divorced	32.1%	28.8%	34.5%	20.90%
Child in Common	19.6%	20.6%	20.0%	23.25%
Intimate/Former Intimate	39.7%	44.3%	40.9%	51.20%
Prior Arrest(s)	45.6%	61.1%	68.2%	76.70%
Alcohol/Drug Arrests	15.9%	30.7%	28.2%	30.20%
Prior Probation	26.1%	39.6%	57.3%	58.10%
Prior Jail	9.2%	12.9%	20.9%	16.30%
Technical Violations	45.6%	39.6%	34.5%	34.90%
Contact Allowed and/or Vacated No Contact	58.9%	59.4%	56.4%	55.80%

*Excludes sample probationers who were persistent abusers but whose subsequent victims were not identified as either same or different.

Table 4: Most Serious Charge for DVU Probationer

Charge	Number	Percent
Domestic Assault	370	67
Domestic Disorderly	69	12.5
Domestic Malicious Damage	40	7.2
Violation Protective Order	32	5.8
Violation of No-Contact Order	25	4.5
Domestic Harassment	14	2.5
Other	2	0.4
Total	552	100.0

usually lasting one year. Table 5 demonstrates that about 29 percent of all probationers received a suspended sentence with probation; less than 5 percent received a combination of jail, suspended sentence, and probation; and 2 percent were converted to probation or a suspended sentence.

The different sentences do not reflect different legal parameters of the probation supervision, but they do provide some indication

of offense seriousness (e.g., amount of injury) and criminal history (e.g., prior offenses). Generally, judges imposed straight probationary sentences to abusers with fewer prior domestic violence arrests, and split sentences for those with prior domestic violence arrests, as illustrated in Table 6.

The 26 probationers given split sentences served time in prison or home confinement administered by the Department of Corrections >>>

Table 5: Sentences for Entire Sample of Probationers

Type	Number	Percent
Probation	357	64.7
Suspended Sentence with Probation	158	28.6
Jail and Suspended Sentence and Probation	26	4.7
Filed Converted to Probation/Suspended Sentences	11	2.0
Total	552	100.0

Table 6: Prior Domestic Violence Probation for Entire Sample*

Sentence	Number	Probation	Prior
Probation	357	18.0	0.50
Suspended Sentence	158	43.0	1.14
Split Sentence	26	73.1	1.93

*Excludes 11 cases that were initially filed.

before commencing their probation supervision. The average prison time imposed for split sentences was 42 days, the median time was 20 days, and individual imprisonment sentences or home confinement ranged from six to 200 days. Offenders receiving a split sentence, on average, had a much greater frequency of prior domestic violence arrests (1.93) when compared to offenders receiving suspended sentences (1.14) and those sentenced to straight probation (0.5).

Central to this evaluation is to determine the recidivism reducing potential of the specialized probation unit compared to traditional supervision. Several effectiveness measures indicate that the DVU is a supervision strategy that works to reduce recidivism and improve victim satisfaction. However, there were significant differences between traditional and DVU cases in the amount of technical violations brought to court. Offenders in the DVU were brought to court on technical violations far more often than offenders under traditional supervision (see table 7).

That DVU offenders have higher technical violation rates has several plausible explanations. It could simply be that offenders in the DVU engaged in more noncompliant behaviors, or programmatic differences could exist to explain these variations. Consistent with previous research (Petersilia and Turner, 19991), it seems more likely that the difference in technical violations is due to the strictness of the probation monitoring and increased surveillance. Technical violations are initiated by individual probation officers, and officers with smaller caseloads (such as those in the DVU) specializing in domestic violence have more time to monitor compliance and greater understanding of the significance of enforcing supervision conditions.

In interviews with batterer program directors, it was revealed that there are “huge” differences between officers’ willingness to return probationers to court for technical violations. One difference between officers exists around the issue of the batterer program—a requirement for all domestic violence offenders. Program directors mentioned that officers on a traditional caseload are more likely to have probationers re-enroll in a batterer program if they fail to complete it. DVU officers, on the other hand, are more likely to return probationers to court for a violation hearing. One batterer program director found the difference between these officers so dramatic that the director preferred to restrict program admission to referrals from DVU officers.

Despite having more technical violations, probationers in the DVU had lower rearrest rates for both domestic and non-domestic violence arrests (56 percent) when compared to traditional probationers (64 percent), as shown in table 8. Offenders on traditional supervision were slightly more likely to be arrested for one (41 percent) or two (15 percent) incidences of reabuse than DVU offenders (38 percent and 11 percent, respectively) during 2003.

The lower recidivism measures for DVU offenders suggests that low risk offenders (and their victims) might be served best when supervised in a specialized unit. In fact, regression analyses (not reported here) found that offenders in the DVU had about a 40 percent reduction in the risk of recidivism over similar offenders in the traditional unit. Further, in terms of survival rates (time to rearrest), the DVU probationers remained arrest free twice as long as those on traditional supervision.

It is important to identify the critical time periods in offense cycles. That is, at what time junctures are offenders committing new offenses?



Table 7: Traditional and DVU Technical Violations

	Technical Violations Brought	Percentage of Probationers with Technical Violations
Traditional (182)	45	24.70
DVU (370)	163	44.05

Table 8: Number of Arrests and Supervision Type (%)

	Traditional – 182	DVU – 370
At Least One Reabuse	74 (40.66)	139 (37.57)
At Least Two Reabuses	28 (15.38)	39 (10.54)
At Least Three Or More Reabuses	7 (3.80)	22 (5.95)
At Least One Nondomestic Violence Arrest	80 (44.00)	140 (37.84)
Total Recidivism	117 (64.30)	208 (56.20)

Figure 1 demonstrates that a large proportion of the probationers who were arrested for reabuse perpetrated the abuse fairly quickly after being placed under probation supervision.

Nearly one-third (30.1 percent) of the new arrests for a new domestic violence offense occurred before an offender was on probation for two months. This is about the same amount of time it took for most probationers actually to report to probation for the first time after court disposition. Therefore, the opportunity for the probation intervention or any individual probation officer (as opposed to the sentence itself) to have any effect on almost one-third of domestic violence probationers was extremely limited when measured by rearrest for new domestic violence. The “dosage” effect of probation within the first two months consists of one or two contacts at most. Most of the probationers would not have begun a batterer intervention program within this time. More than half (56.5 percent) of the arrests for reabuse occurred within the first six months. Even by six months, most probationers have only just begun the regimen of office visits and batterer program attendance.

Victim Safety and Satisfaction

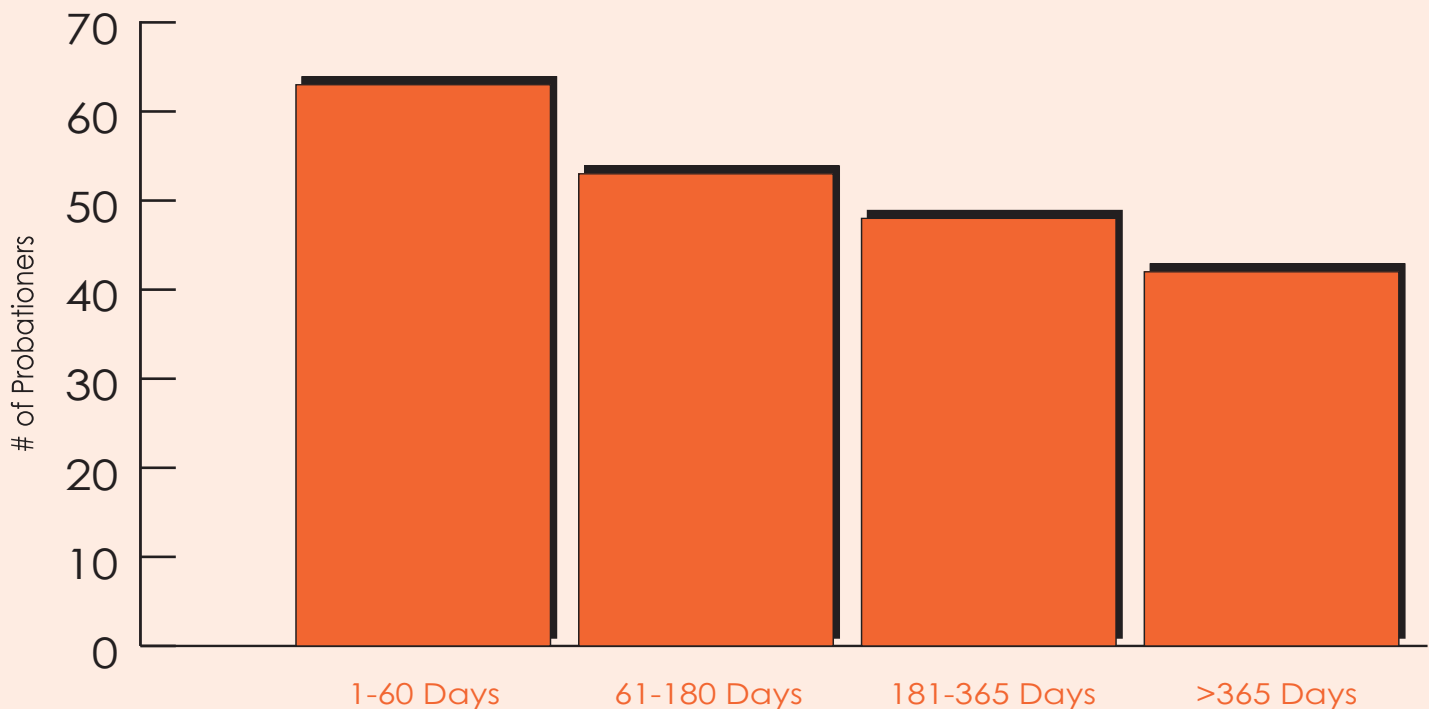
Rhode Island’s specialized domestic violence probation supervision unit had a positive impact on victim satisfaction. Specialized domestic violence probation officers, more so than traditional supervision officers, made attempts to contact victims. A small convenience sample of 45 victims were interviewed by telephone by the Rhode Island Coalition Against Domestic Violence for this research, and those interviewed expressed satisfaction with repeated officer contacts. Of those

interviewed twenty-six were victims of DVU probationers and nineteen were victims of probationers on traditional supervision. Despite the small, opportunistic nature of the victim sample, their responses are especially helpful to understand the full impact of domestic violence.

The victims were interviewed to determine if attitudinal differences existed among supervision groups concerning their relationship with the abusers’ probation officer and the effects of the probationary sentences. Overall, there was limited contact between victims and officers, but this was slightly more pronounced among those involved with the traditional caseload. In the absence of such contact, victim views of officers and sentences may reflect what the probationers or others told them about the probation officers as opposed to direct observations or experiences. Nonetheless, it seems that most victims were ambivalent about several probation officer performance indicators such as the helpfulness, sincerity, or empathy expressed by officers. Indicating higher levels of satisfaction from the DVU victims, about half found officers concerned, more than a third found officers understanding, and none of these victims indicated that officers took the offender’s side. These findings are in slight contrast to responses given by victims in the traditional supervision group in which less than 20 percent found officers concerned, one-fourth found officers understanding, and about 12 percent found that the officer took the probationer’s side.

It is difficult to determine where these attitudes originate. These opinions may be based upon officer-victim contact, or, as others have suggested, they may be a result of limited contact between victims and officers. It is possible that victims, rarely able to meet with officers, >>>

Figure 1: Time to New Domestic Violence Arrest



form these attitudes from dialogue with probationers, not officers. Probationers may have indicated to their victims that their probation officers were sympathetic and supportive (to the perpetrators) and agreed that the abuse was “no big thing” or that the probationers got a “raw deal” in court. This analysis does not explain the cause of opinions, but it does seem likely that as victims and officers interact more often, victim opinions improve.

The research also documented important behavioral differences between DVU and traditional victims. Victims of defendants supervised by DVU probation officers were more likely to report violations of no-contact orders to authorities than victims of defendants supervised by traditional probation officers. Either DVU probationers were more prone to violate no-contact orders, or their victims were more encouraged by probation officers to report no-contact violations to police. The latter is supported by probation officer interviews. According to probation officers, victims commonly reported no-contact order violations to them. Officers told them to report the violations to the police. The overall domestic violence rearrest rates for both sets of probationers were nearly equivalent (when including both high- and low-risk probationers), with about 40 percent of those in traditional supervision and 39 percent of those in the DVU rearrested.

Discussion and Conclusions

This study provides important preliminary data for the community supervision of domestic violence offenders. The findings are limited to Rhode Island, but similar programs should be implemented and evaluated in other jurisdictions. This evaluation identifies the potential for specialized case supervision of domestic violence offenders to both diminish reoffending and delay the time to reabuse. The reduced risk of recidivism potentially signals a promise for other agencies combining increased officer-offender contacts, heightened monitoring and strict enforcement of conditions, increased officer-victim contact, and batterer programs when supervising domestic violence offenders.

This study also supports previous research finding age and criminal history to be strong predictors of ongoing abuse (although not necessarily indicative of seriousness or lethality). This provides community corrections agencies with needed information to assess the likelihood that offenders will reabuse their victims and agencies can implement interventions to supervise domestic violence perpetrators better.

Consistent with other research, this study underscores the tendency of many domestic violence offenders to be persistent abusers and general



recidivists. This has implications for community corrections practice in two important ways. First, although the number of identified domestic violence offenders has increased dramatically during the past several years, it is likely that only a fraction of those who may have committed domestic violence crimes have been arrested, prosecuted, convicted, and sentenced to some type of correctional intervention. Thus, as the justice system becomes more attuned to the issues of domestic violence, community corrections caseloads are likely to increase accordingly. Second, it is likely that many domestic violence offenders are already on community corrections caseloads for other crimes. Agencies should strategically prepare for domestic violence caseloads and determine their position in response to domestic violence offenders (e.g., Will they adopt specialized or generalized caseloads for this group of offenders?).

The implementation of specialized caseload supervision and possible reductions in reabuse comes with a price. Probation resources are limited and becoming more so while caseloads in general are rising. To add the more intensive work of supervising specialized domestic violence caseloads and the accompanying victim contacts will place even more strain on these already inadequate resources. Besides reductions in caseload size, additional staff training, supervision, and other resources will be needed to implement specialized supervision for domestic violence offenders.

The Rhode Island model demonstrates that community corrections agencies, while making a difference, cannot address the problem of domestic violence adequately without the support of the entire justice system and community resources. This project underscores the need for a common understanding and mission among all organizations and professionals who must address domestic violence in a concerted and cohesive manner. Most critically, prosecutors and courts must distinguish between those abusers who cannot safely be released to the community and those who can be released safely under probation supervision.

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Endnotes

- ¹ See Warchol (2000) and Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, and Rooney (2000) for a more complete historical development of ISPs. On the effects of caseload size, see Worrall, Schram, Hays, and Newman (2004).
- ² Rhode Island law enforcement filed 9,038 domestic violence reports and made 6,534 arrests; California law enforcement reported 194,288 domestic violence calls and made 52,392 arrests; however, domestic violence offenses are limited in California to Ca. Penal Code §273.5(a) willful infliction of corporal injury upon spouse/cohabitant. The Rhode Island domestic violence report and arrest statistics are maintained by the State's Supreme Court Domestic Violence Training and Monitoring Agency and California's are maintained by the attorney general's Department of Justice Criminal Justice Statistics Center.
- ³ Once arrested, many domestic violence cases are dropped—not charged in court—and many charged are subsequently dismissed. The dismissal rate was 67.7 percent in Utah in 2000; 67.4 percent in Alabama, 2002; 40.2 percent in Wisconsin, in 2000; compared to 29 percent in Rhode Island (see Klein, 2004: 133). >>>▲

Matthew T. DeMichele and Ann Crowe, Ph.D. are Research Associates with the American Probation and Parole Association in Lexington, Kentucky. **Andrew R. Klein, Ph.D.** is formerly of BOTECH Analysis Corporation is now with Advocates for human Potential, Inc. **Doug Wilson, Ph.D.** is with BOTECH Analysis Corporation.

Calendar of Events

2006 - 2007

June 9-14, 2006	18th Annual National Juvenile Services Training Institute , Indianapolis, IN. Visit www.npjs.org for additional details.	September 17-20, 2006	Joint Congress of the Idaho Juvenile Justice Association and the Idaho Correctional Association - Annual Conference "Enriching the Journey," Shiloh Inn Idaho Falls, Idaho. Phone 208-523-4318 for more information.
June 12-14, 2006	7th Annual Innovative Technologies for Community Corrections Conference , Sheraton Atlanta Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia. Online registration is also available at www.kinsleyassociates.com/nlectc/reg.asp	September 24-27, 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, President Andrew.Cannon@jud.state.ct.us or Paula J. Keating, Executive Director @ pj.keating@yahoo.com
June 21-24, 2006	National Association of Drug Court Professionals' 12th Annual Drug Court Training Conference , Seattle, Washington. Visit NADCP's website at www.nadcp.org for more information.	September 25-29, 2006	ICAC Child Sex Offender Accountability Training . For further information visit www.icactraining.org/icaccso.htm
June 26-30, 2006	ICAC Child Sex Offender Accountability Training . For further information visit www.icactraining.org/icaccso.htm .	October 8-11, 2006	ICCA Research Conference . For more information visit www.iccaweb.org/index.php?section=6
July 7-9, 2006	National Career Development Association Global Conference , Hilton Chicago Hotel in Chicago, Illinois. Register at www.ncda.org/	October 15-28, 2006	12th National Symposium on Juvenile Services Las Vegas, NV www.npjs.org for additional details.
July 11-13, 2006	Workforce Innovations US Department of Labor , Anaheim Convention Center, in Anaheim, California. Register at www.workforceinnovations.org/	November 5-8, 2006	Probation Officers Association of Ontario 52nd Annual Symposium , Stratford, Ontario, Canada. Visit www.paoa.org or contact darlene.humeniuk@jus.gov.on.ca for more information
July 17-19, 2006	NIJ Conference 2006 , Washington, DC. Conference details and online registration are available at www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/events/nij_conference2006.html	November 27-December 1, 2006	ICAC Child Sex Offender Accountability Training . For further information visit www.icactraining.org/icaccso.htm
July 17-21, 2006	ICAC Child Sex Offender Accountability Training . For further information visit www.icactraining.org/icaccso.htm	February 11-14, 2006	APPA Winter Training Institute , Atlanta Sheraton Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia. Contact Kris Chappell at kchappell@csg.org or (859) 244-8205 or visit www.appa-net.org for more information.
July 23-26, 2006	APPA 31st Annual Training Institute , Hilton Chicago, Chicago, IL. Contact Kris Chappell at kchappell@csg.org or (859) 244-8205 or visit www.appa-net.org for more information.	July 8-11, 2007	APPA 32nd Annual Training Institute , Philadelphia Downtown Marriott, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Contact Kris Chappell at kchappell@csg.org or (859) 244-8205 or visit www.appa-net.org for more information.
July 30-August 2, 2006	CEA 61st International Conference , Anaheim Marriott, Anaheim, CA. Contact: Jennifer Valdez - valdez@mindsync.com or Mike Lawson - Co-chair - Mike.Lawson@cdcr.ca.gov		
August 12-17, 2006	ACA Conference - 136th Congress of Correction , Charlotte, North Carolina. Visit www.aca.org for more information.		
September 17-20, 2006	13th National TASC Conference on Drugs & Crime , Sheraton Birmingham Hotel, Birmingham, Alabama. Register online at www.NationalTASC.org		

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



American Probation and Parole Association

31st Annual Training Institute

Embracing the Winds of

Change

July 23-26, 2006 • Chicago, Illinois

ACTIVITIES AT A GLANCE

Saturday, July 22

12:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. Institute Registration

Sunday, July 23

8:00 a.m. - 9:00 p.m. Institute Registration
8:30 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. Intensive Sessions
1:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. APPA Board of Directors Meeting
4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. Resource Expo Viewing
6:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m. Opening Session
7:30 p.m. - 9:00 p.m. Opening Reception in the Resource Expo

Monday, July 24

7:30 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. Institute Registration
8:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m. Plenary Session
10:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m. Resource Expo Viewing
11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. Workshops
12:30 p.m. - 1:45 p.m. Lunch in the Resource Expo
1:45 p.m. - 3:15 p.m. Workshops
3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. Workshops
4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. Resource Expo Viewing
5:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. Reception in Resource Expo

Tuesday, July 25

8:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m. Workshops
9:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m. Resource Expo Viewing
11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. Workshops
12:30 p.m. - 1:45 p.m. APPA Luncheon
2:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m. Workshops
3:45 p.m. - 5:15 p.m. Workshops

Wednesday, July 26

8:30 a.m. - 9:30 a.m. APPA Membership Meeting
9:45 a.m. - 11:15 a.m. Closing Session

Where It All Happens

All APPA workshops, intensive sessions, general sessions, resource expo and receptions will take place in the Hilton Chicago Hotel, 720 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

It Pays to be an APPA Member

APPA members save \$60 in registration fees. It is not too late to take advantage of the savings. You can become a member of APPA when you register for the Institute. Just complete the membership section on the registration form, and your savings start immediately!

How You Will Benefit!

- Learn fresh, new ideas from well-known experts.
- Experience innovative programming.
- Participate in stimulating discussions with your peers.
- Enhance your current abilities and qualifications.
- Discover "what works" from professionals in the field.
- Network with your peers and learn from their diverse experience.
- View and compare the newest correctional products, technologies and services.
- Increase your current program's effectiveness.
- Take part in exciting and fun social events.

Who Should Attend?

This institute is "not to be missed" if you are a corrections professional involved in:

- probation
- parole
- juvenile justice
- treatment
- social work
- education or training
- victim services
- residential programs
- judicial system
- pre- and post-release centers
- restitution
- law enforcement
- public policy development
- academic studies

Supporting Partners

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

Host Agency

Cook County Adult Probation Department

Workshops at a Glance

Monday, July 24, 2006

11:00 a.m. – 12:30 p.m.

The Changing Face of Juvenile Justice

Providing Effective Community Supervision of Impaired Driving Offenders

Understanding Cost Effectiveness of Probation and Parole: A Toolbox for Community Corrections Practitioners

Implementing Evidence-Based Practices through Judicial Education

Applying Restorative and Community Justice Principles to Domestic Violence Cases

Compassion Fatigue – The Cost of Caring

Drug Testing: A Cat and Mouse Game

Managing High Risk/Need Offenders - Where the Rubber Meets the Road

Project Safe Neighborhoods – Using a Community Policing, Probation and Parole Partnership Approach

Methamphetamine and Personal Safety

Eye in the Sky: Enhanced Supervision and Case Management with Integrated Mobile Data Technology

Lessons Learned by Baby Chiefs

Hug-A-Thug or Lock-'em-Up: The Nassau County Collaborative Approach to Gang Member Rehabilitation

1:45 p.m. – 3:15 p.m.

Evidence-Based Practices for Probation and Parole: Moving the Field Forward

Competency Development through Community/Victim Services

Exploring the Relationship between Assessment and Reoffending

The Transformation of the Polish Probation and Judicial System

NLECTC: Assisting Community Corrections with Technology Issues

Employ Defensive Tactics: Natural Response Control Training Program

Supervising Domestic Violence Offenders on Probation: Improving Compliance and Protecting Victims

Working Together: Providing Residential Treatment to the Mentally Impaired Offender

Making the Transition: Line Staff to Management

Alcohol and Drug Treatment Reduces Offender Rates of Re-Arrest

Victim Services: Beyond Notification

Operation Spotlight: An Initiative in Our Parole Division

Probation Consolidation - A Current Urban Experience

3:30 p.m.- 5:00 p.m.

The Role of Probation in Youth Court Programs

Interstate Compact for Adult Offender Supervision

Prisoner Reentry Efforts at the Office of Justice Programs (OJP)

Approaches to Implementing Evidence-Based Practices: Comparative Perspectives from Two States

Increasing the Readiness to Change with Motivational Interviewing

Treating Sex Offenders in Rural America

Ethical Challenges in Community Corrections (Or What Were They Thinking?)

Comparing Alcohol Monitoring Alternatives

Are You Here To Oppose Parole?

Come Get Another Piece to the Puzzle...

Stop Counting Contacts and Make Supervision Count

Community Drug Court: Bringing Community Members and Offenders Together to Increase Accountability and Positive Outcomes

Get What You Want by Writing Efficiently and Effectively

Note: Workshops are subject to change.

Tuesday, July 25, 2006

8:30 a.m. – 10:00 a.m.	11:00 a.m. – 12:30 p.m.	2:00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.	3:45 p.m. – 5:15 p.m.
Judicial Immunity and Probation – What Does That Mean?	Judges' Forum: Current Challenges for the Judiciary with Evidence-Based Practices in Community Supervision	Families Receiving Empowerment and Encouragement (F.R.E.E.)	FutureForce: Developing and Maintaining the Community Corrections Workforce for the 21st Century (Part 2)
Promoting a Coordinated and Integrated Child Welfare and Juvenile Justice System	Mayors and Cities: Surprising, Effective Resources for Your Work with Youth	A Practical Approach to Linking Juvenile Graduated Sanctions with a Continuum of Effective Programs	Courage and Authenticity
Implementing the Prison Rape Elimination Act: Sexual Violence Reported by Former Inmates	Resolving Rage, Restoring Relationships and Reducing Recidivism	Substance Abuse Treatment for Adults in the Criminal Justice System	Feds and Locals Working Together for Sex Offender Management: Believe it or Not, It's Happening and It Works!
Increasing Offender Success... Victim Services Liaisons in Parole	Prostitution 101: Promising Strategies for Change	FutureForce: Developing and Maintaining the Community Corrections Workforce for the 21st Century (Part 1)	Reducing the Incidence of High Profile Crimes: Using Performance Accountability to Improve Successful Parole Outcomes
Following Spiderman: Offender Tracking in England, 2004 to 2006	Partnering Across Systems: A Collaborative Effort	Managing Resources, Expanding Alternatives and Reducing Recidivism via the POM Pilot – A Two Year Review	Meth-Addicted Offenders: A Model of Treatment and Supervision
Enhancing Graduated Sanctions with Everyday Technology	Managing Sex Offenders Under a Microscope and in a Sea of Legislative Change	If You Can Measure It, You Can Manage It: The Use of Data in Community Corrections	New Guidelines for Delinquency Courts
How to Raise the Bar! Teaching Professionals How to Take Their Leadership to a New Level	Using Motivational Interviewing in a Probation Setting: What's It REALLY Like?	Expanded NICS 101	Violence in the Workplace – How Safe Are You at Work?
Killed in the Line of Duty - 20 Years Later, What Have We Learned?	Partnering for Successful Reentry (Help, There's an Offender in My Office!)	Training Paradigm Shift: The Federal Probation and Pre-Trial Services Transition to the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center	Reducing Crime and Recidivism through Employment
Project Connect: Probation Officer Gatekeeper Training in Mental Health Screening	Terrorism: Implications for Community Corrections Agencies	Mental Health Diversion Program: Diverting Persons with Mental Impairments Out of the Traditional Criminal Court Process	School Safety Contracting with Juvenile Sex Offenders: A Collaborative Approach
Harnessing the Power of Competencies	Organizational Dissonance, OOPS!! Development	Down Country Roads, from Small Towns to Inner Cities: BARJ in Illinois – See How It Works	Successful Intervention and Supervision of Mentally Ill Probationers in an Urban Setting
APPA's Reentry Initiative	An Evidence-Based Approach to Smarter Drug Testing	From Research to Reality: Evidence-Based Practice in the Real World	Effective GPS Programs: How to Launch, Manage and Grow
Unraveling Capitol Mysteries	Family Group Conferencing in a Rural Setting and Collaboration: Make It Happen!	Gender Competence with Female Offenders	Morale - Slaying the Hydra or at Least Wounding It
Evidence-Based Practice in Community Corrections: Applications and Considerations for Supervision of Domestic Violence Offenders	Conducting an Actual Cost Study for Probation and Parole		

Registration Information

New! Student Registration –

Attend Tuesday, July 25

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.

Intensive Training Sessions

The intensive training sessions may only be attended by individuals who are full registrants of the Institute. Class size is limited for each intensive session, so pre-registration is required. If your intensive session choice is filled, you will be notified and offered an alternative session or refund.

Family Institute Registration

A special low registration fee is available to immediate family members of Institute registrants. Only immediate family members **not employed** in the corrections field qualify for this special rate. The fee is only \$75 and allows the family member to attend workshops and the resource expo. The fee does not include admission to any intensive session. The luncheon is not included; however, tickets may be purchased separately for this event.

Luncheon Ticket

A ticket for the luncheon is included in the early or regular registration fee. Registration fees for family members and students do not include a luncheon ticket. Luncheon tickets may be purchased for \$55. Extra tickets for guests may also be purchased separately.

Institute Dress

All activities of the Institute are casual dress. A sweater or light jacket is recommended for the air conditioned meeting rooms that tend to vary in temperature.

Agency Members – How to Register for Your Membership Discount

If your agency is a current APPA agency member, you can attend the Institute at the member rate. Your agency's membership must be valid through July 2006. Registration forms must be completed for each individual, mailed to APPA as a **group** with your agency's name clearly marked on the registration forms. Agency memberships will be verified. You are required to pay the regular registration fee if your agency is not a current APPA agency member.

By Mail – Registration for the APPA Institute can easily be done by mail. Just send your check, government purchase order or credit card information with your completed APPA registration form to the address shown on the form. All registrations

postmarked by July 7, 2006 will receive written confirmation.

By Fax – For your convenience, when payment is by credit card, you may fill out the APPA registration form and fax it to: (859) 244-8001, Attention — APPA Institute. All registrations faxed by July 7, 2006 will be confirmed by mail.

Internet – Register for the APPA Institute on-line at www.appa-net.org

Payment

Payment in full for all Institute activities must accompany your registration form. Check, money order, VISA, Master Card or American Express are accepted as payment for the Institute's registration fees. Checks must be made out to the American Probation and Parole Association and payable in U.S. dollars. Payments received in Canadian dollars will be invoiced for the conversion difference plus a \$10 service fee. Registrations postmarked on July 6, 2006 or later are not eligible for the early registration fee and must include the regular registration fee. Agencies required to use a purchase order should submit the registration form with the purchase order in lieu of a check. Invoicing will be processed immediately upon receipt of the purchase order and, in all cases, payment will be due immediately.

Cancellation/Refund Policy

A full refund, less a \$50 processing fee, is available until July 5, 2006. **No refunds are available after July 5, 2006.** In order to receive a refund, written requests must be sent 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, 2006. Registrations are not transferable.

Lodging Information

Hilton Chicago
720 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605
Phone: 312-922-4400 or 877-865-5320

All Institute activities will be held in the **Hilton Chicago Hotel** located in the heart of Chicago with its picturesque view of Grant Park and Lake Michigan. APPA has secured a reduced rate of \$137 for single or double occupancy for Institute participants. To make lodging reservations, telephone the Hilton Chicago Hotel at 312-922-4400 or 877-865-5320. Reservations at the Hilton can also be made on the APPA website, www.appa-net.org. Please state that you are attending the APPA Institute to receive the group rate. All reservations must be accompanied by a first night non-refundable deposit. Deadline to make lodging reservations is July 2, 2006. (Nominal fee included for equipment and labor costs.)

Visit the APPA website at www.appa-net.org for updates on lodging, transportation and Institute activities!



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 Address: _____

Registration Fees

<i>Includes general sessions, exhibit receptions and workshops. (All fees are per person.)</i>	Early Rate Before July 5	On or After July 6	Amount
Member of APPA or co-sponsoring Assn. To qualify for this rate you must be a member of one of the following (please mark those that you hold current membership in) <input type="checkbox"/> APPA Member - Please indicate your membership category and your membership number. <input type="checkbox"/> Individual member <input type="checkbox"/> Agency member Membership # <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Expiration Date <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> — <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Illinois Probation and Court Services Association <input type="checkbox"/> Federal Probation and Pretrial Officers Association	\$315	\$365	\$ _____
Non-member 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.	\$375	\$425	\$ _____
New! Student Registration – Attend 7/25 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.	\$99	N/A	\$ _____
APPA Accredited Contact Hours	\$10	\$10	\$ _____
Intensive Sessions Available only to registrants of Institute. Attendance at intensive sessions only is not permitted. Specify Intensive Session # _____	\$35	\$35	\$ _____
Family Registration This rate is available to immediate family members not employed in the corrections field. Allows entry into general sessions, exhibit receptions and workshops. Luncheon is not included. Specify Family member's name _____	\$75	\$75	\$ _____
Luncheon Ticket (July 25) One luncheon ticket is included in full registration. Registration fee for family members does not include a luncheon ticket	\$55	\$55	\$ _____
APPA Membership One year of individual membership. <input type="checkbox"/> New Member <input type="checkbox"/> Renewal	\$50	\$50	\$ _____ 61-16-00-1000-4020
Grand Total Enclosed \$ _____ 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 immediately following credit card number)

Signature: _____ Date: _____



Special Assistance

☐ Please list any special needs that you might require under the American Disabilities Act. 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-Ground
- ☐ Travel-Air
- ☐ Meals

Mark Past Attendance at APPA Annual Institute

- ☐ First Time
- ☐ 2-4
- ☐ 5-6
- ☐ 7-9
- ☐ 10 or more

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1. 877. 587. 8927 to arrange your online demonstration.



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