

PERSPECTIVES

the journal of the American Probation and Parole Association

Volume 37

Number 4

Fall 2013



NEIGHBORHOOD
OPPORTUNITY NETWORK:

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PROBATION

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January 12-15, 2014

Houston

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Positive 
CHANGE.

president's message

A Word From *Carmen*



CARMEN RODRIGUEZ

President

American Probation and Parole Association

As your newly elected President, I wanted to say “thank you.” Thank you for your service to our communities, to our profession and to this great association. Your dedication and passion makes it truly an honor to serve as the President of the American Probation & Parole Association (APPA).

The APPA is close to my heart, not only because it is a “force for positive change” that paved the way for me to serve as the first Hispanic president, but because it allows endless opportunities for collaboration, information-sharing, networking and a fellowship among our peers across this nation and beyond. As a member for the past 24 years, I have experienced firsthand the opportunities it fosters for personal and professional growth — as well the transformative impact it cultivates around improving public safety and the quality of life in our communities.

Now, as your President, I will work closely with your newly-elected Executive Committee as well as the Board of Directors to continue in that tradition. It will be an honor to work with a Board that is so committed to making our association and all it has to offer more accessible

and relevant than ever before. Be assured, we will serve with professionalism, integrity and transparency.

It is a very exciting time for the APPA as we are about to enter our 40th year of service to the field of pretrial, probation, parole and community corrections in 2015. We are not only at a crossroads in public policy, but also in the growth and reach of our association and its services to our members.

Just recently, United States Attorney General Eric Holder noted, "Although incarceration has a role to play in our justice system, widespread incarceration at the tribal, federal, state and local levels is both ineffective and unsustainable." If this is not an opportunity for community corrections to make a statement that investing in our work will help alleviate mass incarceration rates and replace them with proven evidence-based supervision and community-based crime prevention practices, I don't know what is.

It is my goal to ensure that we explore this groundbreaking opportunity to strengthen public awareness through dialogue and public policy in support of the work we do as a field every single day. On a very personal note, I plan to make a priority focus on my work as your President on taking a closer look at the consequences of secondary trauma and how we address it as a system. It is vitally important for us to try to understand how children are affected by seeing their parents abuse substances, be arrested, be physically and verbally abused or abusive and having incarcerated parents, to help us determine how these conditions affect their future criminality. The timing is right. And, with this message, I encourage all of you to reach out to me and to the Board members with your best solutions and suggestions on how we pursue a meaningful dialogue on this issue.

We are not only at a crossroads in public policy, but also in the growth and reach of our association and its services to our members.

president's message

Furthermore, building on the foundation for success created by past APPA presidents, in particular the visionary work of Immediate Past President Scott Taylor, our collaboration and reach will extend farther than ever to serve our members and their professional development goals. As a result of Scott's incredible leadership and the assistance of the National Institute of Corrections (NIC), the Community Corrections Collaborative Network (CCCN) was formed. The network leverages the resources and ideas of national and international membership associations representing more than 42,000 professionals from pretrial, probation, parole and the community corrections services field and now offers our members a platform from which to discuss cost-effective, community-based ways of reducing crime, recidivism and victimization on a global level. I invite you to visit the CCCN website for more information on the network (<http://community.nicic.gov/wikis/cccn/corrections-community-collaborative-network.aspx>.)

During my presidency, I will continue my involvement with CCCN to bring its resources to bear for our members. Furthermore, our Executive Committee not only plans to strengthen our collaboration with our European and other world-wide partners, but has committed to hosting the

2nd World Congress on Probation in 2015 right here in the United States.

Over the next two years APPA will be integral to the planning and preparation for this event, and we will be working with our members to ensure that it offers them the types of services, networks and information they need to address their greatest challenges and goals. Even in the earliest stages of the planning, we have already received exuberantly positive responses from our friends and colleagues from Europe, who are looking forward to coming to the U.S. to continue what we started in the United Kingdom at the 1st World Congress on Probation — this should be a very exciting event!

In closing, I encourage each of you to continue embracing what APPA has to offer. We are a membership association... therefore, this is YOUR association! Take a look at the committees, attend the Board of Directors meetings, submit workshop proposals and take an active role in YOUR association! I look forward to engaging all of you in the coming months as we move APPA forward. And, remember, together we ARE a force for positive change! >>▲





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editor's notes

Welcome to the Fall 2013 issue of *Perspectives*. It is hard to believe that we are starting another holiday season and will soon be marking the passage of another year. This issue presents a range of features that address critical issues and come together to identify and reinforce several key topics.



WILLIAM D. BURRELL

Editorial Chair for *Perspectives*
American Probation and Parole Association

Our lead article describes an exciting transformation in the New York City probation department. In a department-wide effort, the focus of services has been shifted back to the community and the neighborhoods where the probationers live. Building on a Justice Reinvestment foundation, the *Neighborhood Opportunity Network* (NeON) has engaged community organizations, other city agencies, academia and probation staff in an innovative effort to return probation to its roots in the community.

As the premier community corrections organization in the US, APPA is often approached by academics who wish to tap into the experience and opinions of probation and parole staff. In their article *Innovating Probation*, Schwalbe and Maschi report on the results of a survey of APPA members. The research sought information from juvenile POs – what they do and why, what challenges they face and what strategies and techniques work for them.

The research revealed the value of a family-based model, embedded in the juvenile's formal and informal support networks. This research has already generated more than a half dozen articles on various aspects of juvenile probation, with more in the works. It is exciting to see how probation and parole practitioners are informing the research and helping to shape the future.

The findings of another recent survey of probation and parole representatives is reported by Matz in his article *Are We on the Cutting Edge of Technology?* The myriad challenges of managing a community corrections agency require accurate, timely and reliable information to support decision-making at both the organizational management and case management levels. While most respondents expressed satisfaction with their case management system, they also reported outdated systems, lack of system interfaces, multiple systems and duplicative efforts. The advances in information technology are too often not reflected in community corrections applications for years, handicapping our organizations and our staff. As Matz notes, leaders in community corrections are looking for ways to integrate and share information and take greater advantage of the potential of technology.

In this issue, we welcome Carmen Rodriguez, who assumed the presidency of APPA at the Annual Institute in Baltimore. In her first *President's Message*, Carmen sets out her vision and her priorities. Having known Carmen for many years, I can assure you that the next two years will be full of energy and excitement!

One of the topics that Carmen addresses is the first *World Congress on Probation*, held in London in October. In our *International Update*, Bob Brown describes that event and another recently held in Canada. I attended the London

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editor's notes

Congress and can assure you that it was an incredible gathering of probation professionals from around the world. As both Carmen and Bob note, APPA is actively pursuing the possibility of holding the second World Congress in the US in 2015.

In this issue, we introduce a new Update, on *Project Safe Neighborhoods* or PSN. This is a project that APPA has been operating for a number of years, focusing on the critical issues of violence, guns and gangs. The first installment of the *PSN Update* focuses on police-probation partnerships.

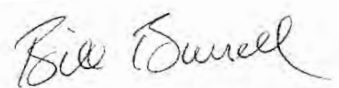
The challenges of providing supervision in neighborhoods where violence, guns and gangs are present are many and urgent. The *Safety Update* presents important information on the research into the dynamics and physical characteristics of attacks and how to avoid them. This is a new form of evidence-based practice that is every bit as important as Risk/Need/Responsivity.

Another aspect of communities and neighborhoods is explored in the *Research Update*. The ecology of crime is important to understand. Crime is concentrated in specific areas where we find large numbers of motivated offenders. Since crime is fairly stable and remains in these concentrated areas, it makes great sense to concentrate supervision efforts there as well. Collaboration with other agencies and the community generally is a recommended strategy for community corrections.

The growing number of offenders involved with computers and other forms of technology is another urgent challenge. Probation and parole staff are hard pressed to keep up with the technology and the ways that offenders are finding to misuse it. In the *Technology Update*, Joe Russo reviews Art Bowker's new book *The Cybercrime Handbook for Community Corrections*. Bowker, an active member of APPA's Technology Committee and a national leader on this subject, has written a very helpful and practical book for community corrections staff.

Long time contributor and APPA past president Don Evans contributes another book review to round out this issue. *What Works in Offender Compliance* is a book published in the United Kingdom. I continue to be impressed with the volume and quality of research on offender supervision that is produced in Europe. We would be wise to sample this work on a regular basis to keep abreast with the findings of "what works". From my experience at the World Congress, I can assure you that we can learn a great deal from our international colleagues.

We hope that you find this issue informative, useful and thought-provoking. The work of probation and parole is constantly changing and evolving. Our goal for *Perspectives* is that it serves as a useful resource for you as you confront the daily challenges of your work. As always, we welcome feedback on this, your professional journal. ►►▲



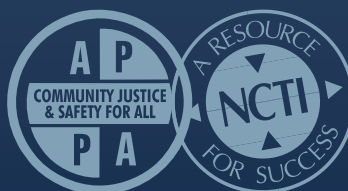
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INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS

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 and mailed to Karen Mucci, 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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vision

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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.



American Probation and Parole Association



"There is no better venue to network with community corrections professionals than at an APPA Training Institute." -attendee from the 2012 Annual Training Institute, Indianapolis, Indiana

January 12-15, 2014 **HOUSTON** APPA Winter Training Institute

The Hilton Americas-Houston is the official host hotel of the Institute (1600 Lamar St, Houston, TX 77010) and APPA has secured a lodging rate at the federally approved government per diem of \$118.00 single or double occupancy and \$20 per each additional occupant. The Hilton Americas Houston is currently accepting reservations and APPA Institute attendees may make reservations directly with the hotel at <https://aws.passkey.com/event/10571451/owner/11720/home>. You can also make reservations directly by calling the hotel at (800)236-2905 and ask for the Group code of IPP. APPA's special rates are based on availability until December 12, 2013.

The Hilton Americas-Houston is conveniently located in the heart of downtown Houston and is just steps away from Discovery Green Park, Toyota Center, BBVA Compass Stadium, GreenStreet premier dining and entertainment center, and Minute Maid Park.



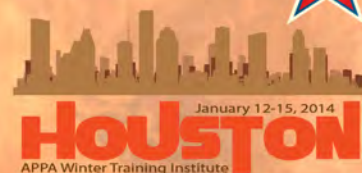
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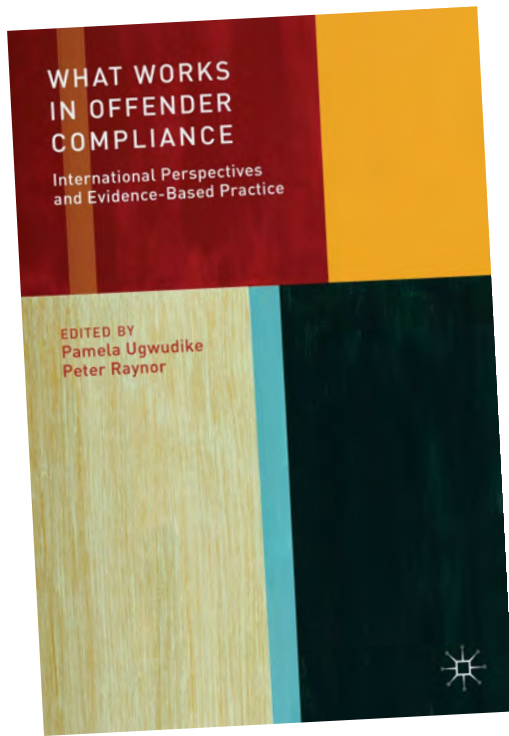
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President, J.J. Marchese And Associates

This training will provide community corrections officers with practical investigative skills that they can employ to enhance caseload supervision and ultimately public safety. The training is geared towards: Probation and Parole Officers, Supervisors, Administrators and Trainers. The public safety and behavior monitoring capabilities of probation and parole officers can be used to enhance their community supervision efforts through the development of competencies related to recognized investigative techniques. Supervision activities such as interviewing, surveillance, collection and preservation of evidence, etc. are all tasks often associated with community supervision, but are seldom included, or given adequate coverage, in basic training programs for officers. This two-day training is designed to provide community corrections officers with advanced investigative skills that will enhance public safety by providing additional supervision tools.

At the completion of the two day training, participants will be able to:

- List six investigative methods that can be used to enhance officers' community supervision skills.
- Describe the functions and benefits of surveillance as it relates to offender supervision process and how surveillance findings can be used in conjunction with other investigative skills to monitor offender behavior.
- Explain the importance of proper evidence collection and preservation skills in regards to criminal and/or administrative proceedings and discuss the reasons that evidence can be ruled inadmissible due to improper handling.
- Define the terms: Investigative Report, Observational Distortions, Articulation of Facts, and list at least seven report writing pitfalls.
- Describe the appropriate uses of interview and interrogation techniques and how they are used to obtain/verify factual information and determine deceptive statements.
- List at least five general sources of information available to community corrections officers that will improve their ability to gather and verify information.



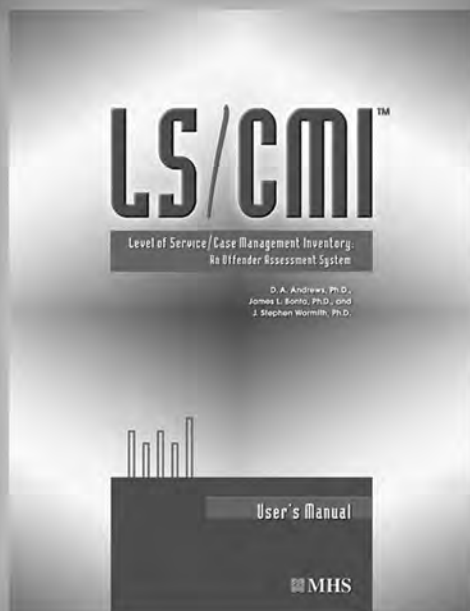
REVIEW OF WHAT WORKS IN OFFENDER COMPLIANCE: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES AND EVIDENCE-BASED PRACTICE

EDITED BY PAMELA UGWUDIKE
AND PETER RAYNOR. PALGRAVE
MACMILLAN, 2013, PAPERBACK,
365 PAGES.

For anyone working in community supervision the issue of offender compliance is of major concern and any light that research can shed on this topic is very welcomed.

Pamela Ugwu-dike, a lecturer in Criminology at Swansea University in Wales and Peter Raynor a Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice also at Swansea University have produced a collection of 19 articles on the subject of offender compliance that provide informative and insightful perspectives from various points of view that illuminates the issues and challenges surrounding offender compliance. There has been a scarcity of research literature on this important subject and the contributions in this book go a long way towards remedying this gap in our knowledge. The editors have divided the material into four sections that give comprehensive coverage of the subject and provide an organizing focus to the material.

The first section sets the scene and explores probation and compliance with attention given to historical and contemporary policy developments. In the introduction the editors discuss their purpose in producing this collection and of the intent to examine two broad domains: short-term compliance during the period of supervision and long-term compliance after supervision ends. They also explain that compliance is a broad concept and by its very nature multidimensional. They illustrate this point with reference to Anthony Bottoms' fourfold classification of compliance;



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- Constraint-based compliance that may arise from the use of physical restraints that seek to inhibit or restrict or reduce opportunities for non-compliance
- Habit or routine compliance might show up as non-criminogenic routines of habits
- Instrumental compliance occurs when there is a perceived benefit to complying
- Normative compliance is the result of internalized mechanisms that lead to compliance.

Bottoms' work has influenced many of the approaches taken in this book and has provided a springboard for further theorizing and empirical

research into the subject of compliance.

**An interesting
issue is raised in
this paper: are we
seeking cooperation
for longer term
change or at the
moment compliance?**

The rest of this section covers topics such as: compulsory persuasion in probation history by Maurice Vanstone, community sanctions and the construction of compliance by Gwen Robinson and an examination of the compliance dynamic as a co-produced practice by Trish McCulloch. This section is important for the reader in that it sets the stage for what is to follow and makes it easier to understand the foundations on which the research and theorizing are based in the various articles and different approaches to the issue of offender compliance that follow.

The second section of the book explores the subject of compliance from the perspectives of the supervisors and the

supervised. There are six chapters in this section covering a wide variety of approaches and explanations of compliance. Anthony Bottoms contributes a very interesting and helpful chapter on situational crime prevention as an aid to compliance. Ralph Serin and colleagues examine what and who might enhance offender compliance. The paper presents a model of offender change that bridges the risk and desistance literature. Also there is an exploration of treatment readiness issues and an examination of the offender and staff competences involved in offender change. An interesting issue is raised in this

paper: are we seeking cooperation for longer term change or at the moment compliance?

Peter Raynor, one of the editors of this book contributes an informative chapter from his work in Jersey, in the British Channel Islands that looks at the use of compliance meetings as an instrument to ensure enforcement is guided by fairness. He refers to this as approach as compliance through discussion.

Ben Crewe contributes a useful discussion that should aid us in theorizing compliance and in looking at the complexities involved. He presents a discussion of a typology of compliance and situates the discussion in an examination of compliance in prisons. In another chapter Mike Nellis explores the use of electronic monitoring in surveillance based compliance. He gives us a succinct overview of EM technology and claims, looks at offender responses to EM, then considers the 'dubious concept of assisted compliance'. His discussion of control architecture and electronic monitoring raises questions related to what some in the United States are calling mass supervision as a means of addressing mass incarceration problems. Electronic monitoring technology is a form of mass monitoring that would allow for automated forms of supervision.

The final chapter in this section is by Pamela Ugwuodike, an editor of this collection, in which she discusses

compliance with community service orders. This is an exploration of compliance from a front-line supervisor perspective and the use of evidence-based compliance mechanisms. This chapter is nicely placed as it leads naturally to the discussions raised in section three of the book.

The third section contains discussions of evidence-led compliance mechanisms and looks at recent developments in international research. Contributions from Australia, Canada, Europe and the United States are included. From France, Martine Herzog-Evans looks at the role of the courts in the production of compliance. Stef Decoene and Kristel Beyens from Belgium provide a multidisciplinary account of compliance focusing on policy and practice. Christopher Trotter looks at effective supervision of young offenders in Australia. This study supports the concept that workers who are well trained with certain skill sets will have clients who reoffend less frequently. This leads nicely to Melissa Alexander and colleagues' discussion of the use of motivation interviewing and core correctional practices in United States probation. Concluding this section is a very useful chapter on building good relationships in community corrections by Guy Bourgon and Leticia Guterrez from Canada who examine the evidence, theory and practice of the therapeutic alliance.

The final section looks at three particular offender groups; women,

book review

youth and drug users and examines the compliance issues related to these groups. Loraine Gelsthorpe considers the issues involved in supervising women in the community. Tim Bateman critically examines compliance issues as they relate in youth justice contexts. Paul Sparrow explores compliance issues stemming from recent policy developments regarding drug users in correctional environments. Will the implied lack of flexibility in these policy developments impede the probation officer's efforts in working with this demographic?

The editors conclude the book with a summary chapter that distills from this collection a series of statements that enable us to gain a sense of what works in offender compliance. In reading this book I was impressed with the emphasis that kept emerging that related to current themes in both practice and research. For me these themes were the attention given to three specific concepts or practices: core correctional practices, attention to specific responsivity issues and the richness in the field for innovation and commitment to empirical research to ground the innovations. Evidence-informed or evidence-led practice is a key to effective interventions and to offender compliance. The editors have done the field of community corrections a service by their labor in putting this collection of timely articles together.

This is a book that practitioners should add to their libraries but first read it before putting on the shelf! ▷▷▲

DONALD G. EVANS is a Senior Fellow at the Canadian Training Institute, Toronto, Canada and is a Past President of the American Probation and Parole Association.



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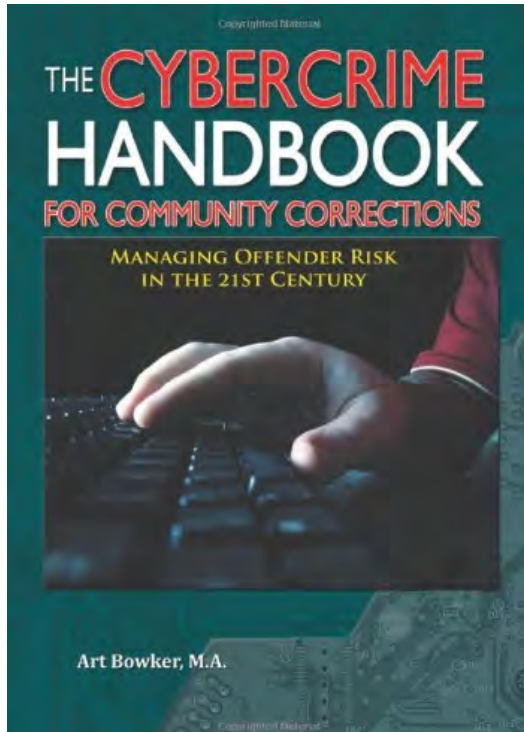
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THE CYBERCRIME HANDBOOK FOR COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS: MANAGING OFFENDER RISK IN THE 21ST CENTURY

BY ART BOWKER AND

CHARLES C. THOMAS

258 PP., 2012

The *Cybercrime Handbook for Community Corrections: Managing Offender Risk in the 21st Century* seeks to provide the field with critical guidance on the importance of monitoring offender computer activity, the immense value of the information that can be obtained as a result and specific resources necessary for agencies to develop a cyber-supervision capability. The author, Art Bowker, is a seasoned criminal justice professional with over 26 years of experience. He is a past president of the High Technology Crime Investigation Association. As a probation officer he was one of the pioneers in the area of utilizing computer investigative techniques in support of the offender supervision process.

The Cybercrime Handbook is written in layman's terms and can be easily digested by everyone from line officers to agency executives. Bowker lays out the foundation that effective supervision includes monitoring offender computer use and that the required skills and tools to perform this function are readily available. He then leads the reader through the subsequent steps necessary to turn the requirement into an action plan, inserting tips and best practices gathered from his vast knowledge and operational experience along the way.



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MULTIVIEW

technology update

As Bowker notes, the field of community corrections has been relatively slow to embrace computer management techniques as part of an offender supervision strategy. This is likely due to a number of factors including budgetary constraints, concerns about inadequate officer skill level, the lack of appropriate tools or simply a misguided notion that what happens online is just not important. Regardless of the reasons, the author correctly asserts that in the 21st century agencies can no longer ignore what offenders are doing in cyberspace. Most, if not all, of the historic obstacles have been removed. Computer search and monitoring products, many free or low-cost, have been developed specifically for community corrections. Training on these tools and investigative techniques is readily available and the technical skills required to effectively apply them are well within the reach of any supervision officer.

The remaining obstacle seems to be the perception about the value of computer monitoring, however the case is strongly made by Jim Tanner in the book's forward that "a computer is a window into the mind of the offender". Indeed, a search of a computer (or smart-phone, gaming system, or other computer device) would quickly reveal what the user's interests are, who they communicate with, how they spend their time and what their current or future plans might entail. As the author points out, computer monitoring is not just for sex offenders. Gangs, for instance,

extensively use computers to further criminal activity and digital evidence is or can be part of virtually every criminal investigation. Ensuring that persons under supervision are not continuing their criminal activities is only one benefit of computer monitoring. Understanding offender computer activity can also provide the supervising officer with insight into risk factors that may lead to undesirable outcomes. The take-away is that computers are a major part of life today and computer monitoring can yield a great deal of important intelligence about offenders that is not likely to be easily obtained in any other manner.

With the case for monitoring effectively established, the author goes on to provide readers with essential material to help make better informed decisions about how to implement a cyber-supervision capability in their jurisdiction.

One of the primary issues dealt with is the legal authority to conduct computer searches and/or monitoring. A discussion of the constitutional issues at play, statutes and case law provides readers with context for how conditions of supervision might be tailored based on individual case needs. A chapter on operational legality walks the reader through the process of conducting computer searches and/or monitoring with an eye towards avoiding potential legal pitfalls. Guidance is provided for dealing with tricky, real-world situations such as how to monitor a computer that an offender has access

to, but is owned by his employer or used by other family members in the same residence.

The author correctly dedicates a fair amount of discussion to the topic of assessing an offender's cyber-risk. As Bowker notes, risk assessment is a routine activity for supervision officers however the incorporation of cyber-risk is relatively new ground. Factors such as an offender's technical knowledge and whether a computer was used in the current criminal case should be considered. In addition, an offender's Internet behavior, particularly in sex offender cases, should be examined.

A very basic overview of computers and their operations is offered to make readers more comfortable with the subject and to reinforce the concept that computer monitoring is a skill set well within their reach. While the chapter provides information that may be rudimentary for some, I believe its inclusion to be essential, particularly for officers who might feel overwhelmed by the prospect of monitoring their offenders' computers.

Bowker offers his principles of effective computer monitoring which provides excellent fodder for agency managers to consider as they develop their strategies. One of the key take-aways is that, like all technologies, computer monitoring can be circumvented by a motivated offender. Agencies need to have realistic

expectations, understand the technology's limitations and develop approaches to bridge these gaps.

In the chapter on Search and Seizure, the author describes the issues related to conducting computer previews or forensic examinations in the field. Bowker provides a practical review of several commonly available tools that can be used to conduct point in time searches of an offender's computer. Features, basic functionality, and relative pros and cons of each product are discussed. In addition to the technology, issues such as the importance of having a plan of action for the search, officer safety tips and evidence storage and disposal are discussed. A minor criticism is that the author dedicates little more than one page to mobile phone search and seizure. While the challenges associated with forensics of phones are noted, more information on the tools available and their relative benefits would have been helpful.

As opposed to point in time searches, several vendors provide the option of continuously monitoring an offender's computer. Bowker discusses the four basic approaches to continuous monitoring software and provides very useful data on the various products currently available, their features and license costs.

The final chapter of the book focuses on online investigations and social

technology update

networking. Offenders are posting a wealth of information online that can be fairly easily accessed by supervision officers. Supervision officers have used fairly basic techniques to detect violations, identify inappropriate associations and locate absconders. A number of tips to get started and issues to consider are provided.

The book's appendix contains a variety of computer management forms which I found to be particularly useful. Included is a computer restriction and monitoring agreement form which outlines the general do's and don'ts for the offender; a computer usage questionnaire which can be used to gather information about such things as the computers, networks and storage devices the offender has access to, information about social networking site profiles and his/her passwords; authorization to search/seize computer equipment/electronic data; computer preview result forms and an example

of a property receipt. The forms can easily be replicated and modified for any jurisdiction's use – no need to reinvent the wheel.

Overall, Bowker has done an excellent job of addressing the myriad issues related to managing offender computer use. *The Cybercrime Handbook for Community Corrections* is a great resource for supervision officers interested in getting up to speed on this topic. That said, as the author acknowledges, this book is merely a beginning point. Technology will continue to evolve and will be used (and misused) in ways we can only begin to imagine. As this happens new risks and opportunities will emerge. Supervision officers must prepare themselves now so that they will be better able to anticipate and address these inevitable changes. >>>▲

JOE RUSSO is Director of the NLECTC – Corrections Technology Center of Excellence in Denver, Colorado and is chair of the APPA Technology Committee.



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MOVE!

Distance, Shielding, Movement and Countermeasures—those are the four critical elements in controlling any hazardous duty situation which cannot be resolved by verbal intervention. In APPA's Safety programs we stress "getting off the center line", that is – move, but also move in a specific manner. When at all possible move to the side and put yourself in a position of tactical advantage to either engage or disengage—which are your only two options. "Freezing" is not an option!

CURRENT AND PAST RESEARCH

In research conducted by Force Science Institute, Ltd (FSI) and the Human Performance Department at Minnesota State University-Mankato, lateral movement has again been shown to increase an officer's chance of controlling an attack. Whether it's called "moving off the center line", the "J turn", "L move", or "getting off the X", movement to the side when faced with a charging assailant increases the officer's time to react and forces the assailant to spend time reorienting in order to continue the attack.

For years, training programs have quoted research done by Dennis Tueller that demonstrated an armed officer cannot draw a weapon, get on target, and stop the forward movement of an assailant with an edged weapon within a distance of 21 feet or

less. Research into the felonious deaths of community corrections officers, conducted by Community Corrections Institute, shows that most killings of community corrections officers occurs with the assailant starting the attack within a distance of three to five feet. So how can officers enhance their chances of survival, irrespective of any safety equipment they may or may not have? And if they have equipment, how can they gain more time to access and effectively deploy that equipment?

HOW ATTACKERS MOVE

Let's start with how fast the assailant can move. FSI's research shows that an assailant can cover more than three feet in their first stride, which takes about a third of a second. The third step stretches out to more than four feet and by the sixth step the assailant is closing at a distance of more than five feet per stride. Each stride after the first takes about a quarter of a second. By the time the assailant reaches their fifth step they are moving just over 13 mph. So, based on the known dynamics of prior attacks, most officers will be face to face with their assailant within one or two steps.

When discussing responding to a physical threat and the need for tactics to do so, we periodically get the response, "I'll just run". Based on the above evidence, if the officer finds his or her self within the 3-5 foot "attack zone" do you think that will be a realistic option?

There are 26 dead community corrections officers that I'm sure would have run if they had had the chance.

Where a natural response to forward movement by an aggressor is usually the backward movement of the officer in a straight line, back-peddling fashion, this is one time where our natural response is not usually the most effective. FSI's research found that the average backward step is barely two feet and doesn't reach three feet even after six strides. So, it is easy to see that trying to move backward in an effort to avoid attack is ineffective.

WHAT WORKS?

So what is effective? FSI's research also showed that tactically moving to the side in the "J" or "L" turn can increase our time to react. Our well timed and coordinated movement to the side will take about a third of a second. The assailant will take a third of a second to reach us and then, if we move, it will take just under a third of a second for the assailant to reorient and then move against us, if we don't tactically control them first.

The effectiveness of the tactical movement to the side can be explained by the research of Lt. Col. John Boyd and the OODA Loop concept he developed in the early 1970s. OODA stands for observe, orient, decide and act, the process everyone goes through in a combat situation.

spotlight on safety

First developed by Boyd for fighter pilots (you can get more information about the concept by Googling Lt. Col. Boyd and/or OODA Loop), the concept has since been adapted and applied to tactical movement in close confrontation situations. When the assailant moves toward us they have oriented on us in the particular space. When we move, especially in a lateral manner, they must recognize our movement (observe) stop their forward movement and then turn to again face us (orient), now decide on their continued course of action (decide) and recommit to either continuing or stopping the attack (act). With training, we can move laterally into a better defensive position, give verbal commands, and/or physically control the assailant.

THE BAD NEWS

FSI research shows what many trainers have found through practice: an assailant can charge an officer and cut or hit him or her in well less than 21 feet. An assailant standing nine feet from the officer can charge and be close enough to strike or cut with an edged weapon, in just over a half a second. From five feet the same attack can occur within just over a third of a second. How do these facts relate to you or your agency's perception of an officer's ability to avoid attack or control an attack? Do you think you could recognize the attack, select a weapon (as in the Tueller drill), deploy that weapon and have the person stop the attack within

a third of a second? Research would tell us that is very unlikely.

THE GOOD NEWS

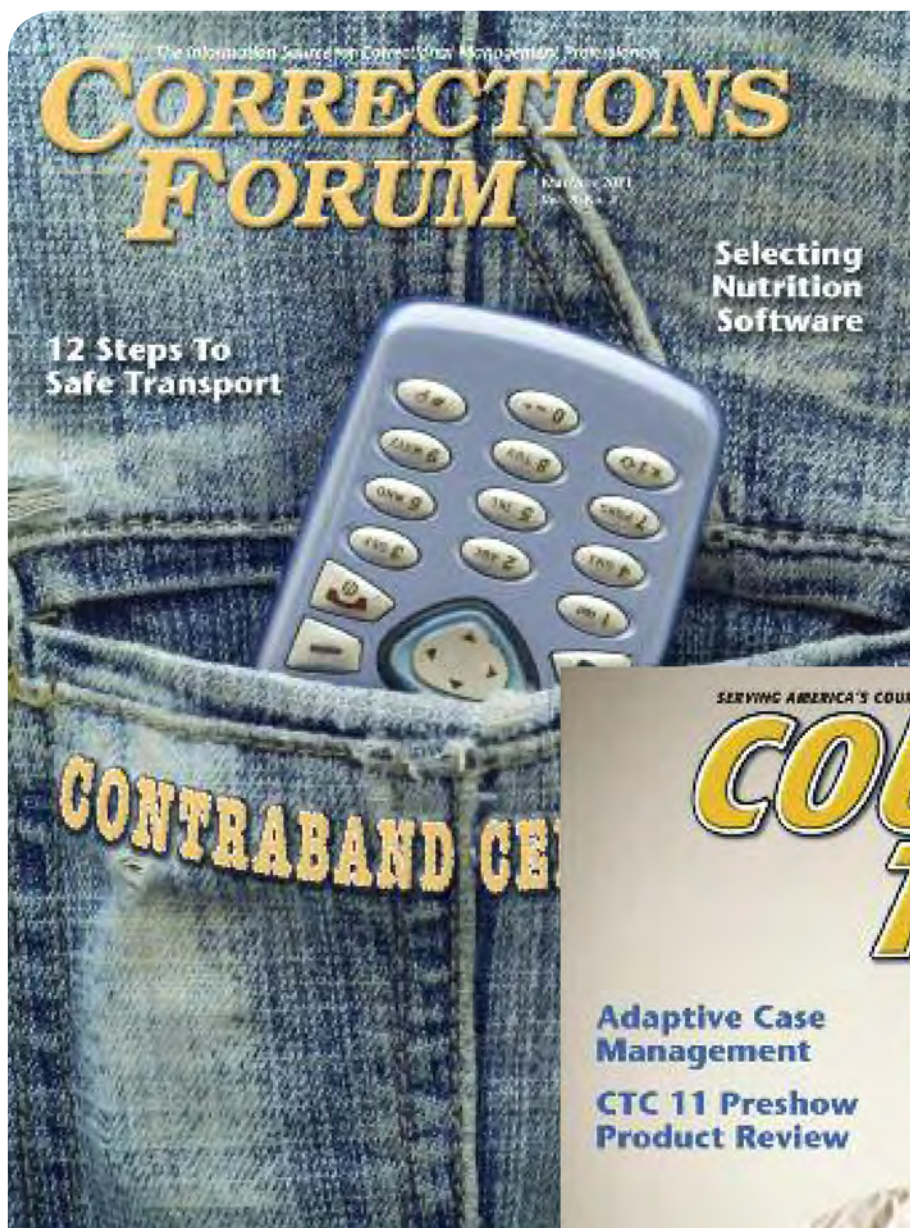
With consistent reality-based training, officers can learn to move tactically in assault situations and either evade or control the situation, taking advantage of the assailant's need to stop forward movement and reorient to our movement. Remember, no piece of safety equipment automatically makes you safe. It is your ability to think under stress and respond in a tactically effective manner that makes you safe! ▷▷▲

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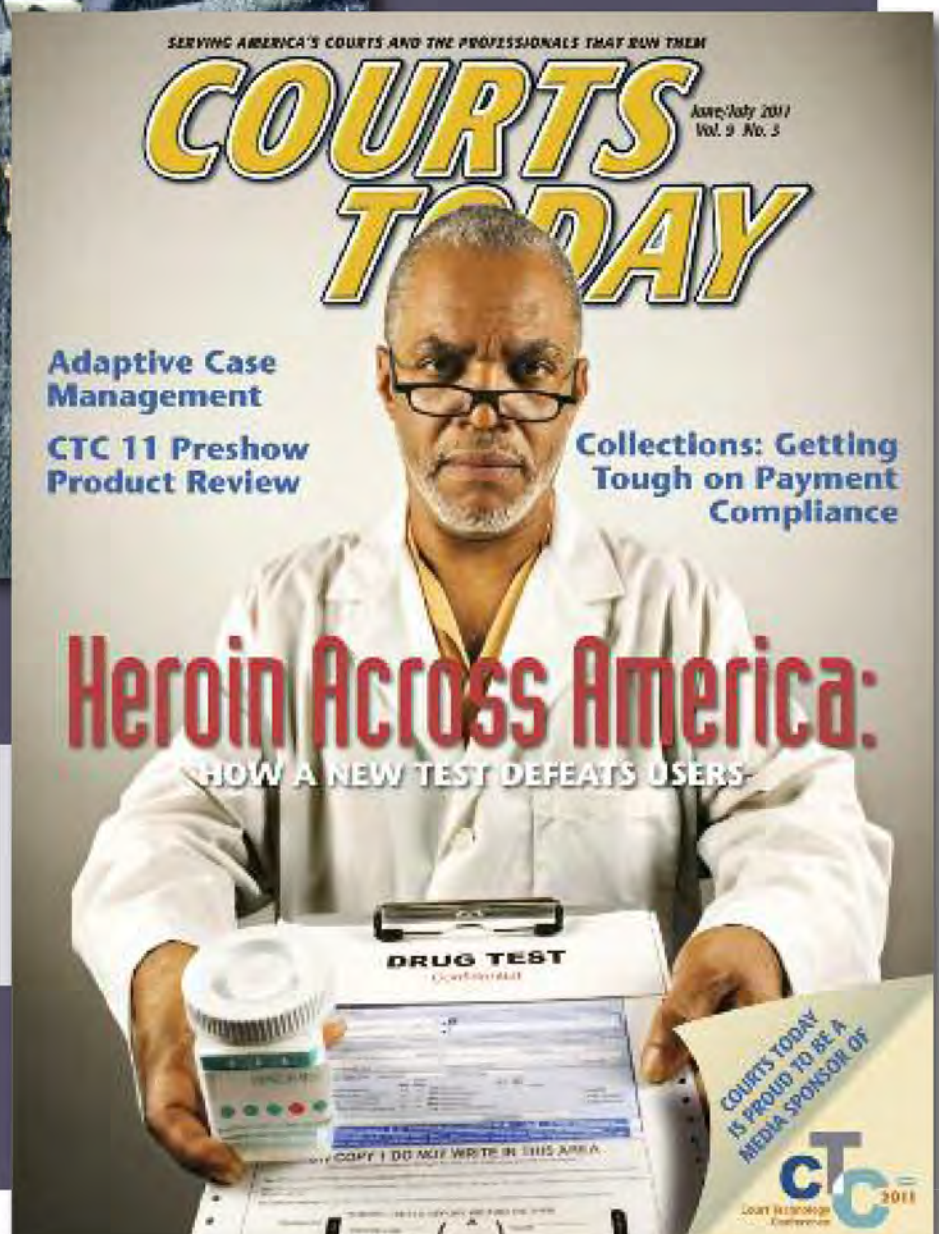
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For more information, [click here](#) to go to page 13 of this publication for submission details and guidelines.





REFLECTIONS ON OCTOBER 2013: TWO CONGRESSES, TWO CONTINENTS, TWO CITIES – VANCOUVER AND LONDON

In the fall of 2013 the Canadian Criminal Justice Association (CCJA) held its 34th Canadian Congress on Criminal Justice in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. CCJA was founded in 1919 and continues as an independent national voluntary organization to work for an improved criminal justice system in Canada. CCJA's Congress 2013 "21st Century Justice: The Economics of Public Safety" took place on the west coast of Canada from October 2nd to October 5th.

From October 8th to the 10th the Confederation of European Probation (CEP) held its inaugural World Congress on Probation in London "A World of Probation: Perspectives on Community Justice". The Congress was coordinated in partnership with the National Offender Management Service, for England and Wales, the Probation Chiefs Association, London Probation Trust, and the West Yorkshire Probation Trust. Since the establishment of CEP in 1981, the letters CEP stood for 'Conférence Permanente Européenne de la Probation'. At the General Assembly that took place October 8th 2013, as part of the World Congress on Probation, the initials CEP were amended to reflect: Confederation of European Probation.

For both of these significant international events the following reflections will only be able to scratch the surface of the content, knowledge and wisdom that was readily shared by the “cast of hundreds,” coordinated and facilitated by two teams of energetic and committed criminal justice colleagues.

A memorable address in Vancouver was provided by Mary Campbell, the recently retired Director General, Corrections Directorate, Public Safety Canada. Her luncheon keynote was both humorous and challenging. Concerned with the current posturing of Canada’s government of the day, she highlighted how the government has dressed up their legislative agenda with “tough on crime” language and rhetoric. She bluntly shared her conclusion that the agenda is NOT tough on crime. It is tough on offenders, it is tough on victims, it is tough on taxpayers, but it is strikingly soft on crime because the government’s laws, policies and programs are doing nothing to reduce or address crime. She readily admitted that previous federal governments in Canada were not saints, but also shared that in the past she has never sensed the kind of personal, deep, visceral nastiness that Canadians have seen as official policy in the past seven and a half years. She left it to the psychologists in the room to do the personality analysis, but she concluded that the root of the current approach is very much an “us versus them” mentality, an unshakeable belief in punishment as the means to specific and general deterrence, and thus a view that offenders go to prison for punishment, contrary to the international principle that offenders go to prison as punishment not for punishment.

Reflecting on the inaugural World Congress held in London, upon arrival it became readily apparent that it was being held at an extremely controversial time in the history of probation in England and Wales (E&W). Prior to, during the opening keynote address by Chris Grayling, Secretary of State, E&W Ministry of Justice and throughout the Congress the pending transformative implementation strategy related to the delivery of probation services in E&W predominated the discussions as observed during the workshops, health break discussions, and related social gatherings. The commissioning for a “payment by results” delivery of service model with the private sector has commenced, with full implementation targeted for April 2015. This would see the potential for approximately 50 to 60 percent of the probation caseload being supervised and managed by the private sector. The remaining 40 to 50 percent which constitutes the designated high risk for harm offenders would be supervised by the soon to be constituted National Probation Service (NPS). NPS will be made up of the current approximately 23 Probation Trusts that are presently responsible for probation services in England and Wales. Again, full implementation is targeted for April 2015.

international update

Two of the plenary speakers, Dr. Frank Porporino from Canada, who is also a Board member of the International Corrections and Prisons Association (ICPA), and William Burrell from the U.S. addressed two other controversial issues: the “what works (WW) agenda” & “evidenced based practices” (EBP). William is a Board Member of the American Probation and Parole Association (APPA) and Editor of APPA’s journal *Perspectives*.

Concern was voiced by both that, although in certain areas of the criminal justice community both WW & EBP have clearly contributed to a safer community, numerous jurisdictions are only providing “lip service” to appropriate implementation, leaving program integrity in doubt. They also cautioned that the academic and practitioner communities must not become complacent.

Workshops involving our colleagues from Thailand, Japan, Singapore, Uganda & Kenya covered such issues as: probation supervision; community service orders; community network centers; prisoner visitation; peer support and employment support. A common thread through the presentations highlighted the significant role that civil society and the volunteer sector play in support of contributing to safer communities and offender support in their respective countries. It would appear that Singapore has the most successful program involving civil society, with Kenya currently in the midst of attempting to maintain government support for their volunteer probation officer (VPO) program. Their program was patterned after the very successful VPO program that has been in operation in Japan for years.

On October 8, 2013 a site visit occurred to the London Probation Trust (LPT) and although a “brave face” was put on by the LPT Chief Executive, it was clear that the pending plans for probation in E&W were a concern to management, administrative staff and supervisory personnel. This was followed by a site visit to Tulse Hill Approved Premises. This 29 bed residential facility located in the borough of Lambeth was approved under section 13 of the Offender Management Act 2007. This facility, with a number of static security features houses primarily offenders designated as high risk for harm and has 24 hour a day supervision. A tour of the facility, a staff presentation, interactions with the residents and a demonstration of their drug and alcohol detection devices were provided. The staff presentation addressed the Approved Premises Purposeful Activities Programme.

On October 9, 2013 a very informative meeting was held with Elizabeth Calderbank, Her majesty’s Chief Inspectorate of Probation. The dialogue will be incorporated into an article that will appear in the next edition of APPA’s quarterly journal – *Perspectives*.

Looking forward to reading this article pales in comparison to the anticipation that will be building over the next two years as a result of a key decision made by our CEP colleagues in consultation with APPA President Carmen Rodriguez, and fellow APPA Executive Committee members. At the close of the Congress it was announced that the 2nd World Congress on Probation will be held in partnership with APPA in 2015 at a city in the United States, to be determined.

For the folk who enjoyed the Congress in Vancouver and to our many international colleagues a visit or revisit to Vancouver in 2014 is also possible. The International Society for the Reform of Criminal Law (ISRCL) is pleased that the Right Honourable Beverley McLachlin, Chief Justice of Canada, will Chair the Society's 27th International Conference, which will consider

sentencing and corrections reforms as they have developed historically and will evolve in the future. Partners in this pivotal conference are the American Bar Association Criminal Justice Section and the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy.

The conference *Crime and Punishment - Back to the Future for Sentencing and Corrections Reform* will consider current and future criminal justice sentencing and corrections reforms in the context of milestone criminal justice reform events and in the context of the United Nations standards and internationally accepted norms in crime prevention and criminal justice. >>>▲

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POLICE-PROBATION PARTNERSHIPS: ENHANCING JUVENILE SUPERVISION

Partnerships have existed informally between individual police and probation officers for decades. Beginning in the early 1990s, however, a police-probation partnership in Boston began to revolutionize these individualized partnerships into something more formal, more structured, and in some cases better documented (Matz & Kim, 2013). The premise for such partnerships was straightforward, as police officers and probation officers realized they were often working with the same individuals (Corbett, 1998; Minor & Matz, 2012). By working together, it was reasoned, officers could improve community supervision of probationers and improve public safety. Reintegration of the probationer, however, appeared to be mostly an afterthought. This update discusses the genesis of such partnerships, how they function and their impact on juvenile crime.

ORIGINS, TYPOLOGIES, AND STRUCTURE OF PARTNERSHIPS

The increased formalized collaboration between police and probation can be attributed to, in part, the movement of community policing across the nation (Byrne & Hummer, 2004). It is plausible to assume the trend for police agencies to be more proactive and open to coordination with outside entities and the public, core tenets of community policing — created the prerequisite environment needed for formalized partnerships to form. However, mission distortion is a common concern (Murphy & Lutze, 2009). Partnerships with police tend to over-emphasize enforcement or deterrence and undermine the social service role of probation. Law enforcement has a tendency to dominate the collaborations they participate in.

The *East Bay Public Safety Corridor Partnership* is a prime example (Bureau of Justice Assistance [BJA], 1997). In this collaboration, police had already outlined the problem and its solution prior to engaging community partners. As a result, members of the collaborative were reluctant to get involved. Nonetheless, in the case of probation there is a shared goal of maintaining public safety which complements police-probation partnerships. A primary concern for probation officers is whether, as a result of the partnership, they ebb increasingly into a law enforcement orientation that minimizes their role as a social worker (i.e., “helper” to the probationer). If so, what implications will this pose and, if

left unchecked, can it be detrimental to the overall mission of public safety by failing to adequately meet the needs of probationers?

As was the case in Boston’s Operation Night Light and many formal partnerships since, these collaborations have primarily focused on high-risk gang members with lengthy criminal histories between the ages of 14-24 (Braga, 2008; Braga, McDevitt, & Pierce, 2006; Braga, Piehl, & Hureau, 2009; Braga, Pierce, McDevitt, Bond, & Cronin, 2008). In the case of Night Light, probation officers would select 10-15 gang-affiliated high-risk youth between ages 17-25. While there are a variety of partnership typologies highlighted in the literature (see Table 1) (Benekos & Merlo, 2006; Kim, Gerber, & Beto, 2010; Kim, Gerber, Beto, & Lambert, 2013; Matz & Kim, 2013; Parent & Snyder, 1999), the most pertinent concerns enhanced supervision partnerships. These partnerships involve police and probation officers conducting joint patrols and home visits; direct interactions between the probationer, police officers and the probation officer. While conducting such visits officers conduct searches to check for supervision compliance (e.g., no firearms, no drugs), but would also discuss substance abuse treatment and other services available in the community (Matz & Kim, 2013). In many cases the partnership typologies developed by Parent and Snyder (1999) are encompassed to varying degrees within a single partnership. For example,

Night Light existed within a larger *interagency problem solving* initiative known as Operation Ceasefire. In addition to enhanced supervision, the partnership also involved the sharing of information between police and probation officers. This information allowed police officers to serve as additional “eyes” on the street for probationers who may be violating curfew or other conditions of their supervision.

JUVENILE PROBATION PARTNERSHIPS AND THEIR IMPACT ON JUVENILE CRIME

There are believed to be well over 20 formalized police-probation/partnerships across the U.S. (Decker, 2008), however, few target juvenile probationers specifically or exclusively and there is little empirical evaluation research available for any of these partnerships. That said, the most rigorous study on the impact of partnership concerns a police-juvenile probation partnership in San Bernardino (Worrall & Gaines, 2006). San Bernardino’s enhanced supervision program, the *IMPACT/Nightlight juvenile crime prevention program*, was similar to Boston’s Night Light in including curfew enforcement, joint patrols, and school contacts (Matz & Kim, 2013). Funded by BJA in 2000, the formal program began January 2001 and ceased in July of 2003 due to a lack of funding (Worrall & Gaines, 2006).

The program involved the partnering of juvenile probation officers with police officers in five teams (consisting of one probation officer and one police officer) to provide heightened supervision of juvenile probationers. Specifically, this included a joint home visit to each new probationer that involved an explanation of the terms of their supervision, a search of their residence for illegal paraphernalia and continued follow-up visits. In addition to these direct interactions of the enhanced supervision teams, police officers would also contact probation officers when they encountered a juvenile probationer during the course of their routine patrols. Given the police officers’ knowledge of probationers, and working in conjunction with probation, they were able to collectively take greater action in terms of investigating and punishing probationers who violated curfew and other supervision restrictions (e.g., “do not associate” conditions). Case law generated in California and in the U.S. Supreme Court have historically been supportive of law enforcement’s involvement in the search of probationers/parolees, though within specific legal limits (Adelman, 2007; 2002; Worrall & Gaines, 2006) and not without some controversy (Murphy & Worrall, 2007).

San Bernardino’s program targeted medium- and high-risk juvenile probationers. It was reasoned the program could provide these youth with

a clean slate and more effectively deter involvement in further criminality with the additional authority, supervision and presence of police officers (Worrall & Gaines, 2006). The primary motivation for the program was rooted in a concern over probation officers' increasingly excessive caseloads. To examine the impact of the program on juvenile crime Worrall & Gaines (2006) utilized interrupted time series and displacement/ diffusion analyses of subsequent juvenile arrest rates on felonies, misdemeanors and curfew violations (i.e., a status offense). Results revealed a significant reduction in certain felony offenses (burglary, assault, and theft) and no impact on misdemeanors or status offenses. The authors also examined nearby cities

(Colton, Highland, and Rialto) for potential crime reductions and found, with the exception to burglary in Highland, little evidence of diffusion or displacement. Therefore, there may be some general deterrent effect but its overall impact is unclear.

Another study by Jones and Sigler (2002) evaluated the impact of police officers assigned to juveniles placed on a curfew check program in Palm Bay, Florida. Legislative changes from 1998 made it permissible for police officers to enforce court-ordered curfew checks, a duty previously performed solely by probation officers. Like San Bernardino, this partnership was predicated largely on the understanding that probation officer

TABLE 1: PARTNERSHIP TYPOLOGIES*

PARTNERSHIP TYPE	DEFINITION
Enhanced Supervision	Partnership in which police and correctional agencies perform joint supervision or other joint functions (such as neighborhood patrols) for persons on probation.
Fugitive Apprehension	Partnership in which police and correctional agencies collaborate to locate and apprehend persons who have absconded from probation supervision.
Information Sharing	Partnership in which corrections and law enforcement agencies institute procedures to exchange information related to probationers.
Specialized enforcement	Partnership in which police and correctional agencies, as well as community organizations, collaborate to rid communities of particular problems.
Interagency Problem Solving	Partnership in which law enforcement and correctional agencies confer to identify problems of mutual concern and to identify and implement solutions to them.

* Definitions from Parent & Snyder (1999, pp. 6-7), see also Kim et al. (2010).

caseloads had become excessive and they were unable to adequately supervise their probationers. Using agency records, questionnaires and interviews the authors found some support for the reduction of juvenile crime, specifically a one-third reduction in nonviolent crimes, during the partnership. The reduction did not hold true for burglaries, as it did in San Bernardino, however. They also reported positive feedback from both officers and the parents of youth under supervision.

CONCLUSION

There is some evidence to suggest that police-probation partnerships can be very effective in reducing juvenile crime-- though few evaluation studies exist. Although there are certain problems to be aware of (mission distortion, mission creep, stalking horse incidents, turfism, increased offender monitoring), overall anecdotal and empirical accounts to date clearly justify these enhanced supervision partnerships as quite *promising* as classified by the Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency and Prevention. That said, the notion that police officers must pick up the slack due to the under-funded, under-resourced probation departments is a problematic development. As Durlauf and Nagin (2011) would likely agree, in addition to further evaluation research on partnerships, there needs to be a greater allocation of resources provided to struggling juvenile probation departments.

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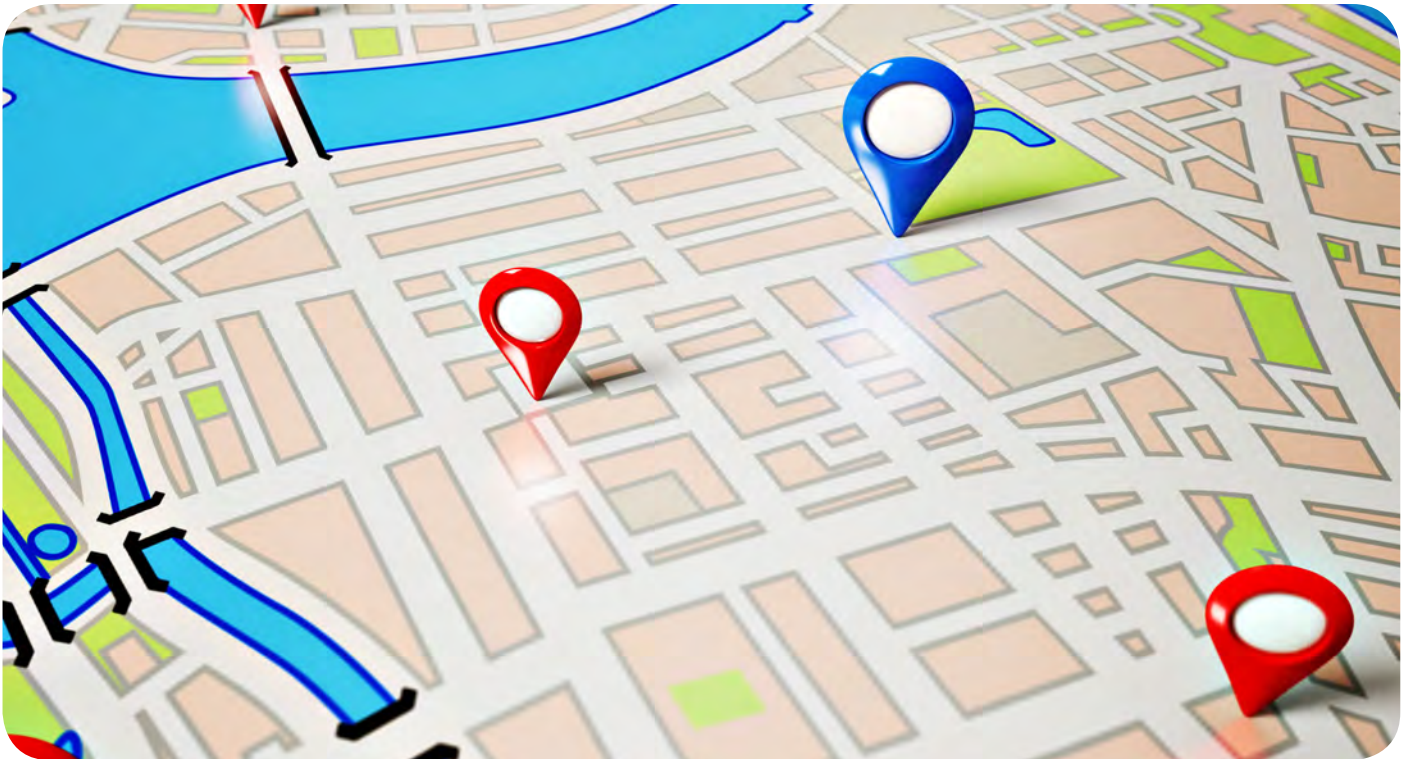
ENDNOTES

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³ 1000-1500 word submissions (otherwise follow Perspectives' submission guidelines) for consideration in the PSN Update are welcome and encouraged. To be considered papers must be relevant to community corrections (probation/parole) and concern interagency collaboration (e.g., police-probation/parole partnerships), Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN), gangs, and/or gun violence. Please direct PSN Update manuscripts to amatz@csg.org. ▷▷▲

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IMPLICATIONS OF CRIME AND PLACE RESEARCH FOR PROBATION AND PAROLE

The past two decades have seen a number of important advances in evidence-based practices in probation and parole, particularly on the processes of risk assessment and offender treatment (see e.g., Taxman & Belenko, 2012; MacKenzie, 2001; Listwan et al., 2006) reflecting that the systematic use of theory and empirical evidence has become increasingly important in community corrections practice. These practices have improved the capacity of community corrections agencies to understand offender propensities to recidivate and develop measures to mitigate those propensities.

One of the key gaps in community corrections practice, however, is a systematic understanding of how risk of recidivism is related to ecological context. That is, probationers and parolees are likely to be at different risks for recidivism based on their routine habits and patterns of behavior that expose them to different settings that offer opportunities for crime or technical violations. Crime and place research, which is focused on how opportunities for crime shape patterns of criminal activity in geographic space, provides key insights that may be useful for community corrections practice and

improves the ability of probation and parole agencies to identify and mitigate not only the individual risk factors that lead to offending, but also address the larger structures of risks and opportunities for offending that are present in a probationer's environment. The intent of this article is to provide a brief overview of key insights from crime and place research and point out practical implications of this research for practice in probation and parole.

KEY INSIGHTS IN CRIME AND PLACE

Crime and place research includes a wide range of subjects, and cannot be comprehensively reviewed here. This article will focus on four key insights from crime and place research. The intent of this brief review is to summarize key concepts in crime and place and introduce ideas that may be useful for improving practice in probation and parole.

The first key insight is that crime is highly concentrated in places. In crime and place research, "place" is a term that refers to small geographical units such as addresses, street blocks or street segments. Criminologists have found that crime is highly concentrated in places, with about three to four percent of addresses and street segments accounting for 50 percent of crime in a city (see e.g., Pierce, Spaar, and Briggs, 1988; Sherman, Gartin, and Buerger, 1989; Weisburd and Amram, 2012; Weisburd and Mazerolle,

2000). This strong concentration of crime in places implies that criminal justice agencies may be able to realize significant gains by focusing crime prevention interventions in the areas that host disproportionate amounts of crime or crime "hotspots" (see e.g., Sherman and Weisburd, 1995; Weisburd and Green, 1995; Weisburd, 2008).

Second, it is no accident that crime is highly concentrated in place. Concentrations of crime occur in particular places because they routinely bring together motivated offenders, suitable targets and a lack of capable guardianship, which create opportunities for crime (Clarke, 1980; 1995; Cohen and Felson, 1979; Sherman et al., 1989). When potential offenders observe that these opportunities to offend exist in particular areas, they respond rationally based on their calculation of the risks and rewards for committing crimes (Felson, 2002). Thus, effective crime prevention efforts can focus not only on deterring offenders, but also by changing the efforts, risks, rewards, provocations and excuses for offending in specific settings (see e.g., Cornish and Clarke, 2003; Eck, 2002; Guerette and Bowers, 2009).

Third, crime is fairly stable in places over time and does not easily displace from one location to another. This means that from year to year, high crime places persist in having a great deal of crime and low crime places persist in having little crime (Weisburd et al., 2004; Weisburd et

al., 2012). Crime and place researchers have also found that crime prevention efforts that are focused on hotspots do not displace crime to other locations (see e.g., Braga et al., 2012; Weisburd et al., 2006). There are several explanations for these findings. As noted before, crime in places is related to the routine patterns of behavior of offenders, victims and guardians. Like everyone else, offenders become familiar with their routines and are often uncomfortable in changing their habits and patterns of behavior (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1995). Moving from one place to another may also put them in conflict with other people at the new location (Weisburd et al., 2006). Offenders may also be unfamiliar with the extent of crime control efforts that are occurring in certain locations and believe that crime prevention is occurring over a much wider area than is really the case. Thus, displacement of crime is rare, and it is just as likely that crime prevention in places will produce benefits in both the targeted areas and nearby areas (Guerette and Bowers, 2009).

“Guardianship” in places is related to the willingness of people in particular locations to prevent crime (Eck, 2003). Guardianship may be the result of the presence of formal guardians such as security guards, the police and employees of businesses, or the result of citizens informally regulating one another’s behavior in communities (see e.g., Shaw and McKay, 1942; Sampson et al., 1997). Regardless of the source of guardianship,

crime and place scholars have found that it is a critical predictor of the amount of crime that occurs in places (see e.g., Reynald, 2011; Rice and Smith, 2002; Smith et al., 2000; Weisburd et al., 2012). Criminal justice agencies are often limited in the resources and people who are able to intervene and prevent crime in places and thus crime prevention efforts often focus on improving the ability of communities to prevent crime (see e.g., Weisburd et al., 2013; Winship et al., 2006).

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE IN PROBATION AND PAROLE

There are two major implications of crime and place research for practice in probation and parole. First, research in crime and place implies that probation and parole agencies should emphasize crime opportunity as a guiding consideration in planning offender supervision and treatment. Second, crime and place research emphasizes that probation and parole agencies will be more effective in preventing recidivism when they increase guardianship in high risk places, and identify and partner with other groups and agencies that share an interest in crime prevention in particular areas.

As Cullen et al., (2002) note, community corrections agencies should incorporate opportunity into planning of supervision and treatment for probationers and parolees (see also Byrne, 2008). As mentioned earlier, corrections

agencies are often primarily focused on treating offenders' propensity to recidivate (see e.g., Bonta et al., 2011; Vitopoulos et al., 2012). A place-based perspective on community corrections would suggest that practitioners work with probationers to identify the particular risks, excuses and rewards for offending that they routinely encounter and find strategies for mitigating the criminal opportunities in those particular situations. This requires that probation and parole agencies understand not only the needs of the probationer, but also the nature of the environment where he or she lives, works, and engages in recreation, as these are all relevant to determining opportunity for crime (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1995; 2008).

Probation and parole agencies should also ask broader questions about the habits, routines and patterns of behavior that are related to recidivism and desistance to assist each probationer and their families with identifying high-risk behaviors that are based on the individuals' exposure to opportunities for crime. By disrupting risky patterns of behavior that expose probationers to crime opportunities, community corrections practitioners may be able to significantly alter patterns of recidivism in places.

Second, community corrections agencies also need to leverage other criminal justice agencies and the community more generally to prevent recidivism. A pulling levers intervention in Boston, Massachusetts is one example of a place-based intervention that involved partnerships between criminal justice agencies, the community and gang members in preventing serious crime (Braga et al., 2001; Kennedy, 1996). Police officers contacted gang members, both to emphasize that they would be more aggressively targeting violent activity and that they were also interested in reducing their risk of being victimized. Church organizations and community groups were also involved in the intervention strategy to encourage desistance from gang activity and offer treatment and other alternatives to gang members. This wide range of partnerships was effective

By disrupting risky patterns of behavior that expose probationers to crime opportunities, community corrections practitioners may be able to significantly alter patterns of recidivism in places.

in reducing violence and other types of offending activity in the city.

Researchers have noted that many probationers and parolees are from neighborhoods where offenders are repeatedly incarcerated and released, which damages the capacity of neighbors to provide support and informal regulation of criminal and disorderly behavior (see e.g., Byrne and Taxman, 2006; Clear et al., 2001; 2003). In places where communities are weak and alienated from the criminal justice system, it may be very difficult for probation agencies to build capacities to effectively supervise and provide services for offenders. Community corrections practitioners will need substantially more time, ingenuity, and resources to effectively supervise probationers and parolees in these areas. ►►▲

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**NEIGHBORHOOD
OPPORTUNITY NETWORK**

**TRANSFORMING
PROBATION**

by Susan Tucker

Early in the spring of 2010, under the leadership of newly-appointed Commissioner Vincent N. Schiraldi, the New York City (NYC) Department of Probation (DOP) began a series of major reforms to transform the business of probation. Informed by an emerging body of theory and research about what works, the aim was to establish a community-oriented practice rooted in strength-and desistance-based theories of change (Maruna, 2001) and principles of justice and equality that would yield successful results for probation clients and their communities. As codified in 2011 and reaffirmed in 2012, the NYC Model of Probation (NYC Model) (DOP, 2012):

...advances public safety and improves communities by adopting a [two-part] Justice Reinvestment framework...[that] focuses resources on individuals who pose the highest risk to public safety and reinvests in the communities where people on probation live.

The NYC Model of Probation affirmatively adopts a Justice Reinvestment model, and the Neighborhood Opportunity Network (NeON) is its signature initiative, giving new meaning to community corrections.

JUSTICE REINVESTMENT

Over the past decade, Justice Reinvestment has emerged as a leading national criminal justice system reform and public safety initiative (Justice Center, Bureau of Justice Assistance 2013). It was conceived as a strategy to repair and rebuild the human resources and physical infrastructure (e.g., jobs, schools, healthcare, parks and public spaces) of neighborhoods blighted by decades of criminal justice policies. Because of these policies, the U.S. prison and jail population exploded to 2.2 million



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(a 336 percent increase since 1980) and the probation and parole rolls have reached over 4.8 million as of the end of 2011. We now know that these increasingly punitive policies, which disproportionately affect minorities and their communities, can become independent variables contributing to the disruption of family and community that, in turn, exacerbate the cycle of crime and punishment (Clear, 2009).


To address this, Justice Reinvestment was designed as a vehicle to downsize correctional populations and the billion-dollar budgets spent to incarcerate or watch them and redirect public resources to neighborhoods where criminal justice is often the dominant government presence. Justice Reinvestment has become an important reform strategy not only across the U.S., but also in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, all countries where racial and ethnic minorities are seriously over-represented in their criminal justice systems.

In the U.S., a Justice Reinvestment Initiative (JRI) has been led by state officials and managed by the national Council of State Government's Justice Center, with funding from national foundations and DOJ's Bureau of Justice Assistance. JRI has operated in 27 states; about 18 have enacted JRI legislation for the purpose of stabilizing corrections populations and budgets, and state legislators and public officials have been educated about the perils of too much punishment, softening the ground for criminal justice systems reform. However, over time, local players from affected communities have been minimally involved in the planning and implementation of JRI, if at all, and any actual or projected savings have flowed to community corrections agencies, not invested in community institutions and infrastructure (Austin 2013).

THE NYC MODEL OF PROBATION

DOP may be the first probation department in the country to spearhead a local, bottom-up Justice Reinvestment project in a major U.S. city.

The ultimate goal of the NYC Model is to expand probation clients' access to the kinds of opportunities—principally, education, employment and civic engagement—that can help them achieve their personal and professional goals and stay out of trouble – and thereby further insure public safety. In practice, it is less about “fixing” individuals than transforming the way DOP operates. Accordingly, policies and practices have been put in place that motivate staff to help clients succeed, keep them safely in the community and, whenever possible, avoid decisions that lead to revocation and incarceration.



Historically, Probation Officers (POs) occupy the dual roles of social worker and peace officer. These roles inevitably conflict and, over the past 40 years, some probation administrations and POs have tended to lean more toward the “tough on crime” approach. In sharp contrast, Commissioner Schiraldi’s mantra has been: “Do no harm. Do more good. Do it in the community.”

These three edicts encapsulate the NYC Model’s vision and mission, with various agency divisions focusing on different aspects of the strategy. NeON is the initiative that is most responsible for expanding opportunities, resources and services for clients (Goal 2), and forming strong partnerships and promoting community engagement by “doing it in the community” (Goal 4).

To achieve this vision, the NYC Model sets out five goals, each with a number of related *strategies*:

GOAL 1: SAFER COMMUNITIES

- Strategy 1 - Target Resources to People on Probation at High-Risk of Reoffending
- Strategy 2 - Create and Rapidly Administer a Continuum of Graduated Responses

GOAL 2: OPPORTUNITIES, RESOURCES AND SERVICES

- Strategy 3 - Establish the Neighborhood Opportunity Network
- Strategy 4 - Prioritize Education, Work and Strength-Based Development
- Strategy 5 - Realign Juvenile Justice Services
- Strategy 6 - Broker Opportunities and Eliminate Barriers to Success

GOAL 3: ORGANIZATIONAL EXCELLENCE

- Strategy 7 - Strengthen Professional Development
- Strategy 8 - Adopt Best Practices
- Strategy 9 - Embrace Organizational Culture of Client Success

GOAL 4: STRONG PARTNERSHIPS AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

- Strategy 10 - Establish Partnerships with Communities
- Strategy 11 - Collaborate with City, State and National Partners
- Strategy 12 - Build Broad Support for DOP Priorities

GOAL 5: MEASURING SUCCESS

- Strategy 13 - Streamline Data Collection and Improve Analysis Capacity
- Strategy 14 - Promote Accountability



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NEON: GIVING NEW MEANING TO COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS

There has been an increasing call for community involvement in corrections. Today, government and foundation requests for proposals and grant guidelines often require an intention to engage community leaders and residents as active participants. The National Institute of Corrections lists “engagement with the community,” as one of seven essential ingredients for successful reentry initiatives. Yet, there are few examples of genuine community engagement by criminal justice agencies, including the state-led JRI.

The NYC Model of Probation prioritizes the NeON as a community corrections innovation with community engagement as its core feature. Indeed, the NeON model gives positive meaning to the concept of “community corrections” at a time when the community corrections field is too often defined by what it is not: in other words, “not prison” or “not jail.” Instead of leading with the omnipresent threat of revocation and incarceration, the focus of the NeON is maximizing opportunity and client success by proactively and purposely changing where, how and with whom the business of probation is conducted.

CREATING THE NEON

Not unlike the NYC Model of Probation overall, the process of creating the NeON has been an agency-wide—actually, *citywide*—effort. The NeON was conceived by DOP’s Director of Justice Reinvestment Initiatives and designed with the Citywide NeON Director. It has been implemented by Adult and Juvenile Operations under the leadership of their respective Deputy and Associate Commissioners, in accordance with NeON plans developed by each borough’s Assistant Commissioner. But every DOP senior manager together with his or her staff has played an essential role.

After the idea behind NeON was hatched, the task of implementation planning was handed over to a NeON Development Team (NDT). The team was chaired by the Director of Justice Reinvestment and met regularly throughout 2011 to provide guidance and troubleshoot. The following DOP staff members made crucial contributions to the effort:

- Chief of Staff: Involved in all aspects of the NeONs, especially procurement and liaising with City Hall.
- Deputy Commissioner for Administration: Led efforts to locate/secure sites and reallocate funds.

- Deputy Commissioner for Planning, Training and Community Partnerships and the Assistant Commissioner for Training: Provided staff with special trainings and helped collaborate with partner programs.
- Office of the General Counsel: Dealt with all legal issues, including negotiations with the agency's unions.
- Director of Public/Private Initiatives: Worked to secure philanthropic funding.
- Director of Communications: Communicated NeON concept internally and externally.
- Director for Legislative Affairs: Responsible for gaining the support of elected officials in NeON communities.
- Director of Research: Developed logic models and identified neighborhoods with highest concentration of residents on probation.

The support of City Hall and the input and cooperation of other City, state and federal agencies, has been crucial throughout. Outside professionals, including architects and academic researchers and even private corporations and funders, have also made important contributions. Finally, without the unwavering leadership and

encouragement of DOP Commissioner Vincent N. Schiraldi and the wholehearted commitment of Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg and Deputy Mayor for Health and Human Services Linda Gibbs to leveling the playing field for Black and Latino young men, this ambitious undertaking could never have been realized.

HOW DOES THE NEON “DO IT IN THE COMMUNITY”?

The NYC Model of Probation represents a citywide DOP systems-change project. So what does it mean for probation services to be in the community? During the NeON's initial start-up phase, four fundamental strategies were emphasized: decentralization of probation services; joining key local networks including educators, healthcare and other service providers; working with clients and their families in the community; and purposefully engaging with the broader NeON community.

DECENTRALIZATION OF PROBATION SERVICES

First, being in the community means being in client neighborhoods. Instead of working in downtown court buildings, key DOP personnel—Branch Chiefs, Supervising POs and POs, and other staff—work in local NeON offices that are co-located with or near non-profit organizations close to where clients live.

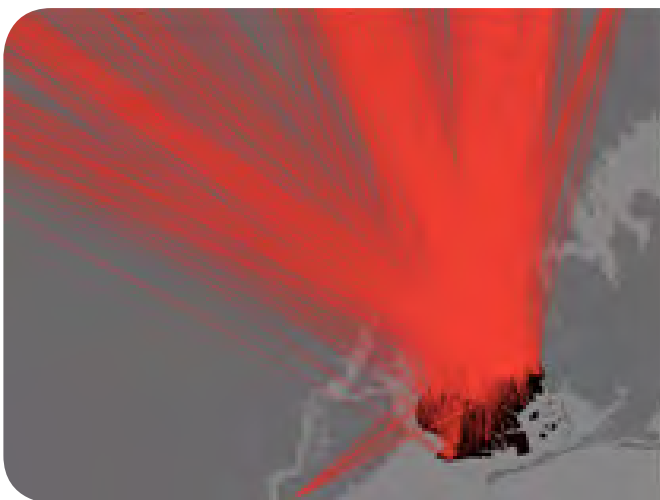


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The siting of NeONs and NeON Satellite offices takes into consideration several different factors: neighborhoods with a high density of residents serving terms of probation; community assets, such as effective local networks of service providers and institutions; community and political receptivity to the NeON; opposition to the NeON; community deficits such as a paucity of healthcare, educational and other services; high rates of unemployment and homelessness; and, of course, the cost of real estate.

Justice Mapping, an important Justice Reinvestment tool developed by the Justice Mapping Center (Cadorna), now at Rutgers University School of Criminal Justice, and visualized by the Spatial Information Design Lab (SIDL) at Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning (Kurgan), was used to identify those

places in NYC where concentrations of people on probation live. Justice Mapping pinpoints neighborhoods and blocks and sometimes even individual buildings where the millions of dollars that are spent to incarcerate and supervise residents dwarf the level of investment in local civil society institutions. A “million dollar block” (Gonnerman) was estimated to cost taxpayers one to six million dollars a year just for room and board in prison for residents of one single city street. Justice Mapping has become important because it pointedly (and elegantly) raises fundamental questions about governance priorities; for example, is spending \$6 million a year to incarcerate residents from a single block really the smartest way to make communities safe and viable?

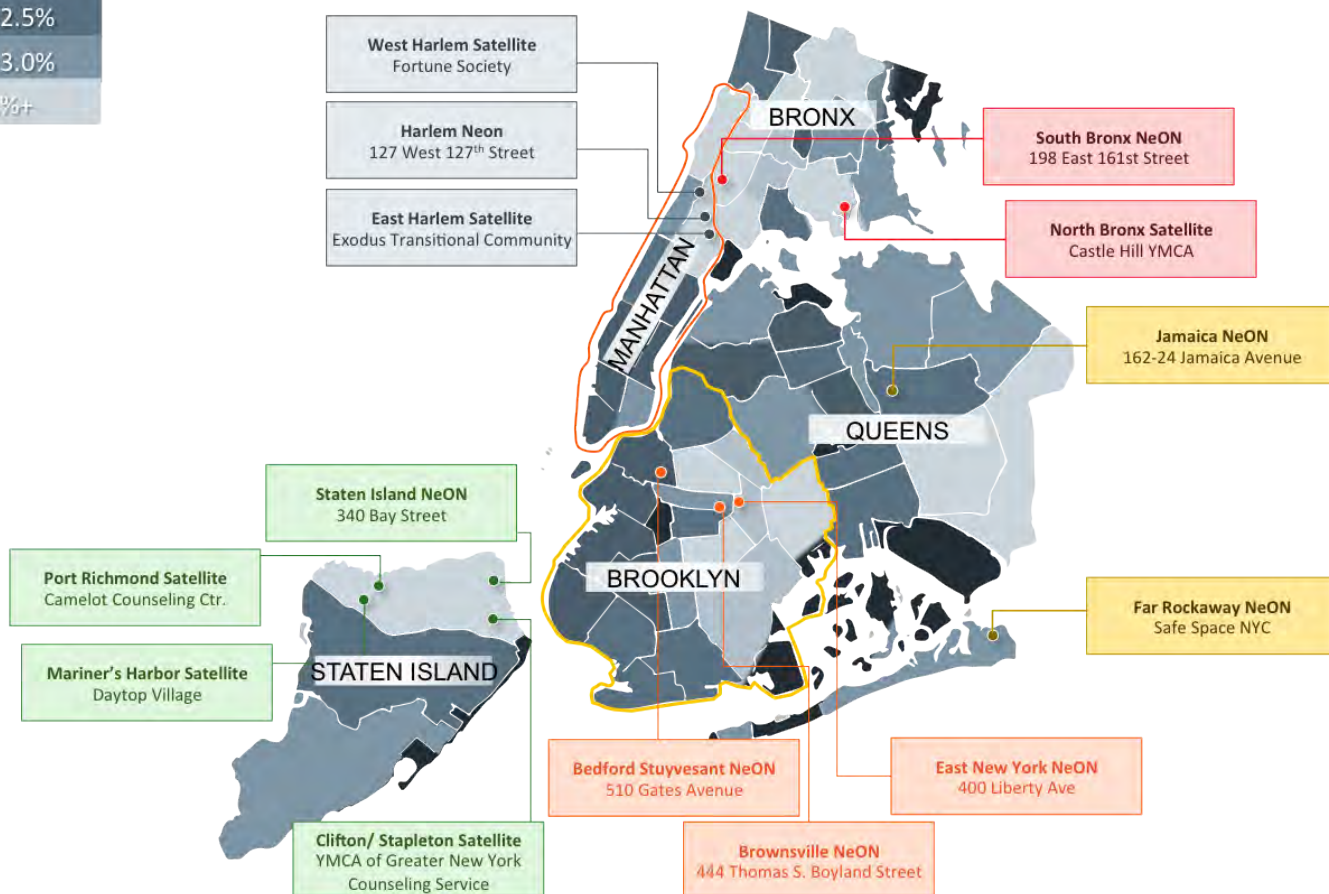


Kurgan 2010

Brooklyn is a good example; each line on the map represents a single resident of Brooklyn incarcerated in an upstate prison, who in 2003 cost the state \$40,000 a year for room and board. (Juveniles sentenced to “secure facilities” in New York State cost closer to \$260,000 a year.) As this map illustrates, Brooklyn has a high concentration of incarcerated residents (NB: NYC’s incarceration rate has dropped by 32 percent since Mayor Bloomberg took office in 2002, so while incarceration is still concentrated in a handful of NYC’s neighborhoods, there would be far fewer lines on this map were it drawn today). When DOP mapped where our clients live, we found that the Brownsville, East New York and Bedford Stuyvesant neighborhoods of Brooklyn, are also home to large concentrations of people on probation. Yet, DOP’s Brooklyn offices are far away in downtown Brooklyn.

Percentage of Total Population on Probation

Less Than 1.0%
1.1 - 2.0%
2.1 - 2.5%
2.6 - 3.0%
3.1%+





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This realization played a key role in the thinking behind our launch of the first NeON in Brownsville in December 2011 (and subsequently in East New York and Bedford Stuyvesant), but it wasn't the only factor. Despite improvements in public safety there, Brownsville remains one of NYC's most violent and under-resourced communities, with the country's most dense concentration of public housing and intense turf battles, especially among teens and young adults. We

located the Brownsville NeON in a multi-service center owned by the City that also houses a number of strong non-profits. Chief among them is the Brownsville Partnership, a network of local organizations sponsored by Community Solutions, which is an award winning organization with a creative and multi-faceted approach to strengthening communities and preventing homelessness.




Probation client Sean Turner speaks at the Brownsville NeON opening, while Mayor Bloomberg, Commissioner Schiraldi and Brooklyn Borough President Marty Markowitz look on.

Additionally, a number of DOP staff wanted to work at the Brownsville NeON because they lived in the area, had worked there before and/or wanted to

try to make a difference in the neighborhood. This voluntary "buy-in" was not an insignificant factor since a citywide hiring freeze meant NeON staff had to be recruited exclusively from within the agency and many long-term POs were wary of moving from familiar positions to join a new administration's new, untested initiative.

With the addition of another five community-based NeONs since early 2012 — in East New York (Brooklyn), Central Harlem (Manhattan), South Jamaica (Queens), Staten Island and the South Bronx, and the Bedford-Stuyvesant (Brooklyn) NeON scheduled to open before the end of 2013 — there will be seven NeONs and another seven NeON Satellites. Satellites are co-located with local non-profits in neighborhoods with a significant number of clients --



in East and West Harlem (Manhattan); Castle Hill (North Bronx); Far Rockaway (Queens); and three in Northern Staten Island.

Each NeON and NeON Satellite is led by a Branch Chief or Supervising PO who reports to an Assistant Commissioner, each of whom directs borough operations. By the end of 2013, 60 percent of adult clients (medium and high-risk clients on DOP's "Development Track") will be served at one of seven NeON sites or seven NeON Satellites. The Harlem NeON also supervises every juvenile client who lives in that neighborhood. As the process of "NeONizing" the agency continues, it is expected that an even greater percentage of the Client Development Track will become NeON clients.

JOINING LOCAL NETWORKS

The second aspect of "doing it in the community" involves NeON leadership and staff making concerted and intentional efforts to join local networks of educators, businesses, healthcare and service providers, arts organizations and tenants associations. In this way, staff members become more familiar with community assets, needs and activities and are better able to link clients to education, work and community opportunities. At the same time, staff presence and active participation as members of the network increases

community understanding of and engagement with probation. A number of local network organizations are based nearby or have co-located at the NeONs, stationing staff there several times a week and thereby enabling POs to facilitate introductions to outside organizations, whose representatives also meet clients directly, avoiding the all-too-common "missed connections" that are typical of paper or telephone referrals.

WORKING WITH CLIENTS AND THEIR FAMILIES IN THE COMMUNITY

Third, NeON staff and partner organizations are working with clients and their families in neighborhood settings, both at the NeON itself and also at other local venues. No longer are client encounters with their POs restricted to hurried office appointments and unannounced home visits. Before the NeON, clients' family members were prohibited from accompanying them to appointments. Now, the clients' network of family and friends are also welcomed and become increasingly involved with their family member and the PO in developing Individual Achievement Plans (IAPs). NeON staff members are joining clients in a poetry writing workshop and weekly poetry slams. They have organized events to provide clients with prom dresses, participate in off-site job fairs and work alongside clients on community benefit projects.



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PURPOSEFULLY ENGAGING WITH THE BROADER NEON COMMUNITY

Fourth, NeON leadership and staff are actively and intentionally engaging with the broader community, regularly attending and participating in meetings of local Community Boards, tenant and education associations and inviting community residents to NeON-sponsored job and health fairs and cultural events. This kind of participation makes probation more visible and transparent, builds community understanding and trust, and normalizes both probation operations and clients; breaking down the kind of us/them mentality that often impedes client success during and after probation.

The NeON's welcoming, open door policy and culture has attracted some high-profile poets, artists and arts education organizations, including Carnegie Hall, the Animation Project, Groundswell Community Mural Project, and others to conduct

workshops for clients and stage events at local NeONs. This includes, most concretely, NeON Stakeholder Groups, which consist of local leaders and residents, non-profit organizations, probation staff and former clients and family members. The Groups help coordinate NeON activities, provide input on probation policies and practices, and represent their community.




Before: Wooden benches in waiting room.

DESIGNING THE NEON

As the agency began to operationalize the NYC

Model, it quickly became apparent that something had to be done to dramatically reengineer probation offices, especially the waiting rooms. The way they looked, felt and functioned was sending a message that was antithetical to the NeON and DOP's new approach. Like many other public sector spaces, particularly those in criminal



justice and social service agencies that cater primarily to the poor, DOP's waiting rooms tended to be negative, uninviting spaces. Too often they communicated (intentionally or not) downbeat, demoralizing messages that may have contributed to making interactions between clients and probation personnel argumentative and impolite. Waiting rooms were all about – “waiting” — and prohibitions about what not to do, rather than (say) inviting clients to join a workshop, take a class, research job opportunities or prepare a resume.

WAITING ROOM IMPROVEMENT TEAM

The Waiting Room Improvement Team (WRIT), a group of DOP staff and community members, was organized to rethink the design and culture of the waiting rooms to better reflect the NeON's mission and goals. Under the guidance of two outside experts, a Columbia University architecture professor and a Policy Analyst from the Mayor's Office of Operations, the team was led through a participatory and integrated design process. They examined the current state of affairs, looked at examples of other, more effective public spaces, and, together, envisioned a different kind of setting for their work with clients and the community.

The first big turning point came early on, when staff members were asked to talk about and describe the people with whom they work. At first, “probationers,” “my probationer” or “offenders” were

described only in terms of their conviction, length of sentence, time and place of arrest. When pressed, staff began to talk about their clients' age, family relationships, work, interests and desires. The demeaning and stigmatizing nature of the “probationer/offender” labels became readily apparent, as well as their effect on expectations—both the expectations of staff and the clients themselves. This was especially significant since the NYC Model is essentially about *high expectations*—both for the staff and also for those they supervise.

After much discussion and debate, the WRIT decided to recommend that in all written and oral communications “client” or “people on probation” would become the official, preferred terms of usage. Not surprisingly, this suggestion was initially met with some eye rolling. However, as time went on the shift in language became standard operating procedure and turned out to be a major breakthrough; it helped humanize the clients and change staff expectations and the character of their interactions with clients.

The WRIT's final report, issued in April 2012 (WRIT), included a recommendation for a “kit of parts” to transform waiting rooms into Resource Hubs that would reduce anxiety and hostility and promote positive, productive and more optimistic activities.



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FROM WRIT TO RESOURCE HUB

Fortuitously, not long after the WRIT issued its report, DOP had a series of lucky breaks. The Columbia architect who had facilitated the WRIT discussed the project with the Commissioner of the NYC Department of Design and Construction, who provided an introduction to its SeeChangeNYC Chief Change Officer (whose job it is specifically to improve NYC government waiting spaces). She, in turn, brought in a top architect, whose team, including an award-winning graphic designer, agreed to work mostly *pro bono* to realize the transformation of DOP offices in record time. Fortunately, DOP's recently-

hired Deputy Commissioner of Administration had years of experience navigating the City's budgetary and procurement rules.




After: Art students refurbish wooden benches

None of the design team, except for the Columbia architect who had worked previously on Justice Mapping, had any knowledge or prior experience of the probation and criminal justice systems or the challenges of working with City government. They were provided with a quick debrief on mass incarceration and punishment in the U.S. and probation's role in the problem, and understood that DOP was determined -- through the NYC Model, NeON and Resource Hub -- to become part of the solution.

The design team then proceeded to work wonders. The Resource Hubs were quickly transformed to include attractive, movable furniture (in contrast to rows of

plastic chairs bolted to the floor); libraries with free books, magazines and journals; computers for job searches and resume writing; flat-screen TVs with



announcements, current events and human interest stories; signage and even a portable stage for poetry slams and concerts.

The grand opening of the Manhattan Adult Operations Resource Hub in November 2011 was attended by Deputy Mayor Gibbs, other City officials, partner organizations, DOP staff and clients and their families. As they exited the elevator, the clients could barely believe their eyes.

The design team continues to be involved with the NeONs, regularly attending events and even designing new spaces in the South Bronx, Brooklyn, Staten Island and Queens and they have become knowledgeable advocates for justice reform. The Resource Hub project also put probation on the map in the world of architects, designers, planners and change organizations. The project is being used as a case study to illustrate and examine the intersection of policy and design, and DOP staff have made presentations and participated in panel discussions at Town/Gown and Architectural League of New York events. Perhaps the most important feature of the WRIT's "kit of parts" was its personnel recommendations which, to an extent not originally anticipated, foreshadowed the eventual staffing structure of the NeONs. The WRIT recommended new functions such as Greeter, Resource Specialist, Resource Advisor, and Opportunity Broker in order to facilitate clients' access to opportunities and encourage them to take advantage of all the Resource Hub had to offer.



South Bronx probation client Tamara reads her poem at the "Free Verse" release party.



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Still a work in progress, probation staff members have taken on some of these new functions. Initial concerns that designer furniture would be vandalized have not materialized, suggesting, as the WRIT hoped, that clients have taken ownership of the space. Partner organizations have eagerly snapped up work spaces set aside for their use, and their representatives often stay at the NeON beyond the regular work day. The interaction between non-profit and NeON staff (especially at the NeON Satellites) has been a learning experience for both parties.


“HOW DO YOU GET TO CARNEGIE HALL?”

One of the most remarkable parts of the NeON story has been the collaboration between DOP and Carnegie Hall. It is hard to imagine that Carnegie Hall would have become a prominent DOP partner without the NeON structure, culture and Resource Hub. Through Carnegie Hall’s Weill Music Institute, juvenile clients at the Harlem NeON have participated in music writing workshops and performed their compositions with professional musicians and singers at the Harlem NeON’s theater space. Later, they travelled to the South Bronx NeON to give a concert in a more intimate setting for NeON clients, staff and neighbors. In June 2013, they were invited to perform at Gracie Mansion at the Mayor’s two-year anniversary celebration of the NYC Young Men’s Initiative, which itself, as discussed below, provided significant investment in NeON communities.

These kinds of activities have resulted in DOP’s winning, along with arts education organizations, several major arts grants.

DOP has also organized a series of other arts education projects. The South Bronx NeON has a “poet-in-residence” who conducts a workshop several times a week that includes clients *and* staff and organizes weekly poetry slams that are open to the public. Participants’ poems were recently collected and published in *Free Verse*, a new journal organized by SeeChangeNYC’s Chief Change Officer.

Additional initiatives include the Animation Project, which uses behavior modification techniques to teach animation; on-site GED classes for clients and other neighborhood residents; and the Groundswell Mural Project,



which has connected Brownsville NeON clients with professional artists to research, plan, and paint several large-scale outdoor murals.

These kinds of activities have resulted in DOP's winning, along with arts education organizations, several major arts grants. In the spring of 2013, DOP and Groundswell were awarded one of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) *OurTown* grants for a project entitled "Transform/Restore: Brownsville." Brownsville NeON clients will produce five monumental billboard-sized murals in the Pitkin Avenue Business Improvement District demonstrating how the seemingly distinct priorities of art, business, and criminal justice can be aligned to support long-term community change. And Carnegie Hall has been awarded funding from the Open Society Foundation through the Mayor's Fund for the City of New York to create the *NeON Arts Education Consortium* with other citywide and local groups. NeON Stakeholder Groups will help identify and recruit local artists and arts education organizations to work with DOP clients on arts-related projects that will benefit the community. *NeON Arts* could well become an important and permanent part of the NYC Model.

Why do these arts education groups come to the NeON? Why are probation officers and clients participating,

voluntarily? It seems to have a lot to do with the fact that the NeON Resource Hub is an attractive, inviting, safe and stimulating space that is (comparatively) generously-resourced, and well-managed, with supportive staff and partner organizations that encourage client participation. NeON staff members have also demonstrated their willingness to be team players and share their authority. Arts education, in turn, is becoming a key NeON activity that engages and inspires people often considered difficult to engage who have little hope for the future; it teaches that hard work and perseverance produce results and introduces clients to strong role models to make a living doing what they love. And the arts are big business in New York.

The NeON/Resource Hub experience also demonstrates the important nexus between design and probation policy and practice, and has further implications for criminal justice policy generally. Commissioner Schiraldi's reform agenda set in motion an iterative process that produced new policies and practices, growing the agency, exponentially, through parallel or intersecting pathways, resulting in both planned and unexpected consequences. His commitment to a Justice Reinvestment framework and a community-oriented, asset-based approach, and his willingness to urge and support staff to design and implement this vision is what led to the agency's

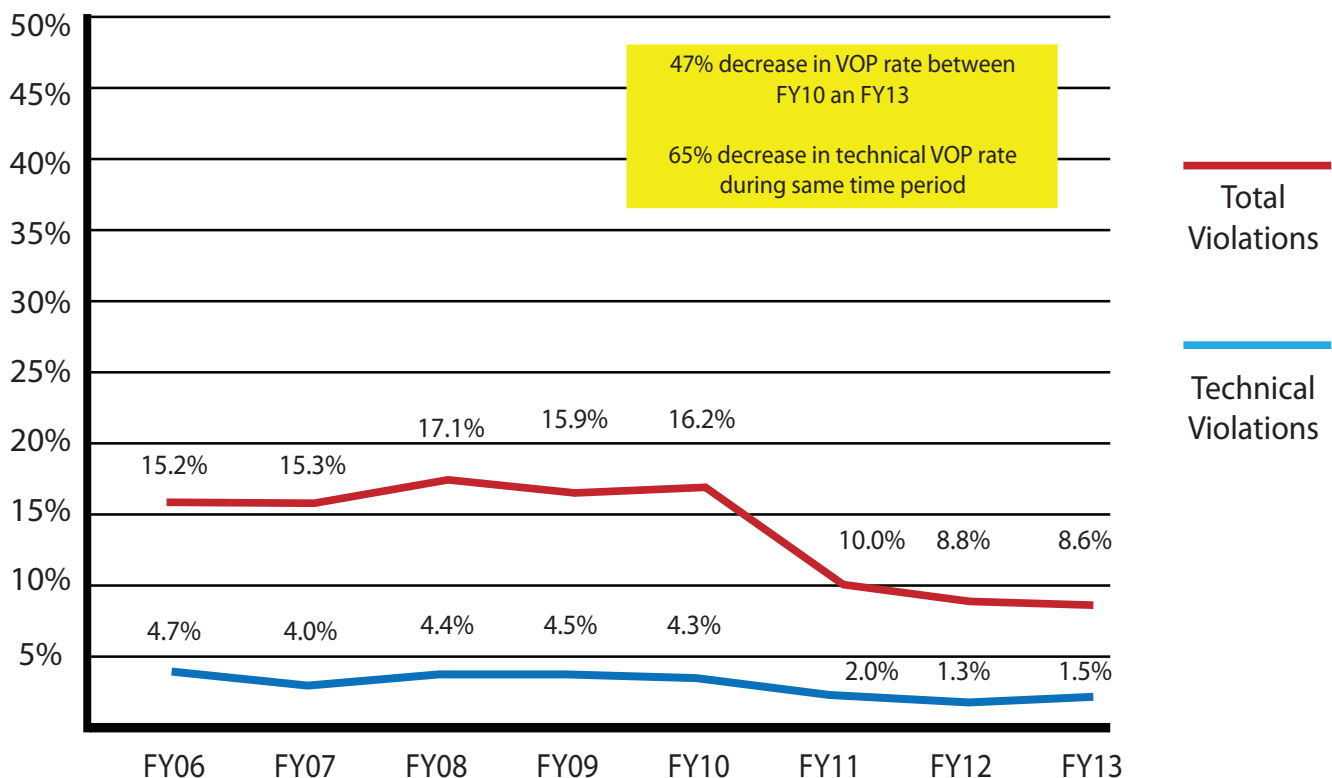


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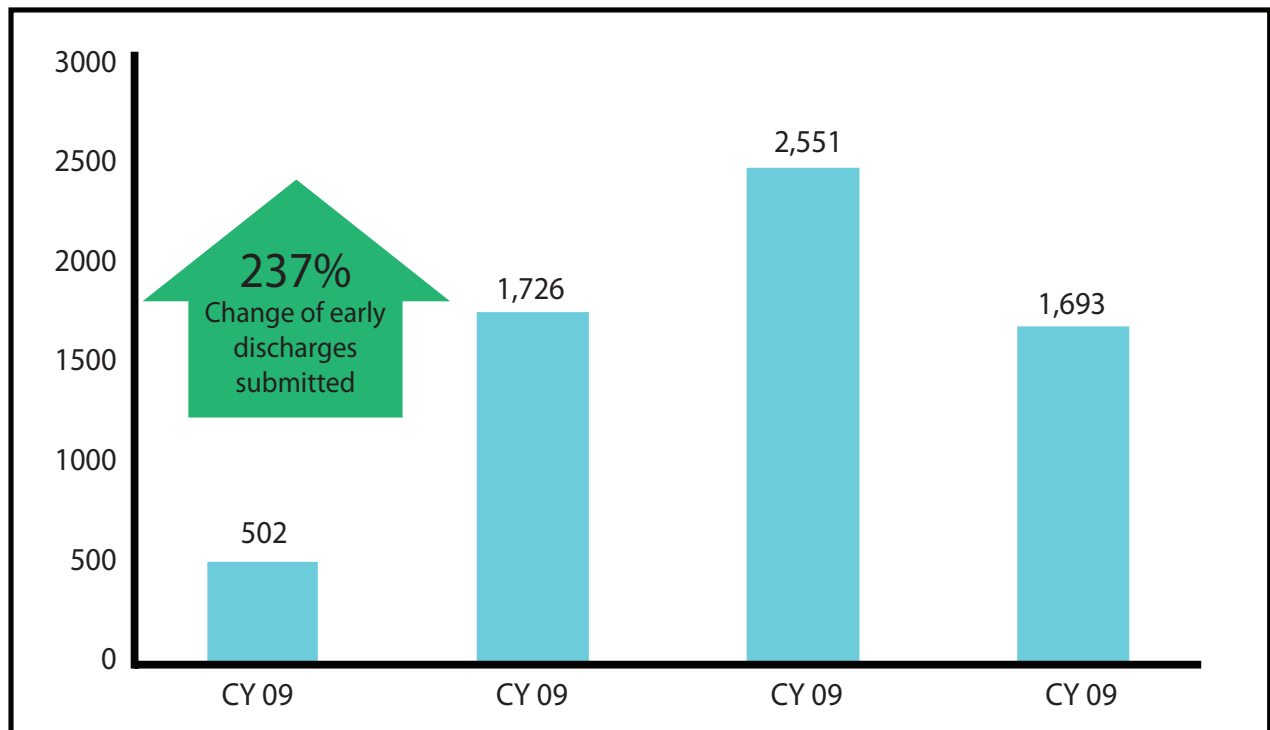
reorganization and decentralization, and adoption of the NYC Model of Probation with its “do no harm, do more good, do it in the community” mantra. In turn, this created a demand to rethink probation spaces, resulting in the Resource Hubs, which, because of the physical, cultural and professional environment they produced, made DOP more open to traditional service organizations and attracted an array of new partners, such as Carnegie Hall and other arts education groups.

Moreover, the agency’s collaboration with the design team and with arts education organizations and others has brought fresh skills and perspectives to the way DOP thinks and operates, demonstrating the value of trans-disciplinary approaches for innovating criminal justice policy and practice and broadening the concept of public safety.

Rate of Total and Technical VOPs Filed,
FY06 to FY13



Number of Early Discharges Submitted
2009-2013



Source: NYC DOP STARS Performance Management Statistics

DO NO HARM

HOW IS THE NYC MODEL OF PROBATION'S JUSTICE REINVESTMENT APPROACH DOING?

Has the NYC Model resulted in fewer people being on probation, meaningful investment in client neighborhoods and additional monies being leveraged from other sources for NeON communities?

DOWNSIZING PROBATION POPULATIONS

In addition to the NeON's "doing it in the community" strategy, DOP has put in place a number of specific policies and practices that affect all probation staff and clients, including those at the NeONs. These have been designed to improve outcomes and reduce the probation population by focusing resources on clients who most need and will benefit from supervision, by minimizing contact with those classified for a lower level of supervision, and by moving people off probation as soon as they are ready to



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manage their lives independently. These policies, collectively, can be described as follows:

Doing no harm by reducing violations by nearly half, increasing early discharges three-fold (see figures below), increasing Certificates of Relief from Disabilities, clearing out old warrants and helping clients correct their RAP sheets.


Doing more good by adopting policies informed by theory and evidence of best and promising practices; using validated risk assessment and Individual Achievement Plans to improve assessment and case management; instituting differentiated caseloads; expanding the continuum of programs; and ensuring staff have the necessary training to implement the NYC Model and stay informed about developments in the wider field. One specific example of “doing more good” was NYC YouthWRAP (Weekend Restoration Assistance Program), which has provided 500 stipended jobs for nearly a year to clients ages 14-18 to help communities devastated by Superstorm Sandy.

While it is too soon to know to what extent the NeON or other reforms have contributed to these outcomes, there are good reasons to believe they have played a significant role. It is interesting to note that these outcomes are in sync with—and no doubt contribute to—NYC’s

remarkable decline in both crime and incarceration, which has resulted in New York being one of only three other states to experience significant drops in both crime *and* incarceration (Greene and Mauer; Austin and Jacobson).

LEVERAGING ADDITIONAL PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INVESTMENTS FOR NEON NEIGHBORHOODS

In addition to DOP’s own investments of staff and resources, artists, arts education organizations, arts funders, a range of service providers and educators have invested their staff, their time, and their resources in NeON communities. The single most significant investment, however, was made by the Young Men’s Initiative (YMI), Mayor Bloomberg’s comprehensive program to help black and Latino young men build stronger futures for themselves and their families. Due to the NeON’s visibility and innovative approach, the NeON became a centerpiece of YMI, and DOP was allotted \$36 million over three years in City tax levy and philanthropic dollars to invest in seven new programs, all of which are located in NeON neighborhoods. Local organizations and citywide non-profits, sometimes working in partnership, were awarded three-year contracts to provide educational, mentoring and work preparation/community benefit programming to NeON clients and other residents in NeON communities.



As of July 31, 2011 thirty-seven organizations have engaged 1,592 teens and young adults in Justice Scholars (a literacy program); Justice Community (a program providing stipended work on community benefit projects); Community Education Pathways to Success (a literacy and life-long learning program); and Arches Transformative Mentoring (a group mentoring program). (DOP's three other YMI programs focus on young people tried in Family Court.) In addition to providing valuable services to NeON clients, the YMI contracts also allowed DOP to strengthen the capacity of local organizations and provide tangible benefits to NeON neighborhoods, thereby helping sustain the NeON and its goals.

SYSTEMS CHANGE/CULTURE CHANGE

It is important to remember that the NYC Model is a systems change initiative, and systems change is only possible with wide buy-in. Each local NeON, with its community partners, has been free to adopt strategies and design programs that reflect local culture and take advantage of community assets. While a great deal of thinking and planning preceded their implementation, the NeONs and NeON Satellites are not "planned communities." Much was deliberately left undetermined, as middle managers correctly advised. Instead of uniform, cookie-cutter solutions, the NeON model provides for testing change by planning it, trying it, observing the results, and acting on what is learned: a Plan-Do-Study-Act (PDSA) cycle.

NeON staff members and stakeholders have created a number of initiatives that illustrate their inculcation of NeON principles. For example, a supervising PO and a PO at the South Bronx NeON have started LIFT (Ladies in Flight Together), a women's support group. The East New York NeON partnered with local organizations, the Center for Community Alternatives' Justice Community Program, and Good Shepherd Services to hold the first annual Family and

Anecdotal evidence suggests that the atmosphere at the NeONs is much improved; staff members report that some clients seem less angry and more open to supervision.



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Youth Day; 16 organizations participated and approximately 300 people attended. In September 2013, staff and clients from the Brownsville NeON joined the Residents Association of Van Dyke Houses, whose president is a member of the Brownsville NeON Stakeholder Group, for a day-long effort to clean up their community center. In Staten Island, enthusiastic and determined staff got tired of waiting to be “NeONized” and decided to take on the project themselves, including redesigning their waiting room. Before finalizing the color scheme they polled their clients, which resulted in what everyone now fondly refers to as the “lavender lounge.” Harlem NeON staff members enlisted more than a dozen neighborhood organizations in their efforts to open a Community Computer Center. And the volunteer Greeter at the South Bronx NeON is a client’s mother.


Anecdotal evidence suggests that the atmosphere at the NeONs is much improved; staff members report that some clients seem less angry and more open to supervision. The computer stations in the Resource Hubs are usually occupied and people, on the whole, are seeing their POs more quickly, especially at the smaller NeONs like Brownsville. Connections are being made with outside service providers. People are writing poetry, composing music, learning to read and write and make animation. It’s still a work in progress, but DOP’s efforts to change the

mood and tone and provide productive and sometimes entertaining spaces are noticeable.

We also expect that the NeON, and the NeON Stakeholder Groups, will enhance DOP’s legitimacy among community residents and organizations. Some think there is too much policing and punishment, others think there is too little. Whatever their perspective, with so many local people on probation or parole or incarcerated, crime and punishment are a constant reality that affects everyday life.

Because of America’s peculiar history of structural racism and increasingly intense economic and class disparities, geography turns out to pose a particularly acute challenge for the NeON. It is not by accident that probation clients – like criminal justice populations across the U.S. – tend to come from segregated enclaves of poor people and people of color.

The collective and common experience of disproportionate crime and punishment in “million dollar” neighborhoods has created a legitimacy problem for probation, not unlike other law enforcement agencies. Fear and distrust of the “system” often trumps fear of crime. Correctly or not, the law enforcement establishment can be seen as part of the problem, not part of the solution. The legitimacy issue is particularly acute for NeON efforts to join local networks,



become trusted partners, and marshal community support for clients.

Transforming a large city agency is never an easy task. Administrations, each with its own philosophy and character, come and go. Meanwhile, civil servants keep the services going. The NeONs and the NYC Model appear to be gaining acceptance both inside and outside the agency. It remains a work in progress but, by any standards, remarkable strides have been made in record time.

At the Brownsville and South Bronx NeON anniversary celebrations, proud and enthusiastic staff mingled with more satisfied clients and the broader community. Entire families made long journeys to attend their children's GED graduations. Concerts and poetry readings attracted local audiences who felt comfortable coming to their local NeON, even though they are not on probation. Brownsville NeON POs attended the funeral for a client's young son because he was their loss, too.

Researchers from John Jay College of Justice are conducting a qualitative study of the NeON. A newly hired director of Quality Assurance, working with the Director of Research, is developing NeON metrics. Client and staff satisfaction surveys will be conducted at regular intervals.

Gradually, as the evidence accumulates, it should become possible to answer some key questions. Are DOP's clients better educated, better employed, better parents? Are they more engaged with the community? Are they staying out of trouble and leading productive lives? Is DOP succeeding as a Justice Reinvestment model and becoming a part of the solution to the country's justice challenges? Do staff believe in the NYC Model and the NeON? Have their listening skills and ability to incentivize client success improved?

The process of "NeONizing" the department must continue until as many clients as possible become NeON clients and all DOP staff embrace wholeheartedly the NeON approach. The education and training provided to staff must emphasize NeON-specific goals and principles. The Resource Hubs must be staffed by dedicated, full-time Resource Specialists and Opportunity Brokers. Classes, workshops and community benefit projects must attract even more participants and more actively partner with the community. The NeON and DOP generally, must become a genuine learning community in which staff are encouraged and incentivized to be self-reflective, self-critical and self-correcting. Metrics should be developed and the NeON experiment studied, evaluated and discussed, internally, independently and from a number of perspectives and in



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various venues to capture lessons learned and opportunities for replication.

The NeON is a bold criminal and social justice policy innovation—a visible and concrete manifestation of the NYC Model of Probation that is grounded in Justice Reinvestment principles and goals. Jeremy Travis, President of the City University of New York’s John Jay College of Criminal Justice and former Director of the National Institute of Justice, has said that the Neighborhood Opportunity Network “could be a game-changer,” adding, “I’m not aware of anything like this existing anywhere else.” (Travis, 2013). Time will tell, but the early results are certainly promising. ►►▲

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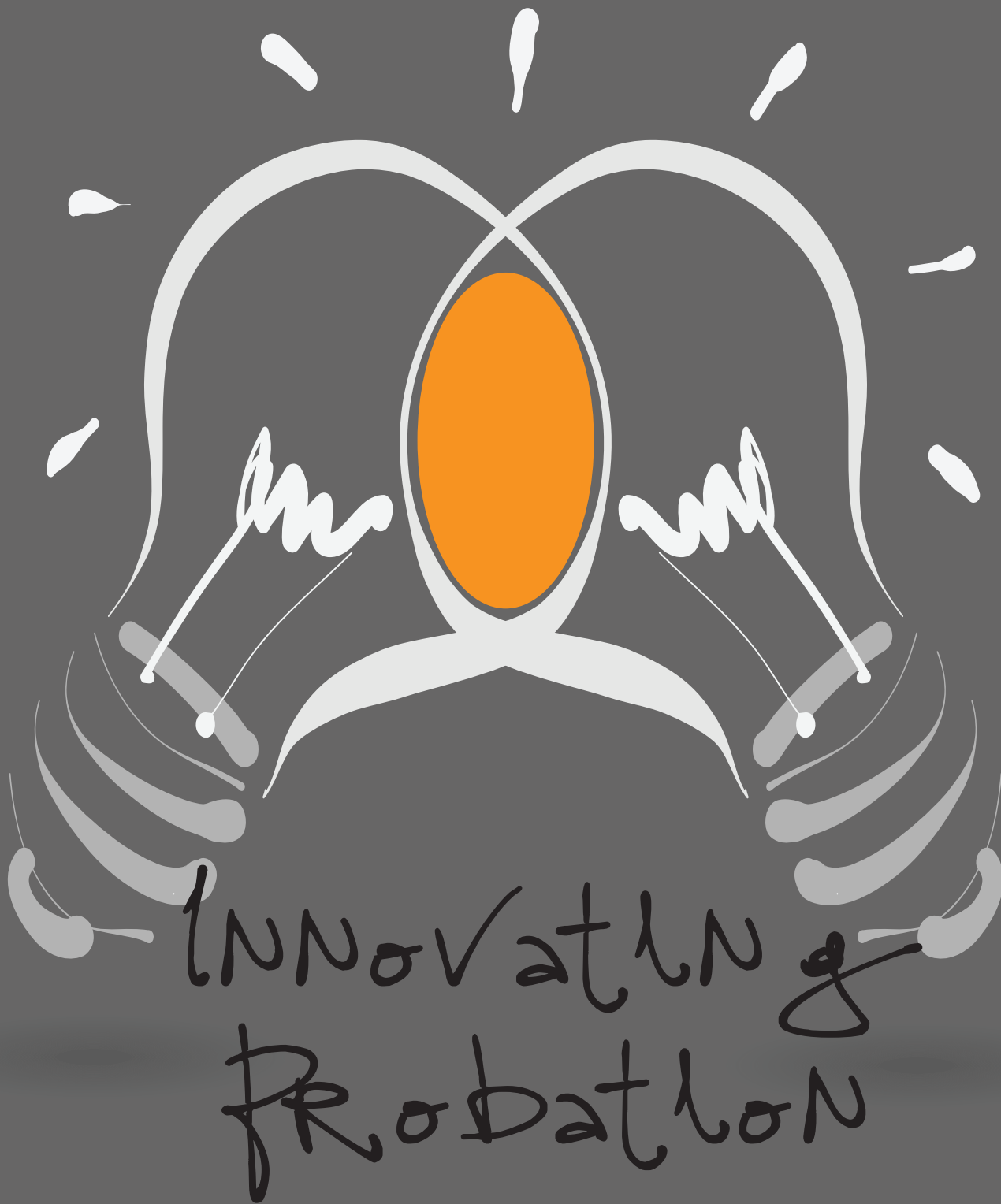
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What can we learn from the routine practices of probation officers in real-world probation settings?

by Craig S. Schwalbe, Ph.D. and Tina M. Maschi, Ph.D.

While justice scholars have spent a considerable amount of time and resources to understand and evaluate the juvenile justice system, comparatively little attention has been given to the role of probation. This despite well-known data showing that probation is overwhelmingly the most common dispositional outcome for youths referred to the courts. So little research energy has been devoted to probation that evidence-based practices for juvenile offenders usually involve separate legal or service systems that exist alongside probation (Henggeler et al., 2006). With few exceptions (Vieira, Skilling, & Peterson-Badali, 2009), data on how probation models and strategies can influence youth outcomes is virtually non-existent.

To begin to fill this gap in research, we collaborated with the APPA on a series of investigations into the routine practices of probation officers in real-world juvenile justice settings. Our intent was to learn about current probation practices in pursuit of innovations to improve outcomes for probation-involved youths. We believed that the development of an evidence-base for probation required answers to basic questions that had not been asked. For instance, how do probation officers deploy tactics and strategies with youths to achieve desired outcomes? What guiding theories about probation practices prevail in the mindsets of probation officers? What challenges stand in the way of successful outcomes? And importantly, what factors are associated with successful discharge from probation?

Findings of this research portray a rich set of theoretically informed tactics and strategies used daily by officers across the US. When taken together, results of this research advance the field toward a family-based model of probation that is embedded in youth's formal and informal support networks and is simultaneously responsive to their need for specialized care and accountability. This article provides a summary of our findings to date.

RESEARCH METHOD

We used two approaches to address our study questions. First, we collaborated with the APPA on an electronic survey of its members. APPA sent invitations to the APPA email contact list inviting practicing probation officers who had caseloads of juvenile offenders to participate in an on-line survey. Three emails were sent from January – February, 2008. Participation was incentivized with a raffle for gift certificates to an on-line book seller. In total, 308 probation officers completed the survey (65 percent female, 83 percent white, 23 percent holding an MA degree).

The survey included 75 questions. Participants were instructed to use a pseudo-random procedure to select a case from their caseloads and answer questions about

youth demographic and offending characteristics, youth risk and needs, youth and parent compliance during the past three months, frequency of various types of contact with the youth during the past three months and tactics and strategies utilized by probation officers during the past three months. The survey closed with questions about participant attitudes about probation and their demographic and background characteristics. Our last question invited participants to supply their email addresses if they were willing to be re-contacted for follow-up. 206 agreed to be re-contacted.

The second source of data was a qualitative follow-up of survey participants. Using emails supplied by survey participants, we invited 110 probation officers to participate in 45-minute telephone interviews about their approaches to probation. Thirty-one agreed to participate. The interviews followed a two-part structure. In the first part, officers spoke in general about the objectives of probation and about the tactics and strategies they typically used to achieve their objectives. In the second section of the survey, officers were prompted to select a high-risk youth from their caseload. Mirroring the first section, officers were asked to identify their case plan goals, and to describe tactics and strategies that helped them make progress on their case plan goals. Throughout, participants were asked to explain how their chosen tactics and strategies led to successful and unsuccessful outcomes.

The survey and interview data have been analyzed and reported in seven published studies to date. The topics of this analysis ranged from predictors of the types of probation tactics and strategies utilized by probation officers in their day-to-day work with youths (Schwalbe, 2012; Schwalbe & Maschi, 2009, 2011), family involvement in probation (Schwalbe & Maschi, 2010), collaboration with the mental health system (Schwalbe & Maschi, 2010) and strategies employed by youth with known histories of trauma (Schwalbe & Maschi, 2010). Other studies are planned, including an examination of probation practices for female offenders, a mixed-methods analysis of confrontational tactics reported by officers and a paper devoted to innovative practices reported by probation officers.

RESULTS

PREDICTORS OF PROBATION SUCCESS

Historically, the literature on probation recounts pendulum-swinging shifts between a rehabilitative ideal and an emphasis on the monitoring and policing activities of probation. The debate, seemingly so consequential in academic and policy circles, doesn't seem to have much of a following among line staff that work in probation's trenches. In fact, the debate seems settled: probation officers do both.

Our survey looked at probation strategies in six categories - three case management strategies (deterrence, restorative justice, treatment) and three interpersonal strategies (confrontation,

behavioral incentives, counseling). Whether we looked at the qualitative data or at the survey data, the overriding finding was that most probation officers reported using a balanced approach, particularly in the three interpersonal strategies (Schwalbe & Maschi, 2009, 2011). For example, in one of our studies using the on-line survey data, we created balance scores by subtracting scores for behavioral incentives and counseling from the confrontation scores. Across officers, the average scores clustered around zero, indicating that officers reported using about as much behavioral incentives/counseling strategies as they did confrontational strategies.

Although a balanced approach was the norm, our survey did detect case-level and officer-level characteristics that influence probation strategies. For instance, officers were likely to utilize counseling strategies and treatment referrals more often with youths who had known trauma exposure (Maschi & Schwalbe, 2012) and mental health problems. Contrariwise, youths who were suspected of lying to probation officers or who were known to use illegal drugs tended to evoke confrontational probation tactics (Schwalbe & Maschi, 2011). Age had an interesting effect, with younger youths evoking more frequent use of all types of probation strategies, both confrontational and rehabilitative, compared to older youths. Finally, probation officers who valued punishment tended toward a more confrontational approach compared with officers who valued the treatment potential of probation (Schwalbe & Maschi, 2009).

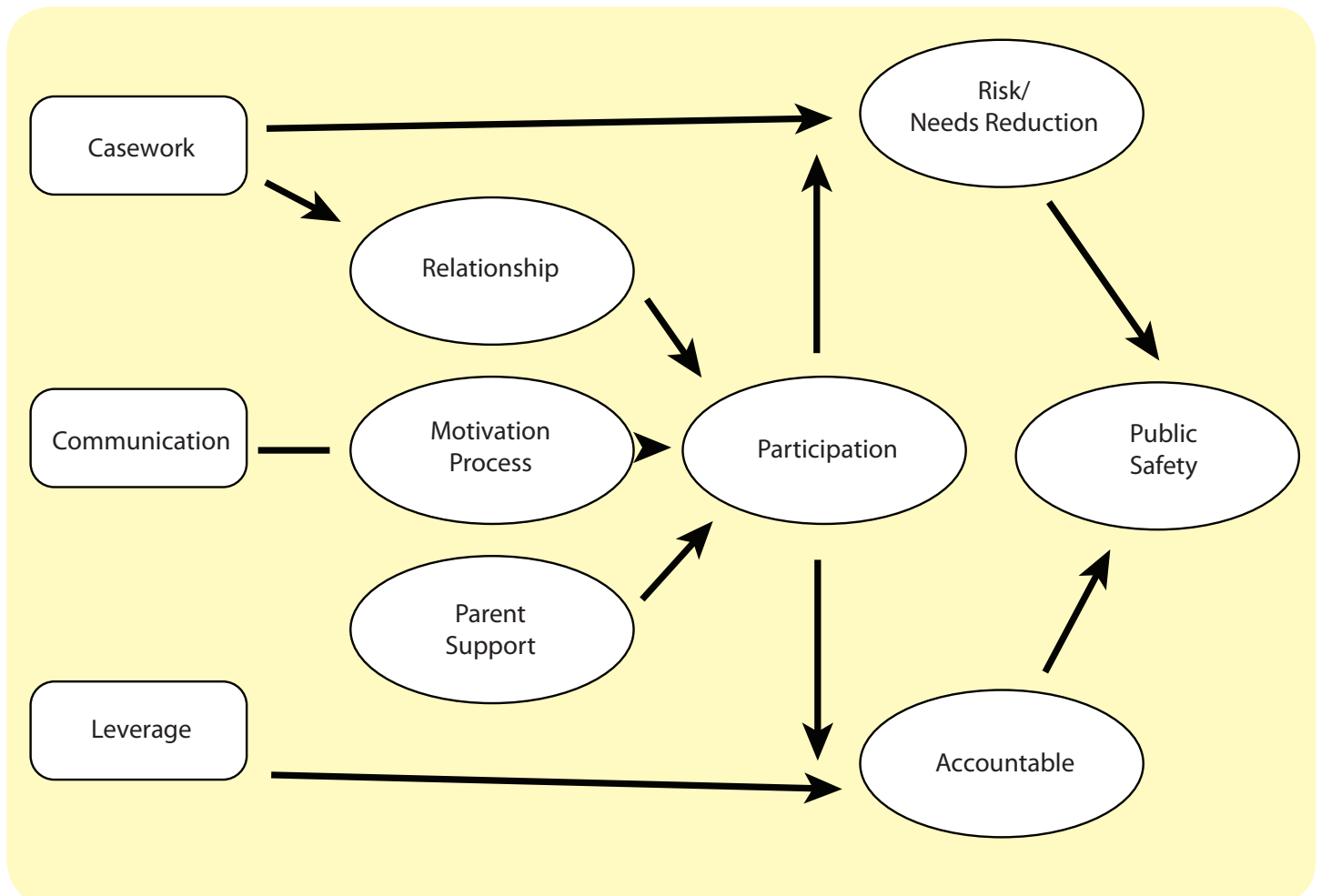
While it was interesting to classify the types of practices used by officers in routine probation programs, these findings really came to life when we examined how officers linked these strategies to the long-term goals of probation (public safety, risk-need reduction, accountability) (Schwalbe, 2012). Here we found high degrees of convergence among our research participants – youth participation, cooperation and compliance were the immediate objectives of many interventions deployed by probation officers. To be sure, without youth participation, risk reduction and accountability could not be achieved. Moreover, youth participation was linked to three mechanisms that officers specifically target with their probation strategies: youth motivational processes, parental involvement and strengthening the working relationship.

Figure 1 (next page) shows the participation process model of probation, a conceptual framework that is emerging from our research (Schwalbe, 2012). It shows that officer strategies (case management, communication strategies, leverage) are all used to target youth motivation, parental involvement and relationship building. Officers sought to increase youth motivation in a variety of ways, including the use of motivational interviewing to build intrinsic motivation, using counseling strategies to link probation activities with youth short and long-term goals, incentivizing behavior and threatening aversive sanctions. Officers sought a partnership

with parents as a way to increase the formal and informal controls that help contain adolescent offenders. And, officers reported going to great lengths to foster strong working relationships with kids. These working relationships feature trust as the core characteristic. Over and over again, officers noted that it was important that they follow-through with threatened consequences as a way to establish trust. Paradoxically, when officers established trust and respect, emotional markers of relationship quality such as warmth followed suit.

The participation process model helps us understand how probation officers think about their work and about how innovative strategies can be implemented to strengthen probation outcomes. In current and future research, studies will shine a light on what specific types of probation interventions are most effective at eliciting parental involvement, for example, and we will learn how youth participation in probation processes is linked to risk reduction and accountability.

FIGURE 1: PARTICIPATION PROCESS MODEL



COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Successful probation officers follow kids through their worlds, if not literally, then at least figuratively. They follow kids when they outreach to parents, track progress in school and monitor their use of free time. To be sure, it is hard to imagine a lively and dynamic probation program that didn't involve at least some involvement of officers with the formal and informal systems of support that surround youths and their families. Probation casework activities, involving especially assessment and referral, practically demand their deep involvement in kids' lives.

In one of our analyses, we examined how probation officers interacted with professionals in the mental health system (Schwalbe & Maschi, 2012). The prevalence of mental disorders among justice-involved youths makes the quality of the interface between probation systems and mental health systems an important concern. Our data were revealing. As one might expect, collaboration using interdisciplinary team approaches was quite common among our interview participants. When executed well, the teamwork approach provided a forum for joint decision-making and brainstorming about difficult cases, increased the reach of probation monitoring efforts, and led to, obviously, more coordinated services. In contrast, a small number of research participants reported only minimal engagement with mental health professionals. Usually, their engagement was limited to confirming the attendance of clients at counseling

sessions. Reasons offered for minimal engagement including workload demands (e.g., caseload size), lack of mental health expertise and the perception that confidentiality rules in the MH system precluded their deeper involvement.

In this analysis, we were particularly interested in a third type of collaboration reported by officers: the partnership model. The partnership model featured officers who were directly involved in the provision of mental health services. In one instance, an officer reported that he routinely attended sessions of a group program that many kids utilized. Another officer described sitting in on sessions between a client and therapist. The potential benefits of this level of engagement are intriguing. These officers felt that they had a better understanding of the issues facing their kids. Moreover, they reported that their actual strategies were modified. During routine reporting meetings, officers reinforced skills and insights youths learned during their counseling sessions. When needed, leverage strategies to enforce youth cooperation were also better aligned with mental health treatment objectives. All in all, officers who utilized the partnership model described a high level of cohesion between probation case plans and youth mental health needs and services.

Examples of innovative community involvement are not limited to collaboration with mental health professionals. Officers also reported deep collaboration with other system

representatives including school principals and law enforcement officers, as well as with 'informal' support systems like sports clubs and local businesses. Usually, these were initiated as part of a pragmatic effort to solve sticky case problems (e.g., collaborating with law enforcement on how to treat a domestic violence situation) or by officers who were attuned to youth interests and aspirations (e.g., facilitating membership on a wrestling team).

INVOLVING FAMILIES

The probation best-practice literature has long affirmed the link between successful youth outcomes and parental involvement. Indeed, a landmark probation text published in 1914 established two themes of parental involvement in probation that endure to this day: parents as the recipient of supportive services and parents as partners in the probation process (Flexnor & Baldwin, 1914). But whereas the idea of parents as service recipients has received considerable attention in recent years through the development of family-based interventions like functional family therapy and multi-systemic

therapy, far less attention has been given to the role of parents in the probation process itself. This remarkable gap in the literature persists despite the daily challenges faced by probation officers in their work with youths and parents. We attempted to address this gap through two published studies that examined probation officers' efforts to engage parents.

Our first paper to tackle parental engagement utilized the survey data (Schwalbe & Maschi, 2010). In one section of the survey, we asked officers to report how frequently they

had in-person and telephone meetings with parents, and in another section we asked a series of questions about parental cooperation. Not surprisingly, we noted wide variation in levels of parental contact and cooperation. The overarching findings of the study suggested that contacts with parents were highly contingent on judgments of parental cooperativeness and youth need (i.e., parental contact was sought for high-need youths only when parents were judged to be cooperative) and that parental cooperation was

The overarching findings of the study suggested that contacts with parents were highly contingent on judgments of parental cooperativeness and youth need

usually limited when parents had known substance abuse problems or prior history with the criminal justice system.

We followed up the survey with an analysis of the qualitative interviews (Maschi, Schwalbe, & Ristow, 2013). What emerged from this analysis was a framework that we called the 'parenting ideal'. The parenting ideal is a wish-list of parenting attributes that officers believed would promote youth cooperativeness and ultimately successful probation outcomes. These attributes included: 1) parental support of youth, 2) effective parental authority and supervision, and 3) parent-officer partnership. Officers believed that the ideal parent would facilitate their children's efforts to complete probation with both emotional support and material support, would adequately supervise their children's activities to foster cooperation with probation processes and would communicate openly with the probation officer during the case planning process, when the parent needed assistance and when the youth was non-compliant.

Of course, officers acknowledged that ideal parents were rare and so they used a range of strategies with parents to elicit attributes of the ideal parent. Some officers noted the importance of soft skills like empathy and understanding along with collaborative case planning and problem solving. Others described giving information and confrontation as critical for increasing parents' understanding of the importance of their involvement in the probation process. Officers also reported resorting to coercive approaches with

non-compliant parents such as informing the courts, who were in some cases empowered to apply sanctions to force a more cooperative posture. And when parents were simply unwilling or unable to climb onto the parenting ideal ladder, officers defaulted to an individualized service strategy, focusing sole attention on youth.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This research was designed to study the routine practices of probation officers who work with juvenile offenders. It was undertaken on the belief that current probation practice provides the foundation for innovation and for the development of a stronger evidence-based approach to probation. Toward this objective, the studies described here have implications for probation practice and research.

Overall, this study points to a family-based approach to probation that simultaneously strives toward twin goals of rehabilitation and accountability. This model uses a variety of probation strategies to engage youths and families in their communities and in their systems of social support. The family-based approach advanced here actively attends to the motivations of youths and fosters strong relationships with youths and parents marked by trust and respect as chief short-term objectives of probation practices. The model encourages parents to provide emotional and instrumental support to their youths, increases parental supervision, and fosters lively PO-parent partnerships.

The good news is that the seeds of the family-based model advocated here are already present in one form or another in current probation practice. To be sure, research participants themselves provided the major elements of this emerging paradigm. To further the development of a well-defined family-based probation model, this research points to several challenges that are the subject of ongoing or planned research:

- Motivating youth and parent cooperation from high-risk, high-need families remains problematic. Developmentally attuned strategies are needed for families that include high levels of relational discord, substance abuse and criminal justice involvement.
- The vision of the 'ideal parent' needs further exploration. In particular, demands on parents to report youth non-compliance can create loyalty conflicts that diminish the positive effects of parent-PO relationships on probation outcomes.
- The benefits of community engagement by probation officers need to be balanced against concerns for privacy and social stigma. Moreover, while the benefits of direct officer involvement in treatment programs is intriguing, there may be unintended consequences that were not addressed by officers in this research.

- Because probation youth are a high-risk group for many psychosocial problems, including exposure to trauma, high rates of sexual health risk behaviors, substance abuse and mental health problems, the role of specialized probation programs needs to be developed and evaluated.

Readers should bear in mind that the studies reported here are descriptive in nature. That means that the practices and strategies reported here were not evaluated for their effectiveness. It is entirely possible that practices reported by some officers may not be effective or that the practices described here may be effective in some instances and ineffective in others. Future research will be addressed to the question of effectiveness and the use of innovative practices to strengthen outcomes for youths in the juvenile justice system.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ARE WE ON THE CUTTING EDGE OF **TECHNOLOGY?**

A Membership Survey on the Prevalence, Use, and Satisfaction of Case Management Systems in Probation and Parole¹

By Adam K. Matz, M.S.



Government agencies are not typically known for being the leaders of technology. Yet, they rely heavily on case management systems for the proper functioning of their agency. Indeed, there are examples of antiquated systems in the field that date back several decades in origin (e.g., Adams, Williamson, & Matz, 2010). However, the trying times of increasing caseloads/workloads and the need to show efficacious operations and austere budget realities make the efficient use and management of agency data even more critical today than in the past. Many states and local agencies face inefficiencies born from the development of multiple unconnected systems which must be accessed to complete one's daily duties. In many cases this involves duplications of effort and data. Further, for some the sharing of information with partner agencies can seem an insurmountably timely and costly endeavor. To obtain an understanding of the state of technology in community supervision agencies, specifically in regards to case management systems (CMS), APPA conducted a survey of executive level agency representatives. This paper provides descriptive statistics and bivariate analyses on the results of the *Survey on Prevalence, Use, and Satisfaction of Case Management Systems in Probation and Parole*.

METHODOLOGY

Of interest to the American Probation and Parole Association (APPA) as well as the IJIS Institute and Nlets - The International Justice and Public Safety Network, who at the time was interested in the utility and viability of promoting shared web-based CMS options, this survey attempted to obtain a cursory look at probation and parole perceptions of their case management systems. Aimed at chief probation officers and those in executive level positions, a single contact was obtained for as many jurisdictions as could be located.³ The anonymous web-based survey was disseminated using APPA's subscription to SurveyMonkey in March of 2013. Of the 640 e-mail contacts collected from various state association contact lists and related sources (e.g., ACA, 2012), 110 individuals responded to the survey (though individual item response rates vary) yielding a response rate of 17 percent. To avoid unnecessary intrusion and given the modest intent of the survey to gain a preliminary look at the field's perceptions of case managements systems, follow-up correspondence was *not* pursued for non-respondents.⁴

The survey was constructed largely with newly developed items based on the needs of the executive directors of the APPA, IJIS, and Nlets. That said, a handful of items were adopted whole or in part from the author's prior studies which included concerns of technology within a state court system (Matz, Adams, & Williamson, 2010, 2011; Matz, Adams, Williamson, Cloyd, & Schiflett, 2009). Some items were also derived from court performance measures (a.k.a., CourTools), as they pertain to technology needs, developed by the National Center for State Courts (NCSC) (see Ostrom & Hanson, 2007).

TABLE 1:
AGENCY CHARACTERISTICS

VARIABLE	N	%
1.1: BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT (N=110)		
Executive	63	57.3
Judiciary	47	42.7
1.2: UNIFIED STATEWIDE (N=103)		
Yes	47	45.6
No	56	54.4
1.3: POPULATION SERVED (N=107)		
Adult only	42	39.3
Juvenile only	11	10.3
Adult and Juvenile	54	50.5
1.4: SUPERVISION SERVICE(S) (N=105)		
Pretrial	55	52.4
Probation	93	88.6
Parole	36	34.3
Supervised Release	40	38.1
Other	15	14.3
1.5: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION (N=105)		
Urban	41	39.0
Small city	60	57.1
Rural	81	77.1
1.6: SPECIALIZED CASELOADS (N=105)		
Yes	71	67.6
No	34	32.4
1.7: SPECIALIZED UNITS (N=68)		
Gang	15	22.1
Domestic violence	35	51.5
Driving while intoxicated (DWI)	33	48.5
Sex offender	59	86.8
Mental health	31	45.6
Other	22	32.4

Demographics, as displayed in Table 1, indicate a slight majority of respondents (57 percent) worked in agencies positioned under the executive branch of government (e.g., Department of Corrections) versus under the judiciary. Forty-six percent of respondents noted their agency was part of a unified state system. The majority of respondents (51 percent) were from agencies that supervised adults and juveniles or adults only (39 percent). Only ten percent of respondents indicated their agency supervises juveniles exclusively. Most of the respondents reported their agency was responsible for probation supervision (87 percent), followed by pretrial (52 percent), supervised release (38 percent), parole (34 percent), and other (14 percent). A majority of respondents indicated their agency serves a rural jurisdiction (78 percent), often overlapping with small city (57 percent) and urban jurisdictions (39 percent). Agency size ranged from as few as a single supervising officer to a high of over three thousand officers. Likewise, the number of supervisees ranged from less than a hundred in some cases to in the hundreds-of-thousands for others. Finally, about two-thirds of respondents (68 percent) indicated their agency possessed specialized caseloads. Of those roughly seventy respondents the most common specialized caseload was for sex offenders (87 percent) followed by domestic violence (52 percent), driving while intoxicated (DWI) (49 percent), mental health (46 percent), and gang (22 percent) supervisees. A third of these respondents also indicated possessing a variety of other specialized units including Native American, intensive supervision, drug court, veteran's court, white collar and electronic monitoring units (32 percent).⁵

RESULTS

As illustrated in Table 2, agencies either possess a case management system (CMS) that is unique to their specific needs (38 percent) or is shared across multiple agencies in a given state (44 percent). In most cases these technological systems were procured from a vendor (68 percent) and hosted in-house (67 percent). About a third of respondents indicated their system was developed internally (28 percent) and a third also indicated they possessed systems that were hosted externally from the agency (35 percent). Externally hosted systems could be systems in which the servers are hosted elsewhere such as at an Administrative Office of the Courts (AOC) or through a web-based application. About half of all respondents stated they occasionally found the data in their CMS to be unreliable (49 percent). Only a handful of respondents marked the quality of the CMS as poor (eight percent).

TABLE 2: CASE MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

ITEM	N	%
2.1: IS THIS CMS SPECIFIC TO YOUR AGENCY? (N=98)		
Specific to our agency	37	37.8
Shared across other justice agencies within the jurisdiction	11	11.2
Shared across like agencies outside the jurisdiction	43	43.9
Don't know	7	7.1
2.2: WAS THE CMS BUILT INTERNALLY (I.E., HOMEGROWN) OR PURCHASED/PROCURED FROM A VENDOR? (N=109)		
Internally developed	27	27.8
Procured from a vendor but without the vendor's technical assistance (e.g., off the shelf)	2	2.1
Procured from a vendor with technical assistance	68	67.7
Don't know	12	12.4
2.3: IS THE CMS HOSTED IN-HOUSE OR EXTERNALLY? (N=105)		
In-house	63	66.8
Externally	33	34.7
Don't know	9	9.5
2.4: HOW OFTEN DO YOU FIND THE DATA MAINTAINED IN THE CMS TO BE UNRELIABLE (I.E., CONTAINS AN ERROR)? (N=90)		
Never	2	2.2
Rarely	32	35.6
Occasionally	42	48.7
Regularly	10	11.1
Don't know	4	4.4
2.5: OVERALL, HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE QUALITY OF YOUR AGENCY'S CMS? (N=96)		
Excellent	7	7.3
Very Good	31	32.3
Good	32	33.3
Fair	18	18.8
Poor	8	8.3

Most respondents agreed or strongly agreed their CMS is easy to use (62 percent) and meets their needs (63 percent) (see Table 3). Most also agreed they could easily obtain reports on agency outcomes (52 percent). In terms of viewing one's agency as cutting edge in technology there were mixed findings. Forty percent were neutral with 34 percent in agreement and about 25 percent in disagreement as to an agency's technological competency. Finally, very few expressed a *disinterest* in a web-based, externally hosted, CMS (23 percent). However, as demonstrated in Table 4, most agencies have plans to enhance their current CMS (66 percent) rather than purchase a new one (21 percent).

TABLE 3: ATTITUDES CONCERNING CMS CAPABILITIES AND TECHNOLOGY

Item	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3.1: Our CMS is easy to use. (N=90)	20	22.2	37	41.1	22	24.4	10	11.1	1	1.1
3.2: My agency has a history of implementing cutting-edge technology. (N=92)	9	10.0	22	24.4	38	40.0	18	20.0	5	5.5
3.3: The CMS meets our needs. (N=90)w	15	16.7	42	46.7	17	18.9	13	14.4	3	3.3
3.4: I can easily obtain reports on individual officer activities from the CMS. (N=90)	18	20.0	35	38.9	16	17.8	17	18.9	4	4.4
3.5: I can easily obtain reports on agency outcomes (e.g., revocations, successful completions) from the CMS. (N=90)	11	12.2	36	40.0	18	20.0	18	20.0	7	7.8
3.6: I would not trust the use of a web-based, externally hosted, CMS to keep my agency's data secure. (N=95)	9	9.5	13	13.7	35	36.8	30	31.6	8	8.4

It appears warning prompts are used in a majority of agency systems to stifle data entry errors (62 percent) and information is pre-populated when information is available elsewhere in the system (69 percent). That said, respondents indicate they are often required to access multiple information systems to complete their day-to-day work (74 percent). In addition, e-mail and calendar integration with agency systems continue to be absent (71 percent) (see Table 4).

TABLE 4: CASE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM CAPABILITIES AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Item	Yes		No		Don't Know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
4.1: Does your organization/department utilize a Case Management System (CMS)? (N=103)	91	88.3	8	7.8	4	3.9
4.2: Are you aware of plans to enhance the current CMS in the near future with new functionality? (N=94)	62	66.0	18	19.1	14	14.9
4.3: Are you aware of plans for a new CMS in the near future? (N=94)	20	21.3	63	67.0	11	11.7
4.4: Are warning prompts used to warn the user of potential data entry errors? (N=90)	56	62.2	24	26.7	10	11.1
4.5: Do you receive pop-up reminders of important case events (e.g., court appearances, meetings)? (N=90)	25	27.8	55	61.1	10	11.1
4.6: Does information automatically pre-populate certain fields if information is available elsewhere in the system? (N=90)	62	68.9	22	24.4	6	6.7
4.7: Are individual user's e-mails/calendars integrated with the CMS? (N=96)	22	22.9	68	70.8	6	6.3
4.8: Are you required to access alternate information systems to complete your day-to-day duties? (N=99)	71	74.0	19	19.8	9	6.3

Table 5 reveals the results of various modules commonly of interest to agencies when procuring a CMS. Findings indicate that modules for risk assessment (76 percent), needs assessment (75 percent), interview/case notes (97 percent), probationer/parolee profile information (99 percent), officer/caseload management (89 percent), case planning (76 percent), aggregated reports/queries (91 percent) and data collection for audits/research (81 percent) have become standard practice. Workload measurement (59 percent) and calendar/email integration (48 percent), however, remain underutilized and are represented by roughly half of all respondents' CMS.

TABLE 5: CASE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM MODULES AND REPORTS

Does the CMS include...	Yes		No		Don't Know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
5.1: Risk Assessment (N=90)	68	75.6	21	23.3	1	1.1
5.2: Needs Assessment (N=89)	67	75.3	22	24.7	0	0.0
5.3: Interview/Case Notes (N=89)	86	96.6	3	3.4	0	0.0
5.4: Probationer/Parolee Profile Information (N=88)	87	98.9	1	1.1	0	0.0
5.5: Workload Measurement (N=86)	51	59.3	31	36.0	4	4.7
5.6: Officer/Caseload Management (N=87)	77	88.5	9	10.3	1	1.1
5.7: Case Planning (e.g., goals for the probationer/parolee) (N=87)	66	75.9	21	24.1	0	0.0
5.8: Aggregated Reports/Queries (N=88)	80	90.9	6	6.8	2	2.3
5.9: Calendar/Email Integration (N=85)	41	48.2	36	42.4	8	9.4
5.10: Data Collection (e.g., audits, research) (N=87)	70	80.5	15	17.2	2	2.3

In terms of the sharing of information (see Table 6), most agencies lean towards automation for internal communications and day-to-day activities. However, external information sharing with other justice and non-justice entities leans more heavily towards manual or paper processes.

TABLE 6: PREDOMINANT METHODS OF INFORMATION SHARING

Item	(1) Automatic/ Electronic		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5) Manual/ Paper	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6.1: Does your agency rely mostly on electronic or paper means of handling its day-to-day activities? (n=94)	5	5.3	46	48.9	35	37.2	5	5.3	3	3.2
6.2: For sharing information with other departments (i.e., internal to the agency) is the process predominantly automated or manual? (N=92)	8	8.7	37	40.2	26	28.3	10	10.9	11	12.0
6.3: For sharing information with other justice organizations (i.e., external to the agency) is the process predominantly automated or manual? (N=92)	5	5.4	18	19.6	25	27.2	32	34.8	12	13.0
6.4: For sharing information with other non-justice organizations (i.e., service providers in the community, health organizations) is the process predominantly automated or manual? (N=94)	2	2.2	5	5.4	28	28.3	29	31.5	30	32.6

Additional exploratory analyses were conducted. Specifically, the author asked if agency demographic factors significantly influence perceptions of the quality of a given agency's CMS. For example, do agencies that supervise adults differ in their satisfaction with their CMS from those that supervise juveniles or adults and juveniles? Do agencies that develop their own system tend to be more dissatisfied than those that chose to procure solutions?⁶ Results found agency demographic characteristics shared no statistically significant relationship with perceptions of the quality of one's CMS (see Table 7). Due to the null findings and generally low sample size further analyses at the multivariate level were not performed.⁷

TABLE 7: BIVARIATE ANALYSIS CONCERNING PERCEPTIONS OF QUALITY OF AN AGENCY'S CMS

Variable	t	p	N
Judicial Branch	.220	.827	93
Unified Statewide	.137	.891	93
Supervises Adults Only	-1.496	.139	95
CMS Developed Internally	1.466	.148	81
CMS Hosted Internally	-1.790	.077	82

CONCLUSION

About two-thirds of respondents indicated their agency procured their CMS, host it internally, and are overall pleased with it. Indeed over roughly 60 percent feel their system is easy to use, provides the necessary reports and generally meets their needs. Only a small minority, roughly 15 percent, indicated having regular issues with data quality. Most intend to enhance their current system rather than purchase new ones. Identifiable issues center mostly on the lack of email/calendar integration with a respective CMS, the need to access a variety of systems to complete one's work, and the continued use of manual or paper procedures to share information with external justice and non-justice partners. Overall opinions of a given agency CMS appear to be consistent across supervision agencies regardless of agency demographics and whether they *build or buy*. The study is limited most notably by its small sample size and low response rate. While caution is warranted when interpreting or attempting to generalize these results, the overarching trend implies agencies are comfortable with their current respective CMS, but steps could be taken to better integrate it with other systems within a given agency and to make them more amenable to information sharing with external partners.⁸

When asked if respondents felt their agency was on the cutting edge of technology the results were quite mixed. Given other findings are resoundingly positive, it seems plausible that in some cases respondents may be pleased with their systems as a function of comfort, not technological savvy *per se*. However, with such a large proportion of nonrespondents, it is difficult to make any final conclusions. It could be that those disgruntled with the state of their current CMS were the least likely to respond. As such, it must tentatively be stated that overall community supervision agencies are content with the state of their current systems, but they continue to look for ways to integrate and share information more seamlessly. >>>▲

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ENDNOTES

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and the Office for Victims of Crime. Points of view in this document and related materials are those of the authors and do not represent the official policies or positions of the United States Department of Justice.

³ The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) continues to develop a complete sampling frame of adult probation and parole offices through the Census of Adult Probation Supervising Agencies (CAPSA) project. Likewise, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) continues to do the same for juvenile probation through the Census of Juveniles on Probation (CJP) project. Unfortunately, to date there is no universally accepted sampling frame for probation and parole, hence the reliance on state association memberships and the ACA directory.

⁴ To learn more about response rates, follow-ups, and the use of web-based surveys see Dillman, Smyth, and Christian (2009).

⁵ This demographic information, along with the low response rate, implies the findings from these results may well be biased towards adult probation agencies, therefore results should be interpreted with caution.

⁶ To answer these questions, item 2.5 was utilized as the dependent variable (DV); "overall, how would you rate the quality of your agency's CMS?" using a 5 point scale from poor to excellent. A series of bivariate analyses were conducted using branch of government (1.1), unified state (1.2), population served (1.3), CMS built internally or procured (2.2), and CMS hosted in-house or externally (2.3). Given the DV was ordinal (treated as continuous) and the IVs were dichotomous, a series of t-tests were run (see Frankfort-Nachmias & Leon-Geurrero, 2011).

⁷ To run multivariate analyses one requires a sufficient number of cases to detect statistically significant effects. The low sample size of this study was insufficient, lacking the statistical power to detect statistically significant associations when controlling for multiple independent variables (see Cohen, 1992).

⁸ For guidance on implementing automated information sharing solutions please see the Global Information Sharing Toolkit promoted by the U.S. Department of Justice.

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calendar of events

DECEMBER 2-5, 2013

Veterans Treatment Court Conference

Washington, DC

www.justiceforvets.org/vet-court-con

DECEMBER 5-6, 2013

Breakthrough Strategies to Teach and Counsel Troubled and Incarcerated Youth

Los Angeles, CA

www.youthchg.com/teacher-workshops

DECEMBER 16-17, 2013

2013 Annual Models for Change National Conference

Washington, DC

www.modelsforchange.net/calendar/234

JANUARY 28-31, 2014

Correctional Management Institute of TX at Sam Houston State Gang Conference

Austin, TX

www.txprobation.com/Html/events.htm#conferences

JANUARY 31-FEBRUARY 5, 2014

2014 ACA Winter Conference

Tampa, FL

www.aca.org/Conferences/winter2014/home.asp

FEBRUARY 21-23, 2014

Southern States Correctional Association 2014 Mid-Winter Training Conference

Savannah, GA.

www.sscaweb.org/?page_id=1632014

FEBRUARY 26-28, 2014

Mid-Winter Georgia Probation Association Conference

Brasstown Valley Resort-Young Harris, GA

www.gaprobationassoc.org



JANUARY 12-15, 2014

APPA 2014 Winter Training Institute

Houston, TX

www.appa-net.org

JANUARY 30-FEBRUARY 5, 2014

ACA 2014 Winter Conference

Tampa, FL

www.aca.org

FEBRUARY 9-11, 2014

National Association for Court Management (NACM) 2014 Annual Conference.

Savannah, GA

<https://nacmnet.org/>

APRIL 13-16, 2014

National American Indian Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect

Ft. Lauderdale, FL

www.nicwa.org/conference