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Federal PROBATION

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By Guy Bourgon, Tanya Ruge, Nicholas Chadwick, James Bonta

Probation Officer as a Coach: Building a New Professional Identity

By Brian K. Lovins, Francis T. Cullen, Edward J. Latessa, Cheryl Lero Jonson

Probation's Changing Role in California: Challenges and Opportunities for Hybrid Supervision

By Ryken Grattet, Viet Nguyen, Mia Bird, Justin Goss

Creating a Model Correctional Officer Training Academy: Implications from a National Survey

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Juvenile Focus

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Researchers at Public Safety Canada conducted a Living Laboratory study (that is, a study of a probation agency that would pilot new corrections initiatives on a small scale before widespread implementation) of two Canadian provinces before rolling out STICS, their evidence-based community supervision program. The authors describe the study, which tracked activities and time spent supervising clients of 21 probation officers over 90 days, and discuss the results.

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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.

The Living Laboratory Studies: Providing Insights into Community Supervision Practices¹

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THE RISK-NEED-RESPONSIVITY (RNR) MODEL is one of the major paradigms for understanding offender rehabilitation (Cullen, 2013; Polaschek, 2012). First formulated with four principles to describe the necessary ingredients for effective treatment (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990) the model has since been expanded to 15 principles (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Three of the original principles remain at the core of the RNR model. In order to reduce recidivism, treatment should follow the Risk principle and match the intensity of intervention to the risk level of the offender. Treatment should also attend to the Need principle by targeting criminogenic needs (e.g., procriminal attitudes and

thinking, substance abuse) and deliver the treatment in accordance with the Responsivity principle (e.g., use cognitive-behavioral techniques to influence offender change). Support for these principles is found in a variety of meta-analytic reviews of the offender rehabilitation literature (Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau, & Cullen, 1990; Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Koehler, 2013) and also with specific offender subpopulations (substance abusers, Gutierrez & Bourgon, 2012; sex offenders, Hanson, Bourgon, Helmus, & Hodgson, 2009; youth, Koehler, Lösel, Akoensi, & Humphreys, 2013).

What Do Probation and Parole Officers Actually Do with their Clients?

Probationers and parolees account for the majority of correctional populations among Western industrialized countries. As examples, in the U.S., in 2014, 69 percent of the offender population (an astounding 4.7 million) were under community supervision (Kaeble, Glaze, Tsoutis, & Minton, 2016). In Canada, 71 percent were on probation or parole (Public Safety Canada, 2016); for Australia, it was 63 percent (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016); while in England and Wales it was as low as 56 percent of the offender population (Ministry of Justice, 2014). Despite the prevalence of community supervision, relatively little is known of the daily activities of probation and

parole officers and the organizational supports for these activities.

Since the 1990s, the American Probation and Parole Association has grappled with the question of the ideal caseload size (number of offenders per officer). Considering caseload size depends on a variety of factors, the most important being agency staffing resources; how many staff an agency has will dictate caseload size. Agencies can also vary the number of offenders assigned to an officer according to the risk of the offender. Intensive probation services (ISP) are intended to reduce the caseloads of designated officers so they can devote more time and resources to higher risk cases and presumably be more effective in reducing recidivism. This seems like common sense, but the evaluation research suggests otherwise. Petersilia's (1999) evaluation of ISPs found neither reduced recidivism nor an increase in the time and resources that officers gave to their clients. However, ISPs have been found effective when the smaller caseloads were combined with appropriate treatment services or assigned to staff with some training in the RNR model (Gendreau, Cullen, & Bonta, 1994; Jalbert & Rhodes, 2012; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005).

Counting What Is Important

The problem with caseload analysis is that it tells us little about what probation officers (POs; our use of the term POs also includes

¹ The views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of Public Safety Canada. Correspondence concerning this report should be addressed to Guy Bourgon or Tanya Rugge, Research Division, Public Safety Canada, 340 Laurier Avenue West, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1A 0P8; email: Guy.Bourgon@Canada.ca or Tanya.Rugge@Canada.ca. This report would not have been possible without the support of Senior Officials in Alberta, Kim Sanderson, Shawn Rainault and Rav Bains, who agreed with the importance of this project and allowed the study to occur. Recognition and appreciation are given to the 21 probation officers who agreed to participate, giving their time to complete the documentation and for engaging their clients. Lastly, a special thanks to Richelle Budd, who used her exceptional organizational skills to oversee the data collection in Alberta.

parole officers) actually do with their clients. Caseload considerations are highly dependent on the workload activities and the time it takes for each case (Burrell, 2006; DeMichele, Payne, & Matz, 2011), but even workload studies have serious limitations. Typically, workload analyses for caseload calculations are in the aggregate and not at the individual level. That is, offenders are seen more or less as requiring the same resources and attention and the controlling parameters are the number of available POs in an office and the number of offenders assigned to that office. Moreover, there are surprisingly few empirical, systematic studies of POs' work with their clients that are related to *effective* supervision. That is, what do we know about POs' adherence to the RNR model and its "what works" principles? Papparozi and DeMichele (2008, p. 281) summarized the state of knowledge a decade ago as follows:

Within probation and parole agencies themselves, virtually all management information systems and employee performance assessments capture data reflecting how busy an agency and its staff are rather than how effective they are...data collection focuses on cataloging the numbers of contacts made (with and without the offender), number of hours spent in the office versus the field, number of reports submitted, number of revocations, etc. What is missing ... is information about how much safer the public is across time, increases/decreases in absconder rates, rates of employment for unemployed but employable individuals under supervision, rates of drug programme completion for drug addicts, and recidivism rates for probation and parole agencies when compared to the available alternatives.

Turning the Magnifying Glass on PO Activities

There have been at least five approaches examining PO activities and interactions with their clients, with the later four methodologies in particular used to evaluate PO adherence to RNR. The first is the use of written diaries. Diaries have been widely used in the study of deviant and criminal behavior, but completed mostly by the deviant actor/offender (e.g., counting sexually deviant urges or drug use). The few studies of written diaries with

POs expose the difficulties in asking POs to complete diaries when they already complain of the paperwork associated with their duties. For example, even with the sponsorship of the European Cooperation in Science and Technology, only 14 officers from five countries completed diaries of their activities related to the supervision of probationers (Rokkan, Phillips, Lulei, Poledna, & Kensey, 2015).

DeMichele and Payne (2018) used an innovative, web-based diary method to measure the number of minutes spent on tasks related to offender supervision. Their study was considerably larger than the pilot research of Rokkan and his colleagues (2015). Probation officers from 24 U.S. counties completed anonymously an online form on 104 tasks (e.g., risk assessment, face-to-face contact, home visit), the time spent on the task, *and* the risk level of the probationer.² Thus, the researchers were able to assess probation officer adherence to the risk principle. The length of face-to-face contact did not vary across risk levels. However, when the range of tasks and type of offender (e.g., race, sexual offender) were considered in a regression analysis and compared to unsupervised offenders (which may be a debatable comparison to use), they did find that POs devoted more time to higher risk offenders.

In recent years there has been increasing attention to PO behavior as it relates to the RNR principles especially within the context of training POs in effective supervision practices. An early example is Trotter's (1996) work that used case file reviews to assess PO behavior. Trotter (1996) provided five days of training to 30 POs in prosocial modeling and problem solving (responsivity principle). Subsequently case notes were reviewed and recidivism outcomes measured. The file reviews found that 12 officers continued to use the skills taught in training and 18 reverted to their usual methods of supervision. The clients of the probation officers who showed evidence of prosocial modeling and problem solving had a four-year recidivism rate of 53.8 percent³ compared to 64 percent

for the clients who were supervised as usual. That is, following at least to some extent the RNR model in community supervision was associated with reduced recidivism.

In addition to file reviews and diaries there are three other, and more direct, methods to assess how well POs follow the RNR model. For example, Raynor and his colleagues (Raynor, Ugwu-dike, & Vanstone, 2014; Raynor, Ugwu-dike, Vanstone, & Machon, 2012) analyzed 85 video-recorded interviews between 10 probation officers and 75 of their clients from the British Channel Island of Jersey. The recordings were based on the first interview and were coded and rated on nine skill clusters (e.g., motivational interviewing, cognitive restructuring). There was sufficient variability in the scores on skills that the POs could be grouped into low and high skill levels. The two-year reconviction rate was 53 percent for clients of POs who scored lower on their interview skills. For POs who scored higher, the reconviction rate of their clients was 31 percent.

To our knowledge, Trotter and Evans (2012) have conducted the only personal observation study of PO behavior with their clients. Three researchers sat in and rated 119 officer interviews with juvenile probationers (aged 12 to 18 years). All the interviews took place within the first three months of supervision. Observations were coded along a five-point scale (1 = not present to 5 = present throughout the interview). Despite being given training in Trotter's (1996) prosocial modeling and problem-solving program, some aspects of the training were infrequently used (e.g., role clarification, problem-solving). Some other taught skills were observed more frequently (e.g., prosocial modeling and reinforcement, being open and honest). Unfortunately, Trotter and Evans (2012) did not examine the potential relationships between these skills and recidivism.

Finally, audio recording the interviews of POs with their clients has been the most frequently applied methodology to understand effective probation practices. The methodology was first pioneered by Andrews, Kiessling, Russell, and Grant (1979) but does not reappear in the literature until 2008. Bonta, Ruge, Scott, Bourgon, and Yessine (2008) audio recorded the sessions of 62 probation officers with their clients over a six-month period, which at that point was the most comprehensive examination of PO adherence

² DeMichele and Payne (2018) do not report the number of probation officers who responded to their web-based diary survey as "our research design focused on tasks completed, not the individual" (p. 45).

³ In Trotter's (1996) Table 1, page 38, the recidivism rate for clients of probation officers who used the model was reported as 46 percent. However, the number of clients who committed a further offense was reported as 50. The total number of probationers was 93. Therefore, we calculated the recidivism

rate as 53.8 percent (50/93).

to the RNR model. They found relatively poor adherence to the risk principle, mixed adherence to targeting criminogenic needs, and almost nonexistent adherence to the structuring component of the responsibility principle (the relationship component was more frequently observed). Based on these findings and along with the results from other studies, Bonta and his colleagues set out to train POs specifically on RNR-based skills that went beyond Trotter's (1996) prosocial and problem-solving training protocol.

The Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS) involves three to four days of training in RNR-based supervision practices with ongoing trainings and clinical supports. In an experimental evaluation, STICS-trained POs were more likely to evidence changes in adherence to the RNR principles as measured by audio recordings of supervision sessions. The STICS officers spent more time on the criminogenic needs of their clients and were more likely to use cognitive-behavioral intervention techniques compared to the control POs (Bonta, Bourgon, Ruge, Scott, Yessine, Gutierrez, & Li, 2011). In addition, the probationers of the trained officers (95 percent of whom were medium- to high-risk offenders) demonstrated lower two-year reconviction rates (25 percent) than the control clients (39.5 percent).

Following STICS, two similar RNR-based training programs were developed and evaluated. Both used audio recordings to measure changes in PO behaviors. The first is STARR (Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Rearrest). STARR was developed by the U.S. federal probation system and experimentally evaluated. The findings from the evaluations showed changes in officer behavior in the desired direction and also reduced recidivism for the probationers of STARR-trained POs (Lowenkamp, Holsinger, Robinson, & Alexander, 2012; Robinson, Lowenkamp, Holsinger, VanBenschoten, Alexander, & Oleson, 2012; Robinson, VanBenschoten, Alexander, & Lowenkamp, 2011). The second training program, developed by researchers at the University of Cincinnati, is EPICS (Effective Practices in Community Supervision). There have been two non-experimental evaluations of EPICS (Labrecque, Schweitzer, & Smith, 2013; Smith, Schweitzer, Labrecque, & Latessa, 2012), neither of which presented recidivism outcomes, and one randomized experiment with recidivism data (Latessa, Smith, Schweitzer, & Labrecque, 2013). The three evaluations showed the

EPICS officers were more likely to engage in RNR-based skills after training, but the recidivism outcome was equivocal. Reduced recidivism was observed only for the clients supervised by POs described as "high fidelity" (i.e., proficient in EPICS-trained skills). These results demonstrate the aggregate effect of PO in-session behavior; they do not take into account all the other PO activities that are part of supervision.

Living Laboratory

The previously reviewed studies reflect a growing interest and sophistication in the analysis of PO activities. However, PO behavior cannot be considered in isolation of organization context. PO practices are dependent upon an agency's organizational climate, values, policies, and managerial support for their behaviors. The concept of a "Living Laboratory" was developed in the mid-1990s by D. A. Andrews and James Bonta in collaboration with the U.S. National Institute of Corrections and a U.S. Midwest county probation department. The idea was to choose a probation agency that would pilot new corrections initiatives on a small scale before widespread implementation. The goals would be to examine the impacts of a new initiative on clients and staff and also on the organization itself. It was hypothesized that any new program introduced into a correctional organization would exert changes on all aspects of the agency (staff, policy, and practice). Some of the changes could represent barriers to implementation, and this Living Laboratory would not only identify the barriers but provide an opportunity to develop solutions prior to larger implementation. In other words, deal with potential problems on a small scale before they develop into big problems.

Unfortunately, due to a number of unforeseen circumstances, the Living Laboratory idea was never implemented in the U.S. However, the promise of STICS to improve community supervision practices seized the attention of two Canadian provinces that wished to implement STICS across their respective jurisdictions. Thus, researchers at Public Safety Canada engaged the two provinces in conducting a Living Laboratory study prior to implementing a province-wide rollout of STICS. We describe the study conducted at these two sites in this paper. The first was conducted in one large probation office in western Canada (Agency 1), and the second study was conducted in four offices from a large province in eastern Canada (Agency 2).

Methodology

Two separate Canadian correctional agencies, each with its own policies, procedures, and supervision practices participated in the study. There were 21 probation officers (POs) who participated from Agency 1 and 34 from Agency 2. Each PO was asked to submit data on 8 randomly selected clients over a 90-day period. Two of the clients were newly assigned cases. The remaining six clients were randomly selected from the officer's caseload and were between 3 and 6 months in their supervision period. All clients needed to provide their consent to participate, and once consent was granted, the following data was collected:

1. *Client Initiation Documentation*: This package consisted of basic client demographic information, as well as risk and need assessment information. In Agency 1, the Service Planning Instrument (SPIn; Orbis Partners, 2003) was used and results classify clients into one of three risk levels (Low, Moderate, and High). In Agency 2, it was the Level of Service—OR (LSI-OR; Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 1995), which classifies clients into one of five risk levels (Very Low, Low, Medium, High, and Very High).
2. *Time Tracking Documentation*: This form, completed by the officer for each individual client, tracked the activities and time spent supervising that client for the 90-day data collection period. There were three broad categories of tasks: (1) the time they spent in face-to-face supervision (F2F), (2) the time spent in indirect contacts with clients (NONF2F; e.g., phone conversation or listening to a voicemail from the client), and (3) time spent in a variety of other activities that did not directly involve the client (i.e., documenting/inputting client information, collateral contacts, reviewing case notes, and out of office activities).
3. *Trimonthly Checklist*: This checklist, completed by the officer for each individual client at the end of the data collection period, recorded referrals to and engagement in community programs and resources targeting various needs over the data collection period.

Results

Probation Officer Demographics

Of the 21 POs who participated in the study in Agency 1, a total of 15 (71.4 percent) provided personal demographic characteristics and 6 remained anonymous. Most were female (86.6

percent), with an average age of 29.3 years ($SD = 5.01$). Years of experience as a PO varied, ranging from 1 year to 25 years, with an average of 7.03 years ($SD = 6.2$). Almost half ($n = 7$) of the officers indicated that they specialized in certain types of cases, including supervising domestic violence clients, sexual offenders, and drug court clients.

Of the 34 participating POs in Agency 2, only 22 (64.7 percent) provided personal demographics. Over half (59.1 percent) of the officers were female and the average age was 38.2 ($SD = 10.0$). The level of experience ranged from 1.5 to over 30 years, with an average of 10.7 years ($SD = 9.5$). One quarter (25 percent) of the officers indicated that they handle specialized caseloads, primarily clients under intensive supervision.

Client Data

From Agency 1, information was collected on 95 clients, with 85 completed client initiation forms, 82 with risk assessment information. Time tracking documentation was completed for all 95 clients, and 68 Tri-Monthly Checklists were submitted. From Agency 2, there were 234 client initiation forms completed; 219 with risk assessment information. There was time tracking information on 230 clients and 70 completed Tri-Monthly Checklists. Client demographics and risk assessment results for the two samples are found in Table 1 (page 11). The two samples were similar in most demographic characteristics and risk profile. However, there were more clients who were single (never married) and Indigenous in Agency 1. The latter finding is not surprising, given that Agency 1 was located in western Canada where Indigenous populations are higher. Risk profiles were very similar, as can be seen when the five risk levels of Agency 2 are collapsed to three levels (i.e., 23.2 percent vs. 25.1 percent low risk, 45.1 percent vs. 40.6 percent moderate/medium risk, and 31.7 percent vs. 34.2 percent high risk).

Officer Monthly Workload

In order to understand officer workload, we decided to standardize the frequency and duration of time for all tracked activities over a one-month period (30 days) as the total amount of days tracked varied for each client. Activities included Client Contact (i.e., F2F and NonF2F) and Administrative Activities (i.e., Documenting Information, Collateral Contact, and Case Review). The monthly frequency of activities was calculated by dividing the total number of times that activity

happened by the total number of days of the tracking period. That result (i.e., frequency per day) was multiplied by 30 to obtain the frequency of that activity for any given month. For duration of time spent on each activity, the total amount of time engaged in that activity over the entire tracking period was divided by the total number of days tracked. That result (i.e., amount of time per day) was multiplied by 30 to obtain the duration of time in minutes engaged in that activity over a one-month period. To ensure that very short tracking periods did not artificially inflate or deflate these standardized measures, only data for specific clients that were tracked for a minimum of two weeks (i.e., 14 days) were included.

Agency 1

Time tracking data information was excluded for 6 of the 95 clients that did not have the minimum 14 days. Risk information was not available for an additional six clients; leaving data on 83 clients for analysis. A series of ANOVAs were conducted to compare three risk levels on the monthly frequencies and duration (Table 2, page 11). Significant differences were found on monthly frequencies of F2F contact ($F(2,80) = 3.62$; $p = .03$), but no other significant differences on the other measures were found. Follow-up pairwise comparisons (Scheffe pairwise comparisons with $p < .05$) on frequency of F2F contacts found High Risk clients ($M = 2.14$) had significantly more contacts per month than Low Risk clients ($M = 1.37$). The frequency of monthly contact between Low Risk and Medium Risk and between Medium Risk and High Risk were not significantly different.

Agency 2

Data was excluded for 12 of the 230 clients due to not having at least 14 days of tracking information. Risk information was not available for an additional 17 clients; leaving data on 201 clients for analysis. ANOVA comparing five risk levels on the monthly frequencies and duration (Table 4, page 12) revealed a number of significant differences. Significant differences were noted on the frequency ($F(4,196) = 2.98$; $p = .02$) and duration ($F(4,196) = 3.85$; $p = .01$) of Client Contact as well as the duration of monthly F2F contact ($F(4,196) = 3.02$; $p = .02$). Follow-up pairwise comparisons for Client Contact found significant differences between the Low Risk clients and Very High Risk clients on frequency ($M = 1.7$ vs. $M = 2.8$) and duration ($M = 32.2$ vs. $M = 63.5$). Pairwise

comparisons of the duration of F2F Contact indicated that Low Risk clients had significantly less time than Very High Risk clients ($M = 28.7$ vs. $M = 52.4$). No other significant differences between risk levels were noted.

ANOVA revealed significant differences on the frequency ($F(4,196) = 7.53$; $p < .01$) and duration ($F(4,196) = 9.43$; $p < .01$) of Administrative Activities; the frequency ($F(4,196) = 8.08$; $p < .01$) and duration ($F(4,196) = 6.61$; $p < .01$) of Documenting Information; the frequency ($F(4,196) = 9.22$; $p < .01$) and duration ($F(4,196) = 8.05$; $p < .01$) of Collateral Contacts; and the duration ($F(4,196) = 4.83$; $p < .01$) of Case Review.

In terms of Administrative Activities, follow-up pairwise comparisons found significant differences on frequency of Administrative Activities, with Low Risk clients ($M = 3.8$) having significantly fewer than High Risk clients ($M = 6.4$) and Very High Risk clients ($M = 8.9$). Medium Risk clients had significantly fewer ($M = 5.4$) Administrative Activities than Very High Risk clients ($M = 8.9$). In terms of the duration of Administrative Activities, officers spent significantly more time per month on Very High Risk clients ($M = 151.8$) compared to all other groups ($M = 59.7$ vs. $M = 35.0$ vs. $M = 56.0$ vs. $M = 73.6$ for Very Low Risk, Low Risk, Medium Risk, and High Risk respectively).

Follow-up comparisons on Documenting found officers spent significantly more time and did so more frequently for Very High Risk clients ($M = 86.1$ and $M = 5.2$ respectively) than Low Risk clients ($M = 26.0$ and $M = 2.5$) and Medium Risk clients ($M = 38.9$ and $M = 3.3$). In addition, officers documented significantly fewer times per month for Low Risk clients ($M = 2.5$) compared to High Risk clients ($M = 6.4$).

Follow-up comparisons on Collateral Contacts found officers had significantly more contacts with collaterals and spent more time doing so for Very High Risk clients ($M = 2.5$ and $M = 48.2$) compared to all other groups (Very Low Risk ($M = 0.8$ and 5.2); Low Risk ($M = 0.5$ and 3.5); Medium Risk ($M = 1.0$ and 9.7); and High Risk ($M = 1.3$ and 14.1)). No other significant between-group differences on Collateral Contact were noted. The same pattern was found in follow-up pairwise comparisons for duration of Case Review; that is, significantly more time per month was spent reviewing case information of Very High Risk clients ($M = 17.5$) compared to Very Low Risk ($M = 5.7$), Low Risk ($M = 5.5$), Medium Risk ($M = 7.3$) and High Risk ($M = 7.8$) clients.

Individual Face-to-Face (F2F) supervision sessions: Policy, Assignment, and Practice

Agency 1

For Agency 1, the frequency with which a PO is required to see clients is explicitly spelled out in policy, which is based on risk: once per month for Low Risk clients, twice per month for Moderate Risk clients, and three or more times per month for High Risk clients. However, results indicated the assigned reporting schedule did not align with policy. Only 40 percent of Low Risk clients were given reporting schedules in concordance with policy (once per month), 71.6 percent of Moderate Risk clients had been assigned reporting schedules in concordance with policy (twice per month), whereas 96 percent of High Risk clients were assigned reporting schedules in concordance with policy (three or more times per month).

Assigned schedule is not the same as actual reporting. To illustrate how many days passed between in-person reporting, we converted the average monthly F2F Contact for the three risk levels and found that Low Risk clients reported in person to their PO once every 21.9 days, Moderate Risk clients reported in person once every 16.9 days, and High Risk clients reported in person once every 14.0 days.

In terms of the duration on individual F2F supervision sessions, officers from Agency 1 recorded time for 264 F2F supervision sessions. The average duration of a session was 23.3 minutes ($SD = 16.4$) ranging from 1 minute to 2 hours. The majority (57.6 percent) of F2F supervision sessions lasted between 15 and 30 minutes, with 23.1 percent of the sessions shorter than 15 minutes and 19.1 percent of the sessions longer than 30 minutes. The duration of F2F supervision sessions was significant, but negatively related to risk ($r = -.16; p < .01$). Specifically, F2F supervision sessions lasted longest for Low Risk clients ($M = 28.0$ minutes; $SD = 23.4$) and shortest for High Risk clients ($M = 20.7$; $SD = 14.5$). Moderate risk clients had an average F2F supervision session duration of 24.1 minutes ($SD = 14.2$).

Agency 2

For Agency 2, policy does not dictate specific contact standards based on risk. Rather the officer determines the frequency of reporting based on legal requirements of the sentence (none of the 234 sentences had an explicit frequency of reporting); seriousness of the offense(s); assessed risk, needs,

and motivation to benefit from intervention; stream placement and availability of program; specialized case policies; and the risk principle (with the most intense reserved for those who represent greatest risk). Over three-quarters (77.6 percent) of the clients were assigned a reporting schedule of once per month, with most of the remaining clients (20.6 percent) assigned a reporting schedule of twice per month. Very few (1.8 percent) clients had an assigned reporting schedule of three or more times per month. Risk level was significantly associated with assigned reporting levels ($r = .32; p < .01$); however, there was little variation across risk levels. Once per month reporting was the majority for Very Low (80.0 percent), Low (91.9 percent), Medium (83.9 percent), and High (66.7 percent) Risk clients. For Very High Risk clients, although the most frequent reporting schedule was twice per month (43.5 percent), almost as many were assigned reporting schedules of once per month (39.1 percent). A minority (17.4 percent) were given a reporting schedule of three or more times per month.

To illustrate how many days passed between in-person reporting, the average monthly F2F Contact for the five risk levels was converted, as we had done for Agency 1, with a range of once every 16.7 to 25 days across the risk levels. Very Low Risk clients reported in person to their PO once every 18.8 days, Low Risk once every 25.0 days, Medium Risk once every 21.4 days, High Risk clients once every 21.4 days, and Very High Risk clients once every 16.7 days. The correlations between risk level and the frequency of F2F contact was not significant ($r = .12; p = .08$).

In terms of the duration of individual F2F supervision sessions, officers from Agency 2 recorded time for 702 F2F supervision sessions. The average amount of time in F2F sessions was 25.5 minutes ($SD = 13.1$), ranging from 1 minute to 2 hours. The majority (70.1 percent) of F2F supervision sessions lasted between 15 and 30 minutes, 10.7 percent were shorter than 15 minutes, and 19.2 percent were longer than 30 minutes. The average duration of F2F supervision sessions was 23.8 minutes ($SD = 14.4$) for Very Low Risk clients, 23.7 minutes ($SD = 10.4$) for Low Risk clients, 25.6 minutes ($SD = 12.9$) for Medium Risk clients, 25.4 minutes ($SD = 13.9$) for High Risk clients, and the longest for Very High Risk clients, with an average of 28.6 minutes ($SD = 14.2$). For Agency 2 (with no specific contact standards policy), risk was significantly, but minimally, related to the F2F session length (r

$= .10; p = .01$), indicating longer F2F sessions as risk increased, contrary to the findings for Agency 1. However, the ANOVA results for session duration by risk level found no significant differences ($F(4, 697) = 2.12; p = .08$).

Engagement in Programs and Services

Agency 1

Data from the *Trimonthly Checklist* was available for 68 clients with risk information from Agency 1 (Table 4, page 12). Overall, 64.7 percent ($n = 44$) of the clients were participating in at least one program or service to address various needs, with 20 percent of clients participating in two or more. Risk level was significantly related to the total number of programs and services ($r = .35; p < .01$), indicating that as risk increased, so did the number of services and programs.

About half (51.5 percent; $n = 35$) of the clients were participating in programs or services targeting criminogenic needs. The most frequent criminogenic programs were those that targeted substance abuse ($n = 20$) and those targeting antisociality/aggression ($n = 15$; these programs could target antisocial personality, procriminal attitudes, and/or aggression, including family violence). Surprisingly, risk was not significantly related to the number of criminogenic need-targeted programs and services ($r = .17; p = .17$).

Of the 35 clients participating in a criminogenic targeted program, 28.6 percent ($n = 10$) had only minimal participation (only one or two sessions attended), 45.7 percent ($n = 16$) had moderate participation (i.e., more than 2 sessions, but may have had sporadic attendance and/or not completed a minimum of 50 percent of the program/service to date), and 25.7 percent ($n = 9$) had a high degree of participation (i.e., consistent attendance over a minimum of one month and/or completed a minimum of 50 percent of the program/service). Although risk was not significantly related to level of participation in criminogenic need programming ($r = -.21; p = .25$), the relationship was negative, indicating that as risk increased, participation tended to decrease.

About a third (31 percent; $n = 21$) of clients were involved in a program or service targeting daily living needs (i.e., accommodation, finances, mental health), with the majority (18 of the 21 clients) involved in mental health services. Risk level was related to the total number of services and programs addressing daily living issues ($r = .36; p < .01$). Of the 21 clients participating in a program, 14.3 percent

($n = 3$) had only minimal participation, 47.6 percent ($n = 10$) had moderate participation, and 38.1 percent ($n = 8$) had a high degree of participation. Although risk was not significantly related to the level of participation in daily living needs programming ($r = -.18$; $p = .44$), the relationship was negative, indicating that as risk increased, participation tended to decrease.

Agency 2

Data from the *Trimonthly Checklist* was available for 66 clients from Agency 2 (Table 4, page 12). There were 65.2 percent of clients participating in at least one program or service to address various needs, 45.5 percent participating in one program, and 15.2 percent of clients involved in two or more. Risk level was unrelated to the total number of programs and services ($r = .08$; $p = .52$).

For programs or services targeting criminogenic needs, 60.6 percent of the clients were recorded as being involved in at least one program. The most frequent criminogenic programs were those that targeted substance abuse and anti-sociality/aggression. Surprisingly, risk was not significantly related to the number of criminogenic need-targeted programs ($r = .15$; $p = .24$). Of these 40 clients participating in a criminogenic-targeted program, 25.0 percent had only minimal participation, 22.5 percent had moderate participation, and 52.5 percent had a high degree of participation. Risk was significantly and negatively related to level of participation in criminogenic-need programming ($r = -.34$; $p = .03$). That is, as risk increased, participation levels decreased.

Only four clients (6.1 percent) were involved in a program or service targeting daily living needs, all of which were for mental health. Of these four clients, three had moderate participation and one had a high degree of participation.

Discussion

The overall goal of these Living Laboratory investigations was to gain insights into present practices to effectively inform implementation strategies for evidence-based initiatives. By evaluating supervision practices, including various work-related activities such as face-to-face (F2F) supervision sessions and administrative tasks and client participation in programs and services, organizations can be armed with empirical evidence to better align policies and practices with the RNR Principles of effective correctional treatment.

According to the Risk Principle, higher risk clients require more levels of service, in other words, increased dosage. The Risk Principle is often viewed as one that can be relatively easily followed through risk assessment and policies aligning the supervision practices of offenders of differing levels of risk. For community supervision, the dosage of human service change efforts includes officer-client face-to-face supervision sessions as well as participation in treatment programs and services.

For F2F sessions, assessing dosage can be complex. Contact frequency is typically viewed as a proxy measurement of dosage, and policies often encourage more contacts as risk increases. For example, Agency 1 had explicit contact standards based on risk level. Although assigned reporting schedules generally followed policy, it was not perfect. For Agency 2, contact frequency is left at the discretion of the officer with the caveat of adhering to the Risk Principle. In that agency, the de facto contact schedule was once per month and results of assigned reporting schedules suggest that there was little deviation between risk levels. In fact, 67 percent of High Risk and 39 percent of Very High Risk clients were assigned once per month reporting.

However, policy and assigned reporting schedules do not always translate into actual practice. Dosage can be measured by the simple counting of F2F contacts, or average session length, but these indicators may not provide an accurate picture. For example, individual supervision sessions averaged between 21 and 29 minutes for the two agencies regardless of risk level, with most sessions lasting between 15 and 30 minutes. Given this, one might expect that clients seen more often would receive greater dosages.

The results of the standardized frequency and duration on a per month basis illustrated that more frequent sessions do not always equate to higher dosage. Results from Agency 1 revealed that although High Risk clients were seen significantly more often than Low Risk clients on a per month basis, the monthly duration or dosage of F2F interactions did not differ across risk levels, averaging from 41 to 46 minutes across the three risk levels. In other words, supervision sessions were shorter for clients of higher risk and longer for clients of lower risk. In Agency 2, no differences were found on monthly frequency of F2F sessions across the five risk levels. Although Very High Risk clients, at 52 minutes per month, received a significantly greater monthly dosage of

officer-client face-to-face interaction than Low Risk clients at 29 minutes per month, the other risk categories were equivalent, with 37 to 40 minutes per month (See Tables 2 and 3, pages 11 and 12). In both agencies, it appears more work is needed to better adhere to the Risk Principle by increasing officer-client interaction dosage for higher risk clients and/or decreasing dosage for lower risk clients.

Participation in treatment programs and other community services is another component of human service dosage to address client needs. The Need Principle focuses on services that target criminogenic needs to reduce recidivism. Although our results indicate that about 65 percent of clients were participating in some treatment program or community service, a smaller percentage of clients (51.5 percent and 60 percent for Agency 1 and 2 respectively) were participating in programs targeting criminogenic needs. Further, risk level was minimally related to the number of criminogenic need programs a client was involved in ($r = .17$ and $.15$ for Agency 1 and 2 respectively).

On the one hand, our results found some positive support of adherence to the Risk and Need principles, with 59 percent of High Risk clients from Agency 1 and 73 percent of High/Very High Risk clients from Agency 2 participating in criminogenic need programming. On the other hand, we found contrary evidence of adherence, as 33 percent of Low Risk clients from Agency 1 and 44 percent of Very Low/Low Risk clients from Agency 2 participating in criminogenic programming. Given the empirical evidence of the ineffectiveness of treatment for lower risk clients (Bonta & Andrews, 2017), the scarcity of resources, and the fact that risk was significantly and negatively associated with the degree of participation, enhanced adherence to the Risk and Need principles is challenging. It could be achieved if organizations placed greater emphasis on officer efforts to provide higher levels of criminogenic need-targeted dosage as risk increases and, conversely, lower levels as risk decreases.

Overall, the results of monthly officer-client interaction dosage and participation in criminogenic programming suggest that risk is not the primary driving factor for dosage in either agency. What, then, is driving dosage? As Paparozzi and DeMichele (2008) noted, community supervision agencies have traditionally collected data and measured performance that reflect how busy they are. Over the last couple of decades, the growth of information

technology has led to most agencies using complex information management systems to collect and store massive amounts of client information. Examining the monthly time spent in administrative tasks in Tables 2 and 3, we can see that officers spend at least the same amount or more time per month doing these tasks, particularly documenting and inputting information into offender management systems, compared to direct officer-client interaction. And it appears that the officer-client interactions suffer as a result. The recent work on correctional counsellor workloads in Iowa by Bell, Matz, Lowe, and Skinner (2018) found very similar results; an equivalent amount of counsellor time involved direct one-to-one contact with offenders (38 percent) and computer work (35 percent). It appears that today's correctional organizations are placing too much emphasis on the gathering, documenting, and storing of information, as illustrated by the observation of typical staff performance/quality assurance measurement based on the timeliness and completeness of file information. With such an emphasis, there is a danger that information gathering becomes the primary purpose of the officer-client interaction, to the detriment of human service and adherence to the principles of RNR.

The results of these Living Laboratory studies parallel Bonta et al.'s (2008) examination of typical Canadian probation work and that of Bell et al. (2018) in Iowa; that is, correctional agency practices are at best only modestly adhering to the principles of Risk and Need. As the field continues to see more community supervision agencies make an effort to implement evidence-based practices and change agent supervision training programs (Bonta et al., 2011; Bourgon, Gutierrez, & Ashton, 2012), more work needs to be done in how to improve and change organizations effectively. Implementation of large-scale initiatives requires change across all levels of the organization to ensure that organizational goals, work activities, and measures are congruent and aligned with the evidence. A Living Laboratory approach permits organizations to be armed with accurate and comprehensive information of actual practices and work activities and assist in more strategically and effectively implementing change. As Fixsen and colleagues (2005) summarized, effective evidence-based implementation requires frequent and open communication that allows all individuals to contribute to the initiative; sharing a vision, conducting accurate assessments of work activities, and encouraging

both top-down and bottom-up problem-solving. In this fashion, all individuals within the organization become part of the implementation efforts, encouraging a spirit of openness, inclusiveness, cohesiveness, and effectiveness.

Limitations

It is important to note that while this study provides interesting and much-needed information on the day-to-day activities of POs, results should be interpreted with some caution for a number of reasons. Specifically, the findings are based on a relatively small number of officers and clients, with numbers fluctuating across the study's various measures. The small sample sizes limited the analyses that could be conducted and may have impacted the ability to detect other differences that may exist. Also, these Living Laboratory studies only included a few offices and may not be representative of other locations. The study's perspective was limited to examining a 90-day "snapshot" of PO functions. Despite having clients from different stages of the community supervision process participate in the study (e.g., newly assigned to caseload or 3 to 6 months on supervision), we were unable to consider whether the workload differs for these potentially distinct periods of supervision. However, despite these limitations, this was one of the few studies that examined detailed activities of officers linked specifically to individual clients.

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TABLE 1.
Demographic information for all clients from Agency 1 and Agency 2.

		Agency 1 % (n)	Agency 2 % (n)
Gender	Male	78.8 (67)	81.2 (190)
	Female	21.2 (18)	18.8 (44)
Race/Ethnic Origin	Caucasian	54.1 (46)	83.2 (193)
	Indigenous	32.9 (28)	5.2 (12)
	Other	12.9 (11)	11.6 (27)
Marital Status	Single (never married)	70.2 (59)	46.6 (103)
	Married/common law	15.5 (13)	31.7 (70)
	Separated/Divorced/Widow	14.3 (12)	21.7 (48)
Employment Status	Unemployed	48.8 (41)	37.1 (83)
	Disability Pension	7.1 (6)	16.5 (37)
	Part-time Work	13.1 (11)	9.4 (21)
	Full-time Work	31.0 (26)	37.1 (83)
Risk Level	Very Low		7.3 (16)
	Low	23.2 (19)	17.8 (39)
	Moderate/Medium	45.1 (37)	40.6 (89)
	High	31.7 (26)	34.2 (75)
	Very High		11.0 (24)

TABLE 2.
Frequency of officer activities and duration of time (minutes)
spent per one-month period for Agency 1.

	Low Risk Level (n = 21) M (SD)	Moderate Risk Level (n = 34) M (SD)	High Risk Level (n = 28) M (SD)
CLIENT CONTACT			
Frequency (#/month)	2.60 (2.4)	3.06 (1.5)	3.24 (1.6)
Duration (min/month)	48.3 (55.6)	50.8 (29.1)	49.1 (39.7)
F2F Contact			
Frequency (#/month)	1.37 (0.95)	1.77 (0.75)	2.14 (1.22)
Duration (min/month)*	40.7 (40.5)	43.8 (28.0)	45.5 (38.7)
NonF2F Client Contact			
Frequency (#/month)	1.23 (2.00)	1.29 (1.20)	2.14 (1.22)
Duration (min/month)	7.6 (18.6)	6.9 (9.0)	3.6 (3.4)
ADMINISTRATIVE			
Frequency (#/month)	5.6 (4.8)	5.8 (3.6)	7.2 (2.8)
Duration (min/month)	61.0 (64.4)	48.5 (38.1)	55.4 (27.2)
Documenting			
Frequency (#/month)	3.8 (2.4)	3.7 (1.9)	4.5 (1.8)
Duration (min/month)	49.8 (50.2)	33.6 (24.3)	36.2 (22.1)
Collaterals			
Frequency (#/month)	1.0 (2.3)	1.3 (1.5)	1.6 (1.5)
Duration (min/month)	6.5 (20.5)	11.1 (18.3)	11.5 (12.0)
Case Review			
Frequency (#/month)	0.8 (0.9)	0.8 (1.0)	1.1 (1.0)
Duration (min/month)	4.7 (8.7)	3.8 (5.0)	(9.5)

* ANOVA $p < .05$

TABLE 3.
Frequency of activities and duration of time (minutes) spent per one-month period for Agency 2.

	Very Low Risk Level (n = 14) M (SD)	Low Risk Level (n = 36) M (SD)	Medium Risk Level (n = 82) M (SD)	High Risk Level (n = 46) M (SD)	Very High Risk Level (n = 23) M (SD)
CLIENT CONTACT					
Frequency (#/month)*	2.3 (0.8)	1.7 (0.8)	2.2 (1.1)	2.2 (1.0)	2.8 (1.8)
Duration (min/month)*	43.5 (24.2)	32.2 (14.9)	44.6 (28.4)	41.4 (20.0)	63.5 (60.5)
F2F Client Contact					
Frequency (#/month)	1.6 (0.6)	1.2 (0.5)	1.4 (0.6)	1.4 (0.5)	1.8 (1.2)
Duration (min/month)*	39.9 (23.1)	28.7 (15.5)	37.6 (22.0)	36.9 (19.4)	52.4 (51.4)
NonF2F Client Contact					
Frequency (#/month)	0.7 (0.6)	0.5 (0.7)	0.8 (0.8)	0.8 (0.9)	1.0 (0.8)
Duration (min/month)	3.6 (2.8)	3.4 (5.4)	7.0 (13.8)	4.54 (5.7)	11.1 (14.0)
ADMINISTRATIVE					
Frequency (#/month)*	5.5 (3.3)	3.8 (1.9)	5.4 (3.1)	6.4 (3.5)	8.9 (6.5)
Duration (min/month)*	59.7 (56.0)	35.0 (32.0)	56.0 (50.1)	73.6 (67.6)	151.8 (169.5)
Documenting					
Frequency (#/month)*	3.8 (2.0)	2.5 (1.1)	3.3 (1.6)	3.9 (1.8)	5.2 (3.6)
Duration (min/month)*	48.8 (45.9)	26.0 (24.9)	38.9 (37.0)	51.7 (49.7)	86.1 (74.8)
Collaterals					
Frequency (#/month)*	0.8 (0.9)	0.5 (0.6)	1.0 (1.1)	1.3 (1.3)	2.5 (2.4)
Duration (min/month)*	5.2 (6.9)	3.5 (4.5)	9.7 (11.5)	14.1 (21.8)	48.2 (87.9)
Case Review					
Frequency (#/month)	1.0 (0.9)	0.8 (0.8)	1.1 (1.6)	1.2 (1.3)	1.1 (1.1)
Duration (min/month)*	5.7 (7.1)	5.5 (6.4)	7.3 (8.6)	7.8 (9.8)	17.5 (23.2)

* ANOVA $p < .05$

TABLE 4.
Percentage of clients participating in various programs and services.

	Any Programs/ Services % (n)	Those targeting Criminogenic Needs ¹ % (n)	Those targeting daily living ² % (n)
Agency 1 Total	64.7 (44)	51.5 (35)	30.9 (21)
Risk Level Low	40.0 (6)	33.3 (5)	6.7 (1)
Moderate	65.5 (19)	51.7 (15)	27.6 (8)
High	77.3 (17)	59.1 (13)	50.0 (11)
Agency 2 Total	65.2 (43)	60.0 (40)	6.1 (4)
Risk Level Very Low & Low	55.6 (15)	44.4 (12)	11.1 (3)
Medium	70.8 (17)	70.8 (17)	4.2 (1)
High & Very High	73.3 (11)	73.3 (11)	0.0 (0)

¹ Refers to those services addressing antisocial personality, procriminal attitudes, procriminal peers, employment, education, substance abuse, family, marital, and sexual deviance.

² Refers to those services addressing mental health, accommodation, and finances.

Probation Officer as a Coach: Building a New Professional Identity

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ALTHOUGH MASS IMPRISONMENT has justifiably received great attention (e.g., Clear & Frost, 2014; Pratt, 2009), the simultaneous rise of mass probation in the United States has often escaped systematic commentary and widespread awareness (Phelps, 2017). The correctional reality is that on any given day in the nation, 1 in 66 adult residents are on probation, which translates to nearly 3.8 million offenders. When parolees are added to this equation, the population under community supervision rises to more than 4.6 million—or 1 in every 53 adults (Kaeble & Bonczar, 2016). A continuing policy and practice concern is what role probation (and parole) officers should play in the lives of this substantial slice of the American citizenry.

The rapid and intractable growth of community supervision populations in a decades-long punitive era undermined the traditional rehabilitative ideal and ushered in competing visions of what constituted appropriate supervision (Phelps, in press; Simon, 1993). Although allegiance to human service supervision never vanished, many jurisdictions deemphasized behavior change through treatment in favor of risk management through a range of control- or deterrence-oriented approaches. These included the trumpeting of such practices as intensive supervision, drug testing, electronic monitoring, and, more

recently, swift-certain-fair probation. With only occasional exceptions, these practices have proven to be ineffective or, at best, inconsistently and modestly successful (Cullen & Jonson, 2017; Cullen, Pratt, Turanovic, & Butler, in press; Petersilia & Turner, 1993; Schaefer, Cullen, & Eck, 2016).

Notably, American corrections is emerging from this mean season (Petersilia & Cullen, 2015). In many jurisdictions, there is a renewed recognition that, while risk management to protect public safety remains a priority, officers must also use their skills to effect behavior change in their supervisees. Although not mountainous, research is accumulating showing how this goal might be accomplished by building quality relationships with offenders, possessing treatment skills, and using RNR principles to guide the content of office visits with offenders (Bonta, Bourgon, Ruge, Scott, Yessine, Gutierrez, & Li, 2011; Chadwick, DeWolf & Serin, 2015; Cullen, Jonson, & Mears, 2017; Raynor, Ugwudike, & Vanstone, 2014; Robinson, Lowenkamp, Holsinger, VanBenshoten, Alexander, & Oleson, 2012; Skeem, Loudon, Polaschek, & Camp, 2007; Smith, Schweitzer, Labrecque, & Latessa, 2012).

These advances in evidence-based supervision practices certainly are welcomed but something more is needed. Officers need to

have a conception of their role that allows them to use this knowledge. In traditional discourse, role choices have often been posed in dichotomous terms—whether officers were going to emphasize treatment or control. We suggest, however, that it may be more useful to move beyond these stale categories. Instead, we propose that probation (and parole) officers might benefit from a different concept of who they are and what they do: *probation officer as a coach*.

Social psychologists illuminate how all of us have ideas about who we are and what our lives are about (McAdams, 2001; see also Maruna, 2001). They use the concept of “narrative identity” to capture the story we tell about ourselves. Such an identity is important because it organizes our action, motivates our choices, and provides meaning to our lives. In the world of sports, the identity as a coach carries with it status, expertise, obligation, purpose, and accountability. Similarly, having probation officers build an identity as a coach has the potential to open up new ways of envisioning their role and how they can be effective.

Our argument is developed in three sections. First, we propose that too often the current probation officer role is best conceptualized as being a “referee.” We use the probation officer-as-referee as a way of showing what, in contrast, a coach’s role would

entail. Second, we examine the skills that a probation officer-as-coach would need to possess to supervise offenders effectively. And third, we discuss the potential benefits that would accrue should probation officers be conceptualized as part of the coaching profession. Notably, coaching has broadened beyond athletic teams to include diverse pathways (e.g., life coaches, executive coaches, personal trainers). We should note that although our focus is on probation officers, the insights we are developing could just as easily be applied to parole officers as well.

Probation Officer as a Coach

What would it mean for a probation officer to be a coach? One way of answering this question is to describe what being a coach would and would not entail. To stay with a sports metaphor, we suggest that for many probation officers, their role approximates that of “referee.” Becoming a coach would involve moving beyond this more limited role. In Table 1, we outline how being a referee and coach differ along eight dimensions of the probation officer role. This section examines these distinctions and how they combine to create two very different identities for a probation officer. We realize, of course, that any conceptual framework is limited in its capacity to capture the rich complexities of real-life situations. Our distinguishing the roles of referee and coach thus should be seen as heuristic devices for distinguishing divergent ways in which officers can envision their job

role and their professional identity. Our goal is to show the potential advantages of conceiving probation as part of the coaching profession.

Rule Enforcement vs. Behavioral Change

Many aspects of a probation officer’s role are defined by legal statutes, agency policies, resource capacity, and so on. Beyond these constraints, our concern here is what officers hope to accomplish when an offender enters their office. Many see their job as notifying their supervisees of the rules and then enforcing compliance. This approach is akin to being a referee (see Table 1, dimensions 1, 2, and 3).

In the most professional version of this role, the officers would not use coercive tactics such as yelling and threatening. Instead, they would engage in procedural justice, which involves applying rules strictly but in a fair and respectful way. Theory and research suggest that this style of justice produces compliance rather than defiance (see Tyler, 2003; see also Sherman, 1993). Like a referee, when an infraction of the rules occurs, the officers would “blow their whistle”—announce the violation—and impose the prescribed penalty. Their interest in those they supervise would be limited, mainly concerned with being able to detect if a rule or condition of probation had been broken. They would be aided in this task by drug tests, electronic monitoring, and small caseloads that allow for intensive supervision.

Referees do not have a win-loss record,

but coaches do. As a coach, probation officers would see each offender as an opportunity for a win or a loss—for success or failure. Their job would be to “coach” their supervisees in a way that ensures that they complete their term of probation and, ultimately, do not recidivate. For low-risk offenders, this might involve minimal intervention. For high-risk offenders, the challenge would be to achieve behavioral change. Where referees see a “foul” or violation as the “player’s” fault, coaches would see such rule-breaking, at least in part, as their failure to win the game. At the end of a game, referees go home. Coaches celebrate wins and hopefully learn from losses.

There are times of course, when probationers engage in serious violations (e.g., a new crime) and officers have no choice but to initiate a revocation hearing. After all, there are times when coaches must cut or dismiss players from their team. But apart from these incidents, probation “coaches” would use a violation as an opportunity not only to hold offenders accountable but also to enable them to learn from their mistake. Good coaches know that players will make errors, have penalties, or commit turnovers. These indiscretions make for coachable moments, where players are shown not only what they did wrong but also how to make choices that enable them to avoid violations in the future.

To take advantage of these learning opportunities, however, officers must “know their players.” Great coaches have standard rules for the team but also know that each member is different—in what motivates them, in their skills, and in their developmental stage. For probation officers, this means assessing offenders so that they are aware of their deficits or criminogenic needs (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). But it might also mean identifying their strengths that can be built on to enable offenders to avoid failure in the future (see Ward & Maruna, 2007).

Relationship with Offenders

Referees do not want to get too close to players because this intimacy might bias their ability to be fair. In this regard, probation “referees” would prefer to be an authority figure who impersonally imposes sanctions. Their professional obligation and expertise are to know and apply the rules equitably. When interacting with supervisees who have violated the rules, their tool kit involves warnings not to repeat the error, sanctions, and potentially revocation (see Table 1, dimensions 4, 5, and 6).

TABLE 1.
Probation Officer as a Referee vs. a Coach

Dimension of the Officer Role	Referee	Coach
1. Main Job Function	Procedural justice—apply the rules as intended	“Win”—behavioral change and improved conduct (lower recidivism)
2. Response to a Rule Infraction	“Blow the whistle” and apply the penalty	Accountability and education—learn from mistakes
3. Knowledge of Offender	Know if the offender followed the rules or not	Know the offender’s deficits (“criminogenic needs”) that need to be improved and strengths that can be built upon
4. Relationship with Offender	Impersonal: Authority figure who imposes sanctions	Supportive and trustworthy: Authority figure who is authoritative (“warm but restrictive”)
5. Feedback to Offender	Warnings, sanctions, and revocation	Training and encouragement: Develop skills so as to perform more successfully
6. Professional Expertise	Know and apply the rules equitably	Core correctional practices
7. Organizational Culture	Control	Human service
8. Organizational Goal	Efficiency and equity	Behavioral change and a good life

By contrast, the key to effective coaching is having a relationship with players, clients, or in this case offenders that is supportive and based on trust. Coaches are authority figures in part due to their position and in part due to their expertise (e.g., appearances in the NCAA tournament). But their effectiveness is not based on authority (“my way or the highway”) but on being *authoritative*. There is an extensive literature—from criminology to psychology—showing that behavioral change is most likely to occur when control occurs in combination with support, or what has been called being “warm but restrictive” (Baumrind, 1991; Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Cullen, 1994; Wright & Cullen, 2001). Being restrictive means making rules known and enforcing them. But warmth or support is critical because it shows that the sanction is being imposed not out of anger or dislike but out of caring and a desire to improve the person. This context is what allows the discipline to be educative rather than destructive—to elicit learning and change rather than hostility and defiance (see Braithwaite, 1989; Sherman, 1993).

Effective coaches also coach—that is, they engage in the teaching enterprise. They are not impersonal and disinterested. Because they care about their players and want to win, they use their expertise to develop skills. They rely on training and encouragement, not just rule enforcement and toughness, to improve their charges’ abilities. When players move on, they often say that their coach was like “another father to me,” and they maintain a life-long affiliation. While these accolades might be too much to expect probation officers to earn, their efforts to coach offenders and transform their lives should create meaningful mentorship. Again, research shows that the quality of the officer-offender relationship predicts success on supervision (Manchak, Kennealy, & Skeem, 2014; Skeem et al., 2007).

Effective coaches also know their field well. In recent years, there has been a growth of the use of evidence in sports. At one point in time, “Moneyball” was the exception rather than the rule (Lewis, 2003). Today, every baseball franchise uses actuarial data to guide both personnel decisions and in-game strategic choices by coaches (Law, 2017). In the same way, evidence-based corrections has become a standard part of a professional approach to corrections (Cullen, Myer, & Latessa, 2009). To be an effective coach, therefore, probation officers would have to be experts on how best to support and change their supervisees:

using core correctional practices, including “anticriminal modeling, effective reinforcement, effective disapproval, problem solving, structured learning, effective use of authority, cognitive restructuring, and relationship skills” (Labrecque & Smith, 2017, p. 240; see also Bonta & Andrews, 2017).

Correctional Agency Mission

Finally, we turn to the big picture of what defines the mission of a correctional agency (see Table 1, dimensions 7 and 8). For an agency that seeks to employ referees, the organizational culture—or correctional orientation of officers—would be to exert control over probationers. The hope would be that by emphasizing rule compliance and enforcement, officers could move offenders to avoid technical violations and recidivating. If offenders did commit technical violations or recidivate, however, then the goal of the organization would be to apply rules efficiently and with equity.

By contrast, an agency that seeks to employ coaches would hire staff who embrace a human service correctional orientation. They would want to employ officers who were committed to building cognitive and social skills in offenders so that they could avoid future legal entanglements. These coaches would have people skills and desire to have expertise in delivering effective interventions. The ultimate goal of the organization would be to use its coaches to effect behavior change and to enable offenders to live a good life.

Being a Coach: Four Key Talents

As we have suggested, being a coach requires a very different mindset and skillset from being a referee. A probation officer-as-coach wants to “win” by having offenders who not only comply with supervision conditions but also improve themselves (“become better players”) and be successful in life. A probation officer-as-referee wants to judge compliance with conditions of probation and, when a violation occurs, to blow the whistle and impose the prescribed penalty. Each of these roles—coach and referee—requires a different mindset and skillset. A coach is in the business of skill development and performance; a referee is in the business of applying rules and sanctions accurately and fairly. In the end, coaches are judged by their wins and losses, whereas referees are judged by their rule enforcement and equity.

Importantly, being a successful coach requires a different kind of expertise than

being a successful referee. Remember, coaches are in the behavioral-change business, whereas referees are in the rule-enforcement business. Applying rules accurately and fairly requires expertise; there are referees in the hall of fame. But coaches spend time and have a relationship with their players. Great coaches seek to improve the athletic talents and human capital of their players. Referees are respected for their fairness; coaches are beloved by their former players not only for their wins but also for their life-changing capacities.

In this context, a probation officer-as-coach would need to have a set of skills or types of professional expertise that would increase their chances of “winning” the supervision “game.” We can identify four key professional talents that they would have to possess to ensure effective supervision: assessment, skill-building, effective use of reinforcement, and a supervision playbook. Probation officers who adhere to a referee professional role are likely to see no need for these skills. Although they may be essential for achieving behavior change (the goal of a coach), they have little to do with the referee’s job of detecting fouls, blowing the whistle, and assigning a penalty.

First, it is vital for coaches to study their players and to assess their strengths and weaknesses. In probation, strengths are protective factors that can be used to encourage conformity. By contrast, weaknesses are risk factors or “criminogenic needs” that, if not targeted for change, will lead to recidivism (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Any good coach knows not only how to judge talent but also how to improve their players’ skills across seasons. Doing so, however means having the expertise to identify strengths and weaknesses. In corrections, of course, the parallel skill is being able to use appropriate instruments (e.g., the Level of Supervision Inventory) to assess criminogenic risks and needs.

Note that probation officers who embrace the referee role are likely to resist developing assessment expertise. They may be interested in knowing the identity of high-risk offenders because they may warrant closer supervision and a quicker whistle to be blown. By contrast, assessment is essential for coaches because it tells which players they must work with more closely to develop their skills.

Second, a concern for assessment is a prelude to an essential coaching expertise: the ability to build skills. Notably, referees do not generally have the skills to play a sport at a high level. They are not selected for their ability to play the game; they are selected carefully

for their ability to remain neutral, knowledge of the rules, decisiveness, and management. By contrast, most coaches are former players who have expertise about how to play the game and what it takes to be successful in that endeavor. They are selected because they know techniques, can demonstrate skills, and are adept at developing and reinforcing new skills. For a probation officer, this capacity means developing prosocial skills in offenders, such as undermining criminal thinking errors and obtaining and keeping a job.

Third, the best coaches know how to use reinforcement. Remember, the best referees are impersonal and do not hand out praise; they only detect violations and apply penalties. Do they high-five a player upon scoring a touchdown, say encouraging words when someone tries hard, or acknowledge good plays? Of course not. A referee model thus would dictate that probation officers remain emotionally distant and engage in procedural justice—applying rules in an equitable and consistent way. By contrast, coaches have a relationship with their players. They remain authority figures, ideally respected by their players. They apply rules fairly but also seek to improve their players' athletic talents and personal attributes. They hold their players accountable (e.g., by meting out playing time), but also positively reinforce good performance. In the end, coaches are in the business of human development, whereas referees are in the business of rule enforcement.

Fourth, whereas referees have a rule book that they enforce, coaches have a playbook that they teach. In corrections, the rulebook comprises conditions of probation. By contrast, the playbook comprises the principles of effective intervention and, more generally, of knowledge of evidence-based practices (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). A coaching model of probation thus would encourage officers to learn best practices in their profession and to become behavioral-change experts. "Winning" would involve offenders not only successfully completing their probation term but also avoiding future recidivism and living a more productive life. Again, many ex-players praise their coaches for transforming their lives. The best that is said of referees is that they called a fair game.

Benefits of a Coaching Model

Would adopting the job title of "probation coach" as opposed to "probation officer" really make a difference? Ultimately, this is an empirical question. Our purpose is to

make the case that the potential benefits of transforming the identity of probation staff outweigh the risks. We recognize that it would be possible to implement a coaching style of supervision without officially designating staff as "coaches" (Kauffman, 2018). This option might avoid staff resistance to an unconventional occupational designation and allow training to focus on coaching supervision strategies. Some agencies might prefer to pursue this type of reform. However, we prefer a bolder innovation, one that aligns a new professional identity with a newly conceptualized role. The goal is not only to develop novel ideas on how to supervise offenders but also to have staff think differently about their professional role. A first step would be for a select number of agencies to implement the name change and the corresponding coaching model and to assess their effect on officer supervision styles and on offender recidivism. Experimentation should precede any wholesale reform.

One possible objection is that the title of "coach" rather than "officer" would diminish the legal legitimacy of probation staff and thus be a source of staff resistance. The officer label implies the power to coerce, whereas the coach label implies only voluntary compliance. Thus, personal coaches can be fired, and even team coaches lose their control once a player quits the squad. One response to this concern is that the problem with calling staff members "officers" is precisely that it prioritizes policing offenders over changing their behavior. Probationers have been to court and know that they face sanctions for misconduct. The other word in the role title—"probation"—communicates this reality. Adding "officer" is likely redundant and thus unnecessary to impress on probationers the seriousness of their legal status or the power that staff have over them.

Another response is that coaches in our society are not seen as weak individuals that can be disrespected with impunity but as major authority figures. This is particularly true of team coaches—the type of coach that offenders are mostly likely to have experienced growing up (i.e., many would have played on athletic teams but few would have hired personal trainers or life coaches). Coaches generally have the option to bench or cut a player and, to secure performance, can exhibit tough love. They have been known to raise their voices, to get in players' faces, and to insist on perfection. However, coaches are a unique kind of an authority figure. While

demanding adherence to rules and performance, they also are known to care about their players, to have the expertise to improve the players' games, and to win championships. They are effective because they combine the key ingredients to behavioral change—they are restrictive and supportive. If anything, the name of "coach" might well initially inspire more legitimacy and offender compliance than the name of "officer."

Of course, it would remain to be seen if probationers would respond differently to a probation "officer" (with its policing implication) or a probation "coach" (with its helping implication). Research could also survey probation officers to capture their willingness to experiment with being called "Coach Smith" rather than "Officer Smith." Regardless, a name change without the corresponding supervision change likely would be meaningless. But if staff embraced the role of coach, it could lead to a new professional identity and ways of supervising offenders. If this were to occur, it could have three interrelated benefits.

First, the identity as a coach implies an obligation to care about one's players. At a minimum in probation, it would imply that a central task of a "coach" would be to improve the lives and to decrease the recidivism of offenders under supervision. A "probation coach" might have no choice but to "cut" (revoke) a troublesome offender, but enforcing supervision conditions is not the mainstay of the coaching role. Rather, as coaches, staff would also see their job as involving efforts to intervene with offenders to effect behavioral change. In short, officers or referees watch and police; coaches train and support.

Second, a coaching model would thus create a new kind of correctional accountability. In athletics, coaches are primarily evaluated by a simple metric: win-loss record. In corrections, the comparable statistic would be whether offenders on a caseload stayed out of crime (wins) or returned to crime (losses). Notably, in policing (e.g., Comstat in New York City), leaders are evaluated on whether crime in so-called hot spots is reduced through enforcement strategies. In a similar way, a coaching model implies a level of probation accountability. It is possible to measure which officers' caseloads have the lowest rates of reoffending (controlling, of course, for the risk level of the supervisees) (see Cullen, Jonson, & Eck, 2012; Cullen, Jonson, & Mears, 2017).

In probation, most agencies measure job performance by whether officers are seeing

offenders, securing mandated drug tests, collecting fines, and monitoring supervision conditions. Strangely, officers are not evaluated on the extent to which their caseloads recidivate. Compliance with rules is emphasized, which is the core of the referee's role. By contrast, true behavioral change may be part of the agency's mission (i.e., rehabilitation), but it is not evaluated or rewarded. There is no accountability in this regard (see Cullen et al., 2012; Cullen et al., 2017).

In a way, this neglect of recidivism is understandable. Officers can legitimately claim that they spend limited time with their supervisees and have no control over the untoward influences they may encounter or seek out while in the community. Saying that "It's not my fault" may be a fair statement. Still, the goal of lower reoffending cannot be achieved if it is not prioritized, measured, and rewarded. Probation coaches could be expected to push for the time and resources to do their job—that is, to "coach" their supervisees. Although it might be unfair to penalize poor performance, it would be possible to give special notice and rewards to "coaches" who achieved reductions in recidivism.

Third, if probation were to become a coaching profession that valued performance, it might well create strong pressures for knowledge creation and transfer. As noted previously, there is a small but instructive literature on supervision effectiveness. This work emphasizes the limits of control- or deterrence-oriented strategies and the value of quality officer-supervisee relationships, a human-service approach, and the risk-need-responsivity model to guide therapeutic interactions in office visits (Cullen et al., 2017). Given that more than 4.6 million adults are under community supervision, it seems bewildering why a major research agenda on supervision effectiveness has not been undertaken.

That said, some insights on probation officer coaching effectiveness might be drawn from the general coaching literature. As noted, the coaching profession has expanded from team sports and individual sports (e.g., gymnastics, tennis) to diverse areas of life (e.g., executive coaches, life coaches, personal trainers). Although an evidence-based movement is under way, research on coaching effectiveness appears to be in a formative stage (see, e.g., Bachkirova, Spence, & Drake, 2017; De Meuse & Dai, 2010; Grant & Cavanaugh, 2007; Stober & Grant, 2006). As Grant (2017, p. 62) notes, the fact that "coaching research itself is

focused on many different facts of coaching.... can make it difficult for both researchers and practitioners to grasp specific information from this developing knowledge base and engage in an evidence-based approach in their own personal coaching practice." Still, writings on effective coaching seem to share a core belief: that impactful coaching—like impactful corrections—ultimately hinges on the quality of the coach-client/player relationship. Let us give one example.

Stober (2006, p. 47) emphasizes that effective coaching must involve "deep involvement and active engagement" with the client. Again, this contrasts with a referee's commitment to impersonality and social distance. The relationship must be ethical and thus informed by core humanistic values (see also Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 176). These include "a belief in people's inherent capacity for growth, the importance of a collaborative relationship, the appreciation of the whole person, and a belief in the possibility of choice" (p. 47). According to Stober, the coaching process involves several key "tasks"—all of which probation coaches might consider when supervising offenders. For example, one "coaching task" is to "assess thoroughly and check for accuracy"; a "coach must take the time to construct a full picture of the client" (Stober, 2006, p. 33). Another task is to "expand the client's awareness of strengths, resources, [and] challenges" (p. 35). This allows clients "to consciously assess what they have at their disposal in meeting the reality of their lives" (p. 35). And another key task is to "facilitate goal-setting and accountability" (p. 35). According to Stober, the coaching relationship is crucial in serving as a conduit through which clients are supported in their efforts to make realistic and appropriate choices. Coaches work with clients to know their strengths and deficits and to make plans to reach goals. Importantly, "by maintaining an ongoing relationship and an environment of responsibility for choices made, the coach reinforces the idea of accountability for choices made by the client" (p. 36).

Beyond the importance of establishing quality relationships, two other observations can be drawn from the coaching literature. First, recall that supervision strategies rooted in punitive, deterrence-oriented principles have a poor record of achieving reduced recidivism (Cullen & Jonson, 2017; Cullen et al., in press; Lowenkamp, Flores, Holsinger, Makarios, & Latessa, 2010; Schaefer et al., 2016). It is instructive that nowhere in the literature on effective coaching is there any

recommendation to use punishment or negativity as a means of behavioral change. If anything, best practices in coaching are rooted in positive psychology, which is focusing on the use of strengths and positive emotions to effect change. Accountability and responsibility are emphasized but within a context of affective and instrumental support.

Second, as might be expected given the nature of the enterprise, there is within coaching a focus on skill development. An important conduit for skill development—"deliberate practice"—may offer insights on how to build prosocial strengths within probationers (see Ericsson, Krampe, & Tesch-Römer, 1993; Ericsson & Pool, 2016). Conceptualized by Anders Ericsson and his colleagues, deliberate practice is based on the assumption that high-level performance is not rooted in innate talent but in effective instruction. One prerequisite for the development of skills in people is sustained practice—that is, an investment of time by the player and by the coach. But for practice to be truly effective, it must have a certain quality; it must be deliberate or "purposeful" (see Ericsson et al., 1993, p. 367).

According to Ericsson and Pool (2016, p. 15), purposeful practice starts with "having well-defined, specific goals." Complex tasks are divided into components or chunks that are taught sequentially. Deliberate practice thus involves "putting a bunch of baby steps together to reach a longer-term goal" (2016, p. 15). Learning also occurs best when everyone's attention is focused on the goal at hand. In the learning process, it is essential that coaches give players or clients feedback so that they know whether they are doing the task correctly or incorrectly. The feedback can be simple but it must be direct and speedy. Importantly, coaches must incrementally push their students to get out of their "comfort zone" (Ericsson & Pool, 2016, p. 17). When one goal is achieved—when one baby step is taken—the coach deliberately pushes the person to learn the relevant skill at the next highest level. This process occurs until mastery is achieved. Again, the evidence-based deliberate or purposeful practice approach has clear implications for probation supervision. Officers thus can build prosocial skills in offenders by setting specific goals arranged sequentially, leading focused sessions, giving feedback to their supervisees in this process, and constantly guiding offenders to avoid complacency and move beyond their comfort zone to reach a better life.

Conclusion: Building a New Professional Identity

Identities matter (McAdams, 2001). Who we think we are and what we think our lives are about help to guide the choices we make. We have proposed that benefits might accrue by replacing the traditional identity of “probation officer” with the fresh identity of “probation coach.” In American society, coaches are held in esteem. They are accorded authority and, if effective and caring, are respected. Many are seen to have a transformative effect on those that they have coached, not only athletically but personally. Some are beloved.

In this context, embracing the identity as a coach may provide probation officers with a new way to envision their work. Too often, they get bogged down in heavy caseloads, mind-numbing paperwork, and perfunctory office visits. They often are expected to keep track of drug tests, monitor the payment of fines, and record any violations that might become known. All this might be part of the job, but it is at best tangentially related to effective behavioral change.

The identity as coach, however, challenges this narrow bureaucratic, control-oriented role that so many probation officers are either prescribed or find convenient to fall into. Coaching is not easy, but it can be life-altering for all involved. Coaching implies that the “player” or offender can be improved, and that the coach—in this case, the probation officer—has the skills and desire to achieve this goal. Indeed, to be a coach is to constantly work with your charges to improve them and to help them to accomplish more athletically and in life. As noted, a coach can impose rules and be tough, but ultimately the goal is to create human capital and to win the contest—whether that is an athletic game or the game of life during and after probation.

In the end, the future of probation hinges on whether staff wish to remain trapped in a traditional “officer” role or envision a different professional identity—that of a coach. Ideas of this sort at first might seem a bit fanciful or foolish. We are persuaded, however, that officers as a group—whether in a single agency to start with or perhaps more broadly—need to envision their occupation in bolder terms. Too often, probation officers receive mandates and do not carve out what they want their profession to entail. Some officers might be content to play the role of referee; so be it. But for others who wish to have a more transformative effect on offenders, the professional identity as a coach might offer an avenue to achieve this goal.

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Probation's Changing Role in California: Challenges and Opportunities for Hybrid Supervision

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CALIFORNIA HAS UNDERTAKEN dramatic reforms in recent years to reduce the size of its prison population, in part by giving new responsibilities to local probation agencies. New funds are flowing into county probation agencies from the state (Bird & Hayes, 2013) and, in recent years, progress has been made in implementing evidence-based practices (Judicial Council of California, 2015). Now is an opportune moment to take stock of the policy and practical consequences of California's reforms; however, documenting the new challenges faced by probation agencies has proven difficult, given the lack of good data about exactly how probation populations in the state are changing, and how the demands and expectations for probation officers are changing along with them.

This article reviews the major reforms in California probation policies in the last decade and, relying on newly available data, describes how those changes have reshaped probation populations. We discuss the research literature on probation workers, which offers some key insights to guide our inquiry about the law enforcement and social work dimensions of probation work. We then report data on how the nature of probation work has changed in the context of these policy and population changes, using statewide survey data

on probation officers and supervisors. Our findings show that as probation populations have increasingly comprised higher risk and higher stakes offenders, the job of probation officers has changed. In general, we see rising expectations for what researchers have called a "hybrid" or "synthetic" approach to probation work, which combines a strong emphasis on both social work and law enforcement.

The California Context

As is the case elsewhere in the U.S., probation in California manages the largest share of the population of people under correctional control in the state, and it does so at a fraction of the costs of jails, prisons, and parole (Grattet & Martin, 2015; Martin & Grattet, 2015). For decades, commentators have decried the chronic underfunding of probation (Boyum, Caulkins, & Kleiman, 2011; Petersilia & Snyder, 2013; The Marshall Project, 2015). This situation began to change in 2009 with the passage of the California Community Corrections Performance Incentives Act (SB 678), which encouraged county probation departments to keep probation violators under local supervision and custody instead of revoking them to state prison. In exchange for reducing its reliance on state prisons to punish probation failures, counties now receive a portion of

the savings resulting from the reduction in prison use. These funds have been used by counties to expand the use of risk and needs assessments, which nearly all counties now use to some extent, as well as other evidence-based supervision and management practices (Judicial Council of California, 2015).

In 2011, the state began to implement "Public Safety Realignment," which sought to further reduce the reliance on prison incarceration (Lofstrom, Bird, & Martin, 2016).

Realignment made county probation departments responsible for a large segment of non-serious and non-violent prison releases, under a program called Post-release Community Supervision (PRCS), as well as offenders who were previously eligible for prison whose sentences are "split" between jail and community supervision. This latter group is called "Mandatory Supervision" (MS). In exchange for counties taking on the PRCS and MS groups of offenders, the state provided a new source of funds to counties. The funding allocation decisions were made differently in each county, but probation was frequently a beneficiary (Bird & Grattet, 2015). With realignment funds, many probation agencies implemented day reporting centers and expanded rehabilitative services (California Board of State and Community Corrections (BSCC), 2017).

In 2014, voters approved Proposition 47 (Prop 47), which reclassified a large number of felony offenses as misdemeanors; this quickly reduced the number of new felony probation sentences and trimmed the overall probation caseload by 3 percent (Judicial Council of California 2015, p. 9). A portion of the resulting reductions in prison use for Prop 47 crimes were used to create a funding stream for cities, counties, and school districts in the state to apply for improvements in the delivery of mental health and substance abuse treatment. In 2017, the first year funds were distributed, the state allocated 104 million dollars to 23 different programs (BSCC, 2017). As a result, people under probation supervision will likely be afforded greater opportunities to address mental health and substance abuse needs in the future.

Together these changes have elevated the importance of rehabilitation in probation, but they have also produced changes in the probation population. The Public Policy Institute of California, in collaboration with 12 counties and the Board of State and Community Corrections, has compiled the most detailed data on how probation populations are changing in the wake of realignment and Prop 47 (Nguyen, Grattet, & Bird, 2017). We found that realignment and Prop 47 shifted caseloads toward more serious offenders. First, realignment added two types of offenders—the PRCS and MS offenders defined above—that were previously eligible for sentencing under state supervision. These include felony drug and property offenders that prior to realignment were regarded by sentencing judges as having committed prison-worthy offenses. After realignment, these offenders were required to remain within the county correctional system, supervised in the community by probation departments. Second, after Prop 47 passed, probation experienced a drop in new misdemeanor and felony probation cases, which reduced the overall size of the population under supervision, but meant that a great share of that population are realigned offenders on PRCS or MS (Nguyen, Grattet, & Bird, 2017).

Our work also showed that a segment of the realigned offender population poses a high risk to return to jail custody. Bookings into jail are common among all the people supervised by probation. However, booking rates are highest among MS and PRCS (Nguyen, Grattet, & Bird, 2017). These individuals are also more likely to have multiple entries into jail in the year following their initiation of supervision. In terms of first booking into

jail and based on the most serious booking charge, people on MS tend to be booked for felony drug and property offenses. PRCS tend to be booked for supervision violations and flash incarcerations.

In short, reforms have increased the flow of resources into probation, promoted greater emphasis on rehabilitation and the use of evidence-based practices, increased the overall risk of the population, and offered new sanctioning strategies. In this changing context, it seems logical that the demands on probation are changing the nature of probation work. Before discussing what we have learned from surveys of probation officers and supervisors in 2002 and 2014, we summarize what prior research has identified as the key dimensions of such work.

Social Work and Law Enforcement Aspects of Probation Work

A longstanding theme of research on probation officers centers on the dual roles involved in probation work. In an early formulation, Ohlin et al. (1956) delineated between “punitive officers” and “welfare workers.” The former emphasize rule enforcement, offender compliance, and the protection of public safety, whereas the latter emphasize providing assistance to offenders through treatment and rehabilitative services. Later work used different terms like “surveillance” versus “treatment” (Clear & Latessa, 1993) or “law enforcement” versus “social work” (Whetzel et al., 2011) or “control” versus “care” (Skeem & Manchak, 2008), but the meaning is essentially the same. Early work tended to be concerned with the “role conflict” such divergent responsibilities would inevitably produce; however, later work has shown that such conflicts are not particularly pronounced, as probation officers manage to balance the different roles and expectations in practice (Clear & Latessa, 1993), creating synthetic (Klockars 1972) or hybrid (Skeem & Manchak, 2008) approaches. Miller’s (2015) recent study of federal probation officers shows that the hybrid model in which both law enforcement and social work parts of the job exist side-by-side is now dominant, at least at the federal level.

Work by Skeem and Manchak (2008) reviews support for the hybrid model and finds it is a more effective supervision practice than enforcement or social work approaches alone. Although some work in this area focuses on law enforcement and social work aspects of the job as expressions of personal

philosophy, most work now considers them to be influenced by the organizational context of particular probation agencies, as well as by the wider policy environment (Miller, 2015). As such, it is reasonable to hypothesize that as the policy environment shifts over time, as in the case of California, from an emphasis on law enforcement and incarceration to an emphasis on rehabilitation and reintegration, probation officers might shift their work in response.

Data and Findings

We use data from two job analysis surveys fielded by the California Board of State and Community Corrections in 2002 and 2014. The respondents were probation supervisors and adult probation officers. The surveys are intended to determine the required knowledge, skills, and abilities needed to perform probation work. The results are typically used to establish statewide educational and training requirements and to guide the creation of selection criteria for agencies to use in recruiting and hiring corrections workers. The surveys inquire into the respondents’ background (demographics, education, experience), work tasks, and equipment use. Although the surveys were administered statewide, respondents were drawn from three pools consisting of small (less than 20 officers), medium (between 20 and 190 officers), and large (more than 190 officers) agencies to capture diversity across types of agencies and work contexts. Agencies were sampled to reflect the regional diversity of the state (California Board of Corrections, 2002).

Table 1 on the next page summarizes background characteristics of probation supervisors and officers. The data show that between 2002 and 2014 the percentage of women in both supervisory and incumbent roles has remain stable, but that while women are about half of all probation officers, they are only one-third of supervisors. Latinos have increased in both supervisory roles, from 13 to 22 percent, and the role of probation officers, from 21 to 28 percent. Educational attainment for both probation supervisors and officers is high, with more than 90 percent of both groups having a college degree or higher in both periods. Probation officers were more experienced in 2014 than 2002—82 percent had five or more years of service in 2014 as compared to 57 percent in 2002. Supervisors, however, went in the opposite direction, dropping from 98 percent having five or more years of service in 2002 to 59 percent in 2014.

Probation supervisors and officers were

asked a handful of similarly worded questions about the enforcement and social work aspects of probation work in both 2002 and 2014. However, supervisors were asked to rate the importance of various tasks, whereas probation officers were asked about how frequently they perform those tasks. Table 2 compares supervisors' median response

categories, the relative skew of the 2002 and 2014 measures, and whether differences in the distributions over time are statistically significant. There are only six response categories for the importance questions posed to supervisors, and responses tend to be distributed non-normally. It is important to capture both how the central tendency of each question

differs between 2002 and 2014 as well as how the overall distribution compares across years. The median response category is a simple way of contrasting the central tendency of responses across the two surveys. The relative skew column compares the distribution of each measure. A "<" indicates that the 2002 distribution is lower on the six-point scale than the 2014 distribution and a ">" indicates that the 2002 distribution is higher. The X2 test is a way of comparing the overall distribution of responses across the two surveys. A significant X2 is an expression of confidence that the two distributions are not different purely by chance.

Table 2 shows that supervisors attached greater importance in 2014 than in 2002 to some enforcement tasks but not others. The median response category for recommending revocations was judged very important for both years, although the distribution was slightly higher on the scale in 2014. Executing warrants and conducting drug tests on items seized from probationers were rated less important in 2002 than in 2014. However, supervisors rated procedures related to

TABLE 1.
Supervisor and incumbent (Adult Probation Officer) background characteristics

	Supervisor		p-test (sig)	Incumbent		p-test (sig)
	2002	2014		2002	2014	
% Female	36%	30%	1.29	53%	50%	1.06
%White	66%	55%	2.05**	52%	43%	3.17***
% Black	14%	8%	1.69*	16%	10%	3.22***
% Hispanic or Latino	13%	22%	-2.20**	21%	28%	-2.82***
% Asian	2%	3%	0.56	5%	6%	-0.76
% Other	5%	13%	-2.66***	6%	12%	-3.55***
% Bachelor's degree or higher	94%	90%	1.37	91%	91%	0.00
% 5 or more years of experience	98%	59%	9.50***	57%	82%	-10.02***
N	217	196		496	877	

Note: * p-value <0.10, ** p-value <0.05, ***p-value <0.01

TABLE 2.
Supervisor responses to enforcement and social work questions (● 2002 median response category, □ 2014 median response category)

How important is this task to overall job performance?	Not performed in my agency	Of little importance	Of some importance	Important	Very Important	Critically Important	Relative Skew (2002 v. 2014)	X2 (sig)
Enforcement								
Determine whether to recommend revocation, modification, or termination of probation					●□		<	22.85***
Observe collection of urine samples for drug testing; submit samples while maintaining chain of evidence					□●		>	54.54***
Execute probationer warrants			●			□	<	109.19***
Conduct presumptive drug tests on seized items suspected to be controlled substance	●					□	<	145.92***
Arrest probationers who violate the law or conditions of probation						●	>	45.81***
Social work								
Refer probationer for professional evaluation (e.g., medical, psychological, alcohol, or drug evaluation)				●		□	<	31.72***
Identify treatment, education, employment or other program (e.g., alcohol, drug)						□●	>	9.63***
Contact treatment, educational, training, or employment program, or other community agency				●		□	<	62.04***
Refer members of the probationer's family, victim(s) or others to counseling and/or other appropriate program or agency				●		□	<	59.59***
Follow up to verify that probationer or other individual received service and to evaluate success of referral				●		□	<	46.20***

Note: * p-value <0.10, ** p-value <0.05, *** p-value <0.01

collecting and submitting urine samples as very important in both years, although the overall distribution of responses in 2002 was higher than in 2014. Perhaps the best indicator of enforcement tasks, arresting probationers, was judged less important in 2014 than in 2002, dropping from very important to important. X2 statistics indicate that the 2014 distributions were significantly different from the 2002 distributions.

Supervisors rated nearly all social work tasks as more important in 2014 than in 2002. That includes referring probationers for evaluation, referring members of the probationer's family, contacting treatment agencies, and following up to verify that a probationer received services. The median responses for all of these tasks were rated important in 2002, but were considered very important in 2014. The only exception was the response to the question "Identify treatment, education, employment or other program (e.g., alcohol, drug)," which had a median response of very important in both surveys. However, the overall distribution of responses to this question was actually slightly higher in 2002 than 2014.

Table 3 reports probation officer responses to questions about the frequency with which they perform enforcement and social work tasks. For each item, respondents can choose

from a nine-point ordinal scale, with options ranging from "This task is part of the job, but I have never performed it at this agency" to "more than once a day." We again compare surveys using median response categories and relative skew, but instead of using X2 to assess statistical significance we rely on a Mann-Whitney-Wilcoxon (MWW) statistic (i.e., *W*), which tests the chance that two independent samples have the same underlying population distribution. Put another way, it provides an assessment of whether one sample distribution is overall higher or lower than another by testing the hypothesis that a randomly selected respondent drawn from one sample will have a higher or lower value than one drawn from a second sample. Unlike a t-test, the *W* does not require an assumption of normality.

Incumbents reported doing most enforcement tasks less frequently in 2014 than in 2002. The Wilcox statistic is significant in each contrast of the 2002 and 2014 responses. The one exception of greater frequency of enforcement-related tasks was the "arrest probationers who violate the law or conditions of probation" question. This measure had the same median response category in 2014 as it did in 2002, namely "about once a week," but the overall distribution was a bit higher in the later survey—a difference that is statistically

significant.

In terms of the social work aspects of the job, probation officers report doing three tasks more frequently (identifying treatment programs, contacting treatment programs, and following up to verify that the probationer received the treatment). They report doing two other tasks less (referring probationers for evaluation and referring members of the probationer's family, victims, or others to a program), but the differences are not statistically significant. Thus, probation officers overall report doing less enforcement and more or the same frequency of social work tasks.

A handful of questions were posed to both probation officers and supervisors in 2014 that were not asked in 2002. These new questions reflect some changes in the nature of probation work over the prior dozen years and relate to the rise of evidence-based supervision concepts, such as creating individualized case plans, using risk assessment, targeting interventions at high-risk individuals, as well as data collection and reporting. These items were rated on the same nine-point scale as the data reported in Table 3. As a result, we use the same method of reporting differences between groups.

Both probation officers and supervisors were asked to rate how frequently they (or

TABLE 3.
Incumbent responses to enforcement and social work questions (n₂₀₀₂=496 and n₂₀₁₄=877)

How often do you perform the following tasks?	Median Response Category 2002	Relative Skew (2002> or <2014)	Median Response Category 2014	W (sig)
Enforcement				
Determine whether to recommend revocation, modification, or termination of probation	About once a week	>	2-3 times a month	14**
Observe collection of urine samples for drug testing; submit samples while maintaining chain of evidence	Several times per week	>	About once a week	7***
Execute probationer warrants	About once a month	>	Several times a year	25*
Conduct presumptive drug tests on seized items suspected to be controlled substances	2-3 times a month	>	About once a month	14.5**
Arrest probationers who violate the law or conditions of probation	About once a month	<	About once a month	28*
Social work				
Refer probationer for professional evaluation (e.g., medical, psychological, alcohol, or drug evaluation)	2-3 times a month	>	2-3 times a month	30
Identify treatment, education, employment or other program (e.g., alcohol, drug.)	2-3 times a month	<	2-3 times a month	26*
Contact treatment, educational, training, or employment program, or other community agency	About once a month	<	2-3 times a month	22.5**
Refer members of the probationer's family, victim(s) or others to counseling and/or other appropriate program or agency	About once a month	>	Several times a year	30
Follow up to verify that probationer or other individual received service and to evaluate success of referral	2-3 times a month	<	2-3 times a month	26*

Note: * p-value <0.10, ** p-value <0.05, *** p-value <0.01

those that they supervise) accomplish these tasks. Table 4 shows a consistent pattern in which supervisors report the same or greater frequency of the new tasks. The median response category for supervisors for case planning, assigning probationers to case managers, gathering information for case planning, and monitoring high-risk individuals was “about once a week,” as compared to incumbents who report doing these activities 2-3 times a month. However, the differences between supervisors and incumbents are not large, as “once a week” and “2-3 times a month” are next to one another in the scale.

Supervisors’ median response for risk assessment use was “several times per week,” as compared with incumbents’ median response of “2-3 times a month.” The differences between supervisors and incumbents on gathering data for statistical reports is not statistically significant, although the supervisors are slightly higher. The only exception to the general pattern of supervisors thinking the new tasks are done more frequently is the last item about working with data to measure program performance. The median response for incumbents is “about once a week,” whereas supervisors is “about once a month.” With respect to some of the newer tasks probation officers are expected to perform, supervisors generally believe those tasks are being undertaken more often than probation officers report doing so.

Discussion

Within the context of a decade or more of correctional reforms aimed at expanding opportunities for offender rehabilitation,

California probation officers and supervisors report moving toward a greater emphasis on the social work aspects of probation work. Four out of five of the measures used to assess supervisors’ judgment of the importance of various social work tasks increased from 2002 to 2014. At the same time, supervisors attached greater importance to three of five enforcement tasks, suggesting that they did not reduce their expectations for enforcement as their expectations for social work aspects of the job increased.

Probation officers, on the other hand, reported doing less of all kinds of enforcement tasks, except arrest, in 2014 as compared to 2002. Probation officers report doing three out of five social work tasks surveyed more frequently (the others were done at the same frequency). In other words, probation supervisors have not diminished the importance of several enforcement tasks, but they have elevated the importance of social work tasks. On the other hand, probation officers report that they are doing the enforcement tasks slightly less frequently in 2014 than in 2002, and doing several social work tasks more frequently. However, with the median values between 2 to 3 times per month, it appears that the social work tasks that do increase are still undertaken at a relatively low frequency. In other words, few probation officers report referring probationers for services, identifying treatment agencies, and contacting agencies on a daily or weekly basis.

Interestingly, there is some discordance between the changes in the tasks supervisors think are important and the changes in frequency with which probation officers

report doing those tasks. For example, supervisors’ assessment of the importance of arrest decreased from 2002 to 2014, but probation officers report arresting probationers somewhat more frequently. However, the population under probation supervision in 2014 was likely more prone to violations, especially after realignment (Bird et al., 2017), which could account for the increase in arrests by officers amid lessening emphasis given to it by supervisors. Another example is referrals to professional evaluation. Supervisors increased the importance given to referrals. Probation officers, however, reported they were making those referrals at about the same rate in 2014 as they were in 2002. A final example is drug testing of seized items suspected to be controlled substances. Supervisors increased their median responses from “not performed in my agency” in 2002 to “important” in 2014. However, probation officers report doing this task less in 2014 than in 2002, from 2-3 times per month in 2002 to about once a month in 2014.

The discordance between the responses of supervisors and probation officers is even more on display in the new questions posed in the 2014 survey. Supervisors are more likely to report higher frequencies of those newer tasks than probation officers. Although there are differences between probation officers and supervisors revealed by these data, it is important not to overstate them. With the exception of using data to measure program outcomes, both probation officers and supervisors report doing these new tasks at the same or greater frequency than probation officers report doing both social work and enforcement tasks (as reported in Table 3).

TABLE 4.
Supervisor and incumbent responses to new questions asked in 2014 ($n_{\text{incumbents}}=196$, $n_{\text{supervisors}}=877$).

How often do you perform the following tasks?	Median Response Incumbents 2014	Relative Skew (Incumbents v. Supervisors)	Median Response Supervisors 2014	W (sig)
Assess, monitor and update individual's progress with case plan.	2-3 times a month	<	About once a week	100***
Assign individual to program, counselor, or case manager.	2-3 times a month	<	About once a week	98***
Gather information, prepare, develop and review individualized case plan.	2-3 times a month	<	About once a week	100***
Monitor individuals at high risk (e.g., mental health issues, substance abuse) and refer as necessary.	About once a week	<	About once a week	99***
Determine the frequency of contact needed during supervision utilizing risk assessment.	About once a week	<	Several times a week	100***
Gather data for statistical reports.	2-3 times a month	<	About once a week	94.5
Work with data to measure program outcomes.	About once a week	>	About once a month	72*

Note: * p -value <0.10, ** p -value <0.05, *** p -value <0.01

Despite the lack of agreement that emerges between supervisors and probation officers from these data, the general picture is of a system of probation agencies moving deliberately toward a hybrid form of probation that integrates enforcement and social work aspects of the job. In this period, hybridization has been defined by an elevation in social work aspects that reflects the general trend in the reforms the state embraced in the period between the surveys. Furthermore, we suggest that the new questions posed in 2014 show that the hybrid model in California probation agencies has come to encompass not just traditional social work and enforcement tasks, but also ascendant professional ideas about risk-based supervision, case management, and data and research.

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Creating a Model Correctional Officer Training Academy: Implications from a National Survey

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THE MASS IMPRISONMENT movement, which eventually led to more than 2.4 million offenders being incarcerated on any given day in the United States, has justifiably earned considerable policy analysis (Petersilia & Cullen, 2015). With the increased inmate population, scholars have also focused in detail on the taxing conditions inside American prisons that negatively affect the health, safety, and future criminality of the incarcerated (Cullen, Jonson, & Stohr, 2014; Simon, 2014). Equally important, however, is the plight of those who, day in and day out, must not only survive inside prison walls but engage in the daunting occupational task of managing this inmate nation—correctional officers. Although research on correctional officers has expanded (see, e.g., Johnson, Rocheleau, & Martin, 2017; Steiner & Meade, 2014), one area has received relatively little attention: the extent and nature of the job training that officers receive. By contrast, information on police training is more common (see, e.g., Reaves, 2009).

In this context, this project was undertaken to assess the current status of correctional officer training through a national survey of state departments of correction. This assessment is then used to suggest what a model training program delivered by a Correctional Officer Training Academy might entail. The larger purpose of this study is to call attention to the need to take stock of the training prison guards receive and to develop ideas on how such training may be improved upon in the future. In particular, the potential role of

officers in providing treatment is considered (see Toch & Klofas, 1982).

The issue of training takes on importance when it is realized that approximately 428,870 people hold the title of “correctional officer/prison guard” in America (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017). The number of correctional officers a state employs generally depends on the size of the inmate population housed in its jails and prisons. The states with the greatest numbers of correctional officers include Texas, California, Florida, New York, and Pennsylvania (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016). For all states, there are minimum qualifications for education level and age. To be qualified to become a correctional officer at a state-level institution, an applicant must have at minimum a high school diploma or its equivalent and be at least 18 years of age (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017).

The Role of the Correctional Officer

The primary role of a correctional officer in a jail or prison is to maintain security and safety by monitoring and guarding inmates (Osborne, 2014). This role, however, is multidimensional, encompassing much more than managing inmates. Correctional officers must complete daily custodial tasks (e.g., guard cell blocks), aid in offender programming, and work with special populations (e.g., mentally ill offenders, drug offenders, elderly offenders) (Johnson & Price, 1981; Scott, 2006). To meet these diverse job responsibilities, correctional officers must be equipped with a spectrum of

skills. For example, they must be able to work with people from different cultures and ethnic backgrounds, lead and supervise others, and make quick decisions in a stressful environment (Office of Personnel Management, 2016).

As a prelude to an assessment of training nationwide, this section will describe the various duties and responsibilities that comprise the correctional officer role. This role can be categorized into four primary functions: (1) the management of inmates, (2) how officers maintain security and safety, (3) aiding offender rehabilitation, and (4) managing special populations in prisons.

Inmate Management

Much of a correctional officer’s work is characterized by a caretaking role (Scott, 2006). According to Scott (2006), the caretaking role of a correctional officer involves a set of routine, often tedious, tasks that must be carried out daily. Such tasks include locking and unlocking cell doors; checking the functionality of locks, bars, and cells; conducting security roll calls; taking requests from prisoners; doing laundry; and sometimes making meals for inmates. Correctional officers are also responsible for assisting in the booking and receiving of new inmates, transporting inmates from court to jail or prison, and making sure their respective cell block meets state-mandated safety and security standards (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017). To maintain general security, correctional officers must pay careful attention to the whereabouts of all inmates within their

cell block. This responsibility involves tasks such as taking head counts, watching surveillance camera footage, and conducting security walkthroughs (Scott, 2006).

Officer Safety and Security

Correctional officers have the duty of keeping themselves, inmates, and other staff in the institution safe (Dvoskin & Spiers, 2004; Ferdik, Smith, & Applegate, 2014; Osborne, 2014). To achieve safety, officers regularly check cells for contraband (e.g., makeshift knives, drugs), ensure locks and cell bars are not jammed or weakened, and maintain sanitary living conditions for the inmates. Further, officers regularly inspect mail coming in and out of the prison and check visitors for illegal substances or contraband (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017; U.S. Department of Justice, 2003). A study conducted by the U.S. Department of Justice (2003) found that inmates' visitors and the mail were the primary ways in which drugs enter correctional institutions. Thus, correctional officers must remain cognizant of visitors and the mail received by the institution to ensure safety and security. Additionally, officers are often required to practice responses to emergency situations. For example, mock riots and escapee scenarios are exercises that are regularly practiced to protect prison staff and inmates as well as maintain public safety (U.S. Department of Justice, 1992).

In some situations, officers must confront disruptive inmates who violate the institution's rules. Officers must write reports and document all details of these altercations. Officers have the authority to discipline inmates who commit infractions by transferring them to other cells, suspending privileges, and/or assigning disciplinary duties (U.S. Department of Justice, 1992). When officers notice significant behavioral changes in inmates, they may increase the level of supervision toward those inmates and keep records of their behaviors. This is done in an attempt to prevent more serious events from occurring, such as an assault on a staff member or other inmates (U.S. Department of Justice, 1992).

Notably, an inherent risk of working in a correctional institution is the possibility of becoming a victim of assault or other crime (Konda, Tiesman, Reichard, & Hartley, 2013). Examining statistics of assaults on correctional officers, Lahm (2009) found that most assaults on correctional officers are very personal (i.e., not random), and that prison violence can be attributed to overcrowding, lack of inmate

programs, and longer mandatory sentences for inmates. Regarding non-fatal injuries experienced by correctional officers, Konda and colleagues (2013) found that transportation, self-inflicted gunshot wounds, and overexertion were responsible for most of the non-fatal injuries in their sample.

Similar to Lahm (2009), Konda and colleagues (2013) found that being a correctional officer remains a dangerous profession in the United States. In 2011, work-related injuries/illness that required correctional officers to miss at least one day of work occurred at a rate of 544 per 10,000 full-time employees. This ratio is more than four times greater than that of all other workers from other professions who missed a day of work due to work-related injuries/illness (117 per 10,000) (Konda et al., 2013). If we focus only on assaults and violence, correctional officers are injured by assaults and violent acts at a rate of 254 per 10,000 full-time employees. In contrast, the average rate for all other occupations in the United States is roughly 7 per 10,000 full-time employees (Konda et al., 2013). The only profession with higher rates of violent assaults and on-the-job injuries is law enforcement (Gordon, Proulx, & Grant, 2013).

Officers must also confront the fears of victimization by inmates, which can have adverse effects on officers (Gordon & Baker, 2017). Fear of victimization has been found to increase job stress and to reduce both officers' organizational commitment and their overall job satisfaction (Cullen, Link, Wolfe, & Frank, 1985). Taxman and Gordon (2009) reported that such fear is associated with the race of the officer and the security level of the institution in which they are employed. Officers' fear of victimization may also influence how they work with inmates, leading them to interact negatively with inmates and take a more defensive approach in non-confrontational encounters (Gordon & Baker, 2017). Fear could also inhibit officers from meeting their responsibilities related to human services, such as modeling prosocial behavior or being a caretaker for inmates (Johnson & Price, 1981; Scott, 2006).

Correctional Officers' Role in Rehabilitation

Correctional officers can potentially play a meaningful role in the rehabilitation of inmates (Johnson et al., 2017; Schaefer, 2018). Teske and Williamson (1979), for example, found that correctional officers tended to believe they were the most important

individuals during inmates' rehabilitation process. By monitoring inmates' behaviors daily and using progressive sanctions and rewards, correctional officers could aid in offender behavioral change while outside the bounds of treatment groups and counseling sessions. Because correctional officers spend the bulk of their time with inmates, opportunities emerge for the two groups to form relationships. Through these relationships, the officer may better understand the risks and needs of inmates and be in a position to advise inmates of the treatment and programs available to them within their institution.

In many states, correctional officers serve as liaisons between the institution and the community to help released inmates integrate into treatment centers, halfway houses, employment, and ultimately back into the community (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017). In addition, officers may assist inmates with registering for GED or college courses, identifying employment opportunities, scheduling counseling appointments, and/or matching them to appropriate treatment and services provided by their institution (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017).

In sum, officers may serve as important figures in inmates' lives. To some inmates, correctional officers may be seen as role models, helping them cope with many of the hardships of life behind bars. As Johnson and Price (1981) suggest, the correctional officer may shepherd inmates through periods of serious and potentially disabling stress.

Working with Special Populations

The inmate population in U.S. prisons is heterogeneous (Berg & DeLisi, 2006). Inmates differ racially and ethnically, in age, in cognitive abilities and challenges, and in risks and needs. Accordingly, the U.S. prison population is composed of large numbers of mentally ill, elderly, and gang-affiliated inmates (Crawley, 2006). In addition, some inmates enter prison with serious and infectious diseases that require special accommodations (Potter & Rosky, 2014).

Correctional officers are confronted with the task of managing such special populations. For example, according to Dvoskin and Spiers (2004), officers use specific strategies to work with mentally ill inmates, such as psychotherapy. An officer may attend an inmate's consultation with a mental health staff member, identify special housing and behavioral programs to facilitate the inmate's success while in the institution, and/or submit reports

to doctors to have psychotropic medications prescribed (see Dvoskin & Spiers, 2004).

Elderly inmates are another special population that officers must manage, being cognizant of age-specific needs and problems. Thus, the elderly have different nutritional requirements than younger inmates and have body temperatures that regulate and react differently than those of younger inmates (Cummings, 1999). They may also have diseases that could cause them to act out (e.g., Alzheimer's) and suffer from brittle bones, slower reaction times, and poor eyesight and hearing (Cummings, 1999). These issues take on added salience given that 10 percent of the state prison population is 55 years or older, a result of the 200 percent growth in this population's incarceration between 1993 and 2013 (Carson & Sabol, 2016). Some estimates conclude that by the year 2030, one in three inmates will be 50 years or older (Allen, Latessa, & Ponder, 2016). Thus, correctional officers need to be trained to effectively work with and manage larger elderly inmate populations.

Prisons can also be breeding grounds for illnesses and infectious diseases, given inmates' proximity to one another, shared hygiene spaces (e.g., showers and restrooms), and the continuous influx of offenders into the institution who may suffer from poor health prior to incarceration (Massoglia, 2008). When managing inmates with infectious diseases, correctional officers must ensure that all health and safety standards within their institutions are met. In addition, officers are required to submit health, safety, and sanitation reports to the appropriate departments on a regular basis (U.S. Department of Justice, 1992). By doing so, diseases are less likely to spread, and inmates can receive the medications they need to treat such diseases.

Coping with a Challenging Job

Working as a correctional officer not only may be dangerous but also may elicit negative affective responses. Correctional officers are regularly depicted as being in stressful roles (Armstrong et al., 2015; Cullen et al., 1985; Griffin, Hogan, Lambert, Tucker, & Baker, 2010). Role ambiguity and conflict, including the difficulty of balancing custodial and human services expectations, are linked to correctional officer stress (Cullen et al., 1985; Hepburn & Albonetti, 1980). Role conflict has been related to officers' job dissatisfaction, interpretation of their jobs as being dangerous, alienation from the organization,

and heightened levels of work and life stress (Grossi, Keil, & Vito, 1996; Hepburn & Albonetti, 1980; Lambert et al., 2009).

Prison crowding is another factor associated with correctional officer stress, a relevant consideration given that many state prisons operate 200 percent to 300 percent above recommended maximum occupancies (Carson, 2014). Research has found that in overcrowded institutions, correctional officers report elevated levels of stress, concerns about their own safety, and an impaired ability to perform their job the way that they would prefer (Martin, Lichtenstein, Jenkot, & Forde, 2012). Crowding may also negatively affect officers' ability to effectively manage the inmates in their institution, a factor that could compromise their ability to maintain safety and security—primary functions of their jobs (Steiner & Wooldredge, 2008).

Notably, job burnout has been linked to employment as a correctional officer. Bourbonnais, Malenfant, Vézina, Jauvin, and Brisson (2005), for example, found burnout among correctional officers to be nearly twice as high as that of employees in other professions. As noted, prison work in general can be dissatisfying (Cullen, Link, Cullen, Wolfe, 1989; Leip & Stinchcomb, 2016). Some research suggests that educational attainment may increase job dissatisfaction, because officers believe they are not afforded the opportunity to use the skills and knowledge acquired in their schooling (Grossi et al., 1996; Lindquist & Whitehead, 1986). Other factors associated with increased job dissatisfaction include longevity of employment at a single institution, low salaries, variable shift times and hours, and working during understaffed shifts (Marshia, LaPlante, Allen, & Metcalf, 2005; Swenson, Waseleski, & Hartl, 2008).

Finally, correctional officers may experience heightened mental and physical health risks. Research reports that the risk of suicide among correctional officers is 39 percent higher than that of the general U.S. labor force (Stack & Tsoudis, 1997); in addition, officers experience high rates of depressive behaviors and symptoms (Obidoa, Reeves, Warren, Reisine, & Cherniack, 2011) as well as the likelihood of contracting physical illnesses, including hypertension, stomach ulcers, and alcoholism (Cheek & Miller, 1982). Recent research has documented that officers also have high levels of post-traumatic stress syndrome (Violanti, 2017).

The Need for Training

The concerns and challenges mentioned above point to the growing importance of correctional officers' need for comprehensive training programs. To help cope effectively with job demands, it is vital that training programs prepare officers for what they will experience within the prison. Thus, correctional officers should be trained and equipped with the necessary skill sets to manage inmates effectively, keep their institution safe and orderly, deliver rehabilitation and treatment services, and work with and manage special inmate populations. Among the few studies that exist, previous research suggests that correctional officers who receive quality job training tend to report higher levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Armstrong, Atkin-Plunk, & Wells, 2015). Quality job training has also been linked to officers having positive sentiments toward their jobs and less feelings of job burnout (Lambert, Paoline, & Hogan, 2006).

Methods

To develop a portrait of the training received by newly hired correctional officers in the United States, a national survey sponsored by the University of Cincinnati Corrections Institute (UCCI) was administered between 2016 and 2017. Directors of departments of corrections training academies from all 50 states were contacted by email and asked to participate in the study. The directors were surveyed due to their knowledge about their state's correctional officer training programs, including knowledge of the curricula and procedures. Thus, given their positions, we assumed that they would be best positioned to serve as their state's representative and able to describe the training provided by their individual states. The responses thus are presented as data pertaining to states' training activities.

Potential respondents were provided with a link to an online survey through Qualtrics, a web-based survey tool used to conduct survey research, evaluations, and other data-collection activities. Respondents were also given the option to complete the survey in paper form or by telephone. Training academy directors who failed to respond to the initial email were subsequently contacted by phone, twice if necessary. Altogether, 44 out of 50 state training academy directors responded to the survey, yielding a response rate of 88 percent (32 by Qualtrics, 11 by paper, and one by telephone).

Survey

A 66-question survey was developed to identify specific methods and topics that each state incorporates into their training programs for newly hired correctional officers. The Correctional Officer Training Questionnaire was divided into two general sections: (1) general information about characteristics of correctional officer training (e.g., facility characteristics, training characteristics, and recruiting tactics) and (2) training content, including the topics and subject areas in which new correctional officers receive training (e.g., inmate management, officer safety, security, and practical skills, history and development of corrections, ethics, and professionalism, criminal justice systems, laws, rights, and investigations, and special populations and special topics).

Measures

General Training Characteristics

We assessed five types of general training characteristics: (1) location of training, (2) training hours, (3) training methods, (4) continuing in-service training, and (5) the recruitment process. The measures used to probe these areas are described below. When appropriate, reference is made to tables where response categories are listed (though the tables are not presented until the Results sections).

First, we asked directors whether their state has a training academy to train newly hired correctional officers. Respondents were prompted to check yes or no. If *no* was selected, respondents were directed to write in the location of the training and the agency responsible for conducting the training.

Second, the survey measured the length of correctional officer training through several questions. Directors were instructed to report how many hours of training newly hired correctional officers were required to attend. They were asked to report the number of basic training hours and the number of hours designated for on-the-job training (see Table 1).

Third, training methods refer to the techniques and materials used to instruct new correctional officers. The respondents were requested to report all the ways in which course materials are conveyed (e.g., instructional videos, role plays, PowerPoint lectures). They were also asked if correctional officers were required to complete any job shadowing or pass written examinations prior to independent employment (see Table 2).

Fourth, the survey examined whether

departments were committed to the continuous quality improvement of staff and training protocols. To do this, we asked respondents to report the number of months that had passed since their state had updated their training curriculum. We also asked whether officers were required to attend annual in-service training or booster sessions. If the respondent answered *yes*, he or she was prompted to identify how many days this training period lasted.

Fifth, we assessed the process used to recruit new officers. Recruitment refers to the methods state correctional departments use to fill openings in correctional officer positions. The respondents were asked to select all of the recruiting methods they use from a list provided in the questionnaire. Examples of recruiting strategies listed on the survey included job fairs, retired military personnel networks, and referrals from current staff (see Table 4).

Training Content

Respondents were surveyed regarding which subjects new correctional officers are trained in across five general areas: (1) inmate management; (2) officer safety, security, and practical skills; (3) the history and development of corrections, ethics, and professionalism; (4) criminal justice systems, laws, rights, and investigations; and (5) special populations and special topics. Under each subject area, several corresponding topics were listed. Respondents were thus prompted to select yes or no to indicate whether new correctional officers receive training in one or more of those topics. Selecting *yes* confirmed that their state provides training on that topic area and selecting *no* confirmed their state does not provide training on that topic area. For the special topics and special population subsection, respondents were requested to indicate how many hours of training officers receive on that particular topic area if they provide training on that topic. Respondents were also encouraged to identify any topic areas for which new correctional officers received training that were not listed within the five subjects. A brief description of each subject matter and the topic areas within those subjects is provided below.

The first subject focused on inmate management and asked respondents to indicate whether new correctional officers are trained on topics related to tracking, processing, and supervising inmates. Topic areas included, for example, booking/receiving, security and count procedures, and inmate transport (see Table 5).

The second subject, officer safety, security,

and practical skills, asked respondents whether new correctional officers are trained on topics related to enforcing order in the facility in order to protect themselves and the inmates. For instance, topic areas within this subject included use of force, riot control, and cell extractions (see Table 6).

The third subject focused on the history and development of corrections, ethics, and professionalism. Respondents were instructed to indicate whether new correctional officers are trained on topics related, for example, to the history of laws and development of corrections, professionalism, and the role of correctional officers (see Table 7).

The fourth subject, criminal justice systems, laws, rights, and investigation, included topic areas related to the constitutional and civil rights of inmates and the role of the criminal justice system. Additional topic areas within this subject focused on the Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) and whether new correctional officers are trained in the preparation and presentation of testimony for and against inmates (see Table 8).

Finally, the fifth subject, special populations and special topics, focused on whether new correctional officers receive training related to supervising and managing diverse inmate groups (e.g., sex offenders, security threat groups, mentally ill offenders). The subject also included special topic areas to determine whether new correctional officers receive training in rehabilitation, cognitive-behavioral intervention, and/or the risk-need-responsivity model (see Table 9). To better assess training efforts within this subject, respondents were asked to report the number of hours of training officers receive on each topic area relevant to programming (i.e., treatment) and the number of hours of training officers receive on each topic area relevant to the management (i.e., control/supervision) of each type of specialized population/topic (see Table 10).

Results

Based on the responses of training academy directors, data are presented on the number and percentage of states that provide training in the various topics and areas. The results are divided into two areas: (1) the characteristics of where, how long, and by what method the training occurs and (2) the content of the training that is delivered.

General Training Characteristics

Training Location

Forty-one of the 44 four responding states indicated they have training academies for correctional officer training. Three states indicated that they do not have a separate correctional training academy. In these instances, new correctional officer training takes place at the institution to which new officers as initially assigned.

Training Hours and Methods

The survey results also revealed that the total number of required training hours for new correctional officers varies considerably across the United States (see Table 1). Specifically, one state indicated that it requires less than 100 hours of basic training for new correctional officers. A slightly larger group (11 states) indicated that they require between 100 and 199 hours of basic training, followed by 20 states that indicated they require between 200 and 299 hours of basic training. Twelve states reported that they require over 300 hours of basic training for new correctional officers. Too few states reported the number of hours in subsequent on-the-job training that they provide for newly hired correctional officers, so we are unable report those results.

The state directors were also asked about the methods used by academies to train officers. As shown in Table 2, a large majority of states use a variety of training methods, including videos, study guides, lesson plans, PowerPoints, role playing, case studies, and skill exercises. The partial exception was workbooks, but even here 29 of 44 states reported their use.

Training Curriculum Details

Training directors were asked to report the number of months that had passed since their states' training curriculum had been updated. The answer was an average of 10 months. Further, respondents were asked if officers are required to attend annual in-service training or booster sessions. To this inquiry, 43 states reported that correctional officers were required to attend annual in-service training. The average length of time reported for this training was 39 hours a year. This training had to be completed for officers to maintain good standing at their institution.

States were also queried about the requirements officers must satisfy prior to full employment status. One question asked if officers in the state were required to "shadow"

a current staff member and, if yes, the amount of time that shadow period lasted. Table 3 reveals that a substantial number of states (n = 36) reported that new officers must shadow a current staff member before they can begin their job independently. The average length of time for that shadow period was reported to be 44 days. In addition, states were asked if officers were required to pass a written exam at the conclusion of the training program. As shown in Table 3, all but one state surveyed (n = 43) had this requirement. Passing scores ranged from 70 percent to 80 percent.

Recruitment

States reported that officers are recruited in a variety of ways. Table 4 reveals, for example, that all but one state (n = 43) use job fairs to recruit new officers. Referrals from current staff members was another common recruiting method, a practice found in 41 states. Additionally, 36 states reported using

multimedia recruiting materials (e.g., online advertisements, video brochures), while another 35 states indicated they recruit on college campuses. The majority of states also indicated that they recruit retired military personnel and/or rely on their partnerships with job services or other recruiting agencies to recruit new correctional officers (n = 32 and n = 31, respectively). The least common recruiting method reported by states were advertisements in either out-of-state publications (n = 22) or local publications (n = 29).

Training Content: Subjects and Topic Areas

Inmate Management

Correctional officers receive training for many duties that are involved with the management of inmates. As seen in Table 5, every state in the sample reported that officers are trained in security and count procedures and on the topic of inmate discipline and grievances. Additionally, a large number of states reported

TABLE 1.
Hours of Basic Training at Academies

Training Hours	Frequency
≤ 99 Hours	1
100 – 199 Hours	11
200 – 299 Hours	20
300 + Hours	12

TABLE 2.
Tools used for training newly hired correctional officers

Training Utilities	Frequency Yes	Percentage Yes
Instructional videos	43	97.7
Study guides	38	86.4
Lesson plans	42	95.5
PowerPoints	44	100
Role plays	42	95.5
Case studies	43	97.7
Workbooks	29	65.9
Skills Exercises	42	95.5

TABLE 3.
Prerequisites to independent employment status

Pre-employment requirements	Frequency Yes	Percentage Yes	Mean days (SD)	Mean score (SD)
Must job-shadow current staff*	36	83.7	43.91 days (93.18)	
Pass written exam	43	97.7		73.84 (4.48)

Note: * indicates that percentages were based on 43 cases

TABLE 4.
Methods used by states to recruit new officers

Recruitment Strategy	Frequency Yes	Percentage Yes
Retired military personnel networks	32	72.7
College campuses	35	79.5
Multimedia materials	36	81.8
Advertisements in local publications	29	65.9
Advertisements in out-of-state publications	22	50.0
Partnerships with job services or other recruiting agencies	31	70.5
Referrals from current staff	41	93.2
Job fairs	43	97.7

that they train officers in the areas of inmate transport and inmate supervision (n = 41 and n = 43, respectively). Inmate hygiene and facility sanitation concerns are addressed in the training programs of about two-thirds of the states surveyed. Of the items in this training topic area, the topic in which the fewest number of states provide training is the booking and receiving of inmates. About one-third (n = 16) of states reported that they train officers in this job task.

Officer Safety, Security, and Practical Skills

A substantial number of states reported that they train officers in safety, security, and

TABLE 5.
Training in inmate management

Training Area	Frequency Yes	Percentage Yes
Booking/receiving	16	36.4
Security and court procedures	42	95.5
Inmate supervision	43	97.7
Inmate hygiene and facility sanitation	30	68.2
Inmate programs and services	37	84.1
Inmate discipline and grievances	44	100
Inmate transport	41	93.2

TABLE 6.
Training in officer security and practical skills

Skill Area	Frequency Yes	Percentage Yes
Basic officer safety and security	44	100
Use of force	44	100
Riot control	27	61.4
Contraband*	42	97.7
Area, cell, and body searches	44	100
Cell extractions	30	68.2
Firearm training	39	88.6
Peace officer training	10	22.7

Note: * indicates that percentages were based on 43 cases

practical skills. As seen in Table 6, for example, all states surveyed indicated that they train officers in basic safety and security procedures, use of force, area, cell, and body searches, and inmate discipline and grievances. In addition, 42 states provide training for addressing contraband, and 39 states provide firearms training. The training area receiving the least attention in this domain was peace officer standards and training (POST); 34 states do not provide training in this topic. Another area of training that showed some inconsistency was the task of cell extractions, with only 30 states providing such training for newly hired correctional officers.

TABLE 7.
Training in the history and development of corrections, ethics, and professionalism

Training Area	Frequency Yes	Percentage Yes
History of laws and the development of corrections	28	63.6
Role of correctional officers	36	81.8
Professionalism	42	95.5
Ethics	43	97.7
Administrative investigations	29	65.9

TABLE 8.
Training in criminal justice systems, laws, rights, and investigations

Training Area	Frequency Yes	Percentage Yes
Law enforcement, courts, corrections, and responsibilities	36	81.8
Constitutional rights of inmates	41	93.2
Civil rights of inmates	35	79.5
Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA)	44	100
Investigation of inmates in corrections	28	63.6
Preparation and presentation of testimony for and against inmates in court*	19	44.2

Note: * indicates that percentages were based on 43 cases

History and Development of Corrections, Ethics, and Professionalism

Table 7 reveals that most states train correctional officers in the areas of ethics, professionalism, and the role of being a correctional officer. Specifically, 42 states reported that officers receive training in professionalism, and 43 states train officers in ethics. Additionally, 36 states train officers on the role of a correctional officer's job in the prison system. Also, Table 7 indicates that nearly one-third of the states surveyed (n = 16) do not train officers in the history of corrections and about law and administrative investigations against staff and inmates (n = 15).

Criminal Justice Systems, Laws, Rights, and Investigations

The current study reveals that states train correctional officers in criminal justice systems, laws, rights, and investigations. As seen in Table 8, all states surveyed reported that they are compliant and train officers in the aspects of the Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA), which is a federally mandated requirement for all correctional institutions. Additionally, 36 of the 44 states in the sample reported that officers are trained in the following areas: the civil and constitutional rights of inmates, and law enforcement, courts, and correctional departments' roles and responsibilities. In addition, slightly more than one-third (n = 16) of the states reported that they do not train officers in the topics of inmate investigations, and roughly half of the states surveyed (n = 19) reported that they do not train correctional officers in the area of preparing testimony for and against inmates.

Special Populations and Special Topics

Importantly, substantial variation exists in both the number of states that train officers in special populations and special topics and in the number of hours that are reserved for this type of training. Also, some topics and populations are included by some states' training programs, whereas this does not occur in others.

As shown in Table 9, 41 states reported that they train officers in how to work with mentally ill offenders. Two other areas that 39 states designate training hours for include security threat groups (i.e., gangs) and suicidal inmates. Special populations and topics that received the least amount of training delegations were the overseeing of sex offenders (n = 26 do not train in) and elderly offenders (n

= 20 do not train in). Of further note, training in the Risk-Need-Responsivity model occurs in less than two-fifths of the states surveyed.

Table 10 depicts the average number of training hours designated for training officers in special populations and special topics. The special topic training receiving the most attention was rehabilitation in corrections, which received an average of 3.83 hours. The special population topic that received the least amount of training hours was managing elderly offenders, with an average of 1.67 hours.

This subsection of the survey had the most variation in the number of hours trained in each topic area. For example, one state reported that it trains officers in the area of rehabilitation for 24 hours, whereas the average number of training hours for all states in this sample was 3.83 hours. Additionally, one state reported that it trains officers in the use of cognitive-behavioral interventions for 20 hours, while the average for all other responding states was 2.77 hours.

Discussion

Given the challenges and multidimensional facets of the correctional officer role, officers would benefit from systematic training across a variety of areas. To date, little research is available on the training that officers receive once hired. To help fill the void in the literature, this investigation was undertaken to document existing training procedures for newly hired correctional officers across the United States.

Recommendations for state departments of corrections, including the content that should be trained in, the duration of training procedures, and characteristics of training that may benefit programs across the United States, are presented below. Building on these findings,

a blueprint is prepared of what a model correctional officer training academy program might entail. The intent is to improve upon current correctional officer training and to create strong, evidence-based academies that will equip officers with the skills needed to manage (if not reform) the prisoners they supervise.

The Current Status of Training Across States

The current study indicates that differences exist among state training programs for correctional officers. Thus, while training for some topic areas was found in the majority of states, other training topics were found in only several states. Both common and uncommon areas of training are discussed in this section.

Commonly Trained Topics

Training topics and content that were commonly reported by training directors were primarily in the areas of inmate management, custodial tasks, and security skills. For example, all states generally train officers in contraband, cell and body searches, use of force, and firearms basics. Also, nearly all states train officers in the security counting procedures of inmates, inmate supervision practices, inmate discipline and grievances, and the prison programs and services offered to inmates within their institution.

Much of the variation in training across states appeared in content areas that do not directly deal with inmate management and security functions. However, the survey did uncover some content areas, other than those included in the inmate management and security sections, for which most states provide training. For example, professionalism was a topic that a majority of states train officers in. This finding is somewhat expected, given that

the professionalization of corrections has been a common theme in contemporary criminal justice practices (Lutze, 2016). Likewise, most states train officers in the civil and constitutional rights of inmates, most likely as a means to lessen or avoid liability in state and federal litigation claims (Cornelius, 2001; Piehl & Schlanger, 2004).

In the special population and special topics domain of the survey, states primarily reported training officers in only a few of the special populations and topics that were listed in the survey. These were for security threat groups, mentally ill inmates, and suicidal inmates. Security threat groups refer to gangs or other groups of inmates that threaten the security of the institution; in-prison gangs can affect the safety of the institution, placing both staff and other inmates at risk of victimization. For example, Carlson (2001) estimated that 20 percent of assaults against correctional officers in prisons may be gang-related. Most of the states surveyed reported training in this topic area. These groups often require special methods and tactics of management. Additionally, these gang groups are large enough to cause concern for correctional staff, with nearly 25 percent of inmates in adult facilities admitting to being in an in-prison gang (Knox, 2000).

Training provided for managing mentally ill inmates and suicidal inmates was common across states. This finding may be due to the large numbers of mentally ill inmates found in U.S. prisons and the civil rights protections provided for this population in legislation (Human Rights Watch, 2016; Piehl

TABLE 9.
Training in special populations and special topics

Special Population/Topic	Frequency Yes	Percentage Yes
Sex offenders	17	39.5
LGBTQ offenders	31	72.1
Security threat groups (i.e., gangs)	39	90.7
Mentally ill offenders*	41	95.3
Elderly offenders*	20	46.5
Suicidal offenders*	40	93.0
Domestic and sexual assault and stalking*	17	39.5
Rehabilitation in corrections*	25	58.1
Cognitive behavioral interventions*	19	55.8
Risk-Needs-Responsivity (RNR) model*	16	37.2

Note: * indicates that percentages were based on 43 cases

TABLE 10.
Hours trained in special populations and special topics (if trained)

Special Population/Topic	Mean (SD) Hours Trained in Area
Sex offenders	1.70 (0.81)
LGBTQ offenders	2.15 (1.89)
Security threat groups (i.e., gangs)	3.61 (2.31)
Mentally ill offenders	7.52 (8.88)
Elderly offenders	1.67 (0.75)
Suicidal offenders	3.58 (3.58)
Domestic and sexual assault and stalking	2.90 (2.08)
Rehabilitation in corrections	3.83 (5.78)
Cognitive behavioral interventions	2.77 (2.61)
Risk-Needs-Responsivity (RNR) model	2.00 (1.15)

& Schlanger, 2004). Some researchers have postulated that corrections institutions have largely replaced mental hospitals in the United States (Torrey, Kennard, Eslinger, Lamb, & Pavle, 2010), an idea that gains notoriety given that there are now three times as many mentally ill persons housed in state prisons as in mental hospitals. Accordingly, it is expected that officers receive training in this area, because the implications of mental illness in prison may be fatal. For example, one study found those who are mentally ill are more likely to commit suicide in prison (Torrey et al., 2010) and pose greater threats to correctional officers' safety (Galaneck, 2015).

Another training topic that is a part of all state training programs is the Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA). This act was passed into law in 2003 to protect prison inmates from becoming the victims of sexual assaults while in prison (U.S. Department of Justice, 2012). The law requires that all staff members in a correctional facility or agency who come into contact with inmates be trained in PREA, which calls for employees working within correctional agencies to be provided training in topics such as rape detection protocols (U.S. Department of Justice, 2012).

Uncommonly Trained Areas

A correctional officer's role extends beyond his or her basic safety, security, and custodial tasks (Schaefer, 2018). However, the roles that do not fall under security and custodial roles are not always addressed by state training programs. Though statutes list one of the goals of state correctional departments as achieving the rehabilitation of inmates (Burton, Dunaway, & Kopache, 1993; Kelley, Mueller & Hemmens, 2004), topic and content areas associated with the human service and therapeutic roles of correctional officers are largely absent in many states' training curricula. For example, about half of the training directors reported that their officers are not trained in rehabilitative tasks, and two-thirds of states do not mention the Risk-Needs-Responsivity (RNR) model in their training. The RNR model has been successful in the rehabilitation of offenders in many settings (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Thus, this model surely has a place in correctional officer training programs, and sufficient statutory language in state legal codes exists to support the training (Burton et al., 1993; Johnson, Dunaway, Burton, Marquart, & Cuvelier, 1994; Kelley et al., 2004).

Given that the RNR model is not part of their training curricula, it is unsurprising that

many states do not train officers in the use of cognitive-behavioral interventions. According to the training directors surveyed, only about half of the states train officers in the use of cognitive-behavioral interventions. These types of interventions have consistently been shown to lower recidivism rates and effectively change antisocial behaviors (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). If officers were trained in cognitive-behavioral interventions, perhaps they would better understand mechanisms to change the negative behaviors of inmates into prosocial behaviors.

Another area that lacks training in state departments is the management of special populations that are found within the prison population. For example, most states do not train officers in how to manage and work with elderly offenders. Studies have shown that the number of elderly inmates incarcerated is at an all-time high (10 percent of the entire prison population) and is expected to dramatically increase in the future (Carson, 2016).

Another special population that does not receive much attention in training programs is sex offenders. Research has indicated that sex offenders are often victimized at higher rates than other inmates and often need special accommodations (Labrecque, 2016). If officers received training in how to manage these special populations, they might better understand the risks and challenges that these populations face in prison. It may be that states are using the mandated PREA training in lieu of a formalized sex offender training. The distinction between the two trainings is that the PREA is focused on preventing sexual victimization, while training officers in how to manage sex offenders covers other topics such as how sex offenders think and act.

A Model Training Academy

Based on the current national survey, it is possible to identify best practices that, if combined, might provide a foundation for developing a "model" Correctional Officer Training Academy.

Expanding the Amount of Training

Correctional officers should graduate from training academies with the skills and knowledge to perform their job in the safest and most effective manner. With that in mind, training programs must account for the many dimensions and roles of a correctional officer's work. Thus, to cover all of the content needed to perform the tasks for which an officer is responsible, we recommend a minimum of 300

hours of basic training. To date, slightly less than half of the states surveyed have training academy programs lasting between 200-299 basic training hours. In fact, only about one-quarter of states went beyond 300 training hours. Training officers a minimum of 300 hours may better allow for all the topics and content areas associated with correctional officer work to be covered at the training academy.

Continuation of Training

Similar to training in other professions (e.g., physicians, social workers), the continuation of training should be required for all correctional officers. Nearly all states in the sample reported that officers are required to attend annual training. Such continuing education is imperative, because research is ongoing and could serve to inform new and more effective training practices. Also, the completion of an examination after training is essential to certify whether trainees retained the knowledge from the initial training program. Another training program characteristic should be for cadets to "shadow" an experienced officer before starting shifts alone. Such shadowing will allow the officers to learn from somebody who has experience working with inmates and working in the prison environment.

Inmate Custody and Management: Skills and Expertise

Given that it is the primary function of their job, correctional officers should receive extensive training in maintaining safety and security through guarding inmates (Osborne, 2014). Thus, all officers should receive training in inmate management tasks and basic security and safety skills. As noted, this would involve institutional security procedures, use of force, searches, controlling contraband, cell extractions, firearms training, and so on.

Beyond such practical and often physical skills, officers need to be schooled in two areas of softer knowledge. The first area is understanding the legal and constitutional rights of inmates and how these legal considerations must guide correctional officer behavior. The second area is learning how to manage inmates in a way that increases the officers' legitimacy and evokes inmate compliance rather than opposition. Research suggests that inconsistent and gratuitously harsh treatment of inmates can increase inmates' misconduct and erode institutional stability (Steiner & Meade, 2014). Although research on the effectiveness of managerial styles is far from definitive, scholars increasingly suggest that

the use of procedural justice in interactions with offenders produces perceptions of legitimacy and compliance (Steiner & Meade, 2014; Wooldredge & Steiner, 2016). Accordingly, training correctional officers in effective managerial styles rooted in behavioral science research is essential.

Understanding Special Populations

Correctional officers would benefit from understanding the risks and needs of the different populations of inmates that they guard. Thus, training officers in topics such as sex offenders, gangs, elderly inmates, suicidal inmates, mentally ill inmates, and drug-abusing inmates would likely benefit both those types of inmates and the officers. This training could help officers better accommodate the needs of inmates and allow officers potentially to play a role in the rehabilitation of these special populations.

Guiding the Rehabilitative Role of Correctional Officers

Correctional officers are in a position to play prominent roles in offender rehabilitation (Johnson et al., 2017; Teske & Williamson, 1979). Officers spend more time with offenders than any other correctional staff. Previous research has discovered that correctional officers support offender rehabilitation (Burton, Ju, Dunaway, & Wolfe, 1991; Cullen, Lutze, Link, & Wolfe, 1989; Gatotoh, Omulema, & Nassiuma, 2011; Wade-Olsen, 2016). However, when examining state departments' training programs, training hours designated for rehabilitative functions and therapeutic roles of officers are often sparse. Due to the position of officers and opportunities to aid in rehabilitation, training academies should include extensive training in rehabilitative tasks and skills. This training should be based on evidence-based treatment models conducive to the behavioral change of offenders (e.g., RNR, Effective Practices in Community Supervision [EPICS]) (see Bonta & Andrews, 2017). An example of a training model that has demonstrated success in corrections is EPICS. A brief discussion about how this model could be implemented by correctional officers will follow.

Probation officers across the United States are being trained in the Effective Practices in Community Supervision model. The goal of the EPICS model is to instruct community supervision officers on how to use core correctional practices in face-to-face interactions and also how to use the principles of effective

intervention in practice (Smith, Schweitzer, Labrecque, & Latessa, 2012). The EPICS model trains community corrections officers to follow a structured approach in their interactions with offenders (Smith et al., 2012). Officers trained in EPICS are instructed to focus on higher-risk offenders, to address offenders' criminogenic needs, and to use social learning and cognitive-behavioral techniques in their interactions with offenders (Smith et al., 2012).

EPICS training could lead officers to interact more effectively with inmates. For example, in offender encounters, officers could seek to model prosocial behaviors. They could also use interactions with inmates as teaching moments, correcting thinking errors and talking with wayward inmates about alternative options for handling emotionally charged situations. As suggested, effective training might have the added benefit of improving inmates' perceptions of officers' legitimacy, thus reducing conflict and increasing compliance (see Steiner & Wooldredge, 2015).

Promoting Officer Wellness

The most immediate need is to train officers in the health risks posed by inmates, such as dealing with threats and actual incidents of physical victimization (Boudoukha, Altintas, Rusinek, Fantini-Houwel, & Hautekeete, 2013) and avoiding infectious diseases (e.g., AIDS, hepatitis). But training must be expanded to educate officers in how to cope with the psychological challenges of their work, including stress, job dissatisfaction, burnout, post-traumatic stress, alienation, suicidal ideation, and depression. In addition, research now exists to capably inform the inculcation of effective coping strategies. This line of inquiry remains an area for further development for staff who work with confined populations (Keinan & Malach-Pines, 2007).

Building Officer Professionalism

Research shows that correctional officers do not see themselves as "hacks" whose skills are limited to custody and monitoring a punitive regimen (Johnson et al., 2017). More positively, guarding offenders should be seen as a human services profession. The hallmark of any profession is the commitment to a strong code of ethics and to task expertise (Latessa, Cullen, & Gendreau, 2002). A model training academy would seek to instill this dual commitment among officers and serve to lessen the gap between research and practice by providing a channel by which trainees can learn

evidence-based practices and procedures.

Achieving this goal, however, will face a major challenge. At present, a knowledge gap exists between training goals and how to achieve those goals. Two strategies might be profitably employed to address this lack of knowledge. First, correctional officers should be seen not only as recipients of training but also as sources of insights about effective training. Officers should be interviewed initially and systematically to learn more about their perceived training needs and about their ideas on best practices with inmates. Second, criminologists need to focus their research not only on uncovering what is wrong with prisons but also on how to develop practical programs, managerial approaches, and training protocols to create safer and more reformatory institutions. This research should start by evaluating the effectiveness of current training approaches and then use this information to develop *principles of effective training*. Both the keepers and the kept merit our ongoing efforts to equip correctional officers with the understanding and expertise to do their job well.

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Perceptions of Offender Satisfaction on Probation and Supervised Release with STARR Skill Sets¹

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COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS supervision has undergone a major transformation in the last decade. Supervision has moved from merely tracking compliance with court-ordered conditions to using case management practices that are designed to create a more therapeutic relationship between the officer and client, and achieving client satisfaction. At least three research studies, two in the United Kingdom (Barry, 2007; Hart & Collins, 2014) and one in the United States (DeLude, Mitchell, & Barber, 2012) have confirmed that a reciprocal or positive relationship between probation officers and probationers is important to probationers' attitudes and behaviors. In theory, if probationers feel that their needs are being met and that they are being treated fairly, they will be more likely to complete the terms and conditions of their supervision.

A number of practices have been identified that meet the criteria of evidence-based practices for community supervision. Gendreau, Andrews, and Theriault (2010) have identified eight core correctional practices as important in case management:

- Anticriminal modeling
- Effective reinforcement
- Effective disapproval
- Effective use of authority
- Structured learning
- Problem solving

- Cognitive restructuring
- Relationship skills

Literature Review

A number of different training programs have recently been developed to teach probation and parole officers specific case management skills related to these core correctional practices, with the ideal goal of increasing client rapport and satisfaction. These training programs include Effective Practices in Community Supervision (EPICS), developed by researchers at the University of Cincinnati (Smith, Schweitzer, Labrecque, & Latessa, 2012); Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS), developed by the Canadian Department of Public Safety (Bourgon, Bonta, Ruge, & Gutierrez, 2010); and Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Rearrest (STARR), developed in 2009 by U.S. Probation and Pretrial Services. STARR training teaches the following skills: active listening, role clarification, effective use of authority, effective disapproval, effective reinforcement, effective punishment, problem solving, and teaching, applying, and reviewing the cognitive model (Clodfelter, Holcomb, Alexander, Marcum, & Richards, 2016; Lowenkamp, Holsinger, Robinson, & Alexander, 2014; Robinson, VanBenschoten, Alexander, & Lowenkamp, 2011).

All three training programs have been subjected to empirical scrutiny to determine to what degree the regular use of core correctional practices may effect behavioral change (Bonta, Bourgon, Ruge, Scott, Yessine, Gutierrez, & Li, 2011; Chadwick, DeWolf, & Serin,

2015; Robinson, Lowenkamp, Holsinger, VanBenschoten, Alexander, & Oleson, 2012; Robinson et al., 2011; Trotter, 2013). For example, offenders supervised by trained EPICS officers who regularly used core correctional practices were 33.7 percent less likely to recidivate compared to a similar group of offenders who were supervised by officers who did not regularly use these practices (Labrecque, Smith, & Luther, 2015). Clients supervised under officers trained using the STARR curriculum experienced a 50 percent reduction in recidivism for moderate-risk clients, but high-risk clients did not achieve reduction rates (Lowenkamp et al., 2014; Robinson et al., 2011; Robinson et al., 2012).

Recidivism reduction is an important outcome in the corrections field. Assuming that the offenders supervised in both groups are equal, comparisons of recidivism between EPICS or STARR-trained and untrained officers makes it possible to suggest that the difference may be due to the new skill sets. However, it seems useful in addition to seek a more *direct* measure of skill sets that officers learn in training based on the offenders, or clients, that officers interact with on a regular basis. Each type of study has its own built-in strengths and limitations, which is one reason for engaging in more than one approach. While studies show a more lasting effect of training through using coaches who analyze recorded sessions, few jurisdictions know how probation officer skill sets are perceived by the clients on supervision. In the current study, offenders on active community supervision

¹ Our thanks to James Corpening, Chief United States Probation Officer, Eastern District of North Carolina, and Lisa Morris, Chief United States Probation Officer, Western District of North Carolina, for their assistance with this project.

were asked about their perceptions of sessions with their probation officers and treatment providers. The two main research questions were:

- To what degree do probationer perceptions change over the course of supervision with respect to officer fairness, respect, and consistency?
- To what degree do probationer perceptions change over the course of supervision with respect to treatment services?

Previous probationer satisfaction surveys that provided sample questions helped to guide this project (Berry & Piechocki, 2010; Cherkos, Ferguson, & Cooke, 2008; DeLude, Mitchell, & Barber, 2012).

Research Methods and Design

The research team received Institutional Review Board approval to use *Qualtrics* software to devise and implement an on-line survey at two time periods. On-line surveys provide a private and efficient way to conduct a sample of this nature. The research team opted to use a repeated measures design to measure change over two different time periods. A repeated measures design is useful because each client is (ideally) asked for his or her opinion at two different points in time and then the change difference can be measured for the whole group on each variable. The repeated measures design also collects data over a longer period at two time points compared to a cross-sectional survey completed at one point in time. The advantage of collecting data at two time periods is that each time period can be assessed *independently* and compared with each other by *matching* the responses from individuals who took the survey at both time periods using a unique identifying number, in this case the offender's PACTS (Probation and Pretrial Services Automated Case Tracking Service) number.

The first survey period (Time 1) was implemented when the client had been on supervision between 30 and 60 days; it occurred between May 1, 2016, and November 30, 2016. The second survey period (Time 2) occurred six months after Time 1, between December 1, 2016, and June 15, 2017. There were a total of 240 participants for Time 1 and 115 participants for Time 2 (Figure 1, page 42). Of those 115 participants for Time 2, 107 individuals could be directly matched to the responses provided in Time 1; 83 were from the Eastern District and 24 were from the Western District of North Carolina.

Each survey took approximately 20

minutes to complete. The survey instrument was the same at both time periods, except for one additional question at Time 2 asking respondents to assess their overall impressions of supervision since the first survey. Using a unique code number assured researchers that each person completed the survey only once per time period. Any duplicate surveys were deleted. Participants read an informed consent form before completing the survey. The survey instrument contained no identifying information and just asked for opinions and perceptions. Probationers who were not able to read the English language, who were computer illiterate, or who might be unable to give voluntary informed consent because of intellectual disabilities or severe mental health issues were excluded by a designated U.S. probation supervisor. In addition, many sex offenders, who are prohibited from using the internet as a condition of supervision, were excluded from participation.

Participants vs. Non-Participants

In November 2016, de-identified data were provided by both districts on supervised releasees/probationers eligible to participate during Time 1. The research team matched the Excel file by PACTS number with the Time 1 data file created in *Qualtrics* to determine the list of participants versus non-participants. There were a total of 1,282 offenders being supervised in the Eastern and Western Districts combined who were eligible to participate. Out of the total number of eligible offenders, 18.7 percent (n=240) completed the first survey.

An analysis was conducted to determine how, if at all, the participant group differed from the nonparticipants. The importance of comparing participants with nonparticipants is to see how generalizable the results are to the larger group. Ideally, we would want no differences between the groups, as the fewer the differences, the more similar the two groups are to each other, and thus, the more generalizable the results. Results of these analyses can be found in Table 1 (page 42).

Participants and non-participants were similar in age and race/ethnicity. Women and probationers were slightly overrepresented compared to the group that did not participate in the survey. Participants were significantly more likely than non-participants to come from a *low* level of supervision, and less likely to come from the *high* supervision group. The authors cannot offer an explanation for this, except for the possibility that the exclusion

of sex offenders may have reduced participation from the high-risk group. However, the percentage of *low/moderate* and *moderate* supervision groups was similar across both participants and non-participants.

Survey Measures

The survey contained opinion-based questions that asked clients to rate the performance of their probation officer and their treatment providers.² (See Box 1, page 43.) Most of the probation officer dimensions allowed the respondent to gauge about how much of the time their probation officer (PO) engaged in certain activities or dimensions related to STARR training: all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, rarely, and never. Other questions included five different response categories such as: strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, and not applicable.

Two statements (indicated with the word "Recoded") were recoded after the survey data were collected so that the statements read in the same consistent positive direction as the others. For example, the responses to the statement: "My PO acts like he/she does *not care* about me" were recoded in the opposite direction so that they measure: "My PO acts like he/she *cares* about me." The wording of the survey questions below are *after* the recodes.

Reliability analyses were conducted via Cronbach's Alpha tests to determine whether the individual statements consistently measured the concepts, particularly those for the STARR skill sets. Reliability analysis also can determine whether individual statements can be analyzed together as a single proxy measure for a concept. In social science research, it is generally accepted that a score of .70 or higher means that the statements accurately reflect what is being measured. For example, four individual statements are collectively reliable at both Time 1 and Time 2 and can be viewed as a single proxy measure for "Role Clarification."

Results

Frequencies and percentages are presented separately for each survey time period (Time 1 and Time 2), and for each district (Eastern

² In keeping with the request of U.S. probation officials in these districts, we also included two questions concerning treatment by the front office/reception staff and waiting time, but we did not include the results in this manuscript, since the questions were not closely related to using STARR skills.

and Western) in Tables 2 through 15. The frequency data include clients who participated in both surveys, as well as clients who participated in only one time period. Percentages listed in each table are for each district within that particular time period. Since the sample sizes varied by each question, the *n* size is listed for each question in every table. The smaller the *n* size, the more weight each individual response has on the percentage. *Chi-square* (χ^2) was used to test whether *differences* between districts were significant at each time period. Significant differences are indicated by asterisks in each table.

The *between differences* were tested using repeated measures of the matched group that completed both surveys at Time 1 and Time 2. Each matched group was reported separately by district. A series of *t* tests for *paired samples* were conducted using SPSS Version 22. A *t* test is an appropriate measure to use for the whole group when the group means under comparison have the same unit of analysis and time period. A *t* test can determine whether the group means differed during community supervision (Warner, 2012).

Initial Relationship Building and Establishing Behavioral Parameters

When a client first meets with his or her PO, most officers begin to clarify their own role and the client's responsibilities and obligations while on supervision. As seen in Table 2, about eight out of ten clients in both districts "strongly agreed" that they received clear instructions from their PO on how to complete supervision successfully. Only a very small number of clients (1-3 percent) disagreed with this statement. Since the chi-square values were *not significant*, this means that both districts performed *similarly*. Clients in both districts strongly agree/agree (over 90 percent) that their PO clearly explained the PO's role in the supervision process. Over 90 percent of respondents stated that their PO involved them in developing the case plan, and helped them find or referred them to outside treatment providers if required by the court. Note the smaller *n* size for this question in Table 2 (page 44). Since not all respondents were court-ordered for treatment, the referral question was asked only if it was applicable to the respondent.

STARR Skill Sets

Active listening and use of feedback are an important part of relationship building as supervision progresses. As seen in Table 3

(page 45), most clients (over 84 percent) were satisfied with the feedback that they received from their probation officers in the Eastern and Western districts. About one in ten respondents said that they received feedback from their PO "some of the time," "rarely," or "never." For the matched group (those who completed both surveys), views did not change over time with respect to feedback or the frequency with which their PO listened to them.

Listening and caring seemed intertwined. When a PO actively listened to problems and concerns, this signified to clients that the PO cared about them as a person. Most respondents (over 90 percent) reported that their PO listened to their questions and concerns "all the time" or "most of the time." Only 2-2.5 percent of clients in the East and 5-9 percent of clients in the West said that their PO only listened "some of the time." About one in ten clients felt that their PO acted like they cared about them "some of the time," "rarely," or "never."

The *t*-values were all negative for these three items, which signified that client opinions *dropped* over time in this area. However, only one of the *t*-values was significant—the matched group in the Eastern District—who reported a significant opinion that their PO cared less about them over time.

Effective Use of Authority

A PO is trained to use his or her authority in an effective manner by focusing on applicable behaviors or issues that are problematic for each client. For example, POs are trained to use a normal voice while being direct and specific about the behavior, and then specifying choices and consequences. In this way, effectively using one's authority should encourage clients to be open about their progress (or lack thereof) without being afraid that they will automatically get revoked. As seen in Table 4 (page 46), about 85 percent of clients in the Eastern District and between 73-75 percent of clients in the Western District said they can be open "all the time" with their POs on their progress without fear that they will get revoked, a significant difference between the two districts. Only about 2-3 percent of Eastern district and 6-9 percent of Western District clients reported that they could "rarely" or "never" be open with their PO, and these district differences were significant at Time 1.

Most clients in both districts thought that their POs discussed applicable issues during

their sessions, with the POs in the Eastern District scoring higher (over 90 percent) than POs in the Western District (over 80 percent). It appeared that both the Western District and Eastern District POs experienced improvement over time, scoring higher during Time 2 than in Time 1.

Problem Solving

One of the skills that POs learn is to use sessions and office visits to help their clients identify problems, evaluate possible solutions, and develop steps for problem solving. Over 80 percent of respondents in both districts reported that their POs helped them solve problems and/or think through the consequences of their actions "most of the time" or "all of the time" (Table 5, page 47). Only 7-9 percent of clients said that their POs "rarely" or "never" helped them with problem solving. Compared to the other skill sets, problem solving was used slightly less regularly with clients in both districts.

Teaching, Applying, and Reviewing the Cognitive Model

The cognitive-behavioral model is essential to permanent behavior change, because clients become aware (many for the first time) of the link between their thinking and how it influences their behavior. As seen in Table 6, the matched group clients recognized a significant improvement in the Western District POs in their performance in this area between Time 1 and Time 2 (with a 1.74 *t* value significant at $p < .10$).

Once clients understand the attitude-behavioral connection, POs can work more in depth with clients to better understand not only what factors contributed to their legal problems, but also how clients can learn to avoid certain triggering events and/or people that contribute to negative behavior. POs in the Western District scored higher than POs in the Eastern District on reviewing cognitive principles, but the difference was not statistically significant. Acting like a positive role model is applicable to more than one STARR skill set, but the role model variable loaded higher on cognitive modeling when reliability tests were conducted, as reported in Table 6 (page 48). About 8 in 10 clients in both districts reported that their PO acts like a role model to them "most of the time" or "all of the time." Scores for POs in the Western District increased significantly over time.

Effective Reinforcement

Positive reinforcement is important during behavioral modification for recognizing when clients perform well and encouraging people to continue desirable behaviors. Part of positive reinforcement is motivating others to continue down the right path and help them succeed on supervision. Table 7 (page 49) includes three reinforcement measures, and POs in both districts received overall high scores. Compared to other skill sets observed in these surveys, a higher number of POs regularly used positive reinforcement. Very few clients felt unsupported in this area, especially in the Eastern District.

Effective Use of Disapproval

Disapproval is important during behavioral modification to help shape or discourage unwanted behavior. This is accomplished through PO feedback of voicing concerns—not only about what is undesirable, but also about why the behavior may cost the client his or her freedom. Part of effective disapproval involves the PO helping clients to develop solutions to ensure the negative behavior is not repeated. As seen in Table 8 (page 50), a majority of clients in both districts agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, with significantly higher scores in the Western District. As for the high number of survey respondents who marked “not applicable” for this question, it is likely because no violation had occurred or been detected. Also, a clear majority of clients in both districts agreed or strongly agreed that their PO treats them with respect if they have done something wrong or violated a supervision condition.

Use of Effective Punishments

Using punishment effectively is difficult in community corrections, but when it has to be done, POs are trained to be firm, fair, and consistent. Table 9 (page 50) shows that nearly every PO (over 95 percent) was perceived as having responded fairly if clients violated court-ordered conditions.

Treatment Providers

Table 10 (page 51) shows that 31.5 percent of Eastern District clients and 37.6 percent of Western District clients at Time 1, and 24.7 percent of Eastern and 33.3 percent of Western District clients at Time 2 reported receiving services from a contracted treatment provider at the time they responded to the survey.

Of the respondents who received treatment provider services, only 30 Eastern District

clients and 23 Western District clients received alcohol/drug treatment during Time 1. Table 11 (page 51) shows that most clients found these services either “very helpful” or “helpful,” and that these services had changed their lives for the better. Only one client in each group found drug and alcohol treatment to not be helpful at all, and/or found that treatment either had no effect or changed their lives for the worst. This indicates that clients favored this treatment provider overall.

About 27 Eastern District clients and 22 Western District clients received mental health treatment during Time 1, and 17 Eastern and 7 Western District clients received this same form of treatment at Time 2. Table 12 (page 52) shows that most clients found these services either “very helpful” or “helpful,” and that these services had changed their lives for the better. Only one client in each group found mental health treatment to not be helpful at all, and/or found that treatment either had no effect or changed their lives for the worst. This indicates that clients favored the mental health treatment provider overall.

The smallest group were the clients who received moral reconnection group therapy, or MRT. About 6 Eastern District clients and 11 Western District clients received MRT during Time 1 (Table 13, page 53). Only 5 Eastern and no clients from the Western District reported receiving MRT at Time 2. Thus, there were no matched pairs for the Western District, so the conclusions are limited. Most clients favored MRT overall. Respondents found these services either “very helpful” or “helpful,” and stated that these services had changed their lives for the better. No clients found that treatment either had no effect or changed their lives for the worst.

Overall Impression of Probation

Tables 14 and 15 (page 54) show that clients in both districts gave generally positive reviews of their experience at Time 1. Most important, as time went on, the client’s experiences became even more positive at Time 2, as shown in Table 15.

Regression analysis could not be completed in the study. Regression typically uses a behavioral variable such as supervision termination reason (e.g., successful termination or unsuccessful revocation) and attempts to see if client attitude or another variable predicts later behavior. After Time 1 variables had been collected, over 90 percent of respondents were still on supervision, so the sample size was still too small to predict at that time.

Conclusions

As with any research project, the findings should be interpreted and/or applied with certain limitations in mind. First, this survey was applied only to offenders in two districts at two time points. Even though a repeated measures design was the best way to conduct this project, if the same survey were to be conducted in the near future, the results might be different.

Another obstacle concerned the PACTS numbers. Even though respondents were instructed to use their PACTS numbers, some mistakenly tried to use their prison ID numbers instead, which may have excluded some respondents. As noted earlier, sex offenders were excluded, so their input was missing. Since this survey was only administered in English, the input of non-English speakers (such as Spanish only) was not included. Although the number of Spanish-speaking offenders is low (but growing) in North Carolina compared to other parts of the country, obtaining the input of this population would have been beneficial.

Third, the original hope was to have over 600 participants during Time 1 and 300 during Time 2, but the final number of total respondents was much lower, especially in the Western District. In addition it is not known how many offenders were either terminated or violated for various reasons during the follow-up period, so their input could not have been collected.

The results of this study are positive, overall. The clients’ responses suggest that most POs in these two districts are properly using STARR skill sets and that clients are satisfied with their experience on supervision. For future research, it would be interesting to know whether offenders’ perceptions of their officers are related to outcomes—that is, whether positive perceptions are related in any way to later revocation or recidivism.

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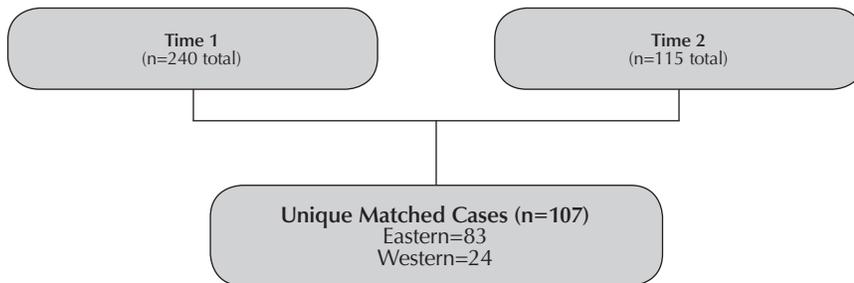
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TABLE 1.
Participants of Time 1 Survey Compared with Non-Participants

	Non-participants (n=1,042)	T1 Participants (n=240)
Supervision Level $X^2=19.14$ ***		
Low	21.2%	32.5%
Low/moderate	37.6%	39.4%
Moderate	21.3%	18.2%
High	19.9%	9.9%
Type of Caseload $X^2=7.81$ *		
Supervised Release	82.7%	76.5%
Probation	16.3%	23.5%
Parole	0.9%	0.0%
Gender $X^2=6.28$ **		
Male	87.8%	81.4%
Female	12.2%	18.6%
Mean Age (NS)		
	38.7 years	40.6 years
Race/Ethnicity $X^2=5.61$ (NS)		
White/Caucasian	38.9%	45.6%
Black/African-American	55.8%	52.0%
American Indian/Alaskan	3.0%	1.0%
All Others	2.4%	1.5%

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .00$

FIGURE 1.
Number of Participants for Both Districts



BOX 1.**U.S. Probation Officer Skills****Role Clarification (Initial Visits)**

- My PO clearly explained what I need to do to complete probation successfully.
 - My PO explained what his/her role is (what POs will/won't do) while I am on probation.
 - My PO involved me in the process of developing my case plan.
 - My PO helped me find or referred me to outside treatment providers.
- $\alpha = .848$ for T1 (4 items)
 $\alpha = .896$ for T2 (4 items)

Active Listening and Use of Feedback

- My PO lets me know how I am doing on probation.
- My PO listens to my questions or concerns.
- My PO acts like he/she cares about me. (Recoded)

Effective Use of Authority

- I can be open with my PO about my progress without being afraid that I'll get revoked.
 - During our visit, my PO focuses on things that apply to me or are a problem for me. (Recoded)
- $\alpha = .741$ for T1 (5 items - Active listening/feedback and Use of authority)
 $\alpha = .781$ for T2 (5 items - Active listening/feedback and Use of authority)
- The 3-items from "Active listening/feedback" scale were reliable at .615 at T1 and .647 at T2, but the 2-items from "Effective Use of Authority" were not reliable unless combined with the 3 listening/feedback items to create a 5-item scale.

Problem Solving

- My PO helps me solve problems.
 - My PO helps me think through the consequences of my actions.
- $\alpha = .755$ for T1 (2 items)
 $\alpha = .776$ for T2 (2 items)

Teaching, Applying, and Reviewing the Cognitive Model

- My PO helps me understand what may have contributed to my legal problems (friends, drugs, anger, my attitude, etc.).
 - My PO helps me learn how to avoid people/situations that might get me into trouble.
 - My PO acts like a role model for me.
 - My PO points out that how I think has an effect on how I choose to behave.
- $\alpha = .849$ for T1 (4 items)
 $\alpha = .894$ for T2 (4 items)

Effective Reinforcement

- When things get difficult, my PO helps motivate me to keep on track.
 - My PO encourages me to continue when I make good decisions.
 - When I am doing well, my PO reminds me of the benefits and rewards of continuing good behavior.
- $\alpha = .875$ for T1 (3 items)
 $\alpha = .900$ for T2 (3 items)

Use of Effective Disapproval

- If I did something that may have violated a probation condition, my PO helped me develop a solution so it doesn't happen again.
- My PO treats me with respect, even if/when I have done something wrong or violated one of my conditions.

Use of Effective Punishment

- My PO's response was fair if/when I have been unable to complete something or violated a condition.
- $\alpha = .702$ for T1 (3 items)
 $\alpha = .545$ for T2 (3 items)* 3-items were not reliable. If the first item was deleted, the remaining 2 items were reliable at $\alpha = .780$
- Treatment Service Providers (if court-ordered).
 - How helpful is (alcohol/drug, mental health, and/or moral reconnection therapy)?
 - Please rate your overall impression of (alcohol/drug, mental health, and/or moral reconnection therapy).

TABLE 2
PO ROLE CLARIFICATION

	EASTERN			WESTERN		
	Time 1	Time 2	Matched	Time 1	Time 2	Matched
My PO clearly explained what I need to do to complete probation successfully. (T1 $\chi^2=1.29$; T2 $\chi^2=.08$)	(n=149)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.16$ sd = .36 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.20$ sd = .48 t= -.94	(n=88)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.35$ sd = .48 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.22$ sd = .51 t=1.14
Strongly Agree/Definitely Yes	127 85.2%	67 82.7%		70 79.5%	28 84.8%	
Agree/Yes	21 14.1%	11 13.6%		17 19.3%	4 12.1%	
Disagree/No	1 0.7%	3 3.7%		1 1.1%	1 3.0%	
Strongly Disagree/Definitely Not	----	----		----	----	
My PO explained what his/her role is (what POs will/won't do) while I am on probation. (T1 $\chi^2=8.71^{**}$; T2 $\chi^2=1.52$)	(n=149)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.19$ sd = .39 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.22$ sd = .47 t= -.49	(n=88)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.39$ sd = .49 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.39$ sd = .58 t=.00
Strongly Agree/Definitely Yes	117 78.5%	65 80.2%		64 72.7%	23 69.7%	
Agree/Yes	32 21.5%	14 17.3%		19 21.6%	9 27.3%	
Disagree/No	----	2 2.5%		4 4.5%	1 3.0%	
Strongly Disagree/Definitely Not	----	----		1 1.1%	----	
My PO involved me in the process of developing my case plan. (T1 $\chi^2= 4.62$; T2 $\chi^2=2.10$)	(n=135)	(n=73)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.38$ sd = .52 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.46$ sd = .67 t= - 1.06	(n=86)	(n=32)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.71$ sd = .71 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.52$ sd = .60 t=1.45
Strongly Agree/Definitely Yes	84 62.2%	42 57.5%		50 58.1%	17 53.1%	
Agree/Yes	47 34.8%	24 32.9%		28 32.6%	14 43.8%	
Disagree/No	4 3%	6 8.2%		7 8.1%	1 3.1%	
Strongly Disagree/Definitely Not	----	1 1.4%		1 1.2%	----	
My PO helped me find or referred me to outside treatment providers. (T1 $\chi^2=4.21$; T2 $\chi^2=2.88$)	(n=111)	(n=50)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.35$ sd = .59 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.37$ sd = .56 t= -.25	(n=75)	(n=24)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.59$ sd = .61 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.65$ sd = .86 t= -.43
Strongly Agree/Definitely Yes	73 65.8%	31 62.0%		42 56.0%	13 54.2%	
Agree/Yes	31 27.9%	15 30.0%		29 38.7%	9 37.5%	
Disagree/No	7 6.3%	4 8.0%		3 4%	1 4.2%	
Strongly Disagree/Definitely Not	-----	----		1 1.3%	1 4.2%	

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$; *** = $p < .01$

TABLE 3
PO ACTIVE LISTENING AND USE OF FEEDBACK

	Time 1	EASTERN		Time 1	WESTERN	
		Time 2	Matched		Time 2	Matched
My PO lets me know how I am doing on probation. (T1 $\chi^2=1.34$; T2 $\chi^2=8.14^*$)	(n=149)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.36$ sd = .83 Time 2 = 1.42 sd = 1.05 t= - .86	(n=87)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.57$ sd = .99 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.61$ sd = .78 t= - .18
All of the time	109 73.2%	65 80.2%		61 70.1%	21 63.6%	
Most of the time	23 15.4%	8 9.9%		17 19.5%	7 21.2%	
Some of the time	9 6.0%	2 2.5%		5 5.7%	4 12.1%	
Rarely	4 2.7%	1 1.2%		3 3.4%	----	
Never	4 2.7%	5 6.2%		1 1.1%	1 3.0%	
My PO listens to my questions or concerns. (T1 $\chi^2=2.16$; T2 $\chi^2=8.33^*$)	(n=149)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.10$ sd = .33 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.13$ sd = .62 t= - .72	(n=87)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.13$ sd = .34 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.35$ sd = .71 t= - 1.41
All of the time	134 89.9%	77 95.1%		73 83.9%	28 84.8%	
Most of the time	12 8.1%	----		10 11.5%	2 6.1%	
Some of the time	3 2.0%	2 2.5%		4 4.6%	3 9.1%	
Rarely	----	1 1.2%		----	----	
Never	----	1 1.2%		----	----	
My PO acts like he/she cares about me. (T1 $\chi^2=7.51$; T2 $\chi^2=3.47$)	(n=149)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.11$ sd = .51 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.41$ sd = 1.11 t=-2.34**	(n=87)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.57$ sd = 1.08 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.70$ sd = 1.29 t= - .34
All of the time	135 90.6%	69 85.2%		73 83.9%	25 75.8%	
Most of the time	7 4.7%	3 3.7%		7 8.0%	4 12.1%	
Some of the time	3 2.0%	2 2.5%		3 3.4%	1 3.0%	
Rarely	----	1 1.2%		3 3.4%	1 3.0%	
Never	4 2.7%	6 7.4%		1 1.1%	2 6.1%	

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$; *** = $p < .01$

TABLE 4
PO EFFECTIVE USE OF AUTHORITY

	EASTERN			WESTERN		
	Time 1	Time 2	Matched	Time 1	Time 2	Matched
I can be open with my PO about my progress without being afraid that I'll get revoked. (T1 $\chi^2=9.07^{**}$; T2 $\chi^2=3.39$)	(n=149)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.23$ sd = .66 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.27$ sd = .78 $t = -.41$	(n=87)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.61$ sd = 1.07 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.48$ sd = 1.03 $t = .44$
All of the time	126 84.6%	69 85.2%		64 73.6%	25 75.8%	
Most of the time	13 8.7%	7 8.6%		12 13.8%	6 18.2%	
Some of the time	7 4.7%	2 2.5%		3 3.4%	----	
Rarely	2 1.3%	1 1.2%		3 3.4%	1 3.0%	
Never	1 0.7%	2 2.5%		5 5.7%	1 3.0%	
During our visit, my PO focuses on things that apply to me or are a problem for me. (T1 $\chi^2=10.27^{**}$; T2 $\chi^2=12.46^{***}$)	(n=149)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.29$ sd = .72 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.20$ sd = .76 $t = .94$	(n=86)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.70$ sd = 1.14 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.39$ sd = .72 $t = 1.57$
All of the time	121 81.2%	74 91.4%		62 72.1%	24 72.7%	
Most of the time	20 13.4%	2 2.5%		10 11.6%	5 15.2%	
Some of the time	4 2.7%	2 2.5%		9 10.5%	4 12.1%	
Rarely	----	1 1.2%		2 2.3%	----	
Never	4 2.7%	2 2.5%		3 3.5%	----	

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$; *** = $p < .01$

TABLE 5
PO PROBLEM SOLVING

	EASTERN			WESTERN		
	Time 1	Time 2	Matched	Time 1	Time 2	Matched
My PO helps me solve problems. (T1 $\chi^2=3.42$; T2 $\chi^2=3.83$)	(n=149)	(n=81)	<i>Time 1</i> $\bar{x} = 1.61$ $sd = 1.06$ <i>Time 2</i> $\bar{x} = 1.63$ $sd = 1.12$ $t = -.09$	(n=87)	(n=33)	<i>Time 1</i> $\bar{x} = 1.91$ $sd = 1.12$ <i>Time 2</i> $\bar{x} = 1.74$ $sd = 1.13$ $t = .59$
All of the time	91 61.1%	57 70.4%		47 54.0%	20 60.6%	
Most of the time	31 20.8%	7 8.6%		25 28.7%	7 21.2%	
Some of the time	16 10.7%	9 11.1%		7 8.0%	4 12.1%	
Rarely	5 3.4%	5 6.2%		2 2.3%	1 3.0%	
Never	6 4.0%	3 3.7%		6 6.9%	1 3.0%	
My PO helps me think through the consequences of my actions. (T1 $\chi^2=1.88$; T2 $\chi^2=4.90$)	(n=149)	(n=81)	<i>Time 1</i> $\bar{x} = 1.48$ $sd = .95$ <i>Time 2</i> $\bar{x} = 1.63$ $sd = 1.21$ $t = -1.19$	(n=86)	(n=33)	<i>Time 1</i> $\bar{x} = 1.61$ $sd = .94$ <i>Time 2</i> $\bar{x} = 1.52$ $sd = .79$ $t = .37$
All of the time	100 67.1%	58 71.6%		56 65.1%	19 57.6%	
Most of the time	28 18.8%	10 12.3%		21 24.4%	9 27.3%	
Some of the time	11 7.4%	3 3.7%		5 5.8%	2 6.1%	
Rarely	3 2.0%	4 4.9%		2 2.3%	2 6.1%	
Never	7 4.7%	6 7.4%		2 2.3%	1 3.0%	

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$; *** = $p < .01$

TABLE 6
TEACHING, APPLYING and REVIEWING the COGNITIVE MODEL

	EASTERN			WESTERN		
	Time 1	Time 2	Matched	Time 1	Time 2	Matched
My PO points out that how I think has an effect on how I choose to behave. (T1 $\chi^2=5.75$; T2 $\chi^2=2.48$)	(n=147)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{x} = 1.60$ sd = 1.14 Time 2 $\bar{x} = 1.75$ sd = 1.26 t= - 1.22	(n=85)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{x} = 1.87$ sd = 1.25 Time 2 $\bar{x} = 1.48$ sd = .84 t=1.74*
All of the time	97 66.0%	51 63.0%		55 64.7%	21 63.6%	
Most of the time	24 16.3%	14 17.3%		21 24.7%	6 18.2%	
Some of the time	11 7.5%	5 6.2%		2 2.4%	4 12.1%	
Rarely	5 3.4%	3 3.7%		4 4.7%	1 3.0%	
Never	10 6.8%	8 9.9%		3 3.5%	1 3.0%	
My PO helps me understand what may have contributed to my legal problems (friends, drugs, anger, my attitude, etc.) (T1 $\chi^2=5.40$; T2 $\chi^2=4.22$)	(n=149)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{x} = 1.83$ sd = 1.28 Time 2 $\bar{x} = 1.95$ sd = 1.43 t= -.81	(n=87)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{x} = 1.91$ sd = 1.16 Time 2 $\bar{x} = 1.74$ sd = 1.05 t=.74
All of the time	81 54.4%	49 60.5%		49 56.3%	19 57.6%	
Most of the time	27 18.1%	10 12.3%		24 27.6%	7 21.2%	
Some of the time	15 10.1%	8 9.9%		5 5.7%	5 15.2%	
Rarely	12 8.1%	3 3.7%		4 4.6%	----	
Never	14 9.4%	11 13.6%		5 5.7%	2 6.1%	
My PO helps me learn how to avoid people/situations that might get me into trouble. (T1 $\chi^2=6.83$; T2 $\chi^2=3.25$)	(n=149)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{x} = 1.48$ sd = 1.06 Time 2 $\bar{x} = 1.60$ sd = 1.13 t= -.98	(n=86)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{x} = 1.22$ sd = .51 Time 2 $\bar{x} = 1.35$ sd = .88 t= -.76
All of the time	109 73.2%	56 69.1%		68 79.1%	24 72.7%	
Most of the time	17 11.4%	13 16.0%		14 16.3%	7 21.2%	
Some of the time	10 6.7%	4 4.9%		2 2.3%	----	
Rarely	5 3.4%	3 3.7%		1 1.2%	----	
Never	8 5.4%	5 6.2%		1 1.2%	2 6.1%	
My PO acts like a role model for me. (T1 $\chi^2=2.16$; T2 $\chi^2=8.86^*$)	(n=148)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{x} = 1.56$ sd = 1.13 Time 2 $\bar{x} = 1.67$ sd = 1.20 t= - 1.05	(n=86)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{x} = 1.87$ sd = 1.10 Time 2 $\bar{x} = 1.65$ sd = .98 t=.92
All of the time	105 70.9%	53 65.4%		53 61.6%	19 57.6%	
Most of the time	19 12.8%	14 17.3%		15 17.4%	7 21.2%	
Some of the time	12 8.1%	5 6.2%		9 10.5%	4 12.1%	
Rarely	4 2.7%	1 1.2%		3 3.5%	3 9.1%	
Never	8 5.4%	8 9.9%		6 7.0%	----	

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$; *** = $p < .01$

TABLE 7
PO EFFECTIVE REINFORCEMENT

	EASTERN			WESTERN		
	Time 1	Time 2	Matched	Time 1	Time 2	Matched
When things get difficult, my PO helps motivate me to keep on track. (T1 $\chi^2=1.26$; T2 $\chi^2=6.19$)	(n=149)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.48$ sd = 1.06 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.61$ sd = 1.23 t = - 1.19	(n=86)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.57$ sd = .84 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.57$ sd = .99 t = .00
All of the time	110 73.8%	58 71.6%		60 69.8%	21 63.6%	
Most of the time	19 12.8%	12 14.8%		15 17.4%	6 18.2%	
Some of the time	9 6.0%	2 2.5%		5 5.8%	3 9.1%	
Rarely	4 2.7%	1 1.2%		3 3.5%	2 6.1%	
Never	7 4.7%	8 9.9%		3 3.5%	1 3.0%	
My PO encourages me to continue when I make good decisions. (T1 $\chi^2=1.51$; T2 $\chi^2=2.53$)	(n=148)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.27$ sd = .80 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.32$ sd = .91 t = - .52	(n=86)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.35$ sd = .57 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.26$ sd = .61 t = .49
All of the time	124 83.8%	67 82.7%		70 81.4%	27 81.8%	
Most of the time	15 10.1%	8 9.9%		12 14.0%	3 9.1%	
Some of the time	4 2.7%	1 1.2%		2 2.3%	2 6.1%	
Rarely	1 0.7%	----		1 1.2%	----	
Never	4 2.7%	5 6.2%		1 1.2%	1 3.0%	
When I am doing well, my PO reminds me of the benefits and rewards of continuing good behavior. (T1 $\chi^2=0.79$; T2 $\chi^2=9.39^{**}$)	(n=147)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.38$ sd = .95 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.43$ sd = 1.02 t = - .46	(n=85)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.52$ sd = .99 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.43$ sd = .78 t = .38
All of the time	111 75.5%	62 76.5%		62 72.9%	22 66.7%	
Most of the time	21 14.3%	11 13.6%		14 16.5%	7 21.2%	
Some of the time	6 4.1%	2 2.5%		5 5.9%	2 6.1%	
Rarely	2 1.4%	----		1 1.2%	2 6.1%	
Never	7 4.8%	6 7.4%		3 3.5%	----	

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$; *** = $p < .01$

TABLE 8
PO EFFECTIVE USE OF DISAPPROVAL

	EASTERN			WESTERN		
	Time 1	Time 2	Matched	Time 1	Time 2	Matched
If I did something that may have violated a probation condition, my PO helped me develop a solution so it doesn't happen again. (T1 $\chi^2=28.64^{***}$; T2 $\chi^2=10.18^{**}$)	(n=146)	(n=81)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 3.51$ sd = 1.86 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 3.39$ sd = 1.90 t=.59	(n=85)	(n=33)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 2.22$ sd = 1.38 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 2.48$ sd = 1.67 t= -.67
Strongly Agree/Definitely Yes	42 28.8%	28 34.6%		32 37.6%	11 33.3%	
Agree/Yes	16 11.0%	7 8.6%		27 31.8%	9 27.3%	
Disagree/No	3 2.1%	----		1 1.2%	----	
Strongly Disagree/Definitely Not	----	----		2 2.4%	1 3.0%	
Not Applicable	85 58.2%	46 56.8%		23 27.1%	12 36.4%	
My PO treats me with respect, even if/when I have done something wrong or violated one of my conditions. (T1 $\chi^2=2.53$; T2 $\chi^2=3.11$)	(n=68)	(n=39)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.36$ sd = .56 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.32$ sd = .55 t=.37	(n=64)	(n=24)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.71$ sd = .77 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.53$ sd = .80 t=.82
Strongly Agree/Definitely Yes	50 73.5%	29 74.4%		40 62.5%	15 62.5%	
Agree/Yes	16 23.5%	9 23.1%		19 29.7%	8 33.3%	
Disagree/No	2 2.9%	1 2.6%		5 7.8%	----	
Strongly Disagree/Definitely Not	----	----		----	1 4.2%	

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$; *** = $p < .01$

TABLE 9
PO USE OF EFFECTIVE PUNISHMENT

	EASTERN			WESTERN		
	Time 1	Time 2	Matched	Time 1	Time 2	Matched
My PO's response was fair if/when I have been unable to complete something or violated a condition. (T1 $\chi^2=2.96$; T2 $\chi^2=0.13$)	(n=67)	(n=38)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.27$ sd = .45 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.42$ sd = .70 t=-. 1.07	(n=63)	(n=23)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.71$ sd = .58 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.47$ sd = .80 t=1.28
Strongly Agree/Definitely Yes	44 65.7%	25 65.8%		33 52.4%	15 65.2%	
Agree/Yes	22 32.8%	12 31.6%		27 42.9%	7 30.4%	
Disagree/No	1 1.5%	----		3 4.8%	----	
Strongly Disagree/Definitely Not	----	1 2.6%		----	1 4.3%	

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$; *** = $p < .01$

TABLE 10
USE OF TREATMENT PROVIDERS

	EASTERN		WESTERN	
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2
Do you receive any services from a treatment provider?	(n=146)	(n=81)	(n=85)	(n=33)
No	100 68.5%	61 75.3%	53 62.4%	22 66.7%
Yes	46 31.5%	20 24.7%	32 37.6%	11 33.3%

TABLE 11
ASSESSMENT OF ALCOHOL OR DRUG USE PROVIDER

	EASTERN			WESTERN		
	Time 1	Time 2	Matched	Time 1	Time 2	Matched
How helpful is this provider for you? (T1 $\chi^2=4.87$; T2 $\chi^2=9.39^{**}$)	(n=30)	(n=16)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.77$ sd=1.48 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 1.31$ sd=0.63 t=1.00	(n=23)	(n=6)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 2.33$ sd=0.57 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 3.33$ sd=0.57 t=2.34
Very Helpful	21 45.7%	11 68.8%		10 31.3%	----	
Helpful	6 13.0%	2 12.5%		7 21.9%	1 16.7%	
Somewhat Helpful	2 4.3%	2 12.5%		5 15.6%	4 66.7%	
Not at all Helpful	1 2.2%	1 6.3%		1 3.1%	1 16.7%	
What is your overall impression of your alcohol or drug treatment provider? (T1 $\chi^2=9.61$; T2 $\chi^2=8.89$)	(n=30)	(n=16)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 1.36$ sd=0.67 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 2.55$ sd=1.96 t= -1.92*	(n=23)	(n=6)	Time 1 $\bar{\chi} = 2.00$ sd=1.00 Time 2 $\bar{\chi} = 2.33$ sd=1.15 t= -1.00
Significantly Changed my Life for the Better	19 63.3%	8 50.0%		7 30.4%	2 33.3%	
Changed my Life for the Better	8 26.7%	5 31.0%		12 52.1%	2 33.3%	
Slightly/Somewhat Changed my Life for the Better	2 6.6%	3 13.6%		3 13.0%	1 16.7%	
Did not Change my Life at all	1 3.3%	1 6.3%		1 1.9%	----	
Changed my Life for the Worst	----	----		1 1.9%	1 16.7%	

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$; *** = $p < .01$

TABLE 12
ASSESSMENT OF MENTAL HEALTH TREATMENT PROVIDER

	EASTERN			WESTERN		
	Time 1	Time 2	Matched	Time 1	Time 2	Matched
How helpful is your mental health provider? (T1 $\chi^2=4.31$; T2 $\chi^2=4.36$)	(n=27)	(n=17)	<i>Time 1</i> $\bar{x} = 1.17$ $sd = 0.38$ <i>Time 2</i> $\bar{x} = 1.17$ $sd = 0.57$ $t = .00$	(n=22)	(n=7)	<i>Time 1</i> $\bar{x} = 1.50$ $sd = .70$ <i>Time 2</i> $\bar{x} = 2.00$ $sd = 1.41$ $t = -.33$
Very Helpful	22 81.5%	11 64.7%		14 63.6%	3 42.9%	
Helpful	5 18.5%	3 17.6%		5 22.7%	----	
Somewhat Helpful	----	2 11.8%		3 13.6%	3 42.9%	
Not at all Helpful	----	1 5.9%		----	1 14.3%	
What is your overall impression of your mental health treatment provider? (T1 $\chi^2=6.47$; T2 $\chi^2=12.44^{**}$)	(n=27)	(n=17)	<i>Time 1</i> $\bar{x} = 1.75$ $sd = 1.48$ <i>Time 2</i> $\bar{x} = 1.42$ $sd = 0.66$ $t = .74$	(n=22)	(n=7)	<i>Time 1</i> $\bar{x} = 2.00$ $sd = 1.45$ <i>Time 2</i> $\bar{x} = 4.50$ $sd = 2.12$ $t = - 1.00$
Significantly Changed my Life for the Better	16 59.3%	9 52.9%		9 40.9%	2 28.6%	
Changed my Life for the Better	10 37.0%	7 41.1%		10 45.5%	1 14.3%	
Slightly/Somewhat Changed my Life for the Better	----	----		3 13.6%	3 42.9%	
Did not Change my Life at all	1 3.7%	1 5.9%		----	----	
Changed my Life for the Worst	----	----		----	1 14.3%	

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$; *** = $p < .01$

TABLE 13
ASSESSMENT OF MRT (Moral Reconciliation Therapy) Group

	EASTERN			WESTERN		
	Time 1	Time 2	Matched	Time 1	Time 2	Matched
How helpful is the MRT Group for you? (T1 $\chi^2=1.98$; T2 $\chi^2=$)	(n=6)	(n=5)	<i>Time 1</i> $\bar{x} = 2.0$ $sd = 1.26$ <i>Time 2</i> $\bar{x} = 2.0$ $sd = 1.00$ $t=.00$	(n=11)	(n=0)	While there were indiv. scores, there were no matched pairs $t= N/A$
Very Helpful	4 66.7%	3 60.0%		4 36.4%	----	
Helpful	2 33.3%	----		5 45.5%	----	
Somewhat Helpful	----	1 20.0%		2 18.2%	----	
Not at all Helpful	----	1 20.0%		----	----	
What is your overall impression of the MRT Group? (T1 $\chi^2=2.16$; T2 $\chi^2=could not calculate$)	(n=6)	(n=5)	<i>Time 1</i> $\bar{x} = 1.83$ $sd =0.98$ <i>Time 2</i> $\bar{x} = 1.83$ $sd =0.98$ $t=.00$	(n=11)	(n=0)	There were no matched pairs $t= N/A$
Significantly Changed my Life for the Better	4 66.7%	3 60.0%		5 45.5%	----	
Changed my Life for the Better	2 33.4%	2 40.0%		3 27.3%	----	
Slightly/Somewhat Changed my Life for the Better	----	----		3 27.3%	----	
Did not Change my Life at all	----	----		----	----	
Changed my Life for the Worst	----	----		----	----	

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$; *** = $p < .01$

TABLE 14
OVERALL IMPRESSION OF PROBATION EXPERIENCE

	EASTERN			WESTERN		
	Time 1	Time 2	Matched	Time 1	Time 2	Matched
What is your overall impression of your experience on probation so far? (T1 $\chi^2=9.64$; T2 $\chi^2=16.67^{**}$)	(n=145)	(n=81)	<i>Time 1</i> $\bar{\chi} = 2.71$ $sd = 2.63$ <i>Time 2</i> $\bar{\chi} = 2.44$ $sd = 2.28$ $t = .93$	(n=85)	(n=33)	<i>Time 1</i> $\bar{\chi} = 2.57$ $sd = 1.87$ <i>Time 2</i> $\bar{\chi} = 2.13$ $sd = 1.63$ $t = .96$
Significantly Changed my Life for the Better	72 49.7%	44 54.3%		39 45.9%	18 54.5%	
Changed my Life for the Better	33 22.7%	20 24.7%		26 30.6%	8 24.2%	
Slightly/Somewhat Changed my Life for the Better	15 10.4%	2 2.5%		9 10.6%	4 12.1%	
Did not Change my Life at all	19 13.1%	13 16.0%		8 9.4%	2 6.1%	
Changed my Life for the Worst	1 0.7%	---		2 2.4%	1 3.0%	
Significantly Changed my Life for the Worst	5 3.5%	2 2.5%		1 1.2%	---	

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$; *** = $p < .01$

TABLE 15
TIME 2 CHANGE IN OPINION OF PROBATION

	EASTERN	WESTERN	TOTAL
	Time 2	Time 2	Time 2
What is your overall impression/opinion of your probation experience now compared to the beginning? (T2 $\chi^2=2.02$)	(n=81)	(n=33)	(n=114)
Much Higher	47 58.0%	17 51.5%	64 56.1%
Slightly Higher	8 9.9%	5 15.2%	13 11.4%
Opinion is the Same	23 28.4%	10 30.3%	33 28.9%
Slightly Lower	1 1.2%	1 3.0%	2 1.8%
Much Lower	2 2.5%	---	2 1.8%

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$; *** = $p < .01$

JUVENILE FOCUS

Alvin W. Cohn, D.Crim.

Administration of Justice Services, Inc.

Capital Punishment

At year-end, 33 states and the Federal Bureau of Prisons held 3,942 inmates under sentence of death in 2015, which was 61 fewer than at year-end 2014. This was the fifth consecutive year in which the number of inmates under sentence of death decreased. Six states executed 35 inmates.

Homicide Data

Of the 343 people killed in Baltimore in 2017, there were 88 percent killed with a firearm, including 295 with a hand gun and 6 with a shotgun or rifle.

- 86 percent of the victims and 85 percent of the suspects had criminal records.
- 46 percent of the victims and 44 percent of the suspects had previously been arrested on gun crimes.
- Robbery was indicated as the motive in at least 33 of the killings; other motives included the violent drug trade and gang rivalries.
- The average homicide suspect had 9 previous arrests; 70 percent had drug arrests, and nearly half had been arrested for violent crimes.
- 36 percent of suspects were on probation or parole for a drug crime.
- More than 90 percent of homicide victims were black; more than 90 percent male; and 65 percent between the ages of 18 and 34.

Inmates and Mental Illness

- About 20 percent of inmates in jails and 15 percent of inmates in state prisons have serious mental illness.
- There are more seriously mentally ill individuals in the Los Angeles County Jail, Chicago's Cook County Jail, or New York Rikers Island Jail than in any psychiatric hospital in the U.S.
- In fact, a recent survey found that there are more than 3 times more seriously mentally ill persons in jails and prisons than in hospitals.

- In most jails, it costs more to provide mentally ill inmates with prescription drugs than it costs to feed them.
- Mentally ill inmates frequently are major management problems.
- Mentally ill inmates are more likely to commit suicide.

Sexual Victimization in Correctional Facilities

Recent data reveal that non-consensual sexual acts, abusive sexual contacts, staff sexual misconduct, and staff sexual harassment reported to correctional authorities in adult prisons, jails, and other correctional facilities recently have been on the increase, including:

- Half of all allegations involved nonconsensual sexual acts.
- More than half of all substantiated incidents of staff sexual misconduct and a quarter of all incidents of staff sexual harassment were committed by female staff.
- Victims were physically injured in 18 percent of substantiated incidents of inmate-on-inmate sexual victimization.

Prisoners

BJS's National Prisoner Statistics program, which collects data from state departments of correction and the Federal Bureau of Prisons, is the basis for a report that presents the final counts of prisoners under the jurisdiction of state and federal correctional authorities at year-end 2016, including admissions, releases, noncitizen inmates, and inmates age 17 or younger. The report describes prisoner populations by jurisdiction, most serious offense, and demographic characteristics. Selected findings on prison capacity and prisoners held in private prisons, local jails, the U.S. military, and U.S. territories are also included.

Highlights:

- The number of prisoners under state and federal jurisdiction at year-end 2016 (1,505,400) decreased by 21,200 (down

more than 1 percent) from year-end 2015.

- The federal prison population decreased by 7,300 prisoners from 2015 to 2016 (down almost 4 percent), accounting for 34 percent of the total change in the U.S. prison population.
- State and federal prisons had jurisdiction over 1,458,200 persons sentenced to more than 1 year at year-end 2016.
- The number of females sentenced to more than 1 year in state or federal prison increased by 500 from 2015 to 2016.
- The imprisonment rate in the United States decreased 2 percent, from 459 prisoners per 100,000 U.S. residents of all ages in 2015 to 450 per 100,000 in 2016.
- At year-end 2016, more than 21 percent of federal prisoners were non-U.S. citizens, excluding those detained by Homeland Security.
- On Dec. 31, 2016, states held fewer than 1,000 prisoners age 17 or younger in adult facilities.

Intimate Partner Violence in Young Adulthood

NIJ-supported researchers examined factors during adolescence that put individuals at risk for intimate partner violence as adults. The researchers found that young adults who had unskilled parents or parents who experienced intimate partner violence were at an increased risk of exhibiting antisocial behavior as a teenager. In turn, antisocial teens were at a heightened risk of experiencing intimate partner violence in their adult relationships.

School Zero Tolerance

Since the implementation of zero tolerance policies in schools in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the rates of suspensions, expulsions, and referrals to the juvenile justice system have increased dramatically. Many courts struggle to handle the number of youths referred by schools for truancy or behavioral incidents,

which were situations that were traditionally handled within the education system. Juvenile courts are facing increased numbers of referrals from schools, placing many students at a greater risk of being unnecessarily pulled into the juvenile justice system.

Jails in Indian Country

A new report from BJS describes jail inmates, jails, confinement facilities, detention centers, and other correctional facilities operated by tribal authorities or the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Selected Highlights:

- An estimated 2,540 inmates were held in 80 Indian country jails at midyear 2016, a 1.2 percent increase from the 2,510 inmates held in 76 facilities at midyear 2015.
- Twenty-seven facilities (34 percent) in 2016 were operating above rated capacity on the most crowded day in June.
- Nearly half of all inmates at midyear 2016 were held for a violent offense (30 percent) or public intoxication (19 percent).

Financial Abuse of the Elderly

A recent NIJ-funded study found that computer learning may provide a new avenue for creating tools to identify financial exploitation among elderly adults. Researchers sought to determine if computers can “learn” how to: (1) distinguish between financial exploitation and other forms of elder abuse, and (2) differentiate between “pure” financial exploitation—when the victim of financial exploitation experiences no other forms of elder abuse—and “hybrid” financial exploitation—when financial exploitation is accompanied by physical abuse or neglect. The researchers found that computer models were effective in identifying financial exploitation and its subtypes. This study may provide practitioners with ways to use existing data to identify financial exploitation among elderly adults.

Private Prisons in the United States

Twenty-eight states and the federal government use private prisons to incarcerate 126,272 people, an increase of 45 percent from a population of 87,369 in 2000. This figure represents 8 percent of the total U.S. prison population, according to 2015 data collected by the Bureau of Justice Statistics. States show significant variation in their use of private prisons, ranging from New Mexico and Montana with over 40 percent of their prison population in private facilities to 19 states, including New York and Illinois, with no private prisons. The

federal prison system leads the nation with the largest number of people—34,934—incarcerated in private prisons.

Juvenile Residential Census

OJJDP has released “Juvenile Residential Facility Census, 2014: Selected Findings.” This bulletin presents findings from OJJDP’s Juvenile Residential Facility Census, a biennial survey that collects information about facilities in which youth charged with or adjudicated for law violations are held. Findings from the 2014 census show that the population of justice-involved youth dropped 11 percent from 2012 to 2014, and more of these youth were held in local facilities than in state-operated facilities. The data also describe the range of services that facilities provide to youth in their care, with almost all facilities (87 percent) reporting that a portion of residents attended some type of school. The data also indicate that most responding facilities routinely evaluated all residents for substance abuse (74 percent), mental health needs (58 percent), and suicide risk (90 percent).

Teen Birthrate

The teen birthrate in U.S. small towns is 63 percent higher than in its biggest cities. In 2015, there were 18.9 births for every 1,000 women between the ages of 15 and 19 living in counties with large urban areas. That compares with 30.9 births per 1,000 women in the same age group who lived in rural counties. Although the birth rate varied among cities, all experienced steady declines between 2007 and 2015. The study found that the more urban a county, the lower the teen birthrate across racial and ethnic groups.

Probation and Parole Data 2015

A report of probation and parole data from BJS presents data on adult offenders under community supervision while on probation or parole in 2015. The report describes statistics on the number of offenders entering and exiting probation or parole; offenders by sex, race, or Hispanic origin, most serious offense type, and status of supervision; and outcomes of supervision, including the rate at which offenders completed their term of supervision. Appendix tables include jurisdiction-level information on the population counts and number of entries and exits for probation and parole and jurisdiction-level information on the types of entries and exits for probation and parole.

Highlights:

- At yearend 2015, an estimated 4,650,900 adults were under community supervision, down by 62,300 offenders from year-end 2014.
- Approximately 1 in 53 adults in the United States was under community supervision at year-end 2015.
- The adult probation population declined by 78,700 offenders from yearend 2014 to year-end 2015, falling to about 3,789,800.
- The adult parole population increased by 12,800 offenders from yearend 2014 to year-end 2015, to an estimated 870,500 offenders.

Mortality in State Prisons, 2001–2014

A BJS report describes national- and state-level data on inmate deaths that occurred in state prisons from 2001 to 2014 and presents aggregate counts of inmate deaths in federal prisons. Mortality data include the number of deaths and mortality rates by year, cause of death, selected decedent characteristics, and the state where the death occurred. A preliminary count of prisoner deaths in 2015 is also provided. Data are from BJS’s Deaths in Custody Reporting Program, which was initiated under the Death in Custody Reporting Act of 2000 (P.L. 106-297). Federal data are based on counts from the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

Highlights:

- Between 2001 and 2014, there were 50,785 prisoner deaths in state and federal prisons. The majority (45,640) of prisoner deaths occurred in state prisons.
- The number of suicides in state prisons increased 30 percent between 2013 and 2014 (from 192 to 249 deaths). Liver disease deaths, the third most common cause of death, declined 12 percent between 2013 and 2014 (from 354 to 313 deaths).
- More female state prisoners died in 2014 (154) than in any year since 2008 (163).
- Texas (409), Florida (346), and California (317) had the highest number of deaths in state prisons in 2014.
- The mortality rate of females for illness-related deaths increased to 238 per 100,000 state prisoners in 2014, up from 235 per 100,000 in 2013.

Jail Inmates

This report, the 30th in a series of reports on jail inmates that began in 1982, presents data from BJS’s Annual Survey of Jails (ASJ) on inmates confined in local jails between

2000 and 2016. Findings include data on jail incarceration rates, inmate characteristics, admissions, jail capacity, and turnover rates.

Selected Highlights:

- County and city jails held 740,000 inmates at mid-year 2016, down from a peak of 785,500 inmates at mid-year 2008.
- Eighty percent of jail beds were occupied in 2016, down from 95 percent in 2007.
- There were four inmates for every one correctional officer in 2016.

In 2016, jails reported 10.6 million admissions, continuing a steady decline since 2008, when there were 13.6 million admissions to local jails. On average, those admitted to jail in 2016 stayed 25 days. Admissions include all persons booked into a jail on a formal charge, repeat offenders booked on new charges, and persons sentenced to weekend programs and entering the facility for the first time. On December 31, 2016 (year-end), most (65 percent) people held in jail were not convicted of an offense but were awaiting court action on a current charge. The remaining 35 percent were sentenced offenders or convicted offenders awaiting sentencing. Nearly 7 in 10 inmates were held in jail on felony charges, while 1 in 4 were held for misdemeanor offenses.

Incarceration Rates by Race

A new report by the Vera Institute of Justice finds that while African Americans are still overrepresented in local jails nationally, the black jail incarceration rate has begun to decline while the white rate has only stabilized. In “Divided Justice: Trends in Black and White Jail Incarceration, 1990-2013,” authors Ram Subramanian, Kristine Riley, and Chris Mai use jail incarceration figures from the Bureau of Justice Statistics to calculate incarceration rates among people aged 15 to 64. The report reveals that African Americans remain 3.6 times more likely than whites to be incarcerated in local jails nationally. But while the black jail incarceration rate declined by 20 percent between 2005 and 2013, the white jail incarceration rate rose by 1 percent.

The white jail incarceration rate has grown most significantly in rural areas and small cities. Possible explanations for this trend include the opioid epidemic, rural communities misidentifying Latinos as whites, and these communities’ reluctance to adopt jail reduction strategies. Meanwhile, reforms to policies that have disproportionately impacted black Americans, such as stop-and-frisk policing and drug law enforcement, have reduced the black jail incarceration rate. The report recommends

improving data collection on racial disparities in jails, measuring how system actors exercise their discretion, and studying the root causes of racial disparities in jail.

Zero Tolerance in Schools

The increasing use of zero-tolerance policies in schools, coupled with a trend toward the use of law enforcement to respond to a wide array of misbehavior inside schools, led to a dramatic increase in exclusionary discipline (suspension and expulsion) and school-based arrests. Examples of the use of arrest to respond to low-level school infractions highlight the proliferation of pathways from schools to justice system involvement. A 6-year-old kindergartener was handcuffed and arrested for throwing a temper tantrum in the classroom (Campbell), youth as young as 11 have been arrested for participating in cafeteria food fights (Saulny), and young people have been arrested for infractions as minor as doodling on a desk (Monahan).

As the research indicates, youth with behavioral health needs (which include mental health conditions, substance use disorders, and experience of traumatic stress) are at increased risk of both exclusionary school discipline and school-based arrest. The National Center for Mental Health and Juvenile Justice has focused on supporting states and localities in efforts to reduce that risk since coordinating the MacArthur Foundation’s Models for Change Mental Health/Juvenile Justice Action Network from 2007 to 2011. During that time, the eight participating states identified school-based diversion from justice system involvement as a top priority to keep young people with behavioral health needs away from unnecessary juvenile justice system involvement.

Intimate Partner Violence in Young Adulthood

NIJ-supported researchers examined factors during adolescence that put individuals at risk for intimate partner violence as adults. The researchers found that young adults who had unskilled parents or parents who experienced intimate partner violence were at an increased risk of exhibiting antisocial behavior as a teenager. In turn, antisocial teens were at a heightened risk of experiencing intimate partner violence in their adult relationships.

Victimization

This report presents national data on criminal victimization reported and not reported to police in 2016, including the characteristics of

crimes and victims and outcomes of victimization. The report examines violent crimes (rape or sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault) and property crimes (household burglary, motor vehicle theft, and theft). It also includes data on domestic violence, intimate partner violence, injury to victims, and weapon use. Data are from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), which collects information from a nationally representative sample of U.S. households on nonfatal crimes, reported and not reported to the police, against persons age 12 or older. During 2016, about 134,690 households and 224,520 persons were interviewed for the NCVS.

Highlights:

- In 2016, U.S. residents age 12 or older experienced 5.7 million violent victimizations—a rate of 21.1 victimizations per 1,000 persons age 12 or older.
- The rate of stranger violence (8.2 per 1,000 persons) was higher than the rate of intimate partner violence (2.2 per 1,000).
- In 2016, U.S. households experienced 15.9 million property crimes—a rate of 119.4 per 1,000 households.
- Motor vehicle thefts (80 percent) were the most likely of all crime types to be reported to police.
- In 2016, a total of 1.3 percent of all persons age 12 or older experienced one or more violent victimizations.

Jailing the Poor

According to a report by the Vera Institute for Justice, there are more than 3,000 local jails in America, holding more than 730,000 people on any given day. Nancy Fishman, a project director at the Vera Institute, tells Fresh Air’s Terry Gross that jails “have impacted a huge number of Americans ... many more than are impacted by state prisons.” The Vera Institute’s report documents that there are almost 12 million admissions to local jails each year, representing about 9 million people. Most of those jailed, she says, are being held for low-level offenses, such as drug misdemeanors, traffic offenses, or nonviolent property crimes. And the majority are poor. Fishman notes that most of the people in jail are pretrial. “They are legally innocent,” she says. “One of the great travesties, frankly, of jail admissions right now is that we have people sitting in jail for long periods simply because they can’t afford to pay [bail].”

Americans Unnecessarily Behind Bars

Thirty-nine percent of prisoners are behind bars for no compelling public safety reason, according to a new report from the Brennan Center released earlier this month. Led by nationally renowned criminologist Dr. James Austin, the report is the culmination of three years of research, and includes a blueprint for how the country can significantly cut its prison population while still keeping crime rates near historic lows. Researchers found 25 percent of the country's prisoners—who are nearly all non-violent, lower-level offenders—would be better served by alternatives to incarceration such as treatment, community service, or probation. And another 14 percent who have served sufficiently long sentences could be released with little to no risk to public safety. Releasing these 576,000 inmates would save \$20 billion annually.

Teens in Adult Court

A new policy report from The Sentencing Project looks at the many pathways into adult courts for youth, even those arrested on drug charges. In *How Tough on Crime Became Tough on Kids: Prosecuting Teenage Drug Charges in Adult Courts*, Josh Rovner reviews the existence and use of transfer methods such as judicial waivers, prosecutorial discretion, and automatic transfers. All but four states allow youth to be charged and tried as adults for drug charges. These include the nine states that treat all 16- or 17-year-olds as if they were adults as well as the states that give wide discretion to prosecutors to directly file adult charges specifically for drug crimes.

The ability of states to send teenagers into the adult system on nonviolent offenses, a relic of the war on drugs, threatens the futures of those teenagers who are arrested on drug charges, regardless of whether or not they are convicted (much less incarcerated) on those charges. *How Tough on Crime Became Tough on Kids* highlights successful reforms and offers recommendations for further progress.

Jail Suicides

More people committed suicide in jail in 2014 than in any other year since at least the turn of the century, according to newly published federal statistics. One thousand fifty-three people died in local jails in 2014, according to a report released by the Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics this week. That's an 8 percent jump in the number of jail deaths from 2013 to 2014, and the

largest number of jail deaths counted since 2007. The jail death rate, 140 deaths for every 100,000 inmates, was also the highest it has been since 2007. Even more alarming is the rise in the number of suicides—which, as The Huffington Post reported in July, are largely preventable. There were 372 jail suicides in 2014, an average of more than one per day. That's a 13 percent jump from 2013.

Correctional Population

This BJS report is the 22nd in a series that began in 1985. It presents statistics on persons supervised by U.S. adult correctional systems at year-end 2016, including persons supervised in the community on probation or parole and those incarcerated in state or federal prison or local jail. The report describes the size and change in the total correctional population during 2016.

Selected Highlights:

- In 2016, the number of persons supervised by the U.S. correctional system dropped for the ninth consecutive year.
- From 2007 to 2016, the portion of the adult population under supervision of U.S. and correctional systems decreased 18 percent, from 3,210 to 2,640 per 100,000 adult residents.
- The percentage of adults supervised by the U.S. correctional system was lower in 2016 than at any time since 1993.

Findings are based on data from BJS's Annual Probation Survey and Annual Parole Survey, Annual Survey of Jails, Census of Jails, Deaths in Custody Reporting Program, National Prisoner Statistics program, and Survey of Jails in Indian Country.

Probation and Parole in the United States 2016

This BJS report is the 26th in a series that began in 1981. It presents national data on adult offenders under community supervision on probation or parole in 2016, including trends in the overall community supervision population and annual changes in probation and parole populations. Appendix tables include jurisdiction-level data on population counts; types of entries to and exits from probation and parole; and offenders by sex, race, Hispanic origin, most serious offense type, and status of supervision.

Selected Highlights:

- At year-end 2016, an estimated 4,537,100 adults were under community supervision (probation or parole), down 49,800 offenders (down 1.1 percent) from January 1, 2016.

- In 2016, the total community supervision population was at its lowest level since 1999.
- Approximately 1 in 55 adults in the United States were under community supervision at year-end 2016.

Findings are based on data from BJS's 2016 Annual Probation Survey and Annual Parole Survey, which collects data from U.S. probation and parole agencies that supervise adults in the community.

Girls in the Juvenile Justice System

The latest publication in OJJDP's Data Snapshot series focuses on trends and characteristics of girls at various stages in the juvenile justice system, including arrest, the juvenile court process, and residential placement. The data show that the proportion of juvenile arrests involving girls has grown in the past two decades, with simple assault and larceny-theft offenses accounting for nearly half of all delinquency cases involving females in 2014, and females accounting for more than half of all petitioned runaway cases. The Data Snapshot series is available via OJJDP's Statistical Briefing Book. The series disseminates current research and statistical information about youth and the juvenile justice system. Each one-page snapshot focuses on a specific topic and highlights policy-relevant findings.

CyberTipline for Missing and Exploited Children

OJJDP partners with the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children (NCMEC), accessible at missingkinds.org, to provide resources, technical assistance, and services to victims, families, and the public, and to support law enforcement agencies with cases involving missing and exploited children.

NCMEC's 24-hour CyberTipline (800-THE-LOST, or 800-843-5678) is the nation's centralized reporting system for suspected child sexual exploitation. The CyberTipline allows the public and electronic service providers to report suspected online enticement, child sexual molestation, child pornography, child sex tourism, child sex trafficking, obscene materials sent to a child, and misleading domain names, words, or digital images on the Internet. Since its inception in 1998, the CyberTipline has received more than 27 million reports, most of them reports of child sexual abuse materials online. In 2017 alone, the line received more than 10.2 million reports, a 23 percent increase from the previous year.

NCMEC analysts review each tip and work to identify potential locations for reported incidents so they may be forwarded to the appropriate law enforcement agency for investigation. NCMEC also uses CyberTipline information to engage the internet industry on initiatives to reduce the proliferation of child sexual abuse images, shape its prevention and safety messages, and create tailored safety and victimization prevention publications for educators, parents, and the public.

Correctional Populations

The number of adults supervised by the U.S. correctional system dropped for the ninth consecutive year in 2016. The correctional population includes persons supervised in the community on probation or parole and those incarcerated in prisons or local jails. This report from the Bureau of Justice Statistics is the latest official snapshot of the state of the U.S. correctional population. From 2007 to 2016, the proportion of the adult population under the supervision of U.S. correctional

authorities decreased by 18 percent, from 3,210 to 2,640 adults under correctional supervision per 100,000 residents. Overall, about 1 in 38 adults were under some form of correctional supervision at year-end 2016.

An estimated 6,613,500 persons were under correctional supervision on December 31, 2016, about 62,700 fewer persons than on January 1. The total correctional population declined 0.9 percent during 2016 due to decreases in both the community supervision population (down 1.1 percent) and the incarcerated population (down 0.5 percent).

The incarcerated population decreased from 2,172,800 in 2015 to 2,162,400 in 2016. All of the decrease in the incarcerated population was due to a decline in the prison population (down 21,200), while the jail population remained relatively stable. During 2016, the community supervision population fell from 4,586,900 on January 1 to 4,537,100 at year-end. All of the decrease in the community supervision population in 2016 was due to a decline in the probation population (down

52,500). The parole population increased 0.5 percent in 2016 (up 4,300 persons). More than two-thirds (69 percent) of the correctional population were supervised in the community at year-end 2016, similar to the percentage observed in 2007.

School Discipline Bias

Starting in prekindergarten, black boys and girls were disciplined at school far more than their white peers in 2013-2014, the latest year for which data are available, according to government analysis. The data reveal implicit racial bias as the likely cause of these continuing disparities. The U.S. Government Accountability Office said students with disabilities and all boys experienced disproportionate levels of discipline, but black students were particularly over-represented: while they constituted 15.5 percent of public school students, they accounted for 39 percent of students suspended from school.

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