Supervision— Exploring the Dimensions of Effectiveness

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WITH OVER 4.2 million adults under criminal supervision and over one-third of the new intakes to prison a year being failures from criminal supervision, the effectiveness of supervision is frequently questioned. Meta-analysts had concluded that much in the correctional arena did not work (e.g., boot camps, intensive supervision, and case management) and some interventions work for select offenders (e.g., cognitive behavioral therapy, intensive supervision with treatment, therapeutic community with aftercare). But overall, the vast majority of correctional interventions fall into the "don't know" category, where we are unsure about the effectiveness due to a lack of quality evaluations (e.g., drug courts, supervision, drug testing, outpatient programming, etc.) (MacKenzie, 2000; Taxman, 1999; Andrews & Bonta, 1996; Martinson, 1974). The field of supervision is one area where very little is known, primarily due to the scanty number of studies that have been devoted to measuring the effectiveness of overall supervision.

Since supervision is often considered to be in the background of other programming (e.g., outpatient therapy, cognitive behavioral skill building, drug courts, day reporting programs, etc.), few studies have been devoted to understanding what "works" in supervision. The nature and activities of supervision are often considered inconsequential to effectiveness. The general impression is that supervision is "in lieu of incarceration," or *less*

of a punishment than other interventions. As we will discuss in this paper, a discussion about the effectiveness of supervision must ultimately require a revised model of how supervision can impact offender outcomes. In this paper, we will review the existing literature, outline the components of a model of supervision based on the evidenced-based literature in corrections and psychological interventions, and identify some of the issues that supervision agencies must address as they move towards an evidenced-based model of supervision.

I. What Works in Supervision?

For the past nearly two decades, incarceration (overcrowding) and intermediate sanctions have dominated the discussions in corrections. Intermediate sanctions developed as an approach to address overcrowding, although it was widely recognized that intermediate sanction programs add intensity to the seemingly stark community supervision. Intermediate sanction programs were conceived and implemented as short intensive programs—such as day reporting centers, boot camps, intensive supervision programs, and drug courts—that use control and punishment techniques to handle the correction populations. Petersilia (1999), in a recent review of the lessons learned during the decade of intermediate sanction programming, concluded that control-oriented programs have

limited impact on recidivism unless they include a therapeutic component. The question that looms is how to incorporate the therapeutic component within the fabric of correctional programming to ensure that behavior change is a goal. Recent efforts have aimed at improving the capacity of the supervision agencies to handle the offender behavior in the community (Petersilia, 1999; Taxman, 1998; Harrell et al., 2002), whether through drug court, systemic efforts, or treatment as part of supervision.

Researchers have generally concluded that intensive supervision is ineffective (Mackenzie, 2000; Sherman, et al., 1997). This leaves open the question about the effectiveness of general supervision, since it is generally presumed that general supervision is different from intensive supervision. Byrne and Pattavina (1992) point out that most offenders complete supervision without a technical violation or new arrest—nearly 60 percent according to the latest Bureau of Justice report (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2001a,b)—and therefore supervision is viable. But few studies have assessed the varying frameworks for supervision that reflect different missions/goals, different theoretical frameworks, and different operational components. The available studies have not tried to measure the differential effects of various types of supervision. From a research perspective, a series of randomized experiments or clinical trials is needed to understand the im-

pact of different sanctions and a mixture of supervision services, such as a comparison of weekly to monthly contact, where it is hypothesized that such incremental differences (four contacts vs. one contact a month) could make a difference in outcomes.

Overall, there have been few rigorous assessments of the effectiveness of different interventions in the field of supervision. The majority of studies have related to caseload size and intensive supervision. Little has been done on case management, risk assessment, or models testing different philosophies of supervision. Overall, supervision is considered atheoretical in that it is the process of monitoring. It is typically based on no theory other than social control. Monitoring is recognized as a form of external control by the provision of an authority figure to monitor the adherence to certain restrictions (e.g., curfews, drug use, gun possession, etc.). Essentially the external control model presumes that the offender has the capacity and skills to internalize the required change as part of the compliance process. It also assumes that the external controls will be perceived as limiting in the eyes of the offender, which will ultimately improve offender compliance.

Supervision services are built on the framework that "contacts," or the relationship between the offender and the supervision agent, are the cornerstone to managing and/or changing offender behavior. (Even in the control model, the anticipated change is compliance with the rules of supervision, including being crime-free). Contacts provide the means to monitor the performance of offenders and to provide direction to the offender. As defined by most agencies, a supervision contact refers to the number of times that an offender meets (e.g., the exposure rate between a supervision agent and an offender). Contacts can also take the form of face-to-face interactions, telephone calls, collateral contacts (e.g., employer, family member, sponsor, etc.), and notification from service agencies (e.g., drug treatment, mental health, etc.). Generally contacts are categorized as direct (face-to-face) or collateral (with someone other than agent). Contacts became accepted in the supervision field because they are easily quantifiable and can be measured in a workload formula. In the risk management literature, the assumption is that the number of contacts will increase as the offender is deemed to be more of a risk to recidivate (O'Leary & Clear, 1984). Contacts are generally considered an important component of the supervision process, with the

general assumption that more contacts are needed for high-risk offenders to provide external controls on their behavior.

A number of studies have been conducted to test the effectiveness of contacts on offender outcomes, as shown in Table 1. Contacts have been operationalized in two different ways: 1) increasing the number of times that there is personal exposure between the offender and agent, generally referred to as intensive supervision; and 2) reducing the span of control of agents to a manageable caseload size to allow the agent and the offender to interact both more frequently and more directly on criminogenic issues. These two concepts of supervision programs—number of contacts and size of the caseload—have been studied in a number of experiments dating back to the 1960s. Results from the initiatives tended to indicate that increased contacts or smaller caseloads did not result in reduced recidivism (Petersilia & Turner, 1993a,b; Petersilia, 1998; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1985; Taxman, 1982; MacKenzie, 2000).

The most widely recognized evaluation of intensive supervision was conducted by Joan Petersilia and Susan Turner in the late 1980s/early 1990s. The fourteen (14) site evaluations of intensive supervision randomly assigned offenders to intensive supervision (ranging from 4 to 20 contacts a month) or general supervision (refer to Table 2). Table 2 also illustrates the focus of the supervision programs that were generally surveillance oriented, with a few sites devoted to a brokerage model of referring to services. In this multi-site ISP evaluation, the frequency of contacts varied from weekly to a monthly, yet there was no appreciable difference in the rearrest rates compared to routine probationers that were being supervised at much lower contact rates (an average of thirty-eight (38) percent rearrest rate for ISP compared to thirty-six (36) percent for routine probationers). The increase in contacts, however, was helpful in closer surveillance of the offender and therefore uncovered more technical violations. Petersilia and Turner (1993a,b) report that seventy (70) percent of the ISP offenders and forty (40) percent of the control offenders had technical violations, with more ISP offenders returning to prison or jail after one year. These study findings replicate prior studies on intensive supervision that found increasing the number of contacts did not improve outcomes (MacKenzie, 2000; Sherman, et al., 1997).

The second concept, reduced caseload size, hypothesizes that agents could manage the

caseload with better outcomes if they had a smaller number of offenders to supervise. With the average agent having over 100 offenders to supervise, it was widely recognized that such a caseload did not allow for appropriate monitoring, oversight, or rapport building. The preferred caseload size (ranging from 25 to 40 to one agent) in theory allows the staff to devote more time to each case. A series of studies on caseload size, beginning in the 1970s, illustrated that the caseload size did not make a difference in offender outcomes. Smaller caseloads did not reduce rearrest rates. In a recent study conducted by Latessa and his colleagues, offenders supervised in smaller caseloads had similar rearrest rates to offenders on normal caseloads (75 or more). The researchers also found that offenders in smaller caseloads and traditional caseloads received similar services (Latessa, Travis, Fulton & Stichman, 1998). Smaller caseloads did not result in fewer arrests or greater participation in treatment services. The studies tended to find that agents with reduced caseloads tended to be involved in more administrative duties than in supervision of offenders.

The search for the magic number of contacts and the appropriate caseload size has resulted in some disappointments, because the research continues to find that the quantitative nature of contacts does not impact offender outcomes such as rearrest rates. MacKenzie in her review of correctional programming comments that:

> Although research has not revealed a significant relationship between levels of surveillance and recidivism, there was some evidence that increased treatment of offenders in ISP programs may be related to significant reductions in rearrests. Follow-up analyses by the RAND researchers (Petersilia & Turner 1993a,b) and also researchers evaluating ISP programs in Massachusetts (Byrne & Kelly 1989), Oregon (Jolin & Stipack 1991) and Ohio (Latessa, 1993a,b) had found evidence that rearrests are reduced when offenders receive treatment services in addition to the increased surveillance and control of the ISP programs. For example, Petersilia and Turner (1993a,b) reported a 10 to 20 percent reduction in recidivism for those who were most active in programs while they were in the community. However, the research designs used in these evaluations did not reach the experimental rigor of the random assignment study by RAND that examined the effect of increasing the surveillance and control of ISP participants. (MacKenzie, 1997:447)

TABLE 1

Summary of Major Studies on Supervision

Scholars	Year	Emphasis	Methods*	Findings
Adams, Welch, & Bonds	1958	Caseload Size	Randomized	No Difference in Recidivism
Eze	1970	Caseload Size	Randomized	No Difference in Recidivism
Havel & Sulka	1964	Caseload Size	Randomized	No Difference in Recidivism
Havel	1965	Caseload Size	Randomized	No Difference in Recidivism
California Department of Corrections	1960, 1961	Caseload Size/ISP	Randomized	No Difference in Recidivism
Himelson & Margulies	1965	Caseload Size	Randomized	No Difference in Recidivism
Sing	1967	Caseload Size	Randomized	No Difference in Recidivism
Burkhart	1969	Caseload Size	Randomized	No Difference in Recidivism
Robison, Wilkins, Carter & Wahl	1969	Caseload Size	Randomized	No Difference in Recidivism
Lohman, Wahl, Carter & Lewis	1967	Caseload Size	Randomized	No Difference in Recidivism
Oklahoma Department of Corrections	1972	Caseload Size	Randomized	No Difference in Recidivism
Fallen, Apperson, Hall-Milligan & Aos	1981	ISP	Quasi-Experimental (3)	No Difference but Lower for ISP
Erwin	1986	ISP	Quasi-Experimental (3)	No Difference but Lower for ISP
Mitchell & Butter	1986	ISP	Quasi-Experimental (3)	No Difference. Higher for ISP
Pearson	1987	ISP	Quasi-Experimental (3)	No Difference. Lower for ISP
Byrne & Kelly	1989	ISP	Quasi-Experimental (3)	No Difference. Lower for ISP
Jolin & Stipack	1994	ISP	Quasi-Experimental (2)	No Difference. Higher for ISP
Petersilia & Turner	1993a,b	ISP	Randomized (5)— 14 Sites	No Difference. Higher for ISP in 10 sites/lower in 4
Austin & Hardyman	1991	ISP-Elect Monitor	Quasi-Experimental (3)	No Difference. Higher for ISP
NCCD	1991	ISP	Quasi-Experimental (3)	No Difference. Higher for ISP Probationers but lower for ISP Parolees
Latessa	1992	ISP	Quasi-Experimental (3)	No Difference. Higher for ISP
Latessa	1993	ISP	Quasi-Experimental (2)	No Difference. Drug/Mental Health Offenders had higher recidivism rates than others
Moon & Latessa	1993	ISP	Quasi-Experimental (3)	No Difference. Lower for ISP
Latessa	1993b	ISP	Quasi-Experimental (3)	No Difference. Higher for ISP
Latessa, Travis, Fulton & Stichman	1998	ISP	Randomized— 2 Agencies	No Difference for ISP

*The rating reflects the rank assigned by the University of Maryland in their review of the literature on effective interventions. See Sherman, et al., 1997 for a description of the scale and MacKenzie (1997) for a discussion of the studies.

TABLE 2
Summary of 14 Sites of the ISP Experiment

	Supervision Components					
	Caseload Size	Face-to-Face Contacts	Number of Drug Tests	Emphasis	Rearrest Rate (%)	Technical Violations
California						
Contra Costa	40:1	4	4	Drug Testing	29	64
Los Angeles	33:1	16	*	Active Elec Monitor	32	61
Ventura	19:1	16	4	Police Coordination/Job	32	70
Washington						
Seattle	20:1	12	8	Surveillance/TX Referrals	46	73
Georgia						
Atlanta	25:2	12	8	Passive Elec Monitors	12	65
Macon	25:2	12	8	Active Elec Monitors	42	100
Waycross	25:2	12	8	TX referrals	12	18
New Mexico						
Santa Fe	35:2	12	4	Counseling	48	69
Iowa						
Des Moines	35:3	16	8	Active Elec Monitors	24	59
Virginia						
Winchester	24:1	12	X	Substance Abuse Evaluation	25	64
Texas						
Dallas	25:1	6	*	Employment/Graduate	39	20
Houston	25:1	6	*	Sanctions Employment/Graduate Sanctions	44	81
Oregon						
Marion	30:2	20	*	Surveillance	33	92
Wisconsin						
Milwaukee	40:2	12	X	Passive Elec Monitors	58	92

Very few of the studies discussed the issues surrounding the qualitative nature of the contacts that occur in the supervision setting. In fact, the lack of studies on the contextual nature of contacts suggested that the concept of a contact, generally the core of supervision, is atheoretical. The relationship that occurrs between the offender and the agent is presumed to be the basis for the offender to change due to the controls that the agent places on the offender and the attention to supervision objectives (Clear & O'Leary, 1983; Dembo, 1972; Duffee, 1975; Katz 1982). That is, monitoring or contacts are believed to be a form of "control." Correctional scholars and practitioners have not defined a theoretical model for monitoring other than that it is a form of "control." Insufficient studies have been conducted to determine whether the impact of the control or surveillance affects the offenders' perception of the degree to which they are under the control of an authority figure, the degree to which the offender feels an obligation to conform, and the degree to which the offender is vested in the goals of supervision or a myriad of other hypotheses about the impact of surveillance on offender behavior. Studies on intensive supervision and reduced caseload size indicate that unless the contacts are more than "check-ins," it is unlikely that they will impact offender outcomes.

A. Unanswered Questions About Supervision

In trying to understand the effectiveness of supervision, two other issues need to be considered: purpose of supervision and case management protocols. As previously mentioned, Petersilia (1999) has indicated that one of the critical lessons learned in the intermediate sanction era (late 1980s-1990s) was the importance of clinical approaches. These clinical approaches are more likely to lead to reductions in recidivism. In fact, in the 14-site study of ISPs, the researchers found that the offenders with some counseling services (e.g., employment, substance abuse, etc.) tended to have better ISP outcomes than those with merely surveillance functions (Petersilia & Turner 1993a). This suggested the importance of the use of therapeutic techniques to reduce involvement in crime-free activities.

Purpose of Supervision

Supervision agencies have generally been perplexed about their actual role in the criminal justice system. Historically agencies have tried to achieve two purposes—enforcer and social worker—and have found the polar nature of the two tasks often conflicting. During different periods in the history of supervision, one or other of the two roles has tended to dominate. Social worker orientation tended to dominate the field until the mid-1970s, when the enforcer role took precedent. The social worker role emphasized the brokerage model, with agents responsible for referring offenders to needed services in the community. In some select agencies, agents used their counseling skills and ran group sessions. The social work approach focused on brokering available services in the community from other agencies (e.g., alcohol and drug treatment, employment, mental health services, community services, etc.), instead of providing supervision agencies with the capacity to directly offer these services to offenders.

The emergence of the enforcer role occurred as "nothing works" promulgated in the field, stressing the historical foundation of supervision as part of the judicial arm mandated to monitor compliance with court-ordered conditions. Dissatisfaction with rehabilitation efforts, along with a growing interest in retributive justice, focused on community supervision as an enforcer of the conditions of release. The enforcer role focused on the offender complying with conditions of release, and placed more external control on the offender (e.g., drug tests, curfews, house arrest, more reporting and face-to-face contacts, etc.). The enforcer role placed less emphasis on providing services to address underlying criminogenic risk and need factors. A de-emphasis on brokering resulted as many agencies assumed that the traditional social work role was outside of the scope of supervision. Similarly, the rise in case management as a function separate from supervision (e.g., Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime, etc.) promoted the enforcers' role of supervision. Case management functions were characterized as antithetical to supervision services since agents were ultimately "freed up" from the responsibility of addressing the services articulated in the court order. The fragmentation of supervision services into risk management/control and case management basically allowed supervision agencies to emphasize the monitoring functions characteristics of the "enforcer" role. This added to bifurcation of the brokerage function ascribed to supervision.

Interestingly, few evaluations have been conducted of the basic premise of supervision, whether it reflects a social work or enforcer philosophy. As shown in Table 2, more emphasis has been placed on surveillance techniques as the focus of the supervision. One can conclude, as did Petersilia (1999), that monitoring did little to yield better offender outcomes. But overall, the research literature has not tested the different components of supervision—monitoring, brokerage, direct service, etc.—on offender outcomes. The emphasis has been more theoretical—about the general mission of supervision and how this translates into functions for staff. The impact of these different staff operations on offender outcomes is unclear.

Risk Assessment

Assessment provides critical information about the characteristics of the offender that impact effective supervision of the offender. In the 1980s the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) recommended that correctional agencies should assess the offender on risk factors (propensity to commit crimes) and need factors (sociological needs that impact criminal behavior). NIC developed a risk tool and process that provided the framework for many correctional agencies (Van Hoorhis & Brown, 1997). The suggested design required the risk tool to be validated on the population of a jurisdiction. NIC recommended that each jurisdiction use a risk/needs assessment tool to make decisions about contact level and service needs based on this instrument. This process also called for reassessing offenders every six months to realign supervision contacts based on performance in supervision. The classification and reclassification process was deemed a critical component of effectively managing the offender in the community (O'Leary & Clear, 1984). Similar processes were recommended for offenders being supervised by pretrial and parole agencies. Risk and need factors were considered important to drive caseload management and the use of scarce correctional resources on offenders that had the greatest likelihood of recidivating. Today, few systems have systemic screening and assessment processes to identify target populations for more intensive services, even though a key to good correctional programming is to target the high-risk offender to more intensive controls and services. A few tests of the responsivity, assigning high-risk offenders to more intensive services, have generally found high-risk offenders who have lower recidivism rates when they are assigned to more intensive services (Thanner & Taxman, 2001; Andrews & Bonta, 1996).

New Frontiers in Supervision

Since little in the supervision literature has been empirically tested, it is important to examine the potential theoretical frameworks for supervision that could translate into offender behavior change. Taxman, Soule, and Gelb (1999) argue that a system of procedural justice would improve compliance with the rules of supervision and therefore translate into changes in offender behavior. Applying the constructs of procedural justice, the scholars contend that providing a setting where the rules/expectations are clear and uniformly applied would increase the overall compliance rate and improve outcomes. As part of this model, the supervision contact is the means to ensure uniformity to the general rules of supervision. Taxman and Bouffard (2000) have extended this theory to define supervision as an intervention where the purpose and intent of the contact is to motivate the offender to change his/her behavior. The contact is equivalent to "brief interventions," which are short in duration but empower the offender to address criminogenic factors that contribute to offender behavior (e.g., substance abuse, educational deficits, etc.).

Similarly Sachwald (2001) has identified how supervision can borrow from the "what

works" literature to include more cognitive behavior strategies to achieve desired changes in offender behavior. In her model, she illustrates how supervision can meet the tenets of sound intervention programming. As shown below, Sachwald maps the convergence of the different concepts to illustrate how supervision can be construed as an intervention.

B. Evidenced-based Practices in Changing Offender Behavior

The larger body of literature in the field of corrections, addictions, and psychological interventions provides evidence about practices that could be applicable to the field of supervision. These practices could be incorporated into the field to develop a theoretical model of supervision that contributes to changes in offender behavior to maximize recidivism reduction.

Use of Informal Social Controls

Family, peers and community had been shown to have a more direct effect on offender behavior than formal social controls such as law enforcement or supervision (see, e.g., Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Byrne, 1990; Sampson & Laub, 1993). In a series of studies that is part of the understanding of the life course, Sampson and Laub (1993) and Warr (1998) document that offenders tended to respond more positively to the needs and desires of natural support systems such as family, peers and the community. In most correctional programming, informal social controls are perceived as being insignificant to the controls exerted by authority figures such as judges, probation/parole officials, and police officers. Correctional programming is generally premised on formal social control, but the involvement of the family and community in offender behavior is critical to ensure long-term changes. The value of using the natural systems to address law-abiding behavior is that correctional agencies can provide the springboard to stabilizing the offender in the community. The process also focuses the attention on the natural system, and provides needed support for such changes.

Duration of the Intervention

Length of treatment has been a consistent finding in the research literature on effective interventions. While few studies have examined the optimal length of interventions, it is

TABLE 3

Mapping "What Works" with Supervision Components

What Works	Maryland's Supervision Model
Identify Criminogenic Risk/Needs Factors	• Identify high-risk offenders by place or drug use • Develop new risk tool to guide risk decision • Utilize tools to identify needs • Use drug testing to identify drug-using offenders
Target Interventions to High-Risk Offenders	• Target places with heavy criminal activity • Use Drug Court/Correctional Options for high-risk drug offenders • Use Break the Cycle methods to monitor use and target for services based on use • Monitor sex offenders
Minimize Services for Low-Risk Offenders	• Use monitoring tools for low risk • Differential caseloads: ratio of 50-55 for high risk and ratio of 200 for low-risk, low-need • Use Kiosk for low risk
Use Cognitive Behavioral Interventions	• Integrate cognitive behavioral therapy into supervision contacts • Utilize Motivational Interviewing as part of the supervision contacts • Identify interventions that are appropriate for different offenders (e.g., ASAM, review of treatment interventions, etc.) • Use graduated sanctions for behavioral monitoring
Engage Social Support in Intervention	• Utilize community team strategies involving police, treatment, and other community agencies • Use home contacts

widely recognized that sustained behavior change cannot be achieved in a short period of time. Sustained change is expected in the values, attitudes, and behaviors of the offenders. The duration of the intervention then becomes important as a means to reinforce the change process. The recommended treatment process is approximately 18 months in duration (Simpson & Knight, 1999; Taxman, 1998) involving multiple stages. For example, in one of the renowned Key/Crest therapeutic community programming in Delaware, Maryland, the program consisted of several levels: in-prison treatment, work release center, and community-based services. The programming transcends all levels of services and provides a multi-stage programming. While research on program duration is inconclusive, a growing consensus finds that programs 90 days or longer have better programmatic outcomes.

Dosage Units are Important

Besides duration, the amount of treatment provided is also important. While research has demonstrated that changing the attitude, values, and behavior of offenders is a process that is unlikely to occur over a short period of time, the amount of services provided and the versatility in the nature of the services is also important. Most offenders have multiple needs (e.g., housing, substance abuse, mental health, etc.) and the most successful interventions attend to the issues that impact outcomes (Etheridge, et al., 1997). The nature and type of treatment provided is critical to ensure that they address the psychosocial needs of the offender. Intensive services should be followed by support services provided during stabilization and maintenance periods to reinforce treatment messages (NIDA, 2000; Surgeon General, 2000).

As Prochaski and DiClemente (1986) discuss in their stages-of-change model, changing requires a nonlinear process involving different steps—precontemplation, contemplation, action planning, maintenance, and relapse. To assist the offender in this process, interventions that are suitable to the needs of the offender and are likely to require different dosages of services are needed. That is, the once-a-month or once-a-week "contact" may be insufficient to achieve the goal of supervision. Intervention units should be matched to offenders' risks and needs, and their mental state regarding the readiness to change. Often, intensive interventions are more effective when they are preceded by treatment focused on building offender motivation and advancing their readiness for change (Taxman, 1999; Simpson & Knight, 1999).

Continuum of Care

Continuity in behavior-change interventions is critical to achieving gains in offender behavior (Taxman, 1998; Simpson, Wexler & Inciardi, 1999). Interventions offered in prison, the community, or community-based facilities should be built on each other. Since offenders are likely to be involved in various interventions during the different phases of the legal process, it is important for the approaches to be compatible. Continuity can be achieved on two levels: 1) similar philosophy of care, and 2) continuation of the treatment programming through either stepping-up or stepping-down the services. Continuity provides for a continuum of care that assists with cost-effective strategies of services that increase the duration in treatment but also serve to incorporate compatible services for the offender.

Offender Accountability Through Contingency Management and Graduated Responses

Both in the behavioral management and justice literature, scholars have promoted a series of consistent rules that guide participation in social interventions. Clearly laying the ground rules reduces the mystique of supervision, and clearly applying the rules reinforces the expected behavior of the offender. A favored tool is a behavioral contract that identifies the expected behavior, the consequences of non-compliance, and the benefits of compliance. Specifying the rules and their consistent application increases the offender's awareness of his/her responsibility. Studies in the area of contingency management, which

models the principles of procedural justice, has generally found that addicts tend to improve their outcomes when a behavioral contract exists and the contract is uniformly applied (Silverman, et al., 1996). Overall, the strength of the literature in contingency management supports the basic principles of procedural justice that deterrence is possible if the offender population has a clear understanding of the rules and the system (e.g., supervision, treatment, judiciary, etc.), and if officers respond swiftly and with certain clearly articulated responses and graduated responses.

II. Towards An Evidence-based Model of Supervision

Supervision has been dominated by surveillance and control strategies, with some efforts towards brokering treatment and employment services. The approach has generally been to rely upon the treatment interventions that serve offender populations to incorporate the research principles instead of developing within supervision such evidenced-based practices. Yet, supervision, by its nature, is designed to work on "…the offender's attitudes, by strengthening the offender as a person, by reducing various external pressures and by increasing supports and opportunities, and by helping the offender become more satisfied and self-fulfilled within the context of society's values" (Palmer, 1995). Using the procedural justice and behavioral interventions, a model of supervision can be achieved to garner greater compliance with the conditions of release, and therefore increase the specific deterrence impact. In essence, supervision is a means to engage the offender in a process of improving compliance with general societal norms, including the conditions of release. Supervision has the following objectives that focus on offender compliance:

- To use the supervision period to engage the offender in a process of change;

- To assist the offender in understanding his/her behavior and becoming committed to behavioral change;

- To assist the offender in learning to manage his behavior and comply with societal norms.
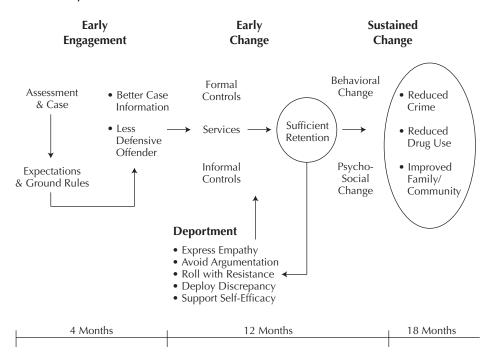
A model of supervision can be found in Exhibit 1, which identifies how the supervision process works. That is, supervision must be perceived as a process that involves a series of steps and progress measures in order

to bring about changes in the offender's behavior. There are three key areas of the supervision process: 1) engagement of the offender in the process of change through the assessment of criminogenic factors and development of a plan to address these factors; 2) involvement in early behavioral changes through the use of targeted services (e.g., treatment, etc.) and controls; and, 3) sustained change through compliance management techniques. The glue of the process is deportment or the manner of being between the offender and the agent. The contact is the key because it is the means to focus the purpose of supervision and it allows the offender and agent to develop a rapport. Like in the therapeutic setting, the degree of rapport between the offender and agent is an important component for the supervision process to achieve better outcomes. To make supervision the most successful, contacts must have a function that exceed the mere exchange of information. The contact is more of an engagement process that is designed to achieve desired outcomes.

Engagement in Pro-Social Values & Behaviors

Initial impressions are usually very important, and in fact can define the relationship. As part of the process of wedding the offender to behavior change, the first stage of the supervision process should be devoted to understanding the criminogenic risk and needs of the offender. Usually referred to as intake, the introduction to supervision is more than a mere formality. It provides the setting to diagnoses factors contributing to criminal behavior, to outline the ground rules and expectations for supervision, and to engage the offender in assuming responsibility for the success on supervision. The engagement process requires the use of diagnostic processes to put together a case plan and/or behavioral contract that respond to the criminogenic factors. The six general areas that should be addressed are: anti-social personality, low self-control, deviant peers, substance abuse, antisocial values, and family issues. These are dynamic factors that change over time and are less likely to be static (e.g., less susceptible to change).

The engagement process should be devoted to getting the offender ready to address these criminogenic factors by illustrating how the factors contribute to legal troubles. The "honeymoon" period is basically designed to

EXHIBIT 1
Model Supervision Process

engage the offender in the change process by preparing them for dealing with issues that affect criminal behavior. This preparation is critically important because it addresses the two main factors that prevent people from making the commitment to change, namely defensiveness and ambivalence. Defensiveness refers to the walls that are put up around dealing with issues that affect criminality. It is hypothesized that by using different rapport and communications strategies the contact can be used to break down the defensiveness and increase the offender's commitment to change. The second is ambivalence, or the process of being non-committal. To break down the defensiveness and ambivalence of the offender requires skills focusing on moving the offender into recognizing that certain issues (e.g., family, employment, substance abuse, etc.) are problem behaviors and that there are means to address these behaviors. Similar to the Prochaski and DiClemente's (1986) stages-of-change model, this moves from pre-contemplation to contemplation.

The goal of the engagement period is a case plan that moves the offender into an action plan to address criminogenic factors. The action plan should use the controls and services to prepare the offender to begin to make the psycho-social behavioral changes. The assessment should place the offender in one of the following boxes: high risk/high need; high risk/low need; low risk/high need; low risk/

low need. The placement should determine the degree of services and controls that are needed to maximize public safety. The risk factors should also respond to the special needs of offenders based on their typology: drug involved offender, alcohol involved offender, mental health needs, sexual deviant behavior, disassociated offender (e.g., not connected to the community), and persistent offending. *The supervision plan addresses the criminogenic factors through the use of services and control of the offender's behavior.* The plan needs to have three major components to address evidence-based practices:

Informal Social Controls. Involving the community, a support group, and/or family is part of the process of building the offender's sense of responsibility and sense of belonging to the community. The informal social controls will transcend the justice system to provide the natural protectors when the justice system is no longer involved. Informal social controls can also be trained to understand the offender's deviant behavior (e.g., in the case of sex offenders) that can be instructive for the natural system that must work with the offender to minimize harm to the community. The agent is then working with the offender and the natural system to develop controls that can transcend the justice system. From the restorative justice perspective, this capacity building is advantageous for the offender and the victim. Research studies on the

importance of support systems in minimizing criminal behavior (Sampson & Laub, 1993) provide convincing support for agents to develop these natural systems for the purpose of ensuring that the offender works towards the goal of being a contributing member of the community during the supervision period.

A new mechanism used by some correctional agencies, particularly when the offender does not have a natural support system, is community advocates or guardians. These advocates are citizens who volunteer (or are paid) to be vehicles to communicate with the offender, and provide daily guidance in living in the community. The guardian provides for a community companion who is available to assist the offender in acquiring and maintaining employment and services (e.g., health, mental health, social, drug or alcohol treatment, etc.). The advocate is a companion to the offender, similar to a sponsor in a self-help group.

Formal Controls/Services. The supervision plan should also include a mixture of clinical and control services. Informational controls are needed as part of the service matching to ensure that offenders are maintaining the integrity of the case plan. Most of these formal controls can actually be considered as informational controls—that is, they provide feedback to the agent on the progress of the offender. Drug testing, curfews, electronic monitoring, progress reports, etc. are needed to provide objective information about the degree to which the offender is internalizing the behavior change. The formal controls should complement the informal social controls and services.

Table 4 illustrates the integration of the different services and (formal and informal) social controls to control and change the behavior of the offender (Taxman, Young & Byrne 2002). The degree of social control should depend on the severity of the criminogenic risk factors. More restrictions are warranted for more serious behavior and criminogenic risk factors. For example, technology can provide enhancements to monitor offender's behavior and provide objective measures of behavior. The electronic monitoring device is one tool to limit the behavior of the offender when area restrictions or curfews are insufficient. That is, offenders who have more difficulty controlling their behavior may need the electronic monitor to provide the external controls. Drug testing is another tool to determine whether the of-

TABLE 4

Examples of Different Controls for Different Types of Offenders

Type of Offender	Clinical Services	Formal Social Controls	Informal Social Controls
All Offenders	Educational/ Vocational	Area Restrictions or Curfews Electronic Monitors Drug Testing Police-Supervision Contacts Face-to-Face Contacts Graduated Sanctions	Guardian Transitional Housing
Drug Dependent or Involved Offenders	Substance Abuse Treatment	Drug Testing Treatment Curfew Restrictions Graduated Sanctions	Self-Help Groups Guardian/Advocate Transitional Housing Guardian
Mentally Ill Offenders	Counseling Psychotropic Medications	Treatment/Counseling Psychotropic Medication	Self-Help Groups Counseling Advocate Transitional Housing
Sex Offenders	Counseling/Therapy	Curfew and Area Restrictions Plethysmography Polygraph Medications Counseling Victim Awareness Graduated Sanctions	Family/Support System Monitor Behavior Area Restrictions
Repeat Offender	Therapy	Area Restrictions or Curfews Electronic Monitors Drug Testing Alcohol Monitoring Victim Awareness Community Service Graduated Sanctions	Advocates Guardians Transitional Housing

fender is using illicit substances. Plethysmography is a technological tool to measure the arousal behavior of sex offenders, which has been successfully used by a number of community correctional officials in monitoring serious sex offenders. This technology can be used to reassess the performance of the offender in the community for the purpose of adjusting the supervision plan.

B. Making the Commitment to Change (Early Change)

The second part of the model is the commitment to change. The case plan will detail the formal controls, services, and informal controls that are used to guide the offender in the change process. The commitment to change

is illustrated by two variables: 1) compliance with the case plan; and, 2) retention in the recommended services. An agent can determine the offender's level of commitment to behavior change by assessing how well the offender is adhering to the case plan. Critical issues surround retention in recommended therapeutic services and employment. In the drug treatment literature, treatment retention has repeatedly been found to be a determining factor of better outcomes. The same is true for supervision—offenders who retain in treatment services are more likely to do better in terms of outcomes from supervision. They are less likely to be noncompliant with the conditions of release, since technical violations drive negative offender outcomes.

During the period of early commitment, the tools of graduated responses should be used to address problems of noncompliance and ambivalence. The use of ground rules is needed to clarify the expectations during the supervision period and to identify the consequences of compliance and noncompliance. The presentation of ground-rules is part of a procedural justice process whereby the rules are clearly articulated and implemented. The offender must be aware that the ground rules will be applied swiftly, with certainty, and with graduation in responses based on a pattern of consistent behavior. Graduated sanctions had been attributed to be critical in ensuring compliance in that they resemble contingency management and token economies where the

offender is rewarded for positive behavior and sanctioned for negative behavior. The key to success is consistency in the application of the model that is one of the tenets of procedural justice. The ground rules should be used to focus on retention and continued commitment to the case plan.

During this period of time, the focus should be on gauging where the offender is in the process of change, the degree of compliance, and modifications of the case plan to further engage the offender in the change process. This is a period where compliance management should drive the next steps, with the agent using the informal social controls and services to maximize commitment to the change process. The role of the agent in this period is to facilitate the change. The key during this period of time is to continue the offender in the process of change. It is often during this period of time that offenders begin to test the system by beginning the process of noncompliance. Emphasis on the relationship between the offender and agent will maintain the commitment to the goals of supervision—behavioral change. Use of the ground rules is the most visible component, but equally important is the focus on deportment.

Deportment becomes a key component of the process. The stronger the rapport between the offender and agent, the greater the degree of compliance. During this period, the keys of effective communication are critical to improve rapport and address the issues that threaten retention. The goal of deportment is for the agent to build a trusting relationship with the offender. Deportment has four main components: 1) eye contact, which is a standard protocol to give respect to the offender as well as to learn to assess the offender's body language during the different phases of supervision; 2) social graces, such as shaking hands, being prompt for appointments, and other typical signs of mutual respect are used to signify to the offender that he/she is a member of the community; 3) candid review of offender information, without ascribing blame, where the agent informs the offender of results from assessments, informational controls, and performance; and 4) empathy or the use of active listening skills to acknowledge the offender's perspective yet identify the ground rules. The deportment process depends on the communication skills of the agent to build the relationship that will work to move the offender from ambivalence to action.

To facilitate the change process, the contacts between the offender and agent must enhance communication. Communication can be achieved in the following way: 1) express empathy for the offender's situation and the difficulty of achieving small gains (e.g., being crime-free, being drug-free, obtaining and retaining a job, etc.); 2) avoid arguing with the offender on any conditions or requirements of supervision. Argumentation is generally a threat to the power of the agent and begins to erode the validity of the case plan. It is critical, as part of the process, that the agent review the case information and risk/need factors that support the agreed-upon case plan; 3) roll with resistance by recognizing that some negative attitudes and rigidity are part of the defense mechanisms. The process of behavioral change is difficult for the offender and therefore some resistance is considered part of the ambivalence. By focusing on the case plan and commitment to the components, and ignoring the offender's negativity, an officer can focus attention on measurable outcomes; 4) deploy discrepancies that may occur but focus on the compliance issues. In many ways, the offender may use several discrepancies to divert the attention of the agent on less important issues. Instead of examining the discrepancies, focus on the case plan and progress towards the goals and objectives; and 5) support self-efficacy by providing the offender with some of the skills to review his or her behavior. A critical part of this process is building the offender's skills at self-efficacy. All of these are identified in effective practices using the motivational interviewing techniques where the goal is to utilize effective communication with the offender to retain commitment to the case plans, and crime-free goals of supervision. The communication tools are part of the overall strategy of strengthening the contact—by making the contact a means to maintain commitment to the case plan. Then, the contact becomes more meaningful.

C. Sustained Change for the Long Term

Underlying this approach is the theory that the engagement and early commitment to change will result in sustained change. The change process will require the use of different psychosocial processes, develop social networks, and develop competencies in key areas (e.g., employment, family, etc.) and accountability. Sustained change will be evident through improvements in key areas such as employment, family, housing, and peer associations—all in the big six areas of criminogenic needs. Improvements in these domains will improve the offender's family and community commitment while reducing criminal behavior and drug use. It is during this stage that a revised case plan is needed that focuses more on relapse prevention or maintenance goals—sustaining the change. The focus of the contacts is on rehearsing with the offender the skills gained to prevent problem behaviors.

III. Moving Towards A Proactive Model of Supervision

Prior research on supervision has not clearly defined the purpose and intent of the core component of the monitoring or contacts. The supervision process identifies three functions that a contact has: 1) to allow the agent to develop a relationship with the offender to focus on offender change and compliance; 2) to use assessment and case planning to implement Responsivity or matching of services and controls to maximize outcomes; and 3) to implement the ground rules of supervision. The proposed model positions the contact as the core element to bring about change in the behavior of the offender. Contacts were considered to be brief intervention therapy where the agent uses motivational interviewing skills to achieve one of the three desired functions.

The question that agencies have had to address is the steps that are needed to reengineer the supervision to be a process of offender change. That is, how does the supervision agency transform itself so that supervision is recognized as a process with clear steps? A beginning point is to realize that the transformation of the contact is really a transformation of the staff in terms of one of the most difficult aspects—style or interaction. It is relatively easy to put a process in place, but it is harder to get the agents to use the process and to use it effectively. The behaviorist approach moves from the "social worker vs. law enforcement" conflict to imagining supervision agents as change agents. The concept of a change agent is appropriate, because it both symbolizes the new role (from enforcer or compliance manager to change agent) and new responsibilities (from directing the offender to providing guidance and allowing offenders to make their own choices with known consequences). To effect the change, the following need some attention: 1) technical skill set of agents to diagnoses, to craft plan (responsivity), and to maintain expec-

tations; 2) philosophies and attitudes of agents on their role in the supervision process; 3) communication skills agents; and 4) management oversight of the implementation of the new strategy. We will use some data and experiences from one state to discuss these points.

Technical Skill Set of Agents. Few states have a correctional academy that requires the agent both pre-service and in-service to develop expertise in four critical areas: 1) criminogenic need and risk factors; 2) assessment, diagnosis and case planning; 3) compliance-gaining strategies such as contingency management, ground rules, etc.; and 4) interviewing and observational skills. Most training is the "on-the-job" training that focuses on the required protocols, forms, and procedures. While these are critical to understanding every job, it is the staff development areas in offender management that are neglected in the current training and staff development efforts. For example, in the recent training in the state of Maryland for over 720 agents, it was found that the average score on a pre-training examination of technical supervision skills was fifty-five (55) percent. This was well below the expected knowledge, even though most of the agents had been employed as agents for more than fourteen (14) years.

Philosophies and Attitudes of Agents on their Role in the Supervision Process. Few surveys for supervision agents have been completed on their attitudes and values towards their job, towards offenders, or towards their role in the criminal justice system. One instrument has been developed to measure the orientation of the agents. This instrument, applied in the same state, found that agents tend to view themselves as resource brokers (49 percent), law enforcement (26 percent) and social workers (24 percent) (Shearer, 2001). Similarly, when the agents were given the Understanding of Alcoholism Scale (UAS), a tool used in a number of research studies to measure attitudes to causality for drug/alcohol use, it was found that nearly half of the agents (42 percent) subscribe to a disease model and another 48 percent subscribe to a psychosocial model where the offender. The impact of these varying philosophies and perspectives on the performance of the job (e.g., rearrest rates, technical violations, etc.) is unknown, although it is believed that law enforcement orientation will lead to higher program failures. The varying philosophies

have been shown to influence the type of strategies therapists use in working with offenders; it is probable to assume that agents would respond differently depending on their view as to the culpability of the offender.

Communication Skill Set of Agents. Face-to-face contacts required the agent and the offender to communicate about the conditions of release, as well as the status of the offender. Agents by nature are required to inform the offender of the conditions of release, and then monitor these conditions. All of this requires communication, and the style of communication is directly related to the offender's willingness to disclose information to the agent. The manner in which questions are posed has been shown to relate to the type of responses that offenders provide. Table 5 illustrates the communication skills of seven hundred-twenty (720) agents, with an average age of forty-four (44) and an average of fourteen (14) years employed as an agent.

The skill data illustrates that few agents had basic interviewing skills needed to elicit information from offenders. The data reveals three trends about the communication skills of agents. First, fewer than a quarter of them use open questions, posed in such a manner that the offender must provide an explanation. Instead of asking whether an offender lives with his or her significant other, which allows the offender to answer yes or no, an

open question asks the offender to provide a broader description of the living arrangement. Second, the agents did not use communication techniques to engage the offender in a change process. A number of different techniques are useful to demonstrate empathy and to elicit interest in behavioral outcomes. Instructions, motivating statements, summarizing offender information, and positive recognitions are techniques to enhance communication. Yet, as shown in Table 5, agents infrequently used successful communication techniques to build rapport with the offender. Finally, overall skill set of the agent to motivate offenders through communication is a 55.2 out of 100 using the standard clinical skill rating scale employed by the scholars motivational interviewing techniques. This is a low rating which indicates that the basic functioning of an agent, and the ability to communicate ground rules and expectations, as well as use the case plan as a behavioral contract, is fairly minimal.

Management Oversight of the Process to Implement the New Strategy. Implementing new initiatives is always challenging. Don Cochran (1992), in his review of the attempts to implement intermediate sanctions in the 1990s, found that the agents would generally work to undermine new initiatives to protect the existing programs and services. This is always the challenge to ensuring successful implementation. A critical component is

TABLE 5
Communication Skills of 720 Agents

	Percent of Agents
Percent Questions Open Ended Questions	28.35
Percent Questions Closed (yes/no)	23.10
Percent Positive Recognition of Offender Response	10.09
Percent Provide Reflections on Offenders	12.76
Percent Summarize Offender Information	7.18
Percent Use Motivating Statements	5.72
Percent Use Instructions	9.93
Percent Confrontational Interactions	3.30
Percent Questions Interact with Offender and Agent	18.86
Percent Skills of Agents	55.20

identifying management oversight and techniques to inculcate the new initiative into the fabric of the agency. The proposed model would alter the basic foundation of the supervision agency by focusing on supervision as an intervention, instead of a tool to monitor compliance. With a subtle change, the ability to test an interventionist model, focused primarily on enhancing the core of the business between the agent and the offender (contacts), would affect the basic values and philosophies of the agent. Without support from management, at all levels, but particularly the front-line supervisors, a change in the work product is doomed. Tools to integrate the change into the management process are critical to ensure that the agent focuses on using the intervention model.

The core of the intervention model is to change the nature of the contacts that occur between the offender and agent. This can only be done by training staff and then by mandating that staff use the new strategy. Several management techniques are required to ensure the later—changing the offender's behavior. The favored ones: 1) conduct an evaluation of the new initiative that measures agent change; 2) change the tools to measure the supervision outcomes by focusing on more offender positive outcomes (e.g., employment, achievement of case plan); 3) hold middle management staff responsible for agent compliance to the model; and 4) change the staff performance measurement tools to move away from counting contacts and instead focus on measuring offender progress. Part of the strategy for implementation must address the management of the initiative to ensure that the process does not fall by the wayside of other initiatives where the staff undermined the implementation efforts.

In Maryland, where the initiative is being implemented, a performance measurement tool is measuring use of the new strategy. The four components—deportment, assessment, treatment, and ground rules—were translated in measurable components. The Quality Contact Standards (QCS) was created to be used by frontline supervisors to measure the agents' use of the four components of the new model. The QCS form (available by request) is used by the middle managers to monitor agents' use of the techniques. The tool is one strategy to provide the agents with the incentive to employ the motivational interviewing strategies during the contacts with the offender. The QCS is completed as part of the employee review with a focus on measuring contacts to determine how agents utilize the new strategy.

Conclusion

Prior research supports the use of cognitive behavioral and treatment interventions as the most effective strategy to reduce recidivism for hard-core offenders (Andrews & Bonta, 1996; Petersilia, 1999; Taxman, 1999; MacKenzie, 1997; 2000; Latessa, et al., 1998). For the most part, supervision has been defined from a surveillance function and the research findings continue to find that these approaches are ineffective. The question that has not been answered is whether supervision can be redefined as an intervention. A model has been presented that defines supervision in such a manner, mapping supervision to a process that involves three main components: engagement, early change, and sustained changed. The glue among the components is the use of deportment strategies that focus on improving the contacts between the offender and agent. This model incorporates the principles of evidence-based practice into the fold of supervision. The looming question is whether the supervision agencies can incorporate an interventionist model as part of a strategy to protect the public. While the use of deportment strategies will humanize the supervision experience to fulfill behavioral objectives, it is unknown whether traditional, surveillance-oriented agencies can move in the direction of employing evidenced-based practices of interventions.

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