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Unraveling
Women's
Pathways to
Serious Crime



Without a doubt, implementing the eight principles of evidenced-based practice to reduce risk of recidivism (EBP) in community corrections is a tremendous undertaking that involves multiple phases and numerous steps. Risk assessment, motivational interviewing, incentives, staff training, targeted interventions, collaboration, quality assurance... oh my! Across our profession, organizations are currently at many different places in the challenging and extremely important process of implementing evidence-based practices. At some point, most of us find that the process can be, well, overwhelming. As professionals, it is important that we continue on, learning from the research and applying evidence to practice.

No matter where your organization currently stands in the process of implementing EBP, no matter what risk instrument you are using, I think that we can all consider the impact of something fundamental – the quality of the relationship between supervising officer and a probationer/parolee.

Relationship Matters

There is a common theme from the research in multiple fields: relationship quality has an impact on outcomes. In the health/behavioral health field, the therapeutic alliance between provider and client was found to have a bearing on patient satisfaction, treatment adherence and treatment outcomes. Experts in the area of children and family know that children's behavior and emotional well-being are affected by attachment and parenting skills, in other words, the quality of the relationship with the parent(s). In the corrections field, it has been proven that the quality of a relationship in the interactions between officer and probationer/parolee is predictive of rule violations and revocations. Clearly, the evidence shows that interpersonal relationships matter. With this in mind, it is of great interest to know the traits that characterize as well as the activities that foster and support a quality relationship in the delivery of community corrections supervision.

Desirable Staff Characteristics And Practices

The core principles of evidence-based practice are Risk-Need-Responsivity. According to the responsivity principle, styles and modes of service must be matched to the learning styles and abilities of the person on supervision. One aspect of responsivity is matching the personnel delivering the service to the population. Community corrections officers, who provide the front line supervision of those on probation and parole, should have the ability to develop high quality, interpersonal relationships with the individuals they supervise. Characteristics consistent with this ability include respectful, caring, genuine, enthusiastic, engaging, open, flexible, positive, collaborative and supportive of personal autonomy.

Community corrections supervision involves the dual roles of care and control. We know that there are considerable differences in the nature, range and timing of strategies used by community corrections officers to monitor and enforce compliance with conditions of community corrections supervision. There are also distinct philosophical differences among officers related to care vs. control and casework vs. supervision. At this point, our profession can narrow the variations in officer "style" based on research that has defined the types of relationships that are helpful and harmful in terms of correctional outcomes. Andrews and Kiessling (1980) found that a "firm, but fair approach" that involved both active listening and directive supervision was most effective in reducing recidivism risk for general probationers, while authoritarian and permissive approaches were less effective. Recent studies of dual role relationship quality in the context of community corrections confirmed this finding, indicating that a firm, but fair approach is most effective (Skeem, Louden, Polaschek, and Camp, 2009; Kennealy, Eno

Louden, Nicholson and Skeem, 2009). Harmful relationships were described as authoritarian, characterized by demands, little flexibility and belittling use of control. Threats of punishment also had a negative impact on outcomes. In helpful relationships, control was used in a fair, respectful, caring manner and the relationship was characterized as supportive and trusting. Problem-solving strategies were used to identify obstacles to compliance and agreement to a compliance plan.

Five dimensions of successful EBP staff have been developed by Andrews and Kiessling (1980) and Andrews and Carvell (1998) and provide a convenient reference:

- Effective use of authority that is firm but fair; makes rules clear, visible and understandable; gains compliance through positive reinforcement; keeps focus of message on behavior, not person; uses normal voice; gives choices with consequences; and guides individual toward compliance.
- Modeling and reinforcing pro-social attitudes through the use of positive and negative reinforcement; modeling and rehearsing pro-social behavior in concrete and vivid ways; providing immediate feedback on why behavior was approved or disapproved; encouraging the individual to think about why certain behavior was desirable; and role playing with increasing difficult scenarios
- Teaching concrete problem-solving skills by engaging individuals in resolving issues that reduce satisfaction and rewards for non-criminal pursuits; and helping them to develop a plan, clarify goals, generate options/alternatives, and evaluate options.
- Advocacy/brokerage of community resources by arranging the most appropriate correctional services and speaking on behalf of the individual at home, school, or work when appropriate; and
- *Establishment of relationships* that are open, warm, genuine, enthusiastic, self-confident, empathetic, flexible, and mutually respectful, and communication that is directive, solution focused, structured, non-blaming and contingency based.

As we continue to consider the research and implement evidence-based practices in community corrections, the outcomes for individuals on supervision will improve. Through our professional association, we gain important opportunities to share experiences, learn from one another and strengthen the momentum toward our collective mission of public safety.

Before closing this message, I want to express my appreciation to all those that helped make the 2010 APPA Winter Training Institute a success. Clearly one of the strengths of each APPA Institute is the volunteer efforts of local professionals and their agencies as well as APPA affiliate organizations. Bridget Guzman and Rita Garcia (both graduates of the APPA Leadership Institute) need to be recognized for the fantastic job they did in leading the Program Committee and ensuring that we were treated to compelling keynote speakers and presented with quality and variety through the workshops that they and their committee solicited and arranged. Many Texas departments and organizations came forward in a BIG way (What would you expect from Texas?) to assist APPA with logistical support through volunteer efforts that provided such things as audio-visual equipment, security, help with registration and host activities as well as marketing for the Institute. I would also like to point out how once again APPA staff performed professionally and congenially in the overall coordination and management of the Institute. Finally, I would like to expressly thank all of the presenters and exhibitors for recognizing the importance of providing informative and timely information to the field.

Barban Broduich

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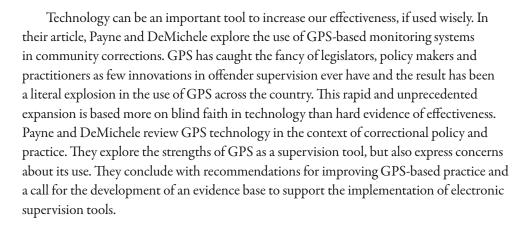
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by William Burrell

Welcome to the Spring issue of *Perspectives*. As I write this, the fiscal environment of the states and localities just seems to get bleaker with every passing day. The Wall Street Journal just ran an article describing how public safety agencies such as police and fire departments, long immune from budget cuts, are now increasingly finding themselves on the receiving end of budget and staff reductions. States are closing prisons and releasing inmates early in an effort to balance their budgets. Parole and probation agencies will be under increasing pressure as these offenders return to the community. This will only increase the urgency for our agencies to be more effective. We hope that the articles in this issue will serve as useful tools for you in your efforts to be more effective.

Our lead article addresses the pathways that lead women to crime. While female offenders represent a small portion of the overall offender population, their numbers are growing. Research over the last decade has revealed important differences between male and female offenders, differences that have significant implications for how we assess and supervise female offenders. Brennan, Breitenbach and Dieterich present the results of research on a large sample of California inmates about to be released to the community. They reveal information on how women come to commit crimes, what motivates them, their risk factors and key areas which must be taken into account in supervision and interventions. This research builds on prior pathways research and advances our knowledge about female offenders. The foundation of effective correctional supervision is a thorough assessment of the offender. Only when we know what drives offenders to crime can we effectively supervise and treat them.



In community supervision, we also encounter various applications of technology by offenders to commit crimes. Cybercrime and cybercriminals pose an urgent and constantly evolving challenge to probation and parole officers and agencies. Offenders are constantly pushing the edge of the technology envelope for their illegal purposes. It is difficult for staff to keep up with the advances in legitimate uses of technology, not to mention the illegal ones. In his article on the new frontiers of cyber-supervision, Bowker explores some of the challenges and developments in this area and provides guidance for officers on supervision strategies.



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The challenges of providing effective cyber-supervision can be made a bit less daunting through the use of a free tool described in the Technology Update. The Field Search software

is a powerful and easy to use tool that is designed for use by probation and parole officers and is available free from the National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Center.

Reentry continues to be front and center in public policy. States are struggling to maintain their correctional systems and many are reducing populations through early release and closing of prisons. The federal government is investing significantly in reentry through the Second Chance Act. The implications of reentry are significant for our communities and our agencies. In the Research Update, a study on the impact of returning parolees on the community is examined. There is, not surprisingly, a criminogenic effect, but there is also is the potential for positive impacts, which underscores the need to do reentry well.

While evidence-based practice is a powerful tool for increasing the effectiveness of probation and parole, adoption and implementation takes time and resources. Officers often ask, "What can I do, right now to be more effective?" In her President's Message, Barbara Broderick focuses on what has been called "arguably the most important of all five dimensions" of effective supervision practices - a strong interpersonal relationship with the offender. This is something we can all work on to make our supervision of offenders more effective.

Tools to improve effectiveness do not need to be complex or expensive. The Safety Update describes research on safety threats that shows how basic and fundamental things, like how we use our eyes to survey and assess situations can be a significant factor in keeping us safe. Not very high tech, but very effective.

As your professional association, APPA is committed to bringing you information, tools and training to help you be more effective. To be more effective at achieving its mission, APPA needs your support and involvement. This issue includes a call for nominations for regional representative to the Board of Directors. Consider running for office and serving your association in this critical role.

As always, we welcome your thoughts, suggestions and feedback on Perspectives, your professional journal.

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Probation, Parole and Community Corrections...

A Force for Positive

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 http://www.appa-net.org/eweb/ DynamicPage.aspx?WebCode=VG_NationalBranding.

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.

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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:

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

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

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

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

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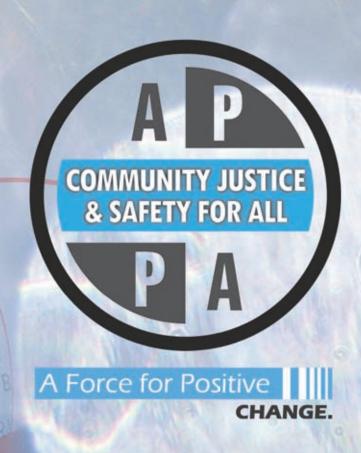
APPA contracts with expert trainers who are reimbursed for their services and all their costs by APPA. We also provide registration services, training materials, name badges and certificates of completion to all participants. (Note: travel, lodging and daily expenses for participants are not covered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

The Tactical PO

June 9, 2010, Richmond, KY

Cognitive Facilitator Certification Training

April 12-16, 2010, Philadelphia, PA

May 10-14, 2010, Hays, KS

May 17-21, 2010, Westchester, NY

June 7-11, 2010, Fairfield, CA

Preventing Staff Sexual Misconduct Against
Offenders Facilitator Certification Training

May 3-5, 2010, Georgetown, TX

For additional information regarding APPA Specialized Trainings contact:

Karen Mucci

Training and Technical Assistance Coordinator, American Probation and Parole Association PO Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40578, Phone: (859) 244-8205, Email: kmucci@csg.org

spotlight on safety

by Robert Thornton

The Eyes Have It!

While much of our safety training time is spent on mastery of tools and techniques, recent studies show that one of our most important tools is our eyes and how we use them in evaluating and responding to signs of potential threat. In research done by the Force Science Research Center, they found that in confrontations, those who performed at the highest level had very specific eye patterns and gaze, which gave them a tactical advantage in confrontations. In reviewing their research, they advised that "Winners anticipate an emerging threat sooner...and make fewer errors in judgment because of the unique way they watch a potential attacker's body as a confrontation unfolds."

The vision process during an encounter, the information the officer is picking up and how the information is processed are vitally important. In simulations created to evaluate eye gaze and threat response, their studies showed that "successful officers", i.e., those officers who responded most quickly and accurately, thus defeating the threat, anticipated the emerging threat sooner and made fewer errors in judgment because of the unique way they watched a potential attacker's body as the confrontation unfolded. The study showed that *how* the officer was looking and *how* the information was processed were the determining factors in controlling the threat.

Successful officers scanned the subject, identified the

threat signs, then fixated on the specific target (movement of hands, the pulling of a weapon) and reacted. Those with lower success rates fixated on the subject, did not read the cues as quickly, and then broke the fixation at the time of response.

Through actual measurement of eye movement, the study found that the successful officers went from a 21 percent fixation on the subject, i.e., they scanned the subject, then progressed to a 71 percent fixation rate for the final two seconds when a threat was identified, and had an 86 percent fixation rate at the time of response to the threat. Those participants with lower success rates failed to scan then fixate, with only 33 percent fixating as the threat emerged.

Not surprisingly, the officers that performed at the highest level were those officers with more experience and training. Obviously, the question for trainers and officers is how can we teach and learn these scanning-fixation skills, lessening the dependence on



experience and creating a higher level of performance through training? The Initial Perception and Intuition Training (I.P.I.T.) Program© was developed to enhance these visual skills and is part of The American Probation and Parole continuing education program, The Tactical PO. The program teaches participants to do the following:

- Scan, then focus;
- Divide the target into quadrants;
- Scan to the most likely threat areas first;
- Speed recognition of threats; and
- Respond at the highest tactical level.

Participants view various scenarios, watch threats unfold, then dissect each situation, identifying the threat signs. Then, through participation in various actual scenarios, officers practice their skills and then discuss their response choices and reasoning. What may have previously been described as intuition or "gut feeling" is brought to the conscious level.

Another important benefit of the training is "stress inoculation"; that is, the ability to control stress and function at a higher level under stress. Stress can be debilitating; but, when controlled, it can help us perform at a higher level. However, these skills only enhance with dynamic, hands-on training. As stated by General Paul Van Riper and quoted in Malcolm Gladwell's book, Blink, "To act intelligently and instinctively in the moment is possible only after a long, rigorous course of education and experience. Judgment matters: it's what separates the winners from the losers."

Be a winner—seek out quality training and train consistently.

References

Lewinski. (2007). Force Science News: Transmission #75. Retrieved from Info@ forcesciencenews.com.

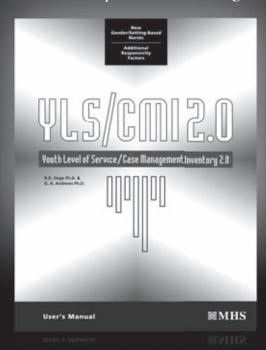
Ronald Scheidt, Ronald G. Schweer, and Robert L. Thornton, The Tactical PO training program, 2010.

Gladwell, Malcolm, Blink, New York, New York: Back Bay Books, 2005.

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

YLS/CMI 2.0

Gender- and Culturally-Informed. Strength-Focused.

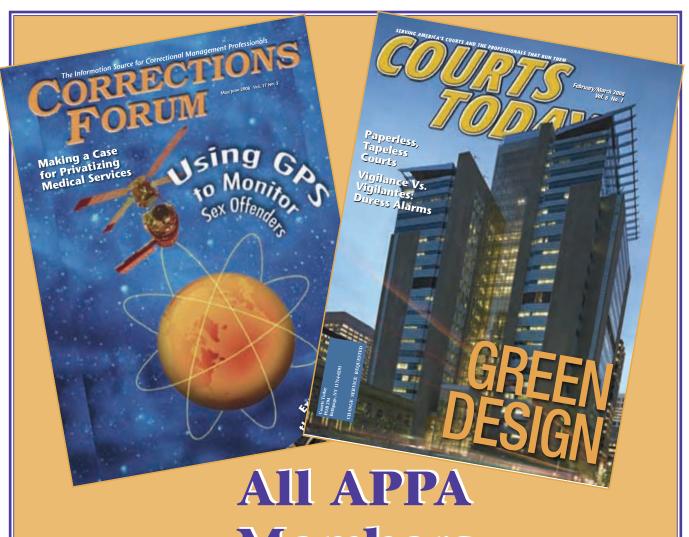


The Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory 2.0™ (YLS/CMI 2.0™) is a gender- and culturally-informed, strengthsfocused risk/needs tool that reliably and accurately classifies and predicts re-offending within male and female juvenile populations.

Created for both genders, the YLS/CMI 2.0 offers new features to address the needs of a growing adolescent offender population. In addition, the YLS/CMI 2.0 provides an opportunity for users to evaluate positive offender attributes so that offender strengths may be highlighted and built upon in service delivery.

For more information on the YLS/CMI 2.0 contact Tammy Holwell, MHS Public Safety division, at 1.800.456.3003 ext. 269.

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Call for presenters appa 2011 winter training institute orlando, florida february 27 - march 2, 2011

The American Probation and Parole Association is pleased to issue a Call for Presenters for the 2011 Winter Training Institute scheduled to be held in Orlando, Florida, February 27-March 2, 2011. Institute participants include community supervision and corrections personnel, the judiciary, treatment providers, criminal justice researchers and others who are interested in the field of community justice. Presentations should relate to the following topics:

- Substance Abuse Issues
- Gender Issues
- Local Issues
- Line Officer Health & Safety
- International Issues
- Prevention/Restorative Justice
- Juvenile Justice
- Victims
- Evidence Based Practices and Research

- Mental Health in Corrections
- Workforce Development
- Diversity
- Judicial
- Technology
- Federal and APPA Initiatives
- Leadership and Management
- Offender Programs and Supervision

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

submission guidelines

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

Workshop proposals should provide the following information:

- Length of Workshop: 90 minutes (workshops held on Monday, February 28 and Tuesday, March 1)
- Workshop Title: A snappy title that catches the attention of participants and identifies the primary focus of theworkshop.
- Workshop Description: A clear, concise, accurate description of the workshop as it will appear in the program (average length is 30 words; submissions in Microsoft Word are preferable).
- Training/Learning Objectives: Describe the measurable skills, knowledge and/or new capacity the participant will gain as a result of workshop (i.e., at the end of the training, participants will be able to list five of 10 causes of suicide.) List a minimum of three training/learning objectives.
- Faculty Information: Provide name, title, agency, address, phone and email for all proposed faculty. Panel presentation should consist of no more than two or three persons; however, a fourth can be added as a moderator.
- Resume or Vitae: Include brief resume or vitae of each faculty member.
- Primary Contact: Submit name and complete contact information for person submitting workshop proposal.

Presentation summaries may be emailed by Friday, June 11, 2010 to kgdixon@cookcountygov.com. Questions regarding submissions should be directed to the National Program Chair:

Kyahna Dixon, Supervisor Cook County Adult Probation 1644 W. Walnut, Chicago, IL 60612

Phone: (312) 491-5553 Fax: (312) 491-5575 email: kgdixon@cookcountygov.com

Workshop proposals should be received no later than Friday, June 11, 2010 and must be received in electronic format in order to be considered. Winter Institute program committee members will contact the person who nominated the workshops(s) to indicate their selection for the Institute. Please note that it is APPA's policy that, regrettably, expenses and fees associated with participation cannot be reimbursed by APPA.

American Probation and Parole Association

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American Probation and Parole Association



Annual Training Institute

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on each

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- Explore the resource expo to view the latest technologies and services!
- ★ Receive Continuing Education Credits!

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The APPA 35th Annual Training Institute will be held at the legendary Hilton Washington DC, located at 1919 NW Connecticut Ave, Washington, DC 20009 in the heart of Dupont Circle. APPA has secured an incredibly reduced lodging rate for Institute attendees for \$170.00 per night single occupancy and \$190.00 per night double occupancy. You must request the group rate for the American Probation & Parole Association's 35th Annual Training Institute. Make your lodging reservations now by calling 1-800-445-8667 or by logging onto the Hilton website at www.hilton.com and entering the APPA group code, "APP". Room rates are based on availability until Friday, July 16, 2010.

For further information visit www.appa-net.org or contact Kris Chappell at (859)244-8204 or email at kchappell@csg.org.

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Lowered: Arrests, Incarcerations & Residential Placements Taxpayer Dollars Saved "It has been remarkable, I think, as to what we have jointlyaccomplished within the last few years. Our partnership has helped direct our case planning and program development with our clients. We can now match clients to appropriate interventions. Additionally, it gives us the capability to evaluate outcomes of our programs and services."

Susan Waild Manager King County, WA

"Student performance has trended favorably since the Assessments.com implementation and we continue to partner on emerging, promising and evidence based practices."

Kent Moe Director of Program Development Rite of Passage

"The implementation of the Assessments. com system drove a shift in practices that rendered juvenile probation services an effective program (or intervention) in and of itself."

Marjorie Rist Chief Probation Officer Yolo County, CA



by Joe Russo

Field Search Software

In 2006, the National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Center (NLECTC), a program of the National Institute of Justice, released Field Search. Field Search is a suite of software products designed specifically for use in the field by non-technical criminal justice personnel to allow them to quickly and efficiently search a target computer and create a detailed report of findings. Field Search for Windows* (FS-Win) runs live in a native Windows environment. Similarly, Field Search for Macintosh (FS-Mac) runs live in the native Mac OS X^* environment. This approach provides a fast, powerful, yet easy method of examining and monitoring computer use. In essence, Field Search blends preview functions with evidence gathering and reporting functions.

Field Search quickly finds evidence such as Internet histories, images, multimedia files and results from text searches and easily populates a report of the findings. Since the initial release of the Field Search software it has been upgraded four times. In this Technology Update, I want to share some success stories experienced by officers in the field and current initiatives to facilitate increased use of the software.

Success Stories

From time to time, the NLECTC is contacted by probation/parole officers who report their experiences using Field Search to monitor an offender's computer. Most cases that we hear about involve an officer detecting evidence of child pornography on the offender's computer. Many other cases simply involve officers finding evidence of inappropriate computer use that can be dealt with directly rather than something that would require the filing of new charges.

Case 1:

In 2007 a Monroe County (NY) Probation Officer used Field Search to detect images of child pornography on an offender's computer. The offender was on probation for sexual contact with a child. During a routine home visit the officer checked the offender's computer and found images of child pornography. Law enforcement was called in to investigate in and the offender was subsequently charged with possession of child pornography. In 2008, the offender pled guilty to the charges and was later sentenced to 10 years in federal prison.

Case 2:

In another 2007 case, a probation/parole officer from the Iowa Department of Corrections used Field Search to scan an offender's computer. Here again the officer was able to detect images of child pornography on the computer. Local law enforcement was notified and the case was prosecuted. The offender ultimately was sentenced to 10 years in federal prison.

Case 3:

More recently a Yavapai County (AZ) Probation Officer conducted a home visit on a sex offender in July of 2009. During the visit the officer intended to install computer monitoring software on the offender's computer. The monitoring software would be used to record and monitor all activities on that computer from the point of installation on. Prior to installing, the monitoring software the officer used Field Search to scan and document what was already on the computer. During the Field Search scan, the officer detected images of child pornography images on the offender's laptop. The officer contacted the local sheriff's office and the offender is now facing new criminal charges.

Case 4:

In July, 2009, during a search of a convicted sex offender's residence, a Santa Cruz (CA) Probation Officer confiscated the offender's laptop computer. The officer used Field Search to scan the computer and found evidence of what appeared to be child pornography. Local law enforcement was called in and the offender was arrested and charged with possession of child pornography. The offender had previously been convicted of kidnapping and molesting two children in separate incidents. Under California's three-strikes law the offender is facing 25 years to life incarceration if convicted.

As previously mentioned, these are some of the cases that we are aware of that have involved new criminal charges. We have also been informed that Field Search has been very useful in determining when offenders are using the computer in an inappropriate manner. Several agencies have notified us that evidence detected has provided the information needed to require that the offender return to treatment.

Training

To date, more than 5,000 copies of Field Search have been distributed, and an estimated 12,000 copies are now in the field through software sharing. Many agencies are now using Field Search as part of their sex offender management strategy. As of last year, NLECTC was no longer able to sponsor basic training on the Field Search software. To help facilitate the continued use of the software NLECTC has developed a two-pronged strategy. The first is the Certified Field Search Instructors (CFSI) program. Under this program, NLECTC recruits individuals who are already proficient in the use of Field Search and provides them with advanced training on the tool as well as a curriculum that they can utilize to deliver basic

training to their colleagues. As of this writing, 34 practitioners from 17 states have been trained as CFSI's. Over the last year they have, in turn, provided basic instruction on Field Search to over 200 law enforcement and corrections officers. The second approach is the development of an instructional video which provides step-by-step guidance on how to use Field Search. The video, like the software itself is available only to public-sector criminal justice agencies.

More information on Field Search, success stories, the instructional video and the CFSI program please visit www. justnet.org/Pages/fieldsearch.aspx.

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

Joe Russo is Assistant Director for the National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Center in Denver, Colorado and is chair of the APPA Technology Committee.





APPA Enacts Resolution Regarding Federal Tax Refund Intercept November 2009

WHEREAS, the American Probation & Parole Association (APPA) recognizes that community corrections professionals are often called upon to enforce court orders for offender payment of fines, restitution and/ or fees;

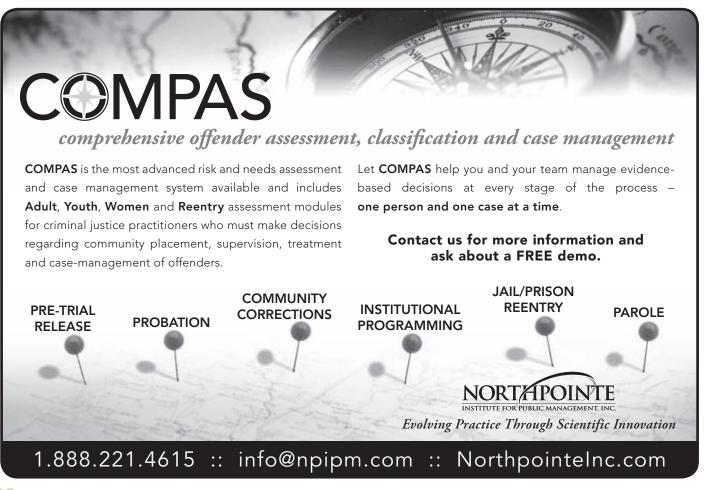
WHEREAS, payment of restitution is an important aspect of victim recovery and assists in the process of healing;

WHEREAS, many probation departments across the country must fund a percentage of their operations and staff with revenues from fee collections while significant amounts are never collected;

WHEREAS, imposition of a tax return intercept regulation that is legally enforceable by courts of law is an effective method of collecting such unpaid debts;

WHEREAS, imposing a tax return intercept program would enhance public trust in courts, court orders and community-based corrections and provide financial recompense for crime victims;

NOW THERFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the American Probation & Parole Association supports federal legislation to enable States to intercept federal tax refunds for payment of obligations under legally enforceable court orders.





American Probation and Parole Association Awards

Recognize, Acknowledge and Celebrate...

APPA presents several prestigious awards that recognize your most distinguished professional achievements and allow you to share best practice ideas with your peers. Award nominations are accepted twice each year and are presented at the Annual and Winter Training Institutes.

Nominations are being accepted for the following awards to be presented at the 35th Annual Training Institute in Washington, DC - August 15-18, 2010:



Scotia Knouff Line Officer of the Year

The Scotia Knouff Line Officer of the Year Award is the most competitive and perhaps the most prestigious practitioner award offered by APPA. This award honors a probation, parole or community corrections officer who has performed assigned duties in an outstanding manner and/or made significant contributions to the probation, parole or community corrections profession at the local, regional or national level.



Walter Dunbar Memorial

This is the oldest APPA practitioner award. This award recognizes significant contributions by a practicing professional or a retired practitioner in the field of probation and/or parole, and is presented in honor of one of APPA's most distinguished colleagues, the late Walter Dunbar. Recipient must have a national presence and influence and have provided a significant contribution to APPA.



APPA Member of the Year

The Member of the Year Award recognizes the work and energy of a worthy APPA member who has been a member of the association for at least one year. This award is presented to an individual member who has provided significant contributions to the organization through promotion of the vision and mission of APPA.



University of Cincinnati

The University of Cincinnati Award is a non-practitioner award, presented to an individual who has made significant contributions to the field of probation, parole or criminal justice technology. Recipients typically are individuals from an academic research or government agency not engaged in providing probation and parole services.



Sam Houston State University

The Sam Houston State University Award honors a practitioner who has published an article concerning probation, parole or community corrections that provides new information and insight into the operation, effectiveness or future of the community corrections profession. For such recognition, an article must have been published in a national or regional journal.



American Probation and Parole Association Awards



Annual 2010 Awards Nomination Criteria



Supporting documentation is required for each nomination and is detailed below each award or group of awards. The supporting information should be submitted with the completed nomination form. The following awards will be presented at the 35th Annual Training Institute in Washington, DC – August 15-18, 2010:

Scotia Knouff Line Officer of the Year Walter Dunbar Memorial University of Cincinnati Sam Houston State University

Written Justification – Description of justification and/or contributions the nominee has made that support the award, including the following:

- Education Date of degree(s) awarded; school(s) attended. Specify information for all universities attended including course work towards a degree.
- Employment History Current job title; location of employment; periods of employment (cover past 15 years of employment).
- Professional and Community Activities Identify memberships, offices held and awards received.

*Note – A curriculum vitae or resume containing this information above may be substituted.

Testimonials – Two testimonials from a variety of different supporters from the profession, treatment services, law enforcement, victims, clients or the community, as appropriate for each award.







APPA Member of the Year

Membership – Indicate length of time nominee has been a member of APPA (must be at least one year).

Justification – Description of justification and/or contributions the nominee has made that supports the recommended award.



American Probation and Parole Association Awards



Annual 2010 Awards Nomination Form



Information on Award Nominee:			
Award for whom this person/program is nominated			
Name (or name of contact person if program/project of	or media project)		
TitleA	gency		
Address			
City	State	Zip	
Daytime phone ()	Fax ()	
Email			
Name of program/project or media project (if applicable)	ole)		
Address (if different from above)			
City	State	Zip	
Nomination Submitted By:			
Name			
Title			
Agency			
Address			
City			
Daytime phone ()	Fax ()	
Email			
Name of program/project or media project (if applicab	ole)		
Address (if different from above)			
City	State	Zip	

Eligibility

- 1. Recipients of the APPA awards presented at the Annual Institute are not required to be a member of APPA.
- 2. Members and non-members of APPA may submit multiple entries in each award category.
- 3. Nomination entry form and all supporting materials must be submitted by June 15, 2010.

Award Recognition

In an effort to give each recipient the recognition deserved for such outstanding work, APPA has divided the presentation schedule between the Annual and Winter Institutes. Nominations for awards presented at the APPA Annual Institute are due by June 15, 2010.

Submit this form along with all supporting documentation by June 15, 2010, to:

APPA Award Nominations, American Probation and Parole Association, 2760 Research Park Drive, Lexington, KY 40511-8410, Fax: (859) 244-8001. Questions concerning APPA Awards may be directed to Susan Frank at (859) 244-8207 or sfrank@csg.org.



Recent Research on Parolees and Crime

"Do Returning Parolees Affect Neighborhood Crime? A Case Study of Sacramento" John R. Hipp and Daniel K. Yates
Criminology 2009. 47: 619-656

In a description of rising crime rates, James Q. Wilson once said, "The judge sees a snapshot of the street at one moment; the public, by contrast, sees a motion picture of the street slowly, inexorably decaying." So, too, does the public experience the continuous rising wave of inmates returning to the community—despite the growing numbers, communities are ill-prepared to effectively integrate them and in alarming numbers suffer from their reoffending. In 1980, the number of ex-offenders living in neighborhoods was 1.8 million. By the year 2000, this number had escalated to 4.3 million. In 1980, about 200,000 people were on parole. Twenty years later, this number was over 700,000. As the figure below demonstrates, even since 2000, the number of prison inmates released back to the community has risen dramatically. In this research update, we review a recent study that explores the impact of parolees on the community.

In order to determine the impact of returning parolees, a study was conducted in Sacramento, California, examining data from 2003-2006. These data combined information on the parolees with monthly crime rates of Sacramento census tracts. Previous studies have looked at the impact of parolees on crime rates, but have only done so at the state-level, and have not looked at effects on particular communities. Hipp and Yates

were interested not only in the potential impact of parolees on crime rates, but also how the effect might vary across different types of communities. Although they predicted that increases in the number of parolees would increase crime, they also explored some important community characteristics that might dampen this effect.

Hipp and Yates argue that parolees will increase crime rates for two basic reasons. First, there is a *direct effect* of increasing the number of potentially motivated offenders. In other words, many parolees return from prison with both the skill and the will to reoffend. Second, parolees may have an *indirect effect* by rekindling old ties and "imparting criminal wisdom" upon others who then commit more crime. Also, when large numbers of inmates return to a community, this may reduce incarceration's deterrent effect, normalizing imprisonment, and maybe even making it desirable, such as when youth seek to emulate the inmates and see imprisonment as a demonstration of courage or manhood.

On the other hand, Hipp and Yates, suggest that returning inmates might reduce crime. In this view, they might increase both *private* and *parochial social control*. Private control refers to social control exercised within the family. If an inmate,

Total Number of Prison Releases 740000 725402 720000 Number of Releases 700000 698459 680000 672202 660000 640000 620000 604858 600000 580000 2001 2002 2005 2006 2007 2008

for example, returns to a household and offers additional supervision of an at-risk youth, then that inmate might reduce criminal behavior. Parochial control is undertaken in a community, such as when a neighbor tells a group of teenagers to "go home or I will tell your parents." Parolees might exercise such control and with authority, on the street. Past data shows that "about 25 percent of male prisoners were

separated from families with children less than 18 years of age" (p. 626). Some portion of this group might return to their families and make a positive difference in the household and in their neighborhood.

Hipp and Yates' analysis of the Sacramento data shows that the more parolees returning to a neighborhood, the more crime it experiences. The study finds that "a monthly increase in the parolees per capita in a tract resulted in significantly higher levels of aggravated assaults, robberies and burglaries" (p.644). But they discovered evidence that parolees can reduce crime by increasing private and parochial control. However, this was the case only in neighborhoods with high levels of broken households. In these places, the criminogenic effect of parolees was less, potentially because many of these parolees were reuniting with families and assuming positive social roles in the household.

Hipp and Yates also explored how positive neighborhood characteristics can offset the criminal impact of parolees. *Formal social capital* consists of voluntary organizations providing resources to help parolees reintegrate into the community by discouraging a return to criminal activity. These organizations also provide community-wide resources such as social services, family services, youth services and economic resources. The study found that neighborhoods with more voluntary organizations did moderate the effect of returning parolees. *Informal social capital* refers to residential stability and the social ties that develop among neighbors over time. According to Hipp and Yates, "these informal ties may allow residents to convey information about concerns and produce greater collective efficacy, which enhances the ability to respond to possible disorder fostered by parolees" (p. 629). The researchers also found evidence that residential stability offsets the criminal impact of returning parolees.

This study provides strong empirical evidence that inmates returning from prison pose risks. The more parolees returning to a neighborhood, the more crime it will experience. However, these risks are reduced when returning parolees strengthen families in neighborhoods with many broken households. They are also reduced by local community organizations that serve parolees both directly and serve the neighborhoods more generally. Finally, risks are less in communities with greater residential stability. Thus, neighborhood crime rates are affected by the volume of parolees as well as the social characteristics of the communities. With ever more inmates returning to the community, it is vital that they receive services that reduce their risk of reoffense, but also that they are fairly distributed across neighborhoods to reduce the disproportionate burden that some currently experience. This study helps identify which kinds of neighborhoods may be better equipped to cope with the large numbers of inmates routinely leaving prison.

Endnotes

- 1 Wilson, James Q. 1996. "Forward." P. XV in George L. Kelling and Catherine M. Coles, Fixing Broken Windows. New York: The Free Press.
- 2 Bonzcar, Thomas. 2003. Prevalence of Imprisonment in the U.S. Population, 1974-2001. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Statistics.
- 3 Pastore, Ann L. and Kathleen Maguire, eds. 2009. "Adults on probation, in jail or prison, and on parole." Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, Available: www.albany.edu/sourcebook/pdf/t612006.pdf
- 4 Pastore, Ann L. and Kathleen Maguire, eds. 2009. "Sentenced prisoners admitted to and released from the jurisdiction of State and Federal correctional authorities." Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, Available: http://www.albany.edu/sourcebook/pdf/t600092007.pdf

David R. Karp is Associate Professor of Sociology and Interim Associate Dean of Student Affairs at Skidmore College in Saratoga Springs, New York. **Eliza Davison**, is a social work major at Skidmore College, class of 2011.



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- 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.

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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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APPA Elections: Call for Nominations

Nomination for regional director positions:

All active individual, lifetime, affiliate, agency or presidential advisory members are encouraged to nominate individuals to serve as regional directors from the following regions for a period of three years.

Region	States represented in Region	Present incumbent
Region 3	Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania	John Tuttle
Region 4	Maryland, Virginia, Washington DC, West Virginia	Susan Flanigan
Region 5	Ohio	Gary Yates
Region 9	Illinois	Michael Torchia
Region 10	Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin	Tom Roy
Region 11	Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma	Ronald Schweer
Region 12	Texas	Caroline Rickaway



According to the APPA Constitution, Article V, Section 9: To qualify for elected office in this association, the candidates must be:

(a) an active member in good standing, willing and able to fulfill the duties of the office for which nominated, and be willing and able to serve in the office for the length of time necessary to fulfill the duties of the office.

Nominations must be received in writing by **April 23, 2010**. Members are encouraged to nominate themselves for regional director positions. This position offers members an opportunity to present and discuss issues germane to the field and set the course for future initiatives for your association. Candidates accepting a nomination for regional director must provide a biography or statement of fewer than 150 words, which will be included on the ballot.

The schedule below will be followed for the 2010 election:

February, March, April	Call for nominations for regional director positions.
April 23	Cut off date for nominations for regional director positions.
May 7	Nominations Committee selects candidates for each regional director position from those nominated and prepares ballot.
June 11	Election ballot, containing candidates for regional director's positions, is mailed first-class to each current member.
July 9	Last day for ballot postmark.
July 22	Ballots counted.
July 23	All candidates notified of election results.
August 17	Nominations Committee reports results at membership meeting.

All nominations should be sent by **April 23, 2010**, to:

Gini Highfield Chief Probation Officer 2nd District Juvenile Court P.O. Box 325 Farmington, Utah 84025 Phone: (801) 447-3973, ext. 1 Fax: (801) 447-3976

email: ginih@email.utcourts.gov



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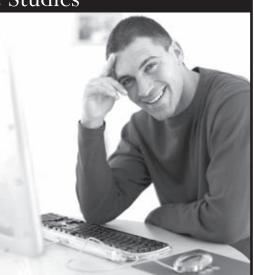
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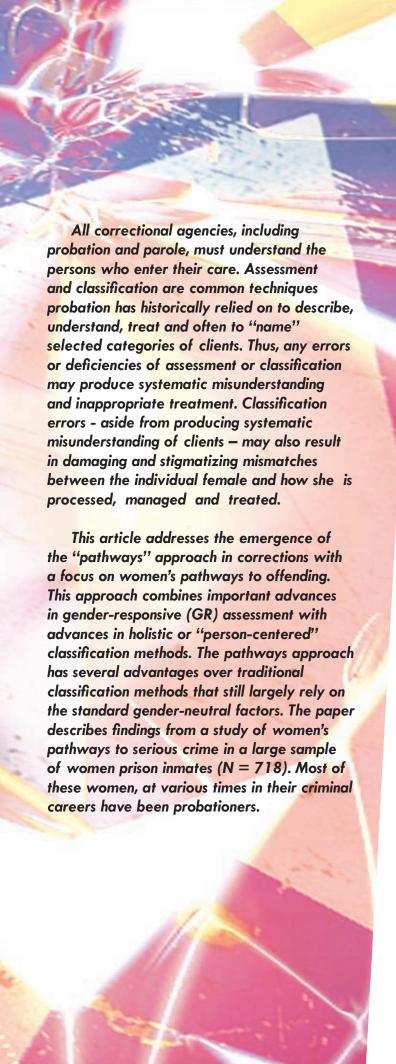
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Unraveling
Women's
Pathways to
Serious Crime:

New Findings and Links to Prior Feminist Pathways



The challenge to gender-neutral assessments

For decades most correctional agencies used the same assessment tools for both men and women – assuming that the same criminogenic factors were equally applicable to both genders. This practice remains widespread despite rising evidence of gender differences in both criminal behaviors and in the causal dynamics of anti-social behavior. A robust debate has emerged regarding the use of "gender-neutral" assessments. Among many women practitioners, feminists and researchers there is a rising concern over whether gender-neutral factors—educational factors, job skills, social bonds, etc validly identify the risks and needs of women offenders. Two broad issues are critical to this debate:

Content and theoretical validity of an assessment instrument

A first concern is over the content validity or "information content" of any assessment or classification system used for female offenders. This selection is driven by prevailing theories of criminality, by treatment goals and ideally, this selection should include all relevant factors for persons being classified. Thus, a current controversy is whether traditional risk factors should be augmented by adding gender-specific factors that have high relevant for women offenders. (Van Voorhis, et al 2008; Blanchette and Brown 2006). An on-going feminist critique focuses on the theoretical gaps and weak content validity of current gender-neutral assessment instruments if applied to female offenders. Feminists reject the assumption that the same factors can explain both male and female criminality and hold that male-centered or standard theories are blind to several factors that appear unique and specifically relevant for female criminality. The opposing view emphasizes research supporting current "general" criminological theories and emphasizes empirical findings showing that gender-neutral risk-need factors apply equally to men and women. This position argues that if male and female criminality are equally predicted by gender neutral theories and factors and if gender-specific factors add little incremental explanatory power there may be no need for such additional factors.



How should assessment factors be combined? Linear models versus configural and pathway approaches

The second issue has not been as clearly on the "radar screen" of feminists, but seems equally critical for women offenders. The question is "How should risk and need factors be combined"? Most current gender-neutral assessments (e.g., LSI-CMI, VRAG, PCL, etc.) simply add up the separate factors to give a single overall score that determines the person's classification level. Thus, in such linear models the separate factors are combined by additive summation of risk factors (often with equal weighting). However, if the purpose of classification shifts away from prediction and toward explanation, case conceptualization and treatment planning, the linear model approach has been criticized for largely obliterating the "person" by compressing all factors into a single score. An alternative procedure, the "person-centered" or configural assessment offers an attractive alternative to additive linear models by providing a more holistic and individualized approach that appears more consistent with feminist calls for methods that retain the "whole person". Configural scoring, by retaining the persons total profile across all risk and need factors is consistent with feminist "pathways" approaches (Daly 1992) and can also help identify "common pathways" among women with highly similar profiles (Brennan 2008).

Prior work on women's pathways to crime

This section briefly reviews critical work that has prepared the way for the identification of women's pathways to crime. The major themes are as follows:

Qualitative research and the recognition of typified pathways

A number of insightful qualitative studies grounded in feminist criminology have produced compelling biographies and case narratives of women offenders. First, they have identified many key psychosocial risks and needs of women offenders that substantively differ from men offenders (e.g., Belknap, 2007; Daly, 1992, Owen, 1998). Second, they have proposed several "typified pathways" to crime among women, as follows: (1) Childhood victimization path that was linked such abuse to a pattern of mental illness, substance abuse, depression/anxiety and other consequences (Chesney-Lind, 1997; Covington, 1998; Daly 1992); and (2) A pathway of extreme poverty, homelessness and educational/vocational problems that is found in many women offenders (Holtfreter et al., 2004; Reisig et al., 2002). This pin points the complex intersection of gender, race and class with extreme marginalization (Richie 1996; Bloom and Owen 2003). (3) A relational pathway has been proposed that links dysfunctional abusive intimate relationships to an erosion of the woman's self-efficacy with on-going victimization, depression/anxiety and substance abuse.

Emergence of Gender Responsive Assessment tools

A second critical development is the emergence and validation of a set of Gender Responsive (GR) assessment instruments. In a multi-year project, with funding from the National Institute of Corrections (NIC), Van Voorhis and colleagues designed and validated gender-responsive (GR) assessment instruments to address many of the critical events and factors long proposed as influencing and determining women's

pathways to crime and that differentiate these from male pathways (Van Voorhis et al., 2008; Wright, Salisbury, & Van Voorhis, 2007). Many of the GR factors in this instrument have been centrally relevant in the previously described qualitative biographies, case studies and "gendered pathways" of women offenders (e.g., child and adult victimization, trauma, relationship dysfunctions, depression/anxiety and so on). This tool paves the way for large sample studies to more precisely identify women's pathways to crime and to address the nature, generalizability and prevalence of women's pathways.

Current influential formulations of women' pathways to offending

A final critical element in furthering the study of women's pathways to crime has been the emergence of systematic formulations of hypothesized pathways. Two systems in particular have become influential. These are the qualitatively identified pathways of Kathleen Daly and the theoretical taxonomy of Terrie Moffitt .

Kathleen Daly has offered perhaps the most influential statement on the diversity of women's pathways to crime (Daly 1992). These were qualitatively developed from a sample of thirty-four women offenders. Briefly, they are as follows:

- Street Women Escape and Survival: This involves women or girls fleeing abuse and violence and entering street life, where they may become drug addicted and/or rely on prostitution, drug dealing or theft to survive.
- Drug-connected Women: This reflects women who become users, or are coopted into trafficking drugs, often in collaboration with intimate partners or family members.
- Harmed and Harming Women: This path involves serious child abuse (physical and sexual) and neglect, leading to adolescent school and family problems, delinquency; a hostile aggressive or a withdrawn suspicious demeanor and ultimately chronic adult criminality.
- Battered Women Situational Offenders: This path emphasizes violent abusive intimate partners. Criminal behavior by the woman is seen as unlikely except for her involvement in this relationship. She may escape and/or exhibit retaliative violence. Her subsequent criminal behavior is linked to basic coping and survival.
- Economic Offending: This path reflects instrumental or economic crimes (fraud, theft and embezzlement). Two sub-types were offered: poor women coping with poverty, and women motivated by greed or social aspiration - who themselves may not be marginalized or have any history of abuse, addiction or violence.

As noted, Daly's pathways emerged from small sample qualitative research and very few replication studies have as yet tested this system (for example see: Reisig, Holtfreter, & Morash 2006; Simpson, Yahner & Dugan 2009; Brennan, Breitenbach, & Dieterich, 2008). Thus, there is little firm knowledge of the replicability, reliability of identification and particularly a lack statistical characterization of each pathway.



Moffitt's Pathways: Terrie Moffitt's developmental taxonomy is also very influential in the field of developmental psychopathology and describes two pathways that apply to both men and women's offending (Moffitt 1993, Moffitt et al. 2001), as follows:

- The Adolescent Limited (AL): In this pathway the adolescent girl after a normal childhood reacting to parental constraints and limits, begins to affiliate with, or mimic more delinquent youth in an attempt to obtain more autonomy and freedom. This often leads to a temporary delinquency phase that typically dissipates by late teens or early adulthood. However, some girls may persist into longer criminal career if caught by "snares" such as chronic drug use, early pregnancy or school dropout that may derail their on-going social development.
- The Life Course Persistent (LCP): This path is defined by a complex biosocial etiology and a fearless and risk-taking callous temperament. This pathway emerges in early childhood with sustained childhood problems, on-going failure and school disruption, family problems, adolescent psychological difficulties and persistent delinquency and eventually with a serious adult criminal career. Recent research suggests this path may involve a complex genetic adaptation.

Moffitt acknowledges that her taxonomy represents "hypothetical constructs" that will require empirical validation. Only a handful of studies have tested Moffitt's pathways on female offenders (e.g. Moffitt et al 2001, Kratzer and Hodgkins 1999; Tibbetts and Piquero 1999, Brennan 2008; Simpson, Yahner and Dugan 2009). These studies have only partially supported her dual pathway taxonomy and several key questions remain unresolved:

- Does the LCP pathway exist among women? Moffitt, et al (2001) found that LCP's made up less than 1 percent in their female community samples. This raises questions about whether the category even exists among women.
- If female LCP's exist, what are their characteristics? The small sample sizes
 of most prior studies and the low incidence of this category has hindered
 attempts to reliably characterize these women.
- Do some AL criminal careers extend into adulthood? While most AL's are
 expected to end their delinquent careers by the late teens or early adulthood,
 Moffitt's position is that some may continue if caught in the snares mentioned
 above.
- Are two developmental pathways enough? While evidence has emerged supporting the existence of both the AL and LCP pathways among women, several prior studies suggest that Moffitt's taxonomy does not capture the full heterogeneity of women offenders and that additional sub-categories women offenders may exist.

Goals

This article has the following goals:

- To identify and describe "common" pathways leading to serious crime in a large prison sample of serious female offenders.
- To describe the "prototypical narrative" of each common pathway.
- To test the stability and replicability of each pathway in cross-validation tests.
- To examine potential convergence and differences with prior pathways, particularly the pathways of Daly (1992, 1994) and Moffitt, et al (2001).

Methods

In describing methods for this study only brief descriptions are given below. Interested readers may consult original technical document for full details (Brennan, Breitenbach and Dieterich 2008) available at www.northpointeinc.com/home.aspx.

Sample

The sample consisted of 718 soon-to-be-released women inmates from two California prisons. To be eligible a woman inmate had to be within 60 to 180 days of their expected parole release date. Cases were randomly selected from the total roster of eligible inmates. Following an intensive training session interviews were conducted by trained facility staff and by the research team.

Measures

Two assessment instruments were used in face-to-face interviews as follows.

- Gender-Responsive Inventory (GR): This instrument (Van Voorhis et al., 2008) assesses a comprehensive range of factors of particular relevance for women offenders that typically are missing from gender-neutral instruments. It includes the following domains:
 - Physical and sexual abuse in childhood and adulthood.
 - Mental Health: Mental illness history, current depression/anxiety and current psychosis.
 - Intimate Relationships: Support from Significant Other, Conflict with Significant Other, Dysfunctional relationship, Housing Safety (v. violent/ unsafe), Support from Family of Origin, and Conflict with Family of Origin.
 - Parenting issues: Parenting Stress, Parenting Involvement (Children under
 - Personal Factors: Anger/Hostility, Self Esteem, Self Efficacy, Employment/Financial (weaknesses), Educational Strengths.





Reentry COMPAS

This broadband gender-neutral inventory assesses social, psychological and criminogenic factors demonstrated by recent meta-analytic research to be significantly linked to recidivism following prisoner reentry. Full details are provided in Brennan, Dieterich and Ehrens (2008) and in technical documents available at http://www.northpointeinc.com/home.aspx. The domains and key factors include:

- Official Criminal History: Age at first arrest and full details of current and prior arrests and convictions, prison misconduct, substance abuse and gang affiliation, prior detentions in both jail and prison; parole and probation revocations.
- Social and environmental context: social environment, housing problems, financial problems, work and educational resources, family support and family crime
- Psychosocial risk/protective factors: Anti-social attitudes, anti-social
 personality, low self-efficacy, empathy, social isolation vs. social support and
 life goals/aimlessness.

Prior studies of these two instruments have shown that most of the scales meet or exceed generally accepted psychometric standards with most alpha coefficients being close to or greater than 0.70. (Brennan, Dieterich and Erhet 2008; Van Voorhis et al 2008)

Methods of Analysis

We subjected the female sample to quantitative pattern recognition analyses designed to identify highly similar or "recurring" profiles of women who are following mutually similar pathways. Such groups were identified based on their high mutual similarity over the spectrum of GR, criminogenic and life history factors. Technically, we used a bootstrapped K-Means analysis using 1,000 replication samples. The analysis also involved a split-half design, in which we replicating the pattern seeking analyses on both samples to determined the stability of patterns across the split random samples. We repeated the analyses iteratively at steadily increasing numbers of pathways (from three to nine) since there is no current agreement on the number of women's pathways to crime. Stability of the emerging patterns was assessed using the Kappa coefficient that measures similarity between any two classifications.

Results

How many women's pathways exist?

A first key finding was that six major pathways emerged, although two of these had sub-types embedded within them to give a more precise eight pathway solution that was highly stable and replicable. The cross-validation analysis indicated that the six and eight pathway solutions produced impressively high kappa coefficients of 0.85 and 0.75 showing strong replication. The descriptions below are thus provided for the eight pathway solution.

Pathway descriptions – With links to prior pathways research

The following profile narratives, based on z-score profiles, indicate the characteristic factors of each pathway (Full tables are available on request from first author). In these descriptions a feature is mentioned only if it has z-scores exceeding +/- 0.30. This is often taken as a rule of thumb to characterize any group (Costa 2002). Brief comments are also included regarding convergence and replications to prior pathways research.

A. "Normal" Women - Two pathways largely matching Moffitt's AL with snares -Pathways 1 and 5:

Two relatively "normal" woman pathways, representing lower risk, lower need nonviolent offenders, emerged that appear to match Moffitt's AL. Both reflect the snares predicted by Moffitt to extend criminality of an AL into adulthood i.e. chronic drug abuse and/or single parenting. Similar categories have been identified in other studies and have been named as "normal" and appear to identify replicates of this lower risk (Aalsma and Lapsley, 2001; Stefurak and Calhoun, 2006; Brennan 2008; Simpson, Yahner and Dugan 2009).

Cluster 1 (N = 144, 15.4 percent) Normal female offenders – lower risk and needs - higher human capital - drug involved single mothers: This pathway includes relatively well-educated women women who are mostly single mothers (65 percent) and have an average age of 35. They have more vocational, financial strengths and social supports than most female prisoners and far fewer residential or homeless problems. Their families appear supportive and free of crime and drug problems. Ninety-five percent report no physical or sexual abuse, no mental health problems and have low scores for antisocial personality and attitudes. Significant other (SO) relations appear benign and non-abusive. These women appear to avoid men who may lead them into trouble.

Drug and property offenses dominate. They have an average of 9.7 arrests and 83 percent have been arrested while on probation. Their current offenses include: drug possession (21 percent), drug trafficking (13.9 percent) fraud (14.6 percent), property/larceny (32 percent), and burglary (22 percent). Most have never had a parole revocation (73 percent) and over half are in prison for the first time.

Cluster 5 (N = 106, 11.3 percent) Normal female offender – lower risk and needs - higher human capital - older, not parenting - drug involved: This path largely replicates pathway 1 and differs only in being older (avg. 39) and not parenting (96 percent). Similar to pathway one they have more educational, vocational and financial resources, fewer housing problems, reside in safer areas and do not lack self-efficacy in comparison to most female prisoners. They report the highest job readiness at release, lower family crime and more family support than other female inmates. Most report no physical or sexual abuse as children and no mental health issues. Their SO relationships are not abusive or seen as leading them into trouble. Antisocial personality is not a strong risk factor.



This pathway also has a lower criminal involvement than most women prisoners, the highest percentage of first time incarcerations (30 percent) and relatively few parole revocations (25 percent). Yet, drug issues are chronic. Seventy-percent have at least one prior drug possession charge, and 25 percent have prior drug trafficking charges. They average eight prior arrests, mostly drug and property related.

B. Marginalized "Socialized" Offenders: Two pathways with extreme marginalization, poverty and social learning in antisocial drug sub-cultures – Pathways two and three

Pathways two and three both reflect the extreme "socially marginalized" theme of poverty, low social and human capital and economically motivated offenses (e.g. Owen 1998; Daly 1992; Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2009). Both also reflect social learning within drug or antisocial sub-cultures often seen leading to a "socialized or sub-cultural" offender (Warren 1971, Lykken 1995). Both of these pathways support Lykken's assertion that such sub-culturally "socialized" offenders do not have mental health issues. Pathway three differs from two in consisting of younger single mothers, who are more involved in SO relationships that may co-opt them into crimes. Thus pathway three additionally incorporates basic elements of Daly's Relational and Drug-connected paths within this already severely marginalized pathway.

Cluster 2 (N = 86, 9.2 percent) Marginalized, Addicted and Aimless - poor, older and childless women - often homeless: These single older (average 41 years) and addicted women reflect poverty, low self-efficacy, vocational/educational deficits and histories of drug treatment. They have few life goals or beliefs, appear socially isolated, have little or no social supports and are uninvolved in parenting. Poverty, unemployment and housing are key issues. There is no suggestion of sexual or physical abuse as children or as adults, or of mental health issues. Antisocial personality and antisocial attitudes are about average.

These women have a very high criminal history, averaging 15 arrests, with multiple probation and parole revocations, arrests on probation and prior jail and prison terms. Their history, as with most women, is dominated by non-violent property and drug offenses including drug possession/use and trafficking. Most have had two or more prior drug possession arrests suggesting chronic addiction. Their offenses also imply an economic motive e.g. current drug trafficking (14 percent), property/larceny (27 percent), burglary (16 percent) and above average prior trafficking arrests. A surprising 42 percent have at least one prior violent felony arrest.

Cluster 3 (N = 119, 12.7%) Marginalized, Addicted and Stressed – single younger mothers in conflicted relationships: This pathway consists of younger (average 34) single mothers with extreme vocational and educational failure, poverty and unstable housing in high crime areas. Their marginalization is compounded by extreme parenting stress, conflicted SO relationships, low self-efficacy and social isolation. While their parental families had above average crime and drug involvement there is no clear evidence of child sexual or physical abuse. The profile shows no clear mental health or antisocial personality issues and no evidence of abuse in their adult SO relationship.

Drugs also dominate this pathway. Their criminal history is a little above average (11.8 arrests) and mainly for non-violent drug and property offenses, often with an economic motive. Their current offenses include: drug possession/use (30 percent) and drug trafficking (18 percent) fraud (14 percent), property/larceny (29 percent); 72 percent have two or more prior arrests for drug possession; and 20 percent have two or more prior drug trafficking arrests, again above average.

C. Serious, Chronic and violent women offenders: Two pathways reflecting high risk/ high need women largely matching Moffitt's LCP and Daly's Harmed/Harming Women -Pathways Six and Seven

Pathways six and seven appear to offer matches to Moffitt's LCP and Daly's "Harmed and Harming" pathway. It may be noted that several other studies have identified similar profiles of high need and serious chronic offenders e.g. Butler and Adams (1966) "Impulsive aggressive"; Stefurak and Calhoun's (2006) "Externalizing Impulsive"; Brennan's (2008) "Serious Delinquent/Low Self Control". Pathways six and seven reflect many key features of Moffitt's LCP e.g. early onset, persistent delinquency, school and vocational failure, anti-social personality, serious/violent adult crime, impulsive low self-control. These two pathways, however, also incorporate Daly's economic and battered woman pathways as well as a pattern of internalizing and mental health issues often linked to serious child sexual and physical abuse.

Pathway 6 (N = 67, 7.2 percent): Chronic Serious and Non-compliant Offenders – Anti-social personality and hostility – mental health issues – lifelong abuse – battered - marginalized and often homeless. This pathway - with just over 79 percent of the sample - contains mostly single mothers who have very high risk and need profiles. First, these women reflect a pattern of depression, anxiety, low esteem, low self-efficacy, psychotic symptoms, no clear life goals, pessimism, anti-social personality, impulsivity and anger. Second, they have a history of physical and sexual child abuse and out-ofhome placements. Third, their parental families had high crime and drug history and remain non-supportive. Fourth, physical and sexual abuse has extended into adulthood in conflicted SO relationships. Many of their male partners have criminal records. Fifth, they experience extreme educational-work failure, poverty, unstable housing and homelessness. They have highest need for temporary housing at release, the poorest history of full-time employment and the highest expected difficulty in finding and keeping a job.

This Pathway has the highest criminal history (with Pathway two) with a high number of prior arrests (15), multiple prior jail and prison sentences. Many have parole revocations (58 percent), returns to prison (55 percent) and arrests while on probation (94 percent). An atypical feature is the percentage of these women with violent institutional infractions (24 percent). Yet, as with most women their history is dominated by non-violent drug and property offenses.

Pathway 7 (N = 27, 2.8 percent) Chronic serious non-compliance offenders extreme mental health problems and violent hostility - lifelong abuse - marginalized - high parenting stress. This pathway shares all the key features of pathway six, including



childhood and adult abuse, educational and vocational failure and poverty and an antisocial personality pattern. However, it is differentiated by far more extreme mental health issues, psychoses, depression, anxiety and suicidal issues. It has more parenting involvement and very high parenting stresses, but fewer housing problems and somewhat more family support. There is less evidence of the "Relational Model" perhaps resulting from extreme mental health problems, social withdrawal and fewer SO relationships.

While this pathway mostly reflects drug and property offenses, it has atypically high scores for violent offenses; prior weapons offenses; fights with other inmates and prison misconducts. It also has above average percentages for domestic violence offenses, current assaults and current violent felonies, suggesting retaliation against an abusive SO.

D. Lifelong victimization: Two pathways that jointly incorporate Daly's Battered Woman, Drug Connected and Relational Pathways - Pathways four and eight

Pathways four and eight both reflect the prototypical lifelong "Victim Pathway" (Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2009). Both incorporate the basic elements of Daly's Battered Women, Drug Connected and Relational Pathways. Many have antisocial SO partners who influence their anti-social behaviors, personal drug abuse and drug trafficking.

Pathway eight differs in being older, not parenting, and in having more elements of the sub-cultural socialization of Lykken's (1995) "common sociopath," or Warren's (1971) "sub-cultural identifier". Sub-cultural socialization is suggested by the pattern of criminal abusive parents, anti-social/criminal significant others, strong ties to an anti-social culture with chronic drug abuse, trafficking and habitual crime. The absence of mental health problems also fits Lykken's (1995) description of the common sociopath.

Cluster 4 (N = 89, 9.5 percent) Lifelong Victims - Stressed depressed single mothers in abusive relationships - addicted - retaliative violence: These single mothers (average age 34) reflect a pattern of lifelong victimization and extreme child sexual and physical abuse that extends into current abusive adult relationships in many cases. The domineering SO's often have criminal records, are involved in the woman's offenses and appear to lead the women into trouble. These women appear overwhelmed and stressed by parenting. They exhibit depression, anxiety and feelings of being mistreated, but no evidence of other mental health problems. Their parental families offer little or no current support. They average 9.1 arrests and have several prior probation revocations and detentions. The pathway is atypical in having a high percentage for a current violent felony (19 percent), for being angry at the time of the current offense, for having domestic violence convictions and hitting/hurting someone in the last three years. Otherwise they mainly commit drug and property offenses. Many are in prison for the first time (64 percent).

Cluster 8 ($N=8.6\,$ percent) Lifelong victims - Older Addicted Women in abusive SO relationships - not parenting - chaotic lives - retaliative violence: This pathway consists of older (average 40) single or divorced women, who are not parenting and who

have a history of extr<mark>eme</mark> lifelong abuse, within crimina<mark>l fa</mark>milies and also in current antisocial adult relationships. They account for 8.6 percent of the sample, straddle all ethnic/racial groups. Their victimization extends from childhood physical and sexual abuse to current adult victimization by domineering and criminal males. Their abusive parental families had high levels of crime and substance abuse and remain nonsupportive. These women see their violent SO as increasing their criminal involvement. They describe their lives as one crisis after another. Surprisingly, this pathway is close to the prison average for poverty, education and vocational problems and does not reflect serious mental health issues or anti-social personality features.

This category has above average criminal involvement and multiple arrests for drug trafficking and possession. Their criminal history reflects anger/hostility, above average levels for hitting/hurting someone in the last three years and an atypically high proportion with prior violent felony arrests. Most (75 percent) were under the influence of alcohol or drugs at their current offence.

Conclusions

Do "gendered pathways" exist?

Our findings support the existence of "gendered" pathways, showing that GR factors are major constituents of six out of the eight pathways. In these profiles GR factors appear coherently linked with each other and with the central narrative of each pathway. These GR features mostly exceed z-scores of 0.30 showing that they strongly characterize the pathway; and differentiate certain pathways from each other. For example, the victimized single mothers of Pathway four are centrally defined by child sexual abuse (1.01), adult physical abuse (0.62), adult sexual abuse (0.46) as well as parenting involvement (.83), parenting stress (.74), depression (.38) and tend to have a highly conflicted and violent SO (.37) relationship. These scores show that this pathway is highly atypical on these defining features and is well separated from many other pathways. Similar coherent profiles emerge for most of the identified pathways

The high complexity of these "person-centered" holistic pathways

These profiles illustrate the high complexity of these holistic pathways. Each pathway clarifies how several GR themes (e.g. child abuse, poverty, mental health) may jointly co-occur with other social and psychological factors in full contexts of these pathways. The pathway profiles also show that several more gender-neutral criminogenic factors (anti-social personality, poverty, etc) can also be key constituents of these pathways. For example, Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) "General Theory" links cruel inept early parenting and neglect to anti-social hostile personality and high criminality is exemplified. These factors are all clear components of Pathway six. However, this pathway is even more complex than the Gottfredson and Hirschi's General Theory, and additionally contains several of Daly's themes. For example path six women are also battered and victimized, have serious deficits in human/social capital, are poor and often homeless, and thus also exhibit Daly's relational and drug-connected themes in their complex profile.

How many pathways exist?

Our conclusion was that the six and eight level classifications were optimal in balancing pathway stability, interpretation and clinical requirements. However, our interpretations also show that the eight pathways can be organized into four general superordinate categories. Yet, the six and eight levels produced particularly reliable cross-validations, high Kappa coefficients and also had meaningful pathway interpretations. Thus, we only report the detailed interpretations at the eight pathway level.

Are these pathways reliable and stable?

These pathways demonstrated substantial stability across fairly stringent cross validation tests. With 1,000 replications across the bootstrapped samples the analysis is likely to converge on the most stable solutions in our data. Second, the stringent reliability and stability tests that we applied to the selected pathway solutions produced high kappa coefficients of 0.85 and 0.75, showing strong replication of the recovered six and eight level pathways across samples.

Prevalence Issues

The lack of comparable studies and comparable pathways does not give any basis for comparisons regarding the relative prevalence of these pathways. However, these results produce useful baselines for other studies. First, the two lower risk / lower need Pathways one and five, but who are chronic drug users accounted for 15.4 percent and 11.3 percent respectively, and jointly for almost 27 percent of this prison sample. At the other extreme the two LCP-like Pathways six and seven were far smaller at 7.2 percent and 2.8 percent respectively; and together comprise only 10 percent of the sample. This fits with prior expectations for small frequencies of the LCP type from other studies. The frequencies of our other pathways, illustrated are as follows: Pathway two (9.2 percent), Pathway three (12.7 percent), Pathway four (9.5 percent) and Pathway eight (8.6 percent).

An Outlier Category of Non-Classifiable Cases

This study suggests that it would be a mistake to attempt to classify all women into a pathway category. This agrees with several prior studies (Brennan 2008, Lykken 1995). However, the exact percentage of unclassified cases will depend crucially on the assignment method used. More specifically, this study suggests that about 75-76 percent of female prisoners can be

reliably classified into one of the eight pathways. Our cross-validated eight pathway solution reliably assigned 76.6 percent of our sample to their appropriate pathway, leaving 23.4 percent of the women unclassified as outliers. However an alternative method (discriminant function analysis) classified 85 percent of the women into their correct pathway leaving 15 percent of cases in an unclassified category.

Implications for Moffitt's Theoretical Taxonomy

We listed several questions regarding Moffitt's theoretical pathways. Our analysis suggests the following comments on these questions.

First, the LCP pathway does appear to exist. Pathways six and seven offer two empirical profiles that substantiate the early onset, chaotic and abusive parenting, negative hostile personality and unfolding of multiple lifelong problems described by Moffitt.

Second, Moffitt's AL pathway appears to be extended into adulthood in certain circumstances, as in Pathways one and five. These exhibit two of the main "snares" that Moffitt suggested could extend their criminal careers into adulthood. One caution is that although these two pathways have dramatically fewer problems and more social resources than other women prisoners, our basis of comparison is the "average female prisoner" and this should be kept in mind when interpreting these relative differences. One caution is that although these two pathways have dramatically fewer problems and more social resources than other women prisoners, our basis of comparison is the "average female prisoner" and this should be kept in mind when interpreting these relative differences.

Third, Moffitt asked 'are two pathways enough?' We discovered several additional pathways missing from Moffitt's taxonomy, particularly those involving socio-cultural processes that were not a main focus in Moffitt's theoretical and biological approach. For example, she omits the "socialized" offenders that emerge from particular socio-cultural family, peer and community contexts i.e. Pathways two and three.

Implications for Daly's Pathways

Our results suggest that while each of Daly's "feminist pathways" emerged in these pathways, they do not emerge as separate unitary explanatory processes. Instead they appear "folded into" or hybridized, often with each other, and within complex pathways that contain additional causal processes. Thus, one or more of Daly's processes may co-occur with economic marginalization, sub-cultural socialization, mental health and trauma.

Next Steps

The above exploratory work to identify women's pathways to serious offending is only the beginning discovery phase of a longer term project. Each of the pathways described above will be further studied to further clarify underlying causal process and also to explore differential treatment implications. Replications on other kind of female offender samples will also be important in clarifying the degree to which these pathways generalize across different kinds of institutional samples.

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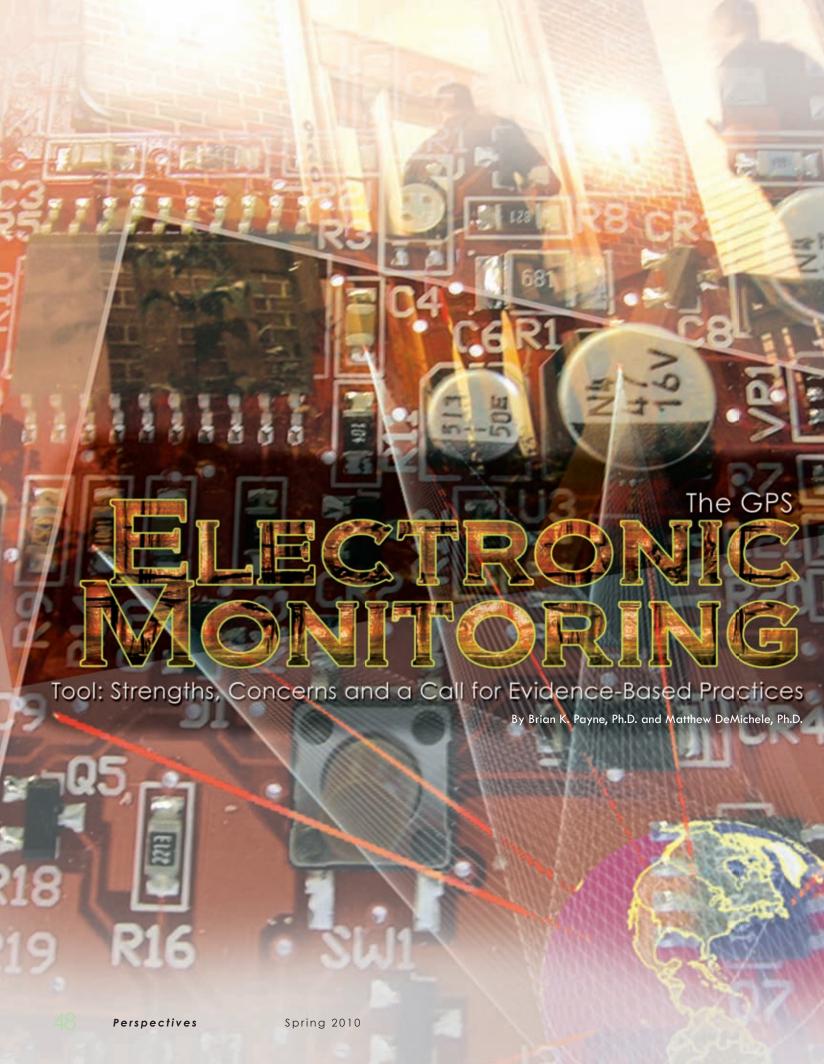
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Continued growth in correctional populations and the associated costs have encouraged criminal justice policymakers to identify alternatives to incarceration. An assortment of electronic supervision technologies offers community corrections agencies additional tools with the potential to more effectively supervise growing probation and parole populations. Electronic supervision as a tool for community supervision professionals is growing in popularity, and there is an intense public and political interest in using these technologies as a community supervision tool for different types of offenders, particularly sex offenders.

It should be noted, however, that there are numerous electronic supervision technologies, each of which have different capabilities and are intended for different offender types (DeMichele and Payne, 2009). For instance, ignition-interlock systems are designed to prevent future drunk driving incidences by convicted drunk-drivers, whereas bilateral GPS systems are used during the pretrial phase to prevent future domestic violence assaults and kiosk reporting is used to monitor low-risk offenders. While an assortment of supervision devices exists, a major similarity among these devices is that they allow community corrections officials to gather important information at a distance regarding an offender's level of compliance with certain conditions of supervision.

There are two main types of electronic supervision tools that receive the most attention from policymaking and community corrections fields: place-based technologies and location tracking technologies. Place-based technologies refer to using radio frequency transmitters and receivers to identify whether an individual is present or absent from a specific place during specified times. This form of monitoring is typically referred to as house arrest, and allows offenders to leave their residence at various times with expectation that they will return at specified times. Location tracking technologies go a step further by using GPS to actually "track" the places that an individual travels throughout their day. These technologies have the ability to report such travel information in near-real time (with about a 10-15 second delay) or the following day through a data download referred to as active and passive reporting, respectively (see Brown, McCabe, and Wellford, 2007). This type of electronic supervision allows community corrections officers to know, for the most part, whether offenders are abiding by their "travel plans." That is, GPS technologies enable community supervision officers to designate a rather discrete path that offenders are to

follow when they are fulfilling their daily obligations such as employment, treatment and office visits. These travel plans stipulate both zones of inclusion and exclusion, which are geographic locations that offenders can or cannot travel.

Several human services fields (e.g., medicine, substance abuse, social work) have become curious to know whether certain social interventions are effective at bringing about stated goals or outcomes. They are seeking "evidence" as to the effectiveness of particular strategies. The criminal justice field too is moving toward a more evidence-based or data-driven framework in which process and outcome evaluations are used to identify the ability of interventions to bring about their desired goals. In the case of GPS tracking, for instance, many wonder if offenders can remain in the community—instead of incarcerated—without diminishing public safety. The effectiveness of GPS, and other electronic supervision tools, is relatively unknown (Renzema and Mayo-Wilson, 2005). This article explores some of the potential strengths and concerns related to the dearth of scientific inquiry into the effectiveness of GPS to supervise offenders in the community.

Strengths of GPS-Based Electronic Monitoring Tools

All criminal justice interventions contain strengths and raise concerns and electronic monitoring tools are no different. In this article, we identify five specific strengths associated with electronic monitoring as part of the community supervision process: flexibility and GPS, reintegration and GPS, control and GPS, punishment and GPS, and deterrence and GPS. While these strengths potentially offer the criminal justice field a powerful alternative to incarceration, there is a lack of research identifying the effectiveness of electronic monitoring as part of a community supervision strategy. In the following section, the strengths of GPS as a community supervision tool are considered. This is followed by a discussion of the need for data-driven community corrections policies and practices, and the need for evaluations to assess the ability of the electronic monitoring tool to continue to demonstrate these strengths.

Flexibility and GPS

GPS location tracking is a flexible community supervision tool. What does it mean to call GPS a flexible criminal justice tool? The *flexibility* is tied to the range of technological possibilities that can be integrated into a community supervision strategy. For example, with domestic violence offenders, community corrections officials could put a "hot zone" around victims that would alert community supervision officers and victims if offenders were near the victims (Erez

"Providing the community supervision officer the opportunity to "watch" the offender from afar, provides time for other supervision functions by reducing the time needed to travel to visit the offender or make random collateral stops at work or treatment facilities."

and Ibarra, 2007). In a similar way, for sex offenders, the GPS device can have exclusion zones (e.g., schools, playgrounds, parks) programmed into it, and if offenders enter those zones, the community supervision officer would receive a text message, email or other notification from the central monitoring agency (Hill and Quan, 2005; Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole, 2007). GPS tracking actually goes further than simply allowing for programming exclusion zones and enables community supervision officers the ability to detail explicit travel routes for offenders. The flexibility in establishing these travel plans is an added benefit for community supervision as they can be set individually according to specific criminogenic needs of each individual. Providing the community supervision officer the opportunity to "watch" the offender from afar, provides time for other supervision functions by reducing the time needed to travel to visit the offender or make random collateral stops at work or treatment facilities (Parker, 2006). GPS provides community supervision officers with an additional tool to better assess an individual's readiness to change.

GPS is also flexible because it can be used during different phases of the justice process and for a wide range of offenders. In terms of when the sanction can be used in the criminal justice process, it can be applied during one of three stages. First, GPS can be used as a form of pre-trial release to ensure that defendants show up for trial, with its most common application being for domestic violence defendants that may pose an additional threat to their alleged victims (see Erez and Ibarra, 2007). Second, it can be incorporated into either a suspended or split sentence attached to the front-end of a period of probation supervision following a conviction. The initial time on probation is when recidivism is found most likely to occur, and GPS offers more surveillance capabilities. Third, GPS is being used as a re-entry tool such as the case in Maryland, in which selected inmates are able to be released up

to 90 days prior to the end of their scheduled sentence onto parole supervision (Sachwald, 2007, personal communication).

Reintegration and GPS

GPS offers the criminal justice system a "halfway back" option to begin *reintegrating* offenders back into their communities with supervision and assistance. Because GPS tracking allows offenders to find and keep employment, criminal justice tools such as this one are believed to have the capacity to reduce reoffending and revocations (Gainey, Payne, and O'Toole, 2000). Instead, GPS and other electronic supervision tools, are just that: tools—not designed to only punish or rehabilitate or achieve any other goal, but rather can be incorporated into an individually designed community supervision strategy to address criminogenic factors that increase the potential of an individual to fail on community supervision.

Related to reintegration, it can be argued that electronic supervision has the potential to assist justice professionals and offenders achieve goals of restorative justice. Led by criminologists Gordon Bazemore and Mark Umbriet (1994), advocates of restorative justice ideals suggest that crime should be broadened in both concept and response. Crime is not simply an illegal act, but it is an act that brings harm to victims and the community. Consequently, victims and the community should be involved in the response to crime. Table 1 shows how restorative justice ideals—as compared to retributive ideals—relate to the electronic supervision tools. It is easy to see how electronic supervision can ease the achievement of restorative justice goals.

Three elements define the way a restorative justice framework relates to electronic supervision: accountability, community protection and competency development (Bazemore and Umbriet, 1994). Accountability refers to taking actions to ensure that offenders accept responsibility and makes amends for their harmful actions. Accountability is achieved through strategies such as restitution and community service. Community protection entails strategies that would ensure that offenders are engaged in fruitful activities that would limit their time, and their desire, for criminal activity. Competency development entails giving offenders the experience they would need to succeed in the society (Bazemore and Umbriet, 1994). Given that many convicted offenders may lose their jobs, they may need assistance and direction in developing vocational competencies for a new job or career.

TABLE 1. ELECTRONIC MONITORING AND RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

	Retributive Justice	Restorative Justice	Relationship to Electronic Monitoring
Crime control source	Criminal Justice System	Community	The community is involved in preventing crime.
Definition of accountability	Punishing the offender	Assuming responsibility and repairing harm	EM is used as a tool to teach offenders to be accountable.
Punishment ideology	Punishment deters crime	Punishment is not enough in and of itself, may do more harm than good	EM allows offenders to reintegrate into the community.
Victim role	Peripheral	Central role	Probation and parole officers may maintain open communication with victims
Temporal focus	On offender's past behavior to justify punishment	On current problem solving strategies and future obligations	EM focuses on keeping offenders out of trouble in the present.
Victim/offender/ community relationship	Adversarial	Dialog and Negotiation	For many offenses, the offender and victim continue
Resolution method	Inflict pain to deter crime	Restitution to restore parties	Many offenders on EM must pay restitution as a condition of EM
Community role	Peripheral	Central	Sanction occurs in the community

Source: Adapted from Bazemore, G. and M. Umbriet. (1994). Balanced and Restorative Justice: Program Summary. Washington D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Control and GPS

The criminal justice system is designed to achieve several goals, one of which is control of offenders. This control, however, should not become overly dominating and strip offenders of their individuality, but rather should apply a certain amount -- determined according to individual criminal behavior -- of external oversight to promote internal controls (English, Pullen, and Jones, 1996). When implemented correctly, it is believed that GPS allows community supervision officers to more effectively ensure that offenders are where they are supposed to be both at a point in time and over the term of their supervision. Community supervision is not only about catching offenders doing things wrong, but GPS actually enhances the ability for finding that offenders have not committed certain offenses. Tracking reports can verify where offenders were at the time of a particular crime, which could eliminate many offenders from suspicion rather quickly.

It is perhaps because of this tool's ability, or at least perceived ability, to control offenders that citizens, politicians, policy makers and some criminal justice officials have been so responsive to using GPS to monitor paroled sex offenders. Consider the following comments made by proponents of GPS:

"This is the next level of supervision. Not only do we know when you're home, we know where you are when you leave" (probation officer's comments to Gorlick, 2005: np).

"GPS technology would let officers know with certainty whether these individuals are actually going to work, whether they are staying at home at night, or whether they are in places that, frankly, they shouldn't be" (a governor's comments to Maddux, 2005: A01).

"Community supervision is not only about catching offenders doing things wrong, but GPS actually enhances the ability for finding that offenders have not committed certain offenses."

"This expanded GPS will help law enforcement know exactly where these people are every minute of the day" (a governor's comments to Weier, 2006: np).

"With GPS, we know when you're home; we know when you're working; we'll know when you're going to and from work...We'll know where you are 24 hours a day" (Levenson, 2005: B1).

The importance of control, at least in the eyes of proponents of GPS, relates directly to the perception that tracking offenders will prevent misconduct. According to one police officer, "In theory, if a person knows they are being watched at all times, they will be less likely to commit a crime" (Nadeau, 2006: np). A state senator made similar comments stating, "We believe GPS will save the lives of children" (Bostwick, 2006: A01).

A study by Payne and Gainey (2004) indirectly addressed control on electronic monitoring by asking a sample of offenders what they thought about "escaping from electronic monitoring." The majority of the offenders (n=49) agreed that it may be easy to temporarily be free, but certain factors kept them from even contemplating escape. Offenders cited four factors that kept them from escaping: threat of punishment, monitoring potential, conventional ties and offender characteristics. With regard to threat of punishment, the offenders recognized that they could get into a significant amount of trouble should they tamper with their monitoring equipment. On the monitoring potential of the electronic technology, offenders said that escape was not an option "because this has a range and they will know pretty quick." In terms of conventional ties, the fear of losing something or someone of value as a result of any tampering with the equipment seemed to keep offenders from contemplating

escape. Also, offenders tended to define themselves as less serious offenders who are really not a societal threat. In effect, they didn't see themselves as a threat.

Offenders in Payne and Gainey's (2004) study generally agreed that the electronic monitoring does in fact control their lives much the same way that incarceration controls inmates' lives. When talking about the controlling nature of the sanction, offenders' comments tended to fit into two categories: concerns about freedom and retributive experiences. Certainly, these two categories cannot be entirely separated in that any time an offender loses his or her freedom, punishment has occurred. Even so, the nature of the comments made by the offenders suggests that the loss of freedom is something that is perhaps unique to certain types of community-based sanctions such as electronic monitoring, halfway houses and other non-custodial facilities.

In effect, sanctions such as electronic monitoring may actually place more control over offenders than prison or jail does, at least in the eyes of certain offenders. One recent study found that some offenders defined the "freedom" that inmates experience as making prison a more popular punishment than alternative sanctions (Williams, May, and Wood, in press). Those who have experience with prison, as measured by the experience of serving time, tend to rate prison as less severe than those who have not served time (Moore, May, and Wood, in press). Along these lines, it may be the perception of the degree of control that community supervision officers have over offenders that contributes to certain groups seeing alternative sanctions in a negative light. Flory et al. (2006) write, "there are some offenders who feel that any agreement to participate in alternative sanctions is only prolonging the inevitability of recidivism" (p. 46).

Retribution and GPS

While reintegration is a central criminal justice system goal, so too is *retribution*, and GPS has the potential to meet such ideals. Given that the public tends to have punitive ideals, it is important that sanctions demonstrate at least some degree of punitiveness in order for sanctions to receive public support. Interviews with offenders show that electronic monitoring has qualities that are similar to the incarceration experience as well as a few punitive qualities that are specific to the community-based monitoring experience (Payne and Gainey, 1998).

TABLE 2. PAINS OF ELECTRONIC MONITORING AND WHITE-COLLAR OFFENDERS

Pain	What it means	Comments Offenders Made
Deprivation of autonomy	Electronically-monitored offenders lose their freedom and have very little control over decisions about movement.	"This is jail inside your home." "I feel like a dog on a leash."
Deprivation of goods/services	Electronically-monitored offenders are not permitted to do activities outside of the home that others take for granted.	"I can't go shopping."
Deprivation of liberty	Electronically-monitored offenders lose many of their rights, with some losing their right to vote.	"Can't vote." "We lose our voting rights forever."
Deprivation of heterosexual relations	Electronically-monitored offenders do not lose their ability to have relations with others, but these relations are certainly influenced by the sanction.	"My wife goes out more, leaves me more often."
Monetary costs	Electronically-monitored offenders usually have to pay to be on the sanction.	"I pay for this." "The worst part of it all is that it costs me \$70 a week."
Family effects	The family members of electronically-monitored offenders must change their actions when someone in their home is monitored.	"I live with my parents and the phone calls wake them up." "EM has shifted a great deal of the responsibilities outside of the home onto my wife."
Watching other effects	Electronically-monitored offenders see others engaging in activities that they would like to be doing.	"It's annoying how some people joke me about not being able to go outside."
Bracelet effects	Electronically-monitored offenders often complain about having to wear the bracelet.	"The strap is uncomfortable." "I have to wear pants all of the time."

Source: Adapted from Payne and Gainey (1998).

Using Gresham Sykes' *Society of Captives* as a guide, Payne and Gainey's (1998) research shows that monitored offenders experience "pains" of incarceration when they are electronically supervised. Surveying 49 electronically-monitored offenders, Payne and Gainey (1998) revealed that monitored offenders will experience pains of imprisonment similar to those discussed by Sykes (1958), and they will also experience a separate set of pains that are unique to the supervision experience (See Table 2).

While community-based sanctions are often critiqued on the grounds that they are too lenient, research shows that sanctions such as electronic supervision actually are experienced as punitive by offenders. In fact, some research shows that certain types of offenders would rather be in jail or prison than on electronic supervision. For example, a survey of 588 offenders found that black offenders rated electronic

supervision as more severe than white offenders (May, Wood, Mooney, and Minor, 2005). Blacks indicated they would be willing to serve eleven months on electronic monitoring in order to avoid twelve months in jail, while whites indicated they would be willing to serve nearly sixteen months on electronic monitoring in order to avoid a year in jail.

Deterrence and GPS

A few recent studies have tested the ability of electronic supervision tools to *deter* criminal behavior. Deterrence is the reduction of the offender's potential (i.e. specific deterrence) or the public's potential (i.e. general deterrence) for law violations. Deterrence ideals are traced to the enlightenment philosophy of Beccaria's (1764) *On Crimes and Punishments*, which suggests that the law must be certain, swift and just severe enough to outweigh the pleasure one would get from the criminal act in order to deter the offender from future

TABLE 3. CONCERNS ABOUT ELECTRONIC MONITORING

Concern	Why it is a concern
Concern about the workload for probation and parole officers	Practically, these devices are time-consuming to operate at the departmental and officer levels. Legislative proposals typically have little conversation of how much time it will take officers to learn how to use the equipment as well as teach offenders how to maintain the equipment before they can begin tracking an offender. Consider that in some jurisdictions an officer may be required to go to an offender's residence to fit them with a GPS bracelet, which that offender is not to remove for usually between 90 and 120 days. However, the offender must also learn things such as charging the batteries, synchronize the data each night, respond to officer emails, and maintain the equipment.
Concern about net-widening	There is reason to believe that more offenders will be placed under the control of the justice system with increased use of electronic monitoring. There is no evidence that the sanction actually reduces the number of individuals in jail or prison.
Concerns about a false sense of security	The dynamics of sex offending are such that there is no evidence that electronic monitoring tools will actually protect members of society from harmful actions by those being monitored.
Concerns about the responsiveness of the sanction characteristics of different offenders	The vast majority of sex offenses occur in or near the offender's or victim's homes. Tracking devices would not be able to indicate if an offenders are committing offenses near their homes.
Concern about the sanction's responsiveness to the motivations for offending	Monitoring devices are based on the assumption that offenders commit offenses as a result of opportunity. While this may be the case for some offenders, for many other offenders (violent offenders in particular), motivations go beyond opportunity.
Concern about stigma and degree of control	Research shows that certain offenders feel stigmatized having to wear monitoring devices.
Concern about legal issues for probation officers	With the increased use of electronic monitoring for violent offenders, it is not clear whether a different set of expectations are placed on probation officers. If offenders abscond and commit a new violent offense, legal issues may surface with regard to the probation officer's duties in supervising violent offenders.

Source: Adapted from Payne and DeMichele (2007)

misconduct. Punishment must not be too severe lest we run the risk of causing crime, rather than deterring it. At the same time, not punishing offenders at all may lead to a greater likelihood of re-offending. The trick is to provide an appropriately severe sanction given the seriousness of the offense.

Regarding the deterrent potential of electronic supervision, research in Florida (Padgett, Bales and Blomberg 2006) found that radio-frequency and GPS tracking significantly reduced the likelihood of technical violations, reoffending and absconding for serious offenders. This large study of electronic supervision found that radio-frequency monitoring was just as effective in reducing offender absconding and revocation for a new offense as GPS tracking and more effective than GPS in reducing the likelihood of a technical violation. For many offenders, it may be more cost-efficient to use radio-frequency monitoring than it would be to use GPS tracking, especially considering that the per day cost of GPS tracking is about 4.5 times greater than radio-frequency monitoring. In Florida, for example, the per day cost of GPS monitoring is \$8.97 versus \$1.97 for radio-frequency. However, one must consider that there may be peculiar concerns regarding sex offenders that may make GPS technologies more attractive regardless of cost.

Finn and Muirhead-Steves (2002) studied the likelihood of a violent offender returning to prison within four years of release. They determined that electronic monitoring had little direct impact on reducing recommitments to prison or extending offenders' time in the community. Incidentally, sex offenders in the electronic monitoring program performed better than similar (based on criminal history) sex offenders not in the program. The authors, however, do not call for increased use of electronic monitoring for sex offenders. Instead, they call for more research on this topic (their sample was

limited to 35 monitored sex offenders) to understand how this group experiences the monitoring sanction and conclude that electronic monitoring "does not appear to ensure greater community protection" (p. 309)

Concerns about Electronic Supervision

Despite evidence of the strengths of electronic supervision, a number of concerns warrant that the sanction be used with caution for certain types of offenders (see DeMichele, Button, and Payne, 2008). The following concerns have been identified regarding the use of GPS for sex offenders:

- Officer workload
- Net-widening
- False sense of security
- Sanctions applicability to different offenders
- Stigma and degree of control
- Redefining the justice orientation
- Legal issues
- Lack of research (Payne and DeMichele, 2008a).

Table 3 shows how these concerns arise for the electronic supervision tool. The last concern, about the lack of research, warrants detailed discussion, given the heightened attention to evidence-based practices in the community corrections field.

Assuming Effectiveness with Limited Research

There is little scientific research documenting the effectiveness (or lack thereof) for electronic supervision programs with sex offenders or other offender types. Renzema and Mayo-Wilson (2005) conducted the most thorough review thus far of research literature on electronic supervision program effectiveness. They found just three research reports that met all of their inclusion criteria as methodologically rigorous, with one of these from the U.K. They conclude that "applications of electronic monitoring as a tool for reducing crime are not supported by existing data" (Renzema and Mayo-Wilson, 2005: 215).

In general, few studies have examined recidivism rates following participation on electronic monitoring; most have focused solely on program completion. Those that have focused on recidivism and the electronic monitoring sanction are flawed in five ways. First, many of the electronic monitoring studies have utilized small sample sizes. Because the sanction is still relatively new and increased significantly in the 1990s, researchers have not been afforded large samples

necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of electronic monitoring to reduce future criminality or technical violations. The small samples were justified given the exploratory nature of several of the prior studies focusing on electronic monitoring. Larger, more representative studies, however, are needed.

Second, and on a related point, those studies that have compared groups of offenders have been limited because of the lack of random assignment. Researchers were forced to use available data of offenders who just happened to be on electronic monitoring (Courtright et al., 1997; Gainey et al., 2000). This lack of random assignment calls into question findings about the deterrent potential of this criminal justice tool.

Third, past studies on this topic are limited because they have tended to be localized in nature, focusing primarily on recidivism within a specific electronic monitoring program in a specific jurisdiction. Because programs will vary from one community to the next, the ability to generalize from such studies is limited.

Fourth, most of these past studies have considered the utility of electronic monitoring for less serious offenders. Over the past several years, states have begun to use electronic monitoring on a more widespread basis for more serious offenders including domestic violence offenders, sex offenders, gang members and chronic drunk drivers. Because these past studies have focused primarily on less serious offenders, whether the sanction will deter misconduct among all types of offenders is not clear.

Finally, the past studies have considered the impact of electronic monitoring systems which used rather dated technologies for monitoring offenders. Technological advances over the past six or seven years have altered the way that offenders are monitored (DeMichele and Payne, 2009). Again, this past research cannot be used to gauge how well these current strategies deter misconduct. Taken together, these limitations have resulted in some experts calling into question the usefulness of electronic monitoring. According to one author, "as far as the electronic monitoring of offenders is concerned, evidence based remains at the level of rhetorical claim" (Mair, 2005, p. 257). Still, the appeal and potential of the sanction is such that "it is not unreasonable to think that electronic monitoring technologies will one day become a normal and dominant feature of community supervision" (Nellis, 2004).

Evidence-Based Practices and Electronic Monitoring

Evidence based practices refers to the use of scientific research to inform the development and implementation of various policies, strategies and activities. In terms of criminal justice, the notion of evidence-based practices calls for criminal justice policies and practices that are informed by, guided by and evaluated with rigorous scientific studies. As noted above, very few studies have guided the development and implementation of GPS-based electronic supervision tools. Any success that comes along with the use of these tools is based on theoretically-assumed strengths of the sanction. To ensure that the tools are responsive to various types of situations, it is imperative that electronic supervision practices be subjected to, and guided by, evidence-based research.

Because so little guidance has been offered on how to use evidence-based research to inform electronic monitoring applications, the authors provide the following recommendations as a foundation from which evidence-based principles can be applied to electronic supervision (also see DeMichele and Payne, 2009, chapter 10):

- Build evaluation into the implementation phase of electronic monitoring programs
- Provide a clearly defined mission statement
- Establish relationships between (1) practitioners and policy makers developing and implementing the sanctions and (2) researchers who can evaluate effectiveness
- Seek funding from local, state and federal agencies
- Incorporate data collection into regular record keeping.
- Plan to disseminate the results through publications and conferences so others can benefit from the evaluation
- Develop partnerships with local colleges and universities to engage with experts in relevant areas of study
- Define evidence-based practices as a process rather than an event
- Use the results to improve the use of electronic supervision tools.

Each of these ideals is discussed below.

Build evaluation into the implementation phase of any electronic monitoring program

Those developing electronic monitoring programs should make sure that evaluation plans are a component of any electronic supervision tool. Using the medical field as an analogy, when new prescription drugs or treatments are used

to address specific diseases, the evaluation plan is designed and tied into the use of the new drugs or therapies. When electronic supervision tools are used or expanded to different types of offenders, policy makers and practitioners must build evaluation ideals into the use of electronic supervision tools.

Provide a clearly defined mission statement (for internal and external use)

Electronic monitoring tools have many uses. These range from pretrial supervision, to forms of punishment, to conditions of probation, to conditions of release. With so many different uses, the possibility that the actual function of the tools gets ambiguously defined increases. Rather than waiting for the evaluation to define what electronic supervision tools should be doing, administrators must determine prior to use of the tools how success will be defined.

Establish relationships between (1) practitioners and policy makers developing and implementing the sanctions and (2) academics and other researchers

Program administrators and practitioners should work to develop broad partnerships when implementing electronic supervision tools. The use of the sanction requires that individuals with diverse backgrounds work together to implement and evaluate electronic monitoring tools. Payne and DeMichele (2008b) point out that, at a minimum, electronic supervision tools will require individuals to have backgrounds in some of the following areas to evaluate programs: social sciences, computer sciences and engineering and management. In building partnerships that promote evidence-based ideals, practitioners should work to include academics with expertise in these areas to assist in evaluating electronic monitoring programs.

Seek funding from local, state, and federal agencies

Funding is perhaps one of the most common barriers to evaluating electronic monitoring tools and programs. Recent funding from the National Institute of Justice has been dedicated to increasing scientific awareness about electronic supervision tools. Whether such funding will continue remains to be seen. However, practitioners should continue to seek funding from different levels of government to guide their evidence-based strategies. Demonstrating that electronic tools work should provide information needed to support feature funding to continue using and adopting electronic tools.

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Incorporate data collection into regular record keeping administration

As a way to offset costs of evaluation, data collection instruments should be incorporated into program administration. Rather than building the electronic monitoring program, and then figuring out how to evaluate it, administrators should build the evaluation into the adoption of any new supervision tool. Consider how professors evaluate students. Prior to the start of an academic semester, professors develop their guidelines for how they will evaluate student success. During the course of the semester, the professor adjusts the evaluation criteria according to unique features of the particular students in the course. Evaluation is not separate from the course; rather it is a part of the course. In the same manner, evaluations of electronic supervision should be a part of the tool, not separate from its use.

Plan to disseminate the results through publications and conferences so others can benefit from the evaluation

Those working with electronic supervision tools should be encouraged to share the results of their practices in different ways. Academics routinely publish their research in academic journals and present their findings at academic conferences. The gap between academic-based scholarship and practitioner-oriented evaluations must be reduced in an effort to generate practical information that can be used to guide the application of electronic monitoring tools.

Develop partnerships with local colleges and universities so professors are more willing to give occasional information sessions to staff about program evaluation

Those working with electronic supervision tools should also work to develop partnerships with local colleges and universities so that professors are available for occasional briefings about evaluations. It is common for professors to call upon practitioners to provide students with information about job expectations for community supervision officers in the professor's classroom. Turning this around, practitioners should be able to call upon professors to occasionally provide information sessions about ways to evaluate electronic monitoring tools. These sessions could be attended by administrators, supervisors and line staff - both those directly involved with electronic supervision and others because it is important that all community supervision officers understand the importance of data collection of evaluation. In addition to learning about data collection, participants in these information sessions would learn why evaluations are necessary, how to

conduct them, what obstacles to expect and how to overcome those obstacles.

Define evidence-based practices as a process rather than an event

It is also recommended that evidence-based practices are integrated into electronic monitoring programs to the degree that the practices are seen as processes rather than events. What this means is that evaluations should not be seen as "things that are done," but as "processes that are ongoing." Technically, there is no end to an evaluation. Evidence-based strategies provide information about ways to use electronic monitoring tools effectively. If program administrators change the way the tools are used, then evaluations should determine the influence of those changes.

Use the results to improve the use of electronic supervision tools

On a related point, for evidence-based strategies to have any meaningful purpose, it is imperative that practitioners use the information they receive from the evaluation of electronic supervision tools to improve the use of the tools. Evaluations are not conducted solely for informative reasons; instead, they are conducted with a purpose in mind – to affect change where necessary.

Conclusion

The correctional system is bursting at the seams (Gottschalk, 2009; Christie, 2000), with more than two million adults in jails and prisons in the U.S. and more than five million adults on probation and parole (Glaze and Bonczar, 2009). Some may wonder why it is that the U.S. continues to incarcerate so many of its citizens, when the community corrections field can provide a safe alternative to institutionalization. This is not to say that some people should not be incarcerated, but rather to point out the tremendous burden that massive incarceration places on our country, our communities and families. GPS and other electronic supervision tools have the potential to offer criminal justice policymakers viable options to long prison sentences. However, the use of GPS supervision cannot be determined on supposition alone. Rather, process and outcome evaluations are greatly needed to determine the effectiveness of an assortment of electronic supervision tools. No doubt the bulk of this article concentrated on GPS tracking of higher-risk offenders, but there is an assortment of technologies that exist to monitor lower-risk individuals that may not need to be incarcerated at all.

One example is that the New York City Probation Department moved nearly 60 percent of their probationers to kiosk reporting. This shift has freed probation officer time to concentrate on high-risk probations and has also allowed these lower-risk individuals to move on with their lives. Interestingly, this shift has occurred without increasing crime among the lower-risk individuals, and slightly reduced recidivism among the higher-risk groups (Wilson, Naro, and Austin, 2007).

The point is not to suggest that GPS, kiosks or any other electronic supervision tool is going to provide a crime panacea. Rather, we recognize that the decisions individuals make to commit crime are wrapped up in diverse and dynamic sociocultural factors that this article does not seek to uncover. What we do hope to highlight is the potential for electronic supervision tools to alleviate institutional correctional populations by offering a less coercive alternative to incarceration. Before these alternatives can be fully embraced, however, scientific research is needed to determine how, when and with what populations various electronic supervision tools should be implemented.

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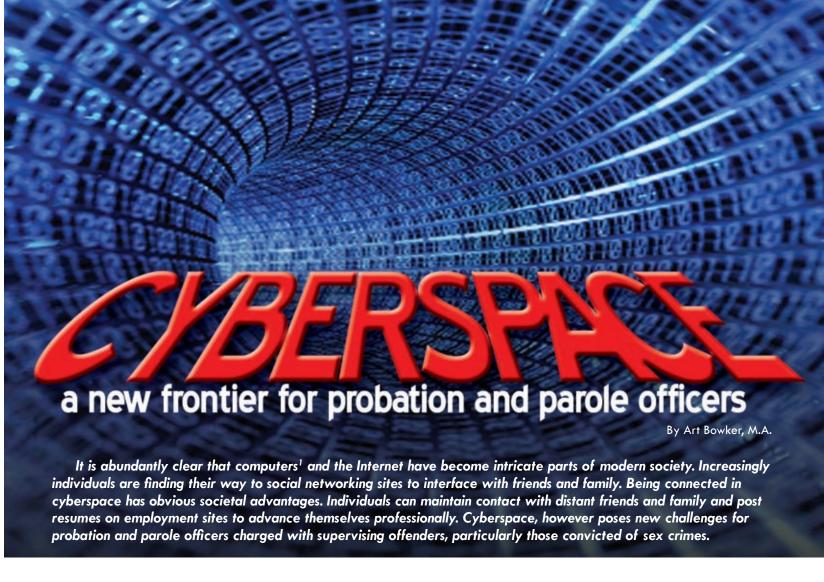
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Offenders in Cyberspace

Cyberspace provides offenders with a level of anonymity that is not present in the real world. Offenders can communicate with whomever they wish with little fear of being readily discovered and or identified. Gang members can use social networking sites to continue associating with another, even while under the most restrictive of home confinement regiments. Cyber-stalkers and cyber-bullies can adopt various online personas to not only avoid discovery but to maximize their attack's impact. For instance, a cyber-bullies use of multiple profiles can give the victim the appearance that they are being harassed by numerous individuals as opposed to just one.

MySpace has reportedly removed 90,000 sex offenders from its social networking site since 2007. (Wortham, 2009) It is little wonder that sex offenders gravitate to cyberspace. Sex offenders communicating online with juveniles can also be anyone they want. They can become someone from the opposite sex or even another child. The possibilities are endless and can become a powerful tool to manipulate a child into a real world encounter. Additionally, online sex offenders can "groom" multiple victims, even simultaneously. Such activity would be much harder in the real world.

Congress recognized the risks posed by online sex offenders when they passed the Adam Walsh Act of 2006. The Act's sex offender registration provisions should be well known by most in corrections. However, the Act also directs the Attorney General to "host national conferences to train Federal, State, and local law enforcement officers, probation and parole officers and

prosecutors regarding pro-active approaches to monitoring sex offender activity on the Internet." (Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act of 2006). Additionally, registration regulations implemented by the Office of Sex Offender Sentencing, Monitoring, Apprehending, Registering and Tracking (SMART) included requirements that Internet identifiers, such as e-mail addresses and profiles, be disclosed by offenders when registering (Department of Justice 2008). States hoping to maintain funding have already begun to incorporate these disclosure requirements into their sex offender registration laws. For instance, Ohio now requires sex offenders to disclose all of their Internet identifiers (Ohio Revised Code 2009).

States such as Minnesota and New Jersey, have enacted legislation that restricts sex offender's Internet usage. Minnesota recently passed legislation that prohibits sex offenders from accessing social networking sites, instant messaging or chat room programs, that permits persons under the age of 18 to become a member or to create or maintain a personal Web page (Minnesota House of Representatives, 2009). In 2007, New Jersey passed legislation creating a parole condition prohibiting sex offenders who used a computer to commit their sex crime from using computers or accessing the Internet for all or part of their supervision. (Jones, 2007). Federal courts have long recognized the ability to impose conditions that restrict or monitor sex offender's computer and Internet usage (Bowker and Thompson, 2001 and Curphey, 2006). Clearly, reality and the law have converged on this issue and probation and parole officers must be cognizant that they need to supervise a sex offender's activities in cyberspace.

Supervision Strategies

A complete ban on all computer and or Internet use is increasingly going to be difficult to justify for all but the most chronic cyber-offenders. This is particularly the case when more of society is going online. Banks and basic government services, such as filing taxes, are clear examples of the legitimate need to access the Internet. Reentry efforts, such as job searches and applying for employment online are other examples of legitimate reasons for allowing offenders access to the Internet.

Limiting offenders to computers which are subject to monitoring and or searches are rapidly becoming the front line tools for many progressive probation and parole officers seeking to manage the risk posed by offenders with computer and Internet restrictions (Bowker and Gray, 2004). Computer monitoring is an effective way to manage how an offender uses a computer in "real time." A computer search prior to the installation of monitoring software, particularly the FieldSearch² program, ensures the integrity of the process from the start. Computer searches also supplement monitoring for items, such as gaming devices and cell phones, 3 for which software cannot be installed. Computer searches also provide an important tool when offenders are found with unauthorized lap tops or other computers.

Some officers use computer searches as the only tool to monitor their offenders. This may be appropriate for some cases, but it has disadvantages. Traditional forensic computer searches are not only time consuming but can be defeated (Tanner, 2007). An offender can use encryption, steganography or wiping programs to defeat or minimize the effectiveness of conducting a search. The installation of monitoring software overcomes these issues. Such software records all acts, including the use of encryption, steganography or wiping programs. Some monitoring software also forwards data off the offender's computer to another site, preserving evidence of a violation in the event an offender wipes or removes the hard drive.

The easiest way for an offender to defeat computer monitoring and searches is to use a computer which does not have monitoring software on it or is unknown by the supervision officer. How do probation and parole officers detect offenders who access the Internet with devices they do not keep at their home or worksite or otherwise keep concealed from their supervision officers? Officers can request billing records, such as credit card or bank statements to detect charges for unknown Internet service; computer rentals; and or the purchase of new equipment. However, offenders can access the Internet from libraries, friends and families homes and these efforts would not detect them. Officers must therefore

consider doing what Blalock refers to as "virtual home visits", specifically a visit to an offender's social networking profile, or "virtual home." (Blalock, 2007)

Periodically checking for the presence of a "virtual home" can be used to detect unauthorized Internet activity. Searching online for an offender can be accomplished by conducting geographic searches on various social networking sites. These searches can be refined with information about the offender, such as using their name or known aliases, including from old e-mails and screen names. Offenders, like the rest of us, are creatures of habit. They will reuse the same or variations of old e-mails and screen names. Recently a sex offender prohibited from the Internet, was detected posting a profile on an adult dating service because he had reused his old e-mail (ironically, the offender has also used his photo from his current sex offender registration with a sheriff's office for his profile.). Another sex offender prohibited from the Internet had set up a profile with a popular social networking site for high school graduates because he wanted to remain in contact with his former classmates. Searching by a cell phone number can also be enlightening. Another recently released sex offender used his cell phone number for a posting an on-line ad, noting he had not had sex in over seven years (He obviously neglected to mention he had been in prison during that period). The utility of such online investigations are not limited to just those offenders with computer and or Internet restrictions. Blalock notes:

"Just like us, offenders post details of their lives, photos of themselves, their friends, at work, engaging in hobbies, etc. on their social network profile. However, some offenders post details of their criminal activities, as well as photos of themselves violating the conditions of their release, members of their gang, use of illicit drugs, and themselves or their associates committing new criminal offenses. Offenders continue to post this information even after they have absconded supervision, giving us a way to apprehend them.

The information that offenders provide on their social network profile provides a massive amount of information and intelligence on the offender. Street names, gang names and monikers can be learned from photos, screen names and personalized URLs. Friends and associates can be learned from friend lists. Offender movements can be learned from mini-feeds, wall posts and comments. Whereabouts can be learned by reported city and state or place of employment. Just as law enforcement uses social networking sites for criminal investigations, probation & parole officers must also evolve for effective offender supervision and fugitive apprehension." (Blalock, 2007, page 5)

Polygraphs are another important tool in managing the risk posed by sex offenders online. Initial and maintenance polygraphs help keep offenders and officers focused on supervision objectives and treatment goals. All of these efforts do not negate the tried and true methods of field work and interviews with family, friends, employers, counselors, law enforcement, etc. Interviews can reveal access to other computers and the Internet. Looking for power supply strips and at outlets during surprise home visits has more than once detected power cords for undisclosed laptops.

Conclusion

We are increasingly living in a world connected to cyberspace. Officers must become accustom to the digital world to manage risk. There are numerous resources out there for supervision officers to get up to speed. The American Probation and Parole Association's training course, Managing the Computer Risk of Sex Offenders is an excellent start. Other resources are the National White Collar Crime Center (nw3c. org); SEARCH (search.org) and the High Technology Crime Investigation Association (htcia.org). Officers must also be willing to engage and embrace these "new" tools to keep track of their offenders' online activities. Only through the use of all these tools and traditional methods can we hope to effectively manage cyber risk and keep our communities safe.

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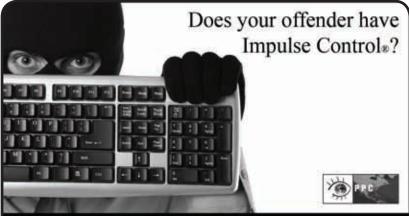
Endnotes

1 In this article the term computer has the same meaning as 18 U.S.C. § 1030 (e) (1). Specifically, a computer means an electronic, magnetic, optical, electrochemical, or other high speed data processing device performing logical, arithmetic, or storage functions, and includes any data storage facility or communications facility directly related to or operating in conjunction with such device, but such term does not include an automated typewriter or typesetter, a portable hand held calculator, or other similar device. This definition is used throughout the Federal criminal code and many states laws mirror this language. It includes not only lap top and desk top computers, but cell phones and gaming devices.

- 2 This software was developed by the National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Center Rocky Mountain Region specifically for use by probation and parole officers. It can be obtained for free at https://fieldsearch.justnet.org/request.asp
- 3 Currently, the sole exception is My Mobile Watch Dog (http://www.mymobilewatchdog.com/). However, this program can only be used with certain cell phone models.

- 4 Encryption programs make data or a file unreadable unless it is unencrypted, which also requires a password.
- 5 Steganography programs conceal data or a file inside another file, usually an image file. This process effectively hides the file. The process usually also involves encryption and also requires a password to retrieve the hidden file.
- 6 Merely deleting a file does not prevent it from being recovered. Wiping programs completely overwrite the files/data, frequently making it impossible to recover incriminating evidence even with forensic software.

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



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