

Cost Effective Criminal Justice Interventions

A report for Napa County, California

October 19, 2011

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The contents of this report represent the views of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official views or policies of the Napa County Board of Supervisors.

Report Description

The following report was prepared at the request of Napa County, California as a result of changes prompted by AB 109 and AB 117. These legislative reforms (“realignment”) change the jurisdiction responsible for managing inmates and offenders, moving many responsibilities from the state to the county. Napa County is preparing for this shift recognizing that it will put pressure on existing jails and other justice system resources.

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Executive Summary

This research summary report is in response to “realignment” legislative changes in California. This sweeping legislation (AB 109 and 117) transferred some responsibilities for supervising, monitoring, and treating offenders who previously were managed by the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) to local counties. Napa County has undergone a significant inter-agency planning effort to enhance the functioning of its justice system and to address current and future jail-crowding conditions. The planning initiative resulted in the adoption of a commitment to evidence-based practices by all stakeholders. This commitment includes the understanding that major policy decisions should be informed by research evidence.

AB 109/117 will result in the transfer of supervision and management of previously incarcerated individuals held by CDCR. Most of these individuals are believed to possess a higher risk profile (i.e., are more likely to reoffend) than most of those currently being managed by the Napa County justice system. The Napa County Board of Supervisors and the criminal justice system stakeholders are anticipating that AB 109/117 will have a “ripple effect” on the existing resources, which are already stretched to their limits, through both the increased number of offenders under their jurisdiction and the likelihood that many of these offenders will require an additional correctional response as a result of violation behavior. As such, the Board needs to consider what alternative programs could relieve the pressure on these resources in order to create capacity for the newly acquired offenders supervised in Napa County.

This report examines the most commonly used programs for higher risk offenders and the research that supports or challenges their use. That is, some programs achieve their goals and some do not. Different programs are created for vastly different purposes such as to reduce jail usage or to decrease the likelihood of future crime. These programs or interventions would need to be held accountable to different research criteria depending on what they are designed to accomplish. Four categories of intervention are examined, including those that

- hold the offender accountable or monitor behavior while under supervision
- change long-term offender behavior after discharge from supervision
- change long-term offender behavior and hold the offender accountable
- stabilize the offender in the community, usually after a period of incarceration

The summary of the research in this report is constrained by a number of significant limitations. Hundreds of research studies have been completed and could be examined. Many of those studies contradict each other. Many studies are not methodologically sound. Some areas have not been studied sufficiently to draw a conclusion. Perhaps most importantly, while studies of an intervention may indicate that the program reached (or did not reach) its objective, programs vary extensively in terms of their program characteristics, adherence to fidelity, intake criteria, and so forth. For example, many studies have found that boot camps are not effective. However, if a jurisdiction were to apply the research-based principles that reduce recidivism a boot camp could perhaps be effective. Furthermore, some programs may be effective but also costly. Not all effective programs are equally cost effective. The reader should be aware of these and other limitations described in the introduction of the report.

Research on interventions in each of the four categories described above has been scrutinized to determine whether the desired outcomes were achieved. Those interventions that were shown by evidence to be effective were then analyzed to determine how cost effective they were to implement and administer. Clearly, some programs can be administered at a fraction of the cost of other programs and might be worth the investment even if their outcomes are less robust than the outcomes of a more expensive intervention.

A summary of the research can be found in **Figure 1**. One could debate whether one program might be elevated over another in terms of their viability in light of AB 109/117. Which program Napa County chooses to expand or add should be contingent on their offender demographics, existing resources, and political realities. This table should be considered as a place to start the discussion in light of the County's conditions.

The interventions marked with an asterisk (*) have insufficient research to clearly categorize them as effective or cost effective. Their categorization would depend largely on the components built into the program. Their position in the table was based on whether there was sufficient reason to believe that they could be effective and could be provided at a reasonable cost.

	Accountability and Monitoring	Long-Term Behavior Change	Accountability and Long-Term Behavior Change	Stabilization
Most Cost Effective	Electronic monitoring Home confinement Traditional probation Offense specific classes	Cognitive behavioral programming Skill based supervision	ISP with treatment	Work release Housing search services Outpatient mental health services Mental health medication
Modestly Cost Effective	Pretrial supervision* (within continuum of other services) Monitoring DRC Supervised work crews Restorative justice programs* ISP without supervision Comprehensive approach to SO management Restitution centers	Drug/alcohol treatment with aftercare Sex offender treatment Therapeutic communities* Employment/vocational* Education/GED* Mentoring*	Drug courts Therapeutic DRCs* Correctional Centers	Temporary housing Housing (partial offender pay) Supportive housing (partial offender pay) Supportive housing (non-offender pay)
Ineffective or Low-Non Cost Effective	Boot camps Shock incarceration Jails	Domestic violence programs* Items listed in accountability column	Domestic violence courts*	Items listed in accountability column

FIGURE 1: INTERVENTION COST BENEFIT SUMMARY

Introduction

For some time Napa County has recognized that the criminal justice system is a primary driver of local taxpayer costs and has put in place a number of processes to manage the offender population and related costs. Some of these processes include the establishment of an interagency Criminal Justice Committee, completing a master plan for the jail, conducting an analysis to determine how to reduce the burden on the jail's population and delay its costly expansion, expanding the use of cognitive behavioral programming, and opening a non-residential Community Corrections Center. In addition, the Board of Supervisors and the key stakeholders in the justice system have expressed a strong commitment to using evidence-based practices throughout the system. The primary changes over the past four years in this regard have occurred with probation, jail, the courts, Community Corrections Center, and Health and Human Services. However, those changes could not have occurred without the vigorous support of the Board of Supervisors, prosecution, defense, and law enforcement.

AB 109s "realignment" has expanded the local responsibility for the total offender population. Among other features, it shifts the responsibility and funding for supervising a classification of parolees to the county. It requires each county to submit a realignment plan. Napa is expecting to receive approximately 100 additional offenders who will be

"If appropriate intermediate sanctions programs are unavailable in a jurisdiction, judges will have little choice in many cases but to ignore recidivism-reduction strategies and resort to imprisonment or long-term incarceration. Effective use of community-based corrections programs designed to address the criminogenic needs of felony offenders, therefore, typically requires the availability of appropriate intermediate sanctions programs or other offender control mechanisms. The design and nature of such intermediate sanctions programs and control mechanisms must be appropriate to the seriousness of the offenses for which offenders will be committed to the programs and to the risk levels of the committed offenders. In the absence of pressure from judges and local probation or corrections officials, local jurisdictions are not likely to create and maintain appropriate intermediate sanctions programs." (Warren, 2009)

Judge Roger K. Warren, President
Emeritus of the National
Center for State Courts (NCSC)

sentenced to local supervision. This has implications for jail, probation, law enforcement, courts, DA/public defenders, and other system resources. To prepare for realignment, Napa County is developing a plan. Given its desire to inform decisions with research evidence the Assistant County Administrator contacted The Carey Group for technical assistance. The Carey Group was asked to compile a report that summarizes the research on effective programs that might address both the offender population that will be served within Napa County as well as ways the county can modify or expand its non-incarceration intervention capacity.

Limitations. Summarizing the body of research on effective justice sanctions is daunting. Hundreds, if not thousands, of studies have been conducted. Some of those research findings are contradictory. Some interventions are limited to a single site with a profile that does not resemble Napa County. Categorizing the types of interventions was also challenging. Programs with the same name (e.g., day reporting centers) vary extensively based on the target population, program length, desired outcomes (e.g., risk reduction versus monitoring), and available funding.

The reader should be aware that a program of the same type or with the same name as another may have greater or lesser impact depending on whether it contains certain programmatic features. For example, intensive supervision is ineffective as a risk reduction strategy. However, when programming is added to the surveillance, it can be highly effective. To address these variances, the interventions will be described and categorized based on its key program qualities. It might be possible for Napa County to customize many of these interventions by adding or subtracting features. In addition, the scope of this report is limited in that dozens of additional, specialized programs—such as those that address fetal alcoholism, female offenders, and gang

Caution

Many programs are heterogeneous making it difficult to generalize results.

Substance abuse programs vary extensively. Correctional centers and day reporting centers have a range of services from few to many, and those services may or may not be effective. Therefore, it can be an overgeneralization to say that substance abuse programs are effective or that boot camps are not effective. In many ways, adhering to core research principles is more likely to generate effective outcomes than choosing an intervention that fits a certain category of “effective programs”. (See the list of principles later in this report). For purposes of this document, however, the research on these interventions will be discussed by category (e.g., electronic monitoring and employment programs). Readers should view the program-specific research summary as a starting point in determining whether and under what conditions they may wish to implement a program of that type.

affiliated offenders—were not examined. Only those programs that address a large section of the total offender population are addressed here.

Significant report limitations include these factors:

- Many programs are heterogeneous making it difficult to generalize results. Substance abuse programs vary extensively. Correctional centers and day reporting centers have a range of services from few to many, and those services may or may not be effective. Therefore, it can be an overgeneralization to say that substance abuse programs are effective or that boot camps are not effective. In many ways, adhering to core research principles is more likely to generate effective outcomes than choosing an intervention that fits a certain category of “effective programs”. (See the list of principles later in this report). For purposes of this document, however, the research on these interventions will be discussed by category (e.g., electronic monitoring and employment programs). Readers should view the program-specific research summary as a starting point in determining whether and under what conditions they may wish to implement a program of that type.
- Effective programs are not necessarily cost effective, especially when compared to other interventions that might achieve a similar result at much lower cost. This report includes cost ranges to give the reader an idea of which effective programs are more or less cost effective.
- Little known, local programs can be effective but will not show up in the broad base of research literature. While these programs may be highly effective, each would need to be evaluated on its own merits. They are not included in this review
- Many of the most cost effective strategies to manage the offender population are not intervention based. They are policy or practice based, such as increasing the speed by which cases are resolved, altering the way plea negotiations are handled, or creating a jail population specialist to monitor the jail population on a daily basis.¹ These policies and practices should be explored as a strategy to address AB 109. They are not included in this review.
- Programs that are poorly administered will not achieve the intended results. Program integrity relies on proper offender targeting, fidelity to the model, quality assurance, and trained staff. Napa County cannot import an effective program and expect the same or similar results without paying attention to the real world issues that staff and offenders face. For example, in the late 1990s the State of

¹ Many policy examples could be explored. For example, in examining just one issue, drunk driving, a number of policy practices could be guided by research such as the use of sobriety checkpoints, the use of driver license sanctions, etc.

Washington implemented Functional Family Therapy (FFT) in its courts. They evaluated the program after five years and found that when FFT was delivered by competent therapists, recidivism fell by 30%. When the therapists were not competent the program had no impact on recidivism (Barnoski, 2002).

The programs or interventions in this report are divided into the four areas listed below. Each intervention seeks a different outcome and should therefore be held to a research standard that measures what it is seeking to accomplish. No judgment is applied to any of the areas. Each has value depending on what the intervention is seeking to accomplish.

1. **Accountability/Monitoring:** Interventions in this area seek to monitor defendants or offenders, as in the case of intensive supervision; to punish or hold them accountable, as in the case of a fine or electronic monitoring; or to suppress the opportunity to commit crime, as in a jail sentence. Little or no effort is applied toward long-term behavior change.
2. **Behavior Change:** Programs that are designed to change behavior may or may not have a strong accountability component. The interventions in this category are predominantly designed to teach skills to the offender in order to address criminogenic needs. The offender may very well feel the effects of the intervention as consequential and painful but they are not necessarily designed to be either. The program designers structure the intervention with sufficient intensity and length to promote behavior change, which may feel burdensome to the offender.
3. **Behavior Change and Accountability:** Unlike the second category of interventions, some risk reduction interventions build in a strong accountability component. They do so either because success in the program requires it or because the intervention is designed to provide the courts with a robust correctional response in addition to a behavior change. For example, boot camps were designed to deliver a clear message that crime has consequences. The actual boot camp experience, however, seeks to combine high accountability (e.g., early bedtime, exercise, and regimentation) with program elements that promote behavior change (e.g., AA and GED classes).
4. **Stability:** High risk offenders need a stable living situation to succeed. If they do not have stable housing, are not taking their prescribed mood stabilizing medications, or lack structure in their life they are less likely to comply with their supervision requirements and stay out of the legal system. Generally, these stabilization programs do not reduce risk to reoffend by themselves but are considered important factors that will allow offenders to concentrate on what is required to be successful. Furthermore, these programs can help offenders avoid negative influences. If offenders are anxiously preoccupied with where they will sleep on a

given day they may seek housing refuge with past accomplices or friends who negatively influence their will to stay crime free.

The review of the research evidence suggests that interventions in all four areas vary in their effectiveness and cost and that both effectiveness and cost should be taken into account when determining how to apply limited resources. The justice system might be viewed as a type of cone (**Figure 2**) with the majority of individuals entering the justice system having committed low severity crime (i.e., misdemeanors) and posing low to low-medium risk to reoffend. The narrower center of the cone includes individuals who pose medium to high risk. A small number of extreme high-risk offenders fill out the tip of the cone. The justice system does not want to overspend its resources on individuals who pose low to low-medium risk, as they are often self-correcting². Nor does it want to underspend on individuals who pose medium and high risk, as they will likely not benefit from an intervention if it is not of sufficient intensity and duration.

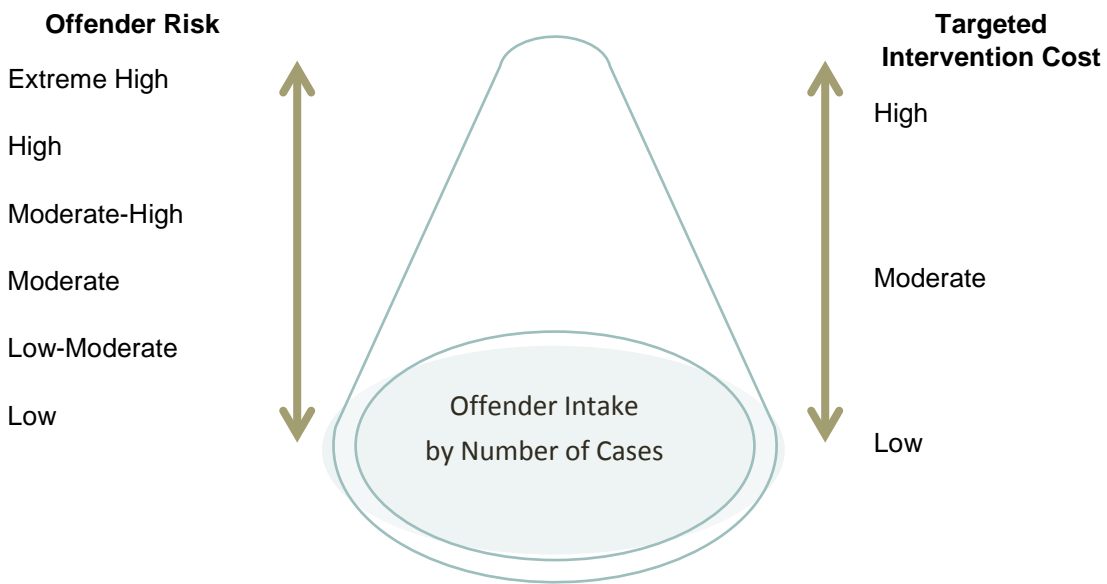


FIGURE 2: CRIMINAL JUSTICE INTAKE CONE

² An exception would be a low risk offender who committed an egregious crime. In such cases, a more intensive criminal justice system response would be warranted despite the costs.

Whether a cost is perceived to be high or low depends on the actual cost for the intervention, on what the intervention is intended to accomplish (e.g., residential programs cost more because they are addressing a multifaceted set of outcomes compared to an AA support group, which addresses a single outcome), and on whether the intervention costs more than the one it is replacing. For purposes of this report, the following guidelines have been used.

Low Cost	\$0–5/day
Moderate Cost	\$6–20/day
Moderate-High Cost	\$21–35/day
High Cost	over \$35/day

Programs That Hold Accountable and/or Monitor

This section of the report considers deterrence and external control techniques that seek to address any of these three purposes:

- **Accountability**—provides that an individual who violates the law and harms an individual or violates community values should face a penalty commensurate with the level of damage caused
- **Monitoring**—provides surveillance over offenders' activities while on supervised community release in order to monitor compliance with court conditions and expectations, and to detect precedents of future criminal activity
- **Suppression**—eliminates or reduces the opportunity to commit crime by imposing external controls that limit freedom of movement and exposure to potential victims

These intervention techniques are narrowly described as methods of controlling an individual or delivering a message that a crime has consequences. By penalizing an individual for a crime, community values are upheld and reinforced. They are not designed so much to change behavior as they are to deliver a fair and proportional justice system response to misbehavior. The justice system would be encouraged if behavior change occurred as a result of these actions but the research suggests that this will be a relatively infrequent occurrence (Cullen et al., 1996).

The difficulty in applying sanction techniques to change behavior is that individuals respond differently and high-risk offenders tend to be immune from the intended effects of punishment.

Deterrence theory assumes that people seek to maximize pleasure and avoid pain and that as the penalties for committing crimes increase people are less likely to engage in illegal activity. It relies on the individual to make a rationale choice by weighing the costs and benefits of their behavior. Unfortunately, when high-risk offenders commit a crime they are often under the influence of a mood altering substance, acting impulsively, have difficulty regulating their emotions, and do not think they will get caught.

If caught and convicted, they do not necessarily view the punishment as wholly unpleasant. Many high-risk offenders view incarceration as a way of life — the cost of their lifestyle, or feel hopeless in achieving a different pathway. For such individuals, sanctions have little value. In fact, the research indicates that for them incarceration does not change behavior and can even slightly increase the likelihood that they will be rearrested (Andrews, 2007). At best it achieves short-term compliance.

Deterrence effectiveness relies on the individual’s perception of such factors as risk of detection, sufficient level of “pain” associated with the sanction, and speed with which the sanction is applied. However, since perception is involved, the effect of penalties is individualized. Many high-risk offenders do not view prison as very punitive. They consider community based incarceration alternatives as a “gamble” and not worth the risk of eventually being violated and incarcerated, are oriented toward the present instead of the future, are impulsive, under-weigh potential negative effects of antisocial behavior, and view prior prison experiences an acceptable part of their lifestyle. These behaviors and attitudes minimize anxiety around incarceration (Williams et al., 2008; Kleiman & Hawken, 2008; Williams et al., 2008).

This does not mean that these interventions are without value. While public opinion polls demonstrate the endorsement of rehabilitation objectives in the justice system, especially among youthful and non-violent offenders, there remains strong support for punishing lawbreakers (Cullen & Moon, 2002). Sanctions reinforce community values. Furthermore, while court imposed penalties may not change an offender’s behavior, or even that of others in the public at risk of committing a similar crime, it does contribute to other meaningful objectives. For example, the State of Washington found that a 10% increase in the incarceration rate led to a 3.3% decrease in crime rates (Aos, et al., 2006). Generally, an estimated 25% of reductions in crime are directly attributed to increased incarceration (Warren, 2007) because those at greatest risk of committing crime are incapacitated.

Research Findings Comparing the Effects of Incarceration and Intermediate Sanctions

In this research study, the type of sanction did not reduce recidivism for any of the correctional populations examined. There were indications that increased incarceration length was associated with slightly greater recidivism. The authors conclude that incarceration and intermediate sanctions should not be used with the expectation of reducing criminal behavior and excessive use of these interventions may have substantial cost implications.

(Smith, et al., 2002)

Criminal justice sanctions can also have some, albeit limited, utilitarian benefit for the general public. In his book, “Why People Obey the Law”, Tyler points to research indicating that people are more likely to obey laws when they view authority as legitimate, are punished for negative behavior and rewarded for prosocial behavior, are concerned with the approval of their prosocial social group, and possess a prosocial judgment of personal morality (Tyler, 2006). These factors reflect the vast majority of the public but not high-risk offenders. It is reasonable to assert, then, that deterrence helps prosocial people stay law abiding. High-risk offenders, however, do not necessarily view authority as legitimate, tend not to have significant prosocial social groups, possess antisocial belief systems, and derive few benefits from criminal justice sanctions.

In 2010, the cost to incarcerate an offender in a federal prison was \$77.49 per day. This compares to the daily cost of probation at \$10.79.³ Intermediate sanctions, those interventions that restrict and control offenders’ freedom more intensely than probation but less than incarceration, can often be used to hold offenders accountable at a cost significantly less than \$77.49 per day. However, these non-incarceration, community-based interventions cannot guarantee that an offender will be crime free. While jail as an intervention strategy does not reduce recidivism over the long term it can nearly ensure that the offender is not preying on the community during the period of incarceration. Policymakers must weigh certain, higher cost incarceration against lower cost, but less sure, intermediate sanctions. For policymakers, two questions are

Do Intermediate Sanctions Put the Public at Greater Risk?

In a report to the Oregon legislature in 2002, the Oregon Department of Corrections concluded, “For reducing recidivism, treatment and rehabilitation are more likely to be successful than surveillance and enforcement. We would expect, therefore, that community-based sanctions, especially those that involve an appropriate treatment component, should be more effective at reducing recidivism than jail sanctions. In the absence of treatment services, alternative sanctions would likely result in no worse recidivism than jail for many offenders. Selection and assignment of appropriate offenders to appropriate sanctions, however, is the key.”

Oregon Department of Corrections, Community Corrections Commission, 2002. The Effectiveness of Community-Based Sanctions in Reducing Recidivism. Report to the Oregon Legislature, September 5, 2002.

³ See United States Courts (June 23, 2011). Costs of Incarceration and Supervision in FY 2010. http://www.uscourts.gov/News/NewsView/11-06-23/Newly_Available_Costs_of_Incarceration_and_Supervision_in_FY_2010.aspx

prompted by this conundrum. First, how effective are intermediate sanctions at controlling offenders while those sanctions are being applied? Second, to what degree can these sanctions reduce the demand for jail beds? This author could not find research-based evidence of an increased risk to the public when intermediate sanctions were used in lieu of jail. The question does, however, pose a corollary question; how much risk is tolerable and at what cost? This is the same kind of question policymakers face when deciding whether to require seatbelts or motorcycle helmets. These cost-benefit questions will ultimately require an analysis of the extent to which the public is at risk and whether reducing that risk is worth the cost, such as diverting funds invested elsewhere or collecting more tax revenue.

The Washington State Institute for Public Policy (WSIPP) conducted a systematic review of 571 rigorous comparison group research studies to help identify the cost and outcome implications of various criminal justice interventions (Aos & Drake, 2006) in an attempt to project the degree to which these interventions could impact future correctional construction needs. Its conclusions indicate that while some intermediate sanctions do not reduce recidivism they are no worse in outcomes than jail over the long term but much less costly. The review takes into account the crimes committed by offenders in the community during and after intervention and concludes that the net cost/benefit ratio is favorable for some of these sanctions. For example, electronic monitoring does not result in lower recidivism rates than jail. However, it is less costly than jail. Therefore, when taking into account the costs to society for crime committed (during and after electronic monitoring) and the costs to operate the program, there is a net benefit to the taxpayer of \$870 for every electronic monitoring case. A more recent study by WSIPP indicated that electronic monitoring costs just over \$1,000 per participant on average but that the net benefit to the public exceeds \$18,000 when one considers the short term impact of external control, the opportunity for the offender to support family members, and other indirect costs (Aos, et al., 2011).

A study that examined data for 442,471 offenders found 504 correlations between recidivism and sanctions (Smith et al., 2002). In addition to confirming that sanctions of any type (incarceration or intermediate sanctions) alone do not change behavior over the long term, some of the other major findings were

- one type of sanction did not reduce recidivism better than another,
- there was no support for the theory often put forth by economists that the right sentence length reduces recidivism, and
- sanctions did not work better for one offender risk level over another.

The authors conclude that excessive use of incarceration has substantial cost implications and that policymakers should examine these cost-benefit questions carefully before selecting sanctions to support.

In another large study of 7,500 offenders, researchers found no indication that more severe sanctions given to first time or repeat offenders made any difference in future behavior and that even mild sanctions achieved similar long term rearrest rates (Clear, et al., 1992). These results mirrored those of a study of offenders in New York City (McDonald, 1989).

In summary, while interventions that hold the offender accountable, provide monitoring, and/or seek to suppress crime can have an impact on crime, they do not tend to diminish the likelihood that the individual who is the subject of those interventions will reoffend once the external controls are lifted (Smith, et al., 2002). The relevant policy questions, then, related to the use of accountability-specific interventions tend to center around how best to use limited tax dollars to reduce crime in the short term through external controls that hold offenders properly accountable for their crimes. This will be discussed in the Costs and Benefits section of this report.

The following describes programs designed primarily to hold accountable, punish, or monitor behavior but not necessarily to change behavior over the long term. This includes programs designed to incapacitate offenders and/or suppress crime. Most of the community-based options in this section are often referred to as *intermediate sanctions*, that is, something between probation and prison. Intermediate sanctions usually include certain features such as increased control, surveillance, intensity, and strict rules.

Monitoring Day Reporting Center Without Programming. Day Reporting Centers (DRCs) are non-residential sites where offenders physically check in, usually on a daily basis at least to start, meet with case managers, submit their itineraries for approval, and report on goal progress. Often, the target population consists of offenders who have violated their supervision terms. DRCs vary in their objectives. Some focus primarily on behavioral change (called Therapeutic DRCs in this report). Others, Monitoring DRCs, emphasize surveillance and accountability. Sometimes, Monitoring DRCs provide the offender with an array of stabilization services such as mental health, housing, recreational, or AA resources. Research on monitoring DRCs is limited. However, they do provide external control at a fraction of the cost of jail.

Supervised Work Crews. Non-violent offenders are often given opportunities to conduct community work supervised by a crew leader. They are held accountable in that their liberty is taken away during the time they are performing work and they are given the opportunity

to contribute, or pay back, the community that was harmed by their actions. Offenders are generally referred to a supervised work crew program by the Court. Supervised work crews are often popular because of the tangible work that is performed for a community (such as cutting park trails or building playgrounds).

Boot Camps and Shock Incarceration. Popularized in the 1980s, boot camps sprouted up as methods to teach offenders discipline and life skills. They can be prison or community based. They seek to replicate military basic training in that they emphasize vigorous physical training, drill and exercise, teamwork, obedience, and manual labor. These and other activities ensure participants have little, if any, free time. Strict rules govern all aspects of conduct and appearance. A great deal of research has been conducted on boot camps. A meta-analysis of 32 studies reviewing 43 boot-camp comparison groups revealed that boot camps do not improve recidivism rates any more than other sanction-oriented interventions (Wilson, et al., 2008). However, boot camps that focused on treatment services had more effective recidivism reduction outcomes than those with a weak treatment focus. It was unclear whether these treatment services would fare better in a boot camp environment than in a different context. The researchers acknowledged that boot camps “may have non-recidivism oriented benefits, such as reduced need for prison beds” and others (MacKenzie & Piquero, 1994). Shock incarceration programs are similar to boot camps in their makeup and research conclusions are consistent with those of boot camps.

Jail. Within the criminal justice system, jail is one of the most common forms of expressing disapproval for illegal behavior. It is also one of the most expensive. A large body of research has shown that jail is not an effective intervention for long term behavior change and may indeed slightly increase offender recidivism. Most of the research also calls into question its value in exacting a punishment from the perspective of the offender. In fact, many offenders would choose jail over a community-based sanction (Williams, et al., 2008). There is no question, however, that it provides external control during the period of time an individual is incarcerated and, as such, provides a valuable service to the public for the short term.

Electronic Monitoring. Electronic monitoring (EM) utilizes an electronic bracelet device to monitor an offender’s or a defendant’s physical location or to determine whether an individual has breached an approved physical boundary. Three kinds of electronic monitoring devices are used. Passive devices emit radio frequency transmissions to a receiver to verify the individual’s presence or absence at his/her approved home site. Active devices place computerized phone calls to the individual’s residence. The third type of device uses Global Positioning Systems (GPS) to track an individual’s movements on real

time via satellites and report them at regular intervals. Some of these units can also monitor alcohol usage by detecting the presence of alcohol through the skin or by screening for alcohol using a breathalyzer device attached to the phone. These systems are used for pretrial, post sentence, and paroled cases. Given the principles for behavioral change noted later in this report, research findings for these electronic monitoring programs are not surprising. Most studies indicate that they do not impact long-term behavioral change (Finn & Muirhead-Steves, 2002; Aos, et al., 2006; Sugg, et al., 2000; Bonta, et al., 2000a, 2000b; Renzema & Mayo-Wilson, 2003). However, electronic monitoring programs are not designed to change behavior but rather restrict movement and increase external control for the time that an individual is being monitored. In addition, EM is a low cost program with the fees often paid by the offender. While concern has been raised over the potential for net-widening by controlling offenders who would not otherwise be subject to more costly sanctions EM can be used effectively as a jail alternative. Researchers are calling for further evaluation of its potential effectiveness as a jail alternative (Gainey, et al., 2000; Vollum & Hale, 2002; Renzema, 2003).

Home Confinement. Another form of external control similar to electronic monitoring is house arrest or home confinement. This practice restricts offenders to their home for portions of the day. Similar to EM they may only leave the home for preapproved activities such as work, school, religious service, medical appointments or grocery shopping. A surveillance officer, rather than electronic surveillance equipment, monitors the offender’s compliance with the restriction.

Pretrial Supervision. Defendants released from jail pending a court hearing can be released under supervision. Pretrial programs vary extensively in the type and intensity of supervision and the services offered. Some provide active supervision and case management by a corrections professional and others

“With the lack of standardization as to what is pretrial supervision and the wide variation of supervision requirements and practices, little is known about the supervision practices that are most effective for pretrial defendants in assuring court appearance and community safety pending trial. There is a dearth of research and evaluation related to effective supervision strategies and differential pretrial supervision when considering the current charges, risk of flight, and danger to the community.”

BJA Report: *State of the Science of Pretrial Release Recommendations and Supervision*
VanNostrand, et al., 2011

provide significantly less oversight and assistance. Few studies have been conducted looking at the impacts of pretrial supervision on outcomes. A recent study did show promising results in this regard but more research is needed (VanNostrand et al., 2011). Pretrial supervision should be viewed as an important component of an entire system's endeavor to address the population of offenders. It does not stand alone. It works most effectively with other components such as a risk instrument and structured policies.

Traditional Probation. The most common form of criminal justice sanction in the United States is probation, with nearly 60% of all adult offenders under supervision being placed on probation (Glaze & Bonczar, 2009). Started in 1841, the supervision rate has steadily risen to 2,201 adults under community supervision for every 100,000 residents. Traditional probation has not proven to be effective in reducing recidivism (Bonta, et al., 2008). However, if frequency of revocation and incarceration is used as a measure of success, it appears to excel at holding offenders accountable. A large percent of prison intakes occurs as a result of probation revocation actions, with California returning over 67% of parolees to prison (Pew, 2008). Traditional probation is, however, clearly a low cost intervention, with the daily cost of supervision averaging \$3.42 compared to prison at \$78.95 per day (Pew, 2009).

Intensive Supervision Programs. Surveillance is the predominant characteristic of Intensive Supervision Programs (ISPs). Through small caseloads and frequent face-to-face contact, ISP officers seek to reduce risk to reoffend by exerting external control over the offender. Additional supervision techniques include drug testing, home detention/curfew/electronic monitoring, and random searches. Supervision contact can range from once a week to many times a week. Some ISPs require employment, schooling, and/or community work service. Clearly, research has repeatedly demonstrated that ISPs without treatment do not reduce recidivism over the long term (Petersilia & Turner, 1990; Petersilia & Turner, 1993; Aos, et al., 2006; MacKenzie D. (2006). Revocation and return rates are high— even higher than traditional supervision—and evidence does not support the notion that incarcerating offenders under technical violations will prevent future crime (Petersilia and Turner, 1993). While the cost of intensive supervision is modest compared to residential sanctions, it can result in unanticipated costs (e.g., more frequent detection of violations and use of jail as a sanction, increased use of urinalysis, etc.). A randomized research study of drug-involved offenders in five jurisdictions showed that ISPs did, in fact, result in greater surveillance such as face-to-face contacts and drug testing. However, the results showed no reductions in recidivism and higher rates of technical violations (Turner, et al., 1992).

Comprehensive Approach to Sex Offender Management. This approach is an integrated framework for managing and reducing the risk of recidivism strategically and collaboratively⁴.⁵ The Comprehensive Approach is built on a set of basic criteria to guide decisions at both the policy and practice levels. These criteria recommend that sex offender management strategies should be victim-centered, evidence-based, carried out by those with specialized knowledge, engaging of the public, and collaborative. The following summarizes contemporary strategies for managing adult and juvenile sex offenders in the community.

Specialized technologies are increasingly common for supervising sex offenders, with many states using

- electronic monitoring and GPS;
- computer content-restriction and monitoring software; and
- post-conviction polygraph examinations (CSG, 2010) .

Although these technologies can offer additional accountability measures, risk management techniques, and information sources to augment sex offender management efforts, there are several caveats (DeMichele, et al., 2008; Payne, et al., 2008):

- Empirical evidence is lacking regarding the reliability of such tools, their effectiveness in reducing recidivism among sex offenders, and impact on public safety overall.
- Equipment and operating costs are high, chiefly for GPS monitoring, and these costs increase exponentially when required for all sex offenders—regardless of risk—and for extended supervision periods.
- Workload and manpower demands increase in order to fulfill new agency mandates and to respond effectively to the information collected using these tools.

⁴The Comprehensive Approach to Sex Offender Management model (CASOM) was developed by the Center for Sex Offender Management (www.csom.org) under funding from the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs (OJP), and is the sex offender management model supported by OJP and its agencies. (See particularly <http://www.ojp.gov/smart/sexoffendermgmt.htm>).

⁵ The information that follows is drawn from materials prepared by CSOM, with permission.

Risk-management activities are important—but not sufficient—for supporting public safety efforts, as they tend to result in short-term compliance, but not long-term change. Research shows that a balanced supervision approach is more effective (Aos et al., 2006; Dowden & Andrews, 2004; Gendreau, et al, 2001; Smith, et al, 2002).

Offense-Specific Classes. Many criminal justice agencies utilize programs that provide classroom instruction directly related to the initial offense. Examples of these programs include shoplifting, drunk driving, and drug education. Unfortunately, these programs have been shown to be ineffective at reducing future arrests. They fail to adhere to the aforementioned fundamental principles such as matching risk level, using skill practice techniques, grouping learners based on responsivity traits, and meeting proper dosage requirements. However, they are low cost alternatives to other, more costly sanctions such as jail that, if used in certain circumstances, could increase risk to reoffend. Offense-specific classes are included in this category of intermediate sanction as they provide the courts and prosecution with a way to hold the offender accountable without incurring great expense.

Restorative Justice Accountability-Based Programs. Restorative justice interventions provide the courts with ways in which the offender can be held accountable for harm caused to victims. Under a balanced approach to restorative justice, three objectives are centrally held: public safety, accountability, and competency development. A number of restorative justice programs provide strong accountability measures, often in conjunction with the other two objectives. Some of these include victim offender dialogue, circle sentencing, and neighborhood accountability boards (or community conferencing). Meta-analysis research indicates that restorative justice programs tend to be effective at improving victim and offender satisfaction and restitution compliance. There is some indication that it may also have a positive influence on recidivism. However, research methodology needs to be improved (i.e., to eliminate self-selection bias) before practitioners can have full confidence in the efficacy of these programs (Latimer, et al., 2005).

Restitution Centers. Restitution Centers are known by a number of other names such as Corrections Centers, Community Corrections Centers, or Community Residential Centers. They are usually residential and provide high intensity supervision. What distinguishes them from other correctional residential programs such as halfway houses and community based correctional facilities is that the offenders turn over their employment earnings to pay their court ordered restitution. They may be required to pay some of the residential costs in the form of a per diem or monthly room and board. The length of stay can vary widely but is usually 3–12 months. Many of the Centers offer support services such as education,

employment, substance abuse, and mental health programming. The Centers are included in the category Accountability and Monitoring as their main objective is to ensure that restitution is paid and the offender is stabilized before returning to community living. The daily cost of these Centers varies but is usually less than half the cost of a jail bed. Research on these programs is fairly limited and dated (see the study by Baird and Decomo, 1994 showing positive results in four such Centers in Oregon). Like many other programs, their success is likely linked to the degree to which they integrate the principles of effective strategies.

Accountability programs are summarized in **Figure 3**, organized by cost. Other potential impacts such as the impact on the jail population or the “intensity of punishment” felt by the offender are not included since they could not be quantified by research. Furthermore, what is perceived to be a sanction varies extensively based on offender traits and prior experiences. Items with an asterisk (*) are offset by participant fees.

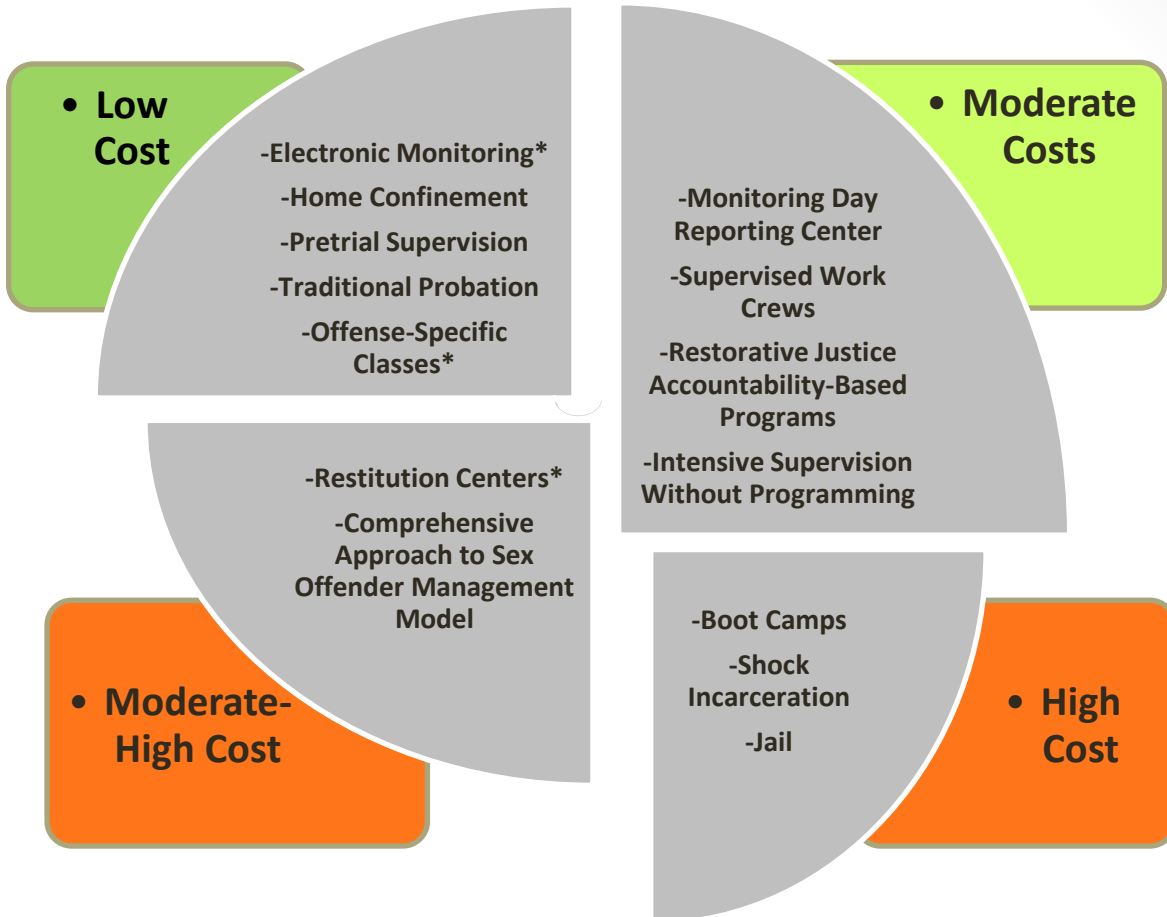


FIGURE 3: COST OF ACCOUNTABILITY/MONITORING PROGRAMS WITHOUT REGARD TO POTENTIAL IMPACT ON JAIL POPULATION OR SANCTIONING LEVEL

Programs That Reduce Long-Term Recidivism

Hundreds of programs are available to help offenders make crime free choices. Increasingly, repositories are being established that provide easy and quick access for practitioners to find information about programs that work (see Appendix: Additional Resources for Consideration). The following written or web-based resources are just a few examples. Some of the programs described are promising; others have been shown to be ineffective:

- over two hundred interventions on the SAMHSA website⁶
- dozens of cognitive behavioral programs serving different offender populations⁷
- over a hundred interventions on the BJA Crime Solutions website⁸

However, finding a program that is effective at reducing risk to reoffend is only part of the solution. In order for the program to achieve its intended results it must, at a minimum, meet certain principles based on research evidence.

Key Principles

A number of key program principles that, when followed, lead to reductions in rearrest rate. Many of the principles apply to all four of the intervention strategies but most clearly apply to those designed to change offender behavior over the long term. These principles should be carefully considered when selecting or designing a program to implement. The principles supported by extensive research include:

Risk. To maximize risk-reduction outcomes, programs designed to reduce recidivism should focus on the medium- to high-risk offender and not the low- or extreme high-risk offender (Lowenkamp, et al., 2006). As defined here, an extreme high-risk offender is one who is deeply enmeshed in a criminal lifestyle, has a strong antisocial network (family and peers) that reinforces deeply held disdain for conventional values, and usually has a psychopathic personality disorder. Extreme high-risk offenders do not

⁶See <http://www.nrepp.samhsa.gov/ViewAll.aspx>

⁷ See Marilyn Van Dieten (for the National Institute of Corrections), *Cognitive-Behavioral Programs, a Resource Guide to Existing Services* (TA#97-S9003).

⁸ See <http://www.crimesolutions.gov/>

Matching Programming and Risk

For a program to be effective at reducing risk of re-offense it must not only target the offenders with appropriate risk levels (i.e., medium or high risk) but also respond to a cluster of criminogenic needs. Offenders attain a high-risk status when they accumulate a number of criminogenic needs, especially those in the “Big Four.” As such, programs that serve high-risk offenders should provide multi-modal services to maximize their impact on recidivism. When programs address just one criminogenic need, other interventions should be added to augment the effectiveness of the treatment. Programs that target just one criminogenic need (e.g., substance abuse or employment) tend to be less effective than those that address multiple needs.

respond favorably to treatment programs and, if given such opportunities, will often consume a great deal of resources for little to no gain.

Risk to reoffend can be viewed in terms of probability based on the presence or absence of key risk factors. As the presence of these factors increase in number and acuity, the risk to reoffend increases. **Figure 4** illustrates how the rate of rearrest increases as the risk score on the Levels of Services Inventory Revised (LSI-R) assessment increases (Andrews & Bonta, 2003).⁹

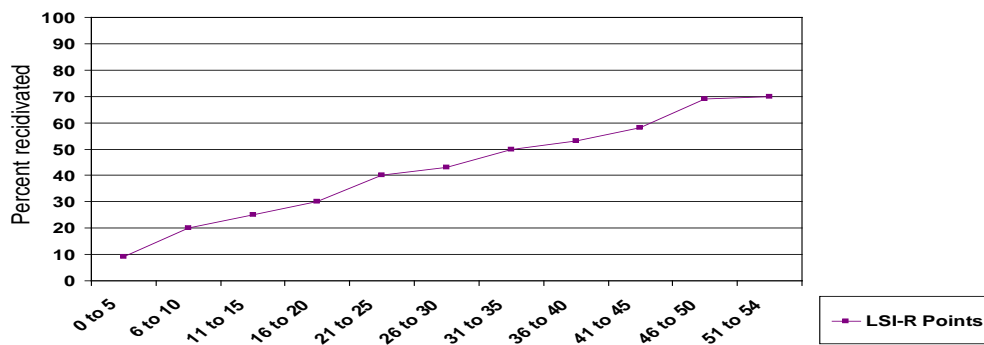


FIGURE 4: RECIDIVISM RATES WITHIN ONE YEAR

⁹ Follow up period was one year.

Need. Programs should identify the primary and secondary criminogenic needs they intend to address and structure the program around those objectives (Andrews & Bonta, 2003). **Figure 5** shows a proportionate reduction in rearrest rates based on the number of criminogenic needs addressed during the course of supervision and programming (Andrews, et al., 1999; Dowden, 1998).

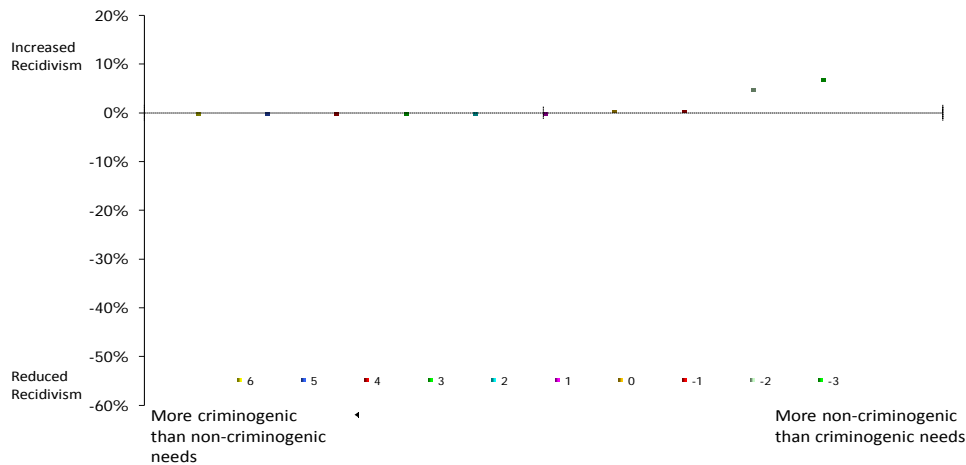


FIGURE 5: REDUCING RECIDIVISM BASED ON TYPE AND NUMBER OF TARGETS

Responsivity. Effective programs consider responsivity factors when developing intake criteria and implementing services. The term responsivity describes matching the styles and modes of treatment service to the preferred learning styles and abilities of the offender (Andrews et al., 1986). Responsivity can best be understood in two ways, internal and external. Internal factors are those present in the offender that interfere with learning, such as anxiety, depression, motivation, self-esteem, or cognitive limitations. External factors are related to those of the individual working with the offender and the type of setting, such as group or individual, community or residential. It is important that there be a professional alliance between the service provider and offender if behavioral change is to occur. Interventions are most effective when there is a good fit between the offender, the provider, and the program.

Rewards. Programs should use ample rewards and incentives to help support and affirm offender compliance and motivation. It is the combination of rewards and sanctions that leads to the most positive results, but only when the rewards outweigh the sanctions (Woodahl, et al., 2011).

Sanctions. Interventions will be more effective when antisocial behavior is detected with certainty (Grasmack & Bryjak, 1980; Nichols & Ross, 1990; Paternoster, 1989) and sanctions are administered quickly (Rhine, 1993).

Skills. Effectiveness is improved when programs teach the key skills that address criminogenic needs, have the offender practice the skill, and give the offender homework to apply the skill in real life (Bonta, et al., 2008).

Curriculum. Effective programs follow a manualized curriculum and adhere to the program instruction structure and sequence.

Fidelity. Programs are more likely to be successful when they are delivered in the manner intended. To achieve an evidence-based status, a program must have been tested and results confirmed in a variety of settings and research standards. Agencies cannot shorten the length of the program, skip training modules, or otherwise alter the program and expect the same results. A fidelity and continuous quality improvement process should be established.

Training. Staff delivering programs must have proper experience, training, and qualifications in order to deliver the service competently.

Community. Reductions in recidivism are enhanced when treatment is provided in community settings rather than in correctional institutions after controlling for offender risk (Andrews et al., 1990; Lipsey & Wilson, 1998; Gendreau, et al., 2002). Practitioners have speculated that the reason for this finding is that offenders will more likely learn and have confidence in their new prosocial skills when they practice those skills in a real world setting. This is different than a classroom setting where the instructors are providing encouragement and feedback but where the environment does not mirror the offender's likely living environment in the community. Policymakers will want to keep this in mind when considering whether a program is best delivered in a jail or in the community. While risk reduction programs in correctional settings can have a positive risk reduction effect, they generally achieve about half the reduction in recidivism that community based programs do (Gendreau, et al., 2002).

Programs that adhere to these principles can achieve a 25–30% reduction in recidivism on average (McGuire, 2001). Many attest to up to a 40–60% reduction. Consistently, throughout the literature, the most effective programs for many of the medium and high-risk offenders are cognitive behavioral programs. They are effective, in part, because they tend to address three of the top four most influential criminogenic needs—antisocial thinking, antisocial peers, and temperament or personality. In addition, cognitive behavioral facilitators use a structured, manualized curriculum that provides clear direction as to what is to be learned in each module. These module lessons help the offender learn a skill, practice that skill, get feedback, and use the skill in the community. Cognitive behavioral programs provide the offender not only with the motivation but the skill, confidence, and support to help them learn new behavior.¹⁰

The following programs are reviewed in this section as they are all largely designed to achieve a reduction in recidivism.

Cognitive Behavioral Programming. Cognitive behavioral programs are delivered in group sessions and are designed to change criminal thinking and behavior (Yochelson & Samenow, 1995a, 1995b). These interventions hold offenders accountable for their presenting offense behavior and are structured and directive. Their effectiveness in changing criminal behavior has been demonstrated in numerous scientific studies. Examples of cognitive behavior interventions include Reasoning and Rehabilitation (R&R), designed to teach offenders problem solving skills, social skills, management of emotions, creative thinking, values, and critical reasoning skills; Thinking for a Change (T4C), focused on changing destructive attitudes and behaviors that reinforce criminal behavior; and Aggression Replacement Training (ART), targeting aggression by helping participants identify the internal and external causes of their aggression.

Therapeutic Community. Usually delivered in a correctional residential setting, therapeutic Communities (TCs) are intensive programs that immerse offenders in their treatment programming. Participants are usually isolated from the influences of the correctional setting that counteract the prosocial messages of the program. The target population of most TCs is drug addicted offenders. Treatment includes learning and adopting prosocial behaviors (Deitsch, et al., 2002). Research on TCs has shown that they can have a positive impact on recidivism especially if coupled with aftercare upon release. Some of the

¹⁰ Many of the programs described in the first section (programs that hold the offender accountable and suppress crime) can be coupled with the programs in this section in order to improve results. Thus, even a boot camp can be effective if it includes some of the programming described in the Changing Long-Term Offender Behavior section.

outcomes show reductions in reincarceration (Wexler, et al., 1999; Prendergast, et al., 2004), decreased tendency to use drugs in the community upon release and ability to stay drug free for longer than the control group (Inciardi, et al., 2004). In addition, cognitive behavioral approaches within substance abuse treatment programs achieve even better results (Prendergast, 2009).

Drug/Alcohol Treatment. Perhaps the most widely available treatment for offenders is that targeted at drug and alcohol abuse. That is not to say that the majority of offenders abusing or addicted to drugs or alcohol are receiving treatment. In fact, the Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse estimates that only 13% of residents in correctional settings in need of treatment received such programming (Mears, et al., 2003). Treatment services range widely, from long-term in-patient settings to brief educational interventions. Modalities also differ from an AA model to a cognitive behavioral approach and dozens of others. To maximize effectiveness, treatment services should match the program to the needs of the offender (i.e., responsivity). Programs that attend to research-based principles achieve stronger positive outcomes, especially when compared to sanction-oriented approaches (King, et al., 2005). Studies on substance abuse programs for correctional participants have indicated modest effect sizes in outcomes related to reductions in drug use and rearrest (Belenko, et al., 2005). The National Institute on Drug Abuse has identified thirteen principles for effective substance abuse programs when working with a corrections population (NIDA, 2006). They are listed in **Figure 6**.

1. Drug addiction is a brain disease that affects behavior.
2. Recovery from drug addiction requires effective treatment, followed by management of the problem over time.
3. Treatment must last long enough to produce stable behavioral changes.
4. Assessment is the first step in treatment.
5. Tailoring services to fit the needs of the individual is an important part of effective drug abuse treatment for criminal justice populations.
6. Drug use during treatment should be carefully monitored.
7. Treatment should target factors that are associated with criminal behavior.
8. Criminal justice supervision should incorporate treatment planning for drug-abusing offenders, and treatment providers should be aware of correctional supervision requirements.
9. Continuity of care is essential for drug abusers reentering the community.
10. A balance of rewards and sanctions encourages prosocial behavior and treatment participation.
11. Offenders with co-occurring drug abuse and mental health problems often require an integrated treatment approach.
12. Medications are an important part of treatment for many drug-abusing offenders.
13. Treatment planning for drug-abusing offenders who are living in or reentering the community should include strategies to prevent and treat serious, chronic medical conditions, such as HIV/AIDS, hepatitis B and C, and tuberculosis.

FIGURE 6: NIDA PRINCIPLES OF DRUG TREATMENT FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE POPULATIONS

Mentorships. A mentoring relationship between an offender and mentor should be structured and intentional. Effective programs require that this relationship be established over a long period of time (usually two or three years), that it be provided by a volunteer (versus paid) individual, and that expectations be clearly defined. These expectations should

include regular sessions (once every two weeks at a minimum) with a six-month minimum commitment. Mentors should be trained to deal with the kind of issues that might arise over the course of an offender's period of supervision. While these programs were first used for children of incarcerated parents and at-risk youth, they were expanded to adults because of favorable results (Herrera, et .al, 2007; Grossman & Garry, 1997). These programs can be successful in reducing recidivism (Leenhouts, 2003) and addressing stabilization factors upon transition from incarceration to community (Coffey Consulting, 2009). They can be tailored to a specific outcome (such as employment or transition) or be used as a form of guidance toward prosocial behavior. However, the research on adult mentoring has methodological challenges and should be considered a promising practice rather than evidence based at this time.

“The information currently available on education services offered in correctional facilities indicates that it can be an effective method for preparing individuals for their eventual release into and from community supervision. Yet, little is known about the effects of those same services offered in the community to those on parole or probation.”

Quote from US Dept. of Education, 2010 report Community-based Correctional Education

Employment and Vocational Programs. Clearly, employment is a criminogenic need and programming related to employment should help with a number of justice-related goals. These include payment of fines, restitution and other obligations, structuring the crime-prone hours of the day with prosocial activity, increasing contact with prosocial others, and addressing one of the eight dynamic risk factors. However, the research on these programs is varied with some showing risk reduction results and others having no impact. A large meta-analysis (Visher, et al., 2006) indicated that there are few to no positive effects on recidivism. The Washington State Institute for Public Policy (Aos, et al., 2006) found similar results, with only a 4.3% average reduction in recidivism. These results may be due to the

program characteristics. That is, high-risk offenders who have antisocial values, drug addiction, and emotional regulation difficulties may be predisposed to fail in an employment setting. Therefore, employment programs should consider the totality of criminogenic needs when working with higher risk offenders.

Education and GED. The research on vocational and literacy training in correctional settings tends to point to modest reductions in recidivism and positive cost benefit (Gaes, 2008; Aos, et al., 2006; Bazos & Hausman, 2004). Community based education, however, is less promising. Similar to employment, education is a criminogenic need and the potential

benefits and challenges are similar to those of employment. Also like employment, the research on the effectiveness of community-based education in reducing recidivism is mixed with some programs showing good effect sizes and some little to no effect. As a general rule, more research is needed on the effectiveness of community-based correctional educational programs in reducing recidivism. It does seem reasonable that it could have a modest effect on recidivism based on meta-analysis studies showing that education is a modest criminogenic need (Andrews, et al., 2007).

Traditional Supervision. Traditional supervision is included here as well as in the Accountability and Monitoring section of this report because many jurisdictions are under the impression that it is an effective strategy to achieve either objective. Community-based supervision is not the same everywhere. The functions differ from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, as do the level of agency support (e.g., training and policy), caseload/workload size, and mission clarity. Traditional supervision—community-based officers who focus primarily on monitoring court conditions and emphasizing offender compliance—has not had a positive effect on recidivism (Solomon, et al., 2005; Bonta, et al., 2008).

Skill-Based Supervision. Another form of supervision involves using the one-on-one supervision contact as a means to motivate offenders to address their criminogenic needs. Most importantly, it includes identifying skill deficits that influence offenders' decision making, and teaching skills using demonstration, practice, feedback, and homework techniques. When officers use these processes they can lower recidivism rates by significant margins (Bonta, et al., 2008; Jalbert, et al., 2010).

Sex Offender Treatment. Programming for sex offenders varies tremendously due to variance in sex offender profiles and influences, and treatment targets, modalities, and intensity or duration. As a behavioral change technique, it is a relatively new field. Sex-offender-specific treatment is designed to help individuals develop the skills they need to prevent reoffending and lead successful, non-abusing lives. Early studies on sex offender treatment were not encouraging, showing little evidence that treatment reduces recidivism (Furby et al., 1989; U.S. General Accounting Office, 1996). However, treatments for sex offenders have improved and are considered effective risk-reduction strategies (Hanson, et al., 2002; Losel & Schmucker, 2005; Reitzel & Carbonell, 2006). Recent studies have shown moderate effect sizes of 8% reduction in sexual recidivism after treatment (Gallagher, et al., 1999, Hanson, et al., 2002). A number of studies show recidivism rates are 25–40% lower for sex offenders who receive specialized treatment than for those who do not. This holds true for new arrests and for convictions for sex crimes, other violent crimes, and non-violent, non-sexual crimes (Aos, et al., 2006; Hanson, et al., 2002). Effective programs tend

to provide a range of community-based and family-oriented treatment options that use cognitive-behavioral processes, develop skills and competencies, utilize relapse prevention techniques, and identify sexual offending pathways¹¹.

Sex offender treatment, however, is costly and cost/benefit considerations should be taken into account. It is worth noting that many studies show that costs to the justice system, victims, and taxpayers overall are reduced substantially by the crime-reducing benefits of sex offender treatment programs (Donato & Shanahan, 2001; Donato, et al., 1999; Shanahan & Donato, 2001).

Domestic Violence. Domestic violence programs, also known as court-mandated batterer intervention programs (BIPs) have been implemented extensively across the United States. These programs are typically lengthy (e.g., 52 weeks) and use a group setting to address the batterer's use of violence to meet perceived needs. Many studies have been completed, most of them using quasi-experimental design. These studies were inconsistent in their findings (Feder, et al., 2008; Aos, et al., 2006). While some studies show positive results, the studies that use the best methodological design showed no results or moderate results (i.e., 5% reduction in repeat violence).

A summary of programs designed to reduce recidivism is illustrated in **Figure 7**. It summarizes the level of effectiveness and cost of each type of program. Some programs can achieve a high level of risk reduction (decreases in the 20–30% range), some moderate (8–15%), and others low (2–7%). The level of effectiveness represents the average potential results, dependent on implementation fidelity. Some programs without sufficient research to indicate that they will likely achieve risk reduction have been classified as promising either because while not enough studies were completed to qualify as evidence, those that were completed showed positive results, or because few studies have been completed but they meet the research principles of effective practice.

¹¹ For more information on treatment modalities see the resources located at the Center for Sex Offender Management website www.csom.org

Level of Effectiveness	Risk Reduction Program	Cost
High	Cognitive Behavioral Interventions	Moderate
High	Skill Based Supervision	Moderate
Moderate	Drug/Alcohol Treatment with Aftercare	Moderate to High
Moderate	Sex Offender Treatment	Moderate to High
Moderate	Therapeutic Community	Moderate to High*
Low to None	Domestic Violence Programs	Low
Low to None	Employment and Vocational	Low
Promising	Education and GED	Low
Promising	Mentorships	Low
Not Effective	Ineffective Interventions or Conflicting Evidence: All of the items listed in Accountability and Monitoring are ineffective for the purpose of changing long-term behavior. Traditional probation, an intervention used for Accountability and Monitoring, and also for Risk Reduction, is not effective. Life skills training was not effective (Aos, et al., 2006)	

FIGURE 7: SUMMARY OF PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO REDUCE RISK TO REOFFEND, ORGANIZED BY EFFECTIVENESS AND COST

*Cost is moderate if residential costs are not included in the computation; high if included.

Programs That Both Hold Accountable and Reduce Long-Term Recidivism

Public opinion surveys have repeatedly demonstrated that while the public wants the criminal justice system to protect them and others from becoming future victims, in part by providing treatment and other programs (Doble, 2002; Hart, 2002; Beldon Russonello & Stewart Research Communications, 2001), they also expect that law violators be held accountable for the harm they caused. This suggests that programs that can both hold the offender accountable and reduce recidivism may enjoy strong public support. Fortunately, a number of these exist, many of them residential or intensive outpatient. These programs emphasize risk reduction but also pay close attention to accountability factors (usually because they are dealing with a higher risk offender), and provide intensive services. Public support is contingent on them providing some means of external control. Their target population is often prison-bound offenders who are offered one last chance to correct their ways, or who have been recently released from jail or prison.

Correctional Centers. These residential facilities typically house offenders as an alternative to jail or on a “halfway out” arrangement in which inmates are released from jail with the requirement that they serve the remainder of their incarceration time in the Correctional Center. Many of the Centers provide employment, including facility support assignments such as maintenance jobs and food service positions; training; and educational services, such as academic and vocational trade programming. Programming can also include positive leisure time activities and self-help programs such as literacy, addiction reduction services, veterans' affairs, religious services, and athletic programs. While some research is inconclusive as to the effectiveness of Correctional Centers at reducing recidivism (Latessa & Travis, 1991; Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2004; and Lowenkamp, et al., 2006) this may be a result of the wide variance in effective programming within these facilities. As noted earlier, these residential facilities can address multiple risk factors through multi-modality programming and have excellent effect sizes (Drake, 2007). For example, a large community-based correctional facility and halfway house study in Ohio demonstrated that when the programs served higher risk offenders, the risk to reoffend was reduced (Lowenkamp and Latessa, 2002). Some programs had larger effect sizes—likely the result of these programs providing multi-modality programming and implementing fidelity measures.

Therapeutic Day Reporting Centers (DRCs). Unlike Monitoring DRCs, the mission of Therapeutic DRCs is to change offender behavior. They serve high-risk and high-need offenders, often with drug and alcohol problems, who have committed a new offense or technical violation. These centers provide behavioral change interventions and intensive community supervision. They often provide services that enhance offender thinking and coping skills, decrease substance abuse relapses, and increase the ability to find work and stay employed. Some encourage participation in structured activities in the community. In addition, monitoring components—such as drug testing, curfew or electronic monitoring, and daily (or more frequent) reporting to the DRC— enhance accountability and provide external control.

Like Monitoring DRCs, very little gold- or silver-standard research is available on the effectiveness of Therapeutic DRCs in changing offender behavior. However, a few studies indicate that a properly administered Center can result in decreases in long-term rearrest rates (Justice Education Center, 1996). It is anticipated that Therapeutic DRCs effectiveness is directly tied to the degree to which the DRC adheres to the core evidence-based practices principles. This is consistent with the findings for the Ohio Halfway House and Community Based Correctional Facilities where some residential corrections programs reduced recidivism and some actually increased recidivism. Those that reduced recidivism scored higher on the Correctional Program Assessment Inventory, a tool to determine the degree to which the program adhered to core research findings (Lowenkamp, et al., 2006).

Drug courts. While drug courts can vary in their intake criteria and program components, they tend to share a common set of features. These include the target population (nonviolent, drug addicted or abusing), programming (substance abuse treatment), monitoring (frequent and random drug testing and attendance at court status hearings), clearly defined use of rewards and sanctions (quick and certain sanctions for non-compliance and frequent use of affirmations and incentives for compliance), and process (collaborative approach by justice system and treatment personnel). A number of drug court studies and meta-analyses have found that drug court participants are rearrested less frequently than non-participants with a similar profile. The effects vary significantly but, on average, the meta-analyses show reductions in recidivism by an average of 8–14% (Aos, et al., 2006, Latimer, et al., 2006; Lowenkamp, et al., 2005; Shaffer, 2006; Wilson, et al., 2006). It is unclear how much of the positive effect is related to the actual substance abuse treatment (Cissner & Rempel, 2005) such as the effective use of rewards (Marlow, 2004) and how much is a result of focusing on higher risk offenders (Marlowe, et al., 2004).

Intensive Supervision Programs with Treatment or Skill Based Programming. When surveillance tasks in ISPs, described in the Accountability and Monitoring section of this report, are coupled with treatment behavioral change outcomes improve dramatically. Not surprisingly, just monitoring offenders does not change behavior. It may suppress crime for a while but additional services are needed for long-term impact. The combination of external control, accountability, and treatment is especially effective with higher risk offenders (Aos, et al., 2006). Treatment often includes programming in the areas of substance abuse, cognitive skills, mental health, emotional regulation, and anger and aggression control.

Level of Effectiveness	Risk Reduction and Accountability Program	Cost
High	Intensive Supervision with Treatment	Moderate to High
Moderate to High	Corrections Centers	Moderate to High
Moderate	Drug Courts	Moderate to High
Promising	Therapeutic Day Reporting Centers	Moderate to High
Unknown	Domestic Violence Courts*	Moderate to High
Not Effective	Ineffective Interventions: All of the items listed in Accountability and Monitoring are ineffective for the purpose of changing behavior in the long term.	

FIGURE 6: SUMMARY OF PROGRAMS DESIGNED BOTH TO HOLD THE OFFENDER ACCOUNTABLE AND REDUCE RISK TO REOFFEND, ORGANIZED BY EFFECTIVENESS AND COST

*See Aos et al., 2006

Programs That Stabilize the Offender

The programs in this section are designed to stabilize the offender. Both sentenced offenders who are in the community and those being released from correctional facilities could benefit from a predictable and non-chaotic lifestyle that allowed them to focus on what they need to do to be successful. Offenders who are anxious about where they will sleep at night, who do not have access to medications that stabilize their moods, or who lack basic financial or transportation resources to make their appointments are at a disadvantage in terms of meeting supervision requirements. As noted earlier, revocation rates are high and often these rates are directly related to technical violations. Indeed, the number of parole violators admitted to jail increased by 700% between 1980 and 2000 (Travis & Lawrence, 2002).

Interventions that seek to stabilize offenders are built on the premise that if offenders are going to be successful in attending and completing criminogenic need oriented programming their basic needs must be met. Performance indicators for offender stabilization interventions often focus on reductions in episodes of emergency housing or hospital stays, mental health crises, or homelessness. Some examine long-term re-offense rates, but these are less prevalent.

The interventions listed in this section are limited in number. That is, only those resources that might have a direct impact on the use of incarceration as a result of a changing offender profile under AB 109 are examined here.

Halfway Houses. Designed originally as a way for an incarcerated offender to transition into the community, halfway houses provide offenders with an opportunity to ease back into a life with more freedom and choices (with its related risks and temptations to return to an illegal lifestyle). They provide accountability and assist the offender in establishing structure leading to a prosocial lifestyle including, for example, employment, AA meetings, and leisure activities. Halfway houses are also used for rehabilitation purposes (Lowenkamp and Latessa, 2004) and as an alternative to incarceration (Latessa & Travis, 1991). As rehabilitation programs they resemble the aforementioned Corrections Center. As they relate to stabilization, they are being reviewed as transition programs, helping the offenders move toward stability and prepare for community-based living.

Huber/Work Release Facilities. Jails often provide the option to grant sentenced inmates the privilege of leaving the facility for specified lengths of time to work at paid employment or attend an education or vocational training program. Most often, the goal is to hold the offender accountable without triggering the loss of an important prosocial resource (employment or education) that could benefit the offender, the offender's family, and the taxpayer.

Housing and Supportive Housing. A common barrier for offenders released from incarceration is housing. Probation and parole officers reportedly spend a significant amount of time addressing this issue with a large number of their supervisees. The Washington State Institute for Public Policy conducted a thorough literature search on the effect of housing programs. They measured program success against the following outcomes: homelessness, hospital services used, and crimes committed. They expanded their research to include reentry programs as many of these programs included housing support. They found that housing assistance for persons with mental illness significantly reduced homelessness, hospitalizations, and crime. Furthermore reentry programs that included housing support for ex-offenders did not reduce recidivism except for serious, violent offenders (Miller & Ngugi, 2009). An additional promising practice is that of supportive housing services. These services support the offender by providing affordable housing with a continuum of services. They provide a convenient, one-stop arrangement that combines housing with mental health, substance abuse, and employment services.

Mental Health Programming. Approximately one quarter of incarcerated offenders have a mental health condition (James & Glaze, 2006). This prevalence of mental illness in the criminal justice system has resulted in a proliferation of criminal justice training, program expansion, and specialized case management and courts to meet offenders' mental health needs. Despite the high correlation between mental illness and crime, meta-analyses have revealed that, with a few exceptions, mental health is not criminogenic and that mental health programming by itself will not likely reduce recidivism (Bonta, et al., 1998; Junginger, et al., 2006). High-risk offenders with mental health conditions tend to have multiple criminogenic needs such as antisocial beliefs, substance abuse, and emotional regulation. For example, Morgan, et al. found that of 414 offenders with mental illness, 67–85% of them had antisocial belief systems, the percent varying depending on which measurement scale was used (Morgan, et al., in press). Given the high failure rate of offenders under supervision, it is critical that the criminal justice system attend to offenders' mental health programming needs in conjunction with the other criminogenic needs to impact long-term public safety.

Figure 9 provides a summary of the programs that seek to improve offender stability and their associated costs.

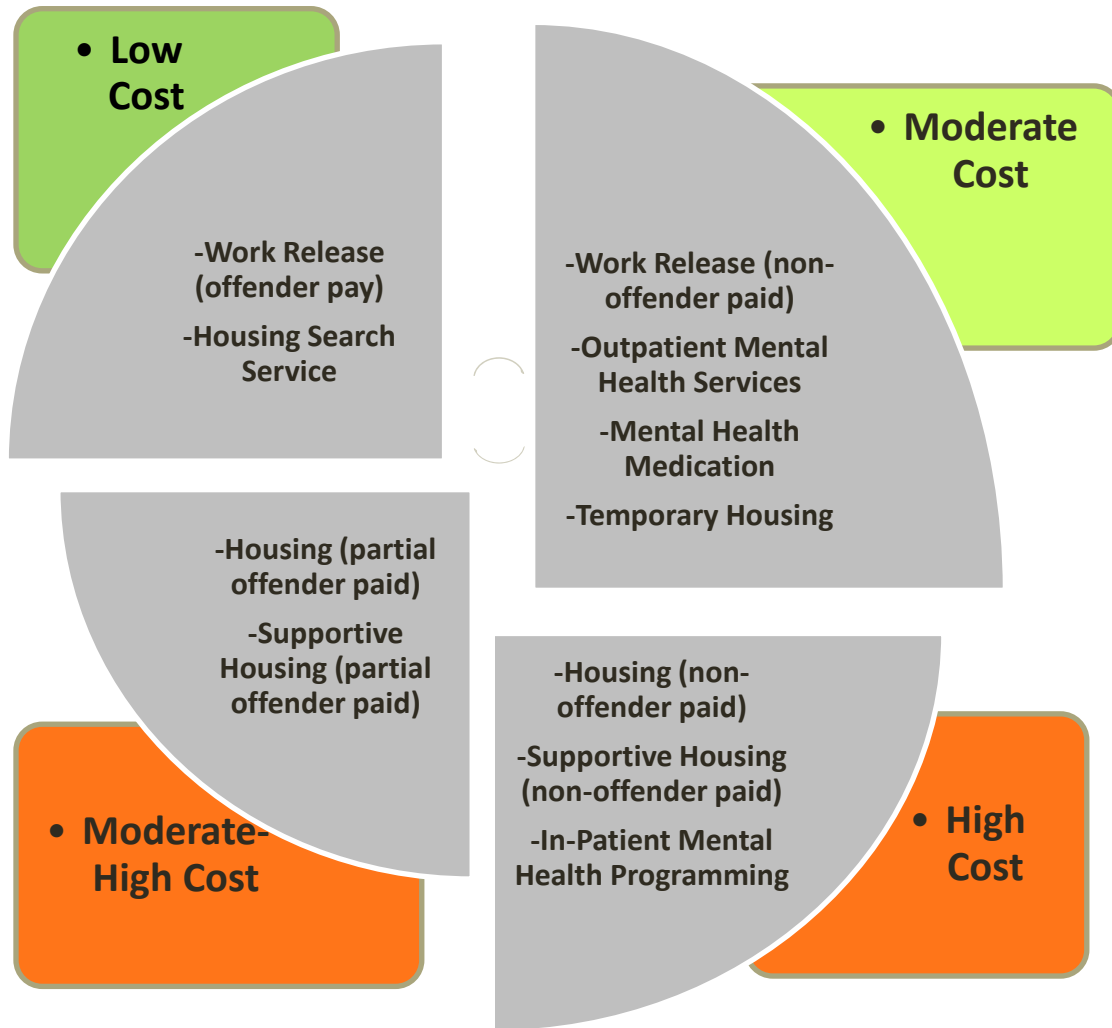


FIGURE 9: PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO STABILIZE THE OFFENDER, ORGANIZED BY COST

Costs and Benefits

Intermediate sanctions are designed largely as cost effective measures to hold offenders accountable at a cost lower than other methods. Determining costs, however, is not an easy task as the General Accounting Office determined in their January, 1994 report “Sentencing: Intermediate Sanctions in the Federal Criminal Justice System.”¹² Even more difficult is determining the possible benefit to the taxpayer. A wide range of potential benefits and costs must be taken into account in order to determine a reliable cost benefit ratio. However, a number of resources are now available to the criminal justice policy maker and practitioner to examine cost-benefit. Some of them include:

- Washington State Institute for Public Policy. WSIPP is perhaps best known for its cost/benefit work in the criminal justice field. Its legislative mission includes the responsibility to calculate the taxpayer return on evidence-based practices and policies.¹³ WSIPP was directed to compile a report to identify the manner in which it computes costs and benefits (Aos, 2009) which can be found on their website.
- Urban Institute. The Urban Institute has a number of publications on costs and benefits of various correctional programs available on their website.¹⁴
- Vera Institute. The Institute now has a “cost benefit center” where policy makers can get assistance analyzing the cost effectiveness of strategies.¹⁵

“The cost of administering intermediate sanctions is difficult to determine because costs vary according to the length and composition of sentences, the number and type of offenders entering the system, and the per capita cost of administering each sanction.”

GAO report, 1994

¹² See <http://www.gao.gov/products/GGD-94-63BR>

¹³ See State of Washington Chapter 564, Laws of 2009, Section 610 (4)

¹⁴ See the Urban Institute website:

<http://search.urban.org/tehis/search?query=cost+benefit&dropXSL=&pr=wwwurban&prox=page&roder=500&rprox=500&rdfreq=500&rwfreq=750&rlead=750&sufs=0&order=r&cg=&submit=SEARCH>

¹⁵ See <http://www.vera.org/topics/cba>

Figure 10 illustrates some of the cost and benefit outcomes determined by the research conducted by the Washington State Institute for Public Policy (Aos, et al., 2006).

Program	Effect on Crime Outcomes (percent change in crime outcomes)	Benefits and Costs (Per Participant)			
		Benefits to Crime Victims	Benefits to Taxpayer	Costs	Benefits (total) Minus Costs
Intensive supervision: treatment-oriented programs	-16.7% (11)	\$9,318	\$9,369	\$7,124	\$11,563
Cognitive-behavioral therapy	-6.3% (25)	\$5,658	\$4,746	\$105	\$10,299
Drug treatment	-9.3% (6)	\$5,133	\$5,495	\$574	\$10,054
Adult drug courts	-8.0% (57)	\$4,395	\$4,705	\$4,333	\$4,767
Employment and job	-4.3% (16)	\$2,373	\$2,386	\$400	\$4,359
Electronic monitoring to offset jail time	0% (9)	\$0	\$0	-\$870	\$870
Sex offender treatment in prison	-7.0% (6)	\$6,442	\$2,885	\$12,585	-\$3,258
Intensive supervision: surveillance-oriented	0% (23)	\$0	\$0	\$3,747	-\$3,747
Adult boot camps	0% (22)	\$0	\$0	n/e	n/e
Domestic violence	0% (9)	\$0	\$0	n/e	n/e
Jail diversion for mentally ill offenders	0% (11)	\$0	\$0	n/e	n/e
Life-skills education programs for adults	0% (4)	\$0	\$0	n/e	n/e

"n/e" means not estimated at this time.

FIGURE 10: BENEFITS AND COSTS FOR CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS (SOURCE: WSIPP, 2006)

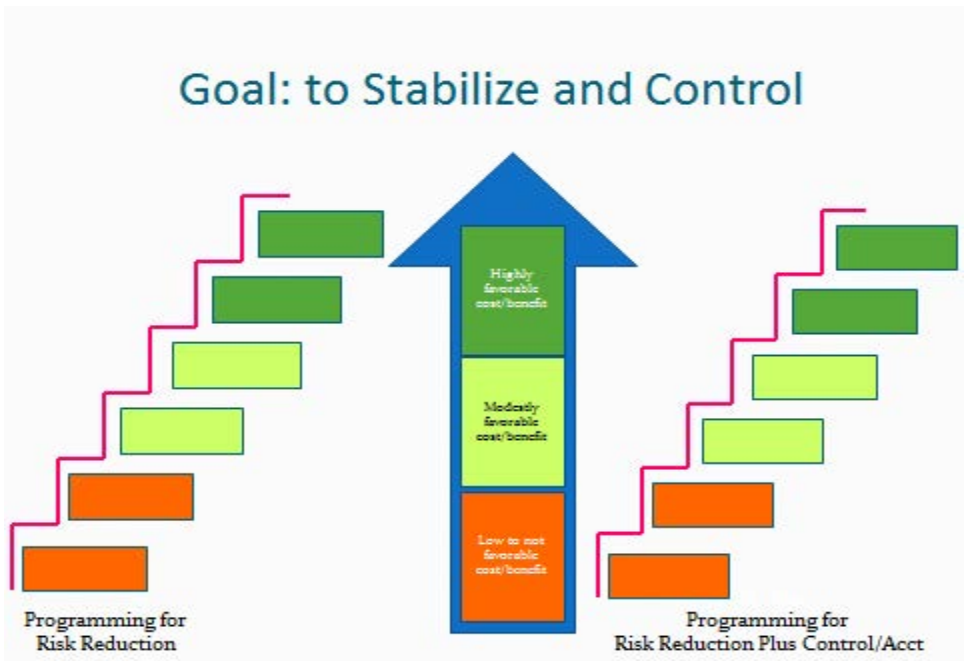
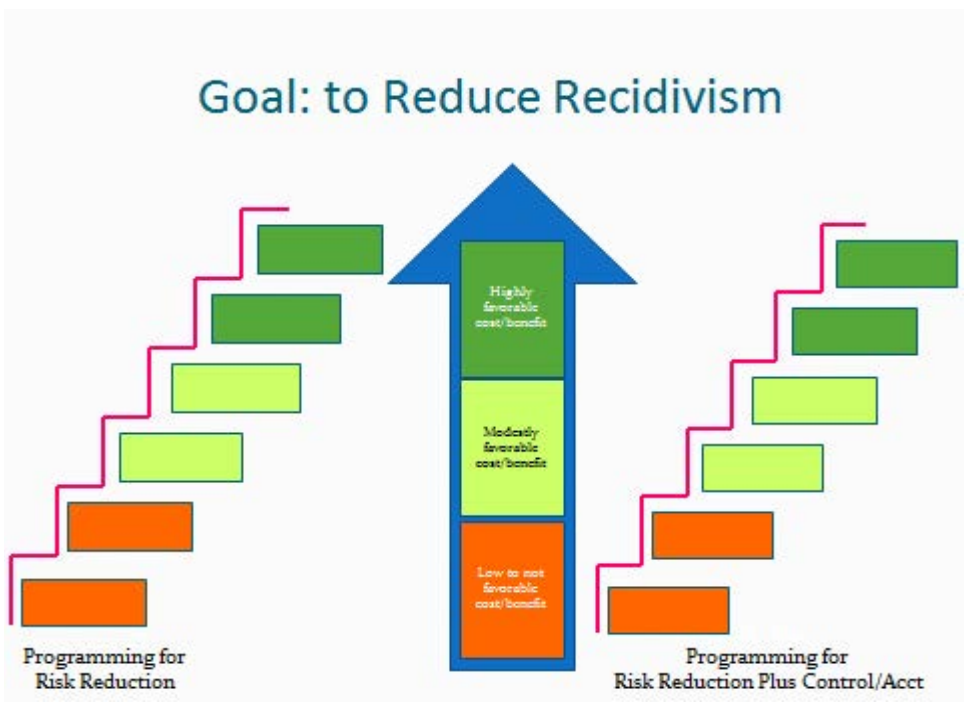
A useful technique to quantify and compare the effectiveness of programs is to examine both the expense of the intervention and its long term benefit to the taxpayer in a cost-to-benefit

ratio format. A number of publications are now available that explore the cost-to-benefit ratios of criminal justice and human service interventions. For example, one of these reports show that drug courts benefit the taxpayer by \$2.21 for every \$1 invested (Belenko, et al., 2005).

A useful way to look at how a local jurisdiction might want to address AB 109s impact is to consider these four steps:

1. Conduct an assessment of the offender population transferred to the county under AB 109 (i.e., their risk level and types of criminogenic, responsivity, and stabilization needs) and an assessment of public safety enhancements needed (i.e., anticipated external control mechanisms needed such as use of jail beds, surveillance etc.)
2. Establish existing capacity of current programs to meet the needs as determined in step 1.
3. Identify which existing offender population and intervention slots may be shifted (e.g., from jail to community corrections center or probation) without unduly jeopardizing public safety; and then
4. Determine which intervention(s) to expand or add based on relative impact and cost.

Figures 11 and 12 provide a framework to guide thinking about expanding the county's infrastructure in Step 4.



FIGURES 11 AND 12: DETERMINING RELATIVE IMPACT AND COST

Additional Resources for Consideration

The following is an excerpt from a forthcoming document entitled Becoming a Better Consumer of Research, National Institute of Corrections, Evidence Based Decision Making Initiative, 2011.

Where should the discerning consumer begin the search for evidence-based policies and programs and answers to specific research questions? The answer is three-fold: the Web, the written literature, and among experienced colleagues from your local and state criminal justice system and among national networks of professionals.

1. Websites that Filter the Information for You: Evidence-Based Program Databases

Websites designed specifically to summarize research in one or more criminal justice practice areas are an excellent place to begin the search for information on effective programs and policies. A growing number of government agencies, academic institutions and professional groups maintain these databases as a service to criminal justice professionals and the public. These organizations:

- formulate evaluation criteria for assessing the strength of research findings;
- employ experts to review multiple studies of research on programs in a single area, and make recommendations regarding which ones have scientific evidence of effectiveness and at what level of rigor or confidence in the findings; and
- maintain searchable databases that provide easy access to the information.

A Website Caution

The consumer of website research summaries should be careful to not take the information at face value.

Definitions as to what constitutes evidence, methodological soundness, and robust findings can vary significantly. Furthermore, researchers do not always agree on what can be concluded from a research study. While some website authors make transparent attempts to give the user reassurance, it is up to the user to exercise judgment. It is recommended that the user seek corroborating information to increase confidence in the relative strength of the research and implications for application.

Some of these websites specialize in “systematic reviews” (also called meta-analytic reviews) of the literature regarding specific research questions and program areas. As the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy at George Mason University explains: Systematic reviews “summarize the best available evidence on a specific topic using *transparent, comprehensive search strategies to find a broad range of published and unpublished research, explicit criteria for including comparable studies, systematic coding and analysis, and often quantitative methods for producing an overall indicator of effectiveness.*

A partial list of evidence-based program databases in criminal justice follows:

The Campbell Collaboration, The Crime and Justice Coordinating Group (CCJG) is an international network of researchers that prepares and disseminates systematic reviews of high-quality research on methods to reduce crime and delinquency and improve the quality of justice. www.campbellcollaboration.org/crime_and_justice/

The Center for the Study of the Prevention of Violence, University of Colorado, maintains a website, “Blueprints for Violence Prevention,” on evaluated programs to prevent adolescent violence, aggression, and delinquency. www.colorado.edu/cspv/blueprint/

George Mason University’s Center for Evidence Based Crime Policy offers a number of services including systematic reviews, research on crime and place and a summary (matrix) of evidence-based policing practices. <http://gunston.gmu.edu/cebcp/>

SAMSHAs (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration) National Registry of Evidence-Based Programs and Practices (NREPP) provides a database of more than 190 interventions supporting mental health promotion, substance abuse prevention, and mental health and substance abuse treatment. www.nrepp.samhsa.gov

U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs’ Crime Solutions.gov. The website provides research on program effectiveness, reviewed and rated by experts; easily understandable ratings that indicate whether a program achieves its goal in three categories: effective, promising and no effects; and key program information and research findings. www.crimesolutions.gov

2. Websites that Provide Bibliographic Databases of hundreds of studies. Many are maintained by government agencies and universities. Prominent among these in the criminal justice field are:

- The National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS), supported by the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs. <https://ncjrs.gov/>
- The National Institute of Corrections Information Center. www.nicic.org
- Correctional Services of Canada. <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/rsrch-eng.shtml>

3. Websites that Provide Summaries of Research and Practical Guidance regarding effective criminal justice practice—universities, state criminal justice agencies, and professional organizations. While not as extensive as bibliographic databases, they focus their publications on the critical issues of most concern to policymakers and practitioners. A very partial list follows:

- Center for Effective Public Policy. Websites on collaborative decision making <http://www.collaborativejustice.org/resources/cjresources.htm>, sex offender management <http://csom.org/pubs/pubs.html>, and evidence-based practices. The EBDM Framework itself provides summaries of research—the Seven Ways to Reduce Crime (pages 13–15) and the Research Findings Matrix (pages 42–55), which categorizes the research in four ways: What Doesn’t Work, What Works, What’s Promising, and What’s Not Clear.
- Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy. <http://gemini.gmu.edu/cebcp>
- Correctional Treatment Evaluations, Texas Christian University, Institute for Behavioral Research. <http://www.ibr.tcu.edu/>
- National Implementation Research Network. This website contains research on successful implementation of new processes within organizations and systems. <http://www.fpg.unc.edu/~nirn/>
- Pretrial Justice Institute. <http://www.pretrial.org>
- Stanford University, Evidence-Based Management. This website specializes in evidence directly related to the management of agencies. <http://www.evidence-basedmanagement.com/>
- University of Cincinnati School of Criminal Justice. This University-based website contains a number of research studies related to the use of evidence in correctional interventions. <http://www.uc.edu/ccjr/reports.html>
- Washington State Institute for Public Policy. This website contains a number of helpful studies comparing effective and ineffective interventions for reducing recidivism and their costs. It is perhaps best known for its cost/benefit studies. <http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/>

4. Your Colleagues

Often an efficient way to check out the results of web-based and library searches is to ask experienced colleagues in your state and local jurisdiction and national networks for

recommendations about the latest and most reliable research. This strategy helps to triangulate or hone in on the best studies.

Also, when you identify a journal article that you think would be useful, but you don't have a subscription to the journal, contact colleagues at nearby colleges and universities and inquire if they can find the article and make a single copy of the article available for your review. (Be careful not to copy and distribute.)

Research articles follow a pretty straightforward and predictable format, however, the language of the articles can slow down or confound the non-researcher. Non-researchers should begin their review of an article by first reading the front sections—the abstract, background, and hypothesis (question to be tested). Then go to the results, discussion, and conclusion sections.

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