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Federal PROBATION

*a journal of correctional
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Development and Implementation of a Case Review Conference Model for Juveniles:
A Structured Approach to Learning from Unsuccessful Probationers

By Paula Smith, Ryan M. Labrecque, W. E. Smith, Edward J. Latessa

When a Person Isn't a Data Point: Making Evidence-Based Practice Work

By Christopher T. Lowenkamp, Alexander M. Holsinger, Charles R. Robinson, Francis T. Cullen

Collaboration in Juvenile Justice: A Multi-Agency Study

By N. Prabha Unnithan, Janis Johnston

Offender Workforce Development Specialists and Their Impact on the Post-Release Outcomes
of Ex-Offenders

By Eric Lichtenberger

Reentry Initiatives: A Study of the Federal Workforce Development Program

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Inmates Who Receive Visits in Prison: Exploring Factors that Predict

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Juvenile Focus

By Alvin W. Cohn

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THIS ISSUE IN BRIEF

Development and Implementation of a Case Review Conference Model for Juveniles: A Structured Approach to Learning from Unsuccessful Probationers

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The medical field routinely uses mortality and morbidity reviews (MMRs) to enhance medical education and improve patient care through the critical examination of case studies. The University of Cincinnati Corrections Institute modeled the structure and content of the Case Review Conference (CRC) from the MMR medical model to provide corrections professionals with an opportunity to identify individual service changes as well as system-based issues in a community-based setting. The authors describe the CRC process in detail, summarize the results from a pilot project, and provide recommendations for future applications.

Paula Smith, Ryan M. Labrecque, W. E. Smith, Edward J. Latessa

When a Person Isn't a Data Point: Making Evidence-Based Practice Work

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While the field of corrections has increased the quality of programming and services over the years, the authors argue that the Evidence-Based Practices (EBP) movement in the field of corrections is widespread but still shallow. In an effort to illustrate how the field has thus far missed the essence of EBP in corrections, the authors present the history of EBP in the medical field, their observations of EBP in the correctional system, and recommendations to effectively implement EBP and achieve the maximum results of this paradigm.

Christopher T. Lowenkamp, Alexander M. Holsinger, Charles R. Robinson, Francis T. Cullen

Collaboration in Juvenile Justice: A Multi-Agency Study

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The authors assessed collaboration as part of an evaluation of a county-based multi-agency juvenile program. They found that while designated outcomes were achieved, collaboration was minimal, with disagreements about funding and based on the ideological orientations of participating agencies. Among obstacles to collaboration were communication problems, swings in attendance and representation, variable data gathering, and the unknown effectiveness of contracted programs and services.

N. Prabha Unnithan, Janis Johnston

Offender Workforce Development Specialists and Their Impact on the Post-Release Outcomes of Ex-Offenders

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Inmates Who Receive Visits in Prison: Exploring Factors that Predict

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The articles and reviews that appear in *Federal Probation* express the points of view of the persons who wrote them and not necessarily the points of view of the agencies and organizations with which these persons are affiliated. Moreover, *Federal Probation's* publication of the articles and reviews is not to be taken as an endorsement of the material by the editors, the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, or the Federal Probation and Pretrial Services System.

Development and Implementation of a Case Review Conference Model for Juveniles: A Structured Approach to Learning from Unsuccessful Probationers

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IN THE FIELD OF MEDICINE, mortality and morbidity reviews (MMRs) are routinely used to enhance medical education and improve patient care through the critical examination of case studies that have experienced an adverse outcome (Aboutamar, Blackledge, Dickson, Heitmiller, Freischlag, & Pronovost, 2007; Travaglia & Debono, 2009). The MMR as a form of peer review has existed in the literature for more than 50 years, and is now widespread among internal medicine, psychiatric, surgical, and pediatric training programs (Deis, Smith, Warren, Throop, Hickson, Joers, & Deshpande, 2008; Nolan, Burkard, Clark, Davidson, & Agan, 2010). In fact, the Accreditation Council for Graduate Medical Education currently mandates MMRs (Deis et al., 2008).

In essence, the MMR conference is a traditional forum that provides clinicians with an opportunity to discuss medical error and adverse events (Deis et al., 2008). Furthermore, previous research on the effectiveness of these reviews has documented benefits related to the identification and engagement of clinicians in system improvements, reductions in patient deaths, increases in accountability and communication, decreases in the costs of patient care and medication, and the creation of a safe forum for the discussion of errors by

removing fear of recrimination (Antonacci, Lam, Lavarias, Homel, & Eavey, 2009; Bechtold, Scott, Dellsperger, Hall, Nelson, & Cox, 2008; Guevart, Noeske, Mouangue, Ekambi, Solle, & Fouda, 2006; Nolan et al., 2010; King & Roberts, 2001; Liu, 2008; Kim, Fetters & Gorenflo, 2006). Denneboom, Dautzenberg, Grol, and De Smet (2008) also found evidence that participants of MMRs experienced an “educational spillover effect,” where lessons learned from discussing clients in MMRs were applied to other clients in different settings. Interestingly, this practice has not been used extensively in the fields of juvenile justice and corrections despite its obvious application to case management with offender populations.

Nolan et al. (2010) underscored the importance of a structured, organized approach in order to maximize the utility of MMRs. It is perhaps also important to note that Travaglia and Debono (2009) recently reviewed the literature on MMRs and concluded that the format of case reviews varies considerably and the goals of the process are often not clearly defined. Taking these lessons learned from the field of medicine, this pilot project was initially conceptualized as an attempt to articulate a theoretical framework for the Case Review Conference (CRC) process in corrections, identify goals, and create a standard format to structure reviews.

Theoretical Framework

It is evident from the medical literature that case review conferences tend to be the most useful when implemented in a manner consistent with the theoretical framework described in what follows (see Travaglia & Debono, 2009; Deis et al., 2008; Fussell, Farrar, Blaszkak, & Sisterhen, 2009). First, the primary focus of the meetings should be on improving services for offenders and their families. To this end, case reviews should take place in a safe and supportive environment in order to minimize the fear of recrimination and facilitate an open and honest discussion of relevant issues. The CRC process is separate from an investigation in response to a critical incident; in contrast, it represents an effort by the agency to become a learning organization through the systematic examination of its failures on an ongoing basis. The focus is more on the broader, system-level processes and deficiencies, rather than individual-level mistakes. Second, senior staff members should ensure peer input and engagement through support and leadership.

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The involvement of senior staff members is critical, because it encourages the process to be viewed collaboratively within the organization. Third, a structured format should be established for reviewing cases to ensure that the process is more systematic, interactive, and comprehensive. Furthermore, a detailed protocol should be established for feedback and follow-up. Finally, plans should be made to investigate the identified system-wide issues that contribute to adverse outcomes. These plans are opportunities for improvement, which should be linked to the evidence-based literature whenever possible. The CRC process was specifically designed to ensure adherence to this theoretical framework.

Goals and Objectives

In general, the CRC process can be described as a “decision support system” to promote critical thinking and better decision-making (Nolan et al., 2010). Specifically, the CRC process was intended to accomplish four main objectives (see Orlander, Barber, & Fincke, 2002, for a detailed discussion as it relates to the field of medicine): (1) to facilitate the identification of the key factors that resulted in the adverse outcome for the youth²; (2) to create an opportunity for the attendees to engage in an open discussion of the case to acknowledge and address reasons for possible errors; (3) to allow conference participants to use their individual and collective experiences to identify and disseminate information and insights about case management; and (4) to reinforce individual and system-level accountability for providing high-quality interventions to youth and their families.

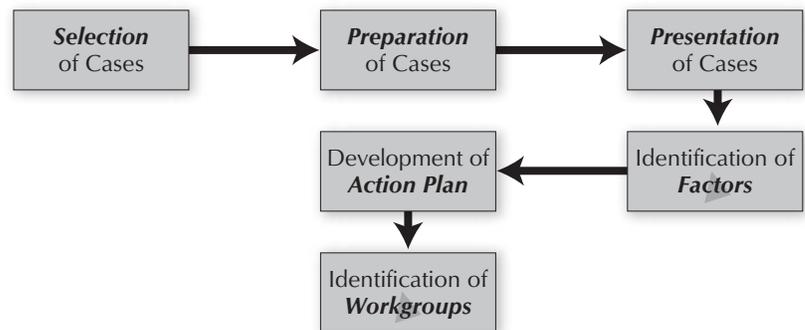
Overview of the Conference Process

Given the theoretical framework and objectives established in the previous two sections of this report, the CRC process was designed to include six basic steps (see Figure 1).

The first step involves the *selection of cases*. Any member of the team can submit a case to the CRC Coordinator for consideration. The most appropriate nominations are cases that have educational value, have experienced a preventable outcome, and can provide insight into individual practice changes and/or system-based issues to improve the quality of supervision and service. After reviewing all of the referred cases, the CRC Coordinator

FIGURE 1.

Overview of the Case Review Conference



consults with the appropriate probation officers and/or supervisors if further information is needed. The CRC Coordinator is then responsible for approving and scheduling the case for review.

The second step of the CRC process involves the *preparation of cases*. Ideally, the probation officer and/or supervisor should be responsible for case preparation, given their extensive and intimate knowledge of the youth and his or her family. At a minimum, this should include a review of the client file and solicitation of input from other providers if applicable. The CRC Coordinator then alerts the team of the case to be reviewed and distributes a synopsis of the available background information.

The third step involves the *presentation of cases*. Ideally, the probation officer and/or supervisor present the case in a timeline format. Attendees can ask questions to clarify points of interest. The fourth step involves the *identification of factors related to outcome*. During this phase of the process, conference participants engage in an open discussion under the guidance of an outside facilitator representative in order to identify contributing factors. The fifth step involves the *development of an action plan*. This should include the consideration of practical solutions to individual-level or system-based issues. The final step involves the *assignment of work groups* in order to implement and provide oversight of the action plan. The workgroups should then report back to the group on progress at subsequent meetings.

Method

This section describes the conference participants and their respective roles in reviewing cases, as well as the specific process and

methodology used during the pilot project. Finally, we present a discussion of the data collected on cases.

Conference Participants

The juvenile court system selected for this pilot study was located in a Midwestern state. The court system had jurisdiction over a variety of juvenile-related matters, including under-age delinquents charged with crimes, allegations of abuse and neglect, and certain custody, visitation, and child support matters. The system comprises four components: (1) the judges' office, which hosted the clerk's office, probation and administrative offices, and the majority of court hearings; (2) a secure placement facility for youth awaiting adjudication or transfer to other facilities; (3) a residential treatment facility for adjudicated youth; and (4) a work detail to supervise youth performing court-ordered community service.

It is important to include members with different levels of decision-making capabilities in the CRC meetings. This may vary by jurisdiction or setting. The conference participants in this pilot study routinely included the court administrator, executive director of court services, chief magistrate,³ superintendent of the secure placement facility, chief probation officer, director of special services and placement, deputy chief probation officer, as well as several probation supervisors. All participants were invited to attend the bi-monthly case review conference meetings. The chief probation officer agreed to serve as the CRC coordinator for this pilot project. The CRC coordinator was primarily responsible for providing oversight and coordinating the logistics for the team. He also selected and

² Although our development of the CRC was used for juvenile probationers, we believe that this process is applicable to adult offenders as well.

³ The chief magistrate serves as a judicial officer appointed by the judge.

scheduled all of the cases for review and disseminated relevant client information prior to each meeting.

At least one representative from the University of Cincinnati Corrections Institute (UCCI) also participated in each of the CRC meetings as the outside facilitator. This individual was responsible for engaging attendees in a discussion of the case as well as summarizing the main points at the end of the meeting. The outside facilitator was also responsible for ensuring that the discussion related only to facts of the case and not personal issues.

Case Selection

Eligible cases included juvenile offenders who had been under the jurisdiction of the probation department and had experienced an adverse outcome. The operational definition of *adverse outcome* included any of the following: commitment to the Department of Youth Services, transfer to Adult Court, recidivism (e.g., technical violation, re-arrest, etc.), placement out of the home, or some other critical incident (e.g., AWOL, psychiatric hospitalization). Although any member of the team could recommend specific cases for the CRC, the youth included in the pilot project were all selected by the CRC coordinator.

Case Preparation

Prior to each scheduled meeting, background information was distributed to other team members. This information included the Youth Information Sheet (which contained demographic information as well as details regarding criminal history), any available risk/need assessments (such as the Ohio Youth Assessment System (OYAS) assessment, substance abuse assessments, etc.), case plans (including both the probation supervision plan and facility treatment plan), as well as any other relevant documents (such as psychological evaluations and discharge summaries). The CRC coordinator also completed the Case Review Form developed for this project (see Appendix). In essence, this form served to create a timeline for the case and highlighted important points from the client's history and case plan.

Case Presentation

The first CRC was held on January 24, 2011 and the pilot included a total of 10 cases. The CRC coordinator presented the Case Review Form and briefly elaborated on pertinent details. Conference participants then posed questions relevant to the case for clarification.

In what follows, the CRC process is described in detail, results from the pilot project are summarized, and recommendations for future applications of the model are provided.

Identification of Factors Related to Adverse Outcome

Attendees considered several possible factors related to adverse outcomes. The identification of the specific factors relevant for a particular case can serve as a process improvement tool for facilitating the identification of future failing points for other offenders. The Case Review Form organizes these factors into six broad categories: (1) the development of the case plan (e.g., incomplete or inaccurate assessments, missing clinical information, disconnection between assessment results and target behaviors); (2) communication (e.g., problems with sharing information between professionals or when transferring cases); (3) coordination of care (e.g., gaps in sending or receiving information from other service providers); (4) volume of activity/workload (e.g., perceptions of workload problems, increased demands on time); (5) escalation of care; and (6) recognition of change in risk or need factors. During the CRC all participants have the opportunity to identify system-based issues and recommend alternative solutions. When issues are identified as potentially problematic, the CRC coordinator can select the key contributing factors to be addressed.

Development of Action Plans and the Assignment of Work Groups

The fifth and sixth steps of the CRC process, the development of an action plan and identification of work groups, were not addressed as part of this pilot project. Essentially, however, these two steps would require the CRC team to (a) consider and develop a practical solution for each identified issue and (b) assign the appropriate work group members to implement and provide oversight of the action plan. It would also be the responsibility of the work group members to report back to the CRC group on any progress that has been made at subsequent meetings.

Results

Attendance

A total of 19 participants attended 10 conferences during the six-month period. The average number of participants per session was 12 and included both juvenile justice officials and UCCI representatives.

Sample Demographics

A total of 10 cases experiencing adverse outcomes were presented in the CRC series between January 24, 2011, and June 6, 2011. Basic demographic information for cases included in the CRC series indicated that 9 of the juveniles were males, the average age was 16.6, and education ranged from 8th to 10th grade. The specific adverse events triggering case selection are listed in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Adverse Events Triggering Case Selection

Adverse Event	N
DYS Commitment	5
Transfer to Adult Court	5

Factors Related to Adverse Outcomes

In each of the CRC meetings, attendees identified the leading contributors to adverse outcomes. These factors were categorized and tabulated by the outside facilitator following each review, and the results are summarized in Table 2. Problems associated with the development of case plans were the most common contributing factor, cited in 7 out of 10 of the cases reviewed.

TABLE 2
Factors Contributing to Adverse Outcome

Factor	N
Development of Case Plan	7
Communication	4
Coordination of Care	5
Volume of Activity/Workload	0
Escalation of Care	2
Recognition of Change in Risk and/or Need Factors	3

Development of Case Plan

Several shortcomings were noted in the development of case plans. In approximately four of the cases, the narrative of the client file did not appear to match the scoring of specific items on composite risk assessment. This raised some concerns about the accuracy of the results and the possible need for additional quality assurance measures. Second, the attendees noted a disconnection between the assessment results and the domains as identified on the case plan in at least three of the cases reviewed. Third, many of the case plans did not appear to be individualized and/or did

not contain appropriate, specific target behaviors. Finally, the available treatment options for certain criminogenic need areas appeared to be very limited and resulted in some questionable (or at least not ideal) referrals for services. For example, a drug dealer with no documented substance use problem was referred to a traditional substance abuse treatment program. It is conceivable that this type of intervention may not address the underlying causes related to drug dealing specifically (i.e., antisocial attitudes and values).

Communication

In at least four cases, communication problems were noted when offenders were transferred to another facility or service provider. In these situations, offenders were transferred with incomplete assessment or clinical information that would have been helpful to the receiving agency.

Coordination of Care

Although it is clear that the youth included in the CRC series received a considerable number of services, progress on treatment targets was not systematically shared with the probation officer and integrated into the case plan. These breakdowns in communication led to inaccurate offender assessments, and therefore less informed supervision and case management decisions.

Volume of Activity and/or Caseload

It did not appear that the volume of activity and/or caseload presented a significant problem for the cases reviewed in this pilot project. It should be noted, however, that probation officers were not included in this initial CRC series, and as a result their viewpoint is not represented in this report.

Escalation of Care

In two cases, it appeared that clients were not referred to more intensive services when their current situation warranted because the probation officer did not have the authority to mandate youth and/or their families to participate in treatment.

Recognition of Change in Risk and/or Need Factors

In three cases, youth were successfully terminated from probation when it appeared that some criminogenic need areas were not sufficiently addressed (despite the fact that the youth had passed drug tests). In two of these cases, the adverse outcome occurred shortly after the case had been closed. This

underscores the need for more individualized case plans with meaningful target behaviors and measures to assess client progress.

Impact of the Conference

The purpose of the CRC process is to systematically review failures and draw from this review lessons that can help guide agencies to make changes to improve the delivery of their services. As previously noted, this pilot project represents an ongoing commitment to improve services for juveniles and their families in this jurisdiction. The CRC process used here was useful in identifying at least three important system-based issues that should be addressed in the near future.

First, it was discovered that the jurisdiction did not have an intervention for high-risk youth to target antisocial attitudes and values. Rather, most youth were referred to a theft prevention educational workshop for this purpose. This intervention is not based on an evidence-based approach such as the cognitive-behavioral model and does not offer a sufficient dosage to be effective with a high-risk population. In order to expand the services available to youth, this jurisdiction should consider methods to secure resources for a treatment program that addresses antisocial attitudes and values.

Second, participants consistently reported that the agency experienced difficulties with client motivation. Since the court does not necessarily mandate certain services, the probation officers have limited ability to engage families who are unwilling to participate in services with youth. Unfortunately, this creates some difficulties in establishing and enforcing eligibility criteria for certain services. This agency should explore the use of mandatory treatment with youth identified as at high risk of not following through with service recommendations.

Finally, it was discovered that offender case plans were dishearteningly similar to one another. As a whole, the plans examined did not utilize the unique information found within the risk/needs assessments. Thus, treatment recommendations and supervision strategies were not individualized, but were simply standard. Moving forward, it will be important for this agency to provide its probation officers with some additional training on how to use risk/needs assessment information in the case planning process.

Participants of the CRC process also found it helpful. It was reported on satisfaction surveys that a benefit of the CRC

meetings was increased communication with referral agencies.

Recommendations for Future Applications

The final section offers three recommendations for future CRC meetings in correctional settings and provides some implications for the process in general. First, this pilot project did not include the final two steps of the CRC process (i.e., development of an action plan and assignment of work groups). These are arguably the most important two components of the process. While it was prudent to use the pilot in order to establish the roles and responsibilities of participants, it will be important for departments to move beyond the identification of issues and work to develop and implement solutions to individual service and system-based problems.

Second, the probation supervisors were primarily responsible for the presentation of cases in the CRC meetings. It is important for probation officers to be included in the process in the future to encourage the "educational spillover effect" described by Denneboom et al. (2008).

Finally, the CRC process provides a vehicle for conducting objective, structured sessions to review and discuss cases. This structure is important since it offers a framework for systematically examining all components of case management, including the initial assessment, supervision activities, referrals and treatment, response to violations, and other case-related activities. By adding the outside facilitator, the CRC increases expertise and unbiased views about the cases to be introduced. The structure also ensures that all participants remain focused and directed toward the case under review.

Failures occur daily in corrections. The question is: "How do we learn from these failures so that we can improve our practices in the future?" The CRC process provides a clear structure to review and learn from cases. Although the pilot involved only juvenile offenders in a probation setting, the CRC model has the potential for a much wider application, such as in other correctional settings with both adults and juveniles. The costs associated with adopting the CRC model are also minimal. The model only requires participants' time. However, in exchange the CRCs hold the potential to be very valuable to the field of corrections.

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Appendix

CASE REVIEW FORM

Date of Case Review: ____/____/____	Presented By:	
Name of Youth:	DOB: ____/____/____	ID:
Probation Officer:	Supervisor:	
Type of Adverse Event: <input type="checkbox"/> DYS commitment <input type="checkbox"/> Transfer to adult court <input type="checkbox"/> Recidivism (re-arrest, technical violation, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Placement out of home <input type="checkbox"/> Other critical incident (please describe)	Date of Adverse Event: ____/____/____	

Instructions:

In order to prepare your case for presentation, please answer the following questions:

1. Please provide a brief description of the current offense. Consider official documents (e.g., police reports, pre-sentence reports, other court documents), victim statements, and self-report information.

2. Please provide a brief description of past criminal history (e.g., official complaints, institutional intakes/incidents, etc.).

3. Please provide a brief summary of strengths and/or concerns in each of the following criminogenic need areas. In addition, please append a copy of the most recent OYAS assessment (and/or other measures of risk and need factors, if applicable) that includes the quantitative scores for each item, domain and overall.

Family _____

Education/Employment _____

Peers/Social Support _____

Prosocial Skills _____

Substance Abuse/Personality/Mental Health _____

Attitudes, Values and Beliefs _____

Total Score: _____ Date: ____/____/____

- 4. Please provide a summary of the case management plan (including referrals, participation in other services, etc.).

- 5. Please provide a brief description of the events leading to the adverse outcome.

Note: Please prepare a timeline for your presentation that includes the significant events described in the previous five questions.

- 6. Please describe the factors contributing to the adverse outcome in each of the following areas:

Development of Case Plan _____

Communication _____

Coordination of Care _____

Volume of Activity and/or Caseload _____

Escalation of Care _____

Recognition of Change in Risk and/or Need Factors _____

7. In your opinion, was the adverse event preventable? If yes, please explain what might have been done to change the outcome.

8. Is there clinical evidence to support individual practice change that might have altered the outcome of this case? If yes, please explain.

9. Are there any system-based changes that might prevent future similar outcomes? If yes, please describe.

10. List three learning points from this case.

1.

2.

3.

When a Person Isn't a Data Point: Making Evidence-Based Practice Work¹

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School of Criminal Justice

Some years ago my wife and I decided to become foster parents. We have had a number of children placed with us for short periods of time until permanent placement can be established. Most recently, we were asked to take a young girl whose entire family was enmeshed in the methamphetamine drug culture. We got to know this little girl fairly well fairly quickly. We learned about her upbringing, her family, and her life story. In spite of having a Ph.D. in criminal justice and having been a practitioner in the field for a number of years, hearing her story taught me quite a bit about the etiology and persistence of delinquency.

As I one day relayed this story to a friend he said, "...when people aren't data points their stories take on whole new meanings..." Being a realist can be painful. Doing what I do for a living gives me an educated guess what might happen to our little friend. I can also predict our criminal justice system response: "...to help you, we will send you to a cognitive-behavioral program and substance abuse treatment." Knowing what I have now seen firsthand and what I

know about the field of corrections, I am led to the conclusion that our cookbook approach to corrections is only half right. More importantly, and disturbing, is the fact that the half that is wrong, is deeply and fatally wrong. When a person is not a data point, her story means something remarkably different and can help us understand things on a level we have not yet before. Evidence-based practice in any field calls for seeing the data point and the person. In this article, we argue that evidence-based practice in the field of corrections recognizes the data points but has been missing the person.

IN 1974, ROBERT MARTINSON published his now-classic essay in which he asked whether "nothing works" in offender treatment. The evidence he amassed gave what appeared to be a clear answer to this question: existing programs were largely ineffective. Other scholars, most notably Ted Palmer (1975), demonstrated that this conclusion was overstated and misled policymakers who were anxious to get tough on crime. Over the ensuing years, the "nothing works" doctrine did much to undermine efforts to create offender change. Still, in the long run, Martinson did corrections a service by arguing that

rehabilitative interventions cannot be based only on good intentions; they also must be shown to work. Although he did not actually use the phrase, Martinson was suggesting that correctional interventions should be "evidence-based."

In response to Martinson, a number of scholars took up the challenge to demonstrate that offender treatment efforts could be effective. A key element of this movement was a more complete embrace of the idea that empirical data should guide the correctional enterprise as opposed to common sense, political rhetoric, or "feel good/pop culture." Fortunately, it is now clear that the age of evidence-based decision-making has arrived. Again, this approach, known as evidence-based practice (EBP), had its roots in the works of those defending offender rehabilitation from the nothing works doctrine, including Palmer (1965, 1973, 1975, 1991, 1994, 1995), Gendreau (1996), Gendreau & Ross (1979, 1987), Andrews & Kiessling (1980), Andrews et al. (1990a, 1990b), and others (see, e.g., MacKenzie, 2001, 2006). This concept has grown in popularity not only in the field of corrections but within other service professions as well.

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While we agree that the field of corrections has increased the quality of programming and services over the years (i.e., listening to the data points), we argue that the EBP movement in the field of corrections is widespread but exceedingly shallow (failing to see the person). This is problematic for two related reasons. First, on a practical level, any time an innovation is widespread but the implementation is shallow, it resembles a tree with widespread shallow roots, likely to topple over. Second, without driving this concept deep into the practices of front-line staff, we can never hope to achieve the results that make the work involved in implementing EBP worthwhile. In an effort to illustrate how we have missed the essence of EBP in corrections, we present the history of EBP in the medical field, our observations of EBP in the correctional system, and what must be done to effectively implement EBP and achieve the maximum results of this paradigm.²

Evidence-Based Practice: What Is It and Where Did It Come From?

The idea of evidence-based practice originated in the medical field. In the early 1800s, physicians in Europe began investigating how science—namely, research—could be used to better understand the outcomes of medical treatments. Many modern writers on EBP in the medical field recognized these early attempts as the beginning of this movement, while EBP as a concept in medicine didn't really materialize until the twentieth century (Goodman, 2002).

The last 30 years in the medical field have yielded considerable development in the area of EBP. There are a number of excellent definitions of EBP in medicine. See for example that which was offered by Sackett et al. (1996):

Evidence-based medicine is the conscientious, explicit, and judicious use of current

best evidence in making decisions about the care of individual patients. The practice of evidence-based medicine means integrating individual clinical expertise with the best available external clinical evidence from systematic research. By individual clinical expertise we mean the proficiency and judgment that individual clinicians acquire through clinical experience and clinical practice.

And Gray's (1997) definition:

Evidence-based practice is an approach to decision making in which the clinician uses the best evidence available, in consultation with the patient, to decide upon the option which suits the patient best.

Note that both definitions, and likely any other definition one might find, emphasize a few concepts. Specifically, in the medical field, the use of evidence-based practice involves the intentional use of evidence, decision-making, and focus on the patient. EBP in medicine relies on evidence but posits that evidence alone is not sufficient to make decisions. EBP in medicine also relies on a hierarchy based on the strength of evidence, and interestingly enough the highest form of evidence is an N of 1 randomized controlled trial (Guyatt, Jaeschke, and McGinn, 2002). Why might this be? Among other things this allows for a very individualized approach to treating a particular health problem for a particular patient.

Consider the health problem of increased cholesterol levels and its relation to heart attack. If an individual goes to the doctor and finds out that he (or she) has high cholesterol, the doctor will suggest a treatment (e.g., change diet and begin exercising) based on a number of inputs, such as the presence of other risk factors for heart attack, family history, current lifestyle, and the patient's willingness to make changes in the areas of diet and exercise (Cleveland Clinic, 2012). The doctor will then have the patient return in several months to see if the prescribed treatment is working (Guyatt, Rennie, Meade, and Cook, 2008). If the first attempt at intervention does not appear to be working, the doctor will assign another treatment (maybe proceeding from diet and exercise, which is not working, to taking a statin). Both of these treatment trajectories are based on evidence; as such, they each make good potential choices at the outset, *depending on other risk factors and the magnitude of the problem* (see Smith et al., 2006, Pearson et al., 2002). Even so, neither one might work for any given individual. The

doctor only knows that one treatment works when he or she actually has proof that blood cholesterol levels are going down. Please note that lowering the cholesterol level is really an *intermediate* target. The goal of reducing cholesterol is to cut the risk of heart and other vascular diseases (a longer-range target).

Our main point in this brief foray into medical history and treatment is this: In the medical field, evidence has shaped policy *and* individual practice. Doctors use evidence from studies of groups to develop a treatment, but they also use *patient-level evidence* to determine if a particular treatment is working for that patient. "What works" is a statement in terms of policy and general practice, but it becomes a question when it comes to applying practice to any given individual. It is this aspect of EBP—margining evidence-based practice with individual-level information—that we believe is largely missing from corrections.

Getting the Data Point but Missing the Person: Evidence- Based Practice in Corrections

The focus on adopting evidence-based practices has led to a number of positive strides in community corrections. The use of empirical data in the classification of clients is now a widely accepted practice. Supervision and services target the drivers of criminal behavior and are delivered in a mode supported by empirical research. Likewise, policies and practitioner publications are infused with the findings of quantitative and qualitative studies of community corrections programs. While we believe the adoption of evidence-based practices has been shallow, we don't ignore the advancements made with the proliferation of evidence-based policy and treatments in community corrections. The following paragraphs provide a brief summary of research and publications that support our optimism in this regard.

Calculating the likelihood of future criminal behavior has become the foundation of client supervision and an indicator of the adoption of evidence-based practices (Rhodes, 2010). The empirical science of risk assessment has allowed agencies to shift resources from low-risk offenders with low rates of recidivism to those with a higher probability of committing criminal acts (Andrews and Dowden, 2006). Adhering to the research has allowed agencies to avoid exposing low-risk offenders to factors that may increase client risk. In addition to shifting the focus to those

² Maruna and Barber (2011) have written a book chapter titled "Why can't criminology be more like medical research?: Be careful what you wish for." In this book chapter, they argue that the pool of research in the medical field has been tainted by the motives of those conducting the research, that there is an over-reliance on RCTs, and that research isn't always used properly. We acknowledge these issues and the fact that they might be present, to some degree, in corrections too. We nonetheless recommend that the field of corrections adopt the same *theoretical* model that has driven EBP in medicine. We should use evidence to guide the development of policy and an initial treatment plan after assessment, and we should seek offender-level evidence that assures us that the initial treatment plan is producing the expected effects.

most at risk, evidence-based practice has shifted the focus of supervision and services to the factors that are most likely to impact a client's involvement in criminal behavior. Instead of focusing on noncriminogenic factors, agencies are targeting antisocial thought patterns, peer associations, and other dynamic risk factors using approaches research has shown generally reduce the likelihood of future criminal behavior. Increased adherence to a model supported by evidence indicates the changes brought about by the adoption of evidence-based practices (Pew 2011a, 2011b, 2011c; for a review, see Andrews & Bonta, 2006; Andrews, Bonta, and Wormith 2006; Andrews & Dowden, 2005 & 2006).

Across the country, more informed policy makers and community corrections leaders are using evidence to formulate policies aimed at reducing recidivism (see for example Or. Rev. Stat. § 182.525 (West), 2003; Ark. Code § 16-93-104 (West), Public Safety Improvement Act 2011; S. C. Code Ann. § 24-21-10 (West); Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 532.007 (West), Kentucky's Public Safety and Offender Accountability Act, 2011; 730 Ill. Comp. Stat. Ann. § 190/10 (West), Illinois' Crime Reduction Act, 2010; and Tex. Bus. & Com. Code Ann. § 501.092 (Vernon), 2009). In addition to changes in policies and day-to-day practice, practitioners are now working closely with researchers to measure and document the impact of newly adopted innovations (Hughes, 2011). The growth of evidence-based practice is also documented in monographs that define theoretical models of evidence-based practice, detail steps leaders should take to improve outcomes, or document practitioner experiences with adopting evidence-based practices (Crime and Justice Institute at Community Resources for Justice, 2009; Eisen & James, 2012; Pew, 2011b & 2011c). Finally, the picture of how evidence-based practice is being adopted in corrections is painted at professional conferences. The bi-annual workshops hosted by the American Probation and Parole Association (APPA), for example, offer a conference track specific to evidence-based practices. Similarly, for nearly 20 years, The International Community Corrections Association (ICCA) has offered an annual research conference featuring "What Works" in community corrections. Keynote addresses have articulated findings that highlight evidence-based practice in the field, and workshops focus on how to utilize evidence in a variety of topic areas.

From the early articles that challenged the findings of Martinson and introduced a new energy for rehabilitation, to the abundance of material that documents the changes in policy and details the results of practitioner efforts, the proliferation of the term "evidence-based practice" is undeniable. There is, however, an unsettling notion that we have somehow missed the mark. These are all great strides and we don't want to diminish them, but without correctional practitioners assessing and determining how an offender is responding to any given treatment and making adjustments where necessary, we have simply gone from one size fits all to another size fits all.

At the center of the evidence-based paradigm is an implied commitment to understanding the individual and using the strategy that provides the best option for achieving the desired result. Many corrections agencies, however, have reduced the message of evidence-based practice to a "this worked for most, so it should work for you" approach that expects all offenders to respond to a mode of service delivery that works for some (data points rather than people). This approach amounts to a one-size-fits-all or cookbook approach that ignores the individual offender's characteristics and runs the risk of labeling "unresponsive" clients as resistant or unwilling to change. Likewise, this approach strips a truly evidence-based approach of its most powerful asset—offender-level evidence.

Many offenders present with similar risk factors, but their individual differences require varied treatment responses (for a discussion of this issue, see Andrews et al.'s 1990 discussion of specific responsivity). Often offenders present with the same set of criminogenic needs, which on the surface would indicate that they need the same intervention. Accounting for responsivity requires that the agency vary treatment delivery depending on other (perhaps non-criminogenic) factors, commonly framed as "barriers" to treatment. Responsivity considerations are wide and varied—which is perhaps part of the reason why agencies have by and large not implemented responsivity-based processes and strategies. Language barriers, IQ, motivation, anxiety, race, and gender may all play a part in developing a plan for responsivity, which will of course require the agency to be flexible and progressive and have the capacity to evolve—rapidly if necessary (something called for below). And of course, relational style is a part of responsivity as well. Perhaps at its most basic, responsivity is about creating strategies

to formulate the best response on the part of the offender (i.e., the way they respond to supervision, treatment programming, court-ordered requirements, and the like). We are at the beginning of addressing relational style, and the relationship itself, as these concepts interface with and influence officer/offender interaction, with implications for responsivity and treatment engagement.

For example, most agencies recognize the need to target the anti-social thought patterns of offenders. Most agencies, however, fail to recognize that a generic cognitive-behavioral program may not be the answer for an offender with issues specific to domestic violence, drug abuse, or employment. Or even more generally, agencies may fail to recognize that different offenders might respond differentially to Moral Reconnection Training (Little and Robinson, 1988), Reasoning and Rehabilitation (Ross and Fabiano, 1991), Thinking for a Change (Bush, Glick, Taymans, 2011), or Strategies for Self Improvement and Change (Wanberg and Milkman, 1998). The failure to recognize the need for more than one "treatment" has often left agencies scratching their heads and wondering what to do when the first treatment does not seem to work. How can this problem be combatted? In the next section we offer some practical approaches to correcting this troubling trend.

Getting the Point and the Person: Maximizing Effects under Correctional EBP

What, then, does evidence-based practice look like in corrections? Based on Guyatt et al. (2008), there are some identifiable steps that are followed in the medical field that we in corrections should follow too. First, conduct an assessment. Second, define the clinical problem (or in the case of corrections, the criminogenic need). Third, develop a question that guides the retrieval of research and evidence. Fourth, obtain the research and appraise its applicability to the person in front of you. Fifth, craft a response based on the results of earlier studies and apply that response. Sixth, reassess each client to see if the treatment is actually working as well as it is expected to work for the given individual.

One thing we must realize in corrections is the same realization that has emerged in the medical field: Just because a random controlled trial generates a clear answer about the efficacy of a certain treatment, that does not mean that this treatment will work for everyone! That is, as Guyatt et al. (2002:276) point

out, “. . . just because a treatment showed a positive effect in a group of other patients does not mean that the patient before us necessarily will benefit.” We need to stop pretending that this statement is not true.

Therefore, true EBP in corrections means that correctional professionals should create individualized intervention plans for offenders based on the results of the research conducted on groups of offenders (this may often be done to some degree already). However, each correctional professional needs to be open to the idea, and on the lookout for signs, that what works based on group data may not work for the individual in front of him or her. If that is the case—that there are no clear signs that the intervention is working for the offender at hand—then the correctional professional needs to adjust the intervention plan to include more intense treatment, a different curricula, or a different treatment approach all together.

What are some solutions that will assist the field of corrections in implementing EBP in a way that is true to the concept and maximizes the effectiveness of this paradigm? First, we need to understand the term EBP and recognize what it is and what it is not. We cannot move further as a system until we stop equating evidence-based practice with potentially—or actually—effective treatments. We need to see EBP as a process of assigning treatment interventions that are based on evidence and then using offender-level evidence to evaluate how well those interventions are working for the individual in front of us (we provide an example of this in the following paragraphs). Second, we need to stop engaging in imitation-based practices (IBP) in which we gravitate toward interventions and practices that are trendy and of political interest or because we see a nearby jurisdiction using the intervention and “liking” it (doing so is not EBP). Third, we need to have access to an array of programs and multiple options within each program type. Fourth, we need to regularly reassess offenders’ criminogenic needs to ensure that their risk is going down. That is, we need to regularly “run a blood test” to ensure that the client is responding to the intervention we have prescribed. We now turn to a discussion of the third and fourth issues presented above.

One of the aspects of evidence-based medicine that is clear is the notion that the results of group studies are limited. Although the evidence provided by empirical group evaluations gives medical professionals direction on

how to proceed, what was found effective for the group may not work for any given person. Therefore, multiple evidence-based treatments need to be available so that a doctor can try other evidence-supported interventions if the first one fails to bring about desired results.

The availability of more than one empirically supported treatment in corrections is certainly a foreign idea. However, the comments we are making are based on our own experiences in evaluating correctional programs. Most programs and agencies select one cognitive-behavioral curriculum as their “evidence-based practice” and expect that every offender assessed as being in need of cognitive-behavioral treatment should respond to the program. We advocate that correctional programs use cognitive-behavioral curricula, but that they have more than one available and make placements to the differing curricula (and possibly to different facilitators) based on how an offender is responding to a curriculum. That is, if we place an offender in “Thinking for a Change” and no change in thought or behavior can be identified after several sessions, perhaps that offender would be better served by one of the other cognitive curricula available. It is even possible that the offender would be better served by some other bona fide treatment aside from CBT! But alas, we have stopped considering these options and seem pleased to make final policy and individual-level decisions based on group data—regardless of the rest of the evidence (like offender relapse or failure to move into a decreased risk category).

At this point we do wish to re-emphasize that we are not calling for a complete “re-shuffling” of the correctional deck, nor are we calling for the field to go back to the time when programming that clearly lacked evidence was implemented *carte blanche*. The massive and growing body of correctional intervention literature (much of which is cited above) without question provides strong clues as to what we need to be doing in our field to create and sustain offender change. Further, evidence exists about programming and interventions that probably should be dismissed out of hand (at least as far as creating long-term offender behavioral change goes). Rather, we are calling for a more intensified application of what is currently available (in some cases—depending on the individual evidence!), and we are calling for more widely varied options to move away from the “one CBT program fits all” approach, for example.

At the same time, we are also calling for continuing research, controlled innovation, and interdisciplinary projects that may drive our field forward.

What else are we suggesting? If adding other cognitive curricula and other treatment modalities sounds complex, there is more. We are also suggesting that correctional practitioners gather evidence on a regular basis about the offenders they are working with to ensure that the empirically supported practice (based on group research) is actually evidence-based for the individual offender in front of them.

What does this look like? Often correctional practitioners report procedures that involve reassessment using the same risk assessment that was used at intake. This might or might not be acceptable depending on the assessment. Most assessments, even dynamic ones, are not sensitive enough to pick up slight changes in risk that are observed over short periods of time. One exception is the Dynamic Risk Assessment for Offender Reentry (DRAOR), which assesses an offender’s stable and acute risk factors as well as strengths (Serin, Mailloux, & Wilson, 2010). The assessment of acute factors is done in an effort to guide changes in supervision and/or treatment—again, using evidence at the individual level to ensure that the empirically supported (those based on group data) practices are working to reduce the offender’s risk. We might also suggest that correctional practitioners begin having conversations with offenders about relevant risk factors and begin assessing the offender’s progress—in a criminogenic need area—each time they interact with the offender. The conversation on the next page is an example of an audio-recorded interaction between an officer and an offender.

There are several features of this conversation that should be noted; however, some background as to how this conversation occurred is in order. First, this offender came into the probation department and was assessed as a high-risk offender with maladaptive cognitions. The officer considered the clinical question (What is the best way to correct maladaptive cognitions for a high-risk offender?) and then tracked the empirical research that bears on this question. The research indicated that the offender should be referred to a cognitive behavioral curriculum and given specialized supervision that targets his maladaptive cognitions. The offender was referred to these treatments. Next, the officer began engaging in conversations with the offender about ways that he has been able to use what

Example of an Audio-Recorded Interaction Between an Officer and an Offender

Officer: Before I turned on the tape we talked about a more recent situation that happened to you. Can you talk about it? What is the external event?

Offender: I went to an AA meeting and I ran into the guy who helped set me up.

Officer: So . . . you ran into what we might call the “snitch.” What were your thoughts at the time?

Offender:

1. Man I’d like to beat his [expletive] head in.
2. I could probably get away with it.
3. Ain’t nobody gonna know.
4. He might tell on me again, but at least I get to feel better.
5. Does this piece of [expletive] even recognize who I am [this comes out later]?

But then my thoughts were

1. Man, is it really worth going back to prison for putting hands on this person?
2. My sobriety and stuff is way better than that.
3. I enjoy my freedom way too much.
4. Best bet is to just sit down and finish out my meeting.

I even thought about leaving the meeting early, but thought this person ain’t worth my time.

Officer: So what I hear you saying is that your commitment to your sobriety has become . . . [offender interrupts him]

Offender: . . . more important.

Officer: How does that feel?

Offender: Feels good—I’m free, I ain’t got somebody telling me when I can go [use the bathroom] or when I can eat, I can be me. I’ll be able to be a better person to my kids and my father.

he is learning in group sessions and individual interactions with the officer. The conversation above is *evidence* that the offender: (1) acquired the skills being taught to him; (2) can identify situations that are appropriate for the application of those skills; (3) is motivated to use the skills; and (4) sees value in the continued use of the skills. All of this is evidence that the evidence-based treatment is working for this person. Put simply, this whole scenario is how evidence-based practice works. It should be pointed out that the interaction between officer and client transcribed above may well be rare in form and content.

We should use evidence-based treatments (based on the analysis of groups of data) and then make sure there is evidence that any given treatment is working for any given individual. How does someone have the types of

conversations listed above? We put forth that the types of conversations listed above increase our ability to truly practice EBP and are also contingent upon the relationship between the corrections professional and the offender. We turn to this topic briefly to highlight such relationships’ necessity—yet insufficiency—in bringing about offender change.

Relationship: What’s Old Is New Again

Several authors have investigated the competing roles that many have assumed community supervision officers have (see, e.g., Clear & Latessa, 1991; Whetzel, Paparozzi, Alexander & Lowenkamp, 2011; Purkiss, Kifer, Hemmens, & Burton, 2003). These competing roles are often cited as some version of “law enforcement” versus “social worker,” which in

essence (and in theory) pits the importance of rule following and accountability against human service delivery and rehabilitation. While authors continue to study the existence and/or effect of role conflict (Lambert, Hogan, & Tucker, 2009), what may matter most is how the officers see their own role in the landscape of offender intervention.

In light of the importance of the role or mission of supervision officers, increasing attention has been paid to the interactions between officer and client. With increasing caseload size, particularly in recent decades, the amount of time each meeting takes has been of concern. While the field of community supervision moved beyond the “casework era” and into the “brokerage era” (which was followed by the “justice model era”), the emphasis of the officer/offender interaction became rule-oriented. In other words, whether offenders were following all the legal and extra-legal stipulations of their supervision was of primary focus philosophically as well as out of necessity (due to presumed time/resource constraints). As such, when officers met with offenders, they tended to ask questions and gather information that pertained solely to the requirements of supervision (e.g., drug testing, contact with law enforcement, gathering restitution payments, address changes, and the like). This continued despite the widespread dissemination of “Evidence-Based Practices” and the “What Works!” literature and related research that largely reveals, globally, what the most effective strategies for long-term behavioral change are. In short, the importance of the interaction between offender and officer was diminished, at least as far as the promise for behavioral change was concerned. The conventional wisdom dictated that officers were spread too thin to conduct any meaningful interaction. Further, “treatment” and behavioral change were largely viewed as resting in the hands of treatment practitioners—that is, programming of some kind, which until recently has been viewed as separate from the act of “supervision.” Even if officers were inclined to harken back to a “casework” or “social work” era, the short amount of actual time spent with offenders was viewed as insufficient to evoke any real change and better spent on the “administrative” functions of supervision, briefly noted above.

The prevailing view toward the use of officer/offender interaction (specifically regarding the prospect of long-term behavioral change) took a turn when efforts were made to take

an even closer look (beyond just “amount of time”) at what officers spent their time on. In an effort to look inside the “black box” of correctional supervision, Bonta, Rugge, Scott, Bourgon, and Yessine (2008) rigorously analyzed the subject matter that officers covered, as well as some aspects of the qualities of the interactions with their clients. Overall, Bonta et al. found much room for improvement in the extent to which officers covered criminogenic needs as part of their officer/client interaction. However, they did find evidence that recidivism may decrease the more criminogenic needs become the central focus of client meetings and discussion. In a somewhat related piece, Andrews, Bonta, and Wormith (2011) examined the Risk Need Responsivity (RNR) model alongside the Good Lives model (GLM) of officer/client interaction. The RNR model emphasizes the need for supervision to utilize the risk and need principles, while being responsive to individualized needs of the offender. The GLM model emphasizes relational style (among other things) when it comes to the tone and tenor of the officer/client meeting. In actuality, the RNR model appears to offer everything the GLM model does; however, RNR remains rooted in evidence-based practices and by definition incorporates the principle of responsivity, which emphasizes attention to relational style.

On an international level, many training curricula for correctional practitioners have been developed [for example, STICS (Bonta et al., 2008), EPICS II (Lowenkamp, Lowenkamp & Robinson, 2010), Working with Involuntary Clients (Trotter, 2006), and IBIS (Lowenkamp, Koutsenok & Lowenkamp, 2011)] with additional, well-thought-out, discourse on this important topic (see Burnett & McNeill, 2005; McNeill, Batchelor, Burnett, & Knox, 2005; and McNeill, 2009). These curricula and writings in part focus on resolving the seemingly contradictory aspects of the correctional practitioners’ dual role and establishing trusting and functional relationships with the offenders they work with. They also focus on increasing the motivation of offenders to make desired changes and identifying what officers need to assist offenders in making changes once the offender is motivated to change.

The qualities of the officer/offender interaction were further examined by an evaluation of the Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-Arrest (STARR) model of supervision, currently in use in the federal probation system (Robinson et al., 2012). The STARR model is based largely on RNR—requiring

the officer to observe and incorporate risk, address criminogenic needs, and incorporate responsivity considerations into their interactions with the offender. In addition, officers trained in STARR utilized techniques designed to increase motivation and identify (and address) criminogenic cognitions in an active manner. The evaluation found that clients of officers trained in STARR recidivated at lower rates than those of officers who had not been trained in STARR (Robinson et al., 2012). An extension of this study using a 24-month follow-up period demonstrated that offenders supervised by STARR-trained officers had better outcomes than those supervised by untrained officers. Further, high-risk offenders had the best outcomes when supervised by an officer trained in motivational interviewing *and* STARR (Lowenkamp, Holsinger, Robinson, & Alexander, 2012). Other similar evaluations of officers applying RNR in their one-on-one interactions with offenders have produced similar results (for example, see, Bonta et al., 2008; Trotter, 1996; Taxman, 2008).

The above examples represent a tremendous shift in community corrections. Perhaps most obviously, the content of the officer/client interaction is examined in both pieces of research. There may be real benefit in moving away from “rule enforcement” toward a concentration on crime-producing factors. In addition, the qualities of the officer-offender interaction were of concern in both of the above examples. Support was shown for a warm, motivating tone when interacting with probation clients. The most radical shift, however, may come in considering the officer as an agent of change. The “casework era” mentioned above may have been a period when the probation officer likewise was viewed as an agent of change, and at least in some small way responsible for the offender’s behavior (recidivism). Community corrections in the U.S. moved away from this idea of “officer as agent of change” due to a number of factors, in favor of a more “administrative” function for community supervision officers. As mentioned above, treatment was viewed as the purview of counselors and programming personnel, not the probation officer. Adhering to this “administrative” perspective may limit effectiveness, however.

While there may be real promise in shifting to a criminogenic needs-based framework for interacting with clients, and promise as well in creating a more warm and motivating communicative environment, we would like

to go at least a bit further, in keeping with the purpose of the current paper. Specifically, there may be additional benefit in proposing the need for community supervision officers to establish real and meaningful relationships with their clientele. What we mean by relationship is a palpable bond between officer and client, where each recognizes the other as an important part of their “professional” world (professional, at least, on the part of the officer—for the offender, the viewpoint may be something different). Clearly there are risks inherent in establishing any sort of relationship with a client—chief among them being the power differential that is inherent in a probation officer/probationer dyad. On a similar note, we are advocating for a complete and uncompromised preservation of professionalism and boundaries when it comes to human interaction. Nonetheless, the current article is about seeing the person—the human being—behind the data that pertains to so much of our field of study. Recognizing and respecting the human-ness of probationers through a palpable relationship may hold promise if our objective is to reduce the likelihood of recidivism.

Generally, the greater the amount of pro-social social support an offender has, the better off they should be (Cullen, 1994). Skeem, Loudon, Manchak, Vidal, and Haddad (2009) put the amount of social support to the test when working with probationers with co-occurring (substance abuse and mental illness) disorders. Skeem et al. (2009) demonstrated that the more pro-social support an offender had, the better the offender’s outcome when measured as recidivism. It should be noted that the main relationships that mattered were those with the clinicians; however, the relationship that a dually-diagnosed probationer had with an officer mattered as well when predicting perceived coercion, adhering to the treatment model, and future technical violations of supervision (Skeem et al., 2007; see also Skeem et al., 2003; and Kennealy, Skeem, Manchak & Eno Loudon, 2012). Higher-quality relationships (as assessed by the strength of the bond and the degree of emotional warmth) mattered when predicting failure. Likewise, drug court participants performed better when they experienced a pro-social bond with the presiding judge (Gottfredson, Kearley, Najaka, & Rocah, 2007). The authors speculate that the clients did well because they did not want to “let the judge down” due to the bond they had.

What does it mean to have a high-quality relationship between a community supervision officer and a probationer? There is no single answer to this question; however, a place to start might be by acknowledging the complexities inherent in any human being's life. Vogelvang (2012) points out many of these complexities, and the need to learn about, empathize with, and incorporate them into the officer/client dyad. When we fail to acknowledge these complexities, the "view of the offender as an authentic and autonomous person, with his own intentions and initiatives, is lost" (Vogelvang, 2012, p. 3). One way to begin acknowledging human complexities might be through having the wherewithal to put ourselves in another person's position in an effort to truly understand that person and his or her motivation. To put ourselves in the position of another, we would have to be willing to enter the offender's world, at least proximally, in order to see everything that shapes that person. Understanding the offender's world requires taking a risk—not grave risk, but risk nonetheless, as doing so is certain to cut against the grain of the status quo.

Are "warmth" and "genuineness" wrapped in "ethics" something that can be taught? Certainly some skills can be taught in the context of a training that would increase the likelihood of an officer doing a better job of interacting with and relating to a client. The larger challenge is probably at the organizational level. There should not be any need to revise any fraternization rules that exist in agencies today. We are not calling for any "hug-a-thug" programs that compromise the authority or integrity of the agency. Likewise we are not calling for any approval of criminal behavior. We are, however, calling for an understanding of that behavior and a willingness to see the person as a person, separate from the behavior they may have engaged in.

When the offender feels as though his or her officer truly cares about the outcome, the offender may be more likely to invest emotionally in the officer. This in turn may help the offender to comply with rules and engage in treatment opportunities. When the officer feels as though the offender really needs the officer and looks to him or her for guidance and help, the officer may feel an added sense of responsibility that encourages him or her to remain engaged with the offender. Clearly, more research is needed in this area; however, two meta-analyses from the psychological literature may help inform this issue. When examining the effectiveness

of various psychotherapeutic interventions, Wampold et al. (1997) and Miller, Wampold, and Varhely (2008) found essentially no difference in effectiveness between the varying modalities. On the surface, this result might suggest that, when it comes to psychotherapy, the specific style doesn't matter; the outcome will be the same. This does not make intuitive sense in an age (at least in the field of corrections) where we are currently struggling to find more effective treatment modalities. Why might a multitude of methods render an overall effect size of "0" regarding treatment effectiveness? There are a number of plausible explanations; one viable one might be that the skill of the therapist mattered more than the method employed. This in turn would suggest that the quality of the one-on-one relationship between psychologist and client was very important. Perhaps the same is true for the community supervision officer and the client relationship. Perhaps it is even more important in light of the paucity of social support most offenders in the United States have.

Putting the Individual and the Evidence in EBP

There should be little argument that EBP has penetrated the professional practice of corrections both in the community and institutionally. Perhaps most notably, the extent to which EBP vocabulary and practice have spread throughout the U.S. and other countries may have permanently put to rest any debate over the potential efficacy of rehabilitative efforts. The research highlighted above and the body from which it came demonstrates the futility of punishment by itself if long-term behavioral change is the goal, and further demonstrates some treatment practices that show promise. Please note, however, that we are yet dealing with "potential" and "promise," compared to where we believe the field could go. As such, much of what we have shared above leads us to believe that at least two general changes need to be made in order for the field to truly realize the promise of EBP. First, practitioners need to do what they are currently doing under the EBP umbrella better. Second, practitioners need to add skills and practices to their professional arsenal. What follows are some recommendations for the field of correctional practice.

The formation and use of an "offender case plan" is by no means a new practice in corrections. However, we are calling for a re-examination of the case plan, its purpose, and most importantly its implementation.

In a word, case planning needs to become more individualized, in keeping with the very nature and theme of this entire article. Case plans, of course, need to use existing/archival information from the offender's files, as well as current, relevant, and dynamic information from actuarial risk/need assessments. However, too often the entire assessment process relies too much on just one comprehensive risk/need assessment, which may largely if not entirely ignore the domain of responsivity. Anyone who has experience in training, implementing, and/or validating assessment tools of any sort should appreciate what a herculean undertaking it can be, organizationally, just to implement one existing tool! Nonetheless, while the function of offender assessment has come a long way, more work needs to be done. Agencies should no longer be satisfied with the use of one comprehensive risk/need tool, but should instead treat that tool as a starting point in a "graduated assessment process."

Specifically, processes should be in place that allow for additional valid assessment tools that dig deeper into specific criminogenic domains once they are identified using the first global "triage" assessment. For example, most comprehensive third-generation risk/need assessments have the capacity to identify the existence of criminogenic cognitions. Identifying and recognizing criminal thought processes is an important first step in assessment and in turn case planning. But how many agencies then administer a more in-depth process to assess and analyze criminogenic thinking on its own? If an agency intends to address a specific criminogenic domain, particularly via rehabilitative intervention, a more in-depth analysis of each criminogenic domain should be conducted, beyond the initial global assessments that are commonly found in use today. We recognize that this task may represent a tremendous burden, as new assessment tools mean additional training, piloting, and validation, all the while making any number of adjustments in processing and policy over the long term. This additional assessment information will lay the foundation for making the case planning process more individualized as mentioned above, but even this is just a start.

In addition to using more assessment tools in a graduated fashion, the case plan needs to become a "living document" that truly records and responds to offender change as they engage in supervision and programming. As noted above, a truly effective intervention

process will involve knowledge of what the literature says will be effective, along with observation and measurement of the subject, which includes feedback *from the subject*. Correctional practitioners will need to engage offenders more; they will have to know how to solicit the kind of feedback necessary to gauge progress from the offender's perspective, as well as from their own (in conjunction with the additional assessment processes referred to above). Gleaning this type of feedback through practitioner-offender interaction will allow for an individualized case-planning process that assesses progress on a "micro," ongoing level, allowing for adjustments along the way in order to maximize effectiveness. Put plainly, this sort of case planning based on a much broader array of information and processes will allow practitioners to know "what works" and what does not, *for the individual*.

Along with changes in information gathering and case planning processes should come a willingness to create and value real relationships with clients. Again, we wish to reiterate that we are not recommending doing away with or even altering ethical rules and codes of conduct that relate to and govern the professional-client dyad. However, based on the evidence that shows the results that can be produced by changing the content of the practitioner-offender interaction, as well as the tone and tenor of the interaction/relationship, a discussion of "relationship" appears warranted. We are referring specifically to the need to create something resembling an emotional investment in the offender's progress and ultimate success (and vice versa). It might be true that most practitioners "want," in theory, all their clients to succeed, simply because it might seem odd (or perhaps not in some isolated cases!) to hope for a negative outcome. However, if practitioners are on some level truly and emotionally invested in their clients' success, some of the other changes we are suggesting might come a little easier (e.g., the individualized case planning process, soliciting offender feedback, and the like).

In order to facilitate the creation of a professional practitioner-client relationship, processes should be put in place so that supervising officers receive esteem from the progress their clients make, including of course long-term success. Central to this sort of emotional investment is the ability and willingness to empathize, if not sympathize, with offenders. A true understanding of criminogenic behavior should also include knowledge that environmental factors

beyond an individual's control contribute—greatly in some instances—to the making of a criminal. That being so, the practitioner should recognize on some level that he or she might also have taken on a preponderance of antisocial thinking and behaviors if born into different circumstances.

One of the themes that we hope is evident throughout this article is the assertion that there needs to be a revival of the idea that supervision officers and correctional workers can be change agents, playing an active role in shaping behavior in small and incremental or even large ways. We fully acknowledge that officers have for many years been "change facilitators," playing an administrative role in case management, case planning, making recommendations, and keeping track of (again) the "administrative" side of probation/correctional work. These tasks have come to dominate how we have "done" corrections and supervision for the last 20 years. We are not arguing that officers should become change agents to the *exclusion* of being officers. However, we are arguing that while officers should never lose their officer role, they should not be officers to the exclusion of being change agents as well. We are calling for the field of corrections—administrators, practitioners, and researchers—to work on finding ways we can blend these two roles. More research is needed regarding 1) what the "relationship," the "emotional investment," and "empathy" should look like, 2) how to teach the skills necessary to implement these themes, and 3) how to put them into practice. The last quality—empathy—may be the most important key. Of course, empathy by itself does not have much of an effect on recidivism (Trotter, 2006). But without empathy, it is difficult to have meaningful interactions. Empathy on the part of supervision officers and correctional workers may indeed provide the conduit to help offenders change if they choose to do so.

In order to facilitate the recommendations noted above, correctional agencies need to start hiring staff—all staff—based in large part on relational style, interpersonal skills, and personality. Once attained, this information should be used to match offenders to specific officers, and to treatment personnel as well. Further, we recommend that agencies have formal mechanisms for assessing these particular attributes. Traits such as a lack of empathy could be used to screen people out of the hiring pool, better insuring that new

staff begin their jobs with the skills that the agency is looking for. At the very least, agencies should be able to articulate and show evidence of the ways in which they screen for relational style (specifically within the context of the officer-client interaction), interpersonal skills, and personality.

While the hiring of the "right" staff is an important part of the discussion that surrounds agency transformation, we also wish to re-emphasize the need for training existing (and new) staff. In other words, it is not just about hiring the right staff, but also (and perhaps more importantly) having training available that can transfer necessary skills and characteristics to existing and new staff that are hired. We have mentioned training several times; however, we wish to highlight the necessity for patience when staff are expected to acquire new skills, use them effectively, and make them part of the broader agency's mission and procedures. We are calling for realism about how long it can take for even new vocabulary to become part of an organization's lexicon (consider, for example, that NIC's "What Works!" curriculum and the generations of EBP curricula that followed have been around for 20 years so far, and we have just now reached the point where the "vocabulary" is prominent among correctional workers in general—for better, and perhaps for worse in cases of "over-familiarity"!). In brief, agencies must determine what skill sets and characteristics their staff should have, and hire accordingly. Simultaneously, agencies should pay particular attention to the need to make available good training that will transfer the skills, knowledge, and characteristics that the agency desires to affect change in the offenders they work with. Good training is rarely (if ever) a one-shot course or series of courses. For example, skill acquisition, just like good cognitive-behavioral programming, requires active learning, modeling, testing, time for "real-world" practice, re-testing, re-training, and certification.

Once hired, staff should be considered to be in a probationary period themselves, during which their interactions with the offender will be observed and assessed by trained professionals/supervisors. Interactions should be assessed and rated (with regular and frequent feedback provided to the professional) on the content and form of the professional/client interaction—things like warmth, focusing on criminogenic needs and targets, use of real-life examples to identify and correct thinking,

refraining from the use of shame, learning about the offender's life outside of the justice system, and establishing a palpable relationship—should all be part of observation/feedback processes. Use of these skills and others should be part of the professional's performance assessment during and beyond the probationary period, with promotion and pay incentives tied to their mastery.

Most if not all of the recommendations outlined above rest on another necessary change within corrections: more programmatic options. As noted above, agencies often make great progress when they go from using no assessment tools (or an outdated/invalid assessment tool) to using a comprehensive third-generation assessment tool. While the use of these sorts of tools represents positive change, it is not enough—hence our recommendation for a “graduated assessment” tool procedure. The same can be said for the use of curricula—specifically cognitive-behavioral curricula. For example, positive (EBP-based) change can be observed on the program level when an agency replaces an ineffective treatment model or curriculum with a cognitive curriculum (such as “Thinking for a Change”), particularly when the agency also takes steps to utilize behavioral change techniques alongside or integrated within the curriculum itself. However, one curriculum is unlikely to be “enough” for any agency/program; in fact, in light of our call for a more individualized approach to correctional intervention, just one curriculum cannot be enough. In short, to allow for a more individualized approach to intervention, an agency's EBP toolbox should contain many different tools, in the form of different curricula.

Conclusion and Recommendations

We are calling for a renewed commitment to and an intensified application of several things that began (or began again) with the EBP movement. We are not quibbling with the progress that has been made—clearly the field has been transformed. However, as a discipline we may be missing the mark by concentrating on implementing specific procedures and strategies, at the expense of concentrating on the individual offender. When we force ourselves to see the person behind the “data point,” recognizing that person's humanity and our shared experiences, we will be much more likely to behave in ways that should better ensure long-term behavioral change and success. In sum, we

believe the evidence that exists—evidence that shows the promise in several strategies—supports the following recommendations that may move our field forward:

- Case planning needs to go far beyond identifying “goals,” “objectives,” “completion criteria,” and “who is responsible.” Case planning needs to be born out of the creation of a living document that is supported by actuarial assessment, professional discretion, real offender input, and consistent re-evaluation leading to the adjustment of treatment and supervision trajectories. Moreover, agencies and offenders may benefit from case planning that captures the true essence of the individual and allows for important variation to inform and influence intervention.
- Agencies need to assess for responsivity, and use the information not just in the case planning process, but also to plan for and implement necessary changes. As noted above, responsivity can cover a number of different factors and undoubtedly requires the use of any number of various assessment processes that in turn will require additional training and expense. Regardless of the effort and expense, the time has come to move far beyond what currently amounts to agency-level lip-service when it comes to addressing the responsivity concerns at work in the individual offender's life.
- Agencies need to use a “graduated assessment” process whereby a comprehensive/global risk/need assessment instrument serves as just the first step. Once specific criminogenic areas or domains are identified, additional, more specific and more sensitive assessments should be utilized that “drill deeper” into the various criminogenic areas that were identified through the comprehensive risk/need assessment tool. This enhanced assessment information can then facilitate the assessment of progress, the individualization of the case plan, and the transformation of the case planning document into a “living” document.
- Agencies and practitioners should begin discussing the role of “relationship” in correctional practice and take steps to implement ways in which practitioners can truly invest in an offender's progress and fate. This discussion will almost certainly reveal the need for training and adjustments to policy, and may in turn identify the need for changes in the way offender

progress is measured, as well as in the way practitioners are evaluated.

- Correctional agency hiring practices should always include the assessment of personality characteristics and relational styles that facilitate the changes recommended above. Clearly, working with the offender population is not for everyone—not everyone has the skill set necessary to become an agent of change, having a real, palpable, and positive effect on an offender's life. Unfortunately, “corrections work” in many venues may be viewed as a “last resort” vocational option or one that “traps” an individual in a low-paying government-funded agency where the earliest-possible retirement becomes the goal, rather than more humane objectives. As a result, the profession may currently have a tendency to attract people for whom pro-social offender change is not a central part of their professional purpose. While we do not have an easy solution to the issues surrounding what may be lower-than-average salaries, we do believe that when people are paid more, more can be expected of them.
- All staff in a correctional environment, once hired, should undergo a probationary period where they are required to demonstrate all the skills we are advocating here before being removed from probation. This will of course require that the staff member's skills be observed and assessed by a trained and qualified supervisor, if not (or in addition to) a clinical supervisor. In addition, once a staff member is removed from this probationary period, he or she should be subject to periodic and rigorous reassessment, evaluation, and feedback regarding the use of these and other skills related to creating pro-social offender change.
- Last but not least, correctional agencies simply need more options, as noted above. If we are correct in our advocacy for individualizing the correctional supervision and treatment process, agencies need to have the capacity to do so with integrity. Moving beyond a “one size fits all” model, by definition, will require that an agency have many more “sizes.”

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Collaboration in Juvenile Justice: A Multi-Agency Study

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FELD (1998, p. 510) contends that in the 1970s, the juvenile court changed from “an informal rehabilitative agency into a scaled-down second-class criminal court for young offenders.” Countering this trend, since the 1990s, community programs developed to provide non-adversarial, multi-disciplinary approaches to deal with juveniles. Butts and Mears (2001, pp. 169–170) write that “even while policy makers were passing new policies to ‘get tough’ other parts of the juvenile justice system were being re-invented,” including “enhanced coordination and collaboration among juvenile justice and social service agencies.” This alternative approach allows juveniles to remain in their communities and receive coordinated processing (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2008; Skowrya & Coccozza, 2007) and offers treatment options such as multi-systemic therapy (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Swenson, Henggeler, Taylor, Addison & Chamberlain, 2009), accountability-based sanctions or restorative justice (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2001), graduated sanctions (Terry, VanderWaal, McBride & Van Buren, 2000), and early intervention (Malmgren & Meisel, 2004).

Many states have invested in “intra- and inter-agency collaboration” (Butts & Mears, 2001, p. 192) to deliver programs and services to turn juveniles away from further offending. Okamoto (2001, p. 6) adds that “inter-agency collaboration is considered an essential component towards effectively serving difficult multi-problem adolescents,” and that it has “become an essential process for meeting legal

mandates as well as clinical expectations.” In this paper, we describe the results of an evaluation of a collaborative effort among several agencies responding to juvenile offenders.¹ We focus on the experiences of individuals representing agencies that participated and provide insight into the strengths and limitations of this approach. Our findings highlight areas of concern needing attention by entities and individuals contemplating multi-agency partnerships in juvenile justice.

Collaboration in Juvenile Justice

Collaboration has two distinct meanings: its first definition involves individuals or groups working together with some end purpose in mind; the second, often used in a military or wartime context, is the act of willfully cooperating with an enemy. When discussing two or more agencies that are working together to solve social problems, or to provide a product or service to members of the public, the first meaning of collaboration is typically invoked (Gray, 1989). Kraus (1980, p. 11)

¹ The evaluation formally considered two broad issues: first, an assessment of the committee’s effectiveness in meeting the intent of the legislation with regard to juvenile offenders, and second, an examination of how the committee functioned collaboratively. In this paper, we focus primarily on the second matter given the significance that is attached to collaboration in the literature and the importance that committee members attached to it themselves. We do discuss how a determination of the committee’s “effectiveness” in terms of its legislative mandate was arrived at.

defines collaboration among organizations as “a cooperative venture based on shared power and authority. It is non-hierarchical in nature. It assumes power based on a knowledge or expertise as opposed to power based on role or function.” Henneman, Lee and Cohen (1995, p. 104) add that “collaboration is frequently equated with a bond, union or partnership, characterized by mutual goals and commitments.” These attributes and outcomes are much sought after when agencies deal jointly with juvenile offenders.

The juvenile justice field is replete with calls for community-based treatment that involves multi-disciplinary and multi-agency approaches for responding to youth who come into contact with the system. Models for doing so have been suggested by Bruner (1991); Tapper, Kleinman, and Nakashian, (1997); Rivard, Johnson, Morrissey, and Starrett (1999); as well as Lane and Turner (1999). Collaboration is seen as a way to provide juveniles and their families with a broader range of services that may be more cohesive and efficient than the traditional separatist approach where agencies acting as discrete entities contact a juvenile (Andrews, Zinger, Hodge, Bonta, Gendreau, & Cullen, 1990; Hawkins, Catalano & Associates, 1992; Crime & Justice Institute, 2004; Jenson & Potter, 2003; Nissen, Merrigan, & Kraft, 2005; Stathis & Martin, 2004; Terry, VanderWaal, McBride, & Van Buren, 2000). The literature suggests that given the complexity of juvenile justice issues, a multi-disciplinary, multi-agency approach

that brings in expertise from a variety of fields has potential for successful outcomes for juveniles who have already entered the system. However, despite the potential benefits of such a team, the structure can be time- and resource- intensive, and emotionally draining (Rivard, Johnson, Morrissey, & Starrett, 1999). A multi-disciplinary team may be composed of representatives from (among others) the juvenile court, the prosecutor's office, defense attorneys, probation officers, youth corrections officials, mental health professionals, social service providers, and representatives from cities, school districts, and law enforcement (Baker & Sutherland, 2009; Crime & Justice Institute, 2004; Feely, 2000; Leone, Quinn, & Osher, 2002; Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1995). Leone, Quinn, and Osher (2002, pp. 3–4) write that “[e]ffective collaboration can help agencies develop approaches and programs that emphasize and foster positive behaviors”; they conclude that by working together, “rather than temporarily removing offenders from society, they serve to maximize the potential of all young people to become productive law abiding citizens, thus creating a safer society in which to live, work, and raise a family” (p. 30). Feely (2000, p. 18) argues that a collaborative committee is likely to acquire “tremendous formal and informal authority” and be able to produce action, rather than merely serving as an advisory board.

Lane and Turner (1999) note that funding agencies “encourage” collaboration by privileging juvenile justice programs that follow such an approach, but literature evaluating these programs is equivocal. White, Fyfe, Campbell and Goldkamp (2001, p. 507) cite the importance of “intensive cooperative efforts between school and police ...in identifying troubled youth” as part of a school district's anti-truancy program in California. Jones and Sigler (2002) describe partnerships forged between the police and juvenile probation officers in Florida enforcing curfews that resulted in reductions in offending. However, Stein, Garcia, Marley, Embree-Bever, Unrein, Burdick, Fishburn and Garrett (1992) use their findings based on data from Colorado to add a note of caution to the celebration of collaborative programs. The high-risk juveniles they studied did not exhibit significant behavioral changes after participating in such a program. Worrall (2004) also shows that funding for collaborative juvenile crime prevention programs “was associated with little to no overall reductions in arrests for felonies, misdemeanors,

and status offenses” among various California counties. Therefore, although collaboration has become a watchword for organizations charged with administering juvenile justice programs, claims of success about the strategy are not universal. Given continued exhortations favoring collaboration, the “paucity of research concerning multi-agency collaboration in the area of juvenile justice is disturbing” (Worrall, 2004, p. 474).

The literature is particularly limited when considering the experiences of agencies and individuals who participate in these multi-agency collaborations in juvenile justice, the focus of this paper. There are some exceptions (Lane & Turner, 1999; Hellriegel & Yates, 1999; Okamoto, 2001; Smith & Mogro-Wilson, 2008), in which these experiential issues are examined formally. Describing the implementation of a collaborative juvenile program in Ventura County, California, Lane and Turner (1999) do adopt a broad “lessons learned” approach based on the experience, but do not focus on the perceptions of the participants and the agencies they represent.

Hellriegel and Yates (1999) describe how a treatment center and a public school system collaborated to serve the needs of juveniles. They interviewed 12 school district employees (principals, teachers) and 10 correctional staff members (supervisors, direct care providers) and designated seven themes that emerged from their discussions. Three of the seven pertain directly to the issues that we are studying: inter-agency collaboration, inter-agency communication, and cross-agency knowledge.² The authors report that “collaboration varied in terms of degree and quality” (Hellriegel & Yates, 1999, p. 61), and that there was a “need for increasing the levels of trust, communication and collaboration between the two organizations” (Hellriegel & Yates, 1999, p. 73). All school and juvenile agency personnel reported shortcomings in the nature and amount of information available to them from the partner agency. Further, Hellriegel and Yates (1999, p. 66) found “a general lack of understanding” in terms of knowledge about work of the “other” agency. Since only two agencies were involved here, such deficiencies

² The other four themes are transition plans, parental involvement, correctional facility education program development and implementation, and special education and related services (Hellriegel & Yates, 1999). While these are important substantive areas for juvenile treatment, given that they bear less directly on the modalities of inter-agency collaboration, we do not discuss them further here.

may be exacerbated the more entities become involved in a collaborative effort.

Okamoto (2001) studied collaboration among agencies responding to “high risk gang youth.” He conducted eight qualitative interviews with personnel representing prevention, case management, counseling, and residential treatment agencies. He grouped the data into three “nodes”: “the purpose of inter-agency collaboration, the elements contributing to successful inter-agency collaborations, and the elements that negatively impacted inter-agency collaborations” (Okamoto, 2001, p. 10).

Helping juveniles by incorporating the knowledge of others was the major motivation for collaborating. Successful collaborations were characterized by cooperation among those working together, particularly outside of the respondent's own agency, along with communication that included the airing of differing agency philosophies. At the same time, negative collaborations involved five patterns: “diffusion of responsibility or ‘passing the buck,’ blaming other agencies for the failures of youth, ‘covering up’ mistakes made in assessment or treatment, and prematurely terminating collaborative arrangements” (Okamoto, 2001, p. 12). The author suggests that “agency fear”—i.e., concerns that staff members have about providing resources to high risk gang members—might be the underlying element in generating negative collaborative patterns.

Smith and Mogro-Wilson (2008) assess collaboration between child welfare and substance abuse agencies quantitatively using surveys completed by 20 administrators and 216 staff members in 20 agencies. They find divisions in how collaboration is perceived between the front-line staff and administrators and also between organizations. They conclude that “even when pro-collaboration policies are adopted by child welfare and substance abuse treatment agencies, such policies may not be sufficient to promote inter-agency collaboration” and may depend on “particular staff practices” (Smith & Mogro-Wilson, 2008, p. 21).

In summary, the literature on juvenile justice collaboration, while still sparse and only beginning to encompass multiple agencies working together, has generated three major questions. First, does a relationship exist between collaboration and success in achieving the objective that brought agencies together? Second, what do participants perceive regarding their experiences engaging in these efforts? Finally, what do participants think are the strengths and drawbacks of the

multi-agency collaboration approach to juvenile justice that are being promoted?

Program Setting

This paper describes a recent evaluation of a county-level juvenile justice program designed to coordinate various agencies and to ensure that the agencies collaborate to provide supervision and services to juveniles in the system. The authors were contacted and requested to gather information regarding the efficacy of the program and to assess the functioning of the Juvenile Justice Committee, hereafter referred to as the JJC. The JJC, one of several such committees in the state where this study took place, was created as a result of a legislative mandate to the juvenile justice system that stressed better outcomes for juvenile offenders. Specifically, the committee was created to address problems within the juvenile justice system, find ways to help juvenile offenders positively transition out of the system, and maintain the juveniles in the community while concurrently protecting the latter. The JJC's group composition was consistent with the structure suggested in the literature, with members drawn from the court (e.g., the magistrate for the juvenile court), defense and prosecuting attorneys' offices, law enforcement (especially officers assigned to local schools), state, county, and city officials, school officials, and mental health and social work professionals.³ Members of the general public were also eligible to serve on the committee, but no private citizens attended meetings or sought to become part of the group during this study.

Underlying the creation of the JJC was the idea that the collaborative model would provide juveniles with a combination of supervision and behavior modification that would help them become productive members of society while allowing them to stay in their communities. This particular program used a team-orientation approach to achieve the best possible outcome for juveniles who entered the system. These juveniles were either "pre-adjudicated" (in the system without a formal sentence) or "sentenced" (serving formal sentences imposed on them by the court). Once in the system, the juveniles were either "in residence" (living in a juvenile facility) or they were "non-residents" who lived at home with their behaviors monitored by "trackers." These trackers generally oversaw the juvenile's

behavior by maintaining contact with the juvenile's school, work, and parent(s), and performed surprise home visits that might include urinalyses and breathalyzer tests. In some cases, electronic monitoring devices, e.g., electronic ankle bracelets, further tracked the juvenile's behavior.

Under the state mandate, if law enforcement arrested or detained a juvenile, that individual would be "screened," i.e., interviewed and processed into the system. The authorities who made the initial contact with the juvenile had considerable discretion as to whether the juvenile officially entered the system, was taken home with a warning, or was released. If a juvenile was detained, she or he would be screened to assess what level of supervision was needed based on the seriousness of the offense and his or her background (e.g., previous encounters with law enforcement). The juvenile would then be assigned to a treatment facility, a secure facility, or returned home with some type of additional supervision. Early in the screening process, the initial placement could be changed through an "override." That is, the initial assignment could be changed and the juvenile could be redirected to a more secure facility, to a less secure facility, or to home with supervision, depending on a variety of factors including a lack of appropriate alternatives, local policy requirements, screener's judgment, level of risk, input from probation officers, and input from the magistrate. In addition, a set of available programs focused on mental health were provided by area professionals. The programs included options identified in "best practices" (e.g., multi-systemic therapy) and provided assistance to the juveniles and in many cases, their families. The mental health professionals maintained detailed records of who entered treatment, left treatment before completing, and finished treatment. In most cases, however, there was no information regarding the juveniles once they separated from the program.

Additional programs were provided for the juveniles through a community organization that contracted with the JJC to provide services referred to hereafter as "Children's Home or CH."⁴ Among programs provided through CH were alcohol and other drug classes, a physical activity component, and tutoring; in this case the alcohol and other drug classes also matched with best practices discussed

in the literature. Interestingly, however, no mechanisms were in place to assess either the effectiveness of these programs or the individuals in charge of the CH, an absence which resulted in incomplete records with virtually no record of attendance or even which of the programs offered the juveniles attended.

Between 300 and 400 youths were typically screened each year. In 2005, for example, 349 youth were screened for placement in the juvenile justice program. Of those 349 youth, 93 of the 349 initial screenings (26.7 percent) resulted in overrides; 48 of the 93 (51.6 percent) went to a more secure facility; and 45 of the 93 (48.4 percent) went to a less secure facility. Of the 48 juveniles who were sent to a more secure facility, 8 of the 48 overrides (16.7 percent) occurred because of a lack of appropriate alternatives and 40 of the 48 (83.3 percent) were changed because of local policy or at the discretion of others in the process, frequently the magistrate. Of the 45 individuals who were moved to a less secure facility, 4 (8.9 percent) were moved because of the lack of a suitable alternative and 41 (91.1 percent) were changed because of local policy or at the discretion of others, again most often the magistrate (JJC Tracking Documents, 2006).

Methods and Data

Our program evaluation (Weiss, 1998) began by considering the literature on juvenile justice collaboration. This was followed by informational meetings with key committee members to determine program components that the members identified as integral to program outcomes and to decide on a research design. We then began attending monthly committee meetings and interviewing individual committee members to determine how goals were set and how the JJC operationalized and measured the goals. Although the initial focus of the evaluation was on outcome (i.e., did juveniles behave as envisaged by the legislation that set up the program), it became clear during the study that committee members and constituent agencies were concerned with the degree of success various entities had in "working together" i.e., collaborating. Therefore, we observed the committee's workings, identified how it functioned, and provided suggestions for improving its operations with regard to its mission of both rehabilitating juvenile offenders and protecting the community. This paper will focus on the question of collaborative committee functioning but will, for contextual and discursive reasons, provide information about program outcomes briefly.

³ To ensure and preserve confidentiality and anonymity, we do not identify participants or the agencies they represented.

⁴ The name Children's Home (or CH) was created for this paper to protect the anonymity of the program and its participants.

Nineteen individuals were officially recognized JJC members. The evaluation team interviewed all of them. Interviews were conducted in the offices of individual JJC members or in neutral locations such as coffee shops or restaurants. On average, the interviews lasted an hour. We followed an outline, but the interviews were relatively unstructured in that interviewees were encouraged to provide detail and depth to their initial answers. JJC members were asked general questions about their functions on the committee, how they perceived their own organization's role on the committee, how information was collected and stored, the committee's impact on the lives of the juveniles in the program, aspects of the program that worked well, and how the program might be improved. In addition, each interviewee was asked to describe the committee's goals. Attempts were made to contact and interview, for elucidation purposes, the individual who headed the CH (who was not an official member of the JJC) and was responsible for overseeing that program. However, repeated phone calls and messages went unanswered. Evaluators also made personal visits to the juvenile home, altering the day and time of visits with no success.

Detailed written notes were taken during interviews and committee meetings, and then were transcribed immediately after researchers returned to their offices. The resulting transcripts were then analyzed qualitatively to identify recurring themes expressed by participants, especially in terms of issues they perceived as affecting collaboration in the JJC or lack of collaboration. Each theme we identified was mentioned by at least a majority of the interviewees and was verified independently by each of the two evaluators. Below, we first report on developments during the evaluation process. We then describe the themes that emerged from our analysis of the transcripts of interviews and notes regarding committee functioning. For each recurrent theme, we present illustrative quotes from JJC members along with bridging commentary. Given the relatively small number of members, we do not identify them individually or the agencies they represent to preserve their anonymity and the confidentiality of their responses to us.

Findings

Developments during the Evaluation

Because the state government provided the bulk of the funding for the program, the JJC was required to report quantitatively whether

the program was successful, a goal that the committee was allowed to define for itself. The goals the JJC set for itself were "to successfully supervise pre-adjudicated youth placed in community-based detention services" and "to reduce reliance on detention by utilizing alternative to detention supervision programs to successfully supervise youth in the community." Success was measured in terms of how many juveniles completed their programs without incurring new offenses, how many juveniles completed their sentences without "failing to appear" for scheduled court appearances, and whether the juveniles had a "positive or neutral leave reason." Finally, the goals were the same for both those who were under the guidance of the JJC through pre-adjudication and those who were serving formal sentences. The JJC used tracking to monitor the juveniles' behaviors and kept records on new offenses, failing to appear for court, and positive or neutral leave reasons. These numbers were then reported to the state.

The most current records for program completion at the time of the evaluation were for a six-month period two years before the evaluation. While other juveniles were in the program over this time period, the numbers to be presented next represent all juveniles in the cohort of people eligible to transition out of the program during that six-month period. Between July and December, 126 juveniles exited the program, 83 of whom were there with a pre-adjudicated status and 50 who were serving sentences. Within the pre-adjudicated group, 76 of 83 youth (91.5 percent) completed the program successfully. Among the 50 sentenced youth, 43 (86 percent) completed the program successfully, a number that was slightly less than the stated goal of 90 percent (JJC Tracking Documents, 2006). By that measure, the committee was highly successful with achievement rates in or near the 90th percentile. This success, however, did not translate to JJC members being satisfied with the committee's functioning.

Although the committee as a whole met monthly, its sub-committees met more frequently. These sub-committees were charged with a variety of tasks, including hands-on management of the juveniles as they entered and moved through the system, evaluating the various programs that comprised the juvenile justice system, and overseeing staff. Typically individuals from the subcommittees did not report to the larger group, but monthly updates were common when members of

these smaller committees were examining particular aspects of the program.

Approximately six months after the evaluation began, the committee chair's term ended and a new chair was appointed. Because he was appointed from the outside rather than from one of the collaborative agencies, the new chair struggled to understand the system and had difficulty establishing authority. The absence of an experienced chair provided the opportunity for strong personalities already on the committee to garner control over the committee. This powerful minority pushed through a major shift in the way juveniles were "tracked," a change that was immediately followed by a personnel change.

In addition to these obvious changes, quieter and more incipient ones began to surface. Long-time committee members who had initially appeared engaged in meetings began withdrawing. In some cases, these committee members still attended meetings, but they quit participating in committee discussions. Other committee members simply stopped attending meetings. During the evaluation, attendance at monthly meetings fluctuated. In general, between 15 and 18 individuals were present for the meetings, with a downward trend in overall attendance during the evaluation.

Early in the evaluation, committee members learned that the JJC was likely to face a budget cut in the next fiscal year, and issues raised regarding the programs for juveniles took on a new level of importance. Because of the budget cuts, the state indicated it would require the committee to provide a rationale for programs advanced for funding, especially if the connection between the program and the stated committee goals was not obvious. Due to the potential loss of funds, the JJC decided to assess the effectiveness of programs that were currently funded and to consider how those programs furthered the goals of the organization. This process led committee members to reassess the qualitative differences between the stated goals and a broader vision of the JJC's mission. The stated goals were easily quantifiable, and as seen above, either were achieved or were very close to being met. However, the stated goals were not viewed as representing outcomes due to the programs provided to the juveniles. Moreover, the stated goals were generally not the focus of committee meetings or answers to our questions during interviews with committee members. On the other hand, discussions regarding program outcomes were often stated in terms of goals that included long-term changes

in the juveniles' behaviors. These conversations led to questions of how well the JJC and the organizations represented in them "worked together" or collaborated to achieve the desired changes in juvenile behavior.

Recurring Themes

Our analysis of the responses of JJC members when asked about the nature of collaboration yielded seven major themes—disagreement in committee goals and programming choices; varying ideological orientations of agencies represented; difficulties in communication and resultant conflict; shifts in attendance, membership and participation; perceptions regarding unequal power sharing; inadequate data gathering and availability; and a lack of outcome measures. We describe each of these themes in greater detail below.

Programming Goals and Choices. When funding levels were relatively high, members generally agreed to provide a variety of educational and treatment programs in addition to monitoring individual behaviors. Faced with a decrease in funding, however, the question as to which programs to fund became important and pointed to a broader question that the committee had not broached: How did members identify the JJC's mission? Some committee members focused on a literal interpretation of the stated goals, and others adopted a broader definition that included creating lasting behavioral changes in the youth.

"If the focus is on compliance spend the money on strict supervision, surprise UA/BAs [urine analysis and blood alcohol tests], checks at schools, and night checks. If the focus is on the welfare of both the juveniles and the community, then things like [these two treatment programs] and diversion are essential."

"One thing we should be trying to do is to fund prevention."

"Programs should be family-centered and community-based. [Half of the committee] is focused on treatment whereas [the other half] is focused on containment."

Committee members who embraced the literal interpretation of the stated goals considered that both the focus and funding of internal programs could be streamlined to ensure that juveniles never had an opportunity to reoffend or fail to appear for court. Under this interpretation, tracking and probation would receive primary consideration for funding. This strict interpretation, however, would also mean

that programs designed to educate or modify behavior would be secondary, and perhaps eliminated, such as alcohol and other drug treatment programs, tutoring, therapy, and behavior modification programs. Adherents of the broader definition of JJC's mission believed that a strict interpretation of the goals would not change the juveniles' behaviors. A focus on treatment, however, would result in more program diversity, which would in turn result in a greater potential for long-term changes in a juvenile's behavior. This would require that limited funds be spread across more agencies and programs. Less funding to supervision might also result in the juveniles having less structure and more opportunities to reoffend or fail to appear for court.

Despite these concerns, members of the JJC did not advocate compliance through supervision alone. Most aligned themselves, at least rhetorically, with the broader interpretation of the purpose of the program. That said, however, when disagreements manifested regarding how to prioritize programs when funds were limited, those disagreements seemed to push the committee towards a focus on the stricter interpretation of the goals. Thus, while committee members agreed that the purpose of this program was to make changes that would provide the greatest opportunity to move the juveniles out of the system, they also believed that increasing supervision would help prevent the juveniles from reoffending during their time in the program and this would allow them to meet the stated goals of the program. Moreover, when funding became tight, committee members aligned themselves along the orientations of their agencies, with members from the criminal justice perspective arguing for more money for monitoring and members from the mental health perspective arguing to fund more treatment.

"The role of this committee is to spend resources on effective outcomes."

"The radar of the committee needs to go out a little farther."

"There is a difference between containment and treatment."

Some committee members articulated concerns about cuts in funding that would result in fewer options for juvenile placements when they entered the program. They suggested that under tight funding, the placement process became less about meeting the needs of the individual and fulfilling the goals of the

program, and more about placing juveniles into treatment categories based on room availability.

"The focus is management driven, bed caps, for example."

"We need to know whether a kid would be detention-bound if there was room."

Varying Agency Orientations. A multi-agency committee meant that differing opinions regarding the best way to aid the target population would be present. In this situation, individuals schooled in criminal justice perspectives often viewed the problems of juvenile justice differently from their counterparts with social or behavioral science perspectives. Interestingly, most members of the JJC, irrespective of their training, felt that their approaches to problems were neither understood nor appreciated by members of the committee who did not share their disciplinary backgrounds. Interviewees pointed to a lack of understanding about what happened in the different facets of the system, with members identifying screening, therapy, and the court, among other areas, as examples in which individual contributions were undervalued by others on the committee.

"No one knows what goes on in [name of respondent's agency]. No one has ever come to see my relationship with the kids. I wish everyone would come [and] see what really happens there."

Examples of these ideological divisions were often repeated as committee members from within the social or behavioral science perspective talked about the human propensity for making mistakes as a function of creating positive and lasting behavioral changes, while those from the criminal justice perspective were more inclined to see infractions in the rules as negative behavior that had to be punished.

These varying philosophies led some committee members to advocate more formalized procedures for dealing with juveniles.

"The problems I see are attendance, communication, and formalizing procedures."

"We should have MOUs [memoranda of understanding] between the sides regarding sanctions."

That committee members failed to embrace the perspective of the "other" is not surprising. The lack of a structure that allowed constructive solutions to those differences, however, was a continuing source of

contention. Further, the fact that there was no consensus or shared understandings regarding forgiveness or sanctions for client behavior that was deemed problematic, further split the committee and consumed time during committee meetings.

Communication and Conflict. This evaluation identified communication problems between members of the committee that stemmed from the different philosophical approaches to juvenile justice. One JJC member with a criminal justice background pointed to his/her area within the justice system by way of example, stating that most committee members had no understanding of the dynamics that took place when the juveniles were within her/his purview. That example pointed to a general problem—a lack of understanding about the various components that comprised the system limited the committee's ability to bring about positive changes in the youth. Other committee members echoed the idea that committee members had a general lack of understanding regarding other members' specific roles within the system. This lack of understanding was reflected in how decisions were made throughout the process. As just one indicator of the problem, members cited the numbers of overrides of committee decisions. (Most overrides occurred at one individual's discretion.) Some committee members felt that their contributions to the juveniles and to the program were not valued. As these feelings intensified over the period of the evaluation, members reacted by withholding comments during committee meetings. As one interviewee explained, people did what they deemed appropriate, even if it went against the JJC's direction.

"It doesn't really matter what the committee says. People pretty much do what they've done."

"We should formalize outcome reporting and have formalized roles on the committee."

Collaboration requires participation and candid communication. If lines of communication are not established and respected, the collaborative model breaks down and attendance suffers.

Attendance, Membership and Participation. One important consequence of the breakdown of communication was manifest in both the tenor of, and the attendance at, monthly meetings. Early in the evaluation a forum appeared that allowed individuals to respectfully disagree, but lines of communication

disintegrated during the evaluation. This disintegration resulted partly because of a change in key personnel in the committee, and partly because new members had little or no apparent training. Changes in committee membership exacerbated previous tensions and absenteeism increased. These absences increased the levels of tension and lack of communication among committee members.

"The range of people on the committee is good, but the committee only works if you have high attendance."

A primary benefit of the collaborative juvenile justice model is the potential to bring together people with diverse backgrounds and training who can use their experiences to benefit the youth being supervised. Regardless of the composition of the group, however, collaboration cannot exist if committee members are not encouraged to attend and participate.

Power Sharing. An important change in power also resulted from lower attendance and the failure of communication. This change resulted in consolidation of power, mostly resting in the hands of a single person. Committee members perceived the change in power but felt they could not challenge it. Decisions seemed to be made without consulting the membership and without explanation. For example, during interviews, JJC members described what had happened when the powerful committee member dismantled one subcommittee and replaced it with a fundamentally different group.

"The old subcommittee was more custom-built for the kids. The new one is designed to fit the kid into [the treatment program already in place]."

Interestingly, however, the powerful member saw the change as a way to benefit communication among members of the committee representing varying agency orientations and competing philosophies,

"Do you know why I created [the new subcommittee]? I created it so that they would have to talk to each other."

Regardless of the reason for the change, the lack of communication and consensus regarding the creation of the new committee led many members to interpret the new subcommittee as a "power play," rather than as a change designed to benefit committee functionality, or the juveniles, their families, and the community.

As the evaluation period ended, several committee members were becoming more

outspoken regarding changes that the powerful individual was implementing. As a result of additional changes to subcommittees, followed by changes in the tracking component of the program, some committee members began pushing the leader for a rationale to justify the changes and challenging the lack of committee involvement in those changes. The result was that the "powerful" leader began to miss the monthly meetings, leading to lessened feelings of relevance for the other committee members.

Data Gathering and Availability. When the JJC was first created, state funding allowed the committee to provide a wide variety of programs. For example, 23 different individuals or agencies provided services for the juveniles in 2002. By 2005, that number had dropped to five individuals or agencies. We attempted to collect data for the 2005 programs to assess their efficacy. Some information was comprehensive, for example, data on juveniles in a multi-systemic therapy (MST) program. Some records, however, were poorly maintained and provided little information on either the number of juveniles in the programs or the effectiveness of the particular programs, for example, an alcohol or other drug class, or outreach programs such as tutoring offered by one of the five agencies receiving funding during 2005–2006.

This evaluation also considered all the data that were gathered by various JJC-related agencies and how that information was shared among members of the committee. Information regarding juvenile offenders was obtained through a variety of channels, often including records kept by some combination of the police, schools, social workers, mental health providers, and the courts. The evaluation found that the JJC was not gathering or sharing information effectively, a finding that highlighted both a symptom and a cause of the communication problems discussed previously.

Individual agencies wished to gather information separately to (1) verify earlier statements by the juveniles and (2) ask specialized questions. However, some of the information collected by the various entities in the juvenile justice system was redundant.

"We don't have good measures as a whole. Individual agencies do have some of that information, but it doesn't get out to everyone."

"We spend a lot of time getting duplicate information that other people have already collected on these kids."

A centralized database for sharing basic information would save time and expense, would minimize potential data errors, and would facilitate new lines of communication among committee members. Data collection would also allow the committee to identify particularly troublesome areas or events to identify proper treatment and supervision regimens.

Measuring Outcomes. A more important problem regarding information collection was also identified. The JJC is charged with providing services to juvenile offenders so as to correct behaviors while allowing the juvenile to remain in the community. Critical information, however, especially recidivism rates and measures of the effectiveness of the different programs that comprised the juvenile justice program, was not collected. Anecdotes regarding repeat offending were shared in subcommittees but recidivism was not a routine topic of discussion in the broader group. Further, we found that the committee was not using its arguably best source of information regarding their program: exit interviews with youth who completed the program. The JJC had no mechanism in place to speak with juveniles at the completion of their programs, or at any point thereafter. In addition to the important information the juveniles might be able to provide, the lack of data on recidivism prevented the committee from identifying any problems that might exist in the structure.

“We don’t know who comes back.”

Obviously, the collection of systematic data on recidivism would help the committee identify appropriate programs for juveniles. Exit interviews in conjunction with data on recidivism would also help identify specific programs that had been effective, along with identifying programs that were not effective and might be cut.

Funding and space limitations dictated which juveniles this program helps. Given those limitations, identification of the most effective programs is essential. Programs that are effective in the literature, and even those that were effective in this situation, will likely exhibit variations that result from staff and management practices at the local level. Therefore, interviewees thought that the committee should also monitor how those programs are working.

“We need to set identifiable and measurable outcomes.”

Questions surrounding the issue of resource consolidation emerged after considering the programs that were being funded,

comparing the change in the number of providers over time, and the efficacy of the programs. Due to the data gaps identified through the evaluation, committee members began to reassess how providers were contracted and what reports should be required of the providers. Additionally, some committee members believed that at least one provider was chosen because of a personal friendship with a committee member. Thus, the felt need for formalizing reporting requirements at regular intervals led to a discussion regarding whether services should be contracted for on a “fee for service” basis or paid as a yearly contract. Members began discussing ways to counter preferential treatment for providers by considering moving contracting for services into a “request for proposals” (RFP) model. This caused concern from other members who suggested that using an RFP would further consolidate services with a few providers. Others, however, saw the RFP process as a way to encourage new and different programs and providers. One benefit of this discussion was that committee members sought ways to increase accountability of program providers. Another benefit was an increase in productive conversations during committee meetings, although it is also notable that these discussions took place primarily in the absence of the most powerful committee member.

Discussion

First, we explore the implications of our overall evaluation in terms of the three questions, derived from the literature on juvenile justice collaboration, that we began with. That literature implies that a relationship exists between collaboration and success in achieving the program goals. When considered minimally, the current program belies that assumption. The program, as we saw, met its most basic (albeit, self-defined) goals for success. However, given the lack of adequate data that monitors recidivism and the accountability of program providers, this evaluation cannot answer whether the broader vision of what the JJC *ought to do* was achieved. Thus, it is possible for agencies to work together without “collaborating” in the fullest sense of the word, and to achieve a minimal level of success. The best-case scenario, of course, would be for multi-agency committees to truly collaborate, resulting in broader program success. Clearly, that is not happening in the case of the JJC. However, the committee’s current situation avoids two other possibilities: the less desirable alternative wherein the

committee collaborates well but does not meet any success; and the least desirable one where they do not collaborate and also fail to find any success. We arrive, therefore, at the conclusion that the relationship between collaboration and outcome success is not automatic but problematic. However, given the limited nature of this study (one multi-agency committee in one jurisdiction) it is important that future research examine this question more extensively.

Next, in answer to the questions from the literature about the perceptions of participants regarding their experiences in multi-agency collaboration and their thoughts regarding the strengths and drawbacks of such an approach to juvenile justice, we should summarize the problems we identified above. Disagreements about the committee’s goals reflected the differences in the orientations of the various agencies individual members represented. These disagreements include the lack of a shared vision regarding the goals of the program, leading to diminished attendance and participation, the unequal power-based role performances of members of the committee, shortcomings with effective communication and information sharing, trouble with collecting needed data about the juveniles, hurdles in ascertaining the effectiveness of the programs the juveniles were sent to, and making this information widely available. It is evident that JJC members perceived that major problems existed with the attempted collaboration and disappointments outweighed the minor satisfaction resulting from having achieved the minimal outcome success level that the committee had set. This can be further illustrated by considering the issue of juveniles with co-occurring problem behaviors.

Borum (2003) notes that most youth in the juvenile justice system have both mental health and substance abuse problems (see also Cropsey, Weaver, & Dupre, 2008; Golzari, Hunt, & Anoshiravani, 2006; Grizzo, 1999; Potter & Jensen, 2003; Stewart & Trupin, 2003). Glisson and Green (2006) find that these behavioral health issues are often undiagnosed, and when juvenile offenders were properly diagnosed and treated, the odds of an out-of-home placement dropped 36 percent when controlling for factors including race, gender, location, and income, among others (p. 487). The pervasiveness of behavioral health problems among juveniles in the system highlights the importance of targeting mental health issues of the juveniles who enter the system, and again, is consistent with the

practices in place in this county-level juvenile justice program. Moreover, the fact that these youth have co-occurring problems also demonstrates the importance of a comprehensive model for dealing with delinquent juveniles and supports the broad interpretation of the goals for this juvenile justice program.

Given the wide range of expertise on the JJC, the issue of co-occurring behavioral problems was ripe for discussion and resolution. Unfortunately, the discussion never happened and the topic was mentioned perfunctorily. Why? Collaborative committees require open, informed communication, in which all the participants feel comfortable discussing potentially controversial ideas and perspectives. Thus, it is important for committee members to feel that their opinions are valued and respected. Part of communication also requires participants to have an overall understanding of the roles and perspectives of the other committee members. This evaluation indicated a lack of understanding between the individual components that led to an overall deficiency in considering the system as a whole. The need for cross-training (Marks, Sabella, Burke & Zaccaro, 2001) of individuals working in the different areas that comprise juvenile justice may be a possible solution to the problems experienced by the JJC.

Worrall (2004) suggests that small, select groups might be more effective in collaboration than larger groups. Given the JJC's experience, the argument may have merit. A smaller committee might have been better suited to addressing some of the problems that arose in the JJC, especially the consolidation of power. Perhaps a committee of 19 was so large that it had become unwieldy. The caution here is that a smaller group is likely to lose the diversity of opinion and perspectives that represents the strength of the collaborative approach to dealing with juvenile justice. The answer to the disadvantages of a larger committee may therefore lie in identifying and clearly articulating common goals, establishing ground rules for decisions, respecting diverse opinions, and providing an open forum of communication.

A large committee creates problems, but on balance the broader level of representation in such a committee outweighs the challenges presented. Despite the difficulties with collaborating noted above, the JJC did achieve its minimally-desired outcomes. The key to maximizing effectiveness for a committee of any size, however, is for committee members to have mutual respect (Henneman, Lee &

Cohen, 1995) and subscribe to a common vision regarding the mission of the group, to formalize the structure of the committee and to give individuals defined roles and shared power (Kraus, 1980).

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Offender Workforce Development Specialists and Their Impact on the Post-Release Outcomes of Ex-Offenders

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THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE highlights the findings of a program evaluation that used post-release outcome information, among other sources, to determine the impact of the National Institute of Corrections' (NIC) Offender Workforce Development Specialist (OWDS) program as it was implemented by the Kansas Department of Corrections (KDOC). Although the focal point of the OWDS program is the specialists who provide an array of services to the offender population as they prepare for release, this evaluation relied heavily upon information directly related to the offenders. The purpose of the evaluation was to determine the extent to which the OWD specialists, and in aggregate the program itself, had contributed to the successful re-entry of ex-offenders. This determination was made by examining the post-release outcomes of the offenders served by the OWD specialists and using a comparison group comprising offenders released during the same timeframe who had not received such services.

In an effort to control for differences between the group receiving OWD services and the comparison group in terms of demographics, participation patterns in alternative prison-based programming, and other factors related to risk, I used logistic and multiple regression. The post-release outcome measures included in the evaluation were recidivism—defined as state-level recommitment for either a new crime or a parole violation—and wages during the first two quarters following release.

What is the Offender Workforce Development Specialist Program?

According to the National Institute of Corrections' *Administrative Guide for the Offender Workforce Development Specialist Partnership Training Program* (2007):

The objectives of the OWDS are to (1) provide participants with the knowledge and skills required to deliver effective workforce development services, (2) promote collaboration that will result in increased positive employment outcomes, (3) help participant teams develop a plan for delivering OWDS training in their communities, and (4) prepare trainees to be instructors of the OWDS curriculum.

The OWDS program encompasses the workforce development services that the specialists provide to the offender population. According to Lichtenberger and Weygandt (2011), offender workforce development (OWD) services that KDOC provided to offenders include comprehensive pre-employment preparation, job-retention planning, and post-release case management for individuals assessed as facing the greatest barriers for successfully gaining and keeping employment. The idea behind the OWDS program, including the OWD services, and the subsequent evaluation parallel the recommendations developed by Heinrich (2000), Holtzer, Raphael, and Stoll (2003), and Brown (2011).

Heinrich (2000) suggested that in an effort to reduce the workforce barriers and increase employment opportunities for offenders the following were needed:

- A holistic array of services, initiation of services before offenders are released,
- The development of long-term relationships with potential employers,
- Incentives for employers to recruit and hire ex-offenders (such as tax breaks and bonding), and
- The performance of long-term follow-up.

Holtzer, Raphael, and Stoll (2003) concluded that while some barriers are related to the offenders themselves, others are embedded within the behaviors of employers; both of these kinds of barriers are addressed by the OWDS program. The OWDS program provides the specialists with the knowledge and skills necessary to address both types of barriers through their own actions and as they instill within the offenders the skills to deal with the behavior of employers. Brown (2011) posited that offender workforce development is greatly needed and should address the development of employment-related skills and the non-technical and soft skills that are related to employment retention.

How was the Evaluation Framed?

It was hypothesized that individuals receiving intensive offender workforce development services are more likely to have lower recidivism rates and higher wages than individuals not receiving such services. This hypothesis is a conceptually viable model based on human capital and rational choice theory (Lochner, 2004). The framework argues that offender workforce development services not only increase human capital but improve the likelihood that gains in human capital from other prison-based programming can be utilized

upon release. Visher, Smolter, and O'Connell (2010) found that federal probationers enrolled in a workforce development program were more likely to find and maintain employment, especially when the program included vocational training.

Methods

Data

At the core of the evaluation were the 122 individuals who received offender workforce development (OWD) services at some point during the study period. Members of the OWD group used in the current evaluation received such services beginning in 2008 and ending in 2010. The OWD group used in the analysis was limited to moderate- and high-risk offenders based on overall Level of Service Inventory-Revised (LSI-R) scores. The LSI-R is a risk classification tool with 10 sub-scales: criminal history, education/employment, financial, family/marital, accommodations, leisure/recreation, companions, alcohol/drugs, and attitudes/orientation. The comparison group included 5,969 individuals released from KDOC during the same time-frame as the members of the OWD group who had not received offender workforce development services. The comparison group was limited to individuals within the same range of total LSI-R scores and the same range of time served for their current sentence as members of the OWD group. In terms of the data, several KDOC files were merged, along with data from the NIC OWDS data collection system, and Kansas Department of Labor (KDOL) employment and earnings information.

Analysis

Descriptive, inferential, and predictive statistics were calculated using SPSS, an analytics software package. The evaluation begins by establishing the differences between the OWD and comparison groups that could potentially impact the outcome measures and serve as alternative explanations for the results. Second, it uses simple descriptive and inferential analyses to look for differences between the OWD group and the comparison group in terms of both recidivism and wages. Finally, predictive analyses, namely logistic and multiple regression, were used to control for those differences in an effort to isolate the impact of receiving OWD services on the post-release outcome measures. The potential benefits of receiving OWD services are placed in the context of other factors and programming such as

overall risk and participation and completion of vocational education programs.

Research Questions

1. What were the differences between the OWD group and the comparison group in terms of demographics, other prison-based programming, and risk (based on the LSI-R)?
2. After controlling for those differences (if any), did receiving intensive OWD-related services improve post-release outcomes, namely the reduced likelihood of recidivism and increased wages?

Purpose

The results of the current evaluation could be used to better pinpoint where OWD services would have the greatest impact and for which groups based on risk (LSI-R). The results could also be used to establish other factors related to successful or unsuccessful reentry and provide insight regarding what additional modules should be integrated in OWDS or related programming.

Results

Differences between the OWD and Comparison Groups

Some of the results demonstrated that using basic descriptive or even inferential statistics was not sufficient to determine the impact of receiving intensive OWD services on post-release outcomes. That is, more sophisticated controls were required, since there were several key differences between groups, some of which were statistically significant. Relative to the comparison group, slightly higher proportions of the OWD group were male and

non-white and had participated in special education; however, none of those differences were statistically significant. Additionally, as shown in Table 1, the OWD group has significantly higher participation rates in vocational and therapeutic community programs and lower participation rates in work release.

When comparing the overall risk levels between the OWD group and the comparison group, there were differences indicating that the OWD group was at a significantly higher risk. The overall LSI-R risk level for the OWD group was 32.8 and 30.4 for the comparison group, for a statistically significant difference of 2.4 percentage points. Consequently, the OWD group was also at higher risk as measured by the specific LSI-R domains. As shown on Table 2, there were significant differences between the OWD group and the comparison group in the education and employment, family, companions, leisure and recreation, and accommodations domains.

OWD group members had a significantly ($p < .05$) lower mean number of dependents relative to the comparison group (0.71 to 0.95); this was perhaps associated with the fact that the typical member of the OWD group was significantly younger at release than the typical member of the comparison group (34 years 9 months to 39 years 3 months). OWD group members also served significantly longer sentences for their current incarceration spell (2.74 years compared to 1.98 years). This is perhaps a function of their significantly higher risk levels on the LSI-R and some of the domains. Time served is somewhat interesting in that it is positively associated with risk but provides more opportunities for programming that potentially could mitigate

TABLE 1:
Demographics and Participation/Completion Patterns in Other Prison-Based Programming

Variable	OWD Group		Comparison Group	
	n	%	n	%
Gender (Male)	115	94%	5,413	91%
Race (White)	71	58%	3,877	65%
Special Ed	27	22%	1,136	19%
Vocational Participation*	41	34%	1,349	23%
Vocational Completion*	26	21%	847	14%
Work Release Participation*	18	15%	1,350	23%
Work Release Completion*	10	8%	1,008	17%
Therapeutic Community Participation*	28	23%	870	15%
Therapeutic Community Completion*	11	9%	460	8%

*statistically significant at the $p < .05$

TABLE 2:
Overall LSI-R Score and Domains by Treatment

Variable	OWD Group	Comparison Group
	Mean Score	Mean Score
Overall LSI-R*	32.80	30.36
Criminal History	6.76	6.57
Education and Employment*	7.54	7.03
Family and Marital*	2.07	1.84
Companions*	3.42	3.08
Alcohol and Drugs	4.49	4.19
Attitude and Orientation	2.94	2.78
Emotional/Personal	1.57	1.40
Leisure*	1.82	1.64
Finance	1.07	0.96
Accommodations*	1.11	0.86

*Difference statically significant at the $p < .05$

risk. For example, the greater the amount of time served, typically speaking, the more serious the crime or crimes committed. Yet, the greater the amount of time served, the more opportunities one has to move up waiting lists and participate in and complete different programming related to reducing risk and increasing human capital.

Many of the differences indicated both directly (overall risk based on the LSI-R) and indirectly (age at release and time served) that the typical OWD group member was at significantly higher risk for recidivism than the typical comparison group member.

Initial Comparison of the Difference in Recidivism Rates

As shown in Table 3, the difference in the mean rate of recidivism between the OWD and comparison groups one year after release was four percentage points. The difference in recidivism rates equated to a program impact of roughly 19 percent. Unfortunately, using inferential statistics—independent samples T-test—this difference favoring the OWD group was not statistically significant. The t-score was 1.033 with a p-value of .302, which indicated that the difference was likely due to chance, perhaps because of the relatively small size of the OWD group (N=122). Additionally, there was no difference between the OWD and comparison groups at the end of year two. Relatively few OWD group members (73 combined) had at least two years of potential survival time, demonstrating the need for extending the evaluation.

As shown toward the bottom of Table 3, when the recidivism results are stratified by overall risk level (based on the LSI-R), the data suggest that during the first year following release, moderate-risk offenders benefit from OWD services more than high-risk offenders. Nonetheless, both moderate- and high-risk OWD group members benefit from receiving intensive services that first year upon release. Once again, these differences favoring both of the OWD groups lacked statistical significance. At two years out, the moderate-risk OWD group maintained their relative advantage over the moderate-risk comparison group; yet the high-risk OWD group had a higher rate of recidivism relative to the comparison group. This suggested an erosion of the benefits for high-risk offenders between year one and year two.

The lack of statistical significance between the OWD group and the Comparison group in terms of recidivism is most likely due to the relatively small sample size combined with one of the limitations associated with using

inferential statistics, such as independent samples T-tests. As evidenced in comparisons presented in Tables 1 and 2, there were several statistically significant differences between the OWD group and Comparison group, demonstrating that the groups were not equivalent. Many of the differences suggested that, as a whole, the OWD group would be at greater relative risk of recidivating. Further, in spite of the lack of statistically significant differences favoring the OWD groups and the fact that the high-risk OWD group members had higher recidivism rates at two years than their respective Comparison group members, this did not necessarily equate to either a lack of positive program impact or a negative program impact. Inferential statistics do not account for the variability between the groups in the other factors that are likely placing some of the OWD group members, particularly the high-risk offenders, at greater relative risk of recidivating. Fortunately, predictive analyses, such as logistic regression, allow researchers to control for such differences and determine the importance of each of the factors independent of each other as they relate to the outcome variable, holding all of the other factors constant.

As suggested below, logistic regression was used to control for the differences in other factors that could potentially impact the outcome measure, in an effort to better isolate the importance of receiving intensive OWD services on recidivism. More specifically, logistic regression was used to control for the differences between the OWD group and the Comparison group that arguably put the typical OWD group member at a higher relative risk of recidivism than the typical comparison group member. The outcome variable used in this regression analysis was simply whether someone recidivated (Y/N) during the first year following release (model 1) or second year following release (model 2). Due to missing data in one or more of the

TABLE 3:
Recidivism Rate Comparison at One-Year and Two-Years Following Release by Overall LSI-R Risk Level

Variable	OWD Group			Comparison Group		
	Total	Moderate	High	Total	Moderate	High
N with >365 Days of Survival Time	122	62	60	5,969	4,091	1,878
Rate of Recidivism at 1 Year	17%	10%	25%	21%	17%	30%
N with >730 Days of Survival Time	73	38	35	3,935	2,747	1,188
Rate of Recidivism at 2 Years	33%	16%	52%	32%	27%	42%

variables used in the logistic regression models, 39 members of the comparison group were omitted from the first model and 20 members of the comparison group were omitted from the second model.

It was found that participating in the OWD program significantly decreased the likelihood of recidivism as defined in this study, even after holding all of the other factors constant. In other words, the odds of recidivism within one year of release for an offender receiving OWD services were significantly lower than the odds of a comparison group member, even after controlling for differences in the other factors. This demonstrated the importance of using predictive statistical approaches, such as logistic regression, when the treatment group and the comparison group are not equivalent in other factors potentially related to recidivism. The LSI-R domains of Criminal History, Education and Employment, Emotional/Personal, and Accommodations were all statistically significant in predicting recidivism within a year of release, so that as the risk level increased, the odds of recidivism increased. Gender was also important, as males were significantly more likely to recidivate than females. An ex-offender's number of dependents was a significant factor: As the number of dependents increased, the odds of recidivating within a year of release decreased. Race was another significant factor, as white ex-offenders were significantly less likely to recidivate than their non-white counterparts. Participating in a vocational program without completing it was related to increased odds of recidivism; conversely, completing a vocational program was related to significantly lower odds of recidivism.

As shown on Table 4, the impact of receiving OWD services on recidivism fades away during the second year following release and is no longer statistically significant (Model 2). Gender and risk in the LSI-R Education and Employment domain also lost their statistical importance in increasing the amount of time for the outcome measure from one year to two years, while LSI-R Companions became statistically significant in the second model after lacking significance in the first. In terms of statistically significant factors in both year one and year two, similar patterns were evident across the two models regarding participation and completion of vocational programs, the number of dependents, race, LSI-R accommodations, and the age of the offender upon release.

Earnings

As illustrated in Table 5, the reported mean quarterly wages was universally low for all released ex-offenders who gained employment throughout the first four quarters following release. Although OWD group members maintained higher wages during the first two

quarters following release, the differences were not statistically significant. Also, the patterns were quite different between the comparison group and OWD group. The wages for the OWD group started off relatively high in the first two quarters and then decreased in subsequent quarters, while the wages of the

TABLE 4:
Logistic Regression Predicting Recidivism

Factor	Model 1		Model 2	
	Within One-Year of Release (N=6,052)		Within Two-Years of Release (N=3,988)	
	B	Odds Ratio	B	Odds Ratio
OWD	-.488	.614*	-.109	.896
Dependents	-.136	.873***	-.134	.874***
Race (White)	-.206	.814**	-.271	.763***
Gender (Male)	.325	1.383*	.165	1.180
Special Education	-.056	.945	-.014	.986
Voc. Participant	.225	1.253*	.380	1.463**
Voc. Completer	-.413	.662**	-.332	.718*
Work Release Participant	.188	1.206	.184	1.202
Work Release Completer	-.207	.813	-.092	.912
TC Participant	.072	1.075	-.085	.919
TC Completer	-.112	.894	.168	1.183
Release Quarter	-.001	.999	-.007	.993
LSI-R Domains				
Criminal History	.240	1.272***	.249	1.283***
Education and Employment	.059	1.061**	.016	1.017
Family	.024	1.025	.051	1.052
Companions	.088	1.092	.074	1.077*
Alcohol and Drugs	.017	1.017	.017	1.017
Attitudes and Orientation	.046	1.047	.011	1.011
Emotional/Personal	.078	1.081**	.093	1.097***
Leisure	-.061	.951	-.053	.948
Finance	.100	1.105	.054	.055
Accommodations	.103	1.108**	.079	1.082*
Age	.000	1.000***	.000	1.000*

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

TABLE 5:
Mean Reported Quarterly Wages Comparison during the First Year Following Release

Variable	OWD Group	Comparison Group
	Mean Wages	Mean Wages
Quarter 1	\$417.69	\$238.82
Quarter 2	\$425.91	\$285.33
Quarter 3	\$301.02	\$303.88
Quarter 4	\$264.84	\$285.84

comparison group members increased the second quarter out and remained relatively flat after the second quarter increase. The relatively low wages for both groups highlight the extreme impact that being an ex-offender has on employment, particularly during an economic downturn. Once again, it should be noted that potential differences between the OWD and comparison groups exist that could serve as alternative explanations for the results, or in this case the lack of a statically significant impact for members of the OWD group.

Two multiple regression models were developed to determine the factors that were related to increased earnings during the first two quarters following release. The standardized coefficients (Beta) can be interpreted in much the same way as odds ratios, as they provide a measure of effect size for each variable. Only three variables were statistically significant in predicting wages during the quarter of release. Once again, having received OWD services was significantly related to the desired outcome, or in this case increased wages. An apparently counterintuitive finding was that those identified as having received special education had higher wages, all else being equal. The quarter of release was the only other statistically significant factor and offenders released later in the study period had significantly lower wages, perhaps as a result of decreased employment opportunities due to the recession.

In terms of predicting increased earnings during the second quarter following release, having received OWD services was no longer statistically significant. This suggests that obtaining employment with increased earnings upon release is less of an issue for the OWD group relative to the comparison group, but problems related to maintaining employment and obtaining subsequent jobs (employment retention) remain. One factor became statistically significant the second quarter following release, namely the number of dependents: Those with more dependents were more likely to earn higher wages during the second quarter following release. The quarter of release remained statistically significant in the second model and demonstrated that those released later in the study earned significantly less.

Conclusions and Discussion

The results of the evaluation demonstrated that the OWDS program is relatively promising in terms of its impact on short-term outcomes. Receiving OWD services contributed to a

TABLE 6:
Multiple Regression Models Predicting Quarterly Wages

	Wages Quarter 1		Wages Quarter 2	
	B	Beta	B	Beta
OWD	257.12	.049*	214.81	.040
Dependents	19.49	.035	30.54	.055*
Race (White)	12.82	.009	56.86	.038
Gender (Male)	29.60	.012	59.87	.025
Special Education	89.01	.047*	23.06	.013
Voc. Participant	-5.05	-.003	-40.39	-.024
Voc. Completer	-3.05	-.002	64.07	.033
Work Release Participant	98.82	.062	96.36	.061
Work Release Completer	135.75	.079	72.64	.043
TC Participant	-33.93	-.018	-17.01	-.009
TC Completer	-66.68	-.026	-133.28	-.053
Release Quarter	-5.82	-.069**	-8.39	-.092***
LSI-R				
Criminal History	-9.21	-.021	-10.01	-.023
Education and Employment	8.30	.020	2.56	.006
Family	11.41	.019	13.21	.022
Companions	-12.10	-.018	-7.10	-.011
Alcohol and Drugs	5.99	.021	6.85	.024
Attitudes and Orientation	-20.86	-.033	-30.97	-.050
Emotional/Personal	2.67	.005	-6.95	-.015
Leisure	-5.08	-.005	-18.37	-.017
Finance	-16.64	-.016	-27.06	-.027
Accommodations	-14.23	-.021	-10.89	-.016
Age	0.00	-.004	0.00	.009

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

decreased likelihood of recidivism within one year of release. That is, after controlling for other factors that could potentially impact the likelihood of recidivism—such as race, gender, and other programming to name a few—the difference between the OWD and the comparison group in terms of the odds of recidivating was statistically significant and indicated that OWD group members had lower odds of recidivating. Unfortunately, this impact dissipated when measuring recidivism within two years of release for those with the minimum amount of potential survival time (at least two years).

All ex-offenders appeared to have a difficult time obtaining employment upon release; however, once pre-existing differences between the OWD and comparison groups were controlled for, a significant difference in wages during the first quarter following release was established. Receiving OWD services was not significantly related to increased

wages during the second quarter following release. This erosion of the positive program impact on earnings during the second quarter suggests that employment retention should be a continued area of emphasis for Offender Workforce Development Specialists.

Coincidentally, the NIC has recognized the need for employment retention and has developed an Offender Employment Retention Specialist Training program. The program combines cognitive behavioral principles with motivational interviewing strategies, providing specialists with the skills they need to deal with offenders targeted as being at high risk for job loss. The program's purpose is to connect offenders to services and programs that support their long-term attachment to the workforce, providing them with knowledge of employer needs and expectations as well as an understanding of the relapse prevention model as it applies to job loss indicators.

Policy Implications

Employment Retention

Offender Workforce Development specialists should continue to place a heavy emphasis on employment retention. Obtaining employment is still critical, as it serves as a conduit to retention; however, the positive program impact related to both recidivism and earnings fades away at a point when employment retention or the ability to get another job becomes critical. Unfortunately, the job market for ex-offenders in Kansas is less than robust, so the investment in human capital is not always realized due to a lack of opportunity. Nonetheless, Offender Workforce Development specialists should continue to develop and maintain relationships with employers willing to hire ex-offenders as well as attempt to break down the barriers that exist with employers unwilling to hire ex-offenders.

Varying the dose of services

Varying the level (dose) of offender workforce development services based on risk is not only economical, but could lead to improved outcomes. For example, high-risk offenders should be provided with a greater level of services than moderate-risk offenders. First of all, high-risk offenders, by their very nature, have a greater need. Second, moderate-risk offenders might not need the same level of services, and providing an unnecessarily high dosage to them means that other high-risk offenders could potentially not receive the level of services that are required to mitigate risk. This is important, as many offender-based programs are often forced to deal with counter-cyclical pressures—increased need for programs during economic downturns—that require the most efficient use of existing resources. A suggestion would be to provide core OWD services to all ex-offenders regardless of risk level, and then triage the intensive OWD services so that high-risk offenders are served first, followed by moderate-risk offender and so on, as resources allow.

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Reentry Initiatives: A Study of the Federal Workforce Development Program

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AFTER NEARLY 50 YEARS of stability, incarceration rates in America dramatically increased between 1973 and 2000 (Visher & Travis, 2003). In the last 30 years, the prison population in the United States has steadily grown, with millions of people being held in prison each year (Mallenhoff, 2009; Visher & Travis, 2003). For instance, “in 2001, America posted a new record of 1.3 million people held in prison” (Visher & Travis, 2003, p. 89). In fact, the number of persons sentenced to federal prison between 1995 and 2005 nearly doubled (Motivans, 2010). Wexler and Fletcher (2007, p. 10) reported in *The National Criminal Justice Drug Treatment Studies (CJ-DATS) Overview* that, in 2003, “it was estimated that about 6.9 million individuals were under some form of correctional control, with nearly 2.1 million in prison or jail and about 4.8 million under community supervision.”

The majority of people who enter the criminal justice system will be released into the community setting, with approximately 95 percent of state and federal prisoners returning home (Mallenhoff, 2009; Visher & Travis, 2003). In fact, Wilkinson and Rhine (2005) reported that approximately 700,000 offenders will be released annually from state and federal prisons into communities across the country. Roughly 5 million ex-offenders are under a form of community-based supervision, such as probation or parole (Mallenhoff, 2009). Out of the estimated 5 million ex-offenders, Motivans (2011) reported that between October 1, 2008, and September 30, 2009, a total of 123,371 federal offenders were under a form of supervision in a community setting.

Inevitably prisoners will complete their sentences and will be granted release into the community setting, sometimes even earlier than expected. In 2009 the Department of Justice provided explicit information regarding the early release of inmates that had successfully completed drug treatment while incarcerated:

Federal law allows the Bureau of Prisons (BOP) to grant a non-violent offender up to 1 year off his/her term of imprisonment for successful completion of the Residential Drug Abuse Treatment program (Title 18 U.S.C. 3621(e)(2)). In fiscal year 2008, 4,800 inmates received a reduction in their term of imprisonment based on this law. Since the implementation of this provision in June 1995, a total of 32,618 inmates have received such a reduction (pp. 10–11).

Similarly, Wilkinson (2001) reported that as a result of changes in sentencing guidelines, the number of prisoners being released directly into the community setting without post-conviction supervision has increased by 20 percent. Consequently, our communities and community correction agencies are now challenged to address not only the rising number of offenders, but also the subsequent concerns associated with prisoner reentry.

Extant research has provided a wealth of information on reentry experiences (e.g., Belenko, Foltz, Lang, & Sung, 2004; Duff, 2010; Langan & Levin, 2002; Travis, 2005; Wexler & Fletcher, 2007; Wilkinson, 2005). This existing research on reentry has proposed various factors that may contribute to successful reentry. Protective factors that promote successful reentry include the prisoner’s length of incarceration, individual characteristics, family and

community support, health care, and employment opportunities (Sung & Belenko, 2005; Travis, 2005; Visher & Travis, 2003; Wilkinson 2001). In fact, for the majority of ex-prisoners, one of the central challenges to successful reentry is employment (Bloom, Redcross, Zweig, & Azurdia, 2007), which can be implicated in the success or lack thereof in reentry.

Recently, much evidence-based research has been focusing on what types of “prisoner reentry programs, policies, and services work and which do not” (Visher, Smolter, et al., 2010, p. 2). The federal Workforce Development Program (WFD) is one specific program established to assist ex-offenders in their transition from prison into the community setting (Visher, Smolter, et al., 2010). The federal WFD is a fairly new reentry initiative that has been implemented in some United States probation offices with the aim of addressing one aspect of the challenge of prisoner reentry (Visher, Smolter, et al., 2010).

At this writing, exploratory research has only been conducted on the federal WFDs in Missouri, Louisiana, and Vermont. In addition, one pilot study was conducted on the federal WFD in Delaware. Initial research on the federal WFD found that the program was associated with increased employment rates of probationers, who subsequently showed reduced recidivism rates (Visher, Smolter, et al., 2010). This article summarizes the first study conducted on the federal WFD in the Western District of Pennsylvania.

Overall, the reentry phenomenon is multifaceted, with specific emphasis placed on risk factors and protective factors. As reentry implications appear to be unclear, even more unclear is what promotes successful prisoner

reentry. The purpose of this study was to examine characteristics of probationers that are associated with and predictive of successful reentry. As such, the following research questions for this study were:

1. What are the characteristics of probationers associated with and predictive of successful reentry?
2. Is involvement in the federal WFD predictive of successful reentry for probationers?

The rationale for this study emanated from the United States probation and pretrial services system's interest in evaluating evidence-based reentry initiatives. Increased interest in evidence-based practices stems from the growing need for service providers to demonstrate that their programs are evidence-based and contribute to the community safety goals set forth by correctional agencies (Gerace & Day, 2010). The federal probation and pretrial services system has been diligently exploring evidence-based practices in order to implement organizational and process changes to improve the outcomes of those under supervision (Gregoire, 2011). In fact, Gregoire explicitly stated that the federal probation and pretrial services system is "more purposefully identifying evidence-based principles and very consciously basing our decisions on the best evidence available" (p. 2).

Method

In order to address the purpose and specific research questions of this study, permission to use existing, de-identified data to evaluate WFD was requested and granted by the deputy chief of the U.S. Probation Office in the Western District of Pennsylvania (T. Johnson, personal communication, June 30, 2011). This research evaluated the characteristics of probationers associated with and predictive of successful reentry.

Participants

Adults serving a term of post-conviction supervision under the U.S. Probation Office in the Western District of Pennsylvania define the target population. The existing data set included 225 adult male and female offenders on federal probation in the Western District of Pennsylvania. Participants were selected in a random fashion from the participant pool.

Data Set and Variables

The data on the federal probationers was collected by Community Resource specialists and supervisors of the U.S. Probation Office in the

Western District of Pennsylvania. First, the Community Resource specialist established a list of probationers enrolled in the federal WFD in 2007 and a list of probationers enrolled in the federal WFD in 2010. Second, the Community Resource specialist took the established lists, started with the first name on each list, and then selected every third name until 75 participants were selected to establish the 2007 and 2010 WFD samples. Third, the supervisor obtained a list from the Community Resource specialist that identified probationers that were enrolled in the federal WFD in 2010. With that list the supervisor was then able to cross reference data to determine probationers that were not enrolled in the federal WFD in 2010. The supervisor randomly selected five non-WFD probationers from each U.S. probation officer's caseloads. Thus, a sample of existing data from 2010 that included 75 non-WFD participants was created.

The collected archival data was stripped of identifiers in order to create a database that does not include identifying information. Variables that were included in the database are age, race, gender, type of offense, substance abuse history, mental health history, employment history, educational history, recidivism, and whether or not the probationer was enrolled in the federal WFD. For a definition of each variable examined in this study and to identify the values of the variables, please refer to Table 1.

Data Analysis

With the exception of the continuous variable of age, this research study generated ordinal data. Regression analysis was used to examine the correlation of probationer characteristics and the phenomenon of successful reentry (Cleophas, Zwinderman, Cleophas, & Cleophas, 2009). Independent *t* test, chi-square, and logistic regression tests were

conducted on data gathered from existing records on a sample of probationers enrolled in the federal WFD and a sample of probationers not enrolled in the program.

Independent *t* Test

As seen in Figure 1, Age was the only continuous variable in this data set. As a result, an independent *t* test was conducted to compare age across participants that recidivated versus participants that did not recidivate. The independent *t* test examined independence, normality of the distribution, and the equality of variances. The age range of participants was 20 to 74 years old. Figure 1 provides a histogram of age for the participants in the data set showing that the distribution was normal. The mean for age was 41.65 ($sd = 11.30$). The median age was 40.00 and the mode was 40. The average age of participants that recidivated was 39.95 years of age and the average age of participants who did not recidivate was 42.06 years of age. To determine if recidivists were significantly younger than non-recidivists, an independent samples *t* test was conducted. The results failed to reveal a statistically significant difference ($t(223) = 1.11, p = .27$) indicating that age did not differ across groups.

Chi-Square

After determining the accuracy of the data and exploring the chi-squared assumptions, I calculated Pearson chi-square results. An alpha level of .05 ($p = .05$) was used for all statistical tests. By using the cross tabulation analysis in SPSS, a chi-square test of significance was conducted to analyze frequencies of the data. The chi-square test of significance compared observed and expected frequencies of the existing data. Because the chi-square test is a test of association, the test determined if recidivism occurred more or less often

FIGURE 1.
Age Range of Participants

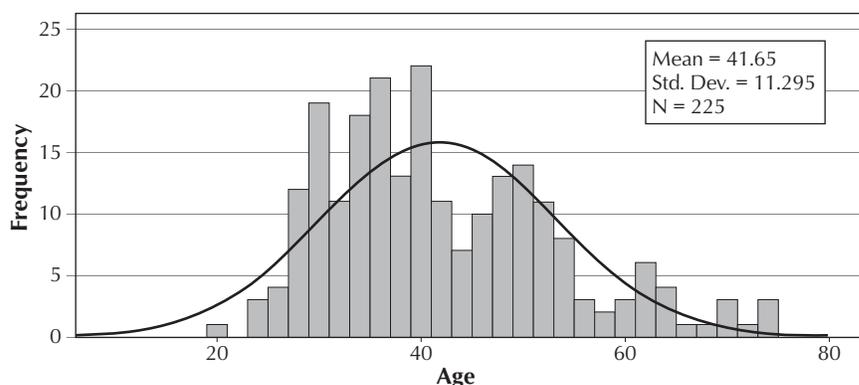


TABLE 1.
Variables, Values, and Definitions

Variables	Definitions
Group	A quantitative variable that indicates the data source of the probationers with the following categories: 1 = 2010 Non-WFD 2 = 2007 WFD 3 = 2010 WFD
Type of Offense	A quantitative variable that indicates the type of offense of the probationers with the following categories: 1 = Drug Crime 2 = Violent Crime 3 = Property Crime 4 = Weapon Offense
Race	A quantitative variable that indicates the race of the probationers with the following categories: 1 = Caucasian 2 = African American
Gender	A quantitative variable that indicates the gender of the probationers with the following categories: 1 = Male 2 = Female
Education	A quantitative variable that indicates the education level of the probationers with the following categories: 1 = No High School 2 = GED 3 = High School 4 = Higher Education 5 = Missing
Employment	A quantitative variable that indicates the employment status of the probationers with the following categories: 1 = Yes 2 = No
Recidivism	A quantitative variable that indicates the recidivism status of the probationers with the following categories: 1 = Yes 2 = No
Drug and Alcohol	A quantitative variable that indicates the drug and alcohol history of the probationers with the following categories: 1 = Yes 2 = No 3 = Missing
Mental Health	A quantitative variable that indicates the mental health history of the probationers with the following categories: 1 = Yes 2 = No 3 = Missing
WFD	A quantitative variable that indicates WFD classification of the probationers with the following categories: 1 = Yes 2 = No

Note. WFD = Workforce Development; GED = General Equivalency Degree.

than statistically expected when probationers are categorized in terms of other variables of interest (i.e., age, gender, etc.).

When examining employment and recidivism, the results revealed a statistically significant difference ($\chi^2 = 6.76$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$). Table 2 displays employment and recidivism findings. Examination of the distribution indicated that 12.7 percent of participants that were employed recidivated, whereas 26.4 percent of unemployed participants recidivated. As such, fewer employed probationers recidivated.

A chi-square test of significance was also conducted to determine if the federal WFD was a variable associated with and predictive of successful reentry. When examining WFD and recidivism, the results failed to reveal a statistically significant difference ($\chi^2 = .35$, $df = 1$, $p = .55$). Table 3 displays WFD and recidivism findings.

Additionally, the 2010 non-WFD group consisted of 75 participants ($n = 75$); 29.5 percent of those participants recidivated. The 2007 WFD group consisted of 75 participants ($n = 75$); 43.2 percent of those participants recidivated. The 2010 WFD group consisted of 75 participants ($n = 75$); 27.3 percent of those participants recidivated. Findings indicated that participants in the 2010 WFD group were least likely to experience recidivism. However, the chi-square test of significance determined that there were no significant findings among these groups ($\chi^2 = 2.43$, $df = 2$, $p = .30$). Table 4 displays WFD and recidivism per group.

Logistic Regression

Logistic regression was used to compute the odds of recidivism among participants. Logistic regression examined what predictor variables were more or less likely to be associated with recidivism. An omnibus test of model coefficients was used to determine how well the model performed. It provided a test of the joint predictive ability of all of the covariates in the model, accounting for all other covariates in the model simultaneously. In logistic regression, summary measures of fit are functions of a residual defined as the difference between the observed and fitted value (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 2000).

A binary logistic regression was performed with recidivism as the dependent variable. Predictor variables included type of offense, age, gender, race, education level, employment, substance abuse history, mental health history, and whether or not a probationer was enrolled in WFD. The statistic *-2 log likelihood* was used in the logistic regression to measure the success

TABLE 2.
Employment and Recidivism

	Recidivism		Total
	Yes	No	
Employment			
<i>Employed (Yes)</i>			
Count	15	103	118
Expected Count	22.7	95.3	118.0
% within Employment	12.7%	87.3%	100%
% within Recidivism	34.9%	56.9%	52.7%
% of Total	6.7%	46.0%	52.7%
<i>Employed (No)</i>			
Count	28	78	106
Expected Count	20.3	85.7	106.0
% within Employment	26.4%	73.6%	100%
% within Recidivism	65.1%	43.1%	47.3%
% of Total	12.5%	34.8%	47.3%

TABLE 3.
WFD and Recidivism

	Recidivism		Total
	Yes	No	
WFD			
<i>WFD (Yes)</i>			
Count	31	119	150
Expected Count	29.3	120.7	150.0
% within WFD	20.7%	79.3%	100%
% within Recidivism	70.5%	65.7%	66.7%
% of Total	13.8%	52.9%	66.7%
<i>WFD (No)</i>			
Count	13	62	75
Expected Count	14.7	60.3	75.0
% within WFD	17.3%	82.7%	100%
% within Recidivism	29.5%	34.3%	33.3%
% of Total	5.8%	27.6%	33.3%

of the model. A total of 225 cases were analyzed and the full model was not significantly reliable ($\chi^2 = 9.16$, $df = 13$, $p = .76$). This model accounted for between 5.1 percent and 8.4 percent of the variance in recidivism. Overall, 82.4 percent of predictions were accurate.

Limitations

This study presents with limitations. First, missing variables, the ordinal nature of the data, and use of extant data may have affected the research outcomes. For instance, the predictor variables that demonstrated the majority of missing information included drug and alcohol as well as mental health variables. Existing data showed that, of the total 225 participants, 39 participants' mental

health histories were unknown (i.e., missing) and 19 participants' drug and alcohol histories were unknown (i.e., missing).

Second, contextual factors appeared to be underrepresented in this study. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (2008) labeled the race of federal offenders under supervision as Caucasian, African American, Asian, Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander, American Indian, Alaska Native, and "other." The Hispanic population is not delineated; however, according to Petersilia (2005), Hispanics are the fastest growing minority group, representing 16 percent of the current prison population. Therefore, the Hispanic race may be underrepresented or mislabeled as "other." For this study, existing data collected was limited

because Caucasians and African Americans were the only identified races. In terms of race, this study concluded that 38.6 percent of Caucasians and 61.4 percent of African Americans recidivated. The ability to classify contextual factors will need to be addressed in order to achieve culturally sensitive research.

Third, this research lacks statistical significance in relation to the confounding variables. When conducting field research, it is difficult to regulate all of the predictor variables that may have affected the participants in this research. A wide array of confounding variables may include intrinsic or extrinsic motivation to treatment, prior treatment experiences (i.e., drug and alcohol and/or mental health treatment prior to incarceration, while incarcerated or post incarceration), prior vocational training, or exposure to educational programs.

Another potential confound is related to the Community Resource specialist and the probation officer. For the most part, the Community Resource specialists and probation officers remain constant in the participant's reentry experience. Therefore, it is likely that the Community Resource specialist's and probation officer's skills improved over time, especially since enrollment in the WFD is open ended. Although it is assumed that a consistent WFD treatment protocol was used, it is probable that those working with the probationer have improved in the execution of that protocol over time. This is to be considered when exploring increased successful reentry experiences for participants involved in the 2010 WFD compared to their 2007 counterparts.

Conclusions and Recommendations

To summarize, conclusions regarding the research as well as recommendations for future research are presented. It may be concluded that the WFD, as designed and implemented, was not predictive of successful reentry. It may further be concluded that of all the predictor variables examined, employment was the only variable that was predictive of successful reentry.

Research on a larger sample that contains more diverse demographics may lead to a better understanding of predictor variables associated with successful reentry. Use of random assignment of program participants, rather than use of existing groups, would result in a stronger research design. The sample for this research was demographically limited (i.e., age, gender, and race). Also, the research seemed to under-represent

TABLE 4.
WFD Per Group and Recidivism

	Recidivism		
	Yes	No	Total
WFD Groups			
<i>Non-WFD 2010</i>			
Count	13	62	75
Expected Count	14.7	60.3	75.0
% within WFD Groups	17.3%	82.7%	100%
% within Recidivism	29.5%	34.3%	33.3%
% of Total	5.8%	27.6%	33.3%
<i>WFD 2007</i>			
Count	19	56	75
Expected Count	14.7	60.3%	75.0
% within WFD Groups	25.3%	74.7%	100%
% within Recidivism	43.2%	30.9%	33.3%
% of Total	8.4%	24.9%	33.3%
<i>WFD 2010</i>			
Count	12	63	75
Expected Count	14.7	60.3	75.0
% within WFD Groups	16.0%	84.0%	100%
% within Recidivism	27.3%	34.8%	33.3%
% of Total	5.3%	28.0%	33.3%

contextual factors, substance abuse histories, and mental health histories.

Prior research has discovered that offenders' drug and alcohol and mental health histories have a profound impact on their reentry experience. In fact, Petersilia (2003) reported that offenders who were originally convicted of drug-related crimes had the second highest rate of recidivism. However, since a number of the participants' drug and alcohol as well as mental health histories were unknown, they may have been underrepresented and under-identified in this study. Untreated mental illnesses within the community may result in a person's propensity towards criminal activity. Furthermore, when considering the effect of substance abuse on employment, probationers are unlikely to obtain or sustain employment if they cannot pass a drug screen. Similarly, if a probationer is actively abusing mood-altering chemicals, the probationer could be placing himself or herself and others at risk in the workplace, not to mention how negatively drug use can impact overall work performance.

Moreover, substance abuse disorders may mimic symptoms of mood or personality disorders. Active use of mood-altering chemicals can present as the primary concern and can mask underlying mental health symptoms. Thus, offenders could be misdiagnosed and

dual diagnoses may be overlooked. This study did not identify substance abuse or mental health variables as significant in addressing successful reentry. However, while these two variables alone may not be significant, yet it is possible that addressing these variables collectively may lead to significant findings.

As a result, suggestions include clinical assessment of the probationer and collaborative efforts among providers. It is suggested that offenders who are identified as having either drug and alcohol histories or mental health histories be accurately assessed for co-occurring disorders and be recommended for treatment that will concurrently address their presenting clinical needs. Accurate substance abuse, substance dependence, and mental health diagnosis is not only essential for proper treatment but also critical to appropriate program evaluation. It is hoped that more accurate assessment will lead to effective treatment, resulting in decreased recidivism.

Additionally, this research explored specific offenses, including drug crimes, violent crimes, property crimes, and weapon offenses. Further research may need to be conducted on criteria for sentencing guidelines. Even if a person is charged with a violent crime, this crime might be related to a substance-induced state. Furthermore, about half of all offenders

reported being under the influence of mood-altering chemicals during the commission of their crimes, which subsequently led to their incarceration (Shivy et al., 2007). This information may be important when exploring reentry treatment needs.

In general, further research is necessary on the WFD program itself. As previously mentioned, the WFD is a relatively new reentry initiative. As defined by Visher et al. (2010), the WFD provides "men and women under community supervision with assistance to increase their job readiness (including education and vocational skills), identify potential employers, and develop resumes and interview skills with the goals of obtaining full-time employment and reducing recidivism" (p. 2). This definition may need to be refined to best describe the WFD in the Western District of Pennsylvania. For future research, a comprehensive definition of WFD and solid theoretical basis are needed.

Advances in reentry initiatives such as the WFD appear to be directly linked to definition and theoretical considerations. Continued research could further explore the administration of WFD program components, such as the services offered to probationers and how the services are being implemented (i.e., career assessments, resume building, rap sheet expungement, driver's license restoration, job club, cognitive thinking courses, along with workshops that address financial literacy and homeownership). However, these services seem to be individualized based on the assessed needs of the probationer. Consideration may need to be given for curriculum development to enhance the consistency of what the program can offer. Record keeping and data collection could be improved by detailing what services each probationer receives and the length of time involved in each service. Future research could then explore what services appear to be most beneficial in promoting successful reentry.

Future research is also needed to explore the meaningfulness of rapport between the U.S. probation office and the probationer. Carl Rodgers endorsed a humanistic psychology that proposed that those in a superior or "expert" position (U.S. probation employee) can create a growth-promoting climate in which individuals (probationers) can move forward and become what they are capable of becoming (Corey, 2001). Attributes that are said to create a growth-promoting climate include genuineness, unconditional positive regard, and accurate empathic understanding (Corey, 2001). If such attributes are communicated

by the “expert,” probationers may become less defensive and better able to engage in pro-social and constructive behaviors. Subsequently, further qualitative research may be warranted to explore the impact of relationships between the probationer and the U.S. probation employee to determine if the quality of relationship is predictive of successful reentry

Further research is warranted to adequately address differences in employment rates among the WFD participants and the non-WFD participants. What causes differences in employment rates between these two groups? Differences may result from the offender’s perceived need, or lack thereof, for WFD. Involvement in the WFD is voluntary; however, the offender’s perception of enrollment in WFD may not be such. For example, if the offender is experiencing difficulty obtaining employment and the probation officer suggests involvement in the WFD to address this need, the probationer may view this as a negative reentry intervention that involves increased monitoring. Furthermore, the probationer may identify involvement with WFD as an adverse consequence associated with lack of employment, which may prompt resistance to the programming.

It is recommended that WFD data collection and record keeping practices be revised. For probationers enrolled in the WFD program, the probationer’s motivation should be recorded as either extrinsically or intrinsically motivated. This could be accomplished by assessing the stage of change of the probationer at the time of admission. Reassessment of the stages of change could occur every 60 to 90 days and be recorded accordingly. Recording the stages of change could be a valuable tool to enhance future evidence-based studies.

Utilizing a pretest-posttest design and implementing an updated career assessment tool could be effective ways to accomplish such a task. Pretest-posttest control group designs could be implemented within the group of WFD participants alone or could be implemented with a group of WFD participants and a group of non-WFD participants. Not only does the pretest-posttest design allow a researcher to examine the individual performance of specific participants, but it allows a researcher to compare participant groups and measure the degree of change that occurred as a result of involvement in WFD (Heppner et al., 2008).

Time-series design could be beneficial in further exploring the effectiveness of WFD by examining multiple observations over time

(Heppner et al., 2008). For instance, a time-series design could account for WFD trends over time. This study indicated that the 2010 WFD participants experienced decreased recidivism rates compared to their 2007 WFD counterparts. By incorporating a time-series design, specific reasons for this change over time could be identified.

As evidenced by findings, this research concludes that employment is a predictor of successful reentry. Providing probationers with the tools to become employable appears to be critical in addressing the reentry epidemic. In order to accomplish this, reentry initiatives will benefit from future research so that appropriate interventions can aid in reducing recidivism rates and support successful reentry.

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Inmates Who Receive Visits in Prison: Exploring Factors that Predict

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HISTORICALLY, PRISON VISITATION has been regarded as important by correctional practitioners and scholars (Schafer, 1994). For inmates, social support and connections to the outside world established and maintained through prison visitation are critical. Visitation programs help inmates maintain communication with family and friends throughout their incarceration (Lochhead, 1992; Martin, 1997). Visitation may conceivably reduce stressors inherent in the prison environment, thereby enhancing institutional adjustment among inmates. Inmates who are better adjusted to the prison environment and connected to the outside world may also be expected to maintain a stronger connection to the outside world, including free-world norms, behaviors, and expectations, meaning they may be more likely to refrain from conduct that would cause them to receive disciplinary infractions or jeopardize early release. Such a view is supported by studies suggesting that inmates who receive visits are more likely to be successful in reentering society (Casey-Acevedo & Bakken, 2001, 2002; Schafer, 1991, 1994).

Much of the literature on prison visitation focuses on its effects on inmate mental health and post-release behavior. Common among existing literature are findings suggesting that visits improve mental health and decrease recidivism among inmates (Bales & Mears, 2008; Casey-Acevedo & Bakken, 2001; Duwe & Clark, 2011; Monahan, Goldweber, & Cauffman, 2011; Tewksbury & DeMichele, 2005). For instance, Monahan, Goldweber, and Cauffman (2011) explored the relationship between parental visitation and inmate

mental health. From the visitation records of 276 male juveniles over the course of the first two months of their incarceration, the researchers found that juveniles who received visits from parents reported more rapid declines in depressive symptoms over time compared to youth who did not receive such visits. In Florida, Bales and Mears (2008) examined the effects of prison visitation on recidivism among 7,000 inmates, and their results revealed that any number of visits and more frequent visits during the final year of incarceration decreased recidivism risk. Similarly, after studying the effects of prison visitation on recidivism among 16,420 inmates released from Minnesota prisons between 2003 and 2007, Duwe and Clark (2011) also found that visitation significantly decreased recidivism risk.

Beyond looking at the impact on inmate mental health and recidivism, prison visitation studies also center on visitors. Casey-Acevedo and Bakken (2001) reported that more than 60 percent of women did not receive any visits from their minor children during their incarceration. In terms of children who do visit incarcerated parents, research suggests that children who lived with the parent before incarceration were most likely to visit (Martin, 1997; Prison Visitation Project, 1994; Tennessee Department of Corrections, 1995). Besides children, individuals most likely to visit inmates were other family members (Grinstead, Faigeles, Bancroft, & Zack, 2001). As Tewksbury and DeMichele (2005) revealed with visitors of male inmates, "most visitors are family members, many of whom plan to

live with the inmate following incarceration" (p. 308).

Although the research on prison visitation thus far primarily emphasizes effects on inmate recidivism and identifying common classes of visitors, it is similarly important to understand identifiable factors associated with inmates that are related to whether or not they receive visitors while incarcerated. Among female inmates, Casey-Acevedo and Bakken (2001) found no significant differences between individuals who received visits and those who did not, with the exception of the county of commitment. However, no previously identified study has examined characteristics of male inmates that may be associated with the likelihood of receiving visits. The present study will address this gap by considering whether or not there are specific characteristics of male inmates that are related to the likelihood and frequency of receiving visits.

The Present Study

The present study seeks to identify factors associated with inmates that may influence the frequency of their receipt of visits inside prison. Analysis centers on how both demographic and prison experience characteristics influence an inmate's number of visits.

Methodology

The target population for this study included all adult inmates incarcerated in state-operated correctional facilities between January 1, 2011, and December 31, 2011, from one Midwestern state. Included in the data are inmate demographics, criminal/incarceration

history, and visitation records. Before receiving data, all procedures were reviewed by both the Department of Corrections and the authors' institutional review board to ensure that ethical standards were met.

Sample and Sampling Procedure

The sample initially consisted of 620 adult inmates, all of whom were both (1) admitted to prison during the 2009 calendar year and (2) incarcerated for all 365 continuous days in the 2011 calendar year. Because the sample included only a small number of female inmates ($n = 35$), and the literature suggests that female inmates' visitation experiences may be significantly different from those of men (Casey-Acevedo & Bakken, 2001; Stanton, 1980), they were excluded from the present study. As a result, we analyze demographics, criminal/incarceration history, and 2011 visitation information for a total of 585 male inmates.

The authors recognized that these inmates constituted a biased (i.e., admitted to prison during the 2009 calendar year) sample of individuals serving time throughout the entire 2011 calendar year. The sample is appropriate, however, for the current investigation, as all inmates had been incarcerated for between one and two years before the study period of interest. This ensured that all inmates were acclimated to living in prison. As evidenced by Jones and Schmid (2000), within six months the vast majority of inmates are acclimated to institutional living and "adjusted" to the environment as fully as will occur.

Measures

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this analysis is the total number of visits received by an inmate during the 2011 calendar year. It is drawn from inmate visitation records maintained by the Department of Corrections. This measure was summed as a count and coded as a ratio-level variable.

Independent Variables

Nine predictor measures were used, including both demographic and prison experience variables. Demographics included race, age, education level, and marital status. *Inmate race* was coded as a dichotomous variable (Nonwhite = 0, White = 1), as the prison system in question comprises approximately 75 percent White inmates, 18 percent African-American inmates, and 7 percent Other inmates. The sample is 69.5 percent White

and 30.5 percent Nonwhite. *Inmate age* at admission to prison was based on date of birth and coded as a ratio-level variable; inmates in the sample have a mean age at admission of 32.5 years. *Inmate education level* was coded as an ordinal-level variable (Less than High School = 0, High School = 1, More than High School = 2). In the sample, 15.2 percent of inmates have less than a high school education, 77.2 percent have high school as their highest educational achievement, and 7.6 percent have more than a high school education. Finally, *inmate marital status* was coded as a dichotomous variable (Single/Never Married = 0, Married/Partnered/Divorced/Separated/Widowed = 1). Fully 62.6 percent of the sample is single/never married, and 37.4 percent are or have been married/partnered.

Prison experience variables included prison admission type, number of prior incarcerations, sentence duration, gang membership, and number of disciplinary infractions. *Prison admission* type was coded as a dichotomous variable (New Prison Commitment = 0, Parole/Probation/Special Sentence/Work Release Revocation = 1). In the sample, 71.3 percent of inmates are incarcerated on a new commitment, and 28.7 percent are incarcerated on some form of a revocation. *Number of prior incarcerations* was summed as a count, and it was coded at the ratio level, with the sample having a mean of .66 prior incarcerations (63.9 percent are serving their first incarceration). *Sentence duration* in years was also summed as a count, and it was coded as a ratio-level variable. The mean sentence for the inmates in the sample is 20.3 years. *Gang membership* was also coded as a dichotomous variable (Non-gang Member = 0, Gang Member = 1). In the sample, 21.9 percent of inmates are known or believed to be affiliated with a gang. Finally, *number of disciplinary infractions* for the 2011 calendar year was summed as a count, and it was coded as a ratio-level variable. Here, the sample has a mean of 3.34 disciplinary infractions for the 2011 calendar year.

Findings

We employed both bivariate and multivariate analyses to identify predictors of the number of prison visits that inmates received. Table 1 presents the results of the bivariate analysis (i.e., correlations). As shown, total visits are significantly correlated with race, education level, prison admission type, number of prior incarcerations, sentence duration, gang membership, and number of disciplinary

infractions ($p \leq .05$). Significant relationships are also shown for demographics, with race significantly correlated with age at admission, marital status, gang membership, and number of disciplinary infractions ($p \leq .05$). Education level is significantly correlated with prison admission type, sentence duration, gang membership, and number of disciplinary infractions ($p \leq .05$). Age at admission is significantly correlated with marital status, number of prior incarcerations, sentence duration, gang membership, and number of disciplinary infractions ($p \leq .05$). Marital status is significantly correlated with number of prior incarcerations, sentence duration, gang membership, and number of disciplinary infractions ($p \leq .05$). In addition, prison experience variables show statistically significant correlations. Admission type is significantly correlated with sentence duration, and number of prior incarcerations, sentence duration, and gang membership are all significantly correlated with number of disciplinary infractions ($p \leq .05$). From these results, it appears that receipt of visits is related to two of the four demographic factors and all five prison experience measures.

Following evidence of strong correlations, all independent variables from the theoretical grouping of demographics (i.e., race, age, education level, and marital status) were regressed against the dependent variable.¹ Second, all five prison experience variables (i.e., prison admission type, number of prior incarcerations, sentence duration, gang membership, and number of disciplinary infractions) were added to the demographic variables and regressed against the dependent variable of total visits received, yielding the final model (see Table 2).

Results showed that measures from both theoretical groupings significantly influenced the number of prison visits that inmates received. The model, which includes both demographics and prison experience measures, accounts for 10.3 percent of the overall variation in the number of visits an inmate receives. Seven of the nine independent variables are statistically significant ($p \leq .05$) predictors of total number of visits received. Only the demographic variable of inmate marital status and the prison experience measure of sentence duration were not statistically significant predictors.

¹ The use of multiple regression is appropriate because the dependent variable was measured at the ratio-level.

TABLE 1.
Correlations between Study Variables for Inmates ($n = 585$)

	Total Visits	Race	Highest Education Level	Age at Admission	Marital Status	Prison Admission Type	Prior Incarcerations	Sentence Duration	Gang Membership
Total Visits	—								
Race	.178*	—							
Highest Education Level	.178*	.076	—						
Age at Admission	-.037	.135*	-.012	—					
Marital Status	.057	.175*	-.019	.524*	—				
Prison Admission Type	-.100*	.011	.086*	-.037	-.042	—			
Prior Incarcerations	-.114*	-.023	.009	.322*	.122*	-.031	—		
Sentence Duration	.087*	.015	.084*	.142*	.147*	.114*	.014	—	
Gang Membership	-.138*	-.242*	-.095*	-.241*	-.140*	.028	.067	-.051	—
Total Disciplinary Infractions	-.112*	-.091*	-.083*	-.220*	-.126*	-.038	-.099*	-.142*	.096*

* $p < .05$

TABLE 2.
Variables Identified by Multiple Regression Analysis as Predicting Number of Visits ($n = 585$)

	B	SE	Beta	Significance
Race	6.039	1.909	.129	.01*
Highest Education Level	7.556	1.803	.167	.00*
Age at Admission	-.212	.099	-.108	.03*
Marital Status	3.340	2.057	.075	.10
Prison Admission Type	-6.281	1.886	-.132	.01*
Prior Incarcerations	-2.043	.818	-.105	.01*
Sentence Duration	.096	.060	.064	.11
Gang Membership	-4.182	2.212	-.079	.05*
Total Disciplinary Infractions	-.348	.141	-.101	.01*
Constant	8.774	3.963		.02

* $p < .05$

$F = 8.438; \alpha = .000$

$R^2 = .103$

$df = 9$

In terms of demographics, an inmate's race, education level, and age significantly predicted his number of visits. Being White was positively related to the number of visits received. White inmates received 6.0 more visits than non-White inmates. Regarding education, for each increase in the inmate's level of education, there was an average of 7.5 more visits received. Younger inmates are likely to receive more visits; for every one-year increase in an inmate's age, his visits decreased by 0.2.

In terms of prison experience, an inmate's prison admission type, number of prior incarcerations, gang membership, and number of disciplinary infractions all significantly predicted his number of visits. Inmates admitted on a probation/parole/other revocation had 6.2 fewer visits during the year, as compared

to those inmates admitted on new prison sentences. Inmates with more prior incarcerations also received fewer visits than those with fewer prior incarcerations. For every additional previous incarceration served, an inmate's number of received visits decreased by 2.0. Inmates identified as gang members received 4.1 fewer visits than inmates not identified as gang members. Finally, inmates with more disciplinary infractions received fewer visits. For every one disciplinary infraction increase, an inmate's visits decreased by 0.3.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to identify factors predictive of the number of visits that inmates received. By means of both bivariate and multivariate analyses, this investigation

highlights how both demographic and prison experience factors among inmates impact the frequency of receiving visits while incarcerated. The results of this study provide insights into alternative visitation strategies for specific types of inmates lacking visits and suggest directions for future research.

This research focuses on what types of inmates are more likely to receive visits during their incarceration. Findings reveal that an inmate's demographic information influences how frequently he is visited inside prison. Younger, white, and more highly educated inmates are more likely to receive visits, and to receive more visits, than their inmate peers. Thus, correctional systems and institutions that wish to pursue the advantages that accrue from inmates receiving visits should pursue alternative strategies for encouraging and facilitating prison visitation among inmates who are non-white (or, in the racial minority for a specific jurisdiction), have lower levels of education and are older.

This study shows that several aspects of an inmate's prison experience also impact the number of visits that he receives on the inside. Inmates who are admitted to prison on a new sentence are more likely to receive visits than inmates admitted to prison on a parole, probation, special sentence, or work release revocation. Inmates with fewer prior incarcerations are also more likely to receive visits than inmates with more prior incarcerations. Inmates without gang affiliations are also more likely to receive visits than inmates with gang affiliations. Further, inmates with fewer disciplinary infractions are more likely to receive visits than inmates with more disciplinary

infractions. Thus, alternative strategies for prison visitation among inmates who violate terms of their community supervision, have prior incarcerations, are affiliated with a gang, and have more disciplinary infractions should be considered.

In sum, these findings suggest that inmates most likely to receive visits, and to receive more visits, are those who are the least deeply ingrained in a criminogenic lifestyle and who have a history of less criminal and more pro-social involvement. Stated differently, it may be those inmates who are less stereotypical of "prison inmates," as well as more reflective of mainstream cultural values and lifestyles, who are more likely to receive visits from family, friends, and loved ones. As such, for these inmates, visits may help maintain a pre-prison lifestyle and offer greater opportunities of visits, resulting in desired outcomes of lower recidivism, increased mental health, and better overall social functioning.

These findings, however, do not mean that correctional leaders should focus only on facilitating visitation for inmates with less criminal lifestyles. Rather, it may be important for correctional officials to adopt programs that reach out to minority communities, as well as to the families and friends of older and less educated inmates, in order to facilitate increased visitation. Community supervision violators, individuals with numerous prior incarcerations, gang members, and individuals with numerous disciplinary infractions should also become the focus of increasing visitation efforts in prison. Programs aimed at these often recalcitrant inmates that attempt to increase positive social interactions may assist in facilitating more efficient management and operation of correctional facilities. At the same time, correctional management that features positive social interaction, such as a direct supervision approach, should be implemented in housing units where such inmates reside. Other correctional resources, like prison chaplains and religious volunteers, may also prove useful in affording social support and connections to the outside world. It may be important, as well, to incorporate visitation procedures that facilitate opportunities for visitation for those with physical, financial, or other limitations on their abilities to travel to (often remote) prison locations to visit their incarcerated loved ones. Using programs such as video visitation and organizations that provide transportation to prison may be especially valuable to the loved ones of inmates

who are more ingrained in a criminal (and poverty-stricken) culture and lifestyle.

This research is not without limitations. First, the sample is drawn from only male inmates in one Midwestern prison system. We acknowledge that these findings may not apply to inmates in other jurisdictions. Therefore, readers should generalize from this sample with caution. Second, because this study relies on official data from a correctional agency, the accuracy of some information cannot be verified.

It is clear that there is a need for more research regarding the characteristics of inmates who receive few or no visits. It may also be necessary to examine the visitation experiences of female inmates and inmates in other jurisdictions. From a policy and practice perspective, alternative strategies for promoting and facilitating prison visitation and positive social interaction focused on all inmates, especially those from communities and backgrounds where loved ones may face significant obstacles to visiting inmates, may allow more inmates to increase and maintain positive social relationships with the outside. Ultimately, ensuring that more individuals in prison receive more visits and positive social interactions may result in more inmates returning to the community without returning to crime.

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JUVENILE FOCUS

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Drug Courts

The Office of Justice Programs, in collaboration with OJJDP, NIJ, and BJA, has released the fact sheet “Drug Courts.” This fact sheet examines adult and juvenile drug court program models and OJP’s support of adult and juvenile drug courts. It also provides facts, research findings, and additional resources regarding drug courts. The fact sheet is available online. See <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/238527.pdf>. Read about OJJDP’s juvenile drug courts program, at ojjdp.gov/programs/ProgSummary.asp?pi=44&ti=&si=&kw=&PreviousPage=ProgResults.

Reentry Central Website

Reentry Central maintains a website at www.reentrycentral.org that provides a daily national roundup of important news, research, and articles in the field of reentry. The site contains extensive information on:

- National news and developments in reentry
- Information on best practices
- Articles and opinion pieces on reentry strategies
- Available grants and sources of funds for reentry programs
- Recent professional research in the field
- Resources for re-entrants seeking jobs or starting a business

The site also provides, through arrangement with Amazon, a full library of books and publications available for purchase in the reentry field.

Mothers’ Use of Marijuana

Mothers who use marijuana as teens—long before having children—may put their future children at a higher risk of drug abuse, new research suggests. Researchers in the Neuroscience and Reproductive Biology section at the Cummings School of Veterinary Medicine conducted a study to determine

the transgenerational effects of cannabinoid exposure in adolescent female rats. For three days, adolescent rats were administered the cannabinoid receptor agonist WIN-55,212-2, a drug that has similar effects in the brain as THC, the active ingredient in marijuana. After this brief exposure, they remained untreated until being mated in adulthood.

The male offspring of the female rats were then measured against a control group for a preference between chambers that were paired with either saline or morphine. The rats with mothers who had adolescent exposure to WIN-55,212-2 were significantly more likely to opt for the morphine-paired chamber than those with mothers who abstained. The results suggest that these animals had an increased preference for opiate drugs. The study was published in the *Journal of Psychopharmacology* and funded by the National Institutes of Health.

Justice Investment at the Local Level Series

With municipalities and counties grappling with burgeoning jail populations and escalating costs, local public officials and community leaders are looking to the justice reinvestment process to help tighten spending, control growth in jail use, and maintain safe neighborhoods. Justice reinvestment—the subject of three new policy briefs from the Urban Institute’s Justice Policy Center—is a collaborative endeavor that calls on state, county, city, and community officials to identify the drivers of criminal justice costs, implement strategies to relieve spending pressures, and reinvest freed-up funds to yield greater public safety.

1. The first brief in the Justice Reinvestment at the Local Level (JRL) series—“Tracking Costs and Savings through Justice Reinvestment,” by Pamela Lachman and Rebecca Neusteter—focuses on how to reinvest savings to further public safety

goals. It offers guidance on conducting a comprehensive spending assessment, targeting reinvestment efforts, and making the most of the savings. A worksheet describes a step-by-step approach to preparing for a justice reinvestment project.

2. Data at the core of justice reinvestment come from all sectors—the courts, the police department, the jail, and other local agencies—and all stages of the criminal justice process: arrest, pretrial, case processing, sentencing, discharge, and community supervision. “Data-Driven Decisionmaking for Strategic Justice Reinvestment,” by Allison Dwyer, Rebecca Neusteter, and Pamela Lachman, explains how population and cost data can help identify opportunities for increased efficiencies and measure the impact of reinvestment activities.
3. “Improving Strategic Planning through Collaborative Bodies,” by Justin Archer, Rebecca Neusteter, and Pamela Lachman, discusses the essential role of strategic planning entities, outlines how they are structured and operated, and offers suggestions on forming collaborations. A case study from Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, highlights how a successful collaborative body can conduct case reviews to identify systemic problems and develop solutions. Judges, representatives from law enforcement, prosecutors, defense attorneys, jail administrators, officials from local government agencies, and community members are among those recommended to participate in justice reinvestment initiatives. The brief includes a worksheet to help answer key questions about the panel’s nature and membership.
4. “Justice Reinvestment at the Local Level: Planning and Implementation Guide,” an

80-page how-to, was published in 2010. A revised edition will be issued this summer, along with two toolkits. Each toolkit—one for county executives and other municipal leaders and the second for local criminal justice planners and analysts—will detail the necessary steps for individuals in these positions to undertake a justice reinvestment strategy in their community.

Sex Crime Rates

Residence Restriction Legislation, Sex Crime Rates, and the Spatial Distribution of Sex Offender Residences, by Kelly M. Socia and published by NIJ, examines the influence of housing limits on sex crime rates in New York State. It evaluates how limiting where sex offenders can live affects recidivism rates. The study examined the characteristics of counties that passed these policies. It also assessed whether these policies affect the spatial distribution of offender homes in upstate New York neighborhoods, and whether this spatial distribution is in turn associated with differences in county-level recidivistic sex crime rates. Laws ban these offenders from living within a given distance of certain places where children might gather. These policies, first passed in 1995 statewide and in 2005 at the county and local level, have become popular in the United States, but without proof of effectiveness. Little research on these policies exists. Most of it focuses on the unintended results that these policies cause for offenders, typically because of reduced housing choices. Results show that while housing limits are sometimes associated with the within- and between-neighborhood spatial distribution of offenders, there is no effect on recidivistic sex crime rates.

Teen Dating Violence

Teen Dating Violence: A Literature Review and Annotated Bibliography, by Priscilla Offenbauer and Alice Buchalter, is an annotated bibliography and summary of research that identifies significant research carried out in the decade since 1999 on the issue of dating violence among high school and middle school youth. The publication includes information about how adolescent dating violence is defined and measured. It examines the prevalence of such violence, the factors that influence dating violence for teens, and the types of programs that might be effective for prevention or intervention. The bibliography and summary cover quantitative and qualitative literature on the definition and prevalence of, as well as risk factors for, adolescent dating

violence (also called teen relationship abuse). Commonly researched risk factors, correlates, or predictors of teen dating violence include demographic and community-level factors as well as family level, individual level, and situational risks. The literature survey also encompasses research on the harmful effects of dating violence during the current relationship and in future relationships. Finally, the bibliography and summary cover the literature on the effectiveness of prevention programs and on responses to the issue of dating violence in the law and legal systems.

Pretrial Release and Prison Sentences

Two studies published recently in *Justice Quarterly* find evidence of racial bias in pretrial release and prison sentences for blacks. In a study of over 5,000 felony defendants from an urban Ohio jurisdiction, John Wooldredge found that black males age 18 to 29 experienced lower odds of being released on their own recognizance, higher bond amounts, and higher odds of receiving prison sentences compared to other demographic subgroups, even with the inclusion of rigorous controls for legally relevant criteria.

In a separate study based on the offender population in Florida, William Bales and Alex Piquero also found that blacks were more likely to be sentenced to incarceration than were whites or Hispanics. Bales and Piquero used several different statistical methods to account for legal (e.g., prior felonies) and extra-legal (e.g., gender) variables that might provide an alternate explanation for higher rates of incarceration among blacks. The association between being black and a greater risk for being sentenced to incarceration was robust across the different methods.

Federal Law Enforcement Agencies

The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) has released *Federal Law Enforcement Officers, 2008* (NCJ 238250). This report describes federal law enforcement agencies by number of sworn officers, type of agency, primary state of employment, and law enforcement function.

Teen Drug Use

Marijuana use continues to increase among young people in the U.S., according to an annual federally-funded survey of drug, alcohol, and cigarette use among youths by the Monitoring the Future Survey, which questioned 46,482 students from 396 public and private schools.

The proportion of eighth-graders who said they smoke marijuana daily increased from one percent to 1.2 percent between 2009 and 2010, while the rate among tenth-graders went from 2.8 percent to 3.3 percent, and among high school seniors from 5.1 percent to 6.1 percent. Because cigarette smoking has been declining among high school seniors, marijuana is now more popular than tobacco. In 2010, 21.4 percent of high school seniors had used marijuana in the past 30 days, while 19.2 percent had smoked cigarettes, according to the survey. The perception that regular marijuana smoking is harmful decreased among tenth-graders from 59.5 percent to 57.2 percent in 2010 and among 12th-graders from 52.4 percent to 46.8 percent.

PREA Data

The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) has released PREA Data Collection Activities, 2012 (NCJ 238640). The Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003 (PREA; P.L. 108-79) requires the Attorney General to submit to Congress, not later than June 30 of each year, a report on the activities of the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) for the preceding calendar year. This document fulfills this requirement.

Health Act and Prisoners

The National Association of Counties (NACo) has produced a publication that examines how counties can be involved in enrolling individuals held in county jails who become newly eligible for health insurance coverage in 2014 through the Affordable Care Act. This document, titled *County Jails and the Affordable Care Act: Enrolling Eligible Individuals in Health Coverage*, examines ways that counties may be involved in eligibility determination and enrollment processes for these newly eligible individuals, focusing particularly on issues related to enrolling qualified individuals held in county jails as pre-adjudicated detainees and inmates preparing to reenter the community. Specifically the document assesses some of the potential issues and challenges county jail and human services staff may face in terms of enrollment procedures. The brief also highlights examples of existing county-based enrollment strategies that may be able to serve as models for developing processes to enroll individuals in county jails who become newly eligible for health insurance coverage in 2014. To access the NACo publication, [click here](#).

College Degrees

Representing an historic high, three in 10 adult Americans held bachelor degrees in 2011, according to the Census Bureau. College attainment has crept upward slowly but steadily. In 1947, just five percent of Americans 25 and older held degrees from four-year colleges. As recently as 1998, fewer than one-quarter of the adult population held college degrees. The new data show African Americans and Hispanics gaining ground in college completion. From 2001 to 2011, Hispanics rose from 4.4 percent to 6.1 percent of the nation's college-educated population. In the same span, blacks rose from 6.7 percent to 7.6 percent of all degree-holders.

Child Identity Theft

The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) has released "Safeguarding Your Child's Future." This resource guide offers steps to help parents avoid, recognize, and repair the damage that child identity theft causes. The U.S. Department of Justice is working with the FTC on child identity theft as part of its efforts under the Office of Justice Programs' Working Group on Identity Theft. To view the FTC resource guide, go to www.ftc.gov/bcp/edu/pubs/consumer/idtheft/idth08.pdf.

OJJDP Training Standards

OJJDP recently released its revised "Core Performance Standards for Training, Technical Assistance, and Evaluation." The Core Performance Standards define minimum quality expectations for the planning, coordination, delivery, and evaluation of OJJDP-sponsored training and technical assistance (TTA). The new document combines two previous OJJDP TTA standards documents and adds standards for Webinars and online training. See https://www.nttac.org/views/docs/Core_Performance_Standards_updated%20May%202012_508c.pdf

Crime Victim

The Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) announces the release of the HELP Series for Crime Victims—a set of nine brochures that provides a resource for victims of crime and the victim service providers that work with them every day. The series was originally created by the National Center for Victims of Crime with OVC funding support in 1997 and they partnered with OVC on this revised and updated edition. Each brochure defines a type of victimization, discusses what to do if you are the victim of this crime, and provides

national resources for more information and assistance on where to go for help.

The brochures feature information and resources on the following topics:

- Assault (HTML, PDF)
- Child Abuse (for youth) (HTML, PDF)
- Domestic Violence (HTML, PDF)
- Homicide (HTML, PDF)
- Impaired Driving (HTML, PDF)
- Robbery (HTML, PDF)
- Sexual Violence (HTML, PDF)
- Stalking (HTML, PDF)
- What Adults Need To Know About Child Abuse (HTML, PDF)

C.A.R.E.

The C.A.R.E. report, funded by a Project Safe Neighborhoods award from the Bureau of Justice Assistance, provides guidance to agencies on forming, participating, and prospering within a multi-agency collaboration. Though primarily targeted at anti-gang strategies, the fundamentals of the C.A.R.E. approach (collaboration, analysis, reentry, evaluation) can more broadly be applied to a variety of crime issues across a variety of jurisdictions.

Immigration Enforcement

A new report from *The Sentencing Project, Dollars and Detainees: The Growth of For-Profit Detention*, details how harsher immigration enforcement and legislation led to a 59 percent increase in the number of detainees being held by the federal government between 2002 and 2011. It specifically examines how Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and the U.S. Marshals Service (USMS) have increasingly relied on private companies to detain these individuals, as well as the complex network of facilities that house federal detainees, and the failings of private detention.

Among the report's major findings:

- Between 2002 and 2011 the number of privately held ICE detainees increased by 208 percent, while the number of USMS detainees held in private facilities grew by 355 percent.
- In 2011, 45 percent of ICE detainees and 30 percent of USMS detainees were held by private companies.
- Federal detainees are held in a complex network of facilities in which information on where individuals are being held and by whom is often unavailable or incomplete.
- The private detention industry is dominated by the same companies that are regularly criticized for their management of private prisons.

- Concerns raised in the context of private prisons, including unsatisfactory levels of service, negative political and policy implications, and questionable economic effects, apply equally to private detention.

The full report, *Dollars and Detainees: The Growth of For-Profit Detention*, includes a list of the privately-operated facilities actively employed by ICE and USMS, as well as detailed graphs and data on the growth of private detention, and the lobbying activities of Corrections Corporation of America.

Felon Disenfranchisement

Another new report of The Sentencing Project, *State-Level Estimates of Felon Disenfranchisement in the United States, 2010*, provides comprehensive estimates of the extent of disenfranchisement in all 50 states. The report documents that a record 5.85 million people are disenfranchised as a result of a felony conviction and will not be able to vote in the November elections. In addition, findings include:

- The number of disenfranchised persons has increased dramatically along with the rise in criminal justice populations in recent decades, rising from an estimated 1.17 million in 1976 to 5.85 million today.
- Of the total disenfranchised population, about 45 percent—2.6 million people—have completed their sentences, but reside in one of the 11 states that disenfranchise people post-sentence.
- 1 of every 13 African Americans of voting age is disenfranchised, and in three states—Florida, Kentucky, and Virginia—the figure is one in five.

The report is authored by Christopher Uggen and Sarah Shannon of the University of Minnesota and Jeff Manza of New York University, and is available here on the website.

Suicide Prevention in High Schools

The Suicide Prevention Resource Center of the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) has released "Preventing Suicide: A Toolkit for High Schools." The toolkit provides strategies to help high schools, school districts, and their partners design and implement strategies to prevent suicide and promote behavioral health among their students. It also includes information on screening tools, warning signs and risk factors, statistics, and parent education

materials. The toolkit is free and available online. See www.store.samhsa.gov/shin/content//SMA12-4669/SMA12-4669.pdf.

Justice Clearinghouse

The Justice Standards Clearinghouse (JSC or Clearinghouse) is designed for easy access. While anyone can browse the Clearinghouse, users are encouraged to register to take advantage of special features, such as commenting on existing standards and submitting new standards for review. Registration also provides the benefit of automatic notification when standards or specifications are added or updated. Throughout the Clearinghouse, help files are available by selecting the HELP icon. Use the Search JSC button to locate particular standards. You may search by Title, Description, Keywords, and Communities of Interest. An

Advanced JSC Search provides the ability to filter information using keywords in combination with other specific criteria.

Submit a Standard

The Clearinghouse welcomes submissions of standards from the justice and public safety communities. If you have questions about whether your standard is appropriate for the Clearinghouse, please e-mail the Clearinghouse help desk ojp-jsr@reisis.com

Black Student Arrests

African American students in large school systems are arrested far more often on campus than their white peers, according to a civil rights study by the U.S. Education Department. The data collected from 72,000 schools from across the country show

continuing racial disparities in out-of-school suspensions and expulsions, which are far more common in schools than arrests and referrals to law enforcement. Overall, the data showed that 96,000 students were arrested and 242,000 were “referred” to law enforcement by school leaders, meaning the students were not necessarily arrested or cited. In an analysis of school systems with more than 50,000 students enrolled, the data showed that African American students represented 24 percent of enrollment but 35 percent of arrests. White students accounted for 31 percent of enrollment and 21 percent of arrests. For Hispanic students, there was less of a disparity in arrests, for they accounted for 34 percent of enrollment and 37 percent of arrests.

YOUR BOOKSHELF ON REVIEW

Community Corrections Management: Issues and Strategies

By William D. Burrell, The Civic Research Institute, 594 pp., \$135.95

REVIEWED BY TIMOTHY P. CADIGAN
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Community Corrections Management Issues and Strategies is a compilation of William Burrell's columns originally written for *Community Corrections Report*. Gathered together in one volume, these columns present an in-depth exploration of some crucial post-conviction supervision issues, with particularly strong discussions in the areas of criminal justice management, leadership, and related functions facing the criminal justice system. The author has a wealth of knowledge that he shares effectively, focusing on the following themes: mission and vision; managing people and organizations; operational strategies; "what works"/EBP; staff, our most valuable resource; results-driven management; external environments; leadership; and the future.

Burrell has chosen some wonderful themes and topics that are in need of exploration; he had assembled a well-written product that is an easy and interesting read. As a practitioner I was impressed with the lack of jargon and use of everyday language, as I know my colleagues are often put off by material that is "too academic." I can endorse it for any practitioner, but I also endorse it for legislative, executive, and judicial branch personnel, who may not be fully versed in the literature or aren't sure where to begin to get versed in the literature, because this book provides an excellent way to begin raising your knowledge base. Through its discussion of the many issues facing the criminal justice system, the book also bridges one additional span without actually addressing the topic: pretrial services. Although the material is presented in the

context of post-conviction supervision, it is relevant to the issues of pretrial services supervision, which is a rare feat in my experience. Like our colleagues in post-conviction, we in pretrial services also lack a clear vision, have poor public image, fail to market ourselves effectively to the judges we serve, suffer from information overload, etc.

The Introduction and Part One do an excellent job of setting the table for the relevant issues, and I found myself in total agreement with Burrell's identification of the big-picture community corrections management issues: we have a public image problem, we need the support of the judiciary we serve; we focus on process not public safety; we're agency-focused, not system-focused; we lack a sense of urgency; and most important we do not manage our programs using the relevant evidence, a standard we often set for our staff but fail to meet as managers. Few if any books identify two or three of these issues, let alone all of them, as Burrell has done. Because awareness is the first step to resolution (you can't solve problems you aren't aware of), the mere identification of all these issues collectively is a significant accomplishment.

Unfortunately, Part One also introduced my primary concern with the book: "Broken Windows Probation." The concepts of "Broken Windows Probation," while a useful stepping stone from where we once were to where we are, have at a minimum not been supported by the subsequent research; according to some researchers, these concepts have even been discredited (Taxman & Byrne 2001). I note particularly the focus of "Broken Windows Probation" on probation policing, field supervision, indirect community activities, and strong condition enforcement/response to violations. In fact, Burrell himself assails the "tail em, nail em, and jail em" approach of "Broken Windows Probation" in later chapters of this book, so avoiding that one chapter

would have elevated my impression of the whole book significantly.

While that one primary issue detracts, there is much to celebrate. One of the key emerging issues the author discusses is the budget crisis being faced by many agencies and how we need to view that as an opportunity to make meaningful change, rather than hunkering down and protecting our turf. For example, as I write, in the federal system we have been facing sequestration, essentially mandatory 20 percent cuts if Congress doesn't take budget-cutting action this year. Obviously, more with less becomes impossible at a certain point, and the sequestration scenario probably means less with less. For anyone who might lose his or her position, this eventuality could be catastrophic. The rest of us, however, need to recognize that such a scenario does present opportunities to reduce tasks we routinely perform that are wasteful and—given the risk principle—actually decrease our positive outcomes (over-supervision of low-risk defendants/offenders comes immediately to mind). We can no longer afford to perform tasks that we know do not provide an appropriate return on our public safety outcomes.

Burrell also hits the proverbial nail squarely on the head in stressing the importance of the role of front-line supervisors in implementing change of the magnitude necessary to achieve such lofty goals as public safety. While the implementation literature emphasizes the importance of front-line supervisors, the criminal justice literature often does not. This is a huge oversight by the criminal justice literature, as front-line supervisors often paint the vision picture for officer staff, handle process issues related to the implementation of that vision, force those who deviate from the vision back onto the path, and motivate those officers less than excited to get moving. Such functions may seem routine until your implementation lacks them, at which time their critical importance becomes obvious.

Burrell points out in several places in the book that managing “evidence-based” organizations utilizing evidence-based methodologies has proven to be more difficult than it seemed when the programs began. One of the confounding factors is that the problem is more complex than we envisioned. Evidence-based management needs ongoing data, “evidence,” to manage based on outcomes; however, criminal justice issues are immensely complex; it takes time to compile, verify, and (most important) control for related but not causal factors. Taking raw data and putting it in reports or up on a wall, a la CompStat in law enforcement in New York City, just won’t suffice. In fact, doing so will lead to bad or wrong decisions being made.

Getting formal research on which to base every decision can be very expensive for organizations that don’t employ researchers on staff. More commonly, in-house report methodologies using some type of a “super database” (which often compiles several legacy systems into one data warehouse) are employed with a piece of reporting software as a front-end or user interface. In probation and pretrial services in the federal courts, we call this application Decision Support System (DSS). But such technology can be misused to create something and pass it off as research. Actually, bad research in the hands of someone with the skills to identify it as bad research isn’t the problem. Bad research, done by unskilled staff and then placed in the hands of “other” unskilled staff is the real danger. The “research” on the effectiveness of the new pretrial services legislation passed in 2011 in Kentucky epitomizes it; the Kentucky report borders on propaganda by taking modestly good results (one percent increased use of alternatives to detention for example) and through graph manipulation making it appear to be a huge result. I have written and we have published somewhat similar pieces too (See the Interim & Final Reports to Congress on the Drug Testing Demonstration Program, Washington, D.C., 1989 & 1990).

One final example of home runs in this book is the chapter on Burrell’s becoming a boundary-spanning manager. The traditional management viewpoint of drawing hard boundaries and managing within those boundaries is becoming obsolete. Just as true sports stars make the team around them better, so too criminal justice managers must increase internal and external goals to be a star. Chapter 40, the “boundary-spanning role of management,” prods the reader to embrace the trend of increasing and sharing relevant outcome measures with “sister” criminal justice agencies. The most common example of this occurs when corrections or prisons agencies strategically align with parole/term of supervised release community corrections agencies in the area of “reentry.” Increasingly, we need to aspire to a true federal criminal justice system that begins with the arrest, pretrial services investigation/report/supervision/surrender, then progresses through the presentence investigation, prison if appropriate, and post-conviction supervision. While there is a long way to go, we have begun to imagine and analyze how that might work. Early results though limited are encouraging; for example, defendants who are successful on pretrial services supervision are significantly more likely to have fewer new arrests 12 months after completing post-conviction supervision (Cadigan & Lowenkamp, 2011).

Overall, the author has done an excellent job of creating a piece of work that stands as a book and independently on any one of the individual chapters. Of course, the nature of a compilation is to have some redundancy and overlap, but that does not diminish the value of this work. It concisely presents a comprehensive discussion of a vast and probably limitless topic and provides readers with insight into the big picture as well as into the individual aspects. I highly recommend *Community Corrections Management Issues and Strategies* as a particularly excellent source for community corrections management and leadership information, which the author rightly identifies as an area greatly needing improvement.

The President as Leader

By Michael Eric Siegel. Pearson Education, Inc., 307 pp., 2012, \$49.80 (paper)

REVIEWED BY TODD JERMSTAD
BELTON, TEXAS

Michael Eric Siegel is a Senior Education Specialist with the Federal Judicial Center and an Adjunct Professor of Government at Johns Hopkins and American Universities. He has written an interesting book examining the leadership skills of five presidents who assumed office after Watergate. He excludes an examination of the Ford and Obama Administrations and instead focuses on the Carter, Reagan, Bush pere, Clinton, and Bush fils Administrations. He believes that all of these administrations were greatly affected by the fallout from the Watergate scandal that brought down the Nixon Administration in 1974.

The author notes that from the time of President Franklin Roosevelt to that of President Nixon, the Office of the Presidency acquired unprecedented powers vis-à-vis the other branches of the federal government, especially in relationship to Congress. Eventually this newly acquired power led to the description of the Office of the President as “the Imperial Presidency.” This situation changed drastically with the resignation of President Nixon. Due to the abuses of presidential power revealed in the Watergate scandal as well as the growing disillusionment regarding the Vietnam War and the subsequent revelations of illegalities conducted by the Central Intelligence Agency and Federal Bureau of Investigation against American citizens and foreign heads of state, the authority of the President, including his war power authority, was greatly circumscribed by Congressional legislation.

This basic understanding of the state of the Presidency in the mid-70s sets the stage for the author’s accounts of how a variety of men, coming from different backgrounds, political philosophies, and life experiences, handled the difficult task of occupying the most powerful position in the world. In analyzing the leadership skills of five different presidents,

the author focuses on four areas of governance: 1) policy (vision), 2) politics (strategy), 3) structure (management), and 4) process (decision-making). The author is quick to note that each president had his strengths and weaknesses in these four areas of governance. Moreover, each president definitely had his own approach to governance. Nevertheless, the author acknowledges that some presidents were more successful than others: Based on the four criteria of governance that he has identified, he considers three presidents at least partially successful and two unsuccessful. His list of successful presidents includes Ronald Reagan (more in his first term than in his second), Bill Clinton, and George H. W. Bush (in foreign policy matters).

The author finds that Jimmy Carter was very detailed oriented, was a micromanager, and was generally distant from Congress. Ronald Reagan was never a detail-oriented person, delegated basic responsibilities of the office to staff, maintained a cordial relationship with Congress, and saw himself as the person to sell what policy was developed in the White House to both the public and Congress. George H. W. Bush believed in working with and through the extensive connections he had developed over a career in government, did not see the need to sell his policies to the public, was an incrementalist in achieving policy goals, and did not believe that a president necessarily had to have a "vision" in order to effectively govern. Bill Clinton was a detailed-oriented president who understood the implications of policies he adopted, but was undisciplined. Unlike his father, George W. Bush definitely had a vision, but was often unable to foresee the implications of the policies he adopted; he delegated decisions regarding major policy initiatives to others (especially Vice-President Richard Cheney), and could not separate what he perceived to be good politics from good policy.

This book consists of eight chapters, a detailed table of contents, preface, and index.

Much of the book relates the factual details about the domestic and foreign problems that confronted each president and how each president attempted to resolve the challenges he faced. Siegel discusses the platforms each president ran on, the policies they advocated, and the context in which each president assumed office. Since the presidents he has analyzed have all left office relatively recently, he does not assess the long-term success of their policies; nor does he take a position on the wisdom of the policies they advocated. Instead, he considers whether they were successful in achieving their goals and objectives, whether they were able to overcome resistance by Congress, and whether the public was satisfied with their achievements.

This is an interesting book, although I think it, like other books in its genre, has limited applicability as a guidebook for leadership skills. In my opinion, effective leadership is largely intangible; while we can identify certain general pitfalls to avoid, I have yet to find a checklist for being a successful leader that doesn't admit of too many exceptions to be useful. This is perhaps especially true for our presidents. Take Ronald Reagan. He displayed certain traits, such as inattentiveness to detail and comparatively lax work habits (his presidential work hours were from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., in contrast to a more common 7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. workday for recent presidents) that I would have thought would adversely impact his presidency. Yet it worked for him.

On the other hand, some more "workaholic" presidents like Jimmy Carter, who enmeshed themselves in the details of policy and ran every aspect of the White House, were less successful. Finally, though having the staff work out the details of policy and delegating much of the responsibility of governance to aides worked for Reagan, a similar approach proved less happy for George W. Bush. Nevertheless, this book sheds light on many aspects of the leadership styles of the five presidents who completed one term or more following the resignation of Richard Nixon.

Recently Published

Restorative Justice Today: Practical Applications

Katherine S. van Wormer, Loren Walker (Eds.). Sage Publishing, Los Angeles, CA, 2012, 255 pp.

The editors have assembled contributors writing on a wide range of focused sub-categories in which to see Restorative Justice play out, including domestic abuse, rape, peace-making processes following wars, clergy sexual abuse, and processes for victims who do not know the identity of the person or persons who victimized them, or who choose not to meet with them. The five major sections in which the 25 articles are divided provide a sense of the coverage: Introduction to Restorative Justice, Prevention Programs and Community Practice, Pretrial, Before or After Arrest, Diversion Programs, Correctional and Reentry Programs, Community Restoration and Reparation. While most of the collection addresses efforts in the U.S., there are also articles on Australia and New Zealand, Hong Kong and China, Brazil, and the experience of postwar nations such as South Africa and Rwanda.

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