What Works and What Doesn't in Reducing Recidivism: Apply the Principles of Effective Intervention to Offender Reentry

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Summarize Several Major Points

- Public Support for Rehabilitative Effort

- Who and What is Targeted for Change is Important

- Programs can Reduce Recidivism, but not all Programs are Equal

- Some Reentry Examples from Other States

Public Attitudes Towards Rehabilitation

- They want sensible options
- They reject sanctions that are too lenient and ineffective
- They support get tough polices but also believe in rehabilitation
- They want truly dangerous offenders incarcerated but are open to having other offenders in the community
- Very supportive of rehabilitation for juveniles

Who and What you Target Matters

- Risk Principle – target higher risk offenders (WHO)

- Need Principle – target criminogenic risk/need factors (WHAT)

Risk Principle

- Target those offender with higher probability of recidivism

- Provide most intensive treatment to higher risk offenders

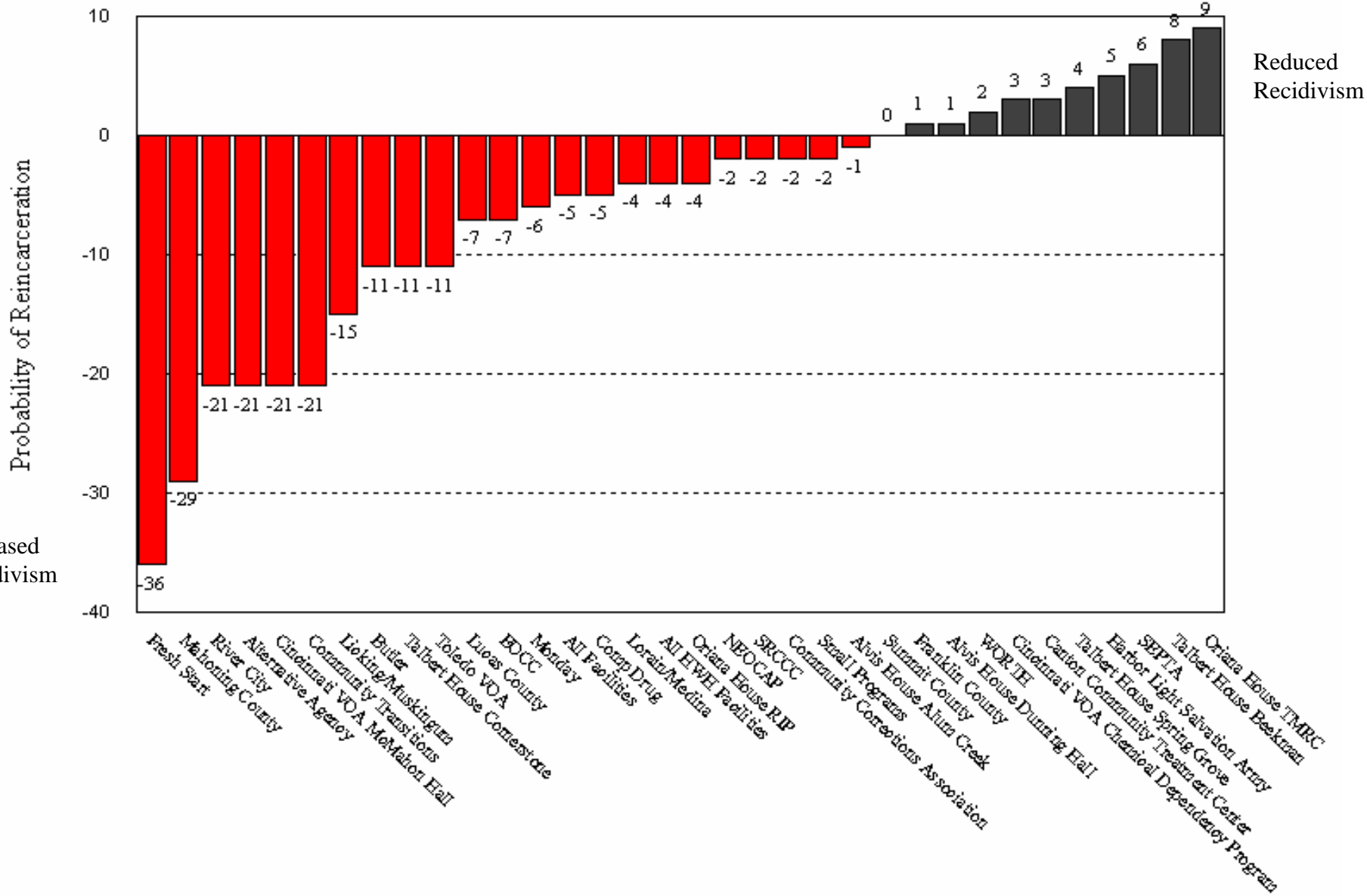- Intensive treatment for lower risk offender can increase recidivism

The Risk Principle & Correctional Intervention Results from Meta Analysis
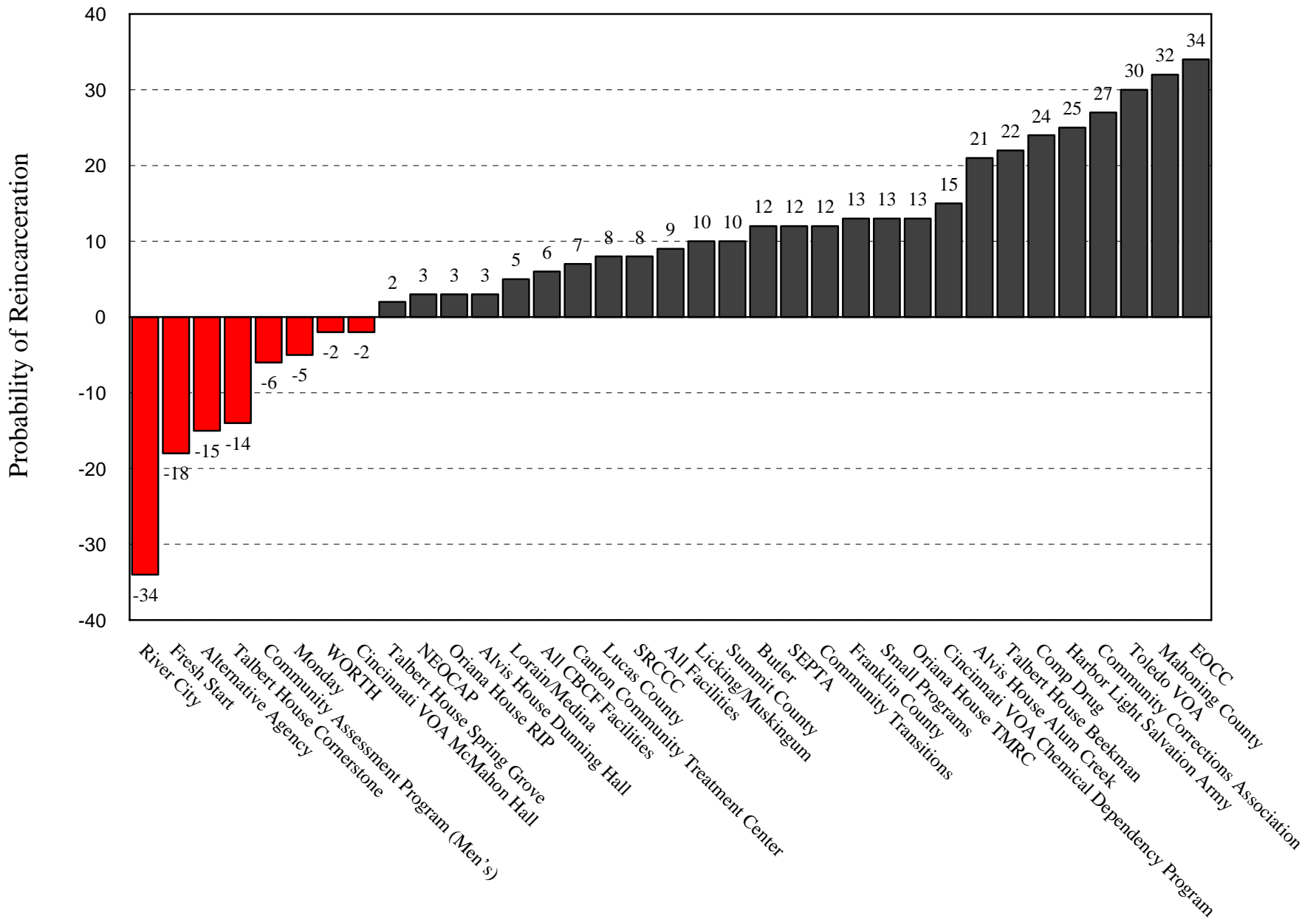

Dowden & Andrews, 1999
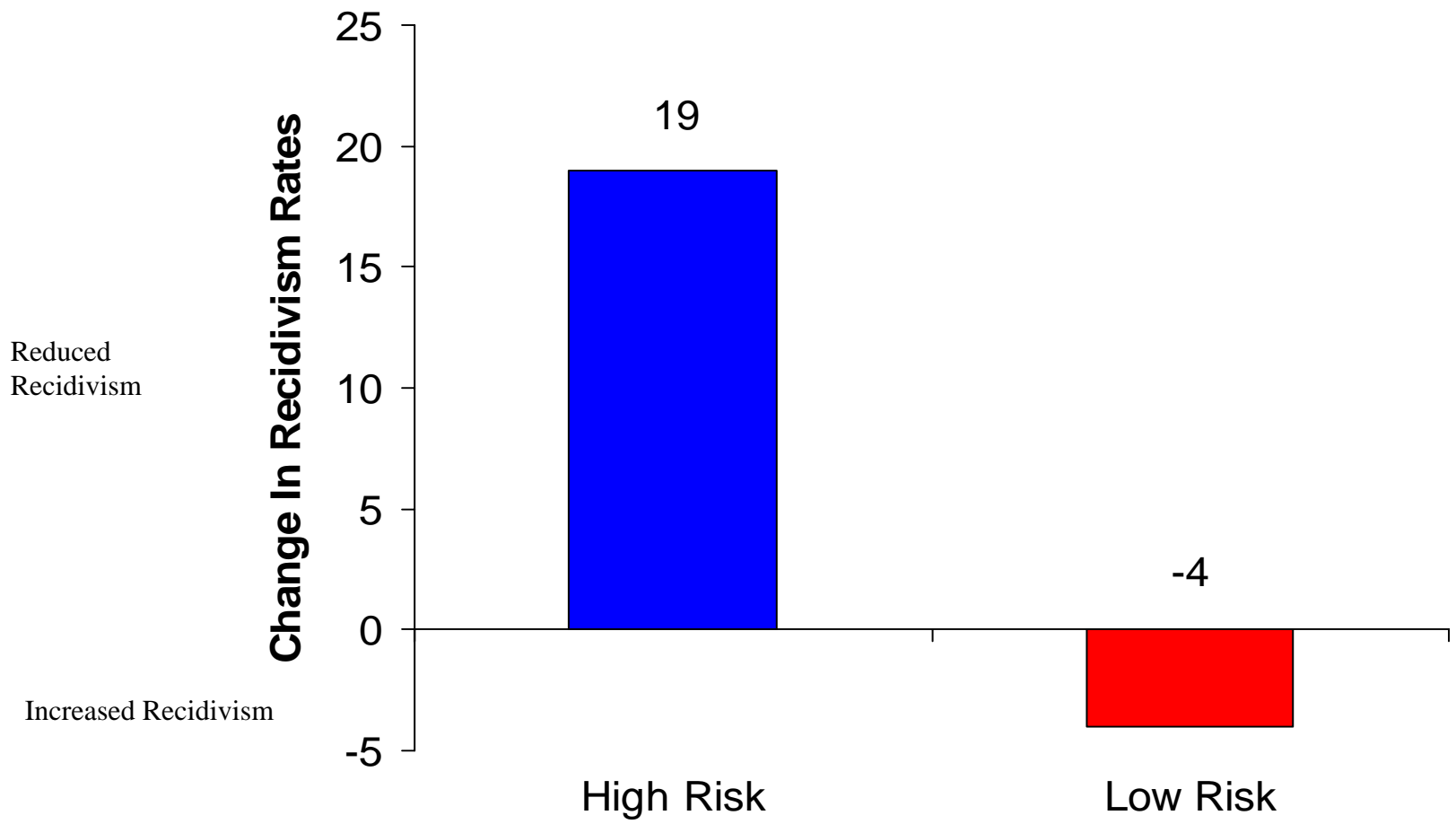
Results from Ohio Halfway House Study

- Involved over 13,000 offenders and over 50 residential program

- Most programs reduced recidivism for higher risk offenders and increased recidivism for low risk offenders

Treatment Effects for Low Risk Offenders

Probability of Reincarceration

Reduced Recidivism

Increased Recidivism

Values shown (left to right): -36, -29, -21, -21, -21, -21, -15, -11, -11, -11, -7, -7, -6, -5, -5, -4, -4, -4, -2, -2, -2, -2, -1, 0, 1, 1, 2, 3, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9

Categories: Fresh Start, Mahoning County, River City, Alternative Agency, Cincinnati VOA McMahon Hall, Community Transitions, Licking/Muskingum, Butler, Talbert House Cornerstone, Toledo VOA, Lucas County, BDCC, Monday, All Facilities, Comp Drug, Lorain/Medina, All ETWH Facilities, Oriana House RIP, NEOCAP, SRCCC, Community Corrections Association, Small Programs, Alvis House Alum Creek, Summit County, Franklin County, Alvis House, WORTH, Cincinnati VOA Chemical Dependency Program, Canton Community Treatment Center, Talbert House Spring Grove, Harbor Light Salvation Army, SEPTA, Talbert House Beekman, Oriana House TMRC

Treatment Effects For High Risk Offenders

Need Principle

By assessing and targeting criminogenic needs for change, agencies can reduce the probability of recidivism
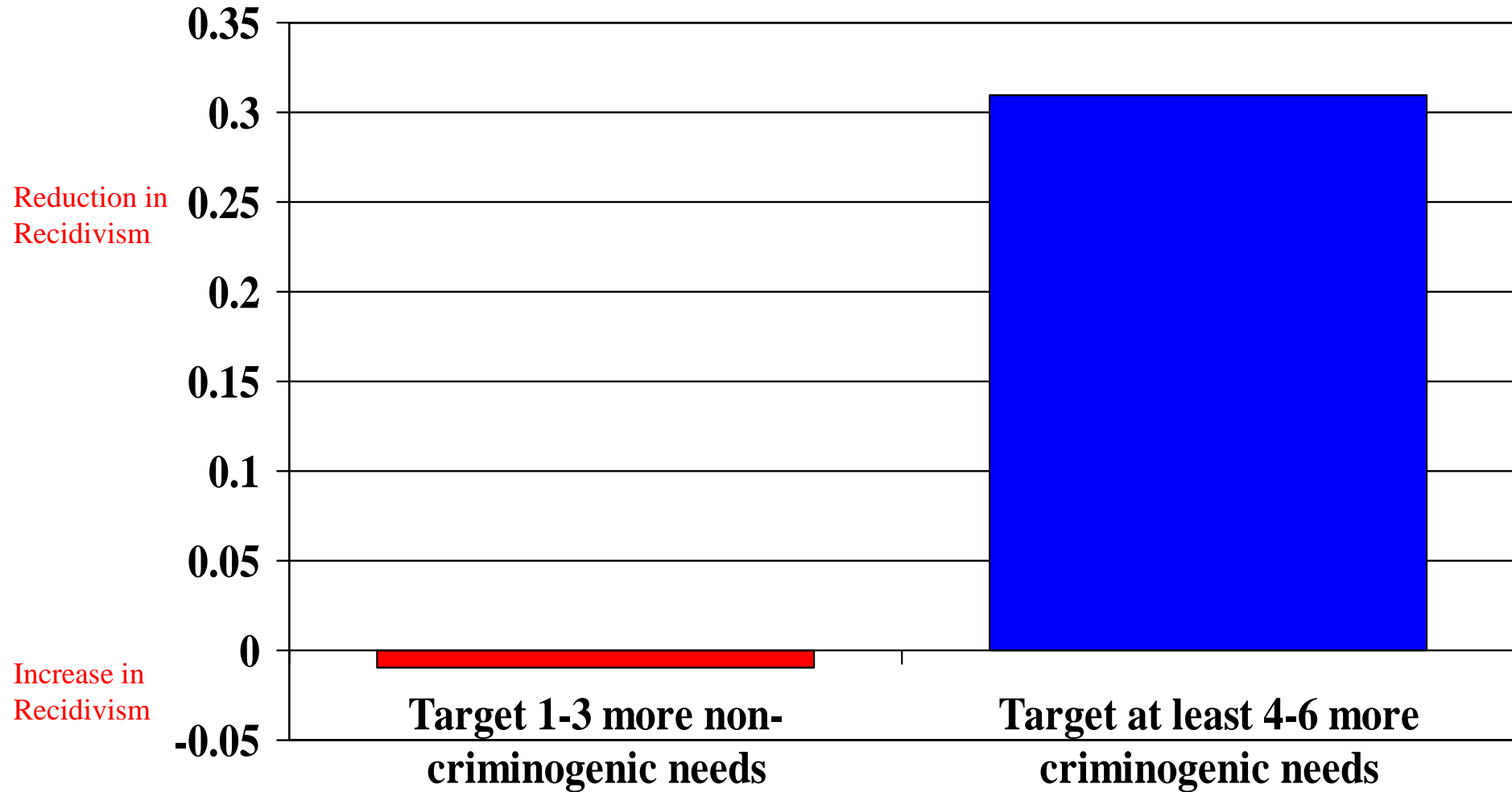
Criminogenic

- Anti social attitudes
- Anti social friends
- Substance abuse
- Lack of empathy
- Impulsive behavior

Non-Criminogenic

- Anxiety
- Low self esteem
- Creative abilities
- Medical needs
- Physical conditioning

Targeting Criminogenic Need: Results from Meta-Analyses

Reduction in Recidivism

Increase in Recidivism

0.35
0.3
0.25
0.2
0.15
0.1
0.05
0
-0.05

Target 1-3 more non-criminogenic needs

Target at least 4-6 more criminogenic needs

Major Risk and/or Need Factor and Promising Intermediate Targets for Reduced Recidivism

Factor	Risk	Dynamic Need
History of Antisocial Behavior	Early & continued involvement in a number antisocial acts	Build noncriminal alternative behaviors in risky situations
Antisocial personality	Adventurous, pleasure seeking, weak self control, restlessly aggressive	Build problem-solving, self-management, anger mgt & coping skills
Antisocial cognition	Attitudes, values, beliefs & rationalizations supportive of crime, cognitive emotional states of anger, resentment, & defiance	Reduce antisocial cognition, recognize risky thinking & feelings, build up alternative less risky thinking & feelings Adopt a reform and/or anticriminal identity
Antisocial associates	Close association with criminals & relative isolation from prosocial people	Reduce association w/ criminals, enhance association w/ prosocial people

Major Risk and/or Need Factor and Promising Intermediate Targets for Reduced Recidivism

Factor	Risk	Dynamic Need
Family and/or marital	Two key elements are nurturance and/or caring better monitoring and/or supervision	Reduce conflict, build positive relationships, communication, enhance monitoring & supervision
School and/or work	Low levels of performance & satisfaction	Enhance performance, rewards, & satisfaction
Leisure and/or recreation	Low levels of involvement & satisfaction in anti-criminal leisure activities	Enhancement involvement & satisfaction in prosocial activities
Substance Abuse	Abuse of alcohol and/or drugs	Reduce SA, reduce the personal & interpersonal supports for SA behavior, enhance alternatives to SA

Recent study of parole violators in Pennsylvania found a number of criminogenic factors related to failure*

*Conducted by Pennsylvania Dept. of Corrections

- More likely to hang around with individuals with criminal backgrounds

- Less likely to live with a spouse

- Less likely to be in a stable supportive relationship

- Less likely to identify someone in their life who served in a mentoring capacity

Pennsylvania Parole Study
Employment & Financial Situation
Violators were:

- Slightly more likely to report having difficulty getting a job

- Less likely to have job stability

- Less likely to be satisfied with employment

- Less likely to take low end jobs and work up

- More likely to have negative attitudes toward employment & unrealistic job expectations

- Less likely to have a bank account

- More likely to report that they were "barely making it" (yet success group reported over double median debt)

Pennsylvania Parole Study
Alcohol or Drug Use
Violators were:

- More likely to report use of alcohol or drugs while on parole (but no difference in prior assessment of dependency problem)
- Poor management of stress was a primary contributing factor to relapse

Pennsylvania Parole Study
Life on Parole
Violators were:

- Had unrealistic expectations about what life would be like outside of prison

- Had poor problem solving or coping skills
  - Did not anticipate long term consequences of behavior

- Failed to utilize resources to help them
  - Acted impulsively to immediate situations
  - Felt they were not in control

- More likely to maintain anti-social attitudes
  - Viewed violations as an acceptable option to situation
  - Maintained general lack of empathy
  - Shifted blame or denied responsibility

Pennsylvania Parole Violator Study:

- Successes and failures did not differ in difficulty in finding a place to live after release

- Successes & failures equally likely to report eventually obtaining a job

Programs Can Reduce Recidivism but Not All Programs are Equal

- Use Evidence Based Approaches

- Make sure Programs are Implemented with Integrity

Evidence Based – What does it mean?

There are different forms of evidence:

- The lowest form is anecdotal evidence, but it makes us feel good

- The highest form is empirical evidence – results from controlled studies, but it doesn't make us feel good
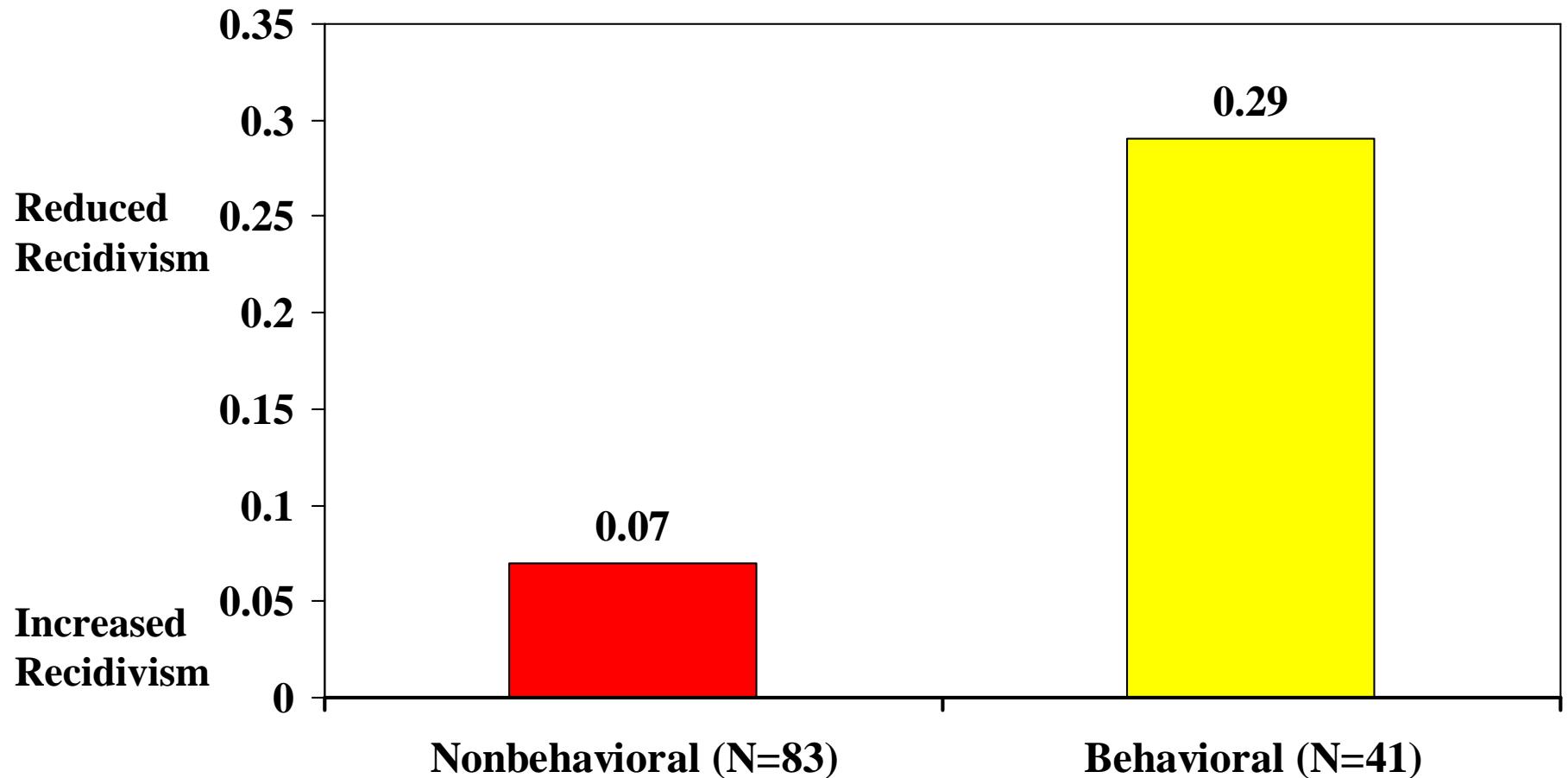
Evidence Based Practice is:

1. Easier to think of as Evidence Based Decision Making

2. Involves several steps and encourages the use of validated tools and treatments.

3. Not just about the tools you have but also *how* you use them

Evidence Based Decision Making Requires

1. Assessment information

2. Relevant research

3. Available programming

4. Evaluation

5. Professionalism and knowledge from staff

Results from Meta Analysis: Behavioral vs. NonBehavioral

Andrews, D.A. 1994. An Overview of Treatment Effectiveness. Research and Clinical Principles, Department of Psychology, Carleton University. The N refers to the number of studies.

Comparative Effectiveness for Selected Interventions

Intervention	Target	Success Rate
Criminal Justice		
Police clearance rates	Break & Entering	0.16
	Auto Theft	0.12
Offender Treatment (behavioral)	Recidivism	0.29
Medical Interventions		
Aspirin	Cardiac event	0.03
Chemotherapy	Breast Cancer	0.11
Bypass surgery	Cardiac event	0.15

Source: Andrews & Bonta, 2006; Fedorowycz, 2004; Lipsey & Wilson, 1993).

Most Effective Behavioral Models

- Structured social learning where new skills and behaviors are modeled

- Family based approaches that train family on appropriate techniques

- Cognitive behavioral approaches that target criminogenic risk factors

Social Learning

Refers to several processes through which individuals acquire attitudes, behavior, or knowledge from the persons around them. Both modeling and instrumental conditioning appear to play a role in such learning

Family Based Interventions

- Designed to train family on behavioral approaches
  - Functional Family Therapy
  - Multi-Systemic Therapy
  - Teaching Family Model

Effectiveness of Family Based Intervention: Results from Meta Analysis

- 38 primary studies with 53 effect tests

- Average Effect Size on Recidivism=.21

However, much variability was present
(-0.17 - +0.83)

Dowden & Andrews, 2003

Mean Effect Sizes: Whether or not the family intervention adheres to the principles
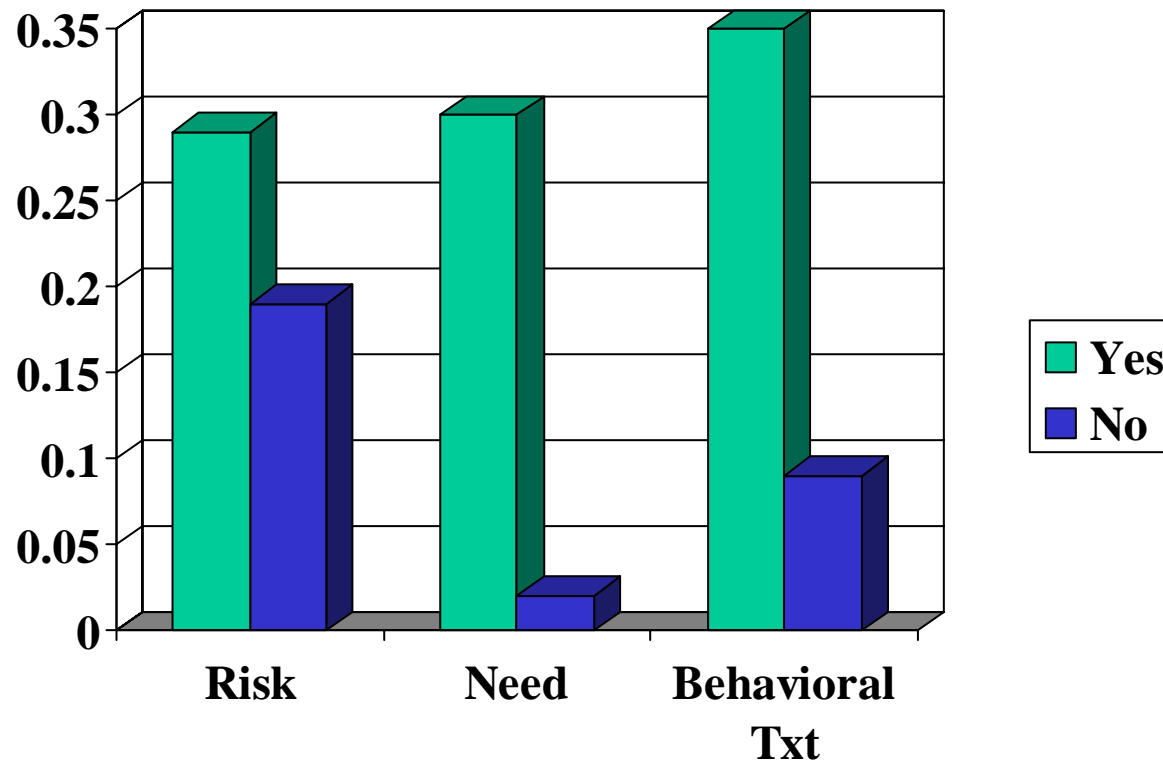
The Four Principles of Cognitive Intervention

1. **Thinking affects behavior**

2. **Antisocial, distorted, unproductive irrational thinking can lead to antisocial and unproductive behavior**

3. **Thinking can be influenced**

4. **We can change how we feel and behave by changing what we think**

Recent Meta-Analysis of Cognitive Behavioral Treatment for Offenders by Landenberger & Lipsey (2005)*

- Reviewed 58 studies:

  19 random samples

  23 matched samples

  16 convenience samples

- Found that on average CBT reduced recidivism by 25%, but the most effective configurations found more than 50% reductions

Factors Not significant:

- Setting - prison (generally closer to end of sentence) versus community
- Juvenile versus adult
- Minorities or females
- Brand name of curriculum

Significant Findings (effects were stronger if):

- Sessions per week (2 or more)
- Implementation monitored
- Staff trained on CBT
- Higher proportion of treatment completers
- Higher risk offenders
- Higher if CBT is combined with other services

What Doesn't Work with Offenders?

Ineffective Approaches

- Drug prevention classes focused on fear and other emotional appeals
- Shaming offenders
- Drug education programs
- Non-directive, client centered approaches
- Bibliotherapy
- Freudian approaches
- Talking cures
- Self-Help programs
- Vague unstructured rehabilitation programs
- Medical model
- Fostering self-regard (self-esteem)
- "Punishing smarter" (boot camps, scared straight, etc.)

Program Integrity and Recidivism

- We found a strong relationship between program integrity and recidivism in three major studies we recently completed

- The higher the program's integrity score – greater the reductions in recidivism

Program Integrity—Relationship Between Program Integrity Score And Treatment Effect for Community Supervision Programs
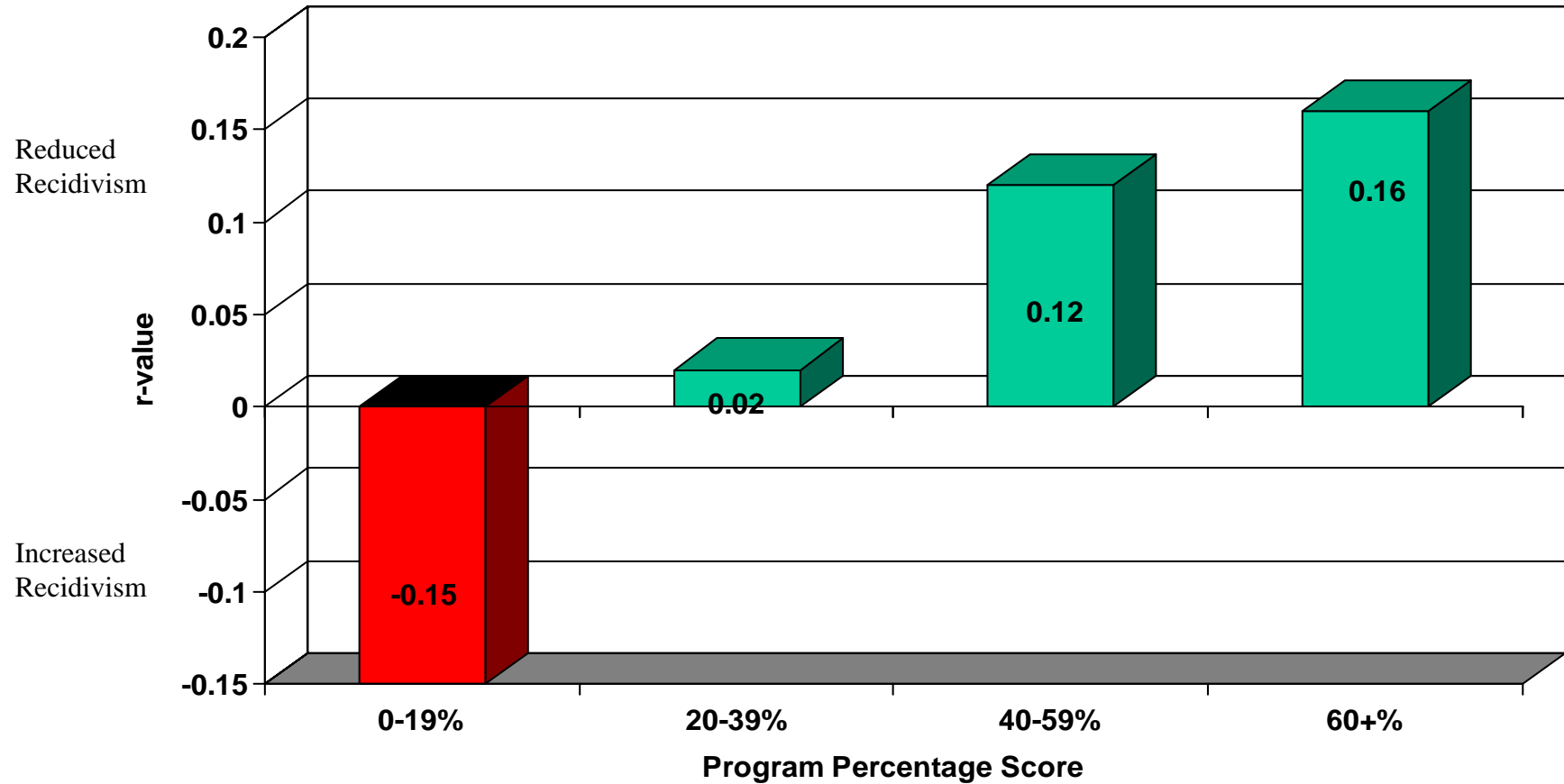
Program Integrity—Relationship Between Program Integrity Score And Treatment Effect for Residential Programs

Reduced Recidivism

Increased Recidivism

Change In Recidivism Rates

0-30	31-59	60-69	70+
-19	5	10	22
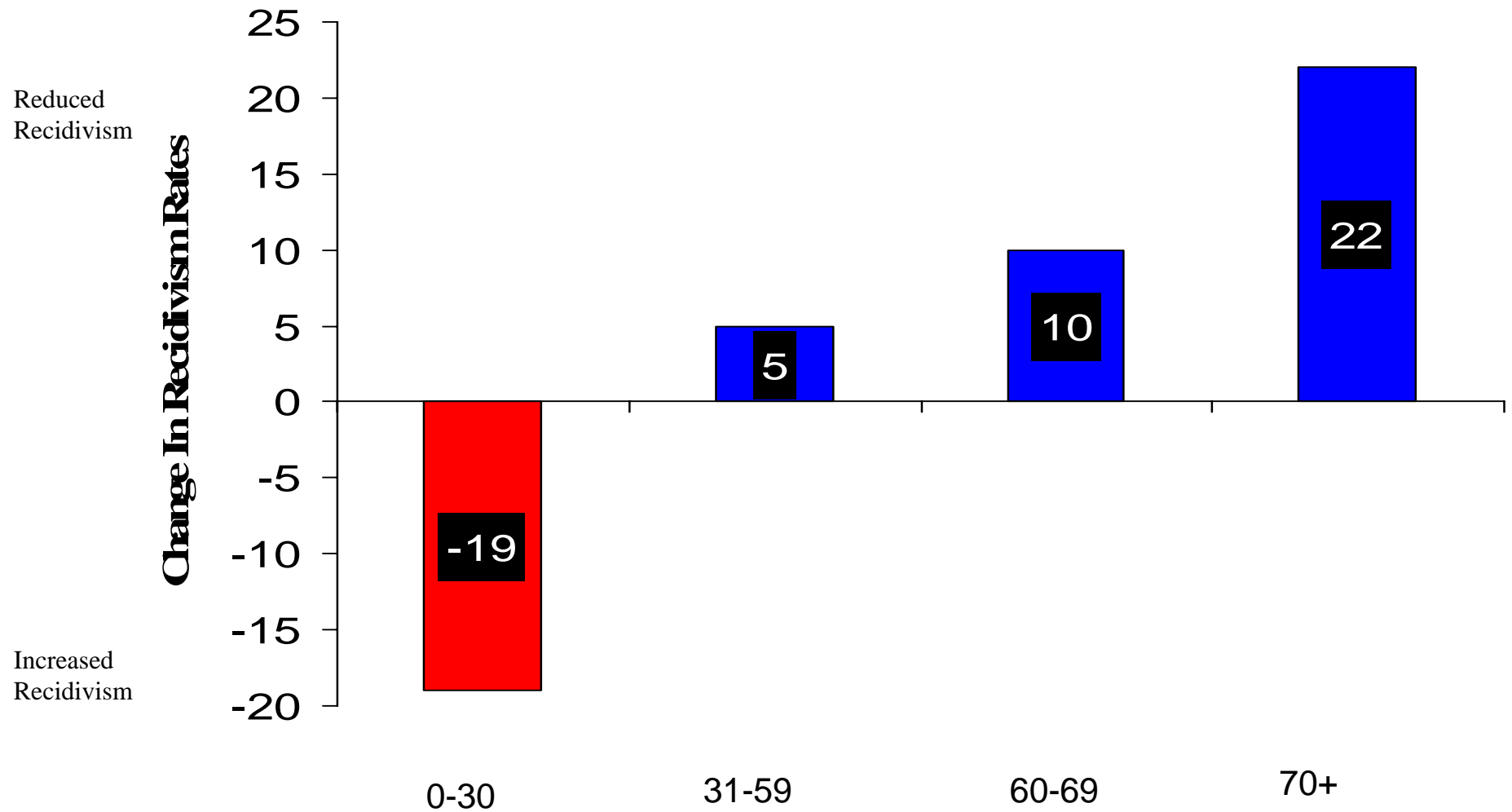
Impact of Program Factors Predicting Felony Adjudication for Juvenile Programs
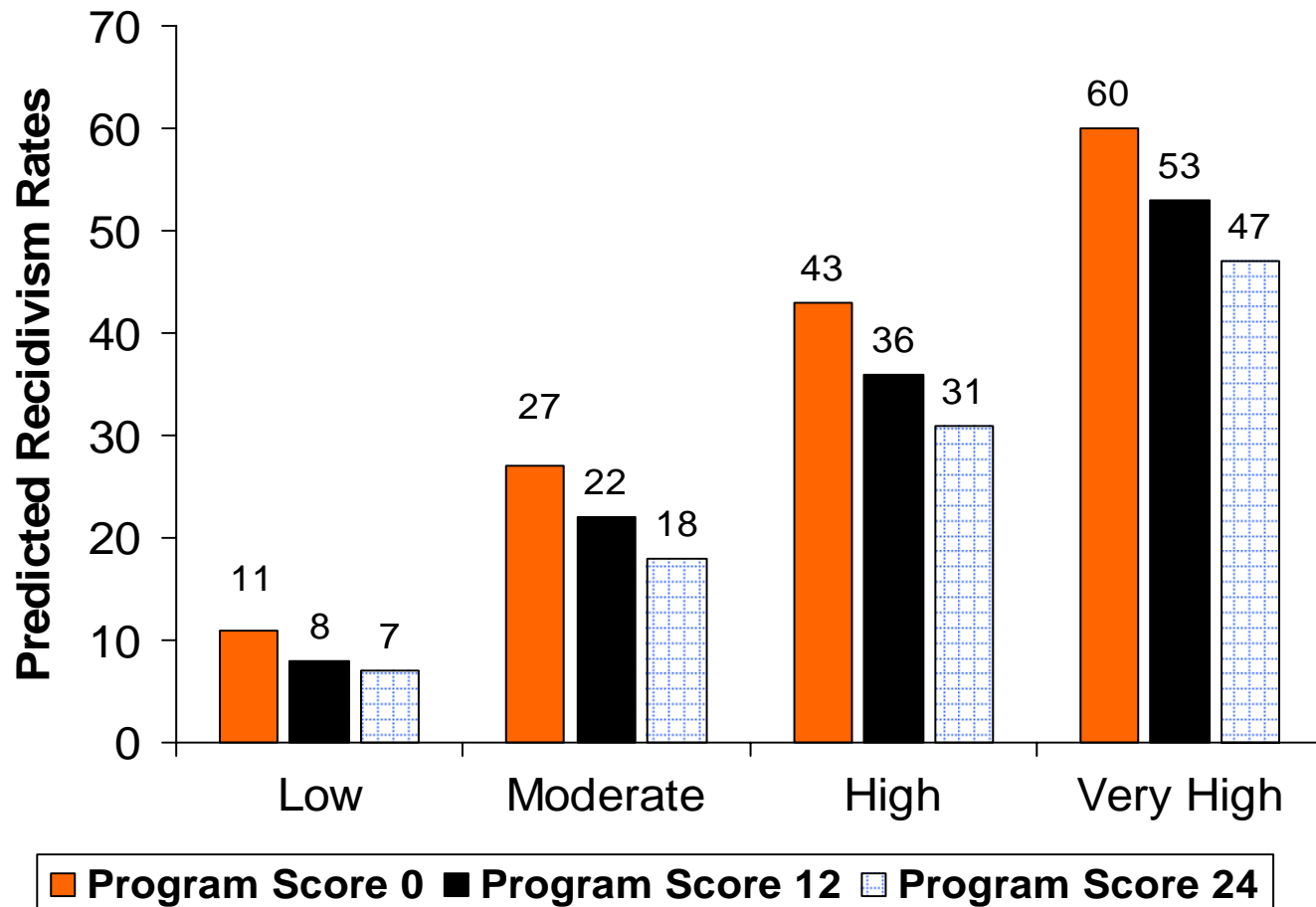
Some Examples from Other States

- Ohio
- Pennsylvania
- North Dakota
- Oregon

Ohio: Target Families

Children of Incarcerated Parents/Returning Home

- Programs target inmates with biological children under the age of 18
  - Programs are operated in Four Largest Counties
  - Programming begins in Prison
- Program targets include:
  - Family cohesiveness
  - Employment
  - Criminal Behavior
- Services include:
  - Enhanced family visitation
  - Family case management
- Programs provide services to families for an average of 9 months
  - Up to 6 months pre-release
  - 6 months post-release

Ohio: Removing Barriers

- U. of Toledo Law School study found over 400 collateral sanctions on offenders

- Barriers included:
  – Employment
  – Civic
  – Stigma

- Current comprehensive legislation is pending to remove some of these barriers. Legislation includes:
  – Expanding treatment through Reentry Courts
  – Addressing collateral sanctions
  – Enhancing agency operations

Pennsylvania: Inmate Reentry & Transition

- Enhance employability and job readiness
- Promote healthy families & interpersonal relationships
- Address critical adjustment period between incarceration & return to community

Pennsylvania

- Created new positions:
  - Reentry Specialist
  - Reentry Coordinator
  - Health Care Release Coordinator
  - Community Resource Specialists
- Created new tools:
  - Reentry planning checklist
  - Hard to place list
  - Statewide Placement Resource Guides
- Created new programs
  - COR (Community orientation & Reintegration) Programming
  - Treatment Options and Alternatives to Re-incarceration for Certain Technical Parole Violators
  - Reentry Courts

North Dakota

- Picked as one of 8 states to participate in Transition from Prison to Community Initiative sponsored by NIC

- Target recidivism by using EBP to target risk and need factors

- Created Transitional Accountability Plan for every offender
  - Revocation guidelines
  - Formed Reentry teams

Oregon

- Requires that large percentage of funds (75% by 2009) spent by DOC, Youth Authority, Mental Health and Substance Abuse agencies go toward Evidence Based Programs

Lessons Learned from the Research

➤ Who you put in a program is important – pay attention to risk

➤ What you target is important – pay attention to criminogenic needs

➤ How you target offender for change is important – use behavioral approaches

Important Considerations

➢Offender assessment is the engine that drives effective programs

       helps you know who & what to target

➢Design programs around empirical research

       helps you know how to target offenders

➢Program Integrity make a difference

       Service delivery, disruption of criminal networks, training/supervision of staff, support for program, QA, evaluation