Successful supervision outcomes through evidence-based practices: Just another swing of the pendulum?

Forensic Mental Health Association of California, March 2011

Today’s session

- Brief overview of U.S. Probation
- My outcomes data
- Development of EBP in the federal system
- Current research on EBP in community corrections
- Officer & Offender Relationship and Supervision Outcomes
- Effective Collaboration Between Mental Health Treatment Providers and Parole/Probation Officers
- Q&A
- Time permitting -- More on Officer & Offender Relationship and Supervision Outcomes

Who’s my audience?
U.S. Probation

- Established by Congress in 1925
- 94 Federal Districts
  - Central District of California
    - 7 Counties: Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, Ventura, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo

CD-CA

- 14 Field Offices, 150 Supervision Officers, 45 Pre-sentence Officers, 3 Federal Courthouses
- Crimes: Drug Trafficking, Immigration, Credit Card Fraud, White Collar Fraud, Bank Robbery, RICO, Cyber Crime, Sex Offenses
- Diversity of Offenders
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**caseload/workload**
- General Caseloads = 55-65
- Drug Specialists = 45
- MH Specialists = 35-40
- Sex Offender Specialists = 25
- 100% Supervisory case reviews
- Case Weighting

**Parole abolished November 1, 1987**
- Supervised Release (76%)
- Probation (22%)
- Parole (<2%)
- Military Parole (<1%)
- Conditional Release (<1%)

5 months custody; 2 years supervised release
recidivism

- Numbers are Frightening and Depressing: 50-66% Recidivism within 3 years; 70% in California
• “There are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies, and statistics”  Benjamin Disraeli (Best 2001)
• “the decline effect”? (Lehrer 2010)

outcome data

• Not a scientific study; collected day to day on the job
• October 1, 2007 - December 31, 2010
• 1-5+ years, mostly 3 or 5
• n=482
• 74% successful

reincarceration vs. rearrest

• 82% not returned to federal custody
• minus offenders convicted of new state/local criminal conduct, but not revoked, and offenders rearrested state/local without conviction = 74% successful
• Rearrest w/o conviction <1%
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- 3 federal unpublished -- 68-70%
- 3 federal published -- 72%, 67%, & 77%

(Elbert 2008, USSC 2010 & Baber 2010)

reasons for revocation

- New criminal conduct: 6.6%
- Drug Violations: 7.2%
- Non-drug technical violations: 4.6%

critique

- Undetected criminal conduct
- Federal offenders are low risk?
risk assessment

- Risk Prediction Index (RPI)
  - age at start of supervision
  - prior arrests 0-15
  - weapon used in instant offense
  - employed at start
  - drug use or alcohol abuse
  - previously absconded
  - college degree
  - living w/ spouse and/or children

- RPI scores 1/09 - 12/10
- n= 355
- Total average = 2.9
- Successful average = 2.4
- Unsuccessful average = 4.7

offender employment
Dates | Unemployment Rate | Unemployment —
local rate
U.S. Department of Labor;
Bureau of Labor Statistics;
Los Angeles - Long Beach -
Glendale Metropolitan Division
---|---|---
June 2008 | 6.5% | 7.2%
December 2008 | 6.5% | 9.6%
July 2009 | 13.8% | 11.9%
January 2010 | 20% | 12.5%
June 2010 | 14% | 12.2%
January 2011 | 22% | 

• Compares very favorably to national data estimating offender unemployment at 35-40% and 80% after one year for state parolees in California (Petersilia 2003)

• Evidence-Based Practices (EBPs)

we are doing something right
“Community corrections professionals are smart, cynical, and like to make individual decisions.”  Michael Jacobson, President & Director of the Vera Institute of Justice, February 2010

evidence-based practices

- Best Practices
- What Works
- EBP

a brief history of ebp at the federal level

- Supervision of Federal Offenders Monograph 109 March 2003
- Emphasis on:
  - Execute the sentence
  - Protect the community-reduce risk
  - Success during supervision & beyond
  - Correctional & controlling strategies
  - Community based graduated sanctions
• Not called best practices, but that’s what they were and still are

• Principles of Good Supervision
  • Individualized -- risk, needs, & strengths
  • Proportional -- no greater deprivation of liberty than reasonably necessary
  • Purposeful
  • Multidimensional
  • Proactive in implementation
  • Responsive to changes

• Prerelease reentry planning through RRCs; Ready To Work; In-reach
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- March 2004 Edward Latessa, University of Cincinnati (UC) at this conference
  - CBT interventions reduce recidivism up to 20%-30%

- CD-CA specialists: September 2005 -- John Wright (UC)
- National: 2007 Research 2 Results (R2R)
  - 15 districts (not ours) & 3 pretrial services offices
  - Offender workforce development; motivational interviewing; CBT (manualized group counseling and/or journaling); Risk/Needs Assessment

- CD-CA: April 2008 hosted 9th Circuit EBP/Treatment Services Conference
- District EBP Committee
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- **2010:**
  - MRT & Makin’ It Work
  - Doing all 13 strategies; Supervisors tasked w/focusing on 2-3 strategies in each office

- **2011:**
  - CBT training for all officers
  - Next Steps:
    - EBP training for all officers
    - PCRA -- normed & validated on 185,000 Federal offenders

**organizational development**

- Leadership support
- Line-staff buy-in
- P&P
- Vendors capable of providing CBT
- 6 year+ process
EBP 8 Principles
CJI & NIC 2004

- Assess actuarial risks & needs
- Enhance intrinsic motivation
- Target interventions – RNR, dose, integrated treatment
- Skill train w/ directed practice - CBT
- Increase positive reinforcement
- Engage ongoing support in natural communities
- Measure relevant processes & practices
- Provide measurement feedback

13 strategies
urban institute 2008

- "Is our agency committed to helping offenders change their behavior?"
- Emerging consensus = risk reduction & behavioral change strategies to accomplish public safety mission. Offender behavior change as strategy vs. surveillance & law enforcement model
- 66% of parole agencies employ EBPs

--- (Jannetta et. al. 2009; survey of 751 parole offices in 49 states)

not all agree w/ this "emerging consensus"

- 2 Probation Officers postings on blog re: Probation-Officer involved shooting
- A while back I was on vacation ... and ran into ... a couple of POs at an ice cream shop. I asked if they were going to arrest someone. One of the POs said that they do that every day – go out in the field, visit their probationers and ride them until they find a violation and then put them in jail. He said, 'That’s our job - to catch them messing up and lock them up.' What a concept - that’s what probation is, not holding their hand and making excuses.
• “Some Chiefs still take the ‘hug a thug’, social services approach to Probation work... that’s pretty damn scary. Every contact we make as Probation Officers is with known, convicted felons... many with violent criminal histories... many on Parole as well. We’re making entry into the crappiest homes in the crappiest neighborhoods... usually with the intent to toss for dope and make an arrest. And of course, we ALWAYS come across a few unknown, bonus dirtbags in back rooms (usually with warrants). Our felons know that when we hit the door they might be headed to prison...”

• Law enforcement vs. social work is a false dichotomy - it’s a continuum

• Community corrections is a unique profession -- “change agents”

• Cynical or soft?

• Over-punish non-violent drug offenders and under-punish violent offenders

• Not talking about dangerous psychopaths

13 strategies
urban institute 2008
7 Organizational Strategies

- Define Success as Recidivism Reduction and Measure Performance
  - Suggested goal: no more than 10% of supervisees commit a new crime within 3 years -- my data = 14.5%
  - 75% of parole agencies track current recidivism

- Tailor conditions of supervision
  - Presentence & modifications
  - 52% always or most of the time
• Focus resources on moderate & high risk
• 93% focus, but appears heavily weighted toward surveillance

• Front load supervision resources
• 80%

• Implement earned discharge
• Risk management levels -- progressive decrease of supervision levels from intensive maximum to low intensity to early termination
• 51%
• Implement place-based supervision
  • Network of natural & informal supports in one’s neighborhood have the greatest power to shape offender behavior
  • 62% geographically assigned

• Engage partners to expand intervention capacities
  • Collaboration improves outcomes
  • 79% w/ service providers at least weekly; 70% w/ law enforcement at least weekly

Individual Level Strategies
• Assess criminogenic risk & need factors
  • Instruments better predictor than individual professional judgement
  • The “Central 8”: prior criminal history; antisocial personality; antisocial cognition; antisocial peers; family and/or marital discord; poor school and/or work performance; few leisure/recreational activities; substance abuse
  • 82% use instrument always or most of the time

• Develop and implement supervision case plans that balance surveillance & treatment
  • Surveillance & treatment more effective than surveillance alone
  • Treatment programs: CBT; community based drug treatment; education & job assistance
  • 86% always or most of the time

• Involve supervisees to enhance their engagement in assessment, case planning, and supervision
  • 45% always or most of the time
• Engage informal social controls to facilitate community reintegration
• Prosocial networks
• Marriage & employment - desistance from crime
• Offenders cite family as most influential in staying out of prison
• 33% always or most of the time

• Incorporate incentives & rewards into the supervision process
• Incentives & rewards: certificates; decrease reporting requirements; defer a monthly payment, appointment, or other requirement; eliminate conditions; mentor other offenders
• 71%

• Employ graduated problem-solving responses to violations in a swift & certain manner “without compromising community safety”
• 77% either 1/2 or majority of violations are technical; 60% use sanctioning grids or guidelines
relationship quality between po & offender effects outcomes

• “Oh yeah, you have to talk nice to them”
  Police officer to me

• The right thing to do
  • our Charter For Excellence: Treat everyone with dignity and respect
  • Safety issue
  • Respect does not equal weakness
current research
(Skeem et al. 2006, 2007; Skeem 2010; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005)

• Both active listening & directive supervision reduces risk of recidivism
• Balanced officers may reduce recidivism

Procedural justice

• Citizens’ willingness to comply w/ decisions made by legal authorities is linked w/ perceptions that decisions are based on fair procedures & benevolent motives; such perceptions are created by dignity, respect, & caring (Fulton et al. 1997)

collaboration with probation & parole: treatment & public safety
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forensic MH: shortage of qualified providers
- Qualified:
  - Integrated Co-Occurring Disorders Treatment and Forensic Treatment

Principles/approach
- Balance --Empathy and Accountability
- Relationship
- Confrontation
- Victim-Centered

Evidence based practice in Correctional treatment
dynamic risk factors/criminogenic needs

- prior criminal history
- antisocial personality
- antisocial cognition
- antisocial peers
- family and/or marital discord
- poor school and/or work performance
- few leisure/recreational activities
- substance abuse

ebp for treating offenders

- Cognitive-Behavioral Curriculum-Based Group Therapy
- Examples: Thinking For a Change (T4C) [www.nicic.org](http://www.nicic.org) and Moral Reconciliation Therapy (MRT) [www.moral-reconciliation-therapy.com](http://www.moral-reconciliation-therapy.com)

research-informed evidence-influenced

- Address Instant Offense and Criminal History
- Confront/address Anti-social Attitudes
- Eliminate/reduce Anti-social Associations
- Encourage Pro-social thinking and behavior
- Abstinence from alcohol and drugs
- Develop/increase empathy
- Eliminate/decrease impulsive behavior
- Develop/improve life skills
effective collaboration

- Confidentiality/Release of Information
  - Details?
- No Shows
  - "If a client does not show up for even a second appointment, the treatment provider should consider (tacks added) informing the Probation Officer that the client may be out of compliance with agreement to do treatment"
  - David Mee-Lee, M.D.
  - TIPS & TOPICS Volume 7, No. 1, April 2009

collaboration

- Positive Tests
  - "If we report every positive drug screen ..., this compels the client to be secretive and lie about continued use or lapses. To be honest would be self-defeating to get what they want (to get off probation). But, in fact, it would be us as treatment providers who created an environment of conning and dishonesty. Our job is to focus on assessment and treatment rather than sanctioning a person for recurrence of their addiction illness."
  - David Mee-Lee, M.D.
  - TIPS & TOPICS Volume 7, No. 1, April 2009

collaboration

- Multiple clients - the client/offender, the community, the probation officer
- our Charter For Excellence: Effective stewards of public resources
• Reliance on self report vs. collaterals?

• Persons on disability in Los Angeles: 49% of income to drugs and alcohol (Shaner et al., 1995)

• Don’t minimize cost of property crimes

• Serious crime -- bank robbery & heroin addiction

• Treatment works, even if mandated.

"So, with mass stress, mass alienation, and mass ego in hell gear, they elect madman as their president."
the public supports this approach

- Large national poll (1,200 registered voters) in March 2010 (The Pew Center on the States, 2010)
- 43% self-identified as politically conservative
- Safety is first concern; want criminals held accountable, but big difference in approach to violent vs. nonviolent offenders

- 22% of inmates could be released from prison w/o posing a risk to public safety

“correctional quackery” (Flores et al. 2005)

- Quackery = common sense or tradition over scientific evidence
- Unscientific services -- no change or can increase antisocial behavior
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the pendulum?

- Punishment vs. rehabilitation

Q&A

references

- Please see attached
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- thomas_granucci@cacp.uscourts.gov

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**officer typologies**

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<td>Law Enforcer</td>
<td>Punitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Therapeutic Agent</td>
<td>Welfare Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time Server</td>
<td>Bureaucratic Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Synthetic</td>
<td>Adaptive</td>
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• Synthetic/Adaptive Officer = both therapeutic & social control; the power of both the relationship & the mandate

• Law Enforcer & Time Server = rule enforcing

• Therapeutic Agent = unstructured support & permissiveness

• Therapeutic officers have increased new arrests, decreased technical violations

• Law Enforcer officers have decreased new arrests, increased technical violations

• Synthetic officers have decreased new arrests & decreased technical violations
  • Empathy & warmth to selectively reinforce prosocial behavior

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**current research**

(Skeem et al. 2006, 2007; Skeem 2010)

• Problem solving, collaborative resolution of noncompliance vs. issuing rule reminders and threatening incarceration
• Relationship quality measured by:
  • Caring & fairness
  • Trust
  • Toughness -- indifference to offender’s views & feelings; expectations of compliance & punitiveness when expectations are not met

• Positive aspects of relationship quality (caring & fairness & trust) associated w/ less violations, less revocation, & less new arrests
• Negative aspects of relationship quality (toughness) associated w/ increased violations

• Caring blended w/ fairness leads to trust
• Control = “firm but fair”, respectful, motivated by caring; authoritative not authoritarian

• Ongoing role clarification = clear explanation of limits; freedom to express opinions; open discussion of what is negotiable and what is not negotiable