

#### **Evidence-based Practices**

Alaska Criminal Justice Commission Anchorage, Alaska July 8, 2015

#### **Presentation Outline**

- Data review
  - Correctional control in Alaska
  - Key takeaways from June
  - Up next: August
- Research: Evidence-based practices
  - Research on incarceration
  - Research on reducing recidivism

# CORRECTIONAL CONTROL IN ALASKA

# Population Under Alaska DOC Control has Grown 45% in Past Decade



### Largest Growth Among Probation and Parole, Electronic Monitoring Populations



### Growing Proportion are Supervised in the Community



#### Populations by Placement, July 1, 2014

# KEY DATA TAKEAWAYS FROM JUNE

#### Prison Population Up 27% in Last Decade



### Prison Population is Half Sentenced Offenders, Half Supervision Violators and Pretrial Defendants

Prison Population on July 1, 2014, by Status



### More than Half of Prison Population is Nonviolent Inmates and Supervision Violators

Prison Population on July 1, 2014, by Offense Type



#### Largest Growth Among Pretrial Inmates



#### Main Takeaways

### **Pretrial Detention Population**

- Number of pretrial defendants has increased 81% in last decade
- Half of pretrial defendants are detained on nonviolent charges, including misdemeanors
- Fewer defendants are being admitted pretrial but those admitted are staying longer

#### Main Takeaways

### **Sentenced Inmate Population**

- Number of sentenced offenders increased 14% in last decade
- Growth in number of violent and nonviolent felony offenders
- Felony offenders are staying for longer periods of time, especially alcohol, public order, and sex offenders

#### **Main Takeaways**

### **Supervision Violator Population**

- Number of supervision violators in prison grew 15% in last decade
- More offenders entering prison both pre- and postrevocation than 10 years ago, but staying for shorter periods of time
- On average, supervision violators are staying in prison 33 days unsentenced and 106 days postrevocation

UP NEXT: DATA IN AUGUST

### **August Meeting Topics**

- Community corrections population
  - Probation/parole
    - Stock population
    - Admissions trends
    - Length of stay trends
    - Completion rates
  - 2014 CRC population snapshot
  - 2014 EM population snapshot
- Recidivism
- Projected prison growth

#### **Presentation Outline**

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# **RESEARCH ON INCARCERATION**

#### **Research on Incarceration**

#### Does more incarceration result in less crime?

- Researchers have examined the question of whether increased incarceration caused the crime decline in the 1990's, and have found that it was responsible for 10-30% of the crime decline
- Difficult to isolate the impact, because of other simultaneous variables
  - Improved police strategies, technology, and personal security habits
  - Demographic shifts
  - Changes in drug markets

Source: National Research Council (2014), *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States* 

#### Does more incarceration result in less crime?

- Diminishing returns: The marginal impact of incarceration (the value to society of sending one more person to prison) has declined since the 1990's
- Agreement among researchers: Increasing incarceration today will have little if any effect on crime

#### Does more incarceration result in less crime?

Steve Levitt (2004)

"Expenditures on prisons appear to have benefits that outweigh the direct costs of housing prisoners."

Steve Levitt (2012)

"Today, my guess is that the costs [of incarceration] outweigh the benefits at the margins. I think we should be shrinking the prison population by at least one-third."

Sources: Levitt (2004), Understanding Why Crime Fell in the 1990s; New York Times (Dec. 11, 2012), For Lesser Crimes, Rethinking Life Behind Bars, quoting Steve Levitt.

#### Does incarceration reduce recidivism?

Researchers have examined whether incarceration reduces recidivism more than non-custodial sanctions

- Research models:
  - Matched samples: incarceration vs. non-custodial sanctions
  - Comparing recidivism outcomes
- Findings:
  - No significant difference in recidivism rates

#### **Research on Incarceration**

#### Does incarceration reduce recidivism?

- Campbell Collaboration (2015) (meta-analysis):
  - Found no significant difference in re-arrest and re-conviction rates
- Nagin & Snodgrass (2013):
  - Found no significant difference in 1, 2, 5, and 10-year re-arrest rates
- > Nagin, Cullen & Lero Jonson (2009):
  - Found incarceration has a null or mildly criminogenic effect compared to non-custodial sanctions

#### Does incarceration reduce recidivism?

Researchers have also examined whether longer periods of incarceration reduce recidivism more than shorter periods

Research models:

- Matched samples: shorter periods vs. longer periods
- Compared: recidivism outcomes

> Findings:

No increased benefit of longer periods of incarceration

#### **Research on Incarceration**

#### Does incarceration reduce recidivism?

- Nagin (2009) (meta-analysis):
  - Found no relationship between time served and recidivism
- > Anwar & Stephens (2011):
  - Found no recidivism benefit to increased time served
- > Meade, et al. (2012):
  - For prison terms of 5 years or less: no effect on recidivism
  - For prison terms of 10 years or longer: some reduction in rearrest due to aging out

#### Does incarceration reduce recidivism?

"[L]engthy prison sentences are ineffective as a crime control measure... [and] an inefficient approach to preventing crime by incapacitation unless they are specifically targeted at very highrate or extremely dangerous offenders."

> National Research Council The Growth of Incarceration in the United States (2014)

#### **Research on Incarceration**

### Summary

- > Prison expansion historically:
  - Played a small but significant part in the U.S. crime decline
- Prison expansion today:
  - Has little, if any, additional crime reduction effect (diminishing returns)
- > Reducing recidivism:
  - Incarceration is not more effective than non-custodial sanctions
  - Longer prison terms do not guarantee better outcomes

# **REDUCING RECIDIVISM**

### The Risk Principle

Risk = the likelihood of a negative future outcome

Outcomes of interest:

- Pretrial outcomes (likelihood of failure to appear for court or pretrial misconduct)
- Institutional behavior (likelihood of violence or misbehavior in prison)
- Future offending (likelihood of recidivism generally, violent recidivism, or sex offense recidivism)

### The Risk Principle

Risk of future offending  $\neq$  seriousness of the current offense

- Someone who committed a serious crime could be likely to reoffend (high-risk) or unlikely to reoffend (low-risk)
- Same for someone who committed a low-level crime

Source: Andrews (1999), *Recidivism Is Predictable and Can Be Influenced: Using Risk* Assessments to Reduce Recidivism

### The Risk Principle

#### Figure 1

#### Data Driven: Assessment Tools Can Accurately Identify Offender Risk



Source: Andrews, Bonta & Wormith (2004), Level of Service / Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI): An Offender Assessment System (user's manual)

### The Risk Principle

- Target the group of offenders with the highest risk of recidivism
  - Focus resources where they can have the biggest impact
  - Give offenders with the most risk factors the most supervision and access to the best programming and treatment
- Violating this principle (targeting low-risk offenders) can actually *increase* recidivism

### The Risk Principle



Source: Dowden & Andrews (1999) (meta-analysis)

### The Risk Principle



**Risk Level** 

Source: Latessa et al. (2010), Follow-up Evaluation of Ohio's Community Based Correctional Facilities and Halfway House Programs

### The Risk Principle



Source: Bonta et al. (2000), A Quasi-Experimental Evaluation of an Intensive Rehabilitation Supervision Program

## The Needs Principle

#### **Static risk factors**

- Criminal history
- Age at first arrest
- Current age

#### **Dynamic risk factors**

- Anti-social personality (impulsive, low self-control, disregard for others)
- Anti-social thinking (attitudes, values, beliefs and rationalizations supportive of crime)
- Anti-social peers

- Substance abuse
- Poor family relationships / low expectations from family
- School / work performance and satisfaction
- Lack of prosocial leisure activities
### The Needs Principle

Use supervision and programming to address the risk factors that can be changed

- Reduces risk of reoffending
- Reframes dynamic risk factors as "criminogenic needs"

#### **Risk, Needs, Responsivity**

### The Needs Principle

Example:

- Criminogenic need: Anti-social thinking
- > Supervision and programming to target that need:
  - Identify attitudes and rationalizations that are anti-social
  - Teach, model, and reinforce new skills that offenders can use in stressful situations (coping skills, pros-social responses, anger mgmt., etc.)
  - Provide opportunities for offenders to practice those new skills

#### **Risk, Needs, Responsivity**

# The Needs Principle

Programming that effectively targets criminogenic needs reduces recidivism

Effect of Criminogenic vs. Non-Criminogenic Programming on Recidivism 5% +1%0% **Change in Recidivism Rate** Non-Criminogenic Criminogenic -5% -10% -15% -20% -25% -30% -32% -35% **Needs Targeted** 

Source: Gendreau, French & Taylor (2002), What Works (What Doesn't Work)

### The Responsivity Principle

Some needs should be addressed, not because they're criminogenic, but because they're hurdles to effective programming

Example:

Needing transportation is not itself a criminogenic need, but it can be a barrier to getting programming

### The Responsivity Principle

Addressing these barriers increases an offender's likelihood for success

### Specific responsivity

Literacy, language barriers, motivation, transportation, child care, mental illness, developmental disabilities, different learning styles

### General responsivity

Cultural differences (i.e. not all interventions work in all places)

## Summary

- Risk principle
  - WHO to target with supervision and programming
- Needs principle
  - WHAT to target with supervision and programming
- Responsivity principle
  - HOW to break through barriers to effective supervision and programming

### Swift, Certain, and Proportional Sanctions

- Respond to problem behavior in a manner that will change that behavior
- > Deterrence:
  - Swift, certain, and proportional sanctions have a stronger deterrent effect than delayed, random, and severe sanctions

Source: Nagin & Pogarsky (2001), Integrating Celerity, Impulsivity, and Extralegal Sanction Threats into a Model of General Deterrence: Theory and Evidence

#### **Sanctions and Rewards**

### Swift, Certain, and Proportional Sanctions

**Probation supervision practices** 

Less effective deterrent

- Letting multiple violations build up before a response
- Imposing sanctions after a delay
- Imposing sanctions that are out of proportion to the problem behavior
- Strong deterrent
  - Making consequences clear upfront
  - Responding swiftly to problem behavior
  - Responding with sanctions that are proportionate to the problem behavior

Source: Nagin & Pogarsky (2001), Integrating Celerity, Impulsivity, and Extralegal Sanction Threats into a Model of General Deterrence: Theory and Evidence

#### **Sanctions and Rewards**

### Swift, Certain, and Proportional Sanctions



Source: Hawken and Kleiman (2009), *Managing Drug Involved Probationers with Swift* and Certain Sanctions: Evaluating Hawaii's HOPE

### Swift, Certain, and Proportional Sanctions

- Harrell & Roman (2001) examined whether using swift, certain, and proportional sanctions as part of a drug court program reduced recidivism
  - Research model
    - Matched samples: Participants in drug court program with swift, certain, and proportional sanctions vs. participants in drug court programs without
    - Compared: Re-arrest rates after 2 years
  - Finding
    - Substantially lower re-arrest rates (19% vs. 27% for the control group)

Source: Harrell & Roman (2001), *Reducing Drug Use and Crime Among Offenders: The Impact of Graduated Sanctions* 

### **Incorporate Rewards and Incentives**

- Provide rewards and incentives for meeting casespecific goals of supervision to enhance individual motivation
- Develop a continuum of rewards to round out the continuum of sanctions
- Higher program completion when rewards outnumber sanctions

Source: Wodahl, Garland, Culhane & McCarty (2011), Utilizing Behavioral Interventions to Improve Supervision Outcomes in Community-based Corrections

### **Incorporate Rewards and Incentives**

- Allowing probationers and parolees to step-down their supervision (reduced reporting, less frequent drug testing, etc.) or earn their way off supervision for compliance with conditions
  - Encourages offenders to play by the rules, thereby reducing violations
  - Allocates resources based on which offenders are exhibiting problem behaviors

### **Incorporate Rewards and Incentives**

Arizona Probation Outcomes 2008-2010 **Revocations** New felony **Revocations** convictions to prison to jail 28% 31% 39%

Source: Arizona Administrative Office of the Courts, Adult Probation Services Division

### Incorporate Treatment into Supervision

Incorporate treatment into supervision case plans rather than using surveillance alone

**Cost-Benefit Outcomes for Adult Criminal Justice Programs** 

Program	Cost-benefit ratio
Intensive supervision – surveillance only	-\$0.81
Intensive supervision – surveillance and treatment	\$1.59

Source: Washington State Institute for Public Policy (2012), *available at:* http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/BenefitCost?topicId=2

#### **Frontload Resources**

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#### Months after Release

Source: National Research Council (2007), Parole, Desistance from Crime, and Community Integration

#### **Frontload Resources**

### **Frontload Resources**



Source: Grattet, Petersilia & Lin (2008), Parole Violations and Revocations in California

### **Frontload Resources**

- Focus community supervision resources in the first days, weeks, and months when offenders are most likely to violate conditions or commit a new crime
- Identify offenders who need enhanced supervision and those who do not
  - Reduce reporting requirements / conditions for successful offenders to offset costs of frontloading
- Deter future crime and technical violations by changing offender behavior early in the supervision process

#### **Quality Supervision and Programming**

### Monitor Quality, Fidelity, and Outcomes

- Higher quality evidence-based practices have bigger impacts on recidivism
  - Validate risk / needs assessment tools
  - Train, supervise, and coach staff
  - Manage caseloads
  - Monitor programs for compliance and fidelity
  - Collect data, set performance benchmarks, and monitor outcomes

#### **Quality Supervision and Programming**

### Monitor Quality, Fidelity, and Outcomes

Programs designed to meet offenders' criminogenic needs must be delivered with fidelity to the program model

- Functional Family Therapy
  - Followed model: 38% decrease in recidivism
  - Didn't follow model: 17% increase in recidivism
- > Aggression Replacement Therapy
  - Followed mode: 24% decrease in recidivism
  - Didn't follow model: 7% increase in recidivism

#### **Quality Supervision and Programming**

### Monitor Quality, Fidelity, and Outcomes

#### Effect of Internal Quality Assurance on Recidivism Outcomes



Source: Latessa et al. (2010), Follow-up Evaluation of Ohio's Community Based Correctional Facilities and Halfway House Programs

#### **Summary Takeaways**

### **Reducing Recidivism**

- Criminal justice interventions should:
  - Assess risks, target needs, and address barriers
  - Use swift, certain, and proportional sanctions
  - Use incentives and rewards
  - Incorporate treatment into supervision
  - Frontload resources for offenders coming out prison
  - Monitor quality, fidelity, and outcomes

# **Questions?**

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