

PERSPECTIVES

the journal of the American Probation and Parole Association



w w w . a p p a - n e t . o r g

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SOLD

THE HIDDEN WORLD OF
human
TRAFFICKING

A Force for Positive
CHANGE.

Community corrections in difficult times

For many of us, these are the most difficult times ever experienced in public service. In fiscal year 2010, forty-eight states confronted budget shortfalls. Some states have been in economic crisis, facing their largest deficits in recent history. Since the beginning of the Great Recession in 2007, government agencies have had to cut their budgets, year after year, and have been tasked with providing public services with fewer and fewer resources. The fiscal difficulties continue. Unemployment nationally was at 9.7 percent in the first two months of 2010. Experts agree that the national economy has started a slow recovery. Nonetheless, state revenues are expected to worsen. States historically have their worst years just after a recession ends, as unemployment is slow to recover and demand for Medicaid and other services remain high. In addition, many of the federal stimulus grants that have bolstered state and local government programs will be ending during the next year. We are faced with yet more tough decisions involving budget cuts.

To make matters even more challenging, management experts tell us that it would be a mistake to just hunker down until things return to normal. They won't. We have come to accept economic fluctuations and it's comforting to know that the economy will improve. However, along with the slow economic recovery, is a future promising rapid, ongoing change. Organizations will need to function differently in order to adapt and thrive in the future.

So, how can community corrections agencies make rational decisions and manage in tough times? How can we make more budget cuts and yet preserve our core and effectiveness? How do we prepare and adapt to a future of rapid change? We can look to lessons learned by other agencies, the results of relevant research and the guidance of public policy and management experts for some answers. Three Important Considerations:

- Performance measurement
- Evidence-based practices
- Organizational vision

At the same time that government agencies are coping with reduced resources, a related pressure is being felt. State legislatures and budget and management offices are asking prudent public policy questions. What programs produce the best results? What services provide a good return on taxpayer money? For us, this suggests a focus on two facts: 1) measurement of our performance is vital, and 2) the use of evidenced-based practices produces desired results.

Performance measurement

Historically, measuring and managing performance have not been strengths for community corrections agencies. One part of this is that agencies are at varying places in their ability to manage data electronically. Another part is that agencies simply have not focused sufficient attention on measuring performance and reporting results.

In order to make meaningful decisions, it is essential to know current results. To what extent are goals being accomplished? In order to inform the public regarding the benefits of community corrections, performance needs to be measured and reported. Is crime being reduced? It only takes a few carefully selected outcome



measures, combined with a credible data collection process, to gain powerful information. Some agencies have management information systems that enable them to report on many performance measures, but this isn't required -- every agency can begin from whatever point they are at and establish some performance measures.

Some agencies have made stunning improvements in their public safety results by proactively using data to guide decision-making and manage performance. Community supervision agencies in Georgia, Maryland and the District of Columbia instituted Compstat-like performance measurement and management strategies. Georgia increased the rate of successful parole completion and saved the state millions of dollars in reduced incarceration costs. Many times, external forces push us to measure performance -- or measure it for us. In Washington and Ohio, the states have devoted funds to research and evaluation and are measuring how community corrections agencies are performing.

When budget cuts need to be made, performance data is an important tool that can guide the decision-making process. Are certain programs failing to make the mark? Even popular programs can be eliminated or revamped if they are not showing positive results. In addition, changes are easier for staff to accept or support when personalities are removed and it is clear that decisions are based on facts.

During this economic crisis, some community corrections agencies have been successful in obtaining grant funding and other resources. One element of this success is data. Organizations that can demonstrate their results to the public in quantitative terms are in a stronger position to gain support from stakeholders and resources from policy makers and grantors.

Evidence-based practices

A sizable body of research has been produced that demonstrates what works in community corrections. The principles and practices that reduce recidivism are known.

In tough times, evidence-based principles can be used to guide rational decision-making. Low risk cases do worse if we over-supervise them, while high risk offenders respond better with more structure and monitoring. Measure risk with a valid risk instrument. Supervise according to risk level. Restructure and allocate your resources to accomplish this. Don't waste resources by over-supervising low risk cases. Increase public safety by putting more resources into the supervision of

medium and high risk cases. Agencies that do this reduce costs and recidivism.

Increasingly, the stewards of public funds are encouraging and requiring, the use of evidence-based practices. Some states have passed justice reinvestment legislation that aligns with evidence-based principles. The state prison population nearly tripled between 1987 and 2007. Prison costs are bankrupting states, while research is showing that effective probation, parole and treatment strategies reduce recidivism. The Texas Justice Reinvestment Initiative contains the strongest probation and treatment policy framework in the country. The 2007 initiative has resulted in a stable prison population savings nearing a half billion dollars, a sizeable drop in parole revocations, an increase in the felony probation population and a reduced crime rate. As states struggle with enormous budget deficits, they see promise in community corrections and look to us with new expectations. The challenge is for community corrections agencies to implement evidence-based practices with fidelity over the long run in order to meet these new policy expectations.

Organizational vision

In a future of rapid change, community corrections organizations will want to foster adaptability. Managers will be wise to seek out diverse voices, generate new leadership and share decision-making. In the uncertainty of change, organizations should promote courage and candor, a willingness to take risks and experiment. Employees' feelings of fear, loss, lowered confidence with new skills and disagreements about direction are to be acknowledged and discussed as you move through changes. Ideally, everyone in an organization will be mobilized to generate solutions.

Perhaps paramount to our effectiveness in the future will be organizational leadership within a culture that embraces change. ▶▶▲



welcome

Welcome to the Summer issue of *Perspectives*. As you read this, many APPA members and other probation and parole professionals will be preparing to gather in Washington, DC for APPA's 35th Annual Training Institute. This momentous occasion provides the opportunity to celebrate our accomplishments, explore contemporary issues and learn about the latest developments in the field. This issue provides an excellent example of the issues facing our field.

In our lead article, McGaha and Evans open the door on human trafficking, an issue with little visibility in the field. Juvenile POs deal with runaways everyday, but the larger problem of international human trafficking poses many new and difficult challenges. Referred to as a "hidden crime", trafficking offenses, offenders and victims are hard to find. The authors describe a multi-disciplinary coordinated approach among justice agencies as the best approach for tackling this thorny problem. They also note parallels to working with the victims of domestic violence and child abuse, where victims are routinely threatened with harm if they reveal any information about their situation. The article provides a number of resources that should be helpful in learning more about this difficult and challenging new area.

Focusing on a more traditional core function of probation, Angela Hawken presents the results of the evaluation of Hawaii HOPE, an innovative project to improve the outcomes of probation supervision. Using the "gold standard" of research designs, the randomized controlled trial, the researchers have found that the HOPE model reduced drug use, improved reporting to probation officers (POs) and reduced revocations. The beauty of the HOPE model is that it does not involve increased resources, but rather restructures the probation, court and law enforcement processes to make them more effective. Among the most impressive results is the impact on the work of the POs – 90 percent of the officers found the program to have a positive impact on their work. Project HOPE has been generating significant "buzz" in the field in recent years, and we are proud to present the results to you.

The growing challenge to agencies of supervising inmates returning to the community is the focus of the article by Mulmat, Burke, Doroski, Howard and Correia about the reentry program in San Diego County. They describe the complexity of implementing a reentry program that is based on collaboration with a large number of justice system partners. Collaboration is one of the core components of the National Institute of Corrections' evidence-based practices model and it is one of the more difficult ones to implement. The San Diego experience shows why that is so. The authors go beyond describing the difficulties to provide lessons learned to explore what worked, as well as what could have been done differently. Learning from experiences that did not go as planned is an important, if under-utilized area of research that adds valuable information to our knowledge base. This process evaluation is a critical component for understanding the complex process of program implementation. Without attention the process of implementation, we cannot achieve the critical element of fidelity to the original design. Without fidelity, we are unlikely to achieve the desired results. Without a process evaluation, we will not know what worked and what did not.



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In the Technology Update, Joe Russo describes important work being done on developing standards for offender tracking systems. With the explosive growth in the use of GPS and other monitoring technologies, national standards will provide a valuable framework for practitioners to use in selecting systems. Additional work on methods and tools to help POs better utilize the mountains of data produced by offender tracking systems and to more fully exploit the capabilities of these technologies holds great promise for the future.

In the Safety Update, Bob Thornton presents a simple but powerful method for organizing and structuring the various field situations in which officers routinely find themselves. This model provides a tool analyzing and informing your actions to keep you as safe as possible.

In the Research Update, David Karp explores the concept of “hypermasculinity” and its role in criminal behavior. We know that men commit the overwhelming number of crimes, especially violent crime. Understanding the factors that drive that behavior in the criminal subculture and the prison subculture can lead to methods for addressing the behavior. Several programs that have shown some success are described.

In her President’s Message, Barbara Broderick addresses a situation that is on everyone’s mind, the financial crisis and the impact on state and local governments. It is certain that we will have to bear the effects of this crisis for a while, but we are not without tools to manage our agencies and our caseloads during these tough times. Performance measures and evidence-based practices are critical components of any strategy for navigating the current crisis. Barbara ends her message with organizational vision, which can be a powerful tool to help us all stay focused on what is important, and what we hope to accomplish.

These are tough times, no doubt, but there is reason to believe that we can survive and build for the future. We hope that this issue provides you with the knowledge and information that will enable you to build for a better future. As always, we welcome your feedback on this, your professional journal. ▀▀



Probation, Parole and Community Corrections...

A Force for Positive CHANGE

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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Dignity and respect describe how each person is treated;

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

Partnerships with stakeholders lead to shared ownership of our vision.



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

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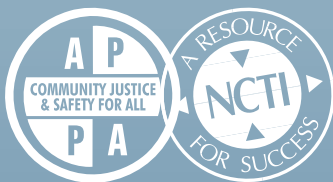


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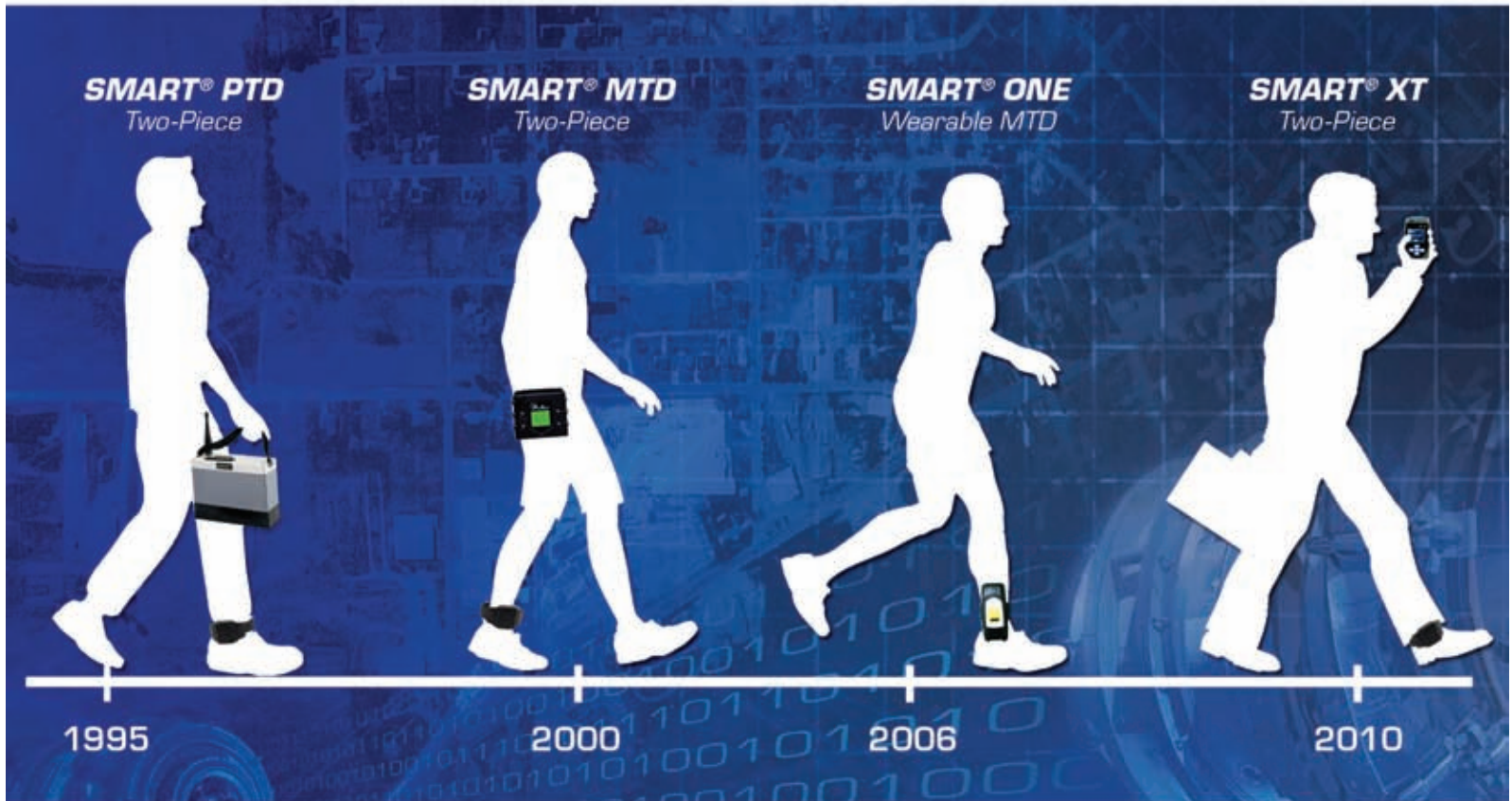
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Susan Waid Manager King County, WA

"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
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Zoning: Another Approach to Enhancing Mental Awareness

For decades the Color Code of Awareness has been an integral part of most officer safety programs. The “code” teaches us to always maintain at least a relaxed awareness, whether in the office or the field. As threats occur, we should then heighten our awareness and prepare to handle the threat presented.

While this is an excellent concept, there is nothing external, other than the threat, to remind us to heighten our awareness. At the January 2010 Austin APPA training conference, Community Corrections Institute staff introduced the concept of “Zoning” during the “Tactical PO” presentation. Zoning is a process whereby staff are trained to key-in on safety issues based upon their physical location. This concept provides an outside stimulus to officers which keys specific skills designed to recognize and respond to differing threats as they perform their various tasks; making home contacts, office contacts, or more tactical endeavors such as searches or arrests. While Zoning can be applied to any location, since field contacts account for the majority of felonious deaths to probation and parole officers, for the purpose of this article Zoning will be applied to that environment.

Zone 1 relates to the street environment in the vicinity of the target residence. As the officer approaches the area they should be alert to crowds outside the site, a large number of cars not typically at the residence or specific safety issues such as gang graffiti or vehicles known to belong to gang members. While still outside the contact property, the officer should be considering the safety issues associated with the type of dwelling; an apartment, a two-story or single family residence and be observant of any safety issues such as surveillance equipment, dogs, etc.

Zone 2 is the immediate area of the residence. The officer has now entered the yard or immediate area of the residence and the officer should be continuing their watch for dogs, surveillance equipment and should be using all their senses to

note anything they may hear, see or smell that alerts them to a threat. They should also be looking for items that can be used as cover if a threat presents itself.

At Zone 3, which is the area of the front door, the officer should be considering the best position to stand that will allow them to observe as much as possible when the door opens, with minimum personal exposure. They should position themselves behind the non-hinged door jam for doors opening inward or behind the hinged door jam for doors opening outward. Continue to listen, smell and consider access to weapons, both yours and theirs.

Zone 4 is entered once the officer is inside the house or site. The officer should be checking for weapons and any signs of danger. If the television is on or music is playing that can cover sounds of other activity in the house, the officer may want to consider asking that the noise be reduced. The officer should be conducting a visual security sweep. The officer should position themselves so they can control the exit, not allowing anyone to get between them and the exit. Questioning should be conducted to determine whether anyone else is in the residence or animals are present, especially if the officer knows there are usually animals at the location. Decisions need to be made as to how other parties in the residence will be handled; should the officer and offender stay in the immediate area or move to another location which may affect the officer’s access to exits?

Zone 5 includes hallways or stairways leading to bedrooms or other interior areas of the residence. The officer may have a need to enter these areas if they are doing an inspection of the residence or going into these areas to evaluate living situations. Generally, offenders should precede the officer into these areas. Officers should be observing all areas as they pass them and should be watching and listening for signs of other individuals.

Zone 6 is the area of the bedroom or other interior rooms of the residence. Hallways and rooms put you and potential



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assailants in closer proximity and reduce your “reactionary gap”. Officers should be scanning the area for weapons and contraband and should not let the offender reach into any area without the officer “clearing” the area first. Officers should also be in a position to control the access to the room at all times. It is important to remember that most officers have been killed in zones 3-6.

If the officer is lucky enough to be working with a partner, the concepts of contact of cover, as discussed in previous Perspectives articles, come into play. While observation duties can then be shared, the Zoning skills are still applicable.

The concepts of Zoning can be applied to any situation; approaching or leaving the office, approaching and entering a non-residential building or conducting a search or arrest. Zoning is a process of using locations to key the mental and physical safety skills that officers should employ every time a contact is made. The Zoning concept will hopefully provide another tool for the officer’s tool box that will heighten their awareness and reduce inherent risks of the profession. ▶▶▶

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

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National Institute of Justice Update

The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) currently has a number of exciting projects and initiatives in progress that are relevant to community corrections practitioners. In this Technology Update, I'd like to provide Perspectives readers with information on these activities.

The Development of Standards for Offender Tracking Technology

In a previous Technology Update, published about a year ago, we announced a planned NIJ project to develop standards in the area of offender tracking technology. I am pleased to report the project was, in fact, launched in the Fall of 2009 and is well on the way to completion. NIJ convened a Special Technical Committee (STC) made up of practitioners and scientific experts to tackle this task. The work of the STC is

being reviewed by an Advisory Working Group which is made up of national stakeholder organizations including APPA.

There are three major deliverables of this project: an Equipment Standard, Conformity Assessment Requirements and a Selection and Application Guide.

The Equipment Standard defines the minimum design and performance requirements and the related test methods to be used in order to verify performance.

The Conformity Assessment Requirements detail the process used to ensure that the equipment conforms and continues to conform to the stated standards or specification.

The Selection and Application Guide is designed to provide the practitioner community with a non-technical description of the standard and conformity assessment program in terms they can easily understand. Also included would be information on the types of technology available and guidance for selecting the most appropriate technology; selection, maintenance and care of the equipment; applicable codes and regulations; training issues and sample procurement language.

The STC has been meeting on a monthly basis since last October. The work of the group is slow but steady. The practitioners on the team



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drive this process, and have worked diligently to identify the most important elements of offender tracking systems from an operational perspective. From there they create general requirements statements for each element which reflect what the end user expects or needs from the system. The technical experts on the team work with the practitioners to put the requirements statements in terms that are objective and measurable. These minimum design and performance requirements for the technology ultimately form the basis of the standard. Along the way the team is developing the specific test methods to be used to assess performance.

By print time, a draft standard should be completed and work on the Selection and Application Guide will be well under way. At the appropriate time, NIJ will make the draft standard available for a public comment period. This will provide criminal justice agencies; manufacturers; vendors; research, development and scientific communities; and all other stakeholders and interested parties with an opportunity to offer their comments for consideration as the document is further developed.

We will continue to keep Perspectives readers informed as this process moves along.

Developing and Evaluating Location-based Information Systems for Offender Supervision

NIJ has recently released a solicitation for a project entitled “Developing and Evaluating Location-based Information Systems for Offender Supervision”. NIJ is seeking applications for funding to:

- develop improved location-based information systems for managing offenders under community supervision;
- evaluate the effectiveness of location-based information systems currently being used for that purpose; or
- to develop improved systems and then to evaluate those systems.

This solicitation is based on a recommendation from the Community Corrections Technology Working Group (TWG). The TWG, in their requirements definition process, identified some very important issues related to the information generated by offender tracking systems.

technology update, continued on page 20

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Specifically, these systems generate a vast amount of data which is extremely difficult to manage. As a result most agencies cannot and do not make full use of the information.

Through this solicitation, NIJ is requesting proposals to develop and/or evaluate new technology solutions which would make it easier to analyze and utilize this information. One potential area of focus would be solutions that facilitate the process of identifying travel patterns of individual offenders. This could potentially assist agencies who require officers to review each data point of tracked offenders. If a baseline travel pattern can be identified and initially reviewed and approved by the supervision officer, a software solution that alerts the officer only when deviations occur could be a tremendous time-saver. Along the same lines, solutions that can automatically identify patterns of behavior and/or anomalies are needed. Patterns of behavior could take the shape of the offender's route to work, stops along the way, the time it takes to arrive at the destination or the amount of time at any particular spot (loitering). This information would be useful to the officer so s/he can react to behavior changes and perhaps ask pertinent questions of the offender or visit the location to observe the activity.

Another potential area of focus would be solutions that can facilitate the correlation of geographic data of groups of offenders. This would be helpful to identify instances where tracked offenders are congregating and would provide grab data at the highest level so as to make correlations across caseloads or even across agencies.

Another potential area of focus would be solutions that facilitate the correlation of offender travel patterns in context to the relevant (with regard to the conditions of an individual's supervision) and proximate human environment (e.g., schools, liquor stores, etc.). For example, a software application with automated analysis tools could identify and correlate locations that are most associated with particular criminal activity. This information could be used to identify offenders who spend a disproportionate amount of time in "risky" areas and work with them to avoid these areas if possible. This could be achieved through the incorporation of urban environmental data about the places which offenders travel from, to and through.

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This is a very exciting area of inquiry and it is hoped that this solicitation will yield quality responses and ultimately solutions that will benefit the corrections community.

2010 NIJ Technology Institute for Corrections

Here is an opportunity that Perspectives readers should be aware of. Each year the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) sponsors a Technology Institute for Corrections. This year's Institute will be held on September 19th through September 24th, 2010 in Baltimore, Maryland and is geared for both institutional and community corrections professionals.

During the Institute, attendees will receive information about existing and developing technologies. The agenda will include briefings by NIJ staff, corrections technology experts and a field experience, visiting several local correctional facilities. The participants will learn about and discuss technology initiatives and issues affecting the corrections community. In addition, participants are asked to make a short presentation on a technology issue/project and describe the problem, the approach to the problem, any obstacles, outcomes and lessons learned.

Attendance is limited to 35 full-time, mid-grade, career, state and local corrections professionals who are actively involved in corrections technology issues within their agencies.

Applications may be obtained on the National Law Enforcement & Corrections Technology Center Website: www.justnet.org.

Previous attendees have reported that one of the most valuable aspects of the Technology Institute was the ability to network and share experiences and lessons learned with their peers from across the country. All travel, lodging, and meal expenses for participants are paid by NIJ. Readers are encouraged to take advantage of this unique opportunity.

For further information on the APPA Technology Committee or NIJ's corrections initiatives 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.



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Recent Research on Parolees and Crime

Recent Research on Prison Masculinities “Unlocking Men, Unmasking Masculinities: Doing Men’s Work in Prison”

David R. Karp

Journal of Men’s Studies 2010. 18: 63-83

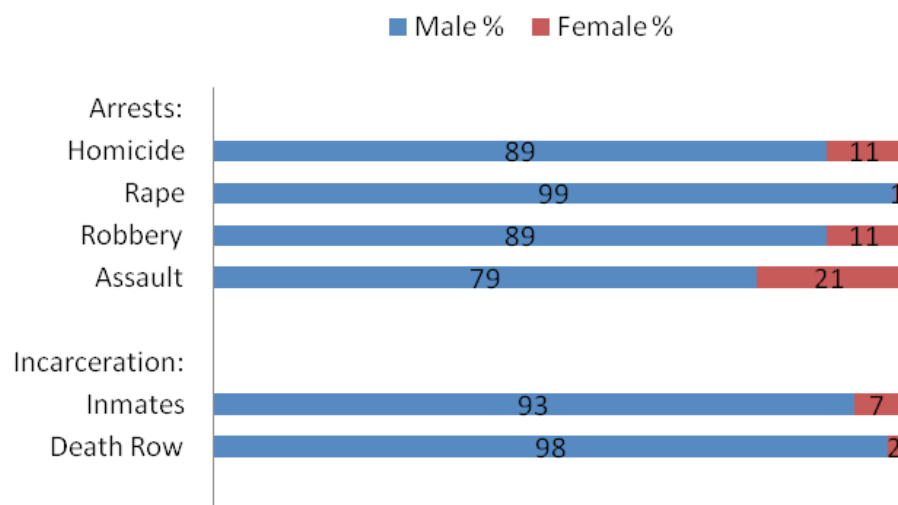
In this update, I will summarize a study that I recently conducted examining a program addressing hypermasculinity in the prison setting. Findings are based on an exploratory, qualitative study of two related men’s programs at prisons in Massachusetts and California.

Crime, particularly violent crime, is clearly gendered. As the figure below (based on data from the *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics*) clearly reveals, males account for the vast majority of violent crime arrests and dominate the prison landscape. But why is this? Most criminological theories avoid this troubling discrepancy.

Among sociological theories of gender and crime, one explanation is Messerschmidt’s “structured action theory.” Messerschmidt argues that the dominant cultural ideal of masculinity predisposes males to criminality and violence. In

American culture, masculinity is characterized by authority, control, independence, heterosexuality, aggressiveness and a capacity for violence. An individual with few resources in one arena may compensate in another, such as when a poor, jobless youth displays his masculinity with sexist banter, wearing gang-style clothing or carrying a gun. Each of these asserts masculinity and enhances status. In prison, inmates often display some “hypermasculine” traits to compensate for failure in other areas of masculinity. Inmates have the lowest status in the wider society, are without work, have little or no money, are unable to express heterosexuality, have no distinctive clothing, little autonomy, no freedom and are likely to be poorly educated and from a racial or ethnic minority. So what is left for them to demonstrate their manhood?—only the hypermasculine tough guy, a posturing that only increases their likelihood of reoffending. As Sabo, Kupers, and London write in their book, *Prison Masculinities* (pp. 10-11):

Arrests and Incarceration, 2006



Suffer in silence. Never admit you are afraid.... Do not snitch.... do not do anything that will make other prisoners think you are gay, effeminate, or a sissy. Act hard.... Do not help the authorities in any way. Do not trust anyone. Always be ready to fight, especially when your manhood is challenged.... One way to avoid a fight is to look as though you are willing to fight. As a result, prisoners lift weights compulsively, adopt the meanest stare they

research update,
continued on page 24

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If limited, distorted adaptation to manhood is a major source of crime, if prison culture exacerbates this problem, then how would researchers and practitioners design interventions to specifically isolate “hypermasculine” risk factors and alter them? What would such interventions look like programmatically? Is it possible to redefine masculinity in the prison environment without putting inmates at risk of exploitation by others? These questions guided this study into gender-centered prison programming.

Two programs take on prison hypermasculinity directly: the Inside Circle Foundation (ICF), which operates in Folsom Prison in California, and the Jericho Circle Project (JCP), which works in several Massachusetts prisons and jails. Both programs were designed by members of The ManKind Project, the largest voluntary organization within the contemporary men’s movement (see <http://mankindproject.org>). The Inside Circle was founded as a not-for-profit organization in 1999. It has its origins in an exchange of poetry between a Folsom Prison inmate and a Sacramento, California, accountant. The accountant, Don Morrison, who was very active with the ManKind Project, encouraged the inmate, Patrick Nolan, to form a men’s group with fellow inmates. ICF currently works with more than one hundred inmates in several California facilities. They maintain an active website (see <http://insidecircle.org>).

A sociology professor in Boston, Steven Spitzer, founded the Jericho Circle Project as a non-profit organization in 2002, drawing on his experience with the ManKind Project and largely modeling it after the Inside Circle. According to its website (<http://www.jerichocircle.org>), the program “brings men’s work to offenders and ex-offenders in institutional and community settings. The project creates circles to help men become more aware of the connection between their feelings, perceptions and behaviors...Through guided group processes and training in emotional literacy, men build the skills necessary to re-vision interrupted and misguided lives.” Thus, both JCP and ICF are similarly focused on emotional self-awareness, personal growth, and helping inmates move away from violence and crime.

The Inside Circle and the Jericho Circle Project prison programs have two basic components: weekly support circles and three or four day intensive trainings. The weekly circles provide an opportunity for a small group of inmates, approximately 8-10, to meet and discuss matters of concern to them and offer mutual support in a confidential forum. Sometimes facilitators will provide specific topics or lead them through pre-determined exercises. Other times, the agenda will follow the participants’ requests to work on issues most important to them at the time. Some groups are ongoing, while others may form and disband after a pre-specified number of meetings.

Prison intensives are three or four days in length, and generally include 12-15 inmates who have been active in the weekly circles. They are staffed by 15-20 volunteers, who spend long days, 8:00am-8:00pm, with the inmates. This high volunteer to inmate ratio is one of the unique features of the program and distinguishes it from other approaches that rely on a single facilitator to support a group. At the beginning of the intensive, each inmate selects a volunteer to be his mentor for the duration of the weekend. The activities

of the intensives are highly coordinated and meant to be emotionally challenging in a supportive environment.

Volunteers describe their programs as having two fundamental features. The first is creating a “safe container” that allows men to develop enough trust with each other to speak openly about personal issues. The second feature they call “doing work” and refers to a set of techniques that enables the participants to explore personal problems and identify root causes, develop ways to solve these problems, and to identify and pursue individual goals that give their lives a sense of direction, meaning and purpose.

The circle programs create conditions in which inmates can learn to trust one another and recognize similar patterns of trauma, need and dysfunction. Although tension remains between men of different backgrounds in the prison system, and the men are cautious with one another, the volunteers discover that these tensions can be used to facilitate the personal work of the inmates. The central premise of the volunteers is that the hypermasculinity in prison can be transformed into a healthy, prosocial culture of masculine expression. This requires a safe container and building enough trust to share personal issues in a group setting. According to this program’s theory, for men generally, and especially for men in prison, clarity comes after doing emotion work—identifying and expressing feelings intensely, but safely. The program helps redefine the core expression of masculinity as bravely identifying and expressing a full range of emotion rather than as stoic denial of feelings or explosive behavioral reactions to them. The program seeks to help inmates dismantle conditioned links between emotion and antisocial behaviors, and consciously choose mature responses to emotional triggers.

The Inside Circle Foundation and the Jericho Circle Project are innovative correctional programs that provide weekly support circles and intensive experiential weekend experiences for inmates. They are unusual in their explicit focus on challenging hypermasculinity in prison. According to program volunteers, the model offers a unique and influential opportunity for inmates to experience personal growth and transformation by developing emotional intelligence and personal integrity. ▶▶

David R. Karp is Associate Professor of Sociology and Associate Dean of Student Affairs at Skidmore College in Saratoga Springs, New York.

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APPA Committee Meetings

Did you know that APPA has over 20 committees seeking your participation? Most committees will meet on Saturday, August 14 or Sunday, August 15 and are open to all members. Plan to arrive early to get involved in your association. Visit the APPA website at www.appa-net.org for committee dates and times.

APPA Accredited Training Contact Hours

All APPA Institute workshops have been approved by the APPA Training Accreditation Committee for 1.5 contact hours. Workshops have also been accredited by the National Association of Alcohol and Drug Addiction Counselors.

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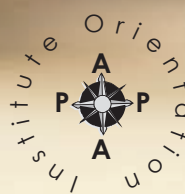
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Tuesday, August 16; 5:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.

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- Places to visit

ACTIVITIES AT A GLANCE

Agenda is subject to change.

Saturday, August 14

9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. Leadership Institute
12:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. Institute Registration

Sunday, August 15

8:00 a.m. - 8:00 p.m. Institute Registration
9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. Leadership Institute
1:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m. APPA Board of Directors Meeting
6:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m. Opening Session
7:30 p.m. - 9:30 p.m. Opening Reception in the Resource Expo
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Monday, August 16

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

Tuesday, August 17

8:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. Institute Registration
8:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m. Workshops
9:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m. Resource Expo Viewing
11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. Workshops
2:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m. Workshops
3:45 p.m. - 5:15 p.m. Workshops
5:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m. APPA Membership Meeting

Wednesday, August 18

8:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m. Public Hearing
10:15 a.m. - 11:45 a.m. Closing Session

Lodging and Tra

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The APPA 35th Annual Training Institute will be held at the legendary Hilton Washington, DC, located at 1919 NW Connecticut Avenue in the heart of Dupont Circle. APPA has secured a reduced lodging rate for Institute attendees of \$170.00 per night single occupancy and \$190.00 per night double occupancy. Make your lodging reservations now by calling (800) 445-8667. You must request the group rate for the American Probation & Parole Association's 35th Annual Training Institute. You can also make your reservations online by logging onto APPA's website for a reservations direct link, or log on to www.Hilton.com and enter "APP" under the group code.

Group room rates at the Hilton Washington are based on availability until July 17, 2010.

Travel Information

Washington National Airport

- Distance from hotel: 6 mi.
- Drive time: 20 min.

Directions: Follow signs to Washington/14th Street Bridge. Go across bridge into Washington, D.C. Take 14th Street to K Street N.W. Turn left on K Street, then right on Connecticut Avenue. Address is 1919 Connecticut Avenue N.W.

Transportation to and from the Airport

Type	Typical Minimum Charge
Subway/Rail	4.00 USD
Taxi	19.00 USD

Washington Dulles International Airport

- Distance from hotel: 27 mi.
- Drive time: 40 min.

Directions: Take Dulles Access Road to Rt 66, East to Constitution Ave, turn left from Constitution Ave on 17th St NW and follow as it changes to Connecticut Ave North.

Transportation to and from the Airport

Type	Typical Minimum Charge
Bus Service	Airport Express
Taxi	\$55.00 USD

Baltimore/Washington International

- Distance from hotel: 33 mi.
- Drive time: 1 hr.

Directions: Follow signs to I-95 S. Follow Parkway to Washington Beltway. Turn right onto Beltway and follow to Conn. Ave turnoff. Follow Connecticut Ave to T Street.

Transportation to and from the Airport

Type	Typical Minimum Charge
Subway/Rail	6.50 USD
Taxi	65.00 USD

Car Rental

APPA has partnered with Enterprise Rent-A-Car to provide all APPA members with discounted rates. The discount will be taken off the lowest posted Internet rates. Advance reservations are recommended. Call Enterprise at 800-Rent-A-Car (1-800-735-8222) and provide the account number: NAEAPPA, or go online at www.enterprise.com and insert the corporate account number: NA32EAP, password "AME" to book your reservation. Enterprise is conveniently located at each of the airports listed on this page. You can make your reservation on the APPA website at www.appa-net.org. Click on the Enterprise logo on the bottom right of the APPA homepage.

Hotel Parking

Self Parking:	\$28.00 USD - Hourly rates posted
Valet Parking:	\$35.00 USD
In/Out Privileges:	Available
Secured:	Available
Covered:	Available
Parking Information:	Hourly and 24 hour rate available



Registration Information

Intensive Training Sessions

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

Family Institute Registration

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

Luncheon Ticket

A ticket for the luncheon is included in the early or full registration fee. Registration fees for family members do not include a luncheon ticket. Luncheon tickets may be purchased for \$60. Extra tickets for guests may also be purchased separately.

Institute Dress

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

Agency Members – How to Register for Your Membership Discount

If your agency is a current APPA agency member, you can attend the Institute at the member rate. **Your agency's membership must be valid through September 2010.** Registration forms must be completed for each individual, mailed to APPA as a group with your agency's name clearly marked on the registration forms. Agency memberships will be verified. You are required to pay the regular registration fee if your agency is not a current APPA agency member.

Registration Procedures

By Mail – Registration for the APPA Institute can easily be done by mail. Just send your check, government purchase order or credit card information with your completed APPA registration form to the address shown on the form. **All registrations postmarked by August 6, 2010 will receive email confirmation.**

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

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

Payment

Payment in full for all Institute activities must accompany your registration form. Check, money order, VISA, Master Card or American Express are accepted as payment for the Institute's registration fees. Checks must be made out to the American Probation and Parole Association and payable in U.S. dollars. Payments received in Canadian dollars will be invoiced for

the conversion difference plus a \$10 service fee. **Registrations postmarked on July 17, 2010 or later are not eligible for the early registration fee and must include the regular registration fee.** Agencies required to use a purchase order should submit the registration form with the purchase order in lieu of a check. Invoicing will be processed immediately upon receipt of the purchase order and, in all cases, payment will be due immediately.

Cancellation/Refund Policy

A full refund, less a \$50 processing fee, is available until July 17, 2010. **No refunds are available after July 17, 2010.** In order to receive a refund, written requests must be sent the APPA Institute, c/o The Council of State Governments, P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40578-1910 or faxed to (859) 244-8001. **All requests for refunds must be postmarked or faxed by July 17, 2010. Registrations are not transferable.**

APPA Accredited Training Contact Hours

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

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

Why are contact hours valuable?

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

Important Dates to Remember

July 17	Deadline to register for single day registration
July 17	Last day to take advantage of early registration rates.
July 17	Deadline for early registration refund.
August 15	Institute activities begin.

Directory

Institute Registration	(859) 244-8204
Resource Expo	(859) 244-8205
Hilton Washington - direct	(202) 483-3000
Sightseeing Information	www.washington.org
APPA Website	www.appa-net.org



Registration Form

APPA 35th Annual Training Institute • August 15-18, 2010 • Washington, D.C.
Please use a photocopy of this form for each registrant. Please print clearly.

First Name: _____ Last Name: _____

Title: _____ Email: _____

Address: _____
(location where confirmation should be sent)

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Phone: _____ Fax: _____

Agency/Organization: _____

☐ Check if same address as above

Agency/Organization Address: _____

Agency/Organization City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Agency/Organization Phone: _____ Fax: _____

Agency/Organization Email: _____

APPA Membership

\$50

\$50

\$ _____

One year of individual membership.

☐ New Member

☐ Renewal

301-085-10-11180-40010

Includes general sessions, exhibit receptions and workshops. (All fees are per person.)

**On or Before
July 17**

**After
July 17**

Member of APPA

\$325

\$385

\$ _____

To qualify for this rate you must be a member of one of the following
(please mark those that you hold current membership in)

☐ APPA Member - Please indicate your membership category and your membership number.

☐ Individual member

☐ Agency member

Membership # _____ Expiration Date _____

Non-Member

\$385

\$445

\$ _____

If you are not a member of APPA, you are required to pay the regular registration fee. Memberships will be verified.

Single Day Registration

\$210

N/A

\$ _____

Single Day Registration ends July 17. Single day registration includes all sessions, workshops, luncheon and exhibit hall entrance for the entire day. Specify Day: ☐ Monday, August 16 ☐ Tuesday, August 17

Student Registration

\$70

\$70

\$ _____

Student Registration for Monday, August 16 and Tuesday, August 17.

Includes lunch for each day. Specify Day: ☐ Monday, August 16 ☐ Tuesday, August 17

APPA Accredited Contact Hours

\$10

\$10

\$ _____

Intensive Sessions

\$35

\$35

\$ _____

Available only to registrants of Institute. Attendance at intensive sessions only is not permitted.

Specify Intensive Session # _____

Family Registration

\$75

\$75

\$ _____

This rate is available to immediate family members not employed in the corrections field. Allows entry into general sessions, exhibit receptions and workshops. Luncheon is not included.

Specify Family member's name _____

Luncheon Ticket (August 17)

\$60

\$60

\$ _____

One luncheon ticket is included in full registration. Registration fee for family members does not include a luncheon ticket

Grand Total Enclosed \$ _____

300-085-11-11220-43000

Payment

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

Charge to: ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ American Express

Card Number: _____

V code: _____ Expiration Date: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Special Assistance

☐ Please list any special needs that you might require under the American Disabilities Act. Attach a written description of needs.

Confirmation/Refund Policy

A full refund, less a \$50 processing fee, is available until July 17, 2010. **No refunds are available after July 17, 2010.** In order to receive a refund, written requests must be sent to the APPA Institute, c/o The Council of State Governments, P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, KY 40578-1910 or faxed to (859) 244-8001. All requests for refunds must be postmarked or faxed by July 17, 2010.

Mail this form to:

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

or Fax to:

(859) 244-8001

or register online at www.appa-net.org

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

Length of Experience in Corrections

☐ Less than 2 years

☐ 16-20 years

☐ 2-5 years

☐ 21-25 years

☐ 6-10 years

☐ More than 26 years

☐ 11-15 years

Gender

☐ Male

☐ Female

Race/Ethnicity

☐ African American

☐ Native American

☐ Caucasian

☐ Asian

☐ Hispanic

☐ Other

Highest Level of Education

☐ Graduate Equivalency Diploma (GED)

☐ High School Diploma

☐ Associate's Degree

☐ Bachelor's Degree

☐ Master's Degree

☐ Doctorate

Geographical Area

☐ Urban (pop. over 50,000)

☐ Rural (pop. under 50,000)

Job Jurisdiction

☐ Federal

☐ State

☐ County

☐ City

☐ Private firm/business

☐ Academic Institution

☐ Province

☐ Nonprofit organization

☐ Other _____

Primary Work Area

☐ Juvenile Probation & Parole

☐ Adult Probation & Parole

☐ Adult Probation

☐ Adult Parole

☐ Juvenile Probation

☐ Juvenile Parole/Aftercare

☐ Residential

☐ Non - Residential

☐ Treatment Provider

☐ Academia

☐ Other _____

Professional Category

☐ Line Personnel

☐ Attorney

☐ Commissioner/

☐ Educator/

☐ Director/Chief

☐ Researcher

☐ Administrator

☐ Private Sector/

☐ Consultant

☐ Corporate

☐ Trainer

☐ Retired

☐ Parole Board

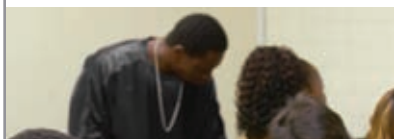
☐ Student

☐ Member

☐ Other

☐ Judge

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call for presenters

appa 36th annual training institute

july 24-27, 2011

The American Probation and Parole Association is pleased to issue a Call for Presenters for the 36th Annual Training Institute held in Chicago, Illinois, July 24-27, 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
- Workforce Development

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, July 25 and Tuesday, July 26)
- **Intensive Sessions:** 4 to 8 hour sessions (Intensive Sessions to be held on Sunday, July 24)
- **Workshop Title:** A snappy title that catches the attention of participants and identifies the primary focus of the workshop.
- **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, November 19, 2010 to Sherry Parks at sherrypp@email.utcourts.gov. Questions regarding submissions should be directed to the National Program Chair:

Sherry Parkes
Chief Probation Officer, Third District Juvenile Court
West Valley Offices
3636 South Constitution Blvd.
West Valley City, UT 84119
Phone: (801) 957-7846 Fax: (801) 957-7897
email: sherrypp@email.utcourts.gov

Workshop proposals should be received no later than Friday, November 19, 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.

PROBATION, PAROLE AND COMMUNITY SUPERVISION

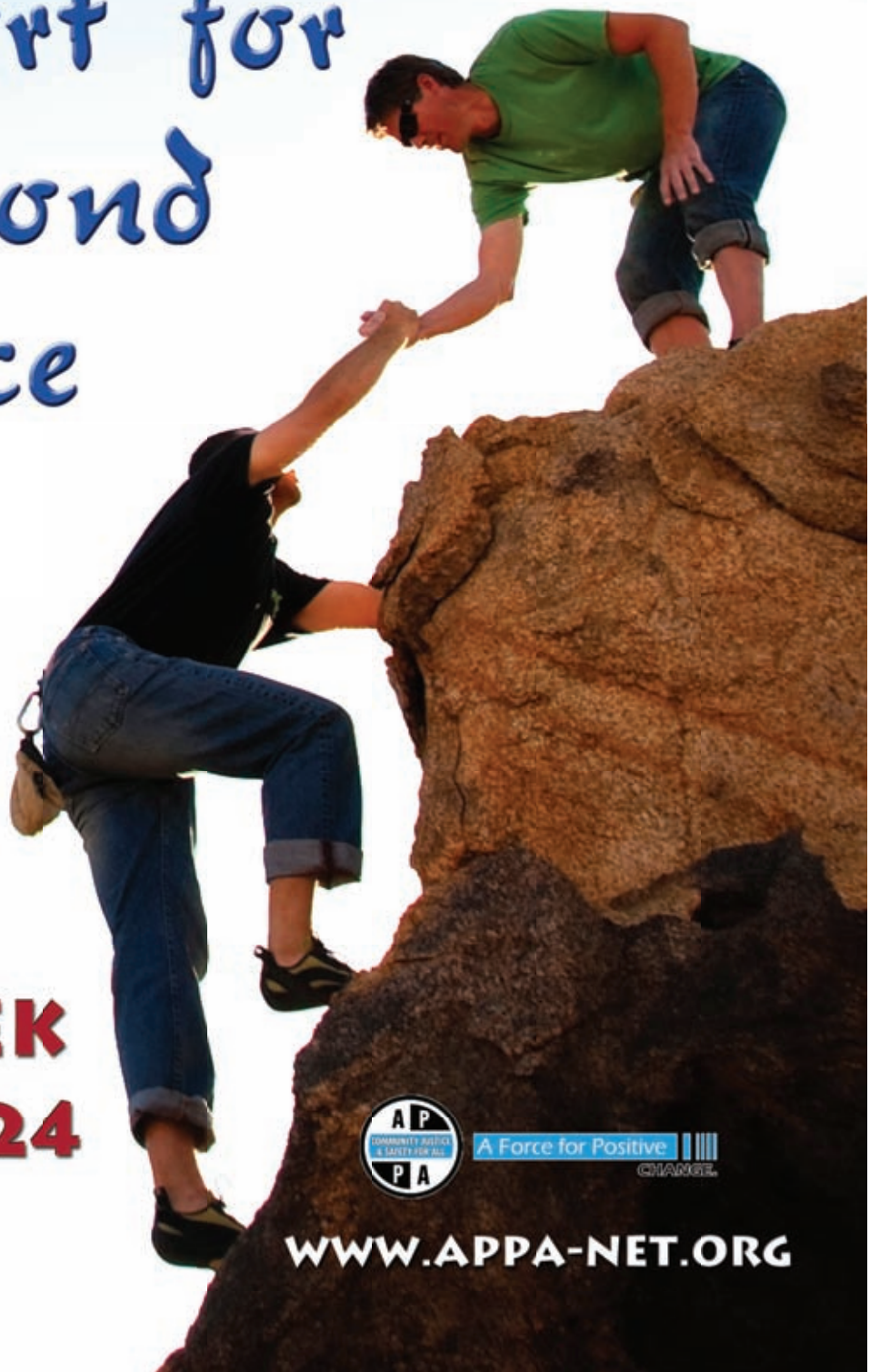
Support for
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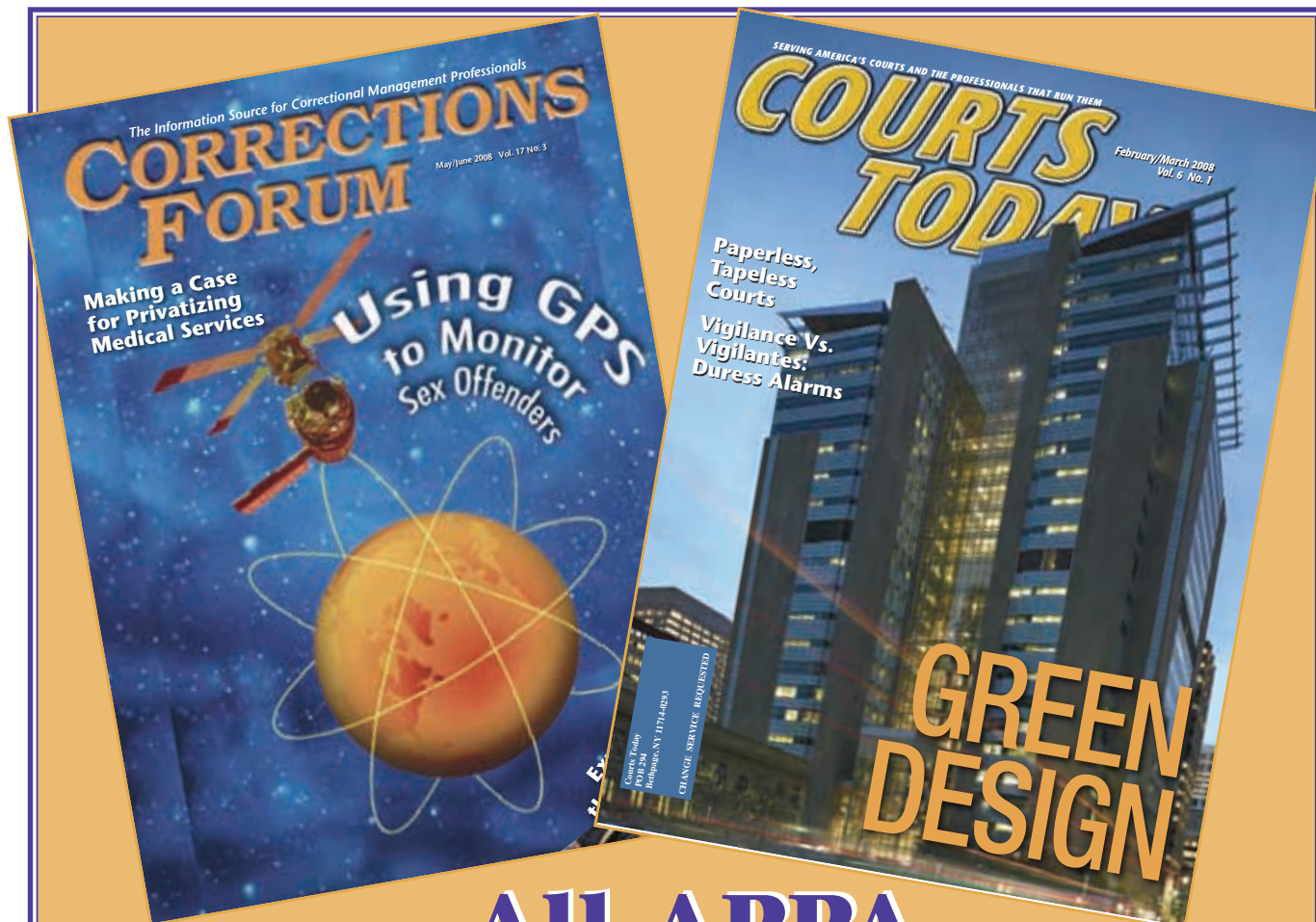
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The Message from Hawaii: HOPE for Probation

by Angela Hawken, Ph.D.

This project was supported by Award No. 2007 –IJ-CX-0033 awarded by the National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice and the Smith Richardson Foundation. The opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this publication are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of Justice or the Smith Richardson Foundation.





PROBATIONERS ARE BETTER ABLE TO MAKE GOOD DECISIONS

when they face foreseeable known consequences for the decisions that they make (Gendreau, 1996). The innovative probation-enforcement approach called HOPE (Hawaii's Opportunity Probation with Enforcement) relies on a regimen of regular, random drug testing tied to swift and certain—but relatively mild—sanctions to motivate probationer compliance. By contrast with diversion programs and drug courts, HOPE does not mandate treatment except for the minority of probationers who repeatedly run afoul of the rules.

In Honolulu, HOPE has improved probationer compliance with probation terms, drastically reducing both positive drug tests and missed appointments. HOPE probationers were less likely than other, similar offenders to be arrested for new crimes or to be incarcerated. HOPE is more expensive than probation-as-usual, but the additional cost is more than paid for in reduced incarceration. This net cost saving, combined with economical use of scarce drug-treatment resources, means that resource constraints do not present a barrier to the expansion of HOPE-style programs throughout the community corrections system.

BACKGROUND

Over the past two decades, inflation-adjusted expenditure on corrections has more than doubled (Hawken & Grunert, 2010). Growing concern over the growth in corrections spending has forced policy makers to review less expensive alternatives to incarceration for drug offenders, reinforcing the importance of community supervision. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, 5.1 million American adults were being supervised on probation or parole at the end of 2008. One third of probationers and over one half of parolees fail the terms of their community supervision; they are either re-incarcerated or abscond (Glaze & Bonczar, 2009).

The past two decades have seen a dramatic shift in the way in which drug offenders are managed. A large number of states have implemented intermediate-sanctions programs and treatment-diversion programs, which provide drug offenders with the option of receiving treatment in the community rather than serving jail or prison time.

Perhaps the most frustrating statistic, however, is the fact that the rates of successful completion of either probation or parole have remained historically stable in spite of the myriad local, State, and Federal initiatives undertaken to improve offender outcomes (Hawken & Grunert, 2010). Even the most successful programs rarely improve success rates by more than ten percentage points. The robustness of high failure rates highlights the need to develop an offender management approach that goes beyond the status quo, particularly with regard to drug-involved offenders.

High rates of noncompliance with probation conditions undermine the efficacy of probation as a sanction. Despite rules requiring desistance from drug use, routine probation practices effectively allow continued drug use (largely) without consequence, which in most cases means continuing to commit other crimes (Farabee & Hawken, 2009). Drug testing of probationers tends to be too infrequent, test results come back too slowly and sanctions are too rare, to produce behavior change. And yet when sanctions are made, they tend to be too severe (months, or occasionally years, in prison), which defeats the rationale for probation as a less costly penalty than incarceration.

Hawaii's HOPE program provides evidence that re-engineering the probation-enforcement process can yield positive results in terms of compliance with all types of probation conditions, including desistance from drug use, among even heavily drug-involved methamphetamine users (Hawken & Kleiman, 2009). These findings show that dramatic reductions in rates of noncompliance can be achieved primarily through credible threats of low-intensity sanctions rather than the necessarily less-credible threat of revocations.

The Probation Crisis

Enforcing conditions of probation is an important challenge for the criminal-justice system. Probation supervision is intended to provide an alternative to incarceration: In lieu of a prison term, an offender promises to comply with a set of conditions and an officer is assigned to monitor enforcement, with authority to report violations to the court for possible sanctions. This avoids the cost of incarceration (and the damage it can inflict on the offender's chances of successfully integrating into law-abiding society) and promises rehabilitative benefits from requiring the offender to learn to keep his or her behavior within legal limits in a community

setting. Yet high caseloads, a sanctions process that puts large demands on the time of probation officers and judges, the scarcity of jail and prison beds and the low priority many police agencies give to the service of bench warrants for probation absconders makes it difficult to actually enforce the terms of probation and rates of noncompliance are accordingly high. When probationers are ordered to appear for drug tests, approximately one in three either fails to appear or tests "dirty" on any given occasion. (Kleiman *et. al* 2003). In California only one in four offenders who took the treatment-instead-of-prison bargain offered by Proposition 36 actually completed treatment, a typical result for drug-diversion programs (Urada and Evans, 2008).

What is HOPE?

HOPE is a strategic new approach for managing probationers. The HOPE intervention starts with a formal warning, delivered by a judge or hearings officer in open court, that *any* violation of probation conditions will not be tolerated: Each violation will result in an immediate, brief jail stay. Each probationer with substance abuse issues is assigned a color code at the warning hearing. The probationer is required to call the HOPE hotline each weekday morning. Those probationers whose color is selected must appear at the probation office before 2 pm that day for a drug test. During their first two months in HOPE, probationers are randomly tested at least once a week (good behavior through compliance and negative drug tests is rewarded with an assignment of a new color associated with less-regular testing). A failure to appear for testing leads to the immediate issuance of a bench warrant, which the Honolulu Police Department serves. Probationers who test positive for drug use or fail to appear for probation appointments are brought before the judge. When a violation is detected, the probation officer completes a "Motion to Modify Probation" form and faxes this form to the judge (a Motion to Modify form was designed to be much simpler than a Motion to Revoke Probation and can be completed very quickly). The hearing on the Motion to Modify is held promptly (most are held within 72 hours), with the probationer confined in the interim.¹ A probationer found to have violated the terms of probation is immediately sentenced to a short jail stay (typically several days servable on the weekend if employed, but increasing with continued non-compliance), with credit given for time served. The probationer resumes participation in HOPE and reports to his or her probation officer on the day of release. Unlike a

probation revocation, a modification order does not sever the probation relationship. A probationer may request a treatment referral at any time; but probationers with multiple violations are *mandated* to intensive substance-abuse-treatment services (typically residential care). The court continues to supervise the probationer throughout the treatment experience and consistently sanctions noncompliance (positive drug tests and no-shows for treatment or probation appointments).

Since probation officer time, court time, police officer time and jail space are all scarce, the feasibility of running HOPE at a large scale depends on low violation rates. The key operating assumption—amply borne out by the evaluation results—was that the program’s demonstrated capacity and will for follow-through on threatened sanctions would lead to low violation rates (Kleiman, 1993; Kleiman & Kilmer, 2009; Hawken & Kleiman, 2009). Reliability in sanctioning was achieved by starting small and growing the program sufficiently slowly so that the demand for sanctions never outstripped the supply. The program has grown from 34 probationers to more than 1,500 without adding courtrooms, judges, court clerks, probation officers, police officers or jail cells; the additional resources voted by the legislature went almost entirely toward additional drug testing² and treatment capacity. But that growth took place over a period of years, not weeks.

THE ORIGINS OF HOPE

In 2004, Judge Steven Alm of Hawaii’s First Circuit created HOPE as an experimental probation-modification program, starting with three dozen offenders. None of the basic principles of the HOPE project are new (Kleiman, 1997), yet Honolulu is the first large jurisdiction to make it work with a large percentage of its probation population. While local conditions were in some ways favorable to the project, the key to success seems to have been public-sector entrepreneurship and solid delivery. The fragmented nature of the criminal-justice process creates many opportunities for failures of public management; good ideas, even proven ideas, are more common than good execution. Thus the HOPE story has potential lessons not only for other attempts to enforce the conditions of community corrections but for many different kinds of innovations in crime control.

Although the ideas behind HOPE have been around for years, HOPE did not start with an idea. Rather, it started with a problem: a self-reinforcing pattern of high violation

key elements of HOPE

The HOPE process is as simple to describe as it is difficult to implement. Its key elements are:

- Monitoring of probationers’ compliance with probation terms, and in particular randomized drug testing, with the randomization implemented through a call-in “hot line.”
- A guaranteed sanction—typically a few days in jail—for each probationer’s first violation, escalating with subsequent violations. (The evaluation results suggest that greater severity on the first offense has no impact on overall compliance)
- A clear set of rules.
- An initial warning in open court at which the judge impresses on each probationer the importance of compliance and the certainty of consequences for noncompliance, as part of a speech emphasizing personal responsibility and the hope of all involved that the probationer succeed.
- Prompt hearings (most are held within 72 hours) after violations.
- Compulsory drug treatment for those who repeatedly fail, as opposed to universal assessment and treatment.
- Capacity to find and arrest those who fail to appear voluntarily for testing or for hearings.



The central idea of HOPE

is the commonsensical one

that certainty and swiftness

count for more than severity

in determining the deterrent

efficacy of a threatened

punishment. This reflects findings

in the psychological literature on

behavior modification.

rates and low sanction rates on probation, especially with respect to drug use. To Judge Alm, this problem appeared in the form of probation-revocation motions offered by the probation department against probationers with multiple violations over periods of months and sometimes years. This led him to ask the key question: If the probationer's latest violation is his tenth (not an uncommon number), what happened the first nine times?

The answer he got from probation officers illustrated the nature of the social trap the system was caught in. Because violation rates were high (of probationers with scheduled monthly meetings with a probation officer, which included drug tests, roughly half tested positive for one or more illicit drugs and another 14 percent simply failed to appear at all) no probation officer had the time to write up every violation, and no judge would have had the time to hear all those cases had they been filed. That made it seem reasonable for probation officers to set priorities, giving multiple warnings and asking for revocation only once a probationer's file fairly bristled with violations.

But that seemingly sensible approach had a perversely self-reinforcing consequence: Since the most likely result of a violation was a mere warning, there was little incentive for probationers to comply. They had no reason to believe a probation officer's "final warning," any more than they believed the previous warnings that had led to no action. The deferred, low-probability threat of a drastic sanction—probation revocation—was not an effective deterrent (Kleiman, 2009). As a result, violation rates remained high.

The central idea of HOPE is the commonsensical one that certainty and swiftness count for more than severity in determining the deterrent efficacy of a threatened punishment. This reflects findings in the psychological literature on behavior modification.

The basic tenets of the HOPE program designed by Judge Alm the use of clearly articulated sanctions applied in a manner that is certain, swift, consistent and parsimonious have a strong theoretical basis and are well supported by research. That swiftness and certainty outperform severity in the management of offending is a concept that dates back to Beccaria (1764). A *clearly defined behavioral contract* enhances perceptions of the certainty of punishment, which deters future violations (Grasmack & Bryjak, 1980; Paternoster, 1989; Nichols & Ross, 1990; Taxman, 1999). Probationers are better able to make good decisions when they face *foreseeable, known consequences* for the decisions that they make (Gendreau, 1996). Responding *swiftly* to violations improves the perception that the sanctioning process is fair (Rhine, 1993), and the immediacy, or celerity, of a sanction

is vital for shaping behavior (Farabee, 2005). The *consistent* application of a behavioral contract improves compliance (Paternoster et al., 1997), and *parsimonious* use of punishment enhances the legitimacy of the sanction package and reduces the potential negative impacts of tougher sentences, such as long prison stays (Tonry, 1996).

Thus Judge Alm's innovations were supported both by research evidence and by Alm's solid understanding of operations of the criminal justice system. The central operating problem was how to turn that idea into a reality in the face of scarce resources and distributed decision-making.

THE ENTREPRENEURIAL PROCESS KEY TO HOPE'S SUCCESS

Some policy entrepreneurs treat the process of consulting with other actors whose cooperation is needed as a formality, a process of appearing to listen in order to obtain buy-in. That was not the approach taken by Judge Alm. He treated objections as reflecting real constraints and explored how to economize. Indeed, what now seems to be the most effective element of the HOPE process and its one genuine innovation—the warning hearing—was first suggested to the judge by the public defender.

The clear set of consequences presented under HOPE (elaborated during the warning hearing) helps probationers to develop a sense of self-control and responsibility for their own actions. By shifting the locus of control in reality from the probation officer and the judge to the probationer, HOPE helps the probationer shift his perception of the locus of control. And the judge's speech at the HOPE warning hearing emphasizes the importance of the probationer taking charge of his own life and accepting accountability for his own actions. The warning hearing also explicitly identifies the probationer as a morally responsible agent—an adult—rather than the helpless subject of decisions by others in an unpredictable criminal-justice system.

The warning hearing also creates a perception of fairness on the part of the probationer. Because the consequences are clearly laid out in advance, there is no sense that the sanctions, when administered, are arbitrary or the result of animus. The strong assertion by the judge of goodwill toward the probationer and of the desire of everyone in the process that the probationer succeed, may also be important.

Judge Alm set out to reorganize the system so that the violations would be met with a sanction *quickly*. Many of the central innovations in the HOPE process involved reducing the workload demands of imposing a sanction, such as fill-in-the-blanks violation-reporting forms and HOPE hearings that were intended to be quick. Court records were studied as part of the HOPE evaluation. The average Motion-to-Modify (MTM) hearing was only seven minutes and the average warning hearing, these are usually conducted as mass hearings, requires only three and a half minutes of court time per offender.

Initially, probation officers and their managers were resistant to what became the HOPE initiative. Facing high caseloads and high violation rates, they saw a process of reporting every violation to the court as completely infeasible. They estimated that it required about four hours of work to prepare a revocation motion. That meant that preparing a report on each of a dozen violations per week would require about 50 work-hours per probation officer per week, leaving less than zero time for actually meeting with probationers, let alone performing all their other professional tasks. And that analysis did not even count the hours a probation officer could expect to spend in court during a revocation hearing.

Many policy entrepreneurs would have treated this objection as an instance of “work avoidance” or “resistance to change.” Judge Alm, after some discussion back and forth, recognized it as a perfectly valid problem, and, in consultation with the probation officers and their managers, set about designing a way around the problem.

They decided to work on both ends of the problem: the number of reports and the time required to prepare each one. To limit the number of reports, not every probationer was put on HOPE supervision when the program first began. Instead, together the probation officers identified criteria for selecting probationers on their caseloads whose violation records up to that point were sufficiently long that the probationer faced a likely threat of revocation. As the program was untested, Judge Alm decided to start small. The initial group consisted of 34 felony probationers – selected for their recalcitrance – from among several hundred subject to Judge Alm's jurisdiction. In the selection process, probation officers were asked to identify those probationers whose violations were so numerous that one more violation would justify a revocation motion.

To reduce the time required to prepare a report, Judge Alm proposed to treat each new violation as a reason to modify rather than revoke probation: to incarcerate the probationer for a matter of days rather than sending him to prison to complete the remainder of a multi-year term. The same approach was adopted by the other judges who oversaw HOPE caseloads when the program was expanded. Unlike a revocation, the relatively mild sanction attendant on a probation modification could be justified by a single incident rather than a long string of violations. Consequently, there was no need for the probation officer to prepare an elaborate report documenting multiple lapses over a period of months.

Indeed, the amount of information required turned out to be very small: the probationer's name and the details about the latest violation, the nature of the violation (missed appointment, missed drug test, positive drug test), and, if the violation was a positive test, the drug for which the probationer tested positive. All of that could be made to fit on a two-page form with check-boxes and blanks to be filled in. Once the form was filled out and signed, the probation officer would fax it to the judge's chambers. The probation officer's presence would not even be required at the subsequent hearing, since the defense rarely contests the simple and easily verifiable facts involved. Those two changes transformed the impact of HOPE on probation officer workloads.

HOPE OUTCOMES COMPARED WITH PROBATION-AS-USUAL

From the outset the program showed impressive improvements in probationer compliance. With support from the Hawaii legislature, the program was expanded. The NIJ-funded evaluation of HOPE compared HOPE probationers to a matched group of comparison probationers who were supervised under probation-as-usual.

During the first three months following baseline, the probationers assigned to HOPE had a striking improvement in their drug-testing outcomes, with their rate of positive drug tests falling by 83 percent (a decrease from 53 percent to 9 percent). By contrast the rate of positive drug test for comparison probationers *increased* over this period. By six month follow-up, the rate of positive drug testing for HOPE probationers had fallen 93 percent from baseline.

Outcomes for missed probation appointments showed a similar pattern. During the first three months following baseline, the probationers assigned to HOPE had a dramatic improvement in their appointment attendance. Missed appointments fell by 71 percent (from 14 percent to four percent). By six month follow-up HOPE probationers, on average, were missing only one percent of their appointments. By contrast, probationers assigned to the comparison group had an *increase* in their missed appointments and three months, and no significant improvement by six month follow-up.

An important finding from a cost perspective was the large differences in revocation rates and incarceration across the study groups. Compared to probationers under Judge Alm's control assigned to HOPE, the comparison group (otherwise similar probationers assigned to other judges and therefore not put on HOPE) were more than three times as likely to have their probation status revoked (31 percent vs. nine percent). HOPE probationers averaged approximately the same number of days in jail, serving more but shorter terms. But HOPE probationers were sentenced to about one-third as many days in prison on revocations or new convictions, an average of 303 days for comparison probationers compared with 112 days for HOPE probationers.³

The impressive findings of the HOPE evaluation were later confirmed when a true randomized controlled trial of HOPE, funded by the Smith Richardson Foundation, was implemented in a general probation unit in Honolulu. The second evaluation confirms that the HOPE findings were not due to an "operator effect." The HOPE findings have been shown to be robust across probation offices, across probation officers and across judges.

As a result of the impressive improvements in probationer compliance and reductions in incarceration, the Hawaii legislature supported an expansion of the HOPE program. By early 2009, more than 1,500 probationers had been placed on HOPE.⁴

PERSPECTIVES OF THE STAKEHOLDERS

Stakeholder interviews and surveys generated surprising findings. Probationers assigned to HOPE gave high praise to the program. Fewer than ten percent of the HOPE probationers reported a negative perception of the program.

Even those who were surveyed while incarcerated under HOPE gave positive reviews of the program, only 12 percent reported negative perceptions. The most disgruntled group among the HOPE probationers was the subset who had been mandated to treatment due to non-compliance, but even among this group only 14 percent reported a negative perception of HOPE. In open-ended interviews, HOPE probationers consistently identified the process as fair — As one put it, “strict, friendly, and fair.” This was true even among those interviewed while spending time in jail as a result of a HOPE sanction. To an open-ended question asking for “any additional comments or ideas for improvement,” one probationer in jail responded “Keep up the good work!” Another said, “I’m trying to make my first mistake my last,” and a third added, “Don’t give up on us! It’s a matter of time before it will sink in.” In that group of incarcerated HOPE subjects, when asked to agree or disagree with the statement, “HOPE rules are too strict,” the “disagrees” outnumbered the “agrees” by 3:2. Almost 90 percent agreed that HOPE was helpful in reducing drug use and improved their lives in other ways (e.g., family relationships). The biggest complaint from the group in jail was the perceived unfairness that resulted from judge-to-judge variation in sanctions severity, which they discovered by comparing notes. Some of those who had been sanctioned more heavily were quick to attribute the difference to some form of bias (ethnic or otherwise), when in fact the variation in sentencing observed in the HOPE evaluation was more at the judge level than at the offender level. That response, combined with the finding that a judge’s success rates were independent of severity of sentences imposed, provides a very strong argument for making sanctions more formulaic and moderate. Indeed, in our surveys, lack of uniformity in sanctioning was the primary complaint about the HOPE process from every group: probationers, probation officers, assistant district attorneys, assistant public defenders and even the judges themselves.

Many HOPE clients found the daily call-in and the prospect of testing as aids to their recovery. In a sample of 167 HOPE probationers surveyed anonymously in the community (as opposed to those in jail or in treatment) 96 percent answered “Yes” to the question “Does the regular random drug testing help you avoid drug use?” One said, “It keeps you in line because of zero tolerance. It’s the drug or jail.”

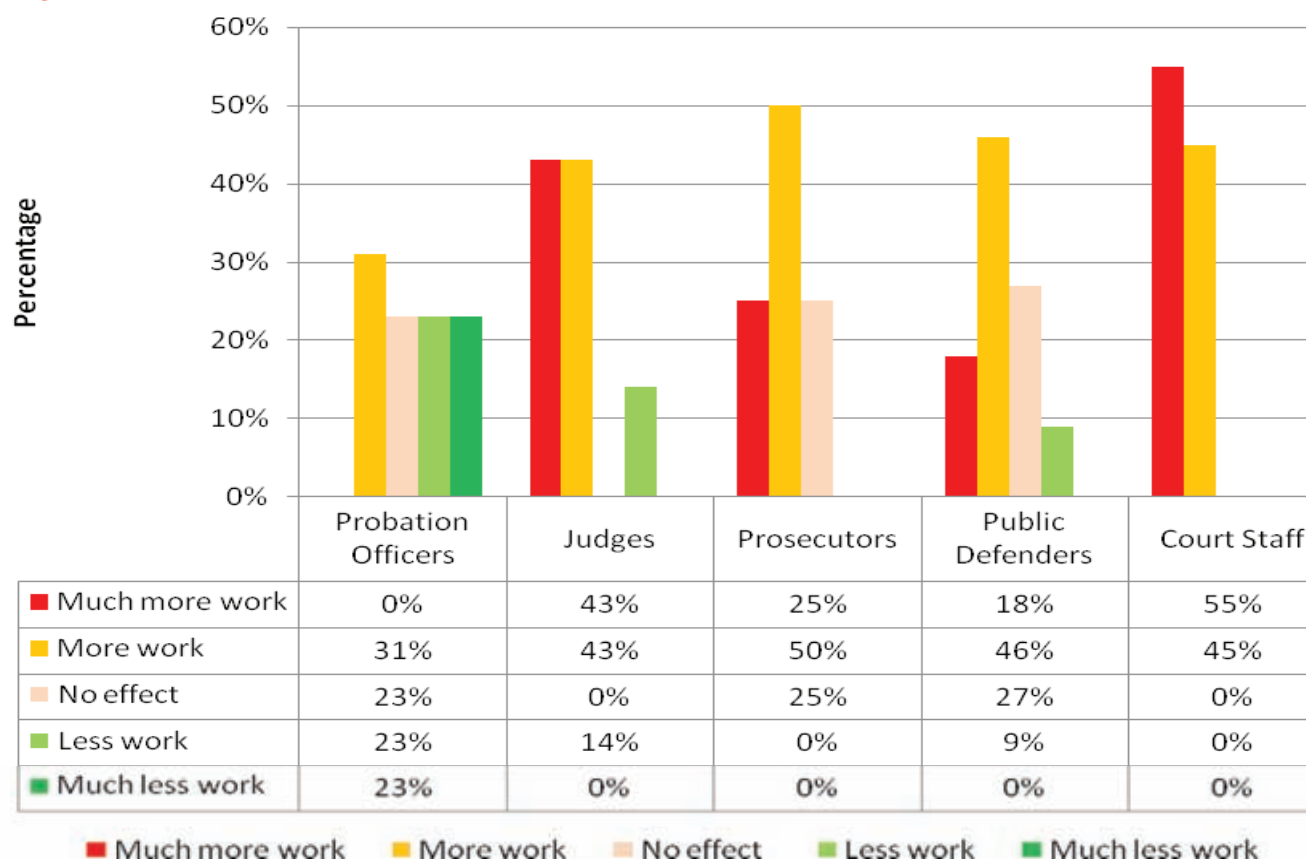
This appreciation of the value of daily call-in occasionally leads to otherwise hard-to-understand choices by clients. HOPE provides few positive incentives for success, as opposed to negative consequences of failure. One of the few rewards following a period of perfect compliance is a change in color code corresponding to a reduction in testing frequency: From the initial frequency of at least six times per month, a long-compliant HOPE client can work his way down to once per month. Some probationers, when told by their probation officers that their testing frequency is being stepped down as a reward request that it *not* be stepped down, because they fear that less-frequent testing will increase their risk of going back to drug use.

Once they had tried the new system—however reluctantly to start with—the probation officers almost universally became converts, as they watched their violation rates drop and experienced the satisfaction of wielding in practice the power they have in law: to be able to enforce their rules with a convincing threat of judicial sanction for any violation.

Judges are typically at least as concerned about maintaining discretion as are probation officers, especially in light of the tendency of legislatures to control their use of that discretion. When the HOPE program expanded from Judge Alm’s courtroom alone to cover the other eight felony judges on Oahu, some of the other judges were openly discontented with the change, even in the face of support for the program from the Chief Justice. Nothing compelled those other judges to comply with the HOPE guidelines, and there was no attempt to create a formula for sanctions, but all of them went along with the principle that some confinement sanction would be automatic for each violation.

One judge stood out from his peers in the severity of the sanctions he assigned, especially for a first violation. When preliminary results of this study were shared with the judges, showing that additional severity did not seem to produce lower violation rates, a process of consultation among the judges led to a reduction in the variation of sanction term and a reduction in the overall average sanction length.

Figure 1. HOPE and Workload



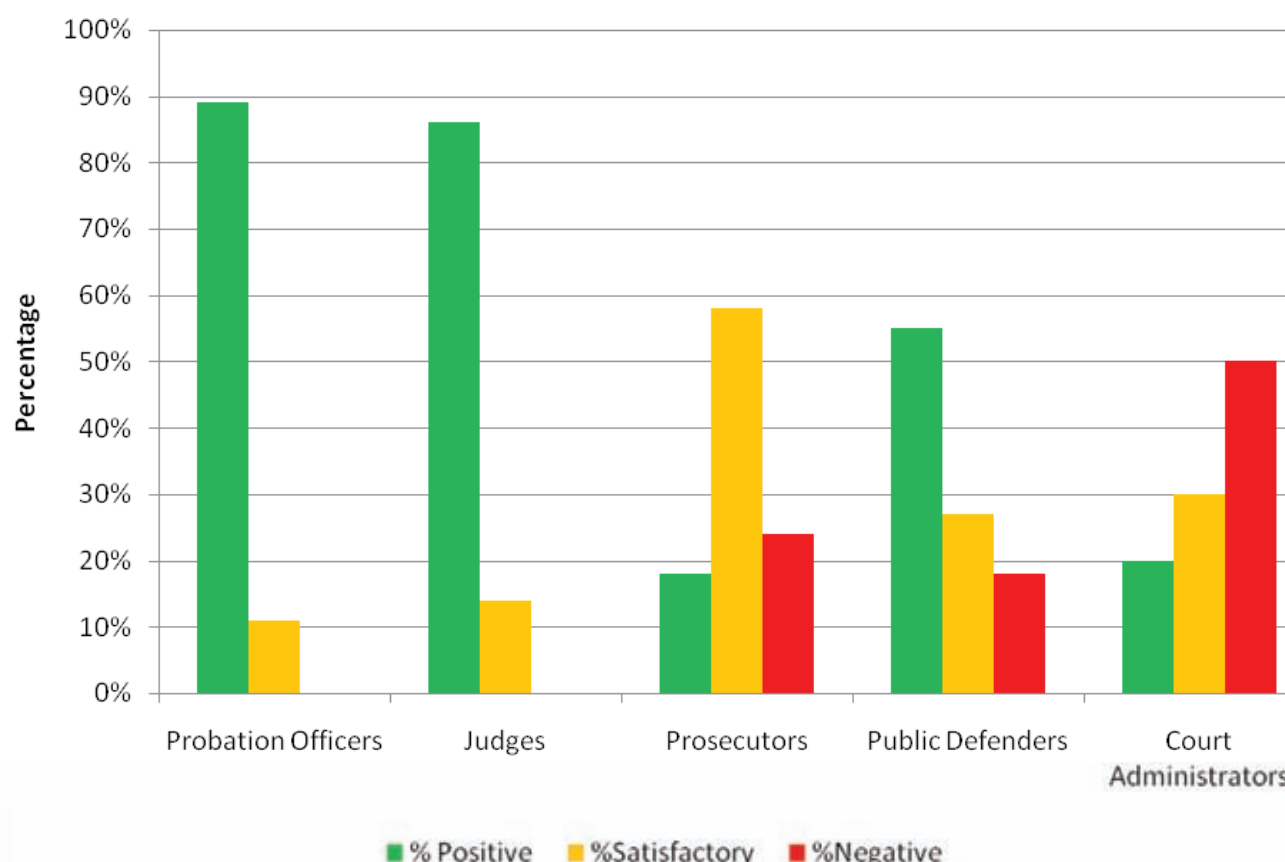
Note: data are from the key stakeholder surveys. Sample sizes are: Prosecutors (n = 12), Public Defenders (n = 11), Judges (n = 7), Probation Officers in the Integrated Community Sanctions Unit (n = 20), and Court Staff (n = 11).

A program such as HOPE, which ensures that probationers are tested regularly and sanctioned consistently and swiftly for violations, will necessarily have workload implications. Across the stakeholder groups surveyed for the HOPE evaluation, HOPE was regarded as adding to their workload (see Figure 1). For court employees, 100 percent regarded HOPE as resulting in “more work” or “much more work”. Probation officers in the Integrated Community Sanctions (ICS) unit, regarded HOPE as having the least impact on their workload; 31 percent regarding HOPE as adding more work and 46 percent regarding HOPE as requiring less work. This may be due to increased familiarity with the program. Probation officers in the ICS unit have been managing HOPE caseloads since HOPE was first piloted in 2004. In an earlier survey question, these probation officers commented that HOPE was more work when it was first implemented, but requires less work now that they have more experience with the program.

As part of the HOPE evaluation, stakeholder groups were surveyed about their general perceptions of HOPE (see Figure 2). Only a small minority reported negative perceptions of HOPE. Probation officers were the most favorable, with nearly 90 percent expressing support for HOPE, followed by judges with 85 percent. Court employees had the most-negative general perceptions of HOPE at 50 percent. This may be due to increased workload and the limited interaction they have with probationers, i.e., they carry the burden of an increased workload without the accompanying benefits of directly observing improvements in probationer behavior.

Just under a quarter of the assistant district attorneys had a generally negative perception of HOPE. The chief concern expressed by assistant district attorneys about HOPE is that some judges are, in their view, now putting on probation offenders who otherwise would have been sent to prison, at some cost in public safety. Some assistant district attorneys

Figure 2. General Perceptions of HOPE



Note: data are from the key stakeholder surveys. Sample sizes are: Prosecutors (n=12), Public Defenders (n= 11), Judges (n=7), Probation Officers in the Integrated Community Sanctions Unit (n=20), and Court Employees (n=11). Data reflect responses to the question “What is your general perception of HOPE probation?”

would like to impose an exclusion criterion preventing anyone with a recent prior conviction for any violent crime from being put on HOPE; though under the Hawaiian sentencing system those defendants would still be eligible for regular, less intensive probation. A further program improvement recommended by assistant district attorneys was to establish a dedicated HOPE court to improve consistency of sanctioning. Shortly after these surveys were completed, the Hawaiian Judiciary authorized a dedicated HOPE court.

For judges, probation officers, probationers and assistant public defenders, HOPE has palpable benefits, in the form of higher compliance rates for the judges and probation officers and fewer days in jail for the probationers, which also pleases their defenders. But HOPE’s benefits are less evident to assistant district attorneys and to court employees. In addition to their concern that HOPE may lead to probation sentences for defendants they would prefer to see in prison, the assistant

district attorneys see the sanctions hearings as added workload. Although those hearings consume an average of only seven minutes of court time each, they require additional time for out-of-court preparation (despite the largely ornamental role of the lawyers in what is largely a judge-driven hearing). And those demands on time arrive both urgently and unpredictably. That HOPE prevents, as a statistical matter, a large number of much-more-demanding revocation hearings, as well as trials incident to new arrests, is not something assistant district attorneys directly encounter.

Some assistant district attorneys complain about the mildness of HOPE sanctions, not reflecting that the outcome under routine probation would not be a more severe sanction but no referral to court and therefore no sanction whatsoever. Three-quarters of assistant district attorneys think that HOPE means more work for them (including one-quarter who say “much more work”). And some express frustration at having

to appear and wait around for hearings in which they have only a modest role to play. This raises the question whether the presence of a assistant district attorneys should be required at a sanctions hearing. By law, the probationer is entitled to representation, but it is not obvious that a prosecutor is actually needed.

Court employees, too, see little in the way of benefit. All they see is the addition of hearings that arrive unpredictably and need to be scheduled quickly. All court employees that we surveyed regarded HOPE as increasing their workload, with a majority saying that the increase had been a large one. Again, whether HOPE is a net addition to court-employees' workload is an open question: The warning hearings (now mostly done *en masse* rather than individually) and sanctions hearings to some extent replace revocation hearings. But from the perspective of court employees, the burdens are obvious and the benefits hidden. Enthusiastic judges have little problem communicating that enthusiasm to their clerks, secretaries and court officers, but less enthusiastic judges may experience less support in running their HOPE caseloads. Like the problem of lack of uniformity, the problem of imperfect compliance by court staffs has been eliminated by concentrating all HOPE cases in a single courtroom.

Probation officers from the Integrated Community Sanctions group in the probation department report that the additional workload burden eased off after the first year; now none of them reports that the program is "much more work" and about half report that it is less work — about evenly split between "less" and "much less". Some of the workload issues reported here may be, in whole or part, transition effects that will fade away over time.

Probation officers have the most interaction with HOPE probationers. The adoption of HOPE meant that probation officers would lose a substantial amount of discretion in managing their clients. Sanctions for non-compliance would be delivered with certainty, rather than at the discretion of the probation officer, as is the case with probation-as-usual. We expected probation officers to be disappointed at this loss of discretion. We were surprised that only a minority of the probation officers, 30 percent thought that jail sanctions should be imposed at the discretion of the probation officer, rather than on a zero-tolerance basis. The majority, 55 percent was neutral on the issue of probation-officer discretion, and 15 percent preferred the removal of discretion.

Figure 3 summarizes how probationers viewed their effectiveness under HOPE. The vast majority, 95 percent regarded themselves as more effective at managing their caseloads under HOPE and five percent were neutral, but none thought HOPE had made them less effective. This corresponds with probation officers' views on how their HOPE caseload has performed since being placed on HOPE. All of the probation officers, 100 percent responded that their HOPE cases had shown an overall improvement since being placed on HOPE.

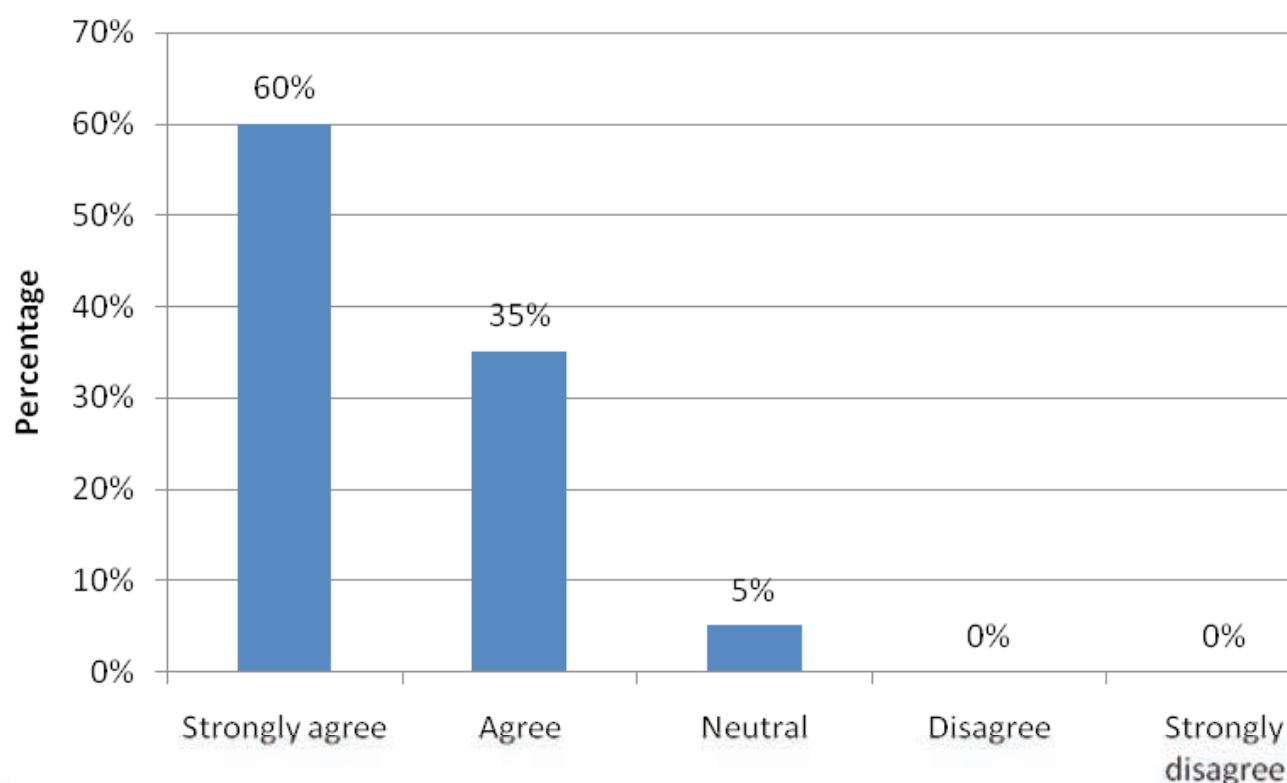
HOW HOPE IS UNIQUE

The drug-testing-and-sanctions component of HOPE has been proposed before, and has been implemented in various places, with degrees of success seemingly correlated with the fidelity of implementation. (Harrell and Roman, 2001; Kleiman, 2001). But there are very few examples of true testing-and-sanctions programs in routine operation: the longest-established being Project Sentry in Lansing, MI.

The HOPE approach is focused directly on reducing drug use and missed appointments rather than on drug treatment: That is, the focus is on outcome rather than on process. Not all drug abusers are addicts. HOPE probationers are not formally assessed with respect to their drug-treatment needs (aside from standard assessments that are conducted as part of routine probation). In fact, after being clearly warned of the consequences for non-compliance, many HOPE probationers are able to abstain from drug use under the strict monitoring and sanctions HOPE provides, without going to treatment at all. Treatment is thus reserved for those who request it and for those who repeatedly fail to comply under monitoring and the threat of sanctions. A HOPE probationer who has a third or fourth missed or "dirty" drug test may be mandated into residential treatment as an alternative to probation revocation.

Only a minority of HOPE probationers, 10 percent failed three or more drug tests within the first year of being in the program. This group has clearly signaled a need for intensive treatment services. Thus HOPE substitutes the probationer's actions under the threat of sanction for clinical assessment in allocating treatment resources. Probationers are referred to treatment only if they continue to test positive or if they ask for treatment. Because only a small fraction of HOPE clients faces a treatment mandate, the program can afford to use intensive long-term residential treatment, rather than relying primarily on outpatient drug-free counseling as most diversion programs

Figure 3. Probation Officer Perspectives on Their Effectiveness as a Probation Officer Under HOPE



Note: Data are from the ICS Probation Officer Survey (n=20). Data reflect responses to the question “My work as a probation officer is more effective under the HOPE policies and procedures.”

and drug courts do for most of their clients. This result might be called “behavioral triage” (see Hawken, 2010). Compared to a universal assess-and-treat model, behavioral triage has several major advantages.

- Its economical use of treatment allows it to handle a very large number of clients with limited treatment resources while at the same time delivering intensive treatment to those who prove to need it.
- By putting a smaller drain on treatment capacity, it avoids a situation in which mandated-treatment clients crowd out voluntary-treatment clients.
- Since the treatment mandate follows repeated failures, which themselves had aversive consequences, it helps break through denial: An offender who has spent three brief spells in jail for dirty drug tests may find it hard to keep telling himself that he is in control of his drug-taking.
- Once a HOPE client is mandated to treatment, his

success in abstaining from illicit drug use—not merely his compliance with the order to appear for treatment—is a necessary condition for his avoiding a jail term. That positions the treatment provider as the client’s ally in the effort to retain his freedom.

Indeed Hawaiian treatment providers are among the staunchest supporters of the program⁵.

HOPE is not a drug court, although it shares many features of a drug court approach. Drug courts vary in how they manage their caseloads, in the ancillary services they offer and in the testing and sanctions schedules they apply. What they all have in common is the provision of ongoing supervision from a judge, with offenders appearing before the judge for regularly scheduled updates. The drug court movement has been very successful. Many evaluations demonstrate the success of this approach to managing

offenders in the community (Belenko, 2001) and there are now over 2,000 such courts across the country (Huddleston, Marlowe & Casebolt, 2008). Although the number of drug courts has increased dramatically and now serve about 70,000 clients nationwide (Huddleston, Marlowe & Casebolt, 2008), there are many more candidate offenders for drug court supervision than the number of available slots (California alone convicts over 70,000 offenders a year on non-violent drug charges). A key difference between HOPE and drug courts is the role of the judge. Under HOPE, probationers appear before a judge or hearings officer only if they have violated. This has important implications for caseloads and cost. Due to the intensive nature of the judge supervision in drug courts, there is a serious constraint on the caseloads these judges can manage. Under HOPE, probationers only appear before a judge as needed (in response to violations). A court dedicated to HOPE could manage multiple thousands of probationers (the dedicated HOPE court in Honolulu is anticipated to oversee 3,000 HOPE probationers), compared to typical drug court caseloads of 50-75 probationers. The voluminous drug court literature (reviewed in Belenko, 2001) reflects the value of active judicial supervision in dealing with drug-involved probationers, but HOPE is innovative in economizing on treatment resources by not mandating formal treatment for every drug-involved offender. Rather, HOPE relies on regular random drug testing results and probationer requests for treatment referrals to indicate treatment need. This approach economizes on treatment resources as probationers who are able to remain drug free on their own are not required to enter a drug treatment program, allowing for more-intensive service provision for those who do need help.

HOPE FOR ALL?

HOPE is receiving increasing attention by national media and policy makers because of the impressive outcomes observed. But although HOPE has been evaluated with strong research designs, many questions remain. Delivering HOPE-style sanctions in a swift-and-certain manner requires cooperation and a willingness to change work practices. Whether this structural shift can be accomplished in other jurisdictions remains an open question. Replication studies of HOPE are currently underway on the mainland and will determine whether Hawaii's HOPE experience is generalizable. These studies will also help to identify the essential elements of the HOPE model, including factors such as probation officer training. Our evaluation was unable to identify the crucial elements needed to produce the HOPE result, i.e., whether

regular random drug testing on its own would have produced the HOPE effect or whether the combination of testing and sanctions is necessary. Future studies that use an alternative experimental design that manipulates the HOPE punishment schedule would be needed to address this question. Probation officers in Hawaii have received training in cognitive behavioral therapy and Motivational Interviewing, and it is unclear whether jurisdictions without similar training would produce the same results. A further limitation of our evaluation of HOPE was the limited follow-up period. Probationers were studied only while they were under community supervision. We do not know whether the effects of HOPE (e.g., reduced drug use and new arrests) continue after probationers complete their probation terms under HOPE. What happens to HOPE probationers once they complete probation, in particular, their long-term drug use and criminality is an important remaining question. The mainland replication tests of this model are extremely important. They will determine whether HOPE merits designation as an evidence-based practice and, therefore, whether the expansion of this approach is justified.

HOPE represents an important new model for probation operations and has important implications for probation management, for correctional decision-making more generally, and for drug abuse control policy. The NIJ- and Smith Richardson-funded evaluations of HOPE are cause for optimism. These evaluations have demonstrated that even strongly drug-involved probationers can and will modify their behavior substantially in the face of high-probability sanctions. The challenge now lies in reorganizing the criminal justice system to deliver on credible threats. ▶▶▶

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ENDNOTES

1 If a positive drug test result is disputed, the probationer is released pending confirmation testing, and given a court date for one week later. These probationers are warned that their jail sanction will be enhanced if positive drug use is confirmed.

2 Two social service aides were hired under HOPE to remove the burden of drug testing from the probation officers.

3 Note jail-days here are actual days served. Prison-days are the average number of days to which probationers are sentenced. Due to early release, the actual number of prison days served would be less than the number of days sentenced. If we assume that actual prison-days are 50 percent of assigned prison-days (consistent with the opinions of officials we consulted), HOPE probationers would average about 75 days each behind bars while the comparison group would average 175 days, a reduction of more than 50 percent

4 HOPE probationers include drug-involved probationers, domestic-violence probationers, and sex offenders. The research reported here is limited to drug-involved probationers assigned to HOPE who are not being supervised for domestic violence or sex offenses. Proposals are under review for formal evaluations of the non-drug probation units.


5 Hawaii treatment providers have cooperated in submitting strong letters of support to the Legislature to encourage expansion of the HOPE program.

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by Johnny McGaha, Ph.D. Amanda Evans, Ed.D., M.S.W.

THE HIDDEN
human
TRAFFIC
Implications for Juvenile Justice



**"NEITHER SLAVERY
NOR INVOLUNTARY
SERVITUDE, EXCEPT
FOR THE PUNISHMENT
OF CRIME WHERE THE
PARTY SHALL HAVE
BEEN CONVICTED, SHALL
EXIST WITHIN THE UNITED
STATES OR ANY PLACE
SUBJECT TO THEIR
JURISDICTION."**

13th Amendment to the Consitution of the United States, February 1865

**AS IMPLAUSIBLE AS IT
MAY SOUND**, human beings are

today being enslaved by the thousands in
our country. It is called human trafficking and
it is a multi-billion dollar industry globally,
rivaling illegal drug and arms smuggling (U.S.
Dept of State, 2006).

IT IS A FORM OF MODERN DAY SLAVERY WHERE THE VICTIMS ARE SUBJECTED TO FORCE FRAUD OR COERCION FOR THE PURPOSE OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OR FORCED LABOR

The Department of State (2003), estimates that twenty-seven million slaves exist in our world today. The commerce in human beings rivals with drug trafficking and the illegal arms trade for the top criminal activity. It is the fastest growing criminal activity on the planet, generating billions of dollars per year in revenue while destroying thousands of lives in the process. Human trafficking and bondage are major global problems and one of the most pressing humanitarian crises in the world. It is a form of modern day slavery where the victims are subjected to force, fraud or coercion, for the purpose of sexual exploitation or forced labor. Due to the clandestine nature of this crime, accurate statistics are hard to obtain, but according to best estimates from several sources, between one and two million people annually are trafficked worldwide. The U.S. Department of State estimates that between 18,000 to 20,000 of those are brought into the United States (U.S. Department of State, 2003).

THE TRAFFICKING VICTIMS PROTECTION ACT OF 2000

In October 2000, the US Congress enacted legislation that has become the keystone of the federal government's response to human trafficking. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) requires the various Federal departments and agencies to begin a coordinated effort to work together to address the trafficking problem in the United States. The Departments of Justice, Health and Human Services and Homeland Security have the primary responsibility for fighting human trafficking and assisting victims. The Justice Department attorneys from the Criminal Section of the Civil Rights Division prosecute cases against traffickers and provide training about the anti-trafficking laws. Hundreds of victims of severe forms of sexual

exploitation and forced labor have been successfully rescued and their traffickers prosecuted and convicted through justice department efforts (U.S. Department State, 2003).

Under the TVPA, the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) is responsible for certifying that a person is a trafficking victim as defined by the TVPA and therefore eligible for a variety of services including counseling, legal assistance, education opportunities, foster childcare and housing. These support programs may be administered by the state and federal governmental agencies as well as non-governmental organizations with support from HHS. Many victims in the United States entered the country with illegal papers, if they had them at all. Prior to the TVPA, such victims were routinely deported, which unfortunately remains the practice of many countries around the world. The TVPA creates a specially created T-visa, for certified victims who agree to assist law enforcement and prosecutors in the investigation and prosecution of human traffickers. The United States grants permanent residence to these victims if removal would cause them extreme hardship. The Act also provides physical protection, guarantees privacy and grants them other forms of assistance while their case is being processed (U.S. Department of State, 2006).

Due to the extremely high profits in the billion dollar trafficking in persons industry, established national and transnational crime organizations are often involved, sometimes in collaboration with corrupt law enforcement and customs officials. Victims then find themselves forced into some kind of bonded servitude, to pay off their "debt," which can rarely be paid. Traffickers will often isolate, drug and rape the female victims to break them and destroy their spirit to guarantee their cooperation. Frequently, women and girls are sold and resold at substantial profit and then re-trafficked to other destinations.¹ This illegal commodity, unlike drugs and arms, can be recycled over and over again. (Aronowitz, 2001).

HUMAN TRAFFICKING AS A JUVENILE JUSTICE ISSUE

Too many law enforcement officers and other justice professionals, such as juvenile probation officers and social service workers, are unaware of the new trafficking laws or even the concept of trafficking in persons. They are on the front lines of first encountering and then identifying victims of trafficking. But identifying victims of human trafficking may be very difficult. Because human trafficking is a hidden crime whose victims are often isolated and intimidated into secrecy and silence, there is no simple or one way to identify them

and circumstances of trafficking may differ considerably from location to location (IACP, 2006).

Even though the U.S. may have tens of thousands of trafficking victims, only a small percentage were officially identified when human trafficking was made a crime in 2000. Unfortunately, victims of human trafficking are reluctant to come forward, reach out to authorities or seek help because of the fears they have and threats they are under. Many victims hesitate to trust law enforcement in the United States because they have come from countries where their own justice system is corrupt. Therefore the most immediate and important need in ending human trafficking in the United States is to identify victims. Juvenile justice professionals in the field can be first responders in that regard with the proper training and working in collaboration with other government and non-governmental entities to develop protocols and victim-centered interventions. This is such a “hidden” crime that too often the unaware and untrained do not recognize what may be going on right before their eyes.

Without awareness of the dynamics and signs of trafficking, juvenile courts and justice personnel may inadvertently deny victims the assistance they need. In the worse case scenario, court and social service personnel without proper training may further harm victims by treating them as offenders, convicting and punishing them for the very crimes, such as prostitution and carrying false documents, they were forced to commit. Under federal law and a growing number of state laws, victims of human trafficking have the right not to be charged with the crimes for which they committed while being enslaved, (e.g. prostitution) and the right not to be detained in facilities inappropriate to their status as victims (e.g. secure detention). In addition to federal laws, many states have recently passed legislation making trafficking a crime and are training state and local law enforcement officers in detection of traffickers and victims services. Juvenile courts and justice personnel should not only follow suit but provide leadership in this emerging and critical area.

The need for competency and a victim-centered approach from all areas of law enforcement in response to victims of human trafficking has gained international attention in recent years. Countries who entered into the UN Trafficking Protocol in 2003, which includes the United States, are now challenged to convert legal protocols into practice strategies (David, 2007). The need for interdependence between law enforcement and victim specialists has been identified as essential not only for victim recovery, but also for successful forensic investigation and prosecution perpetrators.

Working with juvenile trafficking victims requires, at a minimum, an understanding of the psychological impact of enslavement. While the human trafficking literature is relatively sparse, the parallels to human trafficking and coercion in domestic violence and child abuse provide insight on ways to approach this issue. It is not unusual for a child to protect or even form an attachment to an abuser. It is important for juvenile justice and court personnel, as well as law enforcement, to understand this phenomenon when working with victims. This behavior on the part of the child in no way minimizes the severity of the crime. This behavior is a coping behavior necessary for survival in coercive situations (Hodge & Lietz, 2007).

Trafficking victims in the United States reportedly come from at least 50 different countries and may be found in sweatshops, brothels and bars in the major cities across the country. Eighty percent of those trafficked are reported to be women, and 50 percent (mostly girls) now come under the protection and jurisdiction of the new Trafficking in Victims Protection Act of 2000 (Center for the Advancement of Human Rights, 2003). Once identified, trafficked victims may be eligible for an array of protections and services. Awareness of available service and how to access them should be part of any human trafficking training curriculum for juvenile justice and court personnel.

An excellent resource for juvenile justice personnel is the handbook entitled: *The Crime of Human Trafficking; A Law Enforcement Guide to Identification and Investigation* (IACP, 2006). The following list is a very brief overview of some indicators and red flags that justice personnel may take into consideration or take a second look and may be in order when a potential victim:

- Appears to be abnormally under someone else’s control, other than an identified parent figure?
- Is constantly monitored by others and are rarely alone while in your presence.
- Is not in control of their own identification or travel documents.
- Seems to work excessive hours.
- Lives with multiple people in a very cramped space.
- Lives with their employer.
- Has no English language skills or knowledge of the local community.
- Appears to have little privacy, rarely alone and under someone’s monitoring.
- Appears to have visible injuries or scars, such as cuts, bruises, or burns. May have injuries around the head, face and mount from being struck.

- Has untreated illness or infections, particularly sexually transmitted diseases.
- May have general poor health and/or diseases associated with unsanitary living conditions.
- Has engaged in prostitution or is/was living in a brothel.
- Has been sexually exploited in strip clubs, massage parlors, pornography or hangs around the adult entertainment business.
- Is generally fearful of talking or has an inordinate fear of authority.
- Appears to have visible scars or injuries, cuts bruises or burns or evidence of being struck around the face.

Questions to ask:

- Are you being held (or ever been) held against your will?
- Were you ever forced to do anything against your will?
- Are you given choices where to work or go to school?
- How many hours a day do you work, are you paid?
- Have you or your family been threatened in any way about you leaving?
- Where are your identification papers?

Identifying and screening for trafficking is often very difficult. Trafficking is a hidden reality and its victims are isolated and intimidated into secrecy and silence. Even if their captors allow them to leave their work or confined premises, the traffickers monitor their every move and prevent access to help. There is no single way to identify a victim of trafficking and service providers may encounter them in a variety of circumstance and places.

It is important to talk to potential victims in a safe and confidential environment. If the victim is accompanied by someone who seems to have control over them, discretely attempt to separate the person from that individual because he or she person could be a trafficker. If there is a language and/or cultural issue enlist the help of a staff member or another professional who speaks the potential victim's language and understands the culture. Do not collect more information than you need if you suspect that the victim has been traumatized because of the possible need for professional mental health services. If you determine that this could be a trafficking issue turn it over to the proper law enforcement authorities as soon as possible (make sure it is a trafficking unit or someone trained in trafficking). (IACP, 2006)

DOMESTIC SEX TRAFFICKING

The TVPA applies not only to victims who are illegally trafficked into the United States but domestic trafficking as well. Human trafficking does not require the

crossing of an international border nor does it even require transportation of victims from one locale to another. Victims of severe forms of trafficking as defined by the TVPA may in fact be U.S. citizens. Juvenile runaways, throwaways and a variety of status offenders who leave home are easy prey for pimps and their recruiters. Once on the street, one out of every three teens will be lured toward prostitution within 48 hours of leaving home. The younger a girl is, the more likely she will be sexually victimized. In some cases, girls are kidnapped and detained for days and even months sometimes by someone they know and then sold to pimps against their will.

FBI debriefings of sex traffickers and pimps indicate that approximately twenty to forty percent of the victims forced or recruited into prostitution were juveniles. Even when girls are arrested, they may slip through the cracks unnoticed because they appear in juvenile court for status offenses and probation violations. Many girls provide false names and lie about their age or have been given false identification. They then are arrested as adults and even released back to their traffickers without even being identified as juveniles (Priebe, Suhr, 2005).

The TVPA provides tools to combat trafficking in persons domestically just like it does internationally (HSTC, 2005). If it is determined through an assessment by qualified professional that an individual is a victim of trafficking or a potential witness, officials investigating and prosecuting traffickers should make it a priority to take whatever measures necessary to protect these victims and their family members from intimidation, threats of reprisals and reprisals from traffickers and their associates.

MULTIDISCIPLINARY COORDINATED APPROACHES

Experience suggests that the most effective strategies to combat modern day slavery, domestic or across borders require a multi-agency, multi-disciplinary, collaborative approaches. Trafficked persons have a variety of needs and developing a community response to human trafficking will require the collaboration of many persons, agencies and organizations. To better coordinate such efforts, task forces have been developed in major cities around the country that typically include both government and non governmental agencies in anti-trafficking efforts. Juvenile court and related social services personnel and agencies should be represented on these task forces because of the nature and frequency of involvement in human trafficking. Former U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft has said that "Those who traffic in human lives treat people as easily expendable and highly profitable. But behind each dollar sign is a human tragedy." The U.S. Department of Justice has made

the pursuit and prosecution of human traffickers a high priority.

EXAMPLES OF TVPA PROSECUTIONS

Before the enactment of TVPA, child prostitutes were too often perceived by the public and some agencies as willing participants in their own victimization flying under the radar of the victim assistance, child protective services and juvenile justice systems. Their offenses were often treated as simple nuisance crimes and they were often treated more harshly than their “pimps” or traffickers, who sometimes got nothing more than a slap on the wrists. This has changed more recently since the U.S. Department of Justice has made human trafficking prosecutions a top priority. Since the passage of the TVPA, the Civil Rights Division, in conjunction with the U.S. Attorney’s Offices, has increased by six fold. The number of human trafficking cases filed in court, the number of defendants charged has quadrupled and there have been three times the number of defendants convicted. In 2006, the Department obtained a record number of convictions in Trafficking In Persons prosecutions (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2006)

According to a Department of Justice official (Daniels, 2006) child prostitution is the most overlooked form of child abuse in the United States. Even though accurate statistics are hard to come by it is estimated that between 100,000 and 300,000 children are sexually exploited through prostitution and pornography in the United States. According to New Jersey records, these are teen-age girls smuggled from Mexico into the United States with false promises of marriage only to be forced into prostitution through threats and physical violence. Two defendants have pled guilty to conspiracy and sex trafficking charges and were sentenced to 17 years in prison (Daniels, 2006)

The U.S. Department of Justice has conducted over 140 such prostitution investigations around the country resulting in convictions of approximately 70 traffickers and pimps. In D.C. alone, the trafficking task force initiated over 30 investigations and won 17 convictions under the TVPA. (Wilgoren 2006) The TVPA anti-trafficking law offers tools for the prosecution of pimps and stiffer penalties for

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those convicted than local statutes and ordinances would have allowed (BJS, 2006).

SUMMARY

Social service providers and law enforcement officers are on the front lines of first encountering and so identifying victims of trafficking. Juvenile justice professionals also need to be trained in how to effectively intervene with young people caught in the web of prostitution and sexual exploitation. While more research is needed on best practice related to helping trafficking victims after they are removed from the offender, we know the complexity of the issues surrounding slavery require increased sensitivity to their ordeal. Cultural competency and understanding the economic issues surrounding child labor and sex trafficking are also important for successful interventions when working with victims of modern day slavery. It is critical that we gain their trust and provide the services that so many of these victims so desperately in need of mental health counseling, medical care, substance abuse treatment, safe housing and shelter, and other services as well as education and skills to enable them to support themselves without resorting to prostitution and other crimes to survive. ▶▶

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THE REALITY OF IMPLEMENTING PRISON REENTRY PROGRAMS:



LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE SAN DIEGO EXPERIENCE

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Researchers and policymakers in the field of adult corrections have been highlighting the need to focus on prisoner reentry in order to increase public safety and reverse the rising trend in number of individuals incarcerated across the country, while ensuring the most efficient use of citizen's tax dollars. This article outlines one program in California designed to stop the revolving door of imprisonment, the San Diego Senate Bill (SB) 618 Prisoner Reentry Program, and shares preliminary research findings from the process and impact evaluation being conducted by the Criminal Justice Research Division of the San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG) as guidance to others developing reentry programs elsewhere throughout the nation.

This evaluation was funded by the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) through Senate Bill (SB) 618. Preliminary findings presented in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the CDCR, SB 618 partner agencies, SANDAG, or its Board of Directors.

What is the Purpose of the Evaluation?

The purpose of the **impact evaluation** is to determine whether participation in SB 618 improved reintegration and reduced recidivism and to identify the conditions under which the program was most likely to accomplish these goals. Additionally, the impact evaluation will determine whether the reentry program was cost-effective relative to traditional procedures and whether positive change was realized in other areas of participants' lives (e.g., employment). Upon the completion of the impact evaluation, the following research questions will be answered:

- What was the level of prison rule compliance for participants relative to the comparison study group?
- Were there any improvements in program participant needs and family and/or social bonds over time?
- Was recidivism reduced among treatment study group participants relative to the comparison study group?
- Was the program cost-effective?
- To answer the impact evaluation questions, the most rigorous research design possible, given programmatic constraints, is being used and compares SB 618 participants to individuals who would have been eligible to receive services but were not approached to do so. To help mitigate possible confounding factors between the two groups, statistical matching techniques are being used to ensure equivalency so the effect of receiving SB 618 services can be isolated to determine if goals are met.

The purpose of the **process evaluation** is to determine if the program was implemented as planned, measure what system changes were made and assess program operations. More specifically, the research questions answered by the end of the process evaluation include:

- How was the program implemented and managed?
- How well did the partners work together to accomplish program goals?
- How many individuals were screened and agreed to participate in the program, and what were their characteristics?
- Were participants' needs adequately assessed and were gender-responsive and culturally-competent services provided to meet these needs during detainment and after release?

To answer these process and impact evaluation questions, data are being collected from both archival (e.g., program assessment data, service data and criminal history records) and original sources (e.g., surveys with key staff, program partners, community members and participants, as well as follow-up interviews with participants). Additionally, the research team is monitoring other factors that could affect SB 618 participants, including changes at the State level (such as legislation that releases individuals from parole at earlier points in time) and staff turnover, as well as observing all key program activities.

WHAT IS SENATE BILL (SB) 618?

SB 618 (Speier), effective in January 2006, is one of several efforts across California to reduce recidivism and increase the probability of successful reentry by addressing concerns cited by the Little Hoover Commission in 2003 and 2007 about the State's correctional system. Authored by the San Diego County District Attorney's Office, SB 618 is based on best practices and the concept that providing tangible reentry support services will increase parolees' chances of successful reintegration into the community, as evidenced by increased completion of parole conditions and desistence of criminal activity. The ultimate goal is to produce law-abiding and self-sufficient members of the community and enhance public safety.

Although SB 618 allowed for the possibility of three California counties to implement a program, San Diego County was the first, and currently the only one authorized to create a multi-agency plan and develop policies and programs to educate and rehabilitate nonviolent felony offenders. The diverse group of program partners includes the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR), and the full range of county criminal justice agencies including the District Attorney's Office, the Public Defender's Office, the Superior Court, the Probation Department and the Sheriff's Office, the private defense bar, the Grossmont Union High School District for educational assessments, the University of California, San Diego for community case management, and Comprehensive Training Systems, Inc. for vocational assessment and services.

WHO IS ELIGIBLE FOR SB 618?

All participants are selected from the District Attorney's felony prosecution caseload. The opportunity to apply for the program is offered to both male and female nonviolent offenders. To be considered, the candidate must be in local custody (i.e., not out on bail), be a legal resident of San Diego County, and agree (or "stipulate") to a prison sentence for the instant offense of eight to 72 months. Those with prior convictions for great bodily injury or murder are excluded, as are arson and sex offender registrants. Candidates with prior violent convictions over five years old are evaluated on a case-by-case basis. All SB 618 participants are housed by CDCR at either the Richard J. Donovan (RJD) Correctional Facility or the California Institute for Women (CIW) and, therefore, also must meet any housing restrictions at these facilities.

WHAT ARE THE KEY COMPONENTS OF SB 618?

Incorporating evidence-based practices, the local SB 618 program is unique compared to traditional California correctional practices in a number of ways, including the following:

- Service provision begins at the time of sentencing and continues up to 18 months after release from custody.
- Participants' needs are assessed before the prison sentence begins, and an individualized Life Plan is created by a multidisciplinary team (MDT) comprised of program staff (described later). The Life Plan is designed to be modified over time as circumstances change and is created to ensure services meet identified needs.
- Case management, both during prison by the prison case manager (PCM) and after release by the community case manager (CCM), provides participants support and ensures services meet identified needs.
- Upon release, a Community Roundtable, composed of the CCM, parole agent and other individuals identified by the ex-offenders, meets regularly to ensure reintegration challenges are addressed.

What Do the Preliminary Evaluation Findings Reveal?

Though the study is in progress, preliminary findings from the process and impact evaluation highlight key points to consider when implementing prisoner reentry programs in other jurisdictions.

What Has Worked Well?

- **Conducting more thorough substance use and vocational assessments:** As part of SB 618, assessments are conducted locally, beginning before a participant is transferred to the prison reception center. During program development, partners thoroughly discussed which assessments should be conducted and agreed that additional information would be useful regarding participants' substance use and vocational needs. The information gained from these assessments is used in the creation of each participant's Life Plan. Because this is a dynamic document administered and modified over the course of the participant's enrollment in the program, it allows program staff to measure improvement. Key staff and program partners surveyed as part of the process evaluation indicated that these assessments are effective.



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- **Utilizing an interdisciplinary team approach:** Correctional best practices were critical in developing the SB 618 program and are reflected in the interdisciplinary team approaches at two key points in a participant's progress. The first of these is the MDT meeting held prior to the participant's sentencing to review eligibility and discuss screening and assessment results. These meetings are staffed by a probation officer, CCM, PCM and a prison classification counselor. The second of these interdisciplinary forums, the Community Roundtable, is convened on an ongoing basis starting with the participant's release from custody and continuing until their exit from the program. The parole agent, CCM, participant and any other individuals significantly involved in the participant's reentry effort attend these meetings. The MDT meetings were noted as particularly effective by key staff and program partners surveyed as part of the process evaluation. As the study progresses and more participants are released from prison and receive community services, similar information will be available related to the Community Roundtable.
- **Ensuring ongoing communication between program partners:** Collaboration requires a formal process for regular communication, particularly when coordinating across organizations (governmental and community-based) and levels of government (state and local). A culture of open communication has been fostered among program partners (individuals at the management level assigned to plan and manage the SB 618 program) and key staff (individuals who work directly with participants) across agencies through weekly Operational Procedures Committee meetings. In addition, subcommittees of this larger group were formed to address specific challenges as they arise. Operational Procedures Committee meetings were first convened during the design phase of the program and have been regularly attended ever since by key individuals to discuss issues, brainstorm possible solutions and come to agreement on the best course of action. There have been numerous examples of problem solving through open communication during these meetings. For example, in response to discussions about prison funding constraints related to obtaining college textbooks, University of California, San Diego purchased books through its own contract savings. This process of regularly communicating and collaborating seems to have a positive impact as evidenced by opinions shared during annual surveys with program partners, key staff and community members (individuals affiliated with two local

groups within the community focusing on reentry issues). Not only were positive views of program implementation and management shared through these surveys, but these favorable opinions increased over time. Further, it seems that this regular communication has facilitated a common understanding of program elements as evidenced by the agreement across survey respondents that key program components previously described are in fact the most effective aspects of the program: MDT, Life Plans, prison case management, in-prison education, in-prison vocational programs and community case management. Surveys of program participants while still in prison echo these positive views, particularly as related to the MDT meetings and prison case management. For example, the prison experience associated with SB 618 participation was listed as more positive than previous prison stays due to a higher motivation to change, increased likelihood of in-prison program participation, efficient use of time and receiving greater support.

- **Creating a project-specific database to facilitate information sharing:** One of the more behind-the-scenes successes of the program is the development of a Web-based data management system designed specifically for the local SB 618 program. With frequent input from program partners and key staff, the District Attorney's Office Information Systems staff created a user-friendly database that captures data on each participant from screening and assessment through program exit. Hands-on training was provided to all users and the DA's staff members have been flexible in revising the system as needs for additional data elements arise. The database includes automation of the Life Plan to allow it to be updated online and shared among program staff. The database also has proven crucial to program partners, key staff and the evaluators in monitoring program implementation.
- **Addressing resource allocation issues creatively:** The high rate of incarceration in the U.S. (The Pew Center on the States, 2008) has produced overcrowded prisons with few resources for programs addressing reentry issues (e.g., education, vocational training, substance abuse, behavioral health, prison case management). This situation of restricted resources continues to be a challenge for the San Diego program, particularly at the Richard J. Donovan (RJD) prison that houses male participants. For example, based on assessment data at program entry from the Test for Adult Basic Education and the Comprehensive Adult Student Assessment System, SB 618 participants have a functional level of education and significant life

skills, suggesting a need for vocational rather than basic educational programming. Though self-paced programs are available for higher level education, the majority of programs in RJD focus on basic education. The process of implementing vocational training through traditional channels has been slow and adversely impacted by staff turnover. As a result, less than half of participants surveyed while still in prison reported participating in a vocational program. The most common reason for no vocational participation was the lack of program availability. To address this gap, program partners are leveraging resources through RJD's existing community partnerships to augment vocational programming with two classes: food handler's certification and Commercial Class B driver's licensing.

What Could Have Been Done Differently?

- **Acknowledging that certain positions require certain skill sets:** Originally, the role of the PCM at CIW (the women's prison) was filled by licensed clinical social workers and by educators at RJD (the men's prison). This staffing difference was debated early in the design stages of the program, with CIW staff emphasizing a history of using social workers for any type of case management. RJD staff felt their educational personnel were qualified to provide appropriate case management services and the program partners agreed to implement the program with this staffing difference in place. However, over the course of program implementation, qualitative differences between the case management provided at CIW and RJD became more apparent and program partners concluded that the PCM role could be better suited to social work staff and replaced the educators with licensed clinical social workers.
- **Anticipate, to the greatest degree possible, the logistical needs and possible pitfalls for service delivery:** The delays in implementation of vocational services at RJD previously mentioned was due in large part to drastic funding cuts that occurred in 2002, which essentially dismantled all vocational programming. These cuts resulted in a loss of the infrastructure needed by RJD to provide vocational training for participants. As a result, RJD faced considerable bureaucratic hurdles to remodel classrooms, purchase up-to-date equipment and hire instructors. Prison overcrowding in RJD limited programming because prisoners were housed in areas traditionally used for rehabilitative services. Based on feedback from SB 618 participants at RJD obtained

through client satisfaction questionnaires, it was clear that they felt misled by what they were told the program would offer and the dearth of programs available to them in prison. It would be beneficial for other jurisdictions to take stock of their existing programming resources and fully develop their capabilities prior to implementation. Being proactive in this regard could help avoid facing time-consuming bureaucratic hurdles delaying full implementation.

What Else Should Other Potential Sites Know About The San Diego Experience?

- **Factors beyond a program's control can significantly impact program implementation:** A key component of the original SB 618 program design was to conduct assessments locally, thereby eliminating the need for participants to be processed through the prison reception center. However, a federal court decision was made for a medical receiver to have complete oversight of all CDCR medical services as SB 618 was being implemented. The first individual appointed to this receivership position made the decision that medical screenings conducted by San Diego County could not be honored. Similarly, RJD decided in early 2007 not to honor local mental health assessments. As a result, duplicate screenings occurred and decreases in the time spent at the reception center were smaller than originally anticipated. SB 618 program partners continue to be in communication with key decision makers and plan to revisit these issues in the hope of allowing the local screenings, as well as develop other strategies to reduce the length of time in the reception center.
- **Remain committed to instituting best practices, despite unanticipated funding constraints:** A key component of the initial program design, and a best practice, was the provision of behavioral health services to address co-occurring substance use and mental health issues. While it was not feasible for this program to be put into place as early as planned, program partners remain committed to it and are continuing to investigate ways for its implementation (e.g., leveraging funds through existing contracts in order to meet the needs of participants with co-occurring disorders).
- **Include a cognitive-behavioral component:** Cognitive-behavioral treatment (CBT) has been found to reduce recidivism on average by 27 percent (Lipsey & Landenberger, 2006). It has been demonstrated in the correctional literature that the success of all other services

—educational, vocational, substance abuse treatment and other reentry programs—is dependent on replacing anti-social associations and behaviors with pro-social ones, which is the goal of cognitive-behavioral treatment (Aos Miller, & Drake, 2006; Latessa, 2003; Reentry Policy Council, 2005; Matthews, Hubbard, & Latessa, 2001; Sherman, Gottfredson, MacKenzie, Eck, Reuter, & Bushway, 1997). While, one-on-one meetings between PCM's and female participants at CIW do include cognitive-behavioral interventions, there is no assessment related to criminal thinking and there are no specific cognitive-behavioral programs at either prison. Program partners are working toward implementing a formal cognitive-behavioral curriculum in the near future.

SUMMARY

Based on these research findings, the experiences of the SB 618 Prisoner Reentry Program in San Diego provides a good starting point for others interested in establishing a reentry program for prison-bound offenders. The evaluation continues

to document the process of program implementation and further assess program impact as the treatment and comparison study groups have longer periods in the community following release from prison allowing for meaningful recidivism and cost analysis. ■■■

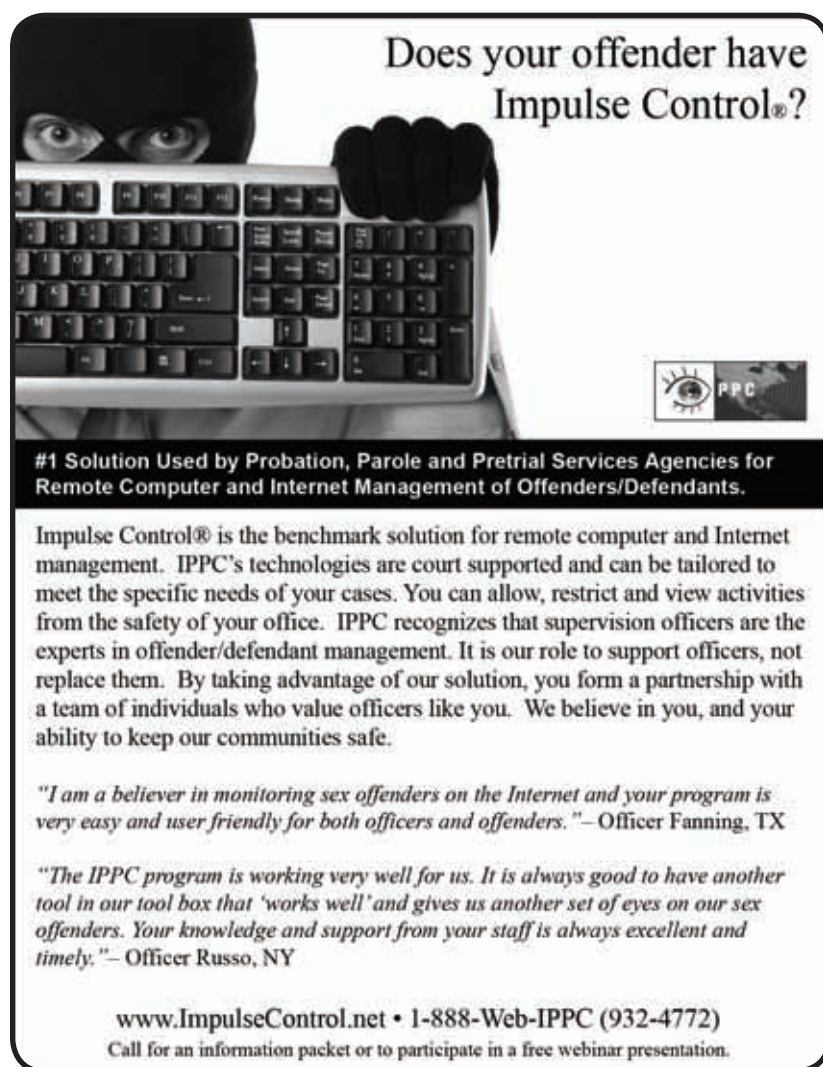
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A copy of the full report upon which this article is based can be obtained at the following link: www.sandag.org/uploads/publicationid/publicationid_1412_9234.pdf.

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