THE USE OF INCENTIVES AND SANCTIONS TO SHAPE THE BEHAVIOR OF CLIENTS UNDER COMMUNITY SUPERVISION

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president's message

I remember the hiring interview I endured for Probation/Parole Officer very vividly. I was energetic and motivated to make a difference in my community, but not quite familiar with the role of a PPO. There were so many terms that I was unfamiliar with and there were many questions asked of me that day. One that stood out was, "how will you change behavior?" That was 25 years ago. The tools given to me then, compared to the tools that are available now, are very different and this question still resonates today.

Change is the foundation of the work that we do in community corrections. When a justice-involved individual learns to think pro-socially and is given the appropriate resources to heal and grow, they have the potential to help build communities they have historically victimized and disrupted. This brings long term sustained community safety. I lead an organization that is rooted in risk/need and responsivity and implementing evidence-based practices. This has been a long journey that continues to be refined as we evaluate our practices, effectiveness, training, coaching, and fidelity to the models and tools we have adopted.

In the beginning of my career, probation and parole was at the advent of evidence-based practices (EBP). I am so relieved the days when community corrections professionals were handed a box of files and left to create their own style of compliance monitoring are gone. Today, juvenile justice, pretrial, and probation and parole organizations are engaging their staff in high levels of training to ensure they have a strong knowledge of the evidence-based practices that drive their organizational vision. Community corrections agencies

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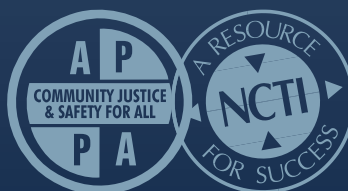
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The American Probation and Parole Association is focused on transforming the community corrections field to be aligned with what we know works to change behavior, to truly be a "Force for Positive Change."

are investing in tools, coaching, and feedback to ensure fidelity to case management steeped in core correctional practices. I want to emphasize the importance of the entire agency participating in this vision, from direct service to administrative staff. All staff contribute to the success of their agency in this work.

The American Probation and Parole Association is focused on transforming the community corrections field to be aligned with what we know works to change behavior, to truly be a "Force for Positive Change." It is our purpose to inform, provide training, and advocate for evidence-based practices and policy to drive our profession toward a positive future. This issue of *Perspectives* explores behavior management through the use of incentives and sanctions. It is my hope these articles motivate and inspire you to examine your jurisdictions' practices and align them with the experience of other jurisdictions and current research. When we engage in proven practices, collaborate, and learn from each other's experiences, we effectively help people to change, we help restore their families and build stronger communities, and we strengthen our profession. The time is now for us to come together around implementation and fidelity as decision makers continue to acknowledge and invest in the powerful impact community corrections has within the justice system.

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- Risk Reduction
- Organizational Readiness

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editor's notes

Effective management of non-compliant behavior has been a recent focal point for community corrections agencies, especially aimed at efforts to reduce jail and prison populations. It is becoming clearer and clearer that we can safely reduce our reliance on incarceration as a response to non-compliance. Swift, Certain, and Fair sanctioning research has established that punishment can be effective at extinguishing specific behaviors, such as substance use and failing to report for supervision appointments—at least in the short-term (see Hawken and Kleiman, 2009; see also Listwan and Smith, this issue). But, the broader literature reveals that sanctioning is only a part of the equation for behavioral change. To achieve long-term change, we must be equally effective at responding to positive behaviors as we are at responding to non-conformity in order to maximize our ability to shape client behavior in a way that accomplishes the goals of supervision. This edition of *Perspectives* is part one of a two-part series exploring the synergies of rewards and sanctions as a means to shaping offender behavior for the better and for the long term.

This issue presents emerging research considering the theoretical dimensions of responding to problem behavior across several domains, including juvenile justice and staff attitudes, as well as present one state's experience altering their behavioral response policies.

To start this examination, Shelley Listwan and Myrinda Schweitzer Smith have co-authored a summary review of the extant literature on rewards and sanctions entitled "Supporting Long-term Behavior Change: Going the Distance." The authors review research on the important factors to consider when implementing a Behavioral Management System (BMS). They believe that the use of BMS varies greatly form jurisdiction to jurisdiction, and they call for—as do we—future research to understand how BMS is used on a national level. To this end, this edition features three articles that illustrate attempts to contribute to this literature.

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Next, new research by Kimberly Meyer, Kimberly Kras, and Danielle Rudes in a juvenile justice setting explores how juvenile probation officers are responding to youth's misbehavior, or "troubles." This preliminary research attempts to cast juvenile behavior and JPO responses into typologies to better inform staff decision-making and the development of behavioral response grids for juvenile clients. In another look at staff behavior, Amy Murphy, Anne Giuranna Rhoades, and Faye S. Taxman summarize survey results of specialized court staff's attitudes about the use of contingency management strategies. This research can help agencies develop implementation strategies for BMS that are appropriately sensitive to staff perceptions about the appropriateness of these responses. These ambitious research efforts build our knowledge about systematic behavioral responses with regard to how agencies support behavioral responses, how staff actually respond, and the actual impact of those responses.

We wrap-up Part 1 of this series by examining the process that the Minnesota Department of Corrections undertook to reign in the number of standard conditions (as well as prescriptive consequences) assigned to individuals on community supervision. In this article by Ron Solheid, he presents the policy reform process from start to finish, and provides benchmark evidence of its successes and highlights areas for growth. This article reinforces our belief that limiting conditions to those clearly related to legitimate supervision goals can help mitigate staff's need to issue sanctions in the first place. Such efforts can make it easier for staff to focus on rewarding positive behaviors when they do not have to focus on enforcing unnecessary conditions.

With Part 1 of this series providing the foundation of current and emerging research about process and use of BMS, Part 2 will explore the efforts of several agencies, both juvenile and adult, to implement behavioral response matrices/grids. These articles offer examples of potential best practices and lessons learned in the process of both core correctional strategies and implementation of policy and practice.

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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 abroad. 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 can be emailed to perspectives@csg.org in accordance with the following deadlines:

Unless previously discussed with the editors, submissions should not exceed 12 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 and in American Psychological Association (APA) Style. 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., to (Mattson, 2015, p. 73). Alphabetize each reference at the end of the text using the following format:

Mattson, B. (2015). Technology supports decision making in health and justice. *Perspectives*, *39*(4), 70-79.

Hanser, R. D. (2014). *Community corrections* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

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

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Supporting Long-Term Behavior Change: Going the Distance

BY: SHELLEY LISTWAN, PH.D. AND MYRINDA SCHWEITZER SMITH, PH.D.

Many corrections professionals enter the field to help others and to make a difference in their communities. However, helping individuals change their behavior can be challenging for a myriad of reasons. This demanding yet rewarding undertaking involves addressing barriers to change as well as increasing the ability of justice-involved individuals to anticipate and manage high-risk situations. Over the years, corrections agencies have tried a variety of ways to accomplish these goals, and research has suggested some strategies are more promising than others. Most notably, strategies that make use of core correctional practices that include strong behavioral components are more likely to produce long-term behavior change. With a focus on this area of inquiry, our paper has three objectives: (1) to review strategies used within the field of corrections to support prosocial behavior change; (2) to identify current core correctional practices utilized by the community corrections field that promote individual prosocial self-change; and (3) to identify areas for future research to close the knowledge gap pertaining to the use of a behavior management system (BMS) as an evidence-based approach to support behavior change.

A QUICK REVIEW

Over the years those in the field of corrections have tried many different strategies to motivate individuals toward a life free from crime. For example, popular deterrence-based programs used during the 1980s and 1990s—such as chain gangs, boot camps, and scared straight programs—aimed to change behavior through punishment. While these strategies were often well intended and delivered by individuals who desired to help others change, the results were disappointing. Studies found that individuals who went through these types of programs still had high recidivism rates (see Wilson & Lipsey, 2000). This is, by and large, because the focus was on compliance rather than long-term behavior change. Simply put, the strategies did not go the distance. Punishing or imposing sanctions for behavior, regardless of the certainty or swiftness of such actions, may "teach" the individual in the short term to avoid certain behaviors; however, it has little impact on long-term behavior change (Carter, 2015; Gendreau, 1996; Matson & DiLorenzo, 1984; Wodahl, Bowman, & Garland, 2015).

Despite the questionable effectiveness of punitive strategies, many jurisdictions today remain focused on them. A prime example is the popularity of Hawaii's Opportunity Probation with Enforcement initiative (Project HOPE) and related programs (see Hawken & Kleiman, 2009). Project HOPE manages behavior through a graduated sanctions approach. However, it fails to target the risk and need factors that led the person to engage in criminal behavior. Like earlier reviews of sanctions-based initiatives, recent research confirms that Project HOPE fails to produce significant reductions in crime (see Lattimore et al., 2016).

Clearly, the evidence shows that rewarding behavior is more likely to lead to positive change.

On the other hand, there is vast amount of literature regarding the promise of the risk-need-responsivity (RNR) model as an alternative to sanctions-based approaches (see Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Andrews, Dowden, & Gendreau, 1999; Cullen & Gendreau, 1989). Briefly, the risk principle of this model states that a person's likelihood to reoffend should be assessed using an actuarial assessment tool and that correctional programming and services should be matched to the individual's level of risk. The risk principle also states that higher risk individuals should receive more intensive interventions while lower risk individuals should receive less intensive interventions. The need principle states that criminogenic needs (e.g., antisocial attitudes, antisocial peers, and substance abuse), which are dynamic risk factors, should be targeted for change. Finally, the responsivity principle helps agencies determine how to deliver cognitive-behavioral interventions in a way that matches each individual. This includes identifying barriers, such as low intelligence, mental health issues, and/or insufficient motivation, that could prevent the individual from being successful in treatment and/or on supervision (see Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990).

BEHAVIOR MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

Within the RNR framework, studies find that cognitive and behavioral approaches are far more effective in producing long-term behavioral change than other methods (see discussion in Smith, Gendreau, & Swartz, 2009). The focus of this article is on the behavioral approach, with an emphasis on effective behavior management systems. Many correctional agencies have developed such systems to increase the use of rewards and sanctions to support long-term behavior change. Studies find that within a BMS it is the rewards, not consequences, that are the most important component in shaping behavior (see Lussier, Heil, Mongeon, Badger, & Higgins, 2006; Masters, Burish, Hollon, & Rimm, 1987; Prendergast, Podus, Finney, Greenwell, & Roll, 2006; Spiegler & Guevremont, 2010). This is true for a variety of criminal justice populations. For example, a study by Griffith

and colleagues (Griffith, Rowan-Szal, Roark, & Sim, 2000) found that individuals convicted of drug offenses who were rewarded for participating in treatment were less likely to receive a positive drug test—and were less likely to receive a positive drug test than those given a sanction for not participating in treatment. Another study found that probationers who completed intensive supervision probation (ISP) programs that used a 4:1 ratio of rewards to sanctions had higher levels of success (Wodahl, Garland, Culhane, & McCarty, 2011). Clearly, the evidence shows that rewarding behavior is more likely to lead to positive change. However, it is also important to realize that implementing an effective BMS can be tough, as is reflected in a recent BMS meta-analysis published by Gendreau, Listwan, Kuhns, and Exum (2014).

Gendreau and his colleagues found that relying on a BMS with rewards did lead to improvements on a variety of behaviors, such as attending school and participating in work. However, the authors, who have expertise evaluating hundreds of correctional programs, caution that a BMS should be implemented with care. Using the RNR framework, the authors provide a series of recommendations regarding how best to develop and implement a BMS (Gendreau et al., 2014). The three areas include implementation, core elements, and management. In general, implementation of the system should be well planned prior to execution; the core elements of the

system must follow the principles inherent in learning theories; and the management of the system must include organizational support, training, and fidelity monitoring. While not an exhaustive review, the following summary offers a brief overview of the major considerations of implementing and sustaining a BMS.

IMPLEMENTATION

The implementation of any BMS should include a clear planning phase with a formal pilot. The pilot should have a clear beginning and end date, with time to make revisions based on feedback from individuals under supervision and from community supervision officers. This is a crucial point, as it is essential to create buy-in for the system from both groups. The system should also be rolled out incrementally with modifications documented for future study. A training manual should be developed that provides detailed explanations for the system and how the system should be implemented and maintained. The manual should guide formal training for staff and serves as the key for guarding against drift in the model. A database should also be developed to track progress with the system and to give justice-involved individuals immediate feedback as to why a reward or sanction was delivered.

CORE COMPONENTS

Behavioral strategies that focus on individualized rewards tied to specific behaviors can be highly effective at encouraging prosocial behavior, rather

When used, the sanctions should be immediate, tied to the behavior in question, and individualized to the person.

than simply sanctioning behavior. A primary method for supporting and building self-efficacy is through the use of verbal praise and reinforcement. Given that rewards developed for the BMS should be given out at a much higher rate than sanctions, the number and type should vary too. The types of rewards used, however, should be based on the desires of the individuals targeted. A quick survey to find out which types of rewards are most desirable will help agencies plan for this. Also, the agency should have a plan for how they begin with a higher intensity of rewards and then ease the rewards down to a lower level (see Petry, 2000). Although sanctions should be used at a lower rate, they are still included in these models, given they are still an important way to respond to undesirable behavior (see Hineline & Rosales-Ruiz, 2013; Matson & DiLorenzo, 1984). When used, the sanctions should be immediate, tied to the behavior in question, and individualized to the person. Ultimately, providing these rewards or sanctions should be seen as a teaching moment to help the individual understand why success or failure occurred and to then begin to assume some personal responsibility.

MANAGEMENT AND FIDELITY

Leadership and oversight in the development, implementation, and maintenance of a BMS is also key. Leaders should be trained in core correctional practices, should understand the importance of behavioral strategies, should help build consensus and support, and should collaborate with staff. Studies suggest that positive attitudes towards evidence-based practices among staff are partly due to the level of support and encouragement given by administrators (Aarons & Sawitzky, 2006). The hiring and training of staff who are supportive of behavior change is another important component. Not only should newly hired staff be open to the model, but they also should have certain skills (such as being non-confrontational and fair but firm) and should possess certain abilities that will allow them to be effective role models for individuals under supervision (Dowden & Andrews, 2004). Agencies need to make sure

that the leadership is sending a message of support if they expect staff to support the model (Bourgon, Bonta, Rugge, Scott, & Yessine, 2010; Wright & Gifford, 2016). Building support and communication among staff, stakeholders, and individuals under supervision should be a part of the planning, implementation, and monitoring phases of the BMS. One way to ensure that a BMS is implemented well is to have all staff well trained in core correctional practices. These practices provide a framework for communication and skill development to increase the effectiveness of behavior management systems (Dowden & Andrews, 2004).

CORE CORRECTIONAL PRACTICES

Core correctional practices (CCP) are a combination of techniques that corrections professionals can use to more effectively interact with people and encourage behavior change (Dowden & Andrews, 2004). These are important skills regardless of the type of agency (e.g., probation, parole, institution) or type of job (e.g., administrators, treatment staff, line staff). These practices include anti-criminal modeling, effective reinforcement and disapproval, use of authority, and quality interpersonal relationships. It is the importance of quality interpersonal relationships when implementing BMS that cannot be overstated.

As noted in the description provided in Table 1, quality interpersonal relationships include creating a trusting relationship with those under supervision. When delivering rewards and consequences, it is important that officers create trust while simultaneously being consistent and solution focused. CCP strategies also note the importance of modeling. One cannot expect those under supervision to respond well to a BMS if the officers involved are not displaying appropriate behavior themselves. Modeling is a core component of learning theories, as we often repeat the behavior that we "see" work. We are also more likely to repeat rewarded behavior. In this way, the CCPs provide clear guidelines for how to deliver effective reinforcement as well as effective use of authority and effective disapproval. These practices should be used as a roadmap when designing an effective BMS. For example, the BMS should include concrete steps for officers to follow when reinforcing or sanctioning behavior. Likewise, steps and tips on using one's authority effectively should be included.

TABLE 1

CCP	Description
Interpersonal Relationships	Such connections are characterized as open, warm, and engaging. Corrections professionals are nonjudgmental, empathetic, flexible, and enthusiastic. Corrections professionals use humor in appropriate ways, are solution-focused, and are directive. Additionally, they avoid arguments or power struggles and work to develop internal motivation with the individual through strong interpersonal relationships. Generally, high-quality relationships function as a reinforcer for pro-social behavior (Andrews & Bonta, 2010).
Anti-criminal Modeling	Corrections professionals who are prosocial models demonstrate effective coping skills and display prosocial thoughts and attitudes when working with individuals. Modeling is used when trying to purposefully teach a new skill to an individual as well as during regular interactions (i.e., in the hallway or waiting room). Being a prosocial model also means that the corrections professional is able to address antisocial and prosocial statements and behaviors, especially the reinforcement of prosocial behaviors.
Effective Reinforcement	Effective reinforcement includes strong, specific, and immediate statements of approval to increase prosocial behaviors. As part of reinforcing positive behavior, corrections professionals should elicit the short- and long-term benefits that result from the use of the behavior to begin to help the individual learn how to reinforce his/her own behavior.
Effective Disapproval	Use of effective disapproval requires direct, empathetic, and immediate statements of disapproval that follow the specific negative behavior (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Using this technique involves eliciting, discussing, and demonstrating anti-criminal alternatives to problem behavior as well as elaborating on the reasons why a behavior was inappropriate. The costs associated with the use of the disapproved behavior are also discussed.
Effective Use of Authority	Corrections professionals who show an effective style of authority demonstrate characteristics such as "firm, but fair," non-confrontational, and respectful interactions (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Effective use of authority also involves guiding individuals toward compliance, focusing on the behavior being exhibited rather than the individual, and helping the individual weigh behavior options and consequences associated with those options.

Cognitive Restructuring	Cognitive Restructuring uses a guided approach to teach individuals how to identify and replace high-risk thinking for long-term pro-social behavior change. Specifically, corrections professionals help individuals to recognize risky thoughts or patterns of risky thinking and to identify new ways of thinking.
Structured skill-building	Strategies such as modeling and practice, followed by feedback, are used to help individuals learn new skills and manage high-risk situations in a prosocial way. Skills are taught in a structured manner that involves teaching the skill and describing the skill's concrete steps, modeling or demonstrating the skill for the individual, and practicing the new skill with feedback.
Problem Solving	Consistent with structured skill-building techniques, behavioral strategies (e.g., modeling, practicing, feedback) are used to help individuals learn how to identify problem situations and their goals, brainstorm solutions to a variety of problems, weigh out pros and cons of each option, choose solutions that will help them reach their personal life goals, and develop concrete plans. Heavy emphasis is also placed on setting realistic and positive goals for long-term behavior change.

For example, as noted in Table 1 under "effective disapproval," it is critical to elicit and demonstrate an alternative behavior as part of the disapproval process. It is also important to elicit from the person under supervision why the behavior was a positive choice for them (effective reinforcement) or a negative choice (effective disapproval). Importantly, all three practices require strong, specific, and direct statements acknowledging the behavior and not the person.

Additional CCP skills to support individual change include cognitive restructuring, problem-solving techniques, and structured skill building. These skills help individuals learn how to anticipate and manage high-risk situations, thoughts, and feelings to support long-term behavior change. As noted above, when officers are regularly employing CCPs during their interactions with individuals under supervision, the outcomes are positive (Bonta et al., 2010; Chadwick, Dewolf, & Serin, 2015; Labrecque, Smith, Schweitzer, & Thompson, 2013; Labrecque & Smith, 2017; Smith, Schweitzer, Labrecque, & Latessa, 2012). An effective BMS must rely on CCPs to increase its success in creating change, as prior research suggests they play a critical role in creating a learning environment for individual change (Chadwick et al., 2015; Dowden & Andrews, 2004; Haas & Spence, 2016).

To train officers in these skills and encourage their daily use, various training programs have been developed. For example, Bonta and colleagues (2010) created a training program for community supervision officers in Canada referred to as Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS). As suggested, community supervision officers are trained in the RNR model and are taught skills that can be used with individuals during supervision meetings. Research by the authors and others has found that individuals supervised by trained officers fare better than controls (Bonta et al., 2010; Chadwick et al., 2015). A similar model developed at the University of Cincinnati Corrections Institute (UCCI), referred to as Effective Practices in Community Supervision (EPICS), has been implemented across the United States with similar outcomes (Labrecque et al., 2013; Labrecque & Smith, 2017; Smith et al., 2012). Both STICS and EPICS include training officers on the use of rewards and consequences and how to encourage long-term behavior change.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Although basic principles of an effective BMS in which CCPs play a known part have been developed, there are a number of gaps in the literature when it comes to assessing the details of these systems. For example, more research is needed to explore whether individual differences (such as age, gender, race, education, mental illness, or cognition) influence the effectiveness. Future research should also attempt to unravel these issues through experimental designs or meta-analytic techniques. The implementation of models such as STICS and EPICS on a national level provides an opportunity to examine the additive effect of a BMS. Specifically, research should examine whether jurisdictions with staff trained in these models and a well-developed behavior management system see greater reductions in recidivism compared to those who are not trained in the RNR perspective. It has been the authors' experience that even when agencies are trained in EPICS, the types of BMS vary greatly. On the other hand, it may be that jurisdictions trained in these models are better poised to develop an effective BMS. At this point, however, this important research question remains unexamined. Agency variables such as management style and organizational culture may also come into play when attempting to better understand the effectiveness of behavior management models and their sustainability.

While there is mounting evidence that certain principles are crucial to effectiveness, the practical realities of behavior management within different community supervision agencies may reflect something different. At this point we do not have a clear understanding of the types of strategies being implemented on a national level. Future research could also include an in-depth review of the literature and a national survey of

administrators in community supervision to identify current practices in the field. That would help both to assess the current situation and to better develop a clear research agenda with a focus on where to head in the future and how best to help community supervision agencies go the distance.

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Troubles and Violations: Probation Officer Responses to Juvenile Offender Behavior

BY KIMBERLY S. MEYER, KIMBERLY R. KRAS, AND DANIELLE S. RUDES

I n 2016, juvenile courts handled an estimated 850,500 delinquency cases (National Center for Juvenile Justice [NCJJ], 2018). Once juveniles enter the justice system and receive a disposition, their most likely sanction is probation (NCJJ, 2018). The goal of many juvenile justice agencies is to address behaviors in ways that promote desistance and avoid entry into the adult system, making their role in addressing behaviors critical. Despite their importance in this process, we know relatively little about how juvenile probation officers (JPOs) perceive client misbehaviors or how they respond to them, even in jurisdictions where POs have reward/sanction matrices to reference. This study examines the problematic behaviors juveniles exhibit while on probation and the responses these "troubles" receive from JPOs. The aim of this study is to better understand how JPOs respond to youth misbehavior in order to refine development and evaluation of sanction and incentive policies.

BACKGROUND

Many adult and juvenile probation agencies use structured, incremental responses (graduated sanctions) to address client behavior. These agencies promote the use of such responses by instituting sanctioning models or grids that JPOs (and their adult system counterparts) reference when determining what sanctions to use for a client. Such grids typically arise based on the agency's desire to reduce the use of detention and deter future delinquent activities. Reese, Curtis, and Richard (1989) also argue that this type of graduated sanctioning aligns with the goals of the juvenile justice system and provides a guide for JPOs in assigning sanctions consistent with rehabilitative aims. Unfortunately, little is known about how JPOs use these sanctions, since few records are kept, aside from PO case notes. Despite the move toward evidence-informed probation strategies, juvenile behavioral challenges remain hard for JPOs to navigate (Lipsey et al., 2010). While today's officers may have training in specific evidence-based/ evidence-informed practices like motivational interviewing, risk-need assessment, case management, and others, their day-to-day practices vacillate between risk management and rehabilitation efforts.

THINKING ABOUT JUVENILE VIOLATIONS AS TROUBLES

Troubles are non-approved behaviors that do not necessarily (but may) constitute a probation violation (Emerson & Messinger, 1977). The term constitutes a broader construct than rule violations or charged probation violations: these are behaviors of varying severity that typically precipitate JPO responses. Such troubles include disobeying parental rules, failure to comply with JPO requests, or commission of new crimes. It is essential to understand how JPOs react and respond to the trouble and the troublemaker in the context of the goals of juvenile probation in order to begin

FACTORS INFLUENCING OFFICER DECISION MAKING

When considering what course of action to take in response to a juvenile's misbehavior, JPOs account for both individual and environmental factors. Individual client characteristics (such as minority status) and socio-environmental factors (such as mental health, substance abuse, school problems, or history of trauma) influence juvenile court dispositions (Cauffman et al., 2007). Research suggests JPOs may hold unconscious biases about certain types of offenders, and such beliefs influence the supervision strategies used with clients from those demographic groups, with minority groups surveilled more closely (Graham & Lowery, 2004; Gaarder, Rodriguez, & Zatz, 2004). In addition, higher risk and younger juveniles receive more heightened scrutiny than do lower risk or older youth (Schwalbe & Maschi, 2009). This research indicates that JPOs may base their strategies on offender characteristics rather than on the juveniles' behaviors while on probation.

Officer characteristics also influence decision-making. Organizational realities (e.g., agency policies, pressure from judges) and personal preferences about the most appropriate response to wrongdoing affect what decisions are made with regard to both technical and criminal violations. For example, probation officers prefer to use their own discretion for sanctions, but when clients ignore their warnings, they frequently resort to (and prefer) judicial interventions (Jones & Kerbs, 2007). Similarly, Ward and Kupchik (2010) revealed that officer "attitudinal resonances" (the combined force of background and ideologies) affected officer actions more than officer characteristics (e.g., race, gender, tenure) or court contexts (e.g., size of jurisdiction, county arrest rate) alone. These characteristics influencing probation officer responses can contribute to inconsistencies when responding to behavior; however, data-driven approaches to sanctioning may bring more consistency and reduce unintended bias.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The current research examines JPO use of sanctions in response to "troubles" or behavioral problems and violation-worthy misbehaviors to reveal a typology of JPO behavior. Typologies can help staff make consistent decisions about clients who might share similar characteristics and provide further detail about responses to behavior aside from violations. This study uses data from observations and interviews conducted with staff in a mid-Atlantic, county-level juvenile probation agency. The units consist of four general

supervision units (geography-based) and three specialized units, including intensive supervision, parole, and pre-adjudication.

Data were analyzed by coding the field notes for incidents of troublesome behaviors juveniles exhibited while under supervision and the subsequent responses from JPOs, which may or may not have included a violation. Researchers first coded each time a JPO discussed a "trouble" (a non-approved behavior engaged in by a client that does not necessarily constitute a probation violation) for the type of behavior and the response. Researchers matched 201 troubles with the corresponding JPO response. From the coded data, researchers developed a typology of JPO responses to troubles that noted the specific trouble, JPO response, and available officer and juvenile client demographics (see Figure 1).

A TYPOLOGY OF TROUBLES

The juvenile behaviors observed formed a typology of six different types of trouble, each with a typical JPO response. This typology, displayed in Table 1, demonstrates that two types of troubles–*immediate* and *progressive*– receive violations, and four additional types–*discretionary*, *counseled*, *deferred*, and *unaddressed* do not receive violations. Importantly, while typical behavior response models emphasize a 4:1 ratio of rewards or praise to reprimands (Wodahl et al., 2011), JPOs in this study very seldom provided incentives for youth

compliance. When they did, it was in the form of gift cards. Thus, the emphasis in this paper is response to violation-worthy behavior, or troubles.

Immediate troubles (n=26) represent the most egregious behaviors and include new delinquency charges, running away from home for several days or more (resulting in missed probation visits), and running away from residential placements. Juveniles who commit immediate troubles receive a probation violation, with JPOs filing a detention or other residential placement order 69% of the time. For those who do not serve time in detention, many (23%) receive additional services such as family counseling or probation extensions. Aside from requesting a detention or placement order, however, the JPO has limited responses available. Once the violation is filed and order requested, a judge makes the final decision about whether that sanction will be used. The same applies for additional service provision or probation extension.

Progressive troubles (n=38) refer to problems of continued noncompliance without improvement (such as ongoing drug use, truancy, or missed visits) that result in a probation violation and sanction. Once JPOs run out of other options to address these behaviors, they tend to view the violation as a last resort. This is consistent with the premise that the use of sanctions such as detention is appropriate for juveniles *only* as a last resort. In many cases, progressive troubles

FIGURE 1. TYPOLOGY OF JUVENILE TROUBLES AND JPO RESPONSES, FROM MOST TO LEAST SERIOUS

Immediate	Significant crime or dangerous act	Response: Violation (sometimes with detention or services)
Progressive	Continued misbehavior over time	Response: Violation (sometimes with detention or services)
Discretionary	Eligible for violation but handled in another way	Response: Increase services or graduated sanctions
Counseled	Not subject to violation	Response: Talk at next meeting, closer supervision, more services
Deferred	Problem behavior not handled by JPO	Response: Wait for court action, defer to residential counselor
Unaddressed	Not addressed at all	Response: None

are continuations of a previous behavior (often, substance abuse or truancy) that has not been successfully remedied using informal sanctions, so JPOs turn to the court to order compliance. For instance, JPO Brown's client, Ronny, continued on probation beyond his initial term due to recurring problems with drug use, truancy, and school suspensions. Because of his continued noncompliance, JPO Brown filed her third violation on Ronny, and he was sentenced to 30 days in detention. In other cases, progressive troubles are a sign of instability and take the form of a new type of crime being committed, such as starting to use drugs or running away. In either case, progressive troubles signal the need for increased services, so JPOs often recommended provision of additional services (34% of cases) or detention (also 34% of cases) during the violation hearing, though, again, the final decision is made by a judge.

Discretionary troubles (n=70) describe those behaviors eligible for violation but that JPOs address in other ways. The JPO acknowledges discretionary troubles as potentially worthy of a violation, such as truancy or noncompliance with electronic monitoring. However, instead of violating the juvenile's probation, the officer uses sanctions such as a temporary change in release conditions (e.g., earlier curfews, electronic monitoring, or house arrest), requests enrollment in additional services (e.g., consenting to additional visits, participation in counseling) on a voluntary basis, or imposes other consequences

(e.g., essay writing) to try to change the undesirable behavior. JPO Jones described her client Bobby's case as one of discretionary trouble. Although Bobby is on probation for reckless driving, JPO Jones' focus is to help him reduce his impulsive decision-making. She noted that that he went to a party at 2:30 a.m. Although Bobby reported not drinking at the party, the police came and caught Bobby with his friend's Taser. JPO Jones noted that, while he didn't receive new charges, she did have him write an essay about his decision-making and placed him on house arrest for what happened to be his 18th birthday weekend. Although sneaking out and not reporting police contact could have earned him a violation, JPO Jones used a graduated sanction to address the trouble in another way, one that she deemed meaningful, as Bobby did a good job in his essay of discussing why his impulsivity could be problematic.

Counseled troubles (n=32) involve those behaviors typically considered less severe or those that have not become progressive. Examples of these troubles include breaking rules at home or in residential facilities, single instances of drug use or skipping school, or not completing court orders promptly (e.g., procrastinating on community service). JPOs respond to these troubles most often by "counseling" clients at their next visit, increasing supervision, and issuing service referrals. As an example, JPO Jill's client, Tyler, was waiting until the last minute to complete his court orders

Unaddressed troubles are often the product of parental noncompliance with probation rules, such as parents calling to excuse their child from non-essential school absences or allowing their child to leave home while on house arrest.

and had poor grades because of not attending school regularly. Further, Tyler's parents relied on the court to enforce rules rather than providing guidelines at home. While these issues were not grounds for a violation, Jill discussed the problems with Tyler, warning him that he would get in further trouble if he did not start getting better grades and obeying his court orders and telling him that she planned to recommend family counseling at their next court date. Despite her frustration with Tyler, Jill's offer of additional services for Tyler and his family reflect her willingness to counsel his troubles rather than waiting for Tyler's court orders to come due and simply filing a violation.

The final two categories of troubles, *deferred* and *unaddressed* troubles, are similar because neither elicits a direct consequence from the JPO, but these are distinct in that deferred troubles are addressed by a third party and unaddressed troubles are ignored by all parties. *Deferred troubles* (n=29), such as noncompliance in residential treatment and some new charges, are not dealt with by the JPO. Instead, residential facility counselors or judges determine next steps. Finally, *unaddressed* troubles (n=6), occurred least frequently. Like deferred troubles, unaddressed troubles also do not receive a response from the JPO. Unaddressed troubles are often the product of parental noncompliance with probation rules, such as parents calling to excuse their child from non-essential school absences or allowing their child to leave home while on house arrest.

DISCUSSION

This study uses ethnographic data to develop a typology of juvenile misbehavior and JPO responses to these troubles. JPOs take agency goals (such as use of EBPs) into account when deciding how to respond to troubles, but they are also guided by their personal experiences, environmental factors, and ideologies about juvenile justice. This typology may reflect JPO

perceptions of appropriate responses to each type of trouble and therefore allow us to better understand their responses. Such conclusions may allow agencies to develop response frameworks that promote youth behavior change and JPO use of evidence-based practices.

One application stemming from use of the troubles typology might be to consider potential pathways *through* the different types of troubles. For example, if early sanctions do not yield positive behavior changes, clients' troubles can change from one type to another. Just as progressive troubles describe the repetition of behaviors by a client, repeated behaviors can also intensify over time. The JPO response to these recurring and intensifying problems is vital, and understanding the pathway through this trouble could influence important outcomes, such as successful completion of probation and desistance from offending. If the response to the progressive problems is not effective, future behavior could become more serious. In this case, a second violation could be filed for an *immediate* trouble, which JPOs likely aim to prevent. This pathway is most consistent with the graduated sanctions model. One example of this would be a client on electronic monitoring who leaves his allowable radius for a short time. For the first few violations, officers classify the trouble as discretionary, talk with the client, and maybe adjust the radius or put the client on informal house arrest as

a consequence. If the behavior recurs—even if it does not intensify by traveling further or leaving more frequently—the JPO may determine that these sanctions are not effective and issue a violation for progressive trouble. This means the same behavior can elicit different responses depending on context.

In this study, the primary typology is discretionary, where a behavior may be violation-worthy but the JPO relies on other sanctions in lieu of violation. Researchers observed several instances of a JPO addressing a client's troubles first in *discretionary* fashion and later by filing a violation due to the need for an *immediate* or *progressive* response to changing behavior. This pathway is most consistent with the child-saving philosophy of many juvenile justice agencies, and it intersects with the current use of EBPs by adhering to the graduated sanctions model. Using discretion, the JPO considers the context of the misbehavior and potential effects of criminal justice sanctions before choosing an individualized response. For this agency, the majority of troubles being discretionary may speak to the bridging of the philosophical and procedural alignment of the agency's mission and goals.

Because JPO responses to client behavior are highly discretionary, they may or may not be consistent with evidence-based and/or evidence-informed practices. Use of graduated sanctioning matrices containing responses

In the end, the failed intervention following the initial trouble may lead to more problematic troubles in the future, leading to the devotion of more system resources (i.e., docketing, services) to the case in the future.

to client behavior may be useful for preventing early troubles from becoming more severe. More specifically, if early sanctions used by JPOs are not effective, counseled troubles can easily take many different paths through other types of trouble. While counseled troubles are not subject to violation like the earlier examples, if JPO responses do not yield positive results, the behaviors can evolve. For example, rule-breaking at home, while not an explicit violation of probation rules, results in JPOs counseling families and offering services to promote harmony at home. Breaking rules at home may evolve into new types of trouble such as breaking parental curfews, breaking school rules, or engaging in truancy, any of which may turn into a progressive trouble incurring a violation. Further, should home rule-breaking erupt into a fight and lead to domestic assault charges, the counseled trouble grows *immediate*. This evolution of behavior may explain why JPOs respond to these non-violation eligible behaviors to begin with— to prevent more severe behaviors. In the end, the failed intervention following the initial trouble may lead to more problematic troubles in the future, leading to the devotion of more system resources (i.e., docketing, services) to the case in the future.

As EBP implementation efforts occur across many jurisdictions, focusing on JPO responses to problem behaviors is paramount. While in many contexts sanctions are discussed in tandem with incentives, in this agency incentives for positive behavior were only discussed minimally by JPOs, and that was in regard to gift cards. This research may help justice agencies develop understanding about how JPOs respond to juvenile behavior, including whether those responses are evidence-based. With additional data on the impact of those decisions, agencies may be able to develop services and sanctioning frameworks that are more effective to achieve the desired ends. Given today's focus on providing services and rehabilitating juveniles, it is no longer enough to know what offenders do to incur violations. Actors at all stages in the

justice system must begin to view troubles as opportunities for early intervention and prevention of more serious behaviors. For the purposes of integrating EBPs with the "child-saving" roots of the juvenile justice system, this goal continues to be worthy of future investigations.

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Adaptability of Contingency Management in Justice Settings: Survey Findings on Attitudes Toward Using Rewards

BY AMY MURPHY, ANNE GIURANNA RHOADES, FAYE S. TAXMAN

Contingency Management (CM) is recognized as an evidence-based practice, but it is not widely used in either treatment settings or justice settings. CM is perceived as adaptable to justice settings given the natural inclination to use contingencies. CM consists of developing and implementing a system of graduated incentives to reinforce positive behaviors, such as abstinence from drugs and alcohol. Essentially, CM can be considered a counterpart to graduated sanctions: both follow behavioral matrices, with one rewarding compliant or positive behavior and the other punishing noncompliant behavior. Justice Steps (JSTEPS) was an implementation study funded by the National Institute on Drug Abuse to understand the issues surrounding the acceptance and feasibility of using CM in five federal districts (geographical areas devoted to processing cases and managing individuals under supervision). In this implementation study, the jurisdictions agreed to consider implementing CM in specialized problem-solving courts or probation settings.

CM protocols create a system where the use of incentives disrupts the reinforcing influence of drugs and/or alcohol or other negative behaviors by providing rewards for abstinence, making abstinence more attractive (Griffith, Rowan-Szal, Roark, & Simpson, 2000; Higgins & Petry, 1999). CM is most common in treatment programs for substance use disorders, where incentives have been used primarily to reinforce abstinence (see Stitzer, Petry, & Peirce, 2010) and behaviors related to sustaining sobriety, such as medication adherence and treatment attendance. The majority of participating jurisdictions in this study opted to focus on abstinence behaviors, making negative drug tests the primary outcome of interest, followed by treatment attendance.

CM has shown more positive results than standard case management (Higgins & Petry, 1999; Petry, Martin, Coonan, & Kranzler, 2000). In a meta-analysis of 30 studies, Griffith and colleagues (2000) found significant positive effects with CM combined with outpatient methadone treatment (no formal case management), and a meta-analysis conducted by Schumacher and colleagues (2007) found that CM used both on its own and in conjunction with day treatment showed better results than day treatment alone. In spite of these positive results, there has been limited uptake of CM in justice settings, and the current study sought to uncover what barriers to successful implementation exist and how to overcome those barriers.

The primary goal of this study was to determine whether criminal justice actors found CM to be acceptable and feasible to use in their daily practice.

STUDY METHODS

To gauge these perceptions, stakeholders (judges, prosecutors, defenders, probation officers, and treatment providers) in the five participating districts were asked to complete a baseline survey on using rewards as a tool to manage compliance of individuals under supervision. All staff from participating offices were asked to participate regardless of whether they were directly involved in the JSTEPS pilot (see Table 1 for a full description of respondent demographics). The survey instrument asked a series of questions on the acceptability and feasibility of the use of rewards. These data helped us understand whether participants were familiar with CM, whether they had favorable attitudes toward rewards, and if they preferred material incentives (i.e., tangible items with a monetary value such as gift cards) or social incentives (i.e., items without a monetary value, ranging from verbal or written praise to a decreased probation sentence). The survey had a 70% participation rate (n = 186), and the great majority of the respondents were probation officers.

We utilized Kirby's Provider Survey of Incentives (PSI), a 44-item instrument that was designed to solicit treatment provider opinions on incentives (Kirby, Benishek, Dugosh, & Kerwin, 2006). Since the sample consisted primarily of criminal justice personnel, we modified the PSI for this population, dropping from the survey a number of items that were not applicable to corrections settings. The survey had 16 parallel statements (i.e., statements repeated for both material and social incentives) culled from the 28 items of the original instrument. The items were presented with a five-point Likert scale where respondents were asked to state whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements provided. The statements included: "Giving a material incentive to offenders who earned it will result in arguing about rewards" and "Giving social praise and reinforcement in a structured way will become artificial and harm the client/PO relationship." See Table 2 for the full survey as well as average item responses of the entire sample.

RESULTS

The results of the survey indicated that the majority of respondents believed that rewards were acceptable, with little difference between social and material rewards. Survey findings also showed that women and those who were not probation officers were more accepting of material rewards than their counterparts (see Table 3 for a comparison of subgroup responses). These findings were consistent with prior research in drug treatment settings, where there is little objection to the use of rewards (Kirby et al., 2006) and staff expressed commitment to the use of CM throughout the study.

This study identified some critical issues regarding transportability of the CM model from substance abuse treatment to

TABLE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE

	#	%
Position in the Court		
Probation Officer	155	83%
Defender	18	10%
Judge	7	4%
Prosecutor	5	3%
Treatment Counselor	1	1%
Level of Education		
AA	2	1%
BA/BS	61	34%
Some graduate studies	18	10%
Advanced degree	99	55%
Area of Study		
Criminal Justice	70	38%
Law	35	19%
Political Science	11	6%
Psychology	20	11%
Sociology	14	8%
Social Work	15	8%
Years in Field		
Under 2 years	10	6%
2-4 years	36	20%
5-9 years	27	15%
10-14 years	59	47%
15-19 years	26	14%
20 years or more	23	13%
Gender		
Male	104	57%
Female	77	43%
Work experience		
Law enforcement	81	49%
Prosecution	16	10%
Defense	23	14%
Judiciary	43	23%
Juvenile justice	38	23%
Substance abuse treatment	23	14%
Social work	46	28%
Age range		
21-34	26	15%
35-44	79	44%
45-54	59	33%
55 and older	16	9%
Site		
Had an established problem-solving court	69	37%
No established court	117	63%

criminal justice. The support for CM was universal among the respondents; however, the problem-solving court model appeared to contribute to more open-minded approaches to dealing with compliance issues. This confirmed that problem-solving courts with team approaches and the use of integrated services are useful in terms of advancing the justice system (Taxman, Henderson, & Belenko, 2009). Finally, the finding that the use of material incentives is as acceptable as social incentives is important, since it suggests that if there can be proper support from the larger community, then the justice system may be a hospitable setting for use of treatment-oriented tools to address the behavior of individuals under supervision. Given these findings, as well those from the broader JSTEPS study, we make the following recommendations for organizations interested in introducing a CM protocol.

- It is crucial to gauge the organizational climate before introducing a CM protocol in order to identify where actors stand with regard to the attitudes toward punishment and rehabilitation and openness to using incentives.

- Organizations should consider adopting a mix of social and material incentives, especially if they have limited funds available.

TABLE 2: RESPONSES FOR KIRBY'S PROVIDER SURVEY OF INCENTIVES (MODIFIED)

Survey Question	Mean Item Score for Material Incentives (± SD)	Mean Item Score for Social Incentives (± SD)
1. Overall, I would be in favor of adding an incentive program to the court*	3.48 (±1.05)	4.19(±1.85)
2. Incentives are useful if they reward offenders for fulfilling treatment goals other than just providing a clean urine sample, such as regular attendance	3.63(±0.90)	3.78(±0.88)
3. Incentives help offenders achieve sobriety, allowing the counselor to focus on helping them make other life changes*	3.52(±0.81)	3.72(±0.77)
4. Giving incentives for drug-free urine samples helps the offender to become abstinent*	3.18 (±0.92)	3.50(±0.84)
5. An advantage of incentive programs is that they focus on what is good in the offender's behavior (i.e., the ability to become abstinent), not what went wrong in their recovery	3.76(±0.80)	3.94(0.79)
6. Any source of abstinence motivation, not just internal motivation, is a good thing for treatment	3.72(±0.82)	3.95(0.73)
7. Incentives can be useful whether or not they address the underlying issues of addiction*	3.58(±0.87)	3.87(±0.67)
8. Many offenders will see rewards for abstinence as cheesy or artificial ®	3.44(±0.89)	3.56(±0.86)
9. Incentives are just not right because they are rewarding the offender for what he/she should be doing in the first place ®	3.49(±1.02)	3.83(±0.83)
10. It wouldn't be right to give incentives to offenders for goals such as attendance if they aren't testing negative (clean) ®	2.73(±1.09)	2.99(± 1.14)
11. Incentive programs are not consistent with my philosophy of treatment®	3.54(±0.99)	3.87(±0.78)
12. Incentives are a bribe ®	3.67(±1.04)	3.91(±0.79)
13. The problem with incentives is that abstinence will only last for as long as the incentives are given ®	3.50(±1.01)	3.79(±0.80)
14. Giving incentives for treatment attendance will not improve attendance ®	3.57(±0.80)	3.72(± 0.72)
15. There are enough rewards in being clean; incentives aren't necessary ®	3.54(±0.95)	3.82(±0.79)
16. Incentives don't address the underlying issues of addiction®	2.56(±0.97)	2.76(±1.06)

*Items that did not load during factor analysis and were not used in calculation of overall scale means.

®Reverse coded.

TABLE 3: ATTITUDES ABOUT MATERIAL AND SOCIAL INCENTIVES BY RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristic	Material Incentives	Social Incentives
Average Score (±SD)	3.39 (±.70)	3.61 (±.58)
Gender		
Male	3.26 (±.77)*	3.54(±.61)
Female	3.57 (±.55)*	3.73(±.51)
Race		
White	3.43 (±.44)	3.59(±.49)
Other (Black, Asian, Pac. Isl.)	3.38(±.77)	3.62(±.60)
Age		
< = 35	3.28(±.54)	3.34(±.70)*
Over 35	3.42(±.74)	3.68(±.53)*
Education		
Bachelor degree or less	3.31(±.47)	3.47 (±.47)*
More than bachelor degree	3.43(±.80)	3.70(±.62)*
Area of Study		
Criminal Justice	3.24(±.64)*	3.51(±.59)
Others	3.49(±.73)*	3.67(±.57)
Work Experience		
Social Work	3.71(±.50)	3.74(±.54)
Others	3.36(±.71)	3.60(±.58)
Position in Court		
Probation Officer	3.34(±.62)*	3.54(±.54)*
Non-PO	3.69(±.99)*	3.90(±.62)*
Site		
Did not have est. court	3.30(±.72)*	3.60(±.54)

- Organizations benefit from receiving significant education around incentives.

- For ease of administration, organizations may want to focus on objectively measurable outcomes to incentivize, such as negative drug tests.

- Incentive systems work well when they are fair and transparent, thereby giving individuals under supervision a sense of procedural justice.

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Conditions of Release
How Many Are Too Many–Or Is There a Better Way to Manage the Revocation Process?

BY RON SOLHEID

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Minnesota historically has had low rates of incarceration compared with other states, typically having the third or fourth lowest incarceration rate (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016). Arrest rates and court case filings statewide have also been falling, and the number of probationers in Minnesota has declined significantly since 2006 (Minnesota Department of Corrections, 2018).
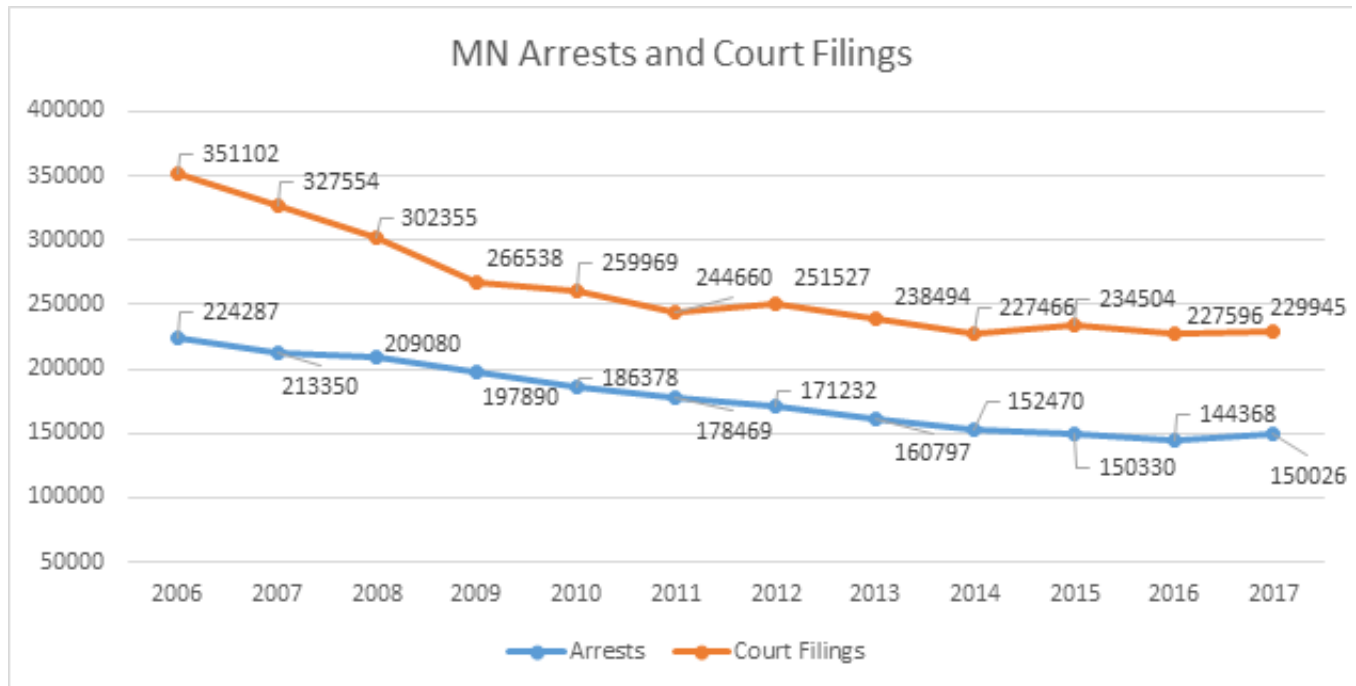
SOURCE: MN BUREAU OF CRIMINAL APPREHENSION/UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS & MINNESOTA STATE COURT ADMINISTRATOR'S OFFICE
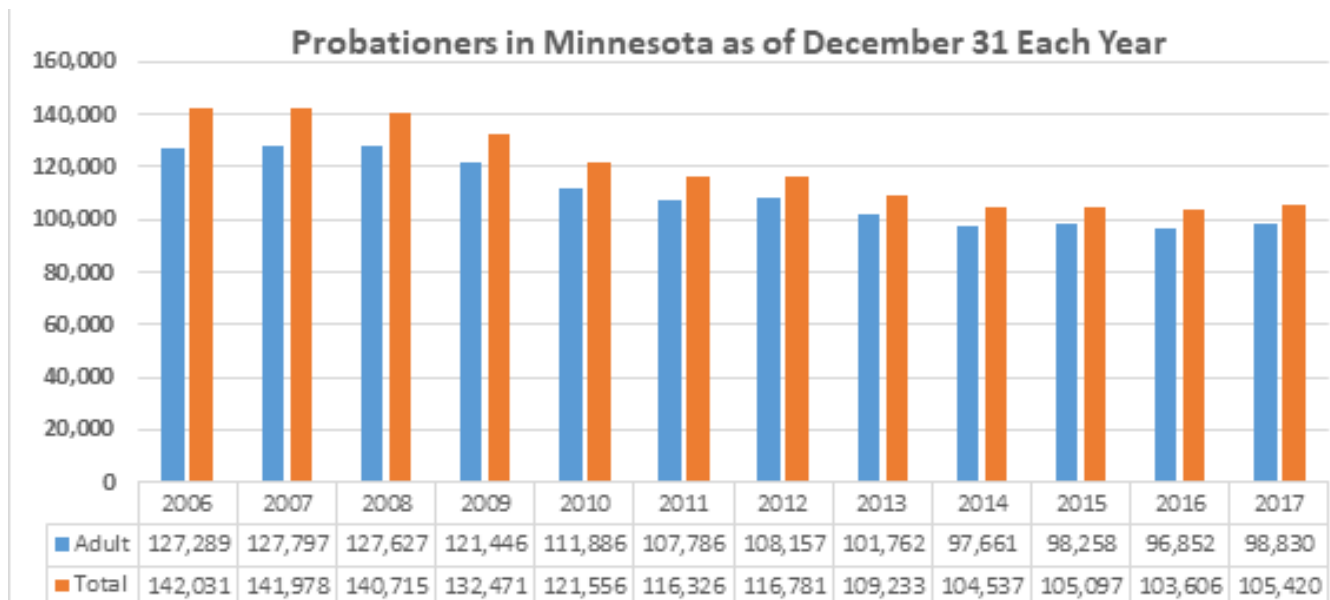
SOURCE: MINNESOTA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS PROBATION SURVEY

Minnesota adopted a sentencing guidelines system in 1980, modified over time but still in use today, focusing on limiting the use of prison for only the most serious offenses. With a total prison capacity of 9,600 inmates, it is imperative that Minnesota continue to rely heavily on community supervision as the primary strategy for enhancing public safety. However, a significant number of admissions to Minnesota prisons are probation and supervised release violators who have a relatively short time to serve (typically less than one year), which makes participation in programming challenging.

With just over 112,000 persons on some form of community supervision and only 9,600 individuals in prison, it would seem that Minnesota has things under control. However, Minnesota is also among the few states with increasing prison populations in recent years, and this has resulted in stretching our prison capacity to its limit.

Many factors drive prison populations, most of which are outside the control of corrections officials. In recent years, the Minnesota Department of Corrections (DOC) has found itself in the position of having to board state inmates in local correctional facilities due to increasing population pressures in DOC facilities. Prison population projections, which historically have been accurate (with an error rate of less than 1%), have indicated that this problem is only going to grow in the coming years. This growth is even forcing the DOC to consider prison expansion as one possible solution.

Prison Population vs Capacity
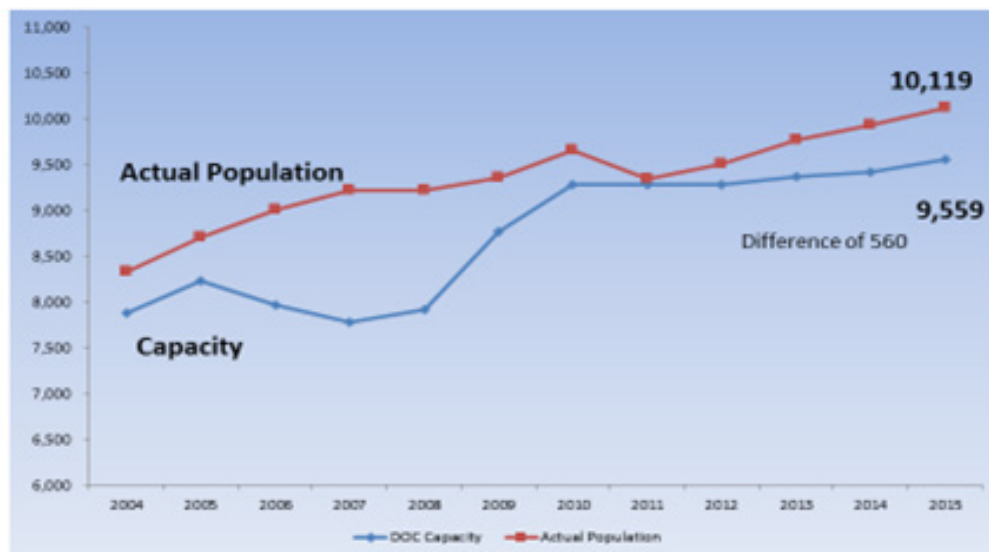
Source: MN Department of Corrections

A thorough review of prison admission data highlighted some facts that pointed to two main drivers causing prison population increases: (1) new laws and/or enhanced penalties for existing laws, and (2) revocations of offenders on community supervision (both probation and supervised release). The state legislature controls the enactment of new laws and enhanced penalties that impact new prison commitments. For example, new felony-level DWI laws and enhanced penalties for weapons offenses alone created the need for over 1,300 prison beds.

Prison Population by Offense 2000–2015

Other Offenses	454
Weapons Offenses	683
	683
DWI Offenses	
Property Offenses	1,144
Person Offenses	5,215
Drug Offenses	1,911

Source: MN DOC Profile Cards
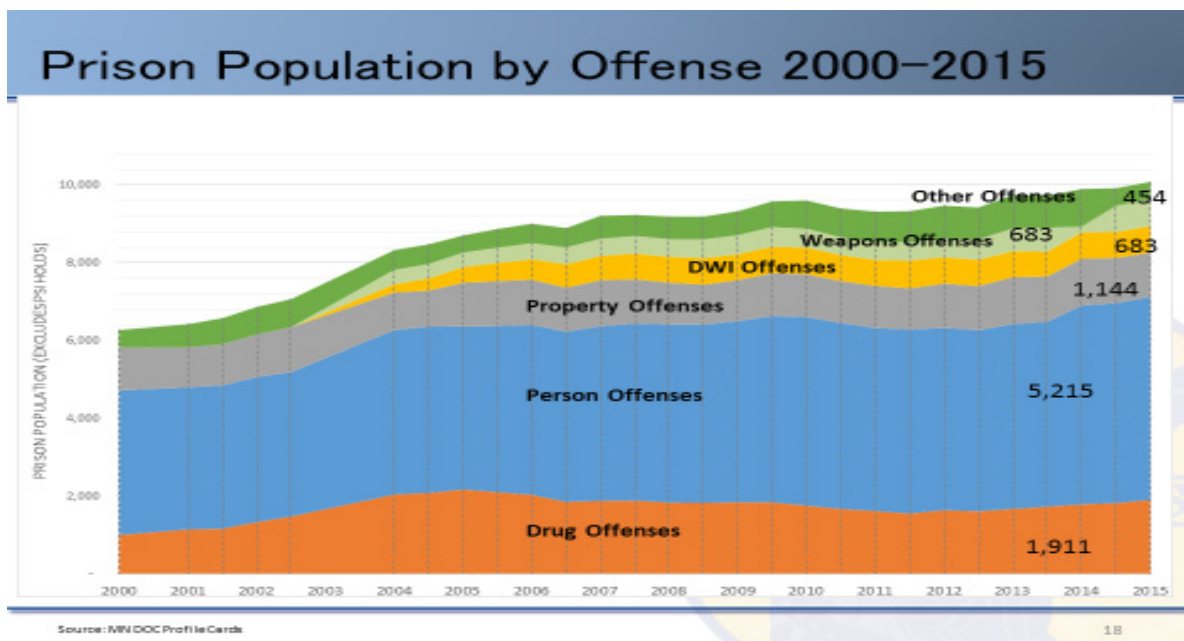
The court system controls decisions related to probation violations, which in Minnesota lead to approximately 2,100 prison admissions in any given year (DOC Offender Summary 2017). Supervised release violators returning to prison average just under 3,000 per year, and these are controlled by DOC policy and enforced by the DOC through its Hearings and Release Unit. Given that some form of release violators is making up over 60% of prison admissions, it became clear that the main area contributing to prison growth that DOC policy could potentially impact was related to revocation of supervised release offenders. It is important to note that revocations for supervised release accounted for an average daily population of over 1,200 offenders, roughly the equivalent of one entire DOC prison. Clearly, this aspect of the corrections system needed to be the area of focus going forward.

DOC Release Violator Admissions Over Time

Source: DOC Offender Summary Reports

RV admission numbers increased 31% between FY10 and FY17

Overall admission numbers during the same period increased 13%
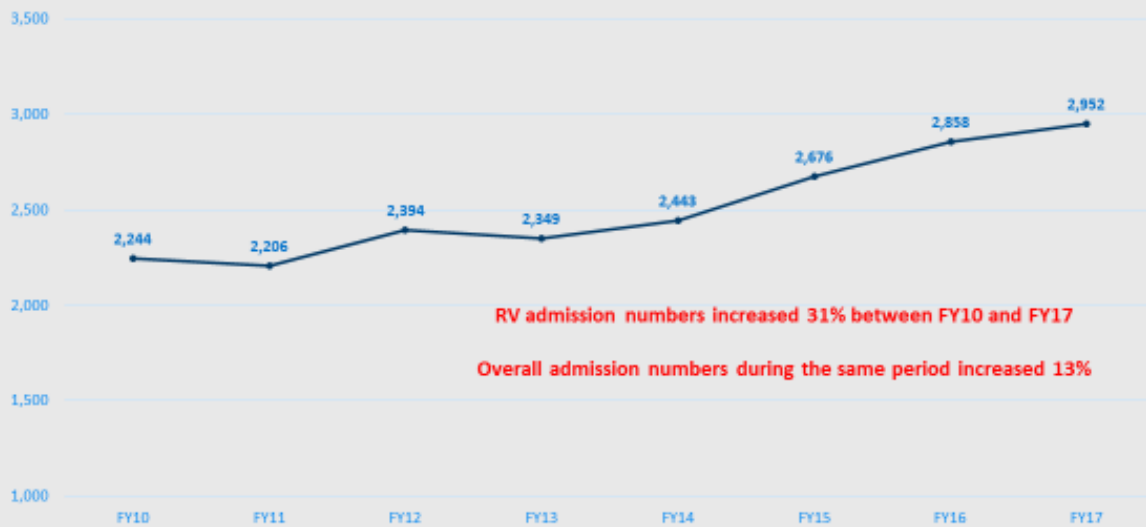
Through the years, the practice of using re-incarceration and the assignment of "accountability time" (a period of incarceration used as a sanction as opposed to time to allow programming) as the response to technical violations of release grew significantly, with reasons for this trend including the availability of prison beds and the lack of community resources for addressing offender misbehavior. This practice continued despite the fact that little, if any, programming was available for short-term release violators inside the prison walls.

Over time, the number of conditions of release in Minnesota grew to the point where 13 standard conditions applied to all offenders released from prison, with a total of 81 additional "special" conditions that could be applied to offenders with specific criminal behaviors (DWI offenders, sex offenders, domestic violence offenders, etc.). It was not uncommon for prison releasees to have over 40 conditions of release applied to their community supervision.

RESETTING CONDITIONS OF SUPERVISION

In 2015, the DOC organized a committee of stakeholders to review current policies and practices related to setting conditions of release for persons about to leave prison and to the due process hearing guidelines and sanctions grid for those subsequently found in violation of release conditions. Minnesota was an early adopter of evidence-

based practices (EBP) and has long had a statewide focus on use of EBP in both prisons and community supervision. As such, members of the committee recognized the negative impact of re-incarceration that lacked concomitant programming geared to address the nature of the specific violations, and they were aware that such practices have been shown to increase the risk of recidivism. In fact, this concept was validated in a published study using data on more than 55,000 offenders released from a Minnesota prison between 2003 and 2011 (Clark & Duwe, 2016). Inmates in the release violator (RV) category served a total of 624,835 days of accountability time in 2005 for technical violations, with an average projected length of stay of 7.67 months. Given this startling statistic and our own research, achieving a reduction in the "warehousing" of release violators was set as another goal to be addressed.

Unlike other states, Minnesota has three correctional delivery systems providing for community supervision, with one providing misdemeanor and juvenile supervision and two providing supervision of felony level offenders. The DOC provides felony supervision in 53 counties, while felon supervision in the remaining 34 counties is provided through the Community Corrections Act (CCA) (MN Statute 401). This meant that any changes in policy and practice related to community supervision would require collaboration and agreement by agency directors, supervisors, and staff at both the state and county levels.

In reviewing the existing DOC revocation hearing guidelines, the committee found that 67 of the 81 special conditions (83%) called for a presumptive revocation and return to prison. Only 14 of the 81 conditions (17%) called for a presumptive restructure that allows the offender to remain in the community. The committee also recognized that the guidelines grid did not take into account the risk level of the offender and instead relied on the severity level of the violation to determine the sanction imposed. Minnesota DOC had recently developed and validated a risk assessment tool (MNSTARR) that was highly predictive in assessing risk for recidivism following release from prison. The committee made the decision to incorporate offender risk levels into the guidelines grid along with using the severity level of the violation as a starting point for improving the system.

This committee made two important decisions based upon a review of the current state of reincarceration related to technical violations, and these resulted in policy changes that took effect in July of 2016. First, accountability time was reduced across the board for technical violators returning to prison. Second, the committee revised the guidelines grid to move less serious technical violations from a presumptive revocation to a presumptive re-structure. As a result, approximately 59% (down from 83%) of the conditions called for a revocation and 41% of conditions were now eligible for a restructure to community interventions. The impact of these decisions was monitored

over the ensuing year. The initial results were a reduction in prison bed days for release violators by 20 days and a 22% increase in re-structures. Unfortunately, we also saw a rise in the number of revocations. By simply reducing accountability time, a number of offenders were essentially cycling through reimprisonment at a faster rate, thereby decreasing the chance that they would receive any programming during their re-incarceration. This also resulted in creating additional workload issues for the prison case managers and corrections agents who were tasked with developing meaningful release plans in a short period of time.
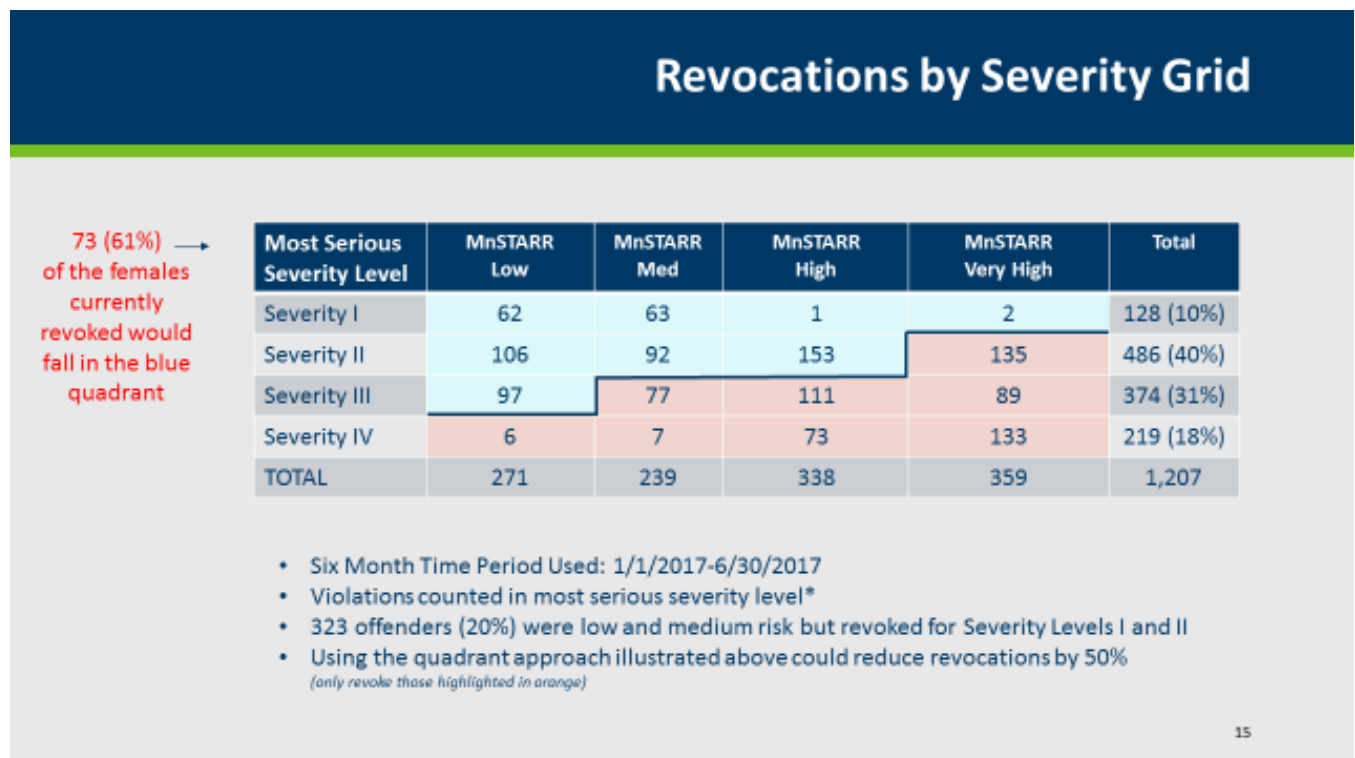
IMPLEMENTING CHANGES TO CONDITIONS OF SUPERVISION

Using the results from the first year, the National Parole Resource Center (NPRC) and Center for Effective Public Policy (CEPP) were enlisted to work with stakeholders to provide a review of what was happening at the national level in reference to setting conditions of release and responding to violations, with a request to also analyze Minnesota DOC policies and practices in these areas. Richard Stroker, a national expert with the NPRC/CEPP, made a presentation to key stakeholders as well as DOC directors and managers in November 2016 on strategies to further reduce conditions of release, to target conditions to specific behaviors presented by offenders, and to focus on what is most important to public safety and offender success. His presentation made several points. Specifically, applying dozens of release conditions may contribute to instability, as they become barriers that lead to failure. Conditions should be tailored to assist offenders in promoting positive changes to enhance stability and successful reentry, and it is important to target conditions to specific behaviors and only apply those that are really necessary. Conditions should be achievable and focused on promoting positive behavior change. Moreover, agents should be just as concerned with catching offenders doing something right as opposed to doing something wrong and remembering that every violation requires a response. While initial support was not necessarily unanimous, the message clearly resonated within the stakeholders and managers who attended.

The committee charged with the initial task reconvened for a second phase of this work with added stakeholders that included prison case managers, re-entry staff, hearing officers, transition managers, the DOC diversity director, and agency directors. Richard Stroker gave presentations on two more occasions to supervisors and managers of the stakeholder groups and provided technical assistance with committee work. Even with the initial revisions to the conditions of release and guidelines grid, Minnesota was still the national leader in the number of conditions of release—not the position we wanted to be in. Data from 2016 and the first six months of 2017 indicated that

the number of revocations was still increasing, albeit at a slower rate, although the average length of stay and total prison bed days were declining significantly as a result of the initial work. Further analysis also showed that, unfortunately, a significant number of low- to moderate-risk offenders were still returning as violators for low severity violations. Given these results, two new goals were set for the committee:

Revocations by Severity Grid

73 (61%) → of the females currently revoked would fall in the blue quadrant

Most Serious Severity Level	MnSTARR Low	MnSTARR Med	MnSTARR High	MnSTARR Very High	Total
Severity I	62	63	1	2	128 (10%)
Severity II	106	92	153	135	486 (40%)
Severity III	97	77	111	89	374 (31%)
Severity IV	6	7	73	133	219 (18%)
TOTAL	271	239	338	359	1,207

- Six Month Time Period Used: 1/1/2017-6/30/2017
- Violations counted in most serious severity level*
- 323 offenders (20%) were low and medium risk but revoked for Severity Levels I and II
- Using the quadrant approach illustrated above could reduce revocations by 50%
  (only revoke those highlighted in orange)

15

1. To revise and reduce the number of conditions of release with the goal to eliminate redundancies and stop the "blanketing" of conditions on certain offender types (sex offenders, drug offenders, violent offenders, etc.) so that only those conditions with a nexus to each offender's behavior would be applied upon release.

2. To focus on developing a method to reduce the number of low- to moderate-risk offenders returning to prison for low-level technical violations.

The stakeholder group began by taking another look at the standard and special conditions of release and started to work on consolidating, revising, and eliminating redundancies. The intent this time was not to just move the conditions around on the guidelines grid but to eliminate conditions that did little to address offender risk and needs. Standard conditions applied to all offenders were reduced from 13 to six

by consolidating and removing conditions that were not applicable to all offenders and single action conditions. Special conditions were reduced by approximately 50% and were only applied to offenders with a "justified nexus" due to prior behavior and criminal history (Minnesota DOC, 2016). Additionally, case managers and agents responsible for developing release plans with offenders were asked to provide justification and documentation for the addition of any special conditions as a part of the approved plan. The one area that resulted in the most discussion and concern was the removal of the standard condition: "Offender must refrain from the use or possession of intoxicants." This was moved to a special condition of release for offenders where a connection existed to justify applying the condition, such as those convicted for DWI or drug offenders with a current drug-related offense or a prior history of use. While many offenders could be viewed as fitting the profile to have this condition applied, it was the consensus of the group that this special condition would not be added unless specifically related to the offender's criminal history or current behavior.[1]

## LOW TO MODERATE RISK GUIDELINES

As noted earlier, Minnesota employs a guidelines grid in our decision matrix for violation hearings. The next area reassessed was the issue of low- to moderate-risk offenders returning for low-severity level I and II violations. Given the significant changes to the standard and special conditions of release and to the requirements for applying conditions, the group reassessed the conditions and re-plotted them on the guidelines grid as to severity level, using four severity levels ranging from I to IV (I being lowest and IV being the highest). This proved to be less controversial than originally thought. What resulted was essentially a bell curve, with the majority of violations falling within the II and III range and fewer falling into the level I or level IV range. As an example, commission of a non-person misdemeanor offense fell into the level I severity level, while a new felony level offense or possession of a dangerous weapon fell into the level IV severity on the grid.

Although the group quickly reached consensus on severity levels for violation behaviors, it was recognized that a process was still needed to inform agents and supervisors on the limitations for incarceration as a response to violation behavior. This resulted in the development and implementation of a prehearing worksheet to provide guidance to agents and supervisors. The worksheet assigns a point level to the severity of the violation and the assigned risk level of the offender. Offenders below the established threshold are not eligible for a hearing and must be restructured or redirected to community-based interventions. Those above the cut-off are continued to the hearing process, at which time either a restructure or revocation could be

[1] It should be noted that this condition could be added as part of a restructure if substance abuse was deemed to present a problem for a releasee while under supervision.

DOC Release Violator Admissions* Over Time
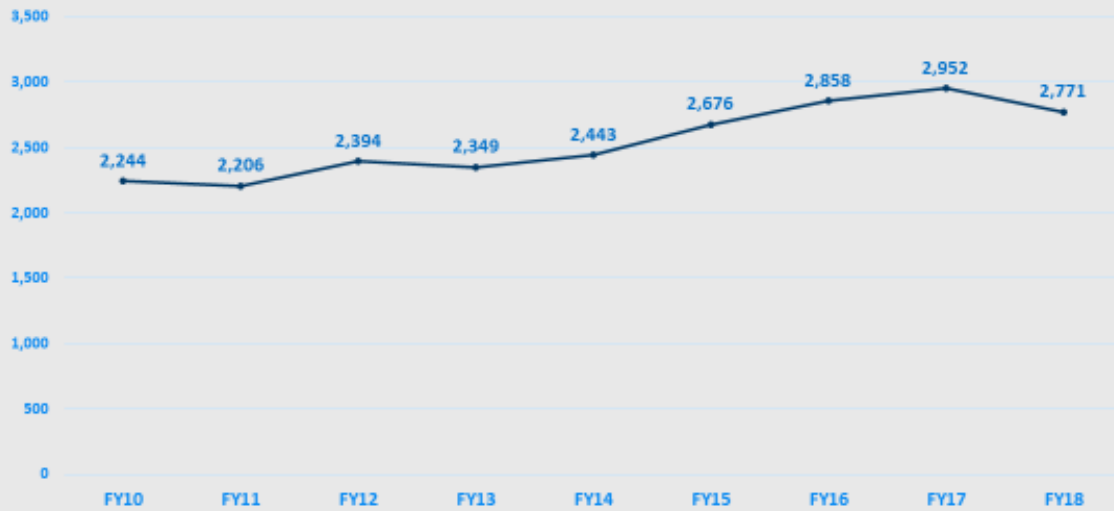
Source: DOC Offender Summary Reports
*Admissions totals will vary from Hearing Revocation numbers due primarily to the waiver process.

2

Prison Bed Day Reduction FY 15 – FY 18

Fiscal year	Number of RVs	Avg. Projected Length of Stay	Prison Days	< 150 Days	>=150 Days
FY15	2,676	7.67 Months	624,835	1,700	978
FY16	2,858	6.36 Months	552,941	2,017	814
FY17	2,952	5.56 Months	499,287	2,194	758
FY18	2,771	4.20 Months	354,162	2,192	579

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The actions taken seem to be having the desired effect. Release violator admissions just took a turn downward for the first time in eight years, and the number of prison bed days has decreased significantly since the initial implementation of changes in our guidelines grid.

determined by the hearing officer as suitable for addressing the violation in question. This is an area that will be subject to further adjustment as data is gathered on the use of the prehearing worksheets and the outcomes produced by their use. Again, the goal of the prehearing worksheet is to reduce the number of hearings and encourage the use and expansion of community interventions as a response to offender behavior or violations of technical conditions of supervision.

Revised conditions of release and the new requirements in release planning went into effect in July 2018. The Hearings and Release Unit reviews all release plans and provides a quality assurance check with condition setting. The use of prehearing worksheets went into effect in September 2018, and a random sampling audit approach will be used to determine compliance with this new strategy. Data is also being collected on the use of community interventions, and future adjustments will be based on results and will serve to inform policymakers on the need for additional resources and allocation of existing resources throughout the state.

The actions taken seem to be having the desired effect. Release violator admissions just took a turn downward for the first time in eight years, and the number of prison bed days has decreased significantly since the initial implementation of changes in our guidelines grid.

SUMMARY AND LESSONS LEARNED

Minnesota's work is far from over, as our changes will require ongoing analysis and revision based upon results shown by data. However, our efforts have taught us some basic lessons that would be useful to share, specifically:

- Changing culture around conditions of release, community supervision, and responses to offender behavior is a slow and deliberate process.

- Transition from a referee model to a coaching model of supervision requires buy-in throughout the system.

- Existing systems and processes create systemic barriers that need to be identified and removed.

- Stakeholder involvement and input is critical for buy-in.

- Ongoing collection and analysis of data and subsequent adjustments based on data are necessary for successful implementation and sustainment of change.

All of the above points are presumably not new to anyone who has been involved in implementing change within organizations and systems. It should be noted that one of the critical components for sustainability of such efforts is the need for additional resources for effective community interventions and ongoing training for staff and community providers. Policymakers need to recognize the opportunities being presented and to take steps to invest in community-based interventions that reduce recidivism and improve supervision outcomes. With continued focus on improving and enhancing community supervision options and strategies, the use and reliance on much more costly incarceration strategies should diminish while still promoting public safety.

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RETHINKING STAFF SELECTION IN COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS

BY BRANDON MATHEWS

Recruiting and selecting people to become community corrections professionals is of crucial importance, as the human capital that makes up the ranks of our agencies can make or break our initiatives. Ask veterans in the field of community corrections, however, and they will tell you that hiring has become a difficult and arduous task, that the pool of applicants isn't the same as even ten years ago, that the skill sets of newly graduated college students aren't aligned with community corrections goals, or that it is difficult to attract younger candidates to the field for the amount of money being offered. Are these perceptions accurate? Most of us would concur that improvements are needed in the college pipeline and that we must address the failure to teach certain important concepts and practices in criminal justice programs (see Mathews, 2015). However, are there really fewer good quality applicants out there, and is money really the issue? Or should we be focusing internally on the way in which we source and hire people into our organizations?

This article argues that the latter question is the one that merits our attention, as the case can certainly be made that hiring practices across the community corrections field are largely to blame for the challenges we face with staff selection. One factor is that across the corrections continuum there is a push to implement the most contemporary evidence-based practices (EBP) to facilitate behavior change in the offenders under our supervision. With increasingly more technical EBP comes the need for a different type of workforce—a workforce that has the capacity, aptitude, and especially the values necessary to be successful with their implementation and subsequent use. Hiring practices need to keep step with our changing needs.

Implementation Science has been invaluable in helping us understand how to implement and sustain EBP in community corrections. Consider that one of the four pillars of effective implementation (*People, Leadership, Data, and Culture)* is a People Pillar, and that, in turn, has the following subcomponents: (1) who we hire, (2) how we hire, (3) how we train our people, and (4) how we coach our people for continued success. If we want to attract and retain a generation of talent that can further our EBP implementation goals, our first step must be to focus on who we hire and how we hire. They are intertwined, and they are important, as are the ways to transform staff selection that are discussed in this article.

STAFF SELECTION AND THE HIRING PROCESS

Although there is much consternation about staff selection across the community corrections field, the way we locate, attract, and interview candidates has changed very little over the past several decades. One silver lining—or at least a source of perspective—is that private industry is facing similar challenges in staff selection, so we are not alone. Forbes, PBS, CIO.com, and LinkedIn, among others, have produced

articles and stories with titles that disparage hiring practices as broken, outdated, robotic, and even offensive (see Corcodilos, 2015; Florentine, 2018; Haden, 2014; Ryan, 2016; Ryan, 2017a; Ryan, 2018). Many of the challenges found in business and industry—such as being confused about what is truly desired in a candidate, writing unrepresentative job descriptions, making candidates jump through administrative hoops, and utilizing poor employment interview processes—are also challenges in community corrections. A response to some of these challenges can come about immediately, positively impacting the People Pillar, if community corrections leaders institute reforms in two areas: job descriptions and employment interviews.

JOB DESCRIPTIONS

Brannen (2016) asserts there are several functional purposes of job descriptions, including to communicate legitimate minimum qualifications and to communicate specific expectations and responsibilities of a job. Nonetheless, job descriptions continue to be one of the main culprits contributing to staff selection issues in community corrections. This is because they are often written in bureaucratic and "robotic" ways, resulting in boilerplate text that tends to be unrepresentative of the vision and purpose of contemporary community corrections agencies. Additionally, they tend to include exhaustive laundry lists of numerous attributes one must possess to be a qualified candidate yet still fail to focus on what truly matters: the attitudes, values, and beliefs that are aligned with EBP, rehabilitation, and the idea that people convicted of crimes can become successful community members. Indeed, community corrections job descriptions often include language, details, and job responsibilities that directly conflict with the mission of rehabilitation and behavior change.

For these reasons current job descriptions consistently fail to draw attractive applicants, which in turn contributes to perceptions that successful hiring is becoming more and more difficult. For instance, examine this small excerpt from a lengthy job description for a Probation Officer position that was posted online at the time this article was drafted:

QUALIFICATIONS & PREFERRED QUALIFICATIONS

Bachelor's Degree from an accredited college or university. Ability to communicate well orally and in writing. Ability to organize, oversee, and complete multiple projects simultaneously and with limited supervision. Ability to maintain confidences, exercise mature judgment, and work harmoniously with others. Dependable, with a commitment to regular attendance. Knowledge of court operations. Fluent in English-Spanish is preferred…Working knowledge of computer software such as WordPerfect and Windows are highly preferred.

Even in this excerpted segment one can identify 12 different attributes one must possess to be considered qualified for the position, and not one of them is related to important attributes such as attitudes, values, and beliefs regarding rehabilitation, behavior change, or the use of science over subjectivity to make decisions. This omission is very significant. If we are to be successful with our efforts in implementing and sustaining EBP over the long term, our employees must believe in behavior change and rehabilitation. Also demonstrative of our current challenges with job descriptions is the stated "preference" for a working knowledge of WordPerfect, a word processing program that hasn't been in widespread use since the 1990s.

Below is an excerpt from a different online posting for a Community Supervision Officer position at the time this article was drafted. This posting provides a full "description" of an officer's role:

RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THIS POSITION WILL INCLUDE:

Under supervision, supervises a full caseload of probation/parolees providing case planning and classification for purposes of tailoring supervision to an individual, conducts interviews with probation/parolees, family members, referral counselors and law enforcement personnel to determine compliance with probation/parole conditions. Investigates allegations of probation/parole violations including both technical and criminal elements. Requests and serve warrants as the situation dictates. Completes supervision reports.

- *Aids in making plans for helping offenders with life adjustments.*

- *Counsels probationers or parolees via office visits, employment visits, telephone inquiries, community contacts and correspondence.*

- *Informs offenders or inmates of requirements of conditional release, such as office visits, restitution payments, or educational and employment stipulations.*

- *Investigates activities of probationers or parolees to ascertain their level of readjustment to society.*

- *Investigates background histories of probationers or parolees; review court files, police reports and other pertinent reports to gather information.*

- *May testify in court concerning matters pertaining to clients such as sentencing, trials, pleas and violations of probation or parole conditions.*

- *Monitors and conducts surveillance of probationers or parolees.*

- *Provides offenders or inmates with assistance in matters concerning detainees, sentences in other jurisdictions, and writs.*

- *Writes reports detailing clients' progress and other reports/paperwork as necessary accurately completing them within established time frame.*

- *Performs arrests of probationers or parolees who have violated the terms of their release, in accordance with statutory requirements.*

A law enforcement tone permeates this job description, with references to making arrests, writing reports, conducting surveillance, testifying in court, and investigating activities of probationers and parolees. Nowhere is there a mention of the rehabilitative practices that are a large part of community corrections, such as skill training with offenders, using evidence-informed decision-making tools, or enhancing intrinsic motivation. It is certainly true that enforcement activities are facets of the job, but the manner in which they dominate the description is not helpful. It is no wonder candidates who apply for such positions are heavily oriented toward enforcement and surveillance rather than rehabilitation and EBP. Community corrections agencies can and must do better in drafting their job descriptions, as these are often the first exposure candidates have to specific positions and to the agency.

EMPLOYMENT INTERVIEWS

The employment interview is the most widely used tool in staff selection and is often identified as the most crucial. Its purpose is to provide a structured way to evaluate multiple applicants and identify the best (Adler, 2013; Levashina, Hartwell, Morgeson, & Campion, 2014). Similar to job descriptions, the fundamentals of the community corrections interview process have remained largely unchanged for several decades. Specifically, the use of outdated and ineffective structured behavioral interview questions continues to be the main approach taken by many agencies. This is not surprising, as human resource professionals have been beating the drum of structured behavioral interviews since the 1980s.

The structured behavioral interview typically consists of a set of questions intended to elicit responses from an applicant about past performance and decisions in various situations. Proponents take the position that past performance can be used to predict future performance (Taylor & Small, 2002), so asking candidates situational questions based upon what they have done in previous work-related scenarios should help identify how they would act if hired. There is some support for this viewpoint (Taylor & Small, 2002; McDaniel, Whetzel, Schmidt, & Maurer, 1994). However, much of the research is outdated and targets technical skills rather than attitudes, values, and beliefs about job

positions. Behavioral interview questions often begin with phrases such as, "Tell me about a time when…" or "Give me an example of a situation…" followed variably by asking how the candidate has handled a difficult person, how they've handled competing projects or work demands, how they've dealt with conflict among coworkers, how they've failed to meet a deadline, and even how they've dealt with a difficult boss. In addition, there are other non-behavioral questions that remain prevalent in community corrections, including "What is your greatest weakness?" "Where do you want to be in five years [or three years or however many years]?" and "Why do you think you are the best candidate for this position?"

At first glance questions like these seem reasonable; however, in the context of EBP they are woefully inadequate at identifying value alignment, and they can be downright insulting to high potential applicants. There are several specific problems with behavioral interview questions. First, they favor people who have more experience in the work world. This doesn't necessarily mean *applicable* experience, just experience, which can be flexed to provide answers. Candidates may lack a rich employment history yet still be talented, skilled, and— importantly—aligned with the vision and values of the agency. Such candidates will have little, if anything, to offer up in response to a "tell me about a time when…" question. Second, questions

like these favor smooth talkers—those who can think quickly on their feet and provide a socially desirable answer that perhaps is not authentic or even real altogether. In fact, by asking behavioral interview questions we are encouraging inauthenticity, because most job-seekers have developed canned responses to these oft-used questions.

A third problem is that these types of questions are general by design, so any authentic responses elicited will not likely relate to the specific position being considered. That means the predictive ability of the process is dangerously diminished. Yet another problem is that asking a behavioral interview question fails to address the individuality of each candidate. That is, their structure limits candidates' ability to discuss how their personal values and beliefs are aligned with that of the agency, EBP, rehabilitation, and the like. Finally, asking outdated, unoriginal, and boilerplate interview questions tells high potential candidates that your organization is outdated, unoriginal, and lacking in imagination. Top tier candidates don't want assembly-line interview processes. They seek out a rich conversation that addresses purpose, motivation, and vision. When this is absent, they will simply go elsewhere to be treated like individuals rather than widgets on an assembly line.

SOLUTIONS

Some immediate solutions can be implemented to improve both job descriptions and interview. Presented below are simple yet effective strategies that should be considered by community corrections leaders when thinking about their staff selection approach.

JOB DESCRIPTION LANGUAGE

To better communicate to prospective candidates the changing nature of community corrections, job descriptions should begin including more language that represents the true nature of practitioner roles and expectations for employees. At the same time, a concerted effort should be made to limit law-enforcement-related language. Not only does such language fail to accurately describe a job focusing on rehabilitation and EBP, but it also may turn off good candidates who don't want to seek a predominantly law enforcement-oriented position. By omitting or limiting such language, the applicant pool expands to include many more suitable candidates. Below is an example of how slight language adjustments make the qualifications and responsibilities more representative of much of the work being done in the field today:

QUALIFICATIONS

Bachelor's Degree from an accredited college or university in counseling, behavioral health, liberal arts, social work, psychology, sociology, criminology, social science or other related field. Strong desire to work with justice-involved individuals; strong belief in the utility of rehabilitative practices to change criminal behavior; Strong desire to use science and evidence when making decisions.

RESPONSIBILITIES

- *Uses risk and need assessment tools to identify and address probationer/parolee treatment needs and supervision requirements.*

- *Deploys cognitive behavioral strategies with probationers/parolees through skill training and role-play exercises to facilitate behavior change.*

- *Uses motivational interviewing techniques to enhance probationer/parolee intrinsic motivation.*

- *Manages a caseload of probationers/parolees, makes targeted referrals to services including employment; treatment; housing, etc., creates case plans to address needs and monitors progress.*

- *May make contact with probationers/parolees in the office or in the field as required.*

- *Other duties as assigned (e.g. monitoring court conditions; substance abuse testing, report writing, etc.)*

This qualification section better addresses the intrinsic attributes important to success with EBP and rehabilitation rather than focusing on basic attributes like ability to manage time and organizational skills, which should already be an expectation of any position in the contemporary job market. Similarly, the responsibilities section better addresses the EBP-related activities that are often left out. This drives a more realistic expectation of the changing role, allowing applicants to decide up front whether the job is truly for them.

EMPLOYMENT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Using a "Human Approach," as coined by Ryan (2017b), is a better way than behavioral interviewing to conduct candidate interviews. The so-called Human Approach is much more about having a conversation than it is about administering a test or oral exam, which is often the tenor of the behavioral interview process. This approach assumes that candidates have more to offer than canned responses and may even have ideas about how to solve agency challenges and how to contribute to the mission. Although the Human Approach deconstructs the structure of behavioral interviewing, it does still have a framework. That is, there are four steps that any supervisor or manager can follow without resorting to boilerplate, robotic, and outdated behavioral questions.

Step one involves building rapport through introductions and immediately asking candidates if they have questions about the position, the agency, or anything at all. This act turns the process into a two-way bridge of communication from the minute the interview starts, setting the stage for dialogue rather than just questions and responses.

Step two involves providing the candidate with an explanation of the agency and the job, placing special emphasis on the organization's purpose, vision, and mission. This is more than just reciting vision and mission statements, as it is designed to provide a deep understanding of what drives the organization at its core, why engaging in rehabilitation is important, how the organization contributes to shaping the future of the broader community, and how the specific position under consideration contributes to making all of this possible.

Step three asks the candidate to react to the information that was just presented and what values and beliefs they hold that are aligned with the organization's core purpose. It is here, in step three, where critical dialogue about values, attitudes and beliefs should

take place. Below are five suggested prompts that every interview for a community corrections position should include in step three of the Human Approach, as presented by Ryan (2017b):

1. What's the purpose of community corrections (or probation, parole, etc.)?

2. What are your thoughts about people who commit crimes changing their behavior?

3. Why do you want to work in community corrections? What do you hope to contribute through this type of work?

4. Should people who commit crimes be given a second chance? What about a third or fourth?

5. What are your thoughts on using punishment as a mechanism to change behavior?

Prompts such as these can help drill down into a candidate's beliefs about behavior change and rehabilitation more effectively than asking impersonal, scripted behavioral interview questions. The byproduct is the creation of a much more enjoyable candidate experience, which adds to the attractiveness of the agency.

Step four of the process acts as a wrap-up of the conversation. The interviewer will try to elicit any questions the candidate may have that have not been covered or discussed up to that point. Once there is no further conversation to be had, the interview is ended with both the candidate and the agency having a much more significant understanding of job-candidate and agency-candidate fit than can be achieved through the use of behavioral interviews.

CONCLUSION

Although community corrections agencies have their challenges with staff selection, hiring shouldn't be a dreaded task. In fact, bringing new people on board who share the same vision and values should be energizing and motivating. By making a few modifications to legacy approaches in reference to job descriptions and the employment interviews, community corrections agencies can position themselves to attract stronger candidates to their organizations. We cannot neglect staff selection, an important part of the People Pillar of effective EBP implementation, so it is critical that agencies across the continuum begin immediately to take an honest inventory of their hiring practices and assess whether they require modernization. By actively transforming the way we engage

prospective talent, we can help expand the candidate pool, enhance interest in the purpose of community corrections and ultimately, shape the people landscape in a positive direction for generations to come.

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appa research committee update

It's been an exciting year for the newly formed APPA Research and Review Committee, which was formed by merging the former APPA Research Committee and the APPA Issues, Positions, and Resolutions Committee. We have been growing our membership and are now represented by over 25 researchers and research "enthusiasts" across the nation. Our shared commitment is to encourage practitioners and organizations to stay current on the latest research trends in probation, parole, and pretrial services. We also support APPA in making data-driven decisions through technical assistance, peer review, and survey creation.

We will be sponsoring a workshop at the APPA Training Institute in San Francisco. Have you ever wondered what statistical significance really means? Or what makes a practice "evidence-based"? We will be offering ways to demystify the secret language of researchers and help you better understand and apply what's happening in the field.

As an APPA member, you may also be asked to participate in surveys developed in part by Research & Review Committee volunteers. We are helping APPA develop new surveys to better understand and quantify what is happening in our field. For example, we are partnering with the Women and Girls Committee to conduct a survey on the use of gender-responsive practices and policies. A developing partnership with the Diversity Committee is producing a survey to look at diversity training and workforce demographics.

Be assured that we will be carrying on with the functions of our two predecessor committees. In particular, we still consult on emerging issue papers, position papers, and association resolutions. Recently, we provided peer review for issue papers authored by the Technology Committee on topics ranging from the use of naloxone to social media.

There are plenty of ideas for new projects and ways that we can expand our mission. If you value research and enjoy data, please consider joining us by visiting our website: **APPA Research & Review Committee**

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