



## President's Message

Gary Hinzman

**APPA** is poised to meet the immediate future with leadership. We are poised to continue our leadership programs. We are ready to face the economic crisis of the next year. We are poised to have a seamless change in the Presidency of APPA. Our committees are strong and active. We are carefully selecting opportunities within the stimulus package that mesh with APPA's purpose. We are recording our history.

I have always believed that when times are tough the tough get going. When there is crisis, an economic downturn or other tough situation there is tremendous opportunity within our grasp all around us. All we need is an innovation and creative mind and the determination to make those opportunities come our way.

The APPA leadership program is one such opportunity. There has been strong recognition by APPA how meaningful this leadership program is. There is no doubt that the program is developing the future leadership of our field. Now is the moment for you to apply to attend the upcoming Leadership Institute. There is no greater investment for your department and our future than to nurture and encourage our promising leaders. I encourage you to select a member of your organization to participate in the upcoming Leadership Institute.

Over the past few years, the Executive Committee has prepared APPA to be in a financial situation strong enough to manage an economic downturn. We will still need to be frugal and mindful of our association's business but the stage has been set to weather the storm and be in recovery mode. It is important to remember that as with the economy, APPA also needs its membership to be active and supportive at this time. We need to keep attending Institutes and supporting APPA programs.

I am feeling bitter-sweet about the transition of the Presidency of APPA in August. I am really excited and supportive of Barbara Broderick. I know she will be a great president for APPA. I will miss my role as president, because I have believed in our cause and I have been proud of our work. I look forward to working with Barbara and the new Executive Committee. Please give all your encouragement and support to your APPA leadership team.

APPA has been successful in helping our committees to become more active and inclusive. We have been very pleased with the new level of commitment that has been forthcoming. Our incoming President has asked for the committees to continue this practice. As the past president, I have agreed to continue to use my staff to facilitate the committee conference calls. I want to personally thank the committee chairs for their overwhelming positive response. We have found a way to make APPA even stronger and more inclusive.

The Recovery Act and the passage of the 2009 fiscal year budget for the Office of Justice Programs- U.S. Department of Justice has afforded APPA many potential opportunities to extend the reach of probation, parole and community corrections. To that end, APPA staff has been extremely busy developing and submitting numerous grant proposals either in partnership with other organizations or as the sole applicant. The applications address, but are not limited to, such issues as victims services, meeting the needs of small and rural departments, increasing information sharing capabilities, strengthening re-entry initiatives, developing or expanding probation supervision in tribal governments, effective partnerships with law enforcement and creating metrics for evidence-based outcomes.

We have embarked on an APPA History Project led by past APPA president, Mark Carey. A group has formed to commit the history of APPA to record in DVD format. We hope to have the DVD complete by APPA's 35th Anniversary next summer at the Annual Institute in Washington, DC. In addition, a shorter version of the DVD will be produced for use in member recruitment campaigns. We are requesting that anyone who has photographs of fellow members or of activities or any other memorabilia from APPA share those with the group for possible inclusion in the DVD. Please include information such as names of individuals or activities as well as dates of the photos. All photos will be returned to their owners, but you are encouraged to send copies if the photos are not in electronic format. Please send to:

Diane Kincaid, American Probation and Parole Association, PO Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40578-1910, or email to **dkincaid@csg.org**. Contact Diane for any questions you may have by email or at 859-244-8196

Finally, let me say how much passion I have felt for APPA over the past couple of years. Being the President of our organization and representing you has been an exciting professional journey. I have appreciated all the support of the membership, the Board, the Executive Committee and the past presidents. Surely no one can doubt the hardworking, professional staff of APPA are nothing but the best. I want to thank all of you for encouragement and support. A special thanks to Carl Wicklund for guiding and keeping us on track. Carl's leadership is tireless and he makes the Presidency an enjoyable experience.

Please make plans to attend the 34th Annual Training Institute in Anaheim, CA, August 23-26. It promises to be a great Institute. I especially want to encourage those in California to look closely at the special options we will have for you to attend and receive training credits. I also want to thank Vince Iaria for all the effort and dedication he has exhibited as a regional representative from California. I want to thank the Chief Probation Officers of California for their interest and for meeting with the executive board. I also want to thank the union representatives in California that also met with us in Anaheim. We are confident that the 34th Institute is on good footings to be successful. You will be able to attend dynamic workshops and events in Anaheim. Please make an extra effort to be with us in California.

I have been enjoying working together with or for all of you, being together with you, at least in spirit, as we trek along this great professional journey, and representing APPA across the country and abroad. Thank you once again for allowing me to serve as your association President.

Best regards to the field. A successful future awaits us. Let's be prepared to grasp the opportunities that are all about us. In this final President's Message, I want to thank all the leadership that exists at NIC, within NAPE and within APPA. I want to particularly thank those of you that have been so helpful in my personal trek toward leadership. You know who you are.

As I sign this message for the last time, may *a FORCE for Positive Change* be within you!

Hay Himman



## Editor's Notes

by William Burrell

Welcome to the Summer 2009 issue of Perspectives. We are very pleased to be able to present to you an issue chock full of timely and interesting information. As you continue to face the many challenges that confront probation and parole, we hope this issue proves useful to you and your colleagues.

Our lead article summarizes One in 31: The Long Reach of American Corrections, a report published earlier this year by the Pew Center of the States. This groundbreaking report documented the extent to which corrections has penetrated American society. Using comprehensive longitudinal data on correctional populations and spending, the authors document the disparity between spending and populations of institutional and community corrections. To no one's surprise, probation and parole are responsible for 69 percent of the offenders yet receive about 12 percent of the funding. This funding imbalance contributes to the chronic inability of our field to fulfill its greatest potential. This report has already gotten significant notice in state legislatures and governor's offices. Perhaps the current fiscal crises plaguing so many states and counties will provide an opportunity for fundamental change in this area. We note with pride that APPA was a major partner in conducting the research upon which this report is based.

The growth of correctional populations can be attributed to many factors. In their article on the California parole system, Grattet, Petersilia, Lin and Whitworth document the complexities of that system. Clearly, understanding the parole violation and revocation process is crucial to managing prison populations. This article helps to show who in California violates parole and why and also demonstrates how statutory and policy requirements can impinge on the functioning of the system. The authors provide a series of recommendations, including a violations grid to guide responses to violation. Such an approach to violations would be similar to one developed in Ohio and featured in the last issue of Perspectives. We are pleased to partner with the National

Institute of Justice and highlight the results of this important parole research.

Our third article also focuses on parole, but this time on supervision. Jannetta and Burke present a best practices model for parole supervision, drawn from a recent report entitled **Putting Public Safety First**, published by the Urban Institute. Based on a comprehensive review of the research and the input of practitioners and scholars across the country, the article begins with an engaging description of what parole supervision would look like under this best practices model. The article goes on to address both policy level recommendations and line level practices. Many of the latter can be applied by any parole or probation officer. In fact, most of the best practices can be readily applied to probation supervision, as well. The article ends with the implementation challenges that will be faced by executives and managers adopting such a best practices model. As we are learning more and more, the quality of implementation is as, if not, more important than the program model itself.

Our *Research Update* provides a summary of a project that met the challenges of program implementation and produced excellent outcomes. The Proactive Community Supervision (PCS) initiative of the Maryland Division of Parole and Probation has clearly demonstrated that a well-designed community supervision model, implemented well, can indeed transform the outcomes of parole and probation supervision. PCS provides a multitude of lessons for any organization seeking to transform itself with a best practices model.

#### **Editorial Committee**

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Faye S. Taxman, Ph.D. Professor Justice Administration George Mason University Room 331, Bull Run Hall Manassas, VA 20110 (703) 993-8555 Implementation of evidence-based or best practices takes time, discipline and hard work. Sometimes, technologies are proposed or even mandated for use with grand promises for improved results. The Global Positioning Satellite (GPS) system for monitoring the whereabouts of offenders is one such technology. As anyone with GPS experience can tell you, the system is not a panacea for what ails community supervision and in fact can make things more difficult. In this issue's *Technology Update*, George Drake provides a concise but helpful review of some of the misconceptions concerning GPS. As with any product, the watchword with GPS should be *caveat emptor* – buyer beware!

With this issue, we publish our last message from APPA's president, Gary Hinzman. We would like to acknowledge his support for this journal, and note the quality and strength of his leadership of the association. As many members know, Gary, his agency and his community suffered greatly in the catastrophic flooding that hit Iowa during his term. Despite this, Gary kept his focus on leading APPA, and we are grateful for all that he has done.

We hope you enjoy this issue, and that you find some things that challenge you, inform you and most importantly help you as you go about your work. As always, we encourage you to let us know what you think of this, your professional journal.

Sie Sunel

#### Probation, Parole and Community Corrections...



The American Probation and Parole Association (APPA) is proud to support a new identity program that we believe will set the stage for greater awareness of the role of probation, parole and community corrections in community safety. The program is a new national initiative — being rolled out in states, cities and towns across the country — aimed at better communicating the important work probation and parole and supporting professionals play in keeping our communities safe.

To assist you in implementing this brand identity in your agency and community, APPA has worked with marketing firm, Fleishman-Hillard International Communications, to produce a kit of materials and ideas. The kit contains sample news releases, tips to engage staff, sound bites for interviews, points to consider when dealing with the media and statistics that you can customize to your own needs to emphasize the importance of your community corrections agency and system. The kit can be downloaded on the APPA website at www.appa-net.org/a\_docs/PPCC\_Branding\_082108.pdf.

This project also introduces a logo and tag line that we are asking you to use in a number of ways. "A Force for Positive Change" contains connotations to the importance of keeping those under supervision accountable as well as many of the skills used by today's probation and parole officer such as motivational interviewing and cognitive behavioral change. The tagline typography shows forward motion, but also some of the stops and starts experienced by many individuals under supervision.

Today's probation, parole and community corrections system has an exciting story to tell and one that we hope you will consider now as this campaign is launched. As officers, supervisors, administrators and staff working to supervise and intervene with offenders in our communities, you are indeed, A Force for Positive Change.

For more information about this campaign, please contact Diane Kincaid, Information Specialist for APPA at (859) 244-8196 or dkincaid@csg.org.

# the journal of the American Probation and Parole Association ERSPECTIVES W W W a p p a - n e 1 . o r g

Number 3



A Force for Positive CHANGE.

## FEATURES



Volume 33

One in 31: The Long Reach of Community Corrections

by the Public Safety Performance Project of the Pew Center on the States



Assessing Parole Violations and Revocations in California: Finding Strategies for the Future

by Ryken **Grattet**, Joan **Petersilia**, Jeffrey **Lin** and Ariel **Whitworth** 



Lessons From Putting Public Safety First:
13 Parole Supervision Strategies to
Enhance Reentry Ooutcomes

by Peggy B. Burke and Jesse Jannetta

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- Parole, Probation and CommunitySupervision Week

#### **Instructions to Authors**

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

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

Winter 2010 Issue - August 21, 2009 • Spring 2010 Issue - November 11, 2009 • Summer 2010 Issue - February 17, 2010 • Fall 2010 Issue - May 20, 2010

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

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

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

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

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

# PA SPECIALIZE

If your agency is in need of training, but funds are low... APPA has a plan for you! If you only have a handful of employees who need specialized training in any of the topics APPA offers, we've got a plan for you! If you have a site that will allow training for at least 30 individuals (many of our trainings are limited to 30), and are willing to act as host...BOY, do we have a plan for you!

APPA contracts with expert trainers who are reimbursed for their services and all their costs by APPA. We also provide registration services, training materials, name badges and certificates of completion to all participants. (Note: travel, lodging and daily expenses for participants are not covered in the registration rate)

Register online or for a complete list of available topics, please visit our website at www.appa-net.org and click "Specialized Training Opportunities."

#### **AVAILABLE TOPICS INCLUDE:**

- Strength Based Practices
- Management
- Officer Safety
- Sex Offender Management
- **Emergency Planning**

#### AND MORE!

#### **CURRENT TRAININGS OPEN** FOR REGISTRATION



### COLLEGE of KNOWLEDGE

APPA Combination Training Package

Occupational Spanish for **Probation & Parole Officers** 

October 12-13, 2009, Lexington, KY

**Domestic Violence & Project Safe Neighborhoods** 

October 14, 2009, Lexington, KY

**Basic Officer Safety Training** October 15-16, 2009 Lexington, KY

#### Cognitive Facilitator Certification Training

July 27-31, 2009 Davenport, IA August 3-7, 2009 Austin, TX August 10-14, 2009 Warren, PA October 19-23, 2009 Memphis, TN

#### **Preventing Staff Sexual Misconduct Against** Offenders Facilitator Certification Training

July 20-22, 2009, Lubbock, Texas August 31-September 2, 2009, Georgetown, TX

September 15-17, 2009, San Angelo, TX September 21-23, 2009, Lexington, KY

September 29-October 1, 2009 Corpus Christi TX

October 7-9, 2009, Albany NY

#### **Real Colors Certification**

October 20-22, 2009, Springfield, IL

For additional information regarding APPA Specialized Trainings contact:

#### Diane Kincaid

Training and Technical Assistance Coordinator, American Probation and Parole Association PO Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40578, Phone: (859) 244-8196, Email: dkincaid@csg.org

#### American Probation and Parole Association



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

For more information on Corporate Membership, please contact: Karen Mucci **APPA** c/o The Council of State Governments P.O. Box 11910 Lexington, KY 40578-1910 (859) 244-8205 Fax (859) 244-8001 Email: kmucci@csg.org

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TASER

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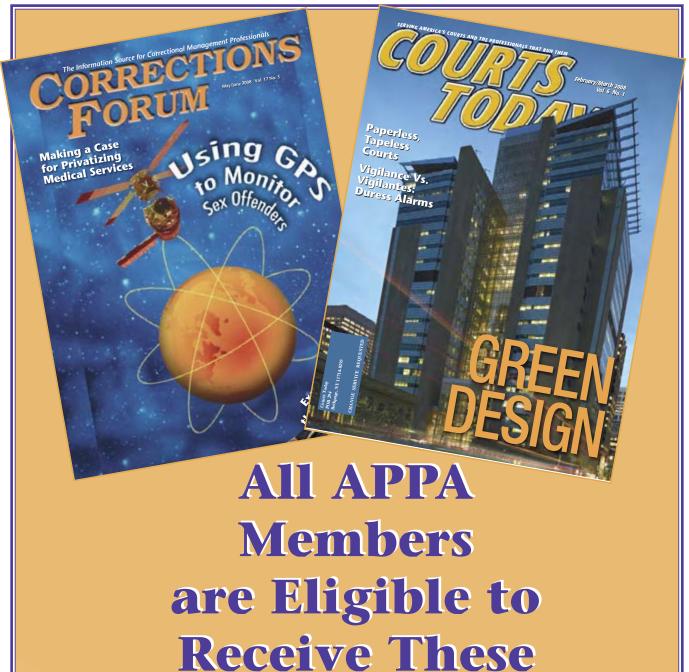
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The Council of State Governments

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

# Vision

where community partnerships are

restoring hope by embracing a balance of prevention, intervention

and advocacy.

We seek to create a system of Community Justice where:

A full range of sanctions and services provides public safety by insuring humane, effective and individualized sentences for offenders and support and protection for victims:

**Primary prevention initiatives** are cultivated through our leadership and guidance;

Our communities are empowered to own and participate in solutions;

Results are measured and direct our service delivery;

Dignity and respect describe how each person is treated;

**Staff are empowered** and supported in an environment of honesty, inclusion and respect for differences; and

Partnerships with stakeholders lead to shared ownership of our vision.



The American Probation and Parole Association is an affiliate of and receives its secretariat services from the Council of State Governments (CSG). CSG, the multibranch association of the states and U.S. territories,

works with state leaders across the nation and through its regions to put the best ideas and solutions into practice.

#### **APPA Affiliate Members**

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AZ Probation Parole and Corrections Association

CA Probation Parole and Correctional Association

Chief Probation Officers of CA

Conference Permanente Europeenne de la Probation

Correctional Accreditation Managers Association

County Chief Adult Probation and Parole Officers

Association of PA

Crime Prevention Coalition of America /

National Crime Prevention Council

Dismas Charities, Inc.

Federal Probation and Pretrial Officers Association

FL Association of Community Corrections

GA Probation Association

IA Corrections Association

IL Probation and Court Services Association

International Community Corrections Association

International Corrections and Prisons Association

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Supervision

KS Association of Court Services Officers

MA Parole Officers Association

Middle Atlantic States Correctional Association MN Association of Community Corrections Acts

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UT Correctional Association

VA Community Criminal Justice Association

VA Probation and Parole Association

WV Association of Probation Officers

Western Correctional Association

## Spotlight on Safety

by Ron **Scheidt**, Guest Columnist

#### No Training Money?—No Excuse!

With today's tight budgets, agencies are looking for any way they can save money; many times cutting training is at the top of the list. While any cut in training is unfortunate, one area of training that cannot be cut is officer safety, especially when it deals with use of force. The courts have repeatedly stated that a lack of funds is no defense against allegations of negligent failure to train. So what do we do with limited budgets but a requirement to provide training? We get resourceful.

One of the first things agencies can do is develop a cadre of in-house instructors. While it is tough to be a prophet in your own home town, having skilled instructors on staff can greatly reduce training costs while providing training resources that can supply on-going training to all staff and be available to give remedial training to those that need it.

The sharing of resources has never been more important. Agencies should be willing to share training sites, equipment and instructors. We have been amazed at the training sites and equipment we have seen at safety trainings provided around the country. The sites and equipment have been obtained through the networking and ingenuity of dedicated staff that have taken their time to develop contacts and trade time and resources.

Some agencies have limited outof-state travel, prohibiting attendance at trainings and conferences. If this is the case with your agency, consider having the training come to you! Often, trainers can come to your agency and provide training for a fraction of what it costs to send 2-3 people to an outof-state conference. During a recent panel presentation at the World Gang Control Strategy Summit, a number of Federal agencies offered free training to requesting departments and commented that funding is available to provide training and speakers, but the resources often goes unused. While the emphasis was on gang issues, many of the topics offered deal with broader officer safety issues.

Besides the legal necessity of use of force related training, on-going training speaks to the culture of the agency. Look to those agencies that you see as leaders in parole and probation; you will see that on-going training is a key value within the organization. Besides the typical benefits of skill enhancement and skill retention, training can also;

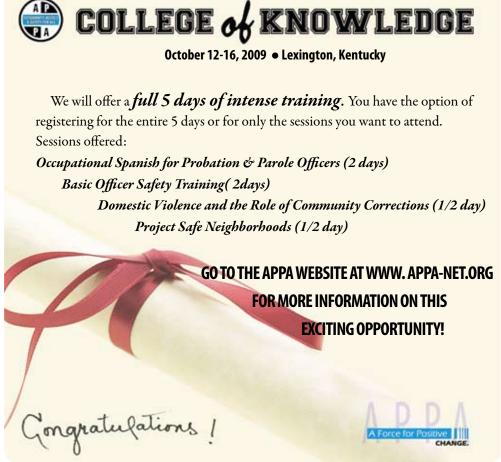
- Enhances networking.
- Provide a "pat on the back" for officers that give extra effort.
- Give a professional "jump-start" to new officers.

• Give recognition and enhance morale when raises are not available.

In these tight financial times we can sit back and play "ain't it awful" or we can seek opportunities to enhance our networking and get creative. Remember, in tough times the bad guys are training more! *Train hard for the day will come*.

For more information on Basic Officer Safety Training, contact Diane Kincaid at dkincaid@csg.org.

Ron Scheidt is a Senior U.S. Probation Officer, District of Nebraska, Omaha.





#### American Probation and Parole Association



Sunday, August 23

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

9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.

8:00 a.m. - 8:00 p.m. Institute Registration
8:30 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. Intensive Sessions
9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. Leadership Institute
1:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m. APPA Board of Directors Meeting

6:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m. Opening Session

7:30 p.m. - 9:30 p.m. Opening Reception in the Resource Expo

Institute Registration

**Leadership Institute** 

Monday, August 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. - 6:30 p.m. Resource Expo Viewing 5:00 p.m. - 6:30 p.m. Reception in Resource Expo

Tuesday, August 25

8:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. Institute Registration 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, August 26

8:30 a.m. - 9:30 a.m APPA Membership Meeting

9:45 a.m. – 11:15 a.m. Closing Session

## A Force for Positive CHANGE.

#### Where It All Happens

All APPA workshops, intensive sessions, general sessions, resource expo and receptions will take place in the Hilton Anaheim, 777 Convention Way, Anaheim, CA 92802.

#### 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

#### **APPA – At Your Service!**

Discover what APPA can do for you. APPA staff and board members will be on-site to answer your questions and help you get the most out of your membership. Visit the APPA booth in the Resource Expo to get immediate assistance.



### The American Probation and Parole Association (APPA)

APPA is an international non-profit organization committed to innovative and effective probation, parole and

community-based correctional programming. Membership is comprised of probation and parole line staff, supervisors, administrators, educators, volunteers and supportive friends from throughout the United States, its possessions and Canada. For further information about APPA, call (859) 244-8207 or visit our website at www.appa-net.org.









#### **APPA Leadership Institute**

The APPA Leadership Institute is a twelve month journey of self-discovery and organizational change for community corrections professionals. It is a collaboration of the American Probation & Parole Association, the National Association of Probation Executives, the Correctional Management Institute of Texas at Sam Houston State University, and the National Institute of Corrections. The APPA Leadership Institute is now accepting applications for both Participants and Mentors. For more information regarding the APPA Leadership Institute or to fill out an application form please visit our website: www.appa-net.org.

#### **APPA Membership Meeting**

Wednesday, August 26 • 8:30 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.

All Institute registrants are encouraged to attend this informative membership meeting.

#### **APPA Committee Meetings**

Did you know that APPA has over 20 committees seeking your participation? Most committees will meet on Saturday, August 22 or Sunday, August 23 and are open to all members. Plan to arrive early to get involved in your association. Check the APPA website at www.appa-net.org for committee dates and times.

#### **Institute Orientation**

Sunday, August 23 • 11:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.

First time attendees, our friends who travel from outside the United States and all new members or others just interested in learning more about APPA and the Institute are invited to attend an Institute Orientation where you will learn about the Institute's:

- Educational workshops and sessions
- Logistics
- Networking and social activities
- Resource Exhibit area

You will also meet APPA President, Executive Committee members, APPA staff and other VIP's.

#### **California Training Credits Available!**

The California Corrections Standards Authority has advised that for attendees to obtain STC training credit their agency will need to apply for Work Related Education, Training and Professional Development (WRE) certification. WRE training is not reimburseable.

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Southern California at its best is what you'll find in Anaheim/Orange County. This area celebrates its own brand of lifestyle, fun and sun. The region spans 782 square miles (1,258 kilometers) from the local rugged mountains to its 42 miles (68 kilometers) of picturesque coastline filled with inviting public beaches and unforgettable Pacific sunsets. Orange County's 34 cities each have their own distinctive personality. You'll find trendy restaurants, world-class shopping, eclectic arts and culture, enticing beaches, world famous attractions and posh resorts all within Anaheim and Orange County. Its cutting-edge surf culture, west coast fashion, high energy and sunny spirit invite you to discover for yourself why Orange County is so California.

#### **Attractions**

While you're in town, there's so much to do and see! Orange County's legacy to the world is the invention of the theme park. The Knott family chicken restaurant business evolved into Knott's Berry Farm, the first theme park. A few years later, and a few miles down the road, Walt Disney created the "Happiest Place on Earth," the original Disneyland Park. For many, the name "Anaheim" is synonymous with imaginative entertainment.

Today, within 90 miles of Anaheim there are 8 WORLD RENOWN Major Theme Parks and Attractions including Universal Studios-Hollywood, LEGOLAND, SeaWorld and the World Famous San Diego Zoo.

#### Shopping

Orange County's freeways lead you to over 4 million square feet of retail excitement in more than 15 indoor and outdoor shopping malls. Located within minutes of the Hilton Anaheim are The Block at Orange and the Anaheim Plaza. The Block features a variety of specialty stores and restaurants plus a multi-plex AMC movie theater. The Anaheim Plaza features large stores such as WalMart, Gigante and several smaller outlet type stores.

Just 30 minutes from Anaheim, on the bluffs of Newport Beach, is Fashion Island, home to 200 prestigious department stores, specialty stores, boutiques and museums.

#### **Beaches**

When you think of Southern California, the main images that come to mind are usually its beaches: the sun, palm trees, warm sand, tanned life guards, California girls and, of course, the crashing blue Pacific Ocean. Like a string of shimmering pearls, Orange County's beach towns stretch 42 miles along California's golden coastline waiting to be discovered. The towns, though close in proximity, are sometimes worlds apart in their character. From the quaint town of Seal Beach in the north to the red-tiled Spanish architecture of San Clemente in the south, you'll find each offering different adventures and environments. Three of the best known beach towns in Orange County are the "Surf Capital," Huntington Beach; Newport Beach, known as the posh coastal community with dazzling yacht harbors; and Laguna Beach, the picturesque artist colony.

#### Golf

Orange County boasts nearly 40 of the finest and most pleasurable courses in the world. Choose from a variety of serene ocean challenges or PGA-style 18-hole championship courses designed to put you to the test.

For further information regarding things to see and do in Anaheim/Orange County, visit www.anaheimoc.org or www.anaheim411.com.



## Travel and Lodging

#### **Airport Information**

Anaheim/Orange County is in the center of southern California, 30 miles south of downtown Los Angeles and 90 minutes north of San Diego. Orange County is served by four major airports: John Wayne/Orange County Airport, Los Angeles International Airport, Ontario International Airport and Long Beach Airport. More than 2500 flights per day deliver visitors from all points of the globe.

## John Wayne/Orange County Airport (SNA)

16 miles and approximately 25 minutes south of Anaheim

#### Long Beach Airport (LGB)

20 miles and approximately 30 minutes southwest of Anaheim

#### Los Angeles International Airport (LAX)

31 miles and approximately 50 minutes west of Anaheim

#### Ontario International Airport (ONT)

27 miles and approximately 45 minutes northeast of Anaheim

#### **Ground Transportation**

#### The Anaheim Resort Transit (ART)

The Anaheim Resort Transit (ART) is available to transport you to downtown Disney and the new Garden Walk featuring over 50 options for shopping, dining, and entertainment. Passes can be purchased from a kiosk at the Hilton. Adult fees (10 and up), Children (3 and up).

1 Day Pass - Adult \$4.00, Children \$1.00

3 Day Pass - Adult \$10.00, Children \$2.00

5 Day Pass - Adult \$16.00, Children \$4.00



The newly renovated Hilton Anaheim is located in the Anaheim Resort District, two blocks from Disneyland' Resort, next door to the Anaheim Convention Center and surrounded by a wide variety of restaurants, bars, nightclubs and shopping venues. The property is also accessible to major freeways and Southern California airports. Other local attractions include the Honda Center, Angel Stadium, the Crystal Cathedral and Knott's Berry Farm. The hotel is just 20 minutes from some of "The OC's" best beaches, including Surf City USA, Huntington

Institute activities will take place in the heart of Southern California at the Hilton Anaheim. The hotel will be accepting reservations at the rate of \$128/night single and \$148/night double

occupancy. You can make your reservations by calling (800) 445-8667. Please request the group rate for the American Probation and Parole Association.

#### **The Hilton Anaheim**

Booking your lodging at the Hilton Anaheim benefits both you, as an Institute participant, and APPA as an organization.

#### Why stay at the Hilton Anaheim?

- You can trust that accommodations will meet APPA's first-class standards.
- You are in the middle of the action, making networking more available.
- You have easy access to your room between activities.

#### How YOU help:

- You help keep registration fees low by ensuring APPA avoids hotel penalties due to unsold room blocks.
- You improve APPA's negotiating ability to ensure low lodging rates in the future.

Visit the APPA website at www.appa-net.org for updates on lodging and institute activities.



#### **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 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 September 2009. 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.

#### **Registration Procedures**

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 22, 2009 will receive email 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 faxed registrations will be confirmed by email **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 22, 2009 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 22, 2009. No refunds are available after July 22, 2009. 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 22, 2009. Registrations are not transferable.

#### **APPA Accredited Training Contact Hours**

All APPA Institute workshops have been approved by the APPA Training Accreditation Committee for 1.5 contact hours.

If you need verification of your attendance at Institute workshops, check the Contact Hour section on the Institute Registration Form. You will receive an attendance verification form and specific instructions at registration. Please note only paid Institue registrants are eligible to receive the Certificate of Verification. A \$10 processing fee will apply.

#### Why are contact hours valuable?

- Ensures workshop training/learning objectives
- Provides official verification of attendance at Institute workshops
- Meets professional licensing requirements

#### **Important Dates to Remember**

July 22 Last day to take advantage of early

registration rates.

July 22 Deadline for early registration refund.

**August 23** Institute activities begin.

#### **Directory**

**Institute Registration** (859) 244-8204 **Resource Expo** (859) 244-8205 **Hilton Anaheim - direct** (714) 750-4321

**Sightseeing Information** www.anaheim411.com **APPA Website** www.appa-net.org

Perspectives Summer 2009



Registration Form

APPA 34th Annual Training Institute August 23-26, 2009 Anaheim, CA

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

Mail this form to:

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APPA Institute

Please use a photocopy of this form for each registrant. Please print clearly.  First Name: Last Name:			P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40578  or Fax to:	
Address:	itian shauld he sent)		or register online	at www.appa-net.org
City: St	rate:	Zip:	To better plan Insti	tute workshops and ac
Phone:	Fax:		tivities, please suppinformation.	ly us with the followin
Agency/Organization:			Length of Experience	e in Corrections
☐ Check if same address as above			☐ Less than 2 years	☐ 16-20 years
Agency/Organization Address:			☐ 2-5 years ☐ 6-10 years	☐ 21-25 years ☐ More than 26 years
Agency/Organization City:	State:Zip:		☐ 11-15 years	
Agency/Organization Phone:	Fax:		Gender	
Agency/Organization Email:			☐ Male	☐ Female
APPA Membership	\$50 \$50	\$	Race/Ethnicity	
One year of individual membership.	☐ New Member ☐ Renewal	61-16-00-1000-4020	☐ African American☐ Caucasian	☐ Native American ☐ Asian ☐ Other
Includes general sessions, exhibit receptions and workshops. (All fees are per person.)	On or Before After July 22 July 22		Hispanic Highest Level of Edu	
Member of APPA  To qualify for this rate you must be a member of (please mark those that you hold current member  ☐ APPA Member - Please indicate your m  ☐ Individual member ☐ Agency m	\$325 \$385 one of the following rship in) embership category and your members	\$	☐ Graduate Equivale ☐ High School Dipl ☐ Associate's Degree ☐ Bachelor's Degree ☐ Master's Degree ☐ Doctorate	ency Diploma(GED) oma e
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Non-member If you are not a member of APPA, you are require	Turban (non over 50 000)			
Single Day Registration Single Day Registration ends July 22. Single da hall entrance for the entire day.  Specify Day:  Monday, Au		\$orkshops, luncheon and exhibit	Job Jurisdiction     Federal     State     County     City	
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Intensive Sessions Available only to registrants of Institute. Attendates Specify Intensive Session #	\$35 \$35 ance at intensive sessions only is not per	\$	☐ Academic Institution ☐ Province ☐ Nonprofit organization ☐ Other	
Family Registration This rate is available to immediate family membe sessions, exhibit receptions and workshops. Lunc Specify Family member's name	heon is not included.	\$  1. Allows entry into general	Primary Work Area  Juvenile Probation  Adult Probation  Adult Probation  Adult Parole  Juvenile Probation	& Parole
Luncheon Ticket (August 25) One luncheon ticket is included in full registratio	= :		☐ Juvenile Parole/Al ☐ Residential ☐ Non - Residential	
	Grand Total Enclo	osed \$	☐ Treatment Provide☐ Academia☐ Other	
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## Technology Update

by George Drake

#### The Truth about Offender Tracking with GPS

GPS tracking technology has transformed the way offenders are supervised in the community however there are some common misunderstandings about this technology. These misunderstandings can lead to unrealistic expectations. Do you know what this technology can do for you? Do you know its limitations?

#### Phenomenal Growth

In 1997, GPS tracking of offenders was introduced by a small company that offered bulky devices that were carried in

cumbersome backpacks. This unrefined technology was first met with skepticism and the concept was slow to catch on. However, with prison overcrowding plaguing most criminal justice agencies and a public demand for more accountability of the offenders in the community, the idea was given a closer look. In the last few years, tracking offenders with GPS has increased at a dramatic rate. The use of tracking devices to monitor the movements of criminal offenders is gaining momentum in nearly every state. In fact, the

concept has great appeal with judicial and correctional programs around the globe.

#### **Unrealistic Expectations**

A number of new manufacturers of this equipment have entered the marketplace and the competition to secure a share of this lucrative emerging market is intensifying. In such a competitive environment, overstatements regarding the performance and affordability of the technology can occur. A few common misconceptions are:

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- Effective Intervention Strategies
- Evidence-Based Practices
- Strategies for Reducing Offender Risk Factors
- Special Populations (Sex Offenders, Substance Abusers)
- Classification Systems

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## GPS can track offenders 24 hours a day.

**FALSE.** GPS was designed by the Department of Defense primarily as an outdoor navigational system. People spend most of their time indoors, often out of range of the weak GPS signals and their whereabouts often cannot be established.

### GPS can track offenders everywhere in real time.

*FALSE*. Many rural parts of the country still have little or no cellular phone service. Even though the tracking device can obtain GPS data from the satellites, there must be reliable cellular coverage to communicate that information to a monitoring station.

## GPS tracking devices are tamperproof.

FALSE. Professionals who evaluate equipment on the market have successfully circumvented every device ever manufactured. For the most part, these circumvention techniques are still not widely known. However, there are many well-documented cases where offenders have exploited the vulnerabilities of devices.

## GPS tracking will stop all crimes from occurring.

*FALSE*. Although it is true that the location information collected can help link an offender to a crime scene that may help a prosecutor, no system can prevent any criminal act from occurring. Even if an agency has an area designated as an exclusion zone, a motivated offender can violate that restricted area and commit a serious crime long before an agency has time to respond.

## Officials monitor every move an offender makes.

**FALSE.** Officers are not stationed at computers and watch the live movements

of offenders. Instead, the tracking software records the movements of an offender and compares those movements with the schedules and restrictions that have been created for that individual. Any variations to the schedule or any zone violations are reported to the supervising agency. This is an "exception-based" approach to offender monitoring, which is a very valuable tool, but differs from common public perceptions.

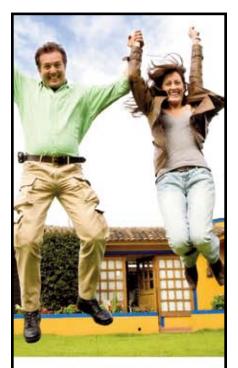
## A GPS tracking system will save money.

NOT ALWAYS: Agencies are often told to compare the cost of incarceration with the daily lease rate of the tracking equipment. This creates a false perception that the difference is savings realized by an agency. What is often overlooked or underestimated are the operating costs associated with the program. Many programs experience significant increases in their personnel, overtime, training and supplies costs that were unexpected. These overhead costs are typically three to four times the cost of equipment. By failing to plan for these expenses, offender tracking programs can become critically underfunded.

#### GPS is a valuable tool.

TRUE: Offender tracking technology is a valuable tool for supervising appropriate offenders. It can offer relief to overcrowded jails, hold offenders accountable to a schedule and even serve to deter offenders from committing new offenses. However, the capabilities of the technology are often misunderstood, resulting in unrealistic expectations and disappointment when those expectations are not met. All stakeholders should understand the capabilities and limitations of the technology before implementing a program in their community. ▷▷▲

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



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## Research Update

by David R. Karp and Jessie Rouder

#### Recent Research on Proactive Community Supervision

"No Illusions: Offender and Organizational Change in Maryland's Proactive Community Supervision Efforts"
Faye S. Taxman
Criminology & Public Policy 2008.
7: 275-302.

Due to rearrests and technical violations, only 59 percent of all probationers and 43 percent of all parolees successfully completed their supervision terms in 2005. This research update focuses on a project to improve success rates by offering an evidence-based behavioral management program called Proactive Community Supervision (PCS). In an evaluation of a PCS implementation in Maryland, George Mason University criminology professor Faye Taxman concluded that offenders were less likely to receive technical violations and to be rearrested.

Taxman writes that the PCS model includes four major components (p. 276):

- Use valid assessment tools to identify criminogenic risks and needs;
- Develop case plans that are responsive to the criminogenic needs of high- and moderate-risk offenders;
- Provide appropriate services and controls, and ensure that the programs and services use social learning or cognitive-behavioral interventions; and
- Provide an environment where the offender can learn prosocial behaviors and successfully complete supervision.

The core of the PCS model is based on a risk-needs-responsivity (RNR) approach to treatment. First, *risk* refers to the proto-

col for assessing an offender's likelihood of reoffending based on "static" factors such as age of offender and number of prior arrests and dynamic factors. Second, need is distinguished from risk by identifying factors that can be changed (unlike age or prior history). Need includes "dynamic" factors such as active substance abuse, antisocial peers and criminal thinking. Finally, responsivity refers to interventions that take into account risk and need, as well as where the offender is in the change process and prior intervention experiences. Such assessment is a crucial part of the treatment plan; Taxman points to a study that found correct placement of offenders in high risk program decreased their recidivism by 30 percent, but when low-risk offenders were incorrectly placed in the program, their rate of recidivism actually increased by 29 percent. With regard to responsivity, the goal of the PCS model is to carefully assess and then develop the most appropriate case plan.

In addition to the RNR approach, the PCS model emphasizes positive offenderagent relationships using motivational interviewing and other strategies to elicit offender buy-in and commitment to change. As Taxman writes, "on the surface, this model may not seem to be that different than prior case management strategies, but the emphasis on offender engagement to achieve ownership is a major deviation from the typical process" (p.284).

The study was conducted in four sites in Maryland that offered demographic variation. All of the offenders that participated in the study were considered moderate to high risk offenders and had started their supervision in 2004 with at least six months on supervision. The sample

was divided into two groups: those that received the PCS intervention and those that did not; each group consisted of 274 offenders that had been convicted of violent and property offenses, drug distribution, drug possession, domestic violence, DUI, and technical violations.

As with any intervention, two key questions must be asked. First, has the model been effectively implemented? In this case, did the sites deliver the PCS model as designed? Second, was the model effective? Does PCS lower reoffending? We can answer the second question only if the program was implemented as planned. It appears that implementation was sufficiently on track for Taxman to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the PCS model. However, she notes that only 70 percent of the offenders targeted for PCS actually received its core components, such as the risk and need assessment. She also noted that the officers needed to refer offenders to external agencies for various interventions, and that some services, like drug treatment, had long waiting lists preventing many offenders from participating despite their identified need.

Despite these problems, several findings suggest that PCS is an effective model. Most important, offenders who were supervised with PCS were 42 percent less likely to be rearrested (rearrest rates were 30 percent for the PCS and 42 percent for the non-PCS samples). Second, and perhaps this is more telling, technical violations were reduced by 20 percent even though offenders had more contacts with officers over a longer period of time and that PCS offenders were assigned more conditions in their case plans. This finding is important because it demonstrates that



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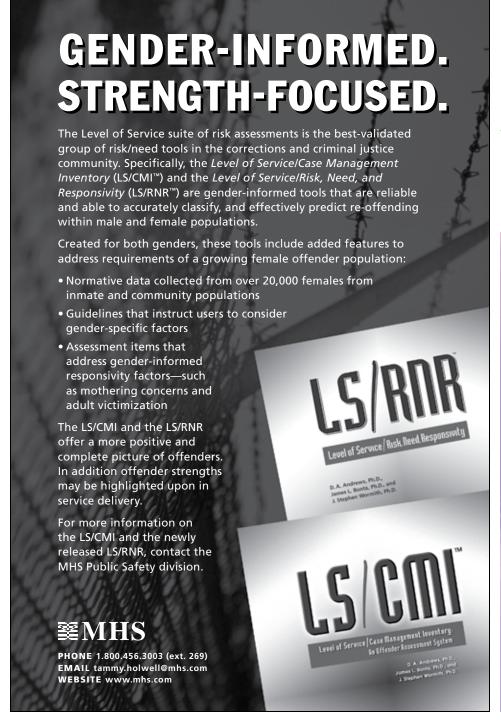
when conditions are carefully targeted to offenders' risk and needs, it is possible to increase their number without increasing the numbers of violations.

In many ways, the PCS model is a blend of supervision strategies from several eras in community corrections history. Like community corrections prior

to the 1970s, an era when caseloads were much smaller, the model uses social work strategies with officers referring to community resources rather than providing direct services. When caseloads exploded in the 1970s, and the era of "get tough" began, community supervision shifted towards enforcement, and focused on drug

testing, electronic monitoring, intensive supervision programs, house arrests, curfews and boot camps. The PCS model retains this period's emphasis on frequent contact and offender accountability, but does so in the context of offender positive reinforcement and motivational support. And consistent with the 1990s' emphasis on correctional treatment, this model emphasizes evidence-based treatment (assuming availability). The challenge for community supervision is to balance the demands of offenders and communities while implementing well-conceived interventions that are routinely evaluated and revised. ▷▷▲

David R. Karp is Associate Professor of Sociology and Interim Associate Dean of Student Affairs at Skidmore College in Saratoga Springs, New York. Jessie Rouder is a sociology major at Skidmore College.



## PROBATION, PAROLE AND COMMUNITY SUPERVISION

See the Resource Kit for the Week at this page of the APPA website: www.appa-net.org/ eweb/Resources/PPCSW/ The Resource Kit contains banners, bookmarks, brochures, a PowerPoint presentation for download as well as many ideas on how to make this a special week for your agency!

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#### Stay current and connected with the following resources available to APPA members:

- Perspectives APPA's quarterly journal filled with timely articles, upcoming events and training, job opportunities and current news.
- APPA Training Institutes participate in a variety of workshops, special sessions, resource exposition and networking opportunities with your peers. Members receive substantial registration discounts.
- Professional Development Training save staff time and money when you select training suited to your agencys needs and delivered directly to you.
- Information Clearinghouse free access for members to find answers to "who, why and where" in community corrections.
- CC Headlines & More receive a free semi-monthly electronic newsletter containing the latest news, training events, job postings and more.

#### Your Intangible Benefits

APPA members most often refer to the intangible benefits they receive from their membership when asked what they value most about being a member. Personal and professional relationships are built through connections made with your colleagues as you gain access to your peers on a national level. APPA staff and leadership diligently serve on numerous policy committees and advisory groups that advocate or influence community corrections on a local, state and national level. Members stay connected on the issues facing the community corrections profession and gain increased credibility among peers and the public.

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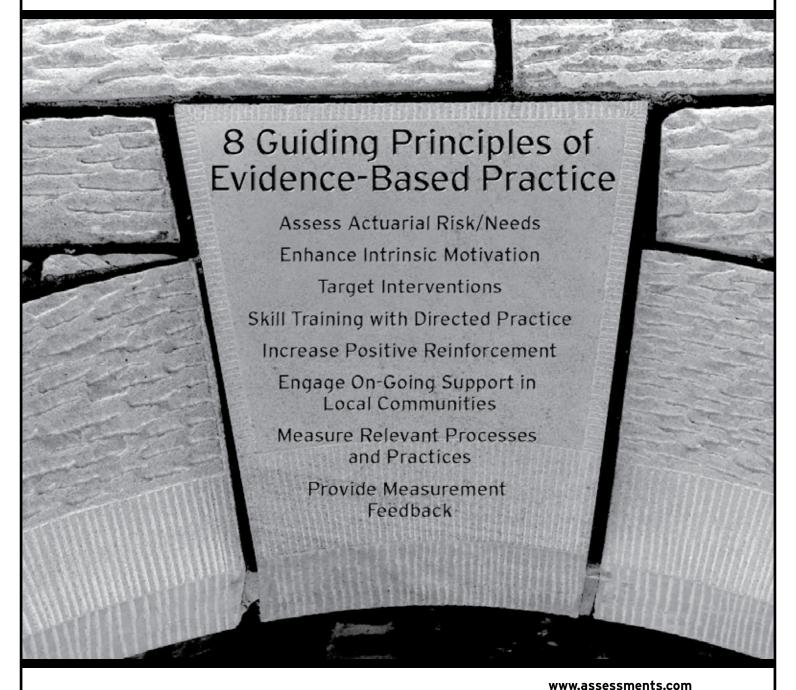
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States face the worst fiscal crisis in a generation. Shrinking budgets are forcing governors and legislators to examine all areas of public spending for possible savings, even those that have been off limits.

Corrections is a prime target for cuts. Last year it was the fastest expanding major segment of state budgets, and over the past two decades, its growth as a share of state expenditures has been second only to Medicaid. State corrections costs now top \$50 billion annually and consume one in every 15 discretionary dollars.

The remarkable rise in corrections spending wasn't fate or even the natural consequence of spikes in crime. It was the result of state policy choices that sent more people to prison and kept them there longer. The sentencing and release laws passed in the 1980s and 1990s put so many more people behind bars that last year the incarcerated population reached 2.3 million and, for the first time, one in 100 adults was in prison or jail.

The escalation of the prison population has been astonishing, but it hasn't been the largest area of growth in the criminal justice system. That would be probation and parole—the sentenced offenders who are not behind bars.

With far less notice, the number of people on probation or parole has skyrocketed to more than 5 million, up from 1.6 million just 25 years ago. This means that 1 in 45 adults in the United States is now under criminal justice supervision in the community, and that combined with those in prison and jail, a stunning 1 in every 31 adults, or 3.2 percent, is under some form of correctional control. The rates are drastically elevated for men (1 in 18) and blacks (1 in 11) and are even higher in some high-crime inner-city neighborhoods.

#### **Community Corrections: Big Promise, Little Support**

Probation and parole, the dominant community corrections programs, have had larger population growth than prisons but far smaller budget growth. Looking at a handful of states that were able to provide long-term spending figures, seven times as many new dollars went to prisons as went to probation and parole. And while fewer than one out of three offenders is behind bars, almost nine out of 10 corrections dollars are spent on prisons.

Incarceration understandably costs more. Prisons must house, feed and provide medical care to the most dangerous offenders. But the price gap is nevertheless staggering: on average, the daily cost of supervising a probationer in fiscal 2008 was \$3.42; the average daily cost of a prison inmate, \$78.95, is more than 20 times as high.

Community corrections agencies have been further strained by a host of added responsibilities. On top of crushing caseloads, new laws, such as statutes mandating lifetime supervision of some offenders, and expanded roles like sophisticated cybercrime detection, have created new obligations for departments already stretched thin. The expanded duties are a partial recognition of the role that community corrections plays in protecting public safety, but they have come without sufficient investments in staff, equipment and other support.

Despite the meager funding and ballooning workload, there have been significant advances in community supervision. Sophisticated risk assessment tools now help determine which offenders require the most supervision and what sort of monitoring and services they need. Global positioning systems, rapid-result drug tests

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Last year, the Pew Center on the States reported that for the first time, more than 1 in every 100 adults in the United States was confined behind bars. That sobering news came as a shock for many Americans and sparked discussions about incarceration and its fiscal and social costs in the media, at universities, in statehouses, and around dinner tables.

and other technology can track offenders' whereabouts and behavior. Offender supervision, treatment and re-entry programs are incorporating solid research on how to cut recidivism. Performance incentives are increasingly available for both offenders and agencies, and managers are doing a better job tracking new arrests, collection of victim restitution and other key outcomes.

Taken together and implemented well, these approaches can produce double-digit reductions in recidivism and save states money along the way. If policy makers want these results, though, they will have to invest in the overburdened system of community corrections.

#### **Opportunity in Crisis**

After an extraordinary, quarter-century expansion of American prisons, one unmistakable policy truth has emerged: We cannot build our way to public safety.

Serious, chronic and violent offenders belong behind bars, for a long time, and the expense of locking them up is justified many times over. But for hundreds of thousands of lower-level inmates, incarceration costs taxpayers far more than it saves in prevented crime. And new national and state research shows that we are well past the point of diminishing returns, where more imprisonment will prevent less and less crime.

With the costs of imprisonment rising and the benefits falling, our ability to keep communities safe depends more than ever upon our ability to better manage the 5 million offenders on probation and parole.

The current budget crisis presents states with an important, perhaps unprecedented opportunity to do so. Rather than trying to weather the economic storm with short-term cost saving measures, policy leaders should see this as a chance to retool their sentencing and corrections systems. If we had stronger community corrections, we wouldn't need to lock up so many people at such a great cost. By redirecting a portion of the dollars currently spent on imprisoning the lowest-risk inmates, we could significantly increase the intensity and quality of supervision and services directed at the same type of offenders in the community.

This is not a call to slash funding for prison operations. Though efficiencies undoubtedly can be wrung from prisons<sup>1</sup>—like any other government agency—they must be safe and secure and adequately staffed and equipped. Savings significant enough to truly bolster community supervision can come only from reductions of the inmate population large enough to warrant the closure of entire cellblocks or institutions.

This reinvestment strategy wouldn't put a stop to all new crimes. But it would significantly cut recidivism—both for offenders coming out of prison and those diverted from prison in the first place—and do it at a fraction of the cost of a prison bed.

A number of states are seizing the moment, rethinking old policies and reallocating some correctional dollars. Texas and Kansas are off to a strong start, providing community corrections agencies with more resources and authority, but also giving them incentives and holding them accountable for results. States such as Arizona, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Vermont are now following with innovations of their own.

The bipartisan leadership in these states and the advances in correctional practice deserve more than a passing glance, especially in a fiscal crisis that demands more than ever that taxpayer dollars be wisely spent. Armed with the conviction that our current crime and punishment policies are not delivering satisfactory results, policy makers have a chance to both balance their budgets and deliver better public safety.

### AMERICA'S SURGING CORRECTIONAL POPULATION

Last year, the Pew Center on the States reported that for the first time, more than 1 in every 100 adults in the United States was confined behind bars. That sobering news came as a shock for many Americans and sparked discussions about incarceration and its fiscal and social costs in the media, at universities, in statehouses, and around dinner tables.

For policy makers, the 1 in 100 milestone was a reminder that state policy choices have driven the rise in prison populations. The explosive prison growth of the past 30 years didn't happen by accident, and it wasn't driven primarily by crime rates or broad social and economic forces beyond the reach of state government. It was the direct result of sentencing, release and other correctional policies that determine who goes to prison and how long they stay.<sup>2</sup>

### **Community Corrections: Population Growth Exceeds Prisons**

While the 1 in 100 statistic has seeped into the national consciousness, many Americans remain unaware that a much larger number of offenders are not behind bars at all but receive their punishment in the community. The raw numbers illustrate this story in dramatic fashion. During the past quarter-century, the number of prison and jail inmates has grown by 274 percent. The additional 1,680,661 inmates brought the total population in custody to 2.3 million. During the same period, the number under community supervision grew by a staggering 3,535,660 to a total of 5.1 million. Though the percentage increase of those under community supervision was not as large as the growth of those in custody, the absolute number of probationers and parolees grew by more than twice as much.

In 1982, 72 percent of offenders were managed in the community, with about 28 percent behind bars. At the end of 2007, the most recent year for which figures are available, 31 percent were locked up and 69 percent were on probation or parole. So over the past quarter century, the nation has put 1.6 million more people behind bars, yet prisons and jails still hold roughly the same proportion of offenders and criminal suspects.

Adding up all probationers and parolees, prisoners and jail inmates, you'll find America now has more than 7.3 million adults under some form of correctional control. That whopping figure is more than the populations of Chicago, Philadelphia, San Diego and Dallas put together and larger than the populations of 38 states and the District of Columbia.<sup>3</sup> During Ronald

Reagan's first term as president, 1 in every 77 adults was under the control of the correctional system in the United States. Now, 25 years later, it is 1 in 31, or 3.2 percent of all adults.<sup>4</sup>

#### Who's Under Supervision?

Looking at the numbers through the lenses of race and gender reveals stark differences. Black adults are four times as likely as whites and nearly 2.5 times as likely as Hispanics to be under correctional control. One in 11 black adults—9.2 percent—was under correctional supervision at year end 2007. And although the number of female offenders continues to grow, men of all races are under correctional control at a rate five times that of women.<sup>5</sup>

Geography adds another revealing facet to the picture. In Georgia, 1 in 13 adults is under the correctional system's authority, but in New Hampshire, the figure is just 1 in 88. While Southern states maintain the nation's highest incarceration rates, the addition of probationers and parolees to the mixture casts a spotlight on states that supervise massive numbers of people in the community. The 10 states with the largest number of people in the corrections system include those with reputations for toughness, like Texas and Louisiana, but also Idaho, Ohio and Massachusetts. Similarly, the 10 states with the lowest correctional control rates include rural and northeastern states like Iowa and Maine, but also states with large urban populations, such as New York, and with long sentences for violent offenders like Virginia.

## PRISONS: 32% OF THE GROWTH, 88% OF THE COST

State correctional budgets spiked along with their offender populations in recent years. In FY 2008, states are estimated to have spent more than \$47 billion of general funds on corrections, a 20-year jump of 303 percent.<sup>6</sup> Add in another \$4 billion in state special funds and bonds, and about \$900 million from the federal government, and total state spending for corrections is estimated to top \$52 billion.<sup>7</sup>

This growth rate outpaced budget increases for nearly all other essential government services tracked over the same period, from elementary and secondary education (205 percent) to transportation (82 percent), higher education (125 percent) and public assistance (9 percent). Only Medicaid spending grew faster than spending on corrections, increasing 492 percent in the last two decades.<sup>8</sup> As a share of total state general fund spending, corrections has grown from 5.2 percent in 1988 to 6.9 percent today.<sup>9</sup> For all levels of government, total corrections



spending has reached an estimated \$68 billion, an increase of 336 percent since 1986. <sup>10</sup>

To get a better picture of how states have invested their corrections dollars, the Pew Center on the States and several partners recently completed the first national survey of corrections spending by function in the past seven years. <sup>11</sup> Thirty-four states, accounting for 58 percent of total state correctional populations, <sup>12</sup> made complete data available while the others did not. The largest beneficiaries of those mushrooming budgets, by far, have been prisons. For the most part, probation, parole and other programs that manage offenders outside prisons and jails have scrambled for funds needed to keep pace with expanding caseloads of offenders with increasingly complex and demanding problems.

In FY 2008, these 34 states spent \$18.65 billion on prisons but just \$2.52 billion on probation and parole, a ratio of more than seven to one. Viewed over time, the spending gap looks just as substantial. For eight geographically diverse states<sup>13</sup> that were able to provide data for the past 25 years, 88 percent of the increase in corrections spending was directed toward prisons, which now consume nearly nine out of every ten state corrections dollars.

So while the incarcerated population has added only half as many offenders as community supervision over the last quarter century, if the survey states are representative of the nation, prisons have received almost 90 percent of the new funding.

#### **Community Corrections Far Less Expensive**

Society should expect to pay more to punish its most serious and violent offenders by removing them from our communities. Not surprisingly, then, it's more expensive to house and feed an offender in a facility watched around-the-clock by guards than it is to monitor him or her in the community. Prisons and jails also are buildings that need to be cooled, heated and lighted, equipped with security, and continually cleaned and maintained.

The difference in cost between institutional and community corrections, however, is huge. While there is wide variance among states, in 2008 prisons cost our 33 surveyed states an average of about \$79 per inmate per day—or almost \$29,000 per year. In contrast, the average daily costs for managing an offender in the community in these states ranged from \$3.42 per day for probationers to \$7.47 per day for parolees or about \$1,250 to \$2,750 a year, respectively.

Another reason community corrections costs less is that offenders are often required to pay a substantial share of the tab. In Colorado, for instance, probationers under the authority of the state pay a \$50 per month supervision fee, and some drug and sex offenders pay a surcharge on top of that. Ninety-four percent of the funding for treatment services provided by the court is covered by these probationer fees as are 5.5 percent of all staffing costs. <sup>14</sup> Additionally, offenders ineligible for probation but diverted from prison to residential community corrections beds paid \$11.75 million toward their own housing, meals and treatment, nearly \$900,000 in child support, and over \$1.2 million in state taxes and over \$3 million in federal taxes in fiscal year 2007. <sup>15</sup>

#### **Probation and Parole Stretched Thin**

Managing offenders in the community, when done well, produces appreciable costs savings and public safety outcomes. However, the funding struggle has stretched probation and parole staffing woefully thin, leading to inflated caseloads with a high ratio of offenders to officers. The average probation officer now has about 100 offenders on his or her caseload; parole tends to be slightly lower, at about 60 offenders per officer. <sup>16</sup> Agencies often put higher risk and high stakes cases on priority caseloads.

That's a logical compromise but one which leaves many other offenders without supervision or services adequate to prevent a relapse into destructive behavior, including committing new crimes.

The low priority of probation and parole has forced officers in some regions to do without important and sometimes basic tools of the trade. In Cook County (Chicago), Illinois, for example, probation officers don't have personal computers to help them perform everyday case work, exchange information with other agencies or investigate criminal histories.<sup>17</sup> By contrast, many parole officers in California have handheld PDAs, a convenience that allows them to access files and accomplish other tasks from the field.<sup>18</sup>

Beyond often lacking the basic resources and technology, community corrections agencies have been assigned a widening array of responsibilities, often without the funds to carry them out. Over the past decade or so, for example, an explosion of well-intentioned laws governing the supervision of sex offenders has created a multitude of new duties or expanded existing ones, for probation and parole departments. The new responsibilities include conducting DNA testing, mental health screening and

risk assessments for sex offenders, as well as continual registration checks of their address and work status. These are vital public safety tasks, but they are too seldom backed up with the resources to conduct them and are further watering down supervision across the board.

To make matters worse, the economic situation this year is forcing states to consider cutting back on what limited resources community corrections agencies do have. In Sacramento County, California, 76 probation officer positions—9 percent of the total force—are on the chopping block. In Washington State, half of all taxpayer-supported drug treatment beds are slated for elimination. And in Florida, the two streams converge as lawmakers consider cutting both \$3 million in drug treatment slots and 66 probation officer positions. Across the nation, tight budgets are jeopardizing the basics of community supervision: caseloads, services and day-to-day resources.

Without adequate resources and authority, community supervision agencies are hard-pressed to fulfill their traditional case management workloads, let alone adequately handle their new responsibilities. The huge increase in corrections spending has favored prisons over probation and parole by nearly nine to one. Supervising 1 in 45 adults and holding them accountable to victims will require that funding gap to narrow. The sheer scale of community supervision obliges policy makers to recognize the major role of probation and parole agencies in helping states protect public safety and control public spending.

### MORE PRISON SPENDING BRINGS LOWER PUBLIC SAFETY RETURNS

States are facing their worst fiscal crisis in years. With revenues down and public needs rising, policy makers are confronting wrenching budget decisions. Reluctant to raise taxes—at any time but especially when their constituents are financially stressed—lawmakers across the country are locked in bitter battles over where to cut spending and by how much.

All told, analysts forecast a \$312 billion hole in state budgets over the next two years. <sup>19</sup> This fiscal year alone, 42 states and the District of Columbia are grappling with a combined \$46 billion deficit. <sup>20</sup> In response, officials are scavenging for dollars wherever they can, cutting back on everything from government basics—such as how often the grass gets mowed outside the state capitol—to education and services for persons with disabilities and mental illness.

Tennessee Governor Phil Bredesen has told state department

chiefs to prepare for a budget deficit that could hit \$1 billion and has warned that cuts to higher education and health care are on the table. Virginia, meanwhile, already has reduced spending by \$2 billion and is preparing for another round of cuts, including a possible \$400 million reduction in Medicaid. Out West in Washington, state lawmakers are scrambling to plug a \$500 million hole in the current budget and cope with a projected deficit of more than \$5 billion for the next two-year budget cycle. "It will be heartbreaking. We don't have any money. We simply don't have any money," said Representative Maralyn Chase, a Democrat from Shoreline.<sup>21</sup>

Against this grim backdrop, prison spending is deservedly receiving new scrutiny. The central questions: What has our massive investment bought us? How can we curb and reallocate corrections spending in ways that protect public safety and produce better results for taxpayers, offenders and society at large? These are challenging questions, but they do have answers.

#### The Myth of the "Average Prisoner"

There is little debate that imprisonment has protected communities from many of the most violent and menacing criminals, and that some offenders should be locked up purely for the sake of punishment. But in casting a wider net for criminals, prisons have snagged many smaller fish. A growing body of research is showing the limits of incarceration as a sanction for these lower level and less frequent lawbreakers, both in terms of its cost-effectiveness and its impact on crime.

To understand this, it's important to remember that all offenders aren't the same. They present different threats to public safety and thus their incarceration pays vastly different dividends. Criminologists long ago demonstrated that imprisonment of the average offender serves to avert many crimes that would otherwise carry considerable public cost. But more recent and refined research reveals that measuring the impacts of the average prisoner hides as much as it reveals because offenders—and their crime-related impacts—vary so dramatically.

One such study, published by the Manhattan Institute, ranked all male inmates entering the Arizona prison system in terms of the harm they created in the year before incarceration. Those at the 80th percentile of harm, the research showed, created almost \$220,000 in social costs. But those at the 50th percentile—the median—inflicted \$25,500 in social costs, while those at the 20th percentile were responsible for just \$3,950 in



social costs.<sup>22</sup> The authors concluded that for Arizona and the two other states they analyzed, New York and New Mexico, incarceration for half of all entering prisoners would cost taxpayers more than it was worth, in terms of crimes avoided.<sup>23</sup>

#### The Declining Impact of Incarceration on Crime

Aside from evidence that incarceration doesn't "pay" for all *current* prisoners, there are separate reasons to question its value as a broadly applied correctional tool for the *future*. One is what economists call the law of diminishing returns.

Here, diminishing returns means that the larger the group of offenders scooped up by prisons, the lower the payoff for states in terms of crime reduction.<sup>24</sup> It certainly pays to remove the most prolific offenders from the streets. But once they are locked up, more incarceration grabs the second and third and tenth tier offenders who are less likely to commit as many crimes. So gradually, the crime-prevention payoff declines. Diminishing doesn't necessarily mean no returns at all, but it does mean that each additional prison cell provides less public safety benefit.

Many states appear to have reached a "tipping point" where additional incarceration will have little if any effect on crime. Washington State, for example, found that the number of crimes committed by its average prisoner dropped from 62 in 1980 to 37 in 1990 and 18 by 2001. Each in 1980, state researchers found, each prison bed represented a positive benefit-to-cost ratio. But during the 1990s and the first part of this decade, prison expansion captured less and less harmful offenders, leading to a dilution of impact. Put simply, after 20 years, locking up more drug and property offenders in Washington began to cost more than it was worth.

Researchers have conducted similar analyses in other states, such as North Carolina<sup>27</sup> and Oregon,<sup>28</sup> and reached conclusions of similarly diminishing returns. Indeed, in Washington, from 1980 to 2001, the benefit-to-cost ratio for drug offenders plummeted from \$9.22 to \$0.37. That is, for every one dollar invested in new prison beds for drug offenders, state taxpayers get only 37 cents in averted crime.<sup>29</sup> An updated analysis from 2006 found that incarceration of offenders convicted of violent offenses remained a positive net benefit, while property and drug offenders offered negative returns.<sup>30</sup>

More recently, scholars have explored the tipping point concept in incarceration on a 50-state basis. A 2006 study suggests that, after exceeding a threshold in the range of 325 to 430 inmates per 100,000 residents, incarceration fails to reduce crime—and may even increase it.<sup>31</sup> Imprisonment was more useful, the authors argue, when state incarceration rates hovered

around 111 per 100,000 in the 1970s or around 207 per 100,000 in the 1980s, than when they accelerated to 397 per 100,000 in the 1990s.<sup>32</sup> Today, of course, the national rate of imprisonment is significantly higher—506 per 100,000.<sup>33</sup>

#### **Three Strikes for Incarceration**

The potency of incarceration is further diminished by three other forces, researchers have found. The first, sometimes referred to as the "replacement effect," applies largely to crimes that occur as part of a market, such as fencing stolen property or, most notably, drug transactions. Once incarcerated, drug dealers tend to be quickly replaced by new dealers and, as during the crack epidemic, the new recruits can be younger and more prone to violence than their predecessors. <sup>34</sup> Thus while drug dealers no doubt deserve punishment, most leading researchers, and many law enforcement officials, now agree that incarcerating the foot soldiers in drug gangs, not to mention drug users, has a negligible impact on crime. <sup>35</sup> Moreover, by creating job openings in drug-dealing organizations, it draws more people into criminal lifestyles and may in certain cases exacerbate crime. <sup>36</sup>

Secondly, statistics have long shown that crime is an occupation of the young, so imprisoning offenders beyond the age at which they would have likely given up their criminal ways brings little benefit—but big expenses. As James Q. Wilson, the noted political scientist at Pepperdine University, has written, "Some thugs may mug and murder until the day they die, but they are the exception. Age slows us all down, mugger and victim alike."<sup>37</sup>

The graying of the nation's prisons suggests that policy makers have not paid much heed to this well-established criminological fact. Rather, many have embraced longer sentences through broadly defined "three strikes" statutes and parole policies that are hiking up the average age of inmates—and the costs to states of treating their more serious medical conditions.

Consider California. Between 1980 and 2007, the average age of California inmates increased from 27 to 37. In 2008, the Golden State's prisons held more than 22,000 offenders over age 50, representing about 13 percent of all adult inmates. That's more than twice the proportion of over-50 convicts in California prisons just a decade earlier.<sup>38</sup>

Finally, research has shed important new light on the impact of one of incarceration's most fundamental selling points: deterrence. Today, it is widely agreed that deterrence is more a function of a sanction's certainty and swiftness than its severity. This means that the 36th month of a 3-year prison term costs taxpayers just as much as the first month, but its value as a

deterrent is far less. Unfortunately, the corrections system has put more and more of its eggs into the severity basket, spending billions to extend prison terms—for property and drug offenders as well as violent and sex offenders—but doing little to raise the chances that criminals and supervision violators are caught and brought quickly to justice.

#### **Prisons Reconsidered**

This is not to say that prisons haven't reduced crime. One widely respected expert, William Spelman of the University of Texas, concluded that prison growth over the 25-year period ending in 1997 reduced the violent crime rate by roughly 35 percent.<sup>39</sup> Imprisonment, he asserted further, was responsible for about one-quarter of the significant drop in violent crime during the 1990s.<sup>40</sup> More recently, however, another expert, Bruce Western of Harvard University, estimated that only 10 percent of that decade's decline in crime was due to increased incarceration.<sup>41</sup>

The disparities underscore the fact that estimates by researchers in this field vary wildly and are highly sensitive to statistical techniques and modeling assumptions. 42 Whatever level of crime reduction was achieved is worth applauding. What cannot be overlooked, however, is that even the statistical models most generous to prisons find that most of the crime drop was attributable to forces other than incarceration. These include a strengthening economy, aging drug epidemics and changes in law enforcement, including the expansion of police forces and the adoption of new policing strategies. 43

The questionable value of prisons as a deterrent, combined with other factors that reduce incarceration's effectiveness and overshadowed by a constellation of factors that drive and suppress crime rates, add up to an often overlooked truth: states can carefully reduce incarceration and still protect—and even improve—public safety.

New York has demonstrated this point in dramatic terms. Between 1997 and 2007, New York experienced both the greatest *decrease* in violent crime and, simultaneously, the greatest *decrease* in prison population and incarceration rate of any state in the country. During that decade, the national prison population grew by more than 350,000 inmates, a 28 percent jump that corresponded to a 14 percent increase in the national incarceration rate. Over the same time period, New York's prison population declined by almost 6,500 inmates, a 9.4 percent dip that amounted to a 15 percent drop in the incarceration rate. <sup>44</sup> To the surprise of many at the time, New York's violent crime rate fell a remarkable 40 percent during the decade, while the national violent crime rate dropped by a much smaller measure, 24 percent. In terms of crime and prison contraction, New York led all regions of the country and every individual state. <sup>45</sup>

### COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS: A STRATEGY FOR SAFETY AND SAVINGS

Building more prisons is not a cost-effective path to greater public safety. But even if states wanted to add new cells, they will be hard-pressed over the next few budget cycles to find the money to build them.

Policy makers must confront the reality that, for the foreseeable future, roughly seven out of every ten offenders will continue to serve all or part of their sentences in the community. Ensuring public safety and balancing a budget, then, require states to strengthen badly neglected community corrections systems, so they can become credible options for more of the lowest risk offenders who otherwise would be in prison. This means states

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must take a harder look at which offenders should be locked up and which can be managed effectively in the community. It means they must give community corrections agencies the tools and incentives they need to do their jobs effectively and hold them accountable for implementing the supervision strategies that reflect the wisdom gathered through a quarter-century of research on recidivism reduction.

Some states, such as Kansas, Texas and Arizona, are already well underway. To help spread news of their good work and share other useful approaches, the Pew Center on the States in 2008 brought together leading policy makers, correctional practitioners and researchers to identify ways to help corrections agencies adopt the most effective research-based practices. From those discussions came the "Policy Framework to Strengthen Community Corrections." The framework includes measures that provide incentives for offenders to stay crime- and drugfree and fiscal incentives for agencies to improve their success rates—both strategies that can create new resources for community corrections agencies without requiring new appropriations. A detailed menu of policy options, including suggested language for legislation, executive orders or court rules, is available at www.pewcenteronthestates.org/publicsafety.<sup>46</sup>

Since its inception, the guiding philosophy of community corrections has bounced back and forth between law enforcement and social work. The hallmark of the new approaches is that they create a blend of the two strategies that focuses on a primary mission—preventing crime—and that is far more potent than either punishment or treatment by themselves. The key components of this 21st century corrections system are detailed in the pages that follow.

#### 1. Sort Offenders by Risk to Public Safety

A pivotal starting point for community corrections is the ability to sort offenders by risk—that is, to accurately separate those who are more likely to cause great harm from those who may cause relatively little harm. For decades, that sensitive and crucial task was left to the educated hunches of prosecutors, judges and probation or parole officers. Fortunately, a new generation of risk assessment tools can now help officials more accurately predict not only how likely a person is to commit a new offense but also whether that offense will be a violent one.<sup>47</sup>

While risk tools vary in terms of what they evaluate, and how much they cost to administer, they generally rely on a checklist of factors that allow clinicians to establish a risk score for individual offenders. These include "static" factors that don't change, such as an offender's age at the time of first arrest, as well as "dynamic" factors, changeable characteristics such as an offender's living situation or current drug use. The risk score then can be compared with other offenders and used to guide decisions about whether a particular offender should go to prison, what level of community supervision is the best fit, and which interventions will target the attitudes and behaviors that drive that specific offender's criminal activity.

Virginia uses a risk assessment instrument for felony theft, fraud and drug offenders who would otherwise be sent to prison under the state's sentencing guidelines. Defendants whose assessment scores are low, based on elements of the crimes and individual characteristics, are steered away from prison. In 2008, more than 1,400 of these offenders were sentenced to community corrections in lieu of prison. <sup>48</sup> A separate assessment for certain sex offenders is used to find the highest risk cases and double or triple their terms behind bars. <sup>49</sup>

Despite significant advances in risk assessment, the science is still evolving and will always amount to risk management, not risk elimination. Such evaluations are not fool-proof, reflecting instead the best estimate of what a given person will do. But simple logic dictates that aside from locking all offenders behind bars forever, it is impossible to guarantee they will remain crimefree.

#### 2. Base Intervention Programs on Science

Along with establishing a sophisticated system for sorting offenders, states must ensure their community corrections options are rooted in today's robust body of research. While states may take different paths toward this goal, they should always develop and implement policies based on the best available science. Evidence-based programs should identify desired outcomes for offenders and include a means for measuring progress. Moderate and high risk offenders should have an individual case plan based on their risk assessment, and they should be assigned to programs targeting their unique behaviors and needs.

Supervision agencies should concentrate their resources on higher-risk people, times and places. Risk assessment instruments can help identify the individuals who need higher intensity supervision and services. Greater attention also should be paid to offenders who have just been released, the times when research shows they are most likely to fail. Citing a study of over 240,000 offenders released from prison in 13 states, the National Research Council reported that the probability of arrest is twice as high in the first month of supervision as in the 15th month.<sup>50</sup>

Finally, supervision and services should be located in the neighborhoods where offenders live. Too often, monitoring and resources are located far from these high-stakes neighborhoods, impeding both control and rehabilitation.

Agencies striving for better performance are delivering frontloaded resources to their riskiest cases in the neighborhoods where the offenders live. When rooted in these and other evidence-based principles, community corrections programs can deliver encouraging results.

The implementation of evidence-based practices results in an average decrease in crime of between 10 percent and 20 percent, whereas programs that are not evidence-based tend to see no decrease and even a slight increase in crime. <sup>51</sup> Interventions that follow all evidence-based practices can achieve recidivism reductions of 30 percent. <sup>52</sup>

In one widely cited 2006 review of more than 550 program evaluations, the Washington State Institute for Public Policy found that a moderate-to-aggressive investment in evidence-based programs would save state taxpayers \$2 billion, avert prison construction and reduce the crime rate.<sup>53</sup> Some states were already believers, like Oregon. In 2003, Oregon's legislature required that by the 2005 biennium, one-quarter of all program funding for youth and adult offenders go to interventions that were evidence-based. By the 2007 biennium, half of those dollars were to be spent on evidence-based programs, and by the 2009 biennium, lawmakers directed that 75 percent of funding be used for interventions that are evidence-based.

#### 3. Harness Technology

One supervision technique that is playing an increasingly important role in many community corrections programs wasn't even around 20 years ago—electronic monitoring. Although conceived as a correctional strategy in the 1960s, electronic monitoring of offenders did not become a reality until the 1980s.<sup>54</sup>

With dramatic advances in technology, affordable electronic monitoring today allows officials to conduct "active" monitoring, in which an offender wears a transmitter, usually in the form of an ankle bracelet, that sends a continuous location tracking signal to a monitoring center. In recent years, such monitoring has evolved to include the use of Global Positioning Satellite technology—first developed by the Department of Defense in the 1970s—to give supervision agents increasingly detailed information about an offender's whereabouts. 55 In certain cases, for instance, a supervisor may be alerted if an offender violates his parole or probation by going to a location where he is prohibited

by his supervision conditions. While an alert may not prevent a crime, the knowledge that law enforcement has such tracking ability can be a deterrent. "We can't be on their doorstep 24/7, but GPS is a way for us to monitor location and compliance of someone in the community," said Chief U.S. Probation Officer Ken Young. "We can, with reasonable certainty, know where someone is or has been." 56

Florida is among those states that have used electronic monitoring extensively and with positive results. In the early 1980s, Florida launched a home confinement program for drug, property and other offenders dubbed "community control." Later that decade, the state began using radio frequency tracking of certain offenders in the program, and by the 1990s, Florida had added GPS monitoring to its list of options for those on community control.

A study of more than 75,000 offenders who passed through the program between 1998 and 2002 found that, after controlling for offender risk, those assigned to either form of electronic monitoring were significantly less likely to reoffend or abscond.<sup>57</sup> On the minus side, overall record of electronic monitoring in reducing recidivism is mixed, and it places significant new demands on supervisory agents. Nevertheless, the tool is becoming more commonly used as an alternative sanction for some offenders and as an adjunct to traditional community supervision practices for others.<sup>58</sup>

Technology also is changing the way in which offenders are monitored for drug and alcohol use. Some agencies subject offenders to random tests for alcohol through breathalyzer equipment in their homes. "Ignition interlocks" installed in a vehicle prevent a person from starting the engine if alcohol is detected in his system. The driver must blow in the device and pass a breath test before the vehicle will start. Other agencies equip offenders with ankle bracelets that can detect the offender's blood alcohol level as ethanol vapor migrates through the skin.

Technology offers policy makers a spectrum of options that are more intense than traditional face-to-face community supervision yet far cheaper than incarceration. Tracking devices and sensors allow probation and parole officers to monitor offenders' whereabouts and behavior in ways that could hardly have been imagined when the prison boom began. But if states are going to make full use of these advances, they must back the technology with adequate resources and policies to respond when offenders are caught breaking the rules.



## 4. Impose Swift and Certain Sanctions for Violations

In building stronger community corrections systems, states should be mindful that punishment imposed on offenders who break the rules of their supervision must be swift, certain and proportionate. If applied in that way, sanctions can stop misbehavior early in the game, thereby reducing the odds that parolees and probationers will commit more serious violations and land in an expensive prison cell.

But making *swift, certain and proportionate* a reality is a challenge in many of today's underfunded, understaffed probation and parole agencies. Officers struggle with high caseloads, a lack of suitable community sanctions, and cumbersome administrative hurdles as they try to hold violators accountable. As a result, they often delay pursuing violations before a court or parole board until an offender has committed a significant number of transgressions, at which point revocation to prison becomes the likely penalty.

To remedy this problem, probation and parole agencies need an array of graduated sanctions, as well as clear authority to impose them. A typical continuum ranges from community service programs on one end to more restrictive options such as day reporting centers and even secure residential treatment facilities on the other. To maximize the certainty and swiftness of the sanctions, states should provide parole and probation agencies the authority to move offenders up and down the ladder of sanction programs—even including short stays in jail—without first requiring a time-consuming trip back to court.

Georgia has taken this very step, through a successful program called Probation Options Management. It allows chief probation officers or hearing officers within the Georgia Department of Corrections to impose administrative sanctions on violators in certain circumstances. An evaluation of the program shows it reduced by 70 percent the average number of days offenders spent in jail awaiting court disposition of their violations cases, <sup>59</sup> saving local jails \$1.1 million. <sup>60</sup> The program also drastically reduced the amount of time probation officers spent waiting in courthouses for violations cases to be heard, thus freeing up hours that could be spent on actual supervision of offenders. <sup>61</sup>

#### 5. Create Incentives for Success

An effective community corrections framework needs three other staples: incentives for offenders to change their behavior,

a payoff for agencies that succeed and a system for measuring their results.

The first of these boils down to a fundamental principle of psychology: When it comes to motivating people to change their behavior, carrots work better than sticks.<sup>62</sup> The prevailing philosophy of many community supervision agencies is the opposite—to try to catch offenders doing something wrong. But many agencies, led by drug courts, are now learning how to use the carrot of positive reinforcement to keep offenders on the straight and narrow.

What kind of carrots? A variety of approaches are now afoot, from graduation ceremonies to gift certificates from local businesses and removal of restrictions such as curfews. Some states are starting to push even further, telling probationers and parolees that they can earn time off their sentences if they comply with all of their terms of supervision.

Carrots can work for correctional managers, too. If community corrections agencies succeed in thinning the throng of offenders sent back to prison for new crimes or rule violations, states reap savings by avoiding prison costs. Those savings should, in turn, be shared with the successful community supervision agencies, which can use these funds to expand their success. This redirection of dollars can allow states to strengthen their overall community corrections product without the need to appropriate new funds.

Among the states that have embraced performance incentives, Arizona is a recent standout. As often happens, Arizona's initiative was sparked by a high crime rate and a prison population explosion that was draining taxpayer dollars. From 1997 to 2007, the state inmate count grew 60 percent, from 23,484 to 37,746, leading to a doubling of the corrections budget.<sup>63</sup> Projections forecast another 50 percent jump in the prison population by 2017, at an estimated cost to state taxpayers of \$2-3 billion.<sup>64</sup> Despite the prison growth, the state still had the highest crime rate in the nation. State Representative Bill Konopnicki, a Republican from Safford who pushed for reforms along with Republican State Senator John Huppenthal of Chandler, painted a gloomy picture of the prospects: "If we decide to do nothing, we are in effect committing an additional one billion dollars in state tax dollars to grow our prison system."65

Instead, Arizona last year adopted the Safe Communities Act (SB 1476), a sweeping bill that creates performance incentives for both offenders and the county-based probation supervision system. One part of the law gives probationers an

incentive to pay court-ordered restitution, complete community service assignments and comply with their other conditions of supervision. For every month that an offender complies with the terms of supervision, the legislation authorizes the courts to reduce the length of probation by up to 20 days. Slip-ups result in a loss of the earned time.

Under a second part of the bill, signed in June by then-Governor Janet Napolitano, counties that reduce recidivism are awarded 40 percent of the money the state saves by not having to house repeat offenders and probation rule violators in its prisons. The refund is then used by counties to improve victims' services and expand access to drug treatment and other recidivism-reducing programs. Projections show that if counties reduce probation revocations by 10 percent, the state could save nearly \$10 million, with 40 percent of that amount returned to the local level.

Faced with a spiking prison population and high rates of failure by community-based offenders, Kansas is another state that has taken performance incentive funding to heart. After recognizing that about two-thirds of all prison admissions were probation and parole rules breakers, and that more than half of the violators needed substance abuse or mental health treatment, Kansas took action. Under SB 14, passed in 2007, the state provides \$4 million annually in performance-based grants to community corrections programs that increase probationer and parolee success rates by 20 percent. The grant money goes hand-in-hand with efforts to train supervision staff in evidence-based practices for effectively managing offenders in the community.<sup>66</sup>

Only a couple of years have passed, but Kansas is already reporting noticeable results. Overall, the state's prison population dropped 3.6 percent between midyear 2007 and year end 2008. A primary contributor to this drop is a 7 percent reduction in FY 2008 of the number of probationers sent to prison for condition violations (the top source of prison admissions in FY 2007). Prison admissions of parolees for rule violations (down 2.2 percent since FY 2003) and new crimes (down 47 percent since FY 2003), as well as parole absconding rates (under 4 percent of the entire caseload), are at or near all-time lows.<sup>67</sup>

Will the gains hold? Budget woes and other forces are putting them to the test. Recently, Kansas legislators adopted sentence enhancements that are fueling projections for a 10 percent growth in the prison population over the next decade. At the same time, budget cuts threaten the very reforms and incentives that served to reduce the inmate population pressure and put Kansas on stable footing.

#### **6. Measure Progress**

Incentives, evidence-based programs and offender sorting all should produce better results—less crime, fewer victims, and more room in state budgets for other pressing priorities. But even the best designed systems must be held accountable through a method for measuring progress. Just as law enforcement has shifted from simply counting arrests to measuring and accepting responsibility for reducing crime, corrections also needs to evaluate outcomes of its work.

An admirable standard for public safety performance measurement was set in the mid-1990s by the New York City Police Department's Compstat program. Short for "compare statistics," Compstat involves the continuous evaluation of agency performance through live, ongoing audits. Information on crimes, arrests and other critical measures is distributed to managers department-wide, and reviewed in weekly sessions where unit commanders are called before their leaders to explain crime trends as well as their strategic and tactical responses. This combination of real-time data and transparent, immediate feedback created incentives to adopt practices that better protect the public. The ultimate payoff: Compstat and better crime analysis helped New York City reduce crime.<sup>68</sup>

Momentum is building to adapt Compstat's core principles—accurate and timely intelligence; deployment of resources where they are most needed; effective tactics; and relentless follow-up and assessment—to the community corrections field. <sup>69</sup> The overall goal is to lower recidivism rates among probationers and parolees, but other key performance measures include employment, substance abuse and payment of victim restitution rates. Another yardstick would track whether supervised offenders are successfully discharged at the end of their supervision term.

Agencies in several states, including Maryland, New York and Georgia, have adopted Compstat-like systems and are beginning to show promising outcomes. The rate at which offenders successfully complete their parole terms in Georgia, for example, has risen by four percentage points under the new approach. It may not sound like much, but each percentage point is estimated to save the state \$6 million to \$7 million in reduced incarceration costs.<sup>70</sup>

#### A RARE MOMENT IN TIME

The revelation last year that 1 in 100 adults is behind bars led to action in some states as political leaders took a fresh look at sentencing and correctional policies with an eye toward better balancing public safety, offender accountability and the realities of tight budgets.



Today, economic crisis is again changing the game. States are in dire fiscal shape, slashing programs and services in ways that will exact a considerable human toll. To balance their budgets, many will have to slow prison growth or even shutter entire institutions. Community corrections programs, already strained from years of neglect, will be asked, once again, to do more with less

But tight budgets can inspire better policy making and a heightened vigilance to ensure every tax dollar delivers maximum value for the public. Such is the case today with respect to the massive, expensive and underperforming correctional system in America.

Research and experience have led practitioners, analysts and policy makers to develop a set of sentencing and correctional principles that meet that challenge. With adequate resources and authority, courts and community corrections professionals can determine which offenders should be in prison and for how long. With new supervision strategies and technologies, the lower-risk offenders can be managed safely and held accountable in the community, at lower cost and with better results than incarceration achieves.

These efforts need to be strengthened, not scaled back. Cutting them may appear to save a few dollars, but it won't. It will fuel the cycle of more crime, more victims, more arrests, more prosecutions and still more imprisonment.

Better performance in community corrections can cut crime and avert the need not only for new prisons but even for some we already have. And the accrued savings, if used to reinforce probation and parole, support early-intervention strategies or shore up the high-stakes neighborhoods where prisoners come from and return to, can generate even further reductions in crime and incarceration.

Some states are putting research into action and carefully modernizing their correctional playbooks. Others should follow suit. Meaningful progress will take time and will require focus and determination from state leaders. But doing nothing is unacceptable. Continuing down the same path is an affront to taxpayers who rightly expect government to learn from its failings and build upon its success.

For the full report and individual state fact sheets, please go to www.pewcenteronthestates.org/report\_detail.aspx?id=49382.

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<sup>3</sup> In descending order of population, the states are WA, AZ, MA, IN, TN, MO, MD, WI, MN, CO, AZ, SC, LA, KY, OR, OK, CT, IA, MS, AR, KS, UT, NV, NM, WV, NE, ID, ME, NH, HI, RI, MT, DE, SD, AK, ND, VT, DC, WY.

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<sup>12</sup> They are AR, AL, AK, CO, DE, GA, ID, IA, KY, LA, ME, MD, MI, MN, MS, MO, MT, NE, NC, ND, NH, NM, NY, OK, OR, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA and WY.

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# Assessing Parole Violations and Revocations in California:

# Finding Strategies for the Future

America must find better ways to manage its prison system. More than one in every 100 adults is currently incarcerated in the United States<sup>1</sup> — or more than 2.3 million people. Imprisoning large numbers of inmates can be expensive. States spent \$44 billion in tax dollars on corrections in 2007.<sup>2</sup>

California currently has the largest corrections system in the country, holding one State prisoner for every seven in the United States, or 173,217 prisoners.<sup>3</sup> Although State mandated release policies ensure that most offenders are automatically released on parole, about two-thirds of these parolees are returned to prison within three years (compared to 40 percent returns in the rest of the United States).<sup>4</sup>

To better understand parole violations and revocations in California, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) funded our three-year study at the University of California-Davis and University of California-Irvine—the largest and most rigorous study of its kind ever conducted. We worked to assess which offenders committed violations; what types of violations they committed; how parole was revoked; and what types of case, individual, organizational and community factors affected violations, decisions to prosecute and returns to prison.





#### Background

Rates of incarceration are increasing in the United States. One in 100 adults are incarcerated and these rates are higher in certain populations. One in nine black men between the ages of 20 and 34 is serving time, as is one in 36 Hispanic men. U.S. prison populations have grown dramatically over the past 15 years and this country now has the most inmates of any industrialized country.<sup>5</sup>

High corrections costs result from large prison populations. These costs have made policymakers question whether states are getting their money's worth from prisons, and if incarceration is the best solution for public safety—particularly when prisons are crowded and incarceration can have negative effects for prisoners' communities. Todd Clear has suggested that mass incarceration can fracture families, worsen the economic circumstances of depressed neighborhoods and increase social stresses. In other words, incarceration may destabilize communities and reduce public safety and states might better spend their money on programs to help offenders and decrease reoffending.

California provides a clear example of a state that must work to better manage its prison population. The state's prison population totaled 173,312 in 2007. Its corrections system spends more than \$43,000 annually to house each prisoner, 1.6 times higher than the national average.<sup>7</sup> Today, California's correctional budget is out-of-control, running at more than \$10 billion a year and growing at a rate of seven percent annually.<sup>8</sup>

California's parole and parole revocations systems play a significant role in determining the number of inmates in prisons, and have become an important topic of debate for state policymakers. California's three-year return to prison rate is 66 percent, compared to a 40 percent national average. The majority of these returns are for technical or administrative violations, but some are for new criminal convictions.

#### Many Offenders Return?

California's high return rate partly has to do with its mandatory parole release system, created as a part of its Determinate Sentencing Law in 1977. After most offenders serve their original sentences, they are automatically released without any appearance before a parole board. Only offenders sentenced to life-in-prison can receive discretionary release by the Governor or parole board. The DSL mandates that all other offenders be placed on parole supervision for three years after their release. That means that in 2007, California supervised about 120,000 parolees on any given day.<sup>10</sup>

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Parolee supervision is minimal. About 80 percent of all California parolees have fewer than two 15-minute face-to-face meetings with a parole agent each month. Almost all parolees are drug tested and almost two-thirds have drug abuse problems, but less than half participate in any sort of treatment, rehabilitation or work program. And the low level of supervision that parolees receive does not effectively prevent crime; two-thirds of California parolees return to prison within three years.

California's system is further complicated by the fact that parolees are usually returned to prison by a parole board commissioner, rather than a judge—a process termed "back-end sentencing." Because corrections officials, not judges, often sentence offenders, the standard of evidence used to re-imprison parole violators is "preponderance of the evidence" rather than the more stringent "beyond a reasonable doubt" used in a criminal court.

Parole boards can sentence an offender to a maximum of one year in prison. This gives them flexibility over sanctioning low-level violations, but may be inappropriately lenient for more serious criminal violations. For instance, parolees with new criminal convictions spend an average of four months in custody. Additionally, due to court and corrections processing (about 90 days), a prisoner reentering prison for new crimes may serve most of his sentence in local jails or reception centers awaiting disposition. Tens of thousands of parole violators are discharged directly from reception centers each year in California. Thus, many offenders repeatedly cycle in and out of prison.

The financial consequences of this kind of "catch and release" system were recently estimated to cost \$900 million per year in California. Plus, the system makes little sense from a deterrence, rehabilitation or economic standpoint. In short, California's

parole system needs an overhaul. Research is needed to determine who is likely to return to prison from parole, why parole is likely to be revoked and what characteristics of parole agents, caseloads and communities affect parole violation and revocation.

In September 2005, NIJ funded us to undertake this challenge. Our findings are presented below.

#### Assembling the Data

With the help of the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation, we assembled a database that tracked every adult on parole in 2003 and 2004. The database covered 254,468 individuals responsible for 151,750 parole violations that made it to a court or board hearing over the two study years. We also collected data on parolees' personal characteristics and criminal history, what kind of supervision they received, the characteristics of their supervising agents and the types of communities parolees returned to. Our research was focused on the following questions:

- How many parolees violate parole?
- How do the characteristics of individuals, the nature of supervision and community environments affect the likelihood parolees will violate?
- Do certain factors predict different types of violations?
- Do certain factors predict more or less serious violations?
- What factors predict that a case will result in a new criminal court conviction, rather than being referred to the parole board?
- What factors increase the likelihood that a parole violator will be returned to prison?
- How do the characteristics of the communities where parolees live affect the likelihood of return to prison?

Figure 1: Failure within Selected Time Periods (per 1,000 parolees)

Days Since Release	Any Violation	Technical Violations (not including absconding)	Absconding	Type I Criminal Violations	Violent Violations	Sexual Violations
0 to 10	45	9	10	20	1	6
10 to 90	272	35	92	118	12	6
90 to 180	170	29	58	92	13	4
180 to 270	96	22	36	61	10	3
270 to 360	62	18	24	44	8	2
360 to 450	45	15	21	34	7	2
450 to 540	33	13	16	28	6	2
540 to 630	26	12	14	23	6	2
630 to 720	21	11	12	19	4	1

#### What Predicts Parole Violations?

#### Offender characteristics

Of the 254,468 parolees included in the study, 90 percent were male, 70 percent minority and 52 percent were younger than age 30. Most had been imprisoned previously for a property crime (29 percent) or drug conviction (35 percent), although 20 percent had been convicted of a violent crime.

#### **Violations**

About half (49 percent) of all parolees had one formal violation during the study period and 24 percent had multiple violations. Thirty-five percent of these were technical (i.e., noncriminal) violations and 65 percent were for new criminal behavior. Of the criminal violations, 39 percent were classified as Type I (least serious — mostly drug use and possession), 17 percent were Type II (moderately serious — e.g., burglary, forgery, drug sales), and nearly 10 percent were Type III (most serious — e.g., assaults, rapes, homicides).

The risk of parole violation was highest during the first 180 days of parole (i.e., after release), and declined thereafter. After 360 days, a parolee's violation risk had substantially leveled off (see figure 1).

Other factors also predicted parole violations. The best predictor was a parolee's number of prior adult prison incarcerations in California (see figure 2). Additionally, age played a role in violations — parolees between 18 and 30 had

the highest risk of all violations, except for Type I criminal violations. A young age at first commitment in a California prison predicted a greater likelihood of a Type III criminal violation. Parolees who were older when first committed were likely to have more technical and Type I criminal violations.

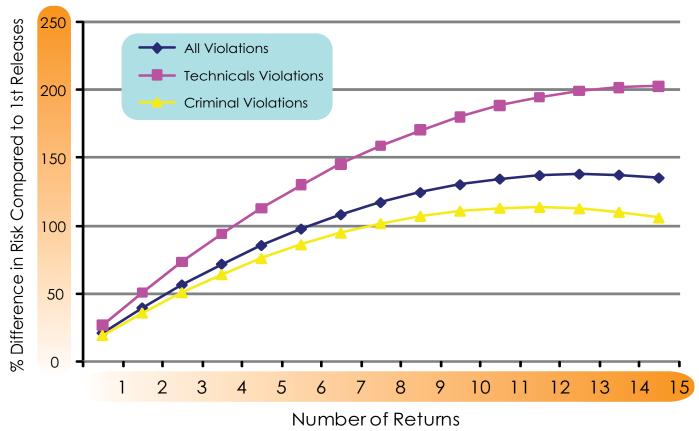
Although sex offenders were more likely to have sex crime violations, sexual violations were very rare, and only 25 percent of these violations were committed by sex offender registrants. Additionally, violent and sex offenders had lower risks for violations than property and drug crime offenders.

#### Supervision and parole agents

California has the highest rate of absconding in the nation (i.e., parolees not reporting for a meeting with an agent), with over 17 percent of parolees absconding on any given day. Parolees under more intensive supervision had the highest rates of absconding, and were at highest risk of all other violation types; parolees on minimum supervision had significantly lower rates of violations across the board.

Almost half (48 percent) of parole agents had less than three years of job experience. Parole agents sometimes exercised discretion when dealing with violations. Female agents tended to treat Type I criminal violations more leniently, while male agents were more lenient towards absconding. Black agents tended to have more tolerance for technical and Type I criminal violations.

Figure 2



#### Community conditions

Community characteristics also predicted whether parolees would commit parole violations. Parolees in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods were more likely to abscond than those in less disadvantaged neighborhoods. Parolees in communities that offered substance abuse and mental health treatment services had a lower risk of Type I criminal violations including drug use and possession. It may be, however, that parole agents may have been less likely to report parolees for low level violations in neighborhoods that offered treatment programs and community support.

#### What Predicts a Return to Prison?

During 2003-2004, 151,750 parole violations were reported and referred to the parole board or criminal court. Of the 127,742 criminal violations reported, 25 percent resulted in a new prison term delivered by a criminal court and 75 percent went to a parole board of which 77 percent resulted in a return to prison. Of the 24,008 technical violations that went to the parole board, 75 percent resulted in a return to custody. For a full breakdown of returns by violation type, see figure 3.

#### Offender characteristics

Typically, parole boards were more likely to send parolees back to prison if they had longer and more serious histories of criminal behavior. Other predictive factors included more time spent in adult prison and whether the parolee was charged with a second violation. Courts were more likely to prosecute the criminal violation cases of offenders aged 18 to 30 and black offenders.

Interestingly, serious, violent and sex offenders were less likely to be returned to prison by criminal courts, but more likely to be returned to custody by the parole board. These offenders were often given severe penalties for low-level violations, which the board seemed to use as a mechanism to impose certain punishment for high-level violators.

#### Community characteristics

Parolees who came from communities with high proportions of black residents or higher black unemployment rates were more likely to be returned to prison for their violations. On the other hand, parolees in communities with ample mental health and substance abuse services often received more lenient outcomes for technical and criminal violation cases.

# Conclusions and Recommendations for Policy and Research

These analyses suggested a number of recommendations for policy and future research. They are as follows:

- Concentrate supervision and services on the first six months. Parolees are most likely to commit violations during this time period.
- Expand the use of early discharge. Parolees that make it six months in the community without a violation, pose a much lower risk to the communities than those who don't. The duration of parole should be linked to an offender's post-release behavior.
- Supervise parolees based on risk. Parolee supervision should be based on parolees' risk of reoffending.

Figure 3: Parole Board Return Rates, by Violation Type, 2003–2004

	Total Cases	Percent Returned
Only criminal charges	37,081	48.5
Only technical charges (not including absconding)	6,802	79.3
Technical and absconding charges	5,955	90.9
Only absconding charges	10,305	85.2
Mix of criminal and technical (no absconding)	25,971	88.1
Mix of criminal and absconding	16,501	87.5
Mix of criminal, technical and absconding	12,709	95.0
Total	115,324	75.4

- Create a parole violation matrix. This sort of tool allows parole officials to respond consistently to violations and appropriately employ intermediate sanctions.
- Expand intermediate sanctions options. The corrections department should implement more intermediate sanctions, such expanding re-entry and drug treatment programs.
- Encourage criminal prosecution. Parolees who commit new crimes should be prosecuted in criminal courts when possible.
- Track external factors affecting parole revocation. These factors might include race, age, gender and mental health status.
- Expand substance abuse and mental health programs. Substance abuse and mental health problems are involved in many violations. These populations would be better served with treatment and rehabilitation programs than prison.

These results are only a first step in investigating California's parole system. Future research would benefit from more diverse data collection, including interviews with parolees and information about what treatment programs they participated in.

Currently, California is responding to its need to improve parole decision-making with the implementation of a computerized violation matrix called the Parole Violation Decision Making Instrument, which designates an appropriate response to a violation based on the violation type and the offender's criminal history and personal characteristics. We hope that this and other parole reforms will help improve parole outcomes in California and guide future research on how to best combat these problems.

The full Final Report to the National Institute of Justice, "Parole Violations and Revocations in California," October 2008, Grant No. 2005-IJ-CX-0026, is available online at www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/224521.pdf.

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#### **Endnotes**

1 "U.S. Imprisons One in 100 Adults, Report Finds," Adam Liptak, *The New York Times*, February 29, 2008.

2 See Liptak, note 1.

3 For more information, see: http://www.lao.ca.gov/analysis\_2008/crim\_justice/cj\_anl08009.aspx#zz33\_link\_1\_1202846137.

4 Petersilia, Joan (2006), Understanding California Corrections, California Policy Research Center, University of California. Available at http://ucicorrections.seweb.uci.edu.

5 The Pew Center on the States, "One in 100: Behind Bars in America in 2009" (http://www.pewcenteronthestates.org/report\_detail.aspx?id=33428). The Pew study combines prison and jail populations. In 2007, the U.S. prison population was 1 596 127

6 Clear, Todd R. (2007) Imprisoning Communities: How Mass Incarceration Makes Disadvantaged Neighborhoods Worse, New York: Oxford University Press.

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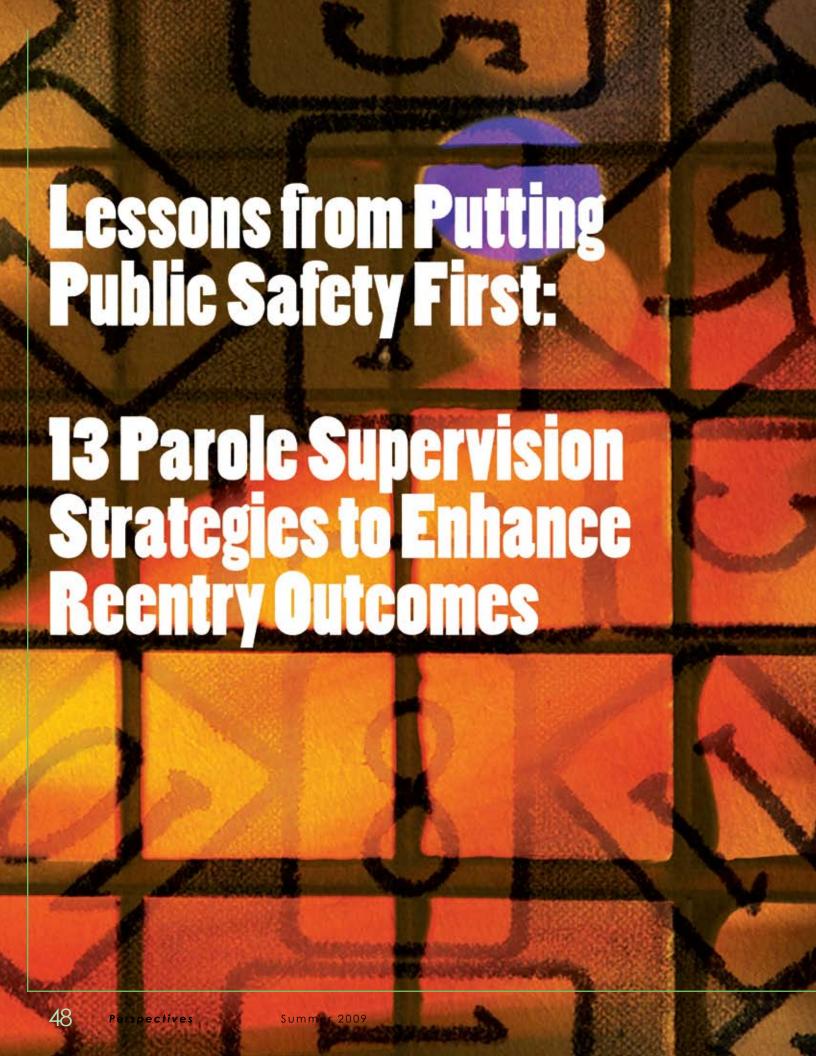
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nvision what a parole agency might look like if it thoroughly embedded evidence-based and best practices into its culture and daily operation. New parole officers would go through a thorough screening process that determines their competencies, background , and willingness to balance surveillance and treatment in supervising offenders. Once hired, the parole officers in training would learn about the agency's public safety vision and its overriding commitment to the reduction of recidivism and helping parolees achieve positive outcomes. Their working experience from that point forward would align with this vision and commitment. They would receive careful guidance on policies, procedures and specific skill sets relevant to deploying the tools of evidencebased practice. Coaching from their supervisors would serve to explain and reinforce the importance of assessments and case planning, including prerelease planning activities and the value gained in targeting some risk levels with more intensity than others, using incentives, maximizing earned discharge protocols and responding to violations of supervision conditions in a graduated and appropriate manner.

Parole officers would receive instruction on how to supervise by engaging parolees in the change process. The agency would emphasize the importance of the quality of every interaction in the field or in the office. Officers would be trained and supported to carry out their work in communities and neighborhoods, often during non-traditional work hours. They would receive instruction on how to connect to prosocial networks and form vibrant partnerships in local neighborhoods to which their offenders return—in essence, how to cultivate the levers of informal social control to reduce the likelihood of rearrests, especially early in the supervision period. They would learn that the recidivism and positive achievements of parolees on their caseload would be measured and reviewed both during and after the termination of supervision. They would also receive ongoing guidance, feedback, and reinforcement from their supervisors on using their skill sets and knowledge base to continuously improve their performance in effecting achieving successful reentry and desistance from crime. In this way, the public safety vision of the agency would be grounded in the evidence-based practice of day-to-day supervision.

This vision is derived from a process of re-imagining parole supervision that began in two meetings with national parole experts convened by the Urban Institute with the support and guidance of the JEHT Foundation and the National Institute of Corrections (NIC). The goal of the meetings, held in November 2007 and April 2008, was to articulate participants' collective best thinking on parole supervision, violation and

revocation practices and identify policies and strategies to help policymakers and practitioner leaders improve public safety and make the best use of taxpayer dollars. The result was published by the Urban Institute as Putting Public Safety First: 13 Parole Supervision Strategies to Enhance Reentry Outcomes<sup>1</sup>, a detailed paper describing each of the 13 identified strategies and including examples of how these strategies are being utilized around the country. Co-written by eight authors in four organizations, the paper reflects the views of many leading parole experts and practitioners and also grounds the strategies in existing research evidence. As a companion to this document, The Pew Center on the States developed a Public Safety Policy Brief<sup>2</sup>, summarizing the 13 strategies in just a few pages. This article excerpts much of the content of Putting Public Safety First, suggesting ways in which practitioners can make use of this information to garner public and legislative support for the strategies and put them to work in their own agencies.

#### **Current Practices**

Current practice in parole supervision continues to rely heavily on surveillance, which has repeatedly been shown, on its own, to have little impact on recidivism. According to a Washington State Institute of Public Policy analysis of adult corrections programs, supervision programs without a focus on treatment do not produce any reduction in recidivism rates (Aos, Miller, and Drake 2006). Moreover, with expanding caseloads and increasingly tight budgets, parole officers often lack the resources, training, time and mandate they need to successfully reintegrate this growing population. According to the Crime and Justice Institute, "the conventional approach to supervision in this country emphasizes individual accountability from offenders and their supervising officers without consistently providing either with the skills, tools and resources that science indicates are necessary to accomplish risk and recidivism reduction" (Bogue et al. 2004, 1). In fact, two-thirds (67.5 percent) of those released from prison are rearrested within three years and more than half are reincarcerated (Langan and Levin 2002). This pattern holds for those released to supervision as well as those released without it (Solomon, Kachnowski, and Bhati 2005). Recidivism rates have changed very little over the past three decades, and the frequent revocation of parole, often for technical violations, has contributed significantly to the rise in incarceration rates (Blumstein and Beck 2005; Public Safety Performance Project 2008). States have a clear opportunity to reduce the recidivism rates of those on parole and to manage technical violations in a cost-effective way that holds individuals accountable and improves behavior and subsequent parole

outcomes. Considering the high stakes and increasing costs of continuing "business as usual" in corrections, equipping parole agencies to support successful reentry should be a top priority for states.

Around the country, a number of parole supervision agencies have begun to reshape, reform and even transform their organizations by implementing one or more of the practices included among the 13 strategies. Although parole supervision is only part of the solution to public safety problems, it is an essential part. Given its unique position and mandate to manage offenders released from prison, parole should play a leadership role in forming and operating the broad-based partnerships that are so important to the success of reentry. The time is right to rethink, reframe and reposition parole supervision so that it more closely mirrors the consensus among leading parole practitioners and the research community about "what works" and produces the outcome of increased public safety.

#### Two Types of Strategies

The paper we are summarizing has divided new supervision strategies into two categories—first, those changes that must be made at the organizational and policy level; second, those changes that must be made in the way supervision is handled at the individual case level.

#### **Organizational Level Strategies**

Define Success as Recidivism Reduction and Measure Performance. Parole agencies—like all agencies—should be clear about their mission, define criteria for success and set benchmarks for performance. While most parole practitioners would agree that public safety is and always has been, an important goal of their agencies, the typical strategies employed to accomplish that goal have focused more in the recent past on monitoring, surveillance and external controls. Parole should adopt risk reduction and behavior change strategies in order to accomplish its public safety mission. The difference here is the clarity and transparency of the public safety mission; accountability for meeting public safety goals and the strategies and tactics used to accomplish the mission. Defining success as reduced recidivism and improved reintegration outcomes among the parolee caseload will drive agencies to change their practices in a way that will hold parolees accountable and reduce crime and future victimization. As policymakers and parole leaders seek to rethink and reposition parole, it is critical that they consider reducing recidivism and improving reentry outcomes as their top objectives and measure their performance against these standards.

Tailor Conditions of Supervision.

Current parole practice relies heavily on standard conditions, including abstaining from alcohol and drugs, maintaining employment and stable residence, obeying all laws and paying restitution, which are sometimes augmented by special conditions to correspond with the characteristics of the parolee and the

case. The result is often a long list of rules that do not differentiate the importance of various conditions over others. Taken together, these conditions may be unrealistic and difficult to meet for any individual, but they are especially difficult for those who are already struggling to hold a job, support their family and stay sober. The research is clear that surveillance-oriented supervision based on a long and generic list of conditions without proper attention to the parolee's criminogenic needs will not reduce recidivism (Aos et al. 2006; Cullen and Gendreau 2000; Lowenkamp and Latessa 2004; Petersilia 2003). Many in the field agree that conditions of release should instead reflect what Carl Wicklund, executive director of the American Probation and Parole Association, refers to as the "three R's" of supervision conditions: They should be realistic—few in number and attainable; relevant—tailored to individual risks and needs; and research based—supported by evidence that they will change behavior and result in improved public safety and reintegration outcomes (Wicklund 2005).

- Realistic. When setting the conditions of supervision, parole agencies and paroling authorities should consider an average parolee's ability to satisfy every requirement imposed. Too often, parolees are saddled with an unreasonable number of conditions that, when combined, make it difficult to attend to other reintegration priorities, such as maintaining employment, becoming financially stable, accessing treatment, and satisfying restitution requirements. Behavioral research identifies that human beings are only able to handle two to three target goals at any given time, which is important in defining conditions. The special conditions should be set to those that most address the drivers of criminal behavior (Taxman, Shepardson, and Byrne 2004). Further, conditions should include only those rules that the parole authorities are prepared to consistently monitor and enforce—in other words, realistic for parole officers as well as parolees. If conditions are not clearly communicated and consistently enforced, the credibility of supervision is undermined and the deterrent impact will be minimal (Kleiman 2005).
- Relevant. Supervision conditions should be individually tailored to the circumstances of each parolee, reflecting risk and need factors and prioritizing the highest-order risk and need factors. It is equally important to avoid assigning certain conditions to those who do not need them. In fact,

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a significant number of technical violations (e.g., failure to report to the parole officer or failure to attend treatment) could be reduced if parole agencies avoid imposing intensive supervision or extensive treatment on individuals who do not objectively appear to need this level of attention or intervention. "Relevant" risk and need factors will ideally be identified by a validated assessment tool. Parole agencies should also take into account available resources and services in a parolee's community of return.

Research-Based. Supervision conditions should also incorporate principles of effective interventions that are proven to lead to positive behavior change. There is a body of research based on the "what works" research and evidence-based practices. Conditions should focus on interventions and rules that have the promise to reduce crime and promote successful outcomes. To the extent that conditions can focus attention and resources on the most powerful criminogenic factors (see sidebar 5), the likelihood of success will increase (Andrews and Bonta 2006). To have the greatest impact on individual behavior, parole officers must consider parolees' learning styles, culture and temperament and must clearly communicate conditions to parolees in a way that will enhance motivation (Ginsburg et al. 2002; Harper and Hardy 2000; Miller and Mount 2001; Miller and Rollnick 2002; Ryan and Deci 2000).

Focus Resources on Moderate and High-Risk Parolees

There is broad consensus, supported by a solid research that staff and programming resources should be focused on populations at a moderate to high risk of reoffending because this population is more likely to benefit from treatment and supervision (Andrews 2006;

Aos, Miller, and Drake 2006; Burke and Tonry 2006; Cullen and Gendreau 2000; National Research Council 2007; Taxman 2002, 2006, 2007). A key aspect of identifying and effectively supervising this population is the use of validated risk and need assessment instruments to identify these parolees. Based on these assessments, interventions directed to individuals with higher levels of risk and that address specific criminogenic needs, will result in better outcomes. Accordingly, low-risk parolees warrant reduced supervision and, in some cases, only administrative oversight. Research has shown that treatment resources focused on low-risk parolees tend to produce little, if any, positive effect (Lowenkamp and Latessa 2004; Petersilia and Turner 1993). In fact, Lowenkcamp and Latessa (2004) assert that involving lowrisk offenders in extensive programming may actually worsen outcomes for this group. The available evidence and sound correctional practice strongly suggest a realignment of resources away from low-risk parolees and toward those with the greater needs or risk of recidivism. Focusing more attention on high-risk individuals and less attention on low-risk individuals can also help parole agencies manage caseloads, allowing parole officers to devote valuable and limited case management time to those who warrant it most. Importantly, more supervision by itself—even for high-risk parolees—will not ensure more successful outcomes (Andrews and Bonta 2006; Aos, Miller and Drake 2006; Grattet, Petersilia, and Lin 2008; Taxman et al. 2004; Petersilia and Turner 1993). Success has often been defined when parole officers meet their contact standards and paroling authorities return parolees to prison after detecting any significant noncompliance with conditions.

Front-Load Supervision Resources.

Research clearly identifies the first days, weeks and months after release from prison as a particularly high-risk period (Grattet, Petersilia, and Lin 2008; Langan and Levin 2002; National Research Council 2007;). Not surprisingly, this period of increased recidivism corresponds with a period of risk

in other areas as well. Parolees' substance abuse, mental health, employment, housing and other service needs are especially high during this period (Binswanger et al. 2007). Supervision resources and strategies should be better aligned to match the risk of early recidivism and concentrate resources in the first few days and weeks after release. Many argue that the beginning of supervision is so critical to individual success that parole agencies should not wait for the individual to be released to the community to develop and implement a supervision plan (National Research Council 2007; Aos et al. 2006; Bogue et al. 2004; Burke and Tonry 2006; Campbell 2008; Jacobson 2005; Petersilia 2003). Parole staff will ideally be involved in pre-release planning activities. Early involvement by parole staff can contribute to success by helping the parolee understand the conditions of release and the expectations of the parole agency once release occurs. Jurisdictions can facilitate this process by transferring inmates to a facility closest to the city or town where they will return, allowing parole agencies and community service providers to meet and evaluate inmates and increasing opportunities for family members to reconnect before release. Front-loading resources also helps identify the offenders that warrant enhanced supervision over the longer term and those that do not. Parolees who do well and achieve their supervision goals will require less supervision and perhaps even shorter

supervision periods in the following months, which would then help to offset any additional parole officer resources that may be needed up front (Jacobson 2005; Petersilia 2003). This not only reduces officer workloads, it reduces long-term costs for the agency. By focusing on those parolees who are most likely to commit new crimes, parole agencies will reduce the number of technical violators who are sent back to prison, thus freeing up precious correctional resources and saving taxpayer dollars.

Implement Earned Discharge.

Providing incentives for meeting case-specific goals of supervision is a powerful tool to enhance individual motivation and promote

positive behavior change (Andrews 2006; Andrews and Bonta 2004; Cullen and Gendreau 2000; National Research Council 2007). Many experts recommend a system of earned

discharge as the ultimate incentive whereby certain lower risk parolees can earn their way off supervision early by adhering to specific goals and strict guidelines (Jacobson 2005; Petersilia 2003; Travis 2005). An opportunity to reduce a term of supervision could be a powerful incentive for parolees to participate in appropriate programs, obtain and retain a job, stay sober or in treatment once they are back in the community and work to repair the damage resulting from their criminal behavior. According to Austin et al. (2007), Jacobson (2005), and Petersilia (2003) state that many parolees could be moved to an "administrative" caseload or complete supervision altogether after about one year of adhering to goal-driven supervision conditions. Shortening the period of supervision builds on the research of Richard Rosenfeld and others who have found that recidivism rates are highest in the first year of release before stabilizing in the second and third year (National Research Council, 2007).

Implement Place-Based Supervision.

It is well known that parolees are concentrated in a relatively small number of often disadvantaged neighborhoods in each state. Like community policing strategies that have transformed the operations of many police departments, place-based parole, also known as community-based or neighborhood-based

parole, takes officers out of their offices and 9-to-5 weekday work hours and into the neighborhoods where their parolees live and work. In a system of place-based supervision, parole officers have geographically-based caseloads and may have satellite offices located in the communities where high concentrations of parolees reside—places where risks are presumably higher. By supervising parolees where they live, fostering relationships with those who see them frequently and knowing them best, and becoming familiar with local resources and high-risk areas, parole officers could play a substantial role in making communities safer while improving outcomes for the parolee (Petersilia 2003; Reentry Policy Council 2005; Solomon 2006; Taxman 2006). Organizing caseloads by neighborhoods, especially in urban settings, efficiently allocates scarce resources and eliminates costly and time-consuming travel from one part of a city to another. No longer expected to make long trips out of their neighborhood to visit their parole officer, parolees can focus more energy on finding a job, meeting treatment needs and reconciling with their families. As a member of the community network, neighborhood-based parole officers can find increased opportunities for collaboration, open lines of communication and gain greater trust from the parolee, their families and other important stakeholders. Even in suburban and rural areas, geographically-based caseload assignment is more efficient and effective.

Place-based supervision has a strong theoretical grounding. Many experts agree that the greatest power to shape offender behavior lies not with the individual officer, but in the network of natural and informal supports in one's neighborhood (e.g., families, neighbors, schools, churches, and labor markets) (Bogue et al. 2004; Cadora 2002; Dickey and Smith 1998; Reentry Policy Council 2005; Taxman 2002; Reinventing Probation Council 2000). According to the Reentry Policy Council, it is this natural network that "can support each individual's successful readjustment, fail to support such adjustment or even create problems that hinder successful reintegration" (2005, 363). Interventions shown to be successful with at-risk populations are those that recruit and engage family members, spouses and other supportive individuals involved in the lives of the intervention population (Bogue et al. 2004). Furthermore, a close relationship with the community enhances an agency's authority and legitimacy to enforce conditions of supervision (Dickey and Smith 1998). When implemented in conjunction with individualized case plans, which emphasize treatment and link incentives to positive behavior, place-based supervision further enhances the parole officer-parolee relationship.

> **Engage Partners to Expand** Intervention Capacities.

Given the substantial treatment, health, housing, education and employment needs of the parole population, it is essential for parole supervision agencies to partner with other government and private agencies, including community health care providers,

housing authorities, substance-abuse counselors, mental health service providers, workforce development boards, faith-based organizations and other relevant groups. These agencies increasingly recognize aspects of the reentry problem

Perspectives Summer 2009 as their own and have specialized expertise to be effective. These collaborations are natural given the considerable overlap between parolees and the population receiving health and other human services. Greater coordination between organizations will reduce duplicative efforts and will allow parole agencies—as well as those community-based organizations that serve formerly incarcerated people—to spend less time tracking and placing people in programs and more time building relationships, engaging informal networks and affecting behavior change. Most important, coordination across agencies increases the chances that parolees are receiving the services they need. These collaborative relationships may best take root at the policy level, where organizations create formal and informal partnerships to address the various reentry challenges in complementary ways, building on each organization's strengths and capacities. Opportunities for collaborations can also occur at the neighborhood level and partnerships are a crucial part of any place-based supervision strategy. Many individual parole officers have developed robust networks of partners in their supervision, including employers, service providers and law enforcement officers. Parole agencies would benefit from translating these relationships upward from the officer level so that officers and parolees throughout the agency can benefit from them.

#### **Individual Level Strategies**

These strategies are built upon and made possible by the organizational-level strategies described above. They represent a shift in organizational culture toward systems that emphasize behavioral change, treatment and collaboration. The strategies outlined below address the structures and dynamics of the officer—parolee relationship and require agency-level leadership, support, training and tools. As such, they will be most effective in agencies committed to comprehensive reform.

Assess Criminogenic Risk and Need Factors.

There is broad agreement among experts and strong evidence from the research literature that parolees—as with other offender populations—should be assessed to determine criminogenic risk and need factors and determine supervision levels so

that appropriate interventions can be delivered (Aos et al. 2006; Andrews 2006; Bogue et al. 2004; Cullen and Gendreau 2000). Research has shown that assessment instruments (reliable, validated, and normed for a specific population) are a better predictor of an offender's risk and criminogenic need factors than individual professional judgment. Such instruments also increase the chances that individuals will be matched with the appropriate type of treatment and services. To effectively match

individuals to interventions, assessments must be responsive to cultural and gender-specific needs as well as individual learning styles and temperament (Cullen and Gendreau 2000;). Interventions should focus on those dynamic criminogenic factors that can be changed, such as employment or drug use. This focus on the dynamic nature of assessments requires that parolees be reassessed at regular intervals to determine the need for adjusting interventions. Assessments are important for informing behavioral change interventions, but they also guide efficient use of resources. Standardized assessments differentiate among risk levels and identify the higher-risk parolees and problems, which can inform parole agencies about how to use supervision resources efficiently and effectively. Assessments can also identify those who are returning to a job, stable living arrangements and intact supports and thus have little need for intervention. Strength-based assessments, which identify the positive attributes that parolees bring to bear, are also an important piece of the assessment process. Strength-based approaches to assessment and supervision balance an individual's risk factors with existing strengths, abilities, and capacities.

Develop and Implement Supervision Case Plans that Balance Surveillance and Treatment.

Each parolee should have a supervision case plan that drives individual goals, conditions and activities while under supervision. To be effective, supervision plans should reflect intervention and treatment priorities as well as

surveillance and enforcement. The research clearly shows that a combination of surveillance and treatment is more effective at reducing recidivism than surveillance alone (Aos, Miller, and Drake 2006; National Research Council 2007; Petersilia 2003; Taxman 2007). Certain treatment programs, such as cognitivebehavioral interventions, community-based drug treatment and education and job assistance programs, have been proven to contribute to lower crime rates and should be incorporated into a parolee's supervision plan (Aos, Miller, and Drake 2006). The supervision case plan should build on valid risk and need assessments, strengths based assessments and parolee input as well as the input of other involved stakeholders. Interventions outlined in the supervision plan should also be sensitive to issues of culture, motivation, temperament and learning style. Supervision case plans are an important tool to implement these principles of targeting by risk, need and responsivity. Case plans for low-risk offenders might be very basic, involving minimal required treatment and conditions, encouraging the involvement of informal networks of support in the community—those that any citizen might draw upon, and that require few supervision agency resources. On the other hand, case plans for moderate and high-risk and high-needs offenders will be more explicitly and fully drawn to address criminogenic factors with specific strategies combining appropriate intensity of supervision with treatment interventions designed to reduce risk. The most effective release and supervision plans are developed collaboratively with input from corrections, law enforcement, victims, family members and community-based service and advocacy organizations (Burke and Tonry 2006; Burrell 2005; Reentry Policy Council 2005; Taxman 2007; Travis 2005). These organizations are a critical source of support for parolees and involving them in the development of release and supervision plans can only enhance the likelihood of successful reintegration. Further, parole officers will build positive and sustainable relationships with parolees and their families, employers and treatment providers. Ideally, the plan would be developed while the individual is incarcerated and would be updated on the basis of progress on goals, the conditions imposed by the paroling authority and other new developments after release.

10

Involve Parolees to Enhance their Engagement in Assessment, Case Planning, and Supervision.

Traditional parole practice is contact-driven, focusing on monitoring and surveillance and the quantity of office and field visits rather

than the quality of these interactions. The evidence is clear that increasing the number of contacts does not produce better outcomes for parolees (Petersilia and Turner 1993; Taxman 2002, 2007). Evidence-based practices suggest that supervision should evolve from a contact-driven system to a behavioral management model where the parolee is an active participant in developing the supervision and treatment plan (Burke 2004; Taxman 2006). In a behavioral management approach, the routine interaction between parole officers and parolees is reframed as an intervention in itself, one in which effective communication is central. With the techniques of motivational interviewing and positive reinforcement, parole officers can enhance engagement by clearly communicating conditions of supervision, reviewing assessment information and developing case plans with parolees, working with parolees to update and modify goals and supervision case plans as appropriate and explaining the reasoning behind such adjustments. Recent data from the Urban Institute's Returning Home study have shown that the majority of parolees have remarkably positive attitudes toward their parole officers. Most parolees report that their officer is helpful, trustworthy, professional and treats them with respect (La Vigne, Visher, and Castro 2004; Yahner, Visher, and Solomon 2008). In fact, parolees have high expectations about the ways their parole officer can help with their transition. Although such expectations are often unmet, these findings highlight the importance of officerparolee interactions and the critical role the supervision process could play in facilitating positive behavior change. A number of parole agencies employ practices that focus on more meaningful measures that engage parolees in their supervision process. For example, Motivational Interviewing is a technique that many parole agencies are exploring and parole officers are receiving increased training in this area. A broader behavioral management approach has been implemented and evaluated in Maryland and findings suggest that such an approach can reduce the likelihood of new crimes and issuance of warrants that result from technical violations (Taxman 2007).

11

Engage Informal Social Controls to Facilitate Community Reintegration.

Interactions with their parole officer comprise only a small fraction of parolees' time, even under the most intensive supervision regimes. The vast majority

of a parolee's time is spent with family, friends, co-workers or alone—just like the rest of us. Engaging a parolee's natural web of supports is a practical and cost-effective way to complement the role of the parole officer. With proper support, even fragile informal networks can provide crucial resources such as housing, crisis intervention, reinforcement for positive behavior and a source of feedback for officers as they make decisions about supervision interventions. Burke and Tonry (2006) argue that it is important to involve pro-social networks at every stage of the supervision process to improve outcomes for the individual and the community and enhance the parole officer's capacity as a change agent. Sociologists recognize that these relationships are typically more effective than formal controls in promoting positive change among individuals (National Research Council 2007; Taxman 2002). Research also shows the importance of marriage and employment in desistance from crime (National Research Council 2007). In fact, recently released prisoners overwhelmingly cite family ties as the most influential factor in their staying out of prison (La Vigne, Visher, and Castro 2004; Visher and Courtney 2007). These findings suggest that parole officers should not focus on parolees as solitary individuals upon whom to impose interventions and conditions of supervision, but as persons who belong to and interact within important social relationships. Parole has the potential to bring parolees into natural prosocial systems and relationships existing in the immediate worlds they live in: families, neighborhoods, friendships and other civic, community and faith-based ties. Effectively engaging informal social controls will require parole agencies

to shift from the surveillance oriented mentality of the contact-driven approach that currently characterizes much of the field. Parole officers must be encouraged to incorporate an individual's support networks into the supervision process and trained to recognize where they exist and how to engage them. Whereas most parole agencies do not systematically engage the support networks of parolees, notable exceptions exist. For example, "citizen circles" in Ohio encourage the involvement of individual stakeholders and various community members in developing plans and supervision activities for an offender. Many agencies are also adopting programs that incorporate the community in the reentry process; some of these efforts include "community guardians" to assist in transition to the community and employment, education and treatment- retention efforts and to help the parolee build a noncriminal network of peers (Taxman 2006).

12

Incorporate Incentives and Rewards into the Supervision Process.

Research indicates that positive reinforcements should be used four times as often as negative sanctions to enhance individual motivation toward positive

behavior change and reduced recidivism (Bogue et al. 2004). Drawing attention to the gains an individual has made rather than focusing on lack of progress can promote positive responses. Examples of incentives and rewards include awarding certificates of achievement; reducing reporting requirements; allowing inmates to defer a monthly supervision fee payment, appointment or other requirement; eliminating conditions (such as home detention or program participation); or asking the parolee to be a mentor to other offenders. As with responses to violations discussed below, responses to positive behavior should also be swift and certain to have the greatest impact on behavior change (Petersilia 2007; Taxman et al. 2004). This process is facilitated through the parole officer-parolee relationship and depends on the ability and willingness of parole officers to reward positive behavior as a strategy for individual engagement. Parolees themselves can provide valuable input into the selection of goals and objectives and, ideally, would be involved in developing their own incentives and rewards (Burke 2004; Taxman 2002). Current practice does not place enough emphasis on incentives, strengths and interim successes and parole officers are rarely trained or encouraged to use incentives. However, several jurisdictions, such as the Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles, have formally incorporated systems of graduated incentives into their supervision process.

13

Employ Graduated
Problem-Solving Responses
to Violations of Parole
Conditions in a Swift and
Certain Manner.

There is broad agreement among experts, supported by a growing research base, that many parol-

ees who violate their conditions without committing a new offense, referred to as technical violators, can be managed in the community without compromising community safety or utilizing expensive prison beds (Austin et al. 2007; Burke et al. 2007; Martin, Van Dine and Fialkoff 2009, Reentry Policy Council 2005). As with other behavioral management approaches to supervision, the purpose of responding to violations should be to confront behavior in a way that will change it without necessarily relying on a costly return to prison or jail that disrupts the reintegration process. To be sure, high-risk offenders who present a threat to the community should be returned to prison when they commit a serious violation or new crime. However, there are many parolees whose minor violations may be better met with swift and certain interventions that are both proportional to the seriousness of the violation and address the reasons that the violation occurred (Burke 2004; Burke et al. 2007). For example, if a violation involves substance abuse, an appropriate community-based intervention may include increased drug testing or treatment. Responding to violations with a continuum of available sanctions and rewards—from low-intensity community-based options to highly secure residential and institutional options—can be more effective in preventing relapse and future offending, and less expensive, than revocation and reincarceration. The paroling authority and supervision agency should develop a common vision of how conditions should be set, how supervision and case management will take place and how responses to violations will be handled (Burke et al. 2007). The parole agency must clarify the goals of violation practices, which should be consistent with the overall goals of supervision. These goals should then be communicated to line officers to ensure they are implemented consistently across the organization. Accompanied by clearly defined goals, risk assessment tools can guide responses to specific violations for specific parolees. If parole officers are given structured discretion and the necessary tools to employ graduated sanctions, they will be empowered to respond quickly and appropriately to many of the violations they detect (Burke et al. 2007). A growing research base suggests that responding to violations in this way could lead to improved community safety, increased offender accountability and additional prison beds reserved for the most violent, serious and persistent offenders (Austin et al. 2007; Bogue et al. 2004; Burke 2004; Burke et al. 2007; National Research Council 2007;

Taxman et al. 2004). NIC supported work in three states has shown that it is possible to reduce returns to prison without incurring additional criminal behavior among parolees (Burke et al. 2007). Research from multiple disciplines suggests that to be most effective, sanctions in response to negative behaviors (and rewards in response to positive behaviors) should be swift, certain and consistently applied to create and reinforce a deterrent effect (Burke et al. 2007). The availability of substance abuse and mental health services was associated with a reduced risk of technical violations and parole violations for low-level criminal behavior in California (Grattet, Petersilia, and Lin 2008). This finding suggests that parole officers may be less likely to move to parole revocation if there are viable treatment alternatives available in the community.

#### Implementation Challenges

The paper from which this article is adapted includes many examples of jurisdictions which have implemented one or more of the strategies. What they have learned is that implementation—which often requires basic changes in organizational culture, beliefs, skills and practices—is a significant challenge (Rhine, Mawhorr, and Parks 2006), and that leadership is the single most important element in effecting both systemic and organizational change. It is essential that those in positions of leadership first and foremost express a willingness to assume the daunting and often vexing challenges associated with retooling an organization. The adoption of the set of strategies outlined above will require a substantial redirection in vision, mission, and focus for many agencies currently responsible for post-prison supervision.

While the 13 strategies can be adopted in most jurisdictions with the appropriate leadership, legislative action can play a major role in accelerating the establishment of such policies and sustaining improvements beyond the tenure of those leaders who have spearheaded the change. With states increasingly struggling to balance their budgets, and an ever-growing recognition that governments cannot bear the seemingly limitless costs of high incarceration and recidivism rates, legislators are beginning to consider innovative polices, such as earned discharge and the use of graduated community sanctions in response to violations, to limit prison growth, increase public safety and reduce crime. The reader is referred to the Public Safety Policy Brief which has been published by the Pew Center on the States as a companion to the Urban Institute Paper. In just a few pages, it outlines the 13 strategies. It is a particularly useful tool in communicating to state legislators about the nature and purpose of the strategies and can be helpful in discussions around the types of legislative changes that could assist in putting the strategies into place.

Parole supervision agencies can implement most, if not all, of these strategies, but they cannot fully succeed at transforming

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reentry in isolation. Full transformation will require a commitment from a consortium of stakeholders—corrections; parole agencies; law enforcement; and other nontraditional partners, such as health and human service providers, housing authorities, workforce development boards, faith-based organizations, and formerly incarcerated people—that have already begun to address reentry as part of their work in communities. Even with broad support and initiative, however, the impetus remains on forward-thinking parole leaders and practitioners to advance a new public safety mission that incorporates these strategies for effective supervision.

#### Conclusion

Over the past thirty years, numerous changes to sentencing laws and practices have resulted in the imposition of lengthier sentences and have required offenders to serve longer periods of incarceration before being eligible for release. These shifts have produced a dramatic growth in prison populations and, not surprisingly, a historically unprecedented number of individuals returning home from prison each year. The sheer volume carries enormous public safety implications for communities and neighborhoods when hundreds of thousands of prisoners released annually from prison are singularly ill equipped to succeed and poorly supported during and after their transition home. The Pew Public Safety Performance Project's recent report (2008) addressing these trends presents a somber portrait of the evolution and future challenges associated with continued increases in the rate of incarceration. It acknowledges that while the number of those incarcerated continues upwards, thereby "blowing holes in state budgets," (Pew 2008, 3), rates of recidivism are barely being dented. As Bureau of Justice Statistics studies have shown, the outcomes associated with offender recidivism have remained stubbornly and unacceptably high (Beck and Shipley 1989; Langan and Levin 2002). During the same time, parole supervision practices have often focused more on the monitoring and surveillance of offenders rather than on addressing the core issues that may contribute to their likelihood of success or failure after their release from prison. It is sobering to recognize that rates of recidivism for offenders exiting prison have demonstrated a remarkable constancy for several decades. This singular focus has not contributed to an increase in public safety. As Petersilia notes, "persons being released from prison today are doing less well than their counterparts released a decade ago in successfully reintegrating into their communities. More of them are being rearrested; these arrests are occurring more quickly; and as a group, ex-convicts are accounting for a larger share of all serious crimes experienced in the United States" (2003, 144).

We have discussed why parole, as currently practiced, often does not reduce recidivism. However, since the late 1970s, a

concentration on surveillance and enforcement is precisely the strategy that parole has been asked to implement). Contact standards have become a key benchmark in assessing agency performance and quick returns of violators are a measure of vigilance. This is a judgment, not about parole as an institution or component of the system, but about the strategies that have been consistent with larger thinking in the field. But that thinking is changing. The tactics of surveillance, monitoring and control have been found ineffective on their own. The national dialogue emerging from the reentry movement in corrections has created a unique opportunity for parole. There is a renewed interest in the mission and efficacy of parole and other forms of post-prison supervision. Indeed, parole represents a vital component along the reentry continuum, positioned perfectly to address the challenges of transition and reentry into the community. We have made the case that parole, by combining its traditional supervision function with assessment and focused interventions, can serve as a strategic, targeted delivery system for effective evidence-based interventions. The timing is right to enhance the overall performance of parole and capitalize on the good faith efforts of professionals in the field who are committed to making a difference in the work they do. The strategies presented are intended to serve as a catalyst, even a call to action, to rethink and reposition parole relative to prisoner reentry and public safety. There is a growing desire and pressing public policy need to identify effective, evidencebased models of community supervision that promote public safety, emphasize offender accountability and foster desistance from crime. We have argued that parole supervision must and can be repositioned to contribute tangibly to the achievement of such outcomes. We have presented organizational policies and individual supervision strategies that have the capacity to guide how the business of parole may be reconfigured to simultaneously equip and support offenders to succeed as they return to communities while holding them accountable to their conditions and responsibilities.

The 13 strategies demonstrate what evidence, research and practitioner expertise suggest sound parole supervision should look like. Getting parole supervision right requires a willingness to apply the results of research-informed, policy-oriented discussions of the evidence-based operational practices suggested herein. Each of these 13 strategies, if adopted alone, will produce a positive but limited impact on the outcomes sought. Implemented together, they could transform post-prison supervision for parolees, their families and communities in a very positive, very powerful way. If parole supervision is to effectively reposition itself, immediate actions must be taken now. The authors share an overriding conviction: the policies and strategies recommended could be adopted today given the willingness to do so—with a thoughtful modicum of planning

and a steady and sustained investment in staff training, and by realigning organizational resources to accomplish the changes and reforms required. We believe parole administrators and practitioners have reached an important moment in time. The proposed strategies, if woven into the fabric of an agency's culture and practice, will produce systemic and organizational change.

In making this claim, we appreciate how hard engaging in change of this magnitude will be, and how difficult it is to accomplish meaningful and durable reforms in both policy and practice. We also acknowledge how much time it will actually take to evaluate the results and know whether the modifications in policies and strategies made a difference in the outcomes achieved. The challenges, however, are not insurmountable. Though many issues must be considered, those in leadership positions must guard against the crippling inertia of current organizational culture and its tendency to compromise a very different and more expansive vision of the future. A number of agencies are beginning to lead the way in repositioning the field. They have come to embrace accountability for achieving a vision that affirms the value of parole supervision and draws its sustenance from evidence-based research and practice. Additional courageous pioneers are needed to further demonstrate the effectiveness of this approach, build momentum for broad transformation of parole and make a clear and unmistakable commitment to contribute to public safety, recidivism reduction and community reintegration.

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#### **Endnotes**

 $^{\rm l}$  The full paper can be found at http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411791\_public\_safety\_first.pdf.

<sup>2</sup>The *Public Safety Brief* can be found at http://www.pewcenteronthestates.org/report\_detail.aspx?id=46538.

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Perspectives Summer 2009

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2009 - 2010

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New England Council on Crime and Delinquency 70th Annual Training Institute Cape Cod, MA. For More Information contact: Lynn Ann Clifford lynn171743@aol. com or Paula Keating pj.keating@yahoo. com.

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