A Framework for Evidence-Based Decision Making in State and Local Criminal Justice Systems

An Initiative of the

National Institute of Corrections

Fourth Edition

A Continued Work in Progress

A COLLABORATIVE PROJECT AMONG THE
CENTER FOR EFFECTIVE PUBLIC POLICY
AND
THE CAREY GROUP

June 2017

© Center for Effective Public Policy

This project was supported by Cooperative Agreement No. 12CS15GKM2 awarded by the National Institute of Corrections. The National Institute of Corrections is a component of the U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view or opinions in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

© 2017 Center for Effective Public Policy. The National Institute of Corrections reserves the right to reproduce, publish, translate, or otherwise use, and to authorize others to publish and use, all or any part of the copyrighted material contained in this publication.

Introduction To the 4th Edition

It is with great pride that we at the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) release the 4th edition of *A Framework for Evidence-Based Decision Making in State and Local Criminal Justice Systems* ("EBDM Framework"). NIC's initial work under EBDM began in 2008. In the Foreword that follows, my colleague, friend, and predecessor, Morris L. Thigpen, Sr., said the following about the EBDM initiative:

> *In 2008, we launched the Evidence-Based Decision Making in Local Criminal Justice Systems initiative. In doing so, we sought to encourage and facilitate advancements in the criminal justice field in this new decade—to build upon the experiences of those who have worked hard to use new skills, approaches, and research to engineer systems that are vision-driven, efficient, and effective. But even more, we sought to draw upon and draw together the strongest of the research findings and the best of the practices, and construct new ways of working together towards the goal we all share—fewer victims, safer communities.*

Following the release of the 1st edition of the Framework in 2010, NIC launched Phase II of the initiative, identifying seven local communities to serve as our EBDM pilot sites. So successful has that partnership been that it continues even today, seven years later. As our pilot sites, those teams undertook with conviction—and, admittedly, a certain degree of faith—the "EBDM process," as we have come to call it. They formed EBDM policy teams; engaged in a set of activities we designed to support a deeper understanding of their justice systems; and identified for themselves methods to improve outcomes for victims and for those who serve in and are served by their justice systems. They collected data and information to help them better understand their challenges and successes; implemented strategies and made midcourse corrections; and continue to grow and learn how to build a justice system that is collaborative, efficient, strategic, and informed by research. The lessons we have learned from them—and that they have learned from one another—have inspired us to continue to explore even further the boundaries of the possible.

EBDM has resulted in a permanent shift in our expectations about what is possible.

In 2015, NIC invited three state teams, along with an additional six local teams from each of those states, to join the initiative. Through two new phases of work, we sought to test a deeper and more complex idea: that the outcomes of our justice systems will improve when the principles of EBDM are embraced by multiple individual communities—and significantly—in partnership with state-level colleagues from each branch of government. The early evidence of change in these three states has met our hopes. It has also resulted in a permanent shift in our expectations about what is possible.

The pages that follow offer our vision of the future of American justice systems. That future is best captured in the four EBDM principles that were first penned in 2008 and continue to guide us today.

EBDM Framework Principles

EBDM Principle 1: The professional judgment of criminal justice system decision makers is enhanced when informed by evidence-based knowledge.

EBDM Principle 2: Every interaction within the criminal justice system offers an opportunity to contribute to harm reduction.

EBDM Principle 3: Systems achieve better outcomes when they operate collaboratively.

EBDM Principle 4: The criminal justice system will continually learn and improve when professionals make decisions based on the collection, analysis, and use of data and information.

Through the Framework itself, and a robust series of accompanying publications, we hope to share our vision and the experiences of our colleagues who have committed themselves to making EBDM the foundation upon which their justice systems operate. Still, we consider our efforts under EBDM far from finished. As a nation, we have much to learn about how best to reduce harm in our communities, how to meaningfully engage the public in our work, and how to build true partnerships across jurisdictional boundaries. We are, however, confident in this: EBDM has been transformative for those who have truly embraced it. We are inspired by their accomplishments and look forward to our continued partnership as we work together to build strong, healthy, and safe communities.

–Jim Cosby, Director

FOREWORD TO THE 3RD EDITION

As we stand at the beginning of a new decade, justice system professionals are challenged by the rising costs of criminal justice, the stories of victims harmed by crime, and the failure of too many offenders who pass through our gates and doors. We at NIC, like our colleagues across the country, are keenly aware of the new opportunities recent research offers regarding clear and specific strategies that will reduce crime, ease rising costs, and, most importantly, prevent future victims.

In 2008, we launched the Evidence-Based Decision Making in Local Criminal Justice Systems initiative. In doing so, we sought to encourage and facilitate advancements in the criminal justice field in this new decade—to build upon the experiences of those who have worked hard to use new skills, approaches, and research to engineer systems that are vision-driven, efficient, and effective. But even more, we sought to draw upon and draw together the strongest of the research findings and the best of the practices, and construct new ways of working together towards the goal we all share—fewer victims, safer communities.

Our underlying belief is that we can improve outcomes if criminal justice decisions are informed by research. We called for the construction of a "framework" for evidence-based decision making at the system level. Because it does not attempt to answer all questions, provide all details, or call for implementation in precisely the same way in every community, it is not a model. It is instead intended to frame a purpose and a process for decision making that can be applied to the system as a whole—to all those entering the system, regardless of their justice system status; to all types of cases, regardless of their severity; and to all stakeholders, regardless of their role.

The Framework identifies the key structural elements of a system informed by evidence. It defines a vision of safer communities. It puts forward the belief that risk and harm reduction are fundamental goals of the justice system, and that these can be achieved without sacrificing offender accountability or other important justice system outcomes. It both explicates the premises and values that underlie our justice system and puts forward a proposed set of principles to guide evidence-based decision making at the local level—principles that are, themselves, evidence-based. The Framework also highlights some of the most groundbreaking of the research—evidence that clearly demonstrates that we can reduce pretrial misconduct and offender recidivism. It identifies the key stakeholders who must be actively engaged in a collaborative partnership if an evidence-based system of justice is to be achieved. It also sets out to begin to outline some of the most difficult challenges we will face as we seek to deliberately and systematically implement such an approach in local communities.

In sharing this Framework, we celebrate all that has come before it and all those laboring so hard on our streets, in our courtrooms, and in our jails and prisons. We build upon a foundation of research and noteworthy practice from jurisdictions around the country that share a vision of the communities of tomorrow—stronger and more vibrant as a result of less crime, fewer victims, restored families, and offenders engaged in healthy lifestyles.

At the same time, we openly acknowledge that there is much work to be done. An earnest review of the research reveals large bodies in some areas and significant deficits in others, particularly in pretrial justice and prosecution. We must work to fill these. Early reviewers of the Framework have suggested it is incomplete in other ways, including insufficient guidance around important implementation issues. We agree and seek to answer these concerns in the next phase of our work. These are but a few of the challenges that lie ahead.

In the second phase of this initiative, we will seek to identify jurisdictions that are interested in piloting the Framework. In so doing, we will work together to build information and tools to support its implementation and to struggle through the thorny issues this Framework will surface. It will undoubtedly challenge our processes, our policies, and even our philosophies. Experiences from earlier criminal justice reform efforts, such as community policing, demonstrate that major shifts in approach are often confronted by challenges and met with resistance. In time, however, those that are well conceived, well documented, and that produce measurable outcomes take root and grow. It is our intention, therefore, to engage in a deliberate process of documenting and evaluating the efforts of pilot sites. This is, after all, the essence of this initiative: to use research to inform our approaches and to evaluate and learn from their results. These lessons will offer valuable information to guide us to a safer future.

–Morris Thigpen, Former Director

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction To the 4th Edition 2

Foreword to the 3rd Edition 4

Preface: The Evidence-Based Decision Making in State and Local Criminal Justice Systems Initiative 9

Initiative Approach and Products 9

A New Paradigm for the Justice System 10

Why a New Paradigm? 10

The Justice System Can Do Better 11

Other Systems Have Made Progress; So Too Can the Justice System 12

The 100,000 Lives Campaign 12

Calling on the "Best in People": The 1 Million Fewer Victims Campaign 13

Making the Comparison Between Healthcare and Justice System Reform 14

An Overview of Key Research Findings Related to Risk Reduction and Their Implications for the Justice System 16

Distinguishing Between EBP and EBDM 16

7 Ways to Reduce Recidivism 17

Section 1: Underlying Premises 21

The Core Values of the Justice System 21

Section 2: The Key Decision Points, Decision Makers, and Stakeholders in the Criminal Justice System 23

Key Decision Points 23

Key Decision Makers and Stakeholder Groups at the State Level 24

Key Decision Makers and Stakeholder Groups at the Local Level 25

Section 3: Examining Justice System Decision Making Through the Lens of Harm Reduction 26

Crime Harms the Entire Community 26

The Justice System Strives to Achieve Risk and Crime Reduction 26

The Justice System Can Result in Harm Reduction 27

Achieving, Measuring, and Maintaining Harm Reduction and Advancing Community Wellness 28

Exhibit 1: Reducing Crime with Evidence-Based Options: Benefits & Costs 29

Section 4: The Principles Underlying the Framework 32

Principle One: The professional judgment of criminal justice system decision makers is enhanced when informed by evidence-based knowledge 32

Principle Two: Every interaction within the criminal justice system offers an opportunity to contribute to harm reduction 33

Principle Three: Systems achieve better outcomes when they operate collaboratively 34

Principle Four: The criminal justice system will continually learn and improve when professionals make decisions based on the collection, analysis, and use of data and information 35

Section 5: Applying Evidence-Based Principles to Practice 37

A Logic Model for Harm Reduction Decision Making at the System Level 37

Evidence-Based Decision Making System-Level Implementation Steps 38

Example: EBDM Process Logic Model 40

Example: Portion of an EBDM Local-Level Logic Model (Risk Assessment) 41

Example: Portion of an EBDM State-Level Logic Model (Pretrial) 42

Section 6: Key Challenges in Implementing This Framework 43

Risk Reduction and Evidence-Based Decision Making in the Context of Sanctioning Purpose 43

Plea Negotiations 44

The Management of Low Level Offenses 45

Looking to the Future 46

Section 7: Collaboration: A Key Ingredient of an Evidence-Based System 47

Aligning the Criminal Justice System to Achieve Harm Reduction 47

Bringing the Stakeholders to the Table to Form Policy Teams 47

Section 8: Building Evidence-Based Agencies 49

Aligning Criminal Justice Agencies to Achieve Harm Reduction 49

Making "What Works" Work 50

Appendix 1: Advisory Board Members: Evidence-Based Decision Making in Local Criminal Justice Systems Initiative 51

Appendix 2: Advisors for Evidence-Based Decision Making in State and Local Criminal Justice Systems Initiative 52

Appendix 3: Methodology Used to Compute 1 Million Fewer Victims 53

2.4 Million Justice System Employees 53

Appendix 4: Research Findings Matrix 54

What Doesn't Work in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism 56

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism 61

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism 80
What's Not Clear in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism 102

Appendix 5: Using Evidence to Inform Decision Making 105

Appendix 6: 2009 Zogby International Public Opinion Survey 106

Appendix 7: Glossary of Terms 107

Appendix 8: References 108

Additional EBDM Resources: 129

Preface: The Evidence-Based Decision Making in State and Local Criminal Justice Systems Initiative

In June 2008, the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) launched the "Evidence-Based Decision Making in Local Criminal Justice Systems" initiative. While first developed for local-level implementation, the initiative has since been expanded and adapted to state-level decision making, and is now known as the "Evidence-Based Decision Making in State and Local Criminal Justice Systems" initiative. The goal of the initiative is to build a systemwide framework (arrest through final disposition and discharge) that will result in more collaborative, evidence-based decision making and practices in local criminal justice systems. The initiative is grounded in the accumulated knowledge of over two decades of research on the factors that contribute to criminal reoffending and the processes and methods the justice system can employ to interrupt the cycle of reoffense. The effort seeks to equip criminal justice policymakers in local communities and at the state level with the information, processes, and tools that will result in measurable outcomes such as reductions of pretrial misconduct and post-conviction reoffending, increased cost efficiency, and improved public confidence in the justice system.

The EBDM Initiative is currently administered by the Center for Effective Public Policy and The Carey Group in partnership with NIC.

Initiative Approach and Products

The principle product of this multi-phase initiative is this document—*A Framework for Evidence-Based Decision Making in State and Local Criminal Justice Systems ("the Framework")*—designed to advance constructive change in local and state-level criminal justice decision making. The Framework describes key criminal justice decisions, evidence-based knowledge about effective justice practices, and practical local and state-level strategies for applying risk and harm reduction principles and techniques.

In developing the Framework, the initiative drew upon the expertise of National Institute of Corrections staff and the initiative partners; an active, multidisciplinary Advisory Committee; input from state and local policymakers and practitioners through a series of focus group discussions and individual interviews; a literature review; the experiences of an assembled group of non-criminal justice, evidence-based management experts; and a public opinion survey. In addition, since the Framework's first edition, its underlying principles have been affirmed by practitioners throughout the country who have sought to apply it to their decision making. The Framework has been revised multiple times—this being the 4th edition—based upon the experiences of the state and local jurisdictions that have tested it. In large measure, it remains true to the 1st edition; indeed, its vision, principles, and core components have withheld the test of time and real-world application. Nonetheless, it is anticipated that the Framework will continue to evolve as future phases unfold and as NIC continues to observe the progress of the more than two dozen local jurisdictions and three states that have adopted it.

A New Paradigm for the Justice System

A Framework for Evidence-Based Decision Making in State and Local Criminal Justice Systems defines the core principles and action strategies that criminal justice policymakers may employ to reduce the harm to communities caused by crime. It is built on decades of experience working with individual policymakers and practitioners and with stakeholder teams in state and local justice systems. It is based on the evidence from empirical studies in the fields of organizational management, criminal justice and behavioral health, and collaborative processes. It is framed by a renewed optimism regarding the potential the justice system has for reducing harm and victimization and making communities safer throughout the nation.

What Do We Mean By "Evidence"?

In the justice system, the term "evidence" is used in a variety of ways. It can refer to items collected at a crime scene, eyewitness accounts, or security camera footage. These types of evidence are referred to as *legal evidence*.

For the purposes of this Framework, however, the term "evidence" is used to describe findings from empirically sound social science research. The Framework refers to the results of this research as *evidence-based policy and practice.*

It is important to note that all research is not of equal strength; this is discussed further in Appendix 4.

Why a New Paradigm?

The justice system—along with other public sector service systems—faces the 21st century challenges of understanding emerging science; translating empirical findings into policy and practice and, in so doing, retooling long-held approaches; and retraining a workforce to adopt more effective practices and embrace new skills. These challenges are daunting but critically important.

According to the U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics,[1] 67% of individuals released from prison are rearrested within 3 years after discharge and 76% are rearrested within 5 years. It is estimated that up to one-third (29%) of probationers do not successfully complete their sentences.[2] These recidivism rates have remained relatively stable for decades.[3] Furthermore, on any given day, nine out of ten felony defendants detained until trial have a financial release condition but are unable to make the bound amount set by the court.[4] Additionally, research suggests that low-risk defendants who are held in jail pretrial are more

[1] Durose, Cooper, & Snyder, 2014.
[2] Kaeble, Maruschak, & Bonczar, 2015.
[3] See Durose et al., 2014; Hughes & Wilson, 2003; Kaeble et al., 2015.
[4] Reaves, 2013.

likely to be arrested before the trial, and are more likely to recidivate post-disposition, than their counterparts who were released pretrial.[5]

These statistics are particularly sobering when considering the tens of thousands of new victims each year[6] and the immense loss of human life, dignity, and sense of safety they experience; the staggering costs of supporting law enforcement, the courts, corrections, and the behavioral and health systems; and, perhaps most importantly, the "ripple effect" of crime on communities in terms of deteriorating neighborhoods, children's exposure to violence, and the shifting of resources from parks and schools to jails and prisons.

2009 Zogby International Public Opinion Survey

A national public opinion survey commissioned by the National Institute of Corrections and its partners in the Evidence-Based Decision Making in Local Criminal Justice Systems Initiative illuminates the public's views on justice system practices and recidivism reduction efforts. Key findings from this survey are included throughout this document. Further information about the study itself is contained in Appendix 6.

According to one of the survey's findings, when respondents are told that about half of the people released from prison eventually go back to prison and about a third of those on probation commit new crimes, just 19% indicate that these rates are acceptable; 80% indicate that these rates are unacceptable.

The Justice System Can Do Better

Research over the past two decades has demonstrated that better results from our justice system's efforts and investments can be realized. For example, research demonstrates that a 30% reduction in recidivism is possible[7] if the justice system applies current knowledge[8] consistently and with fidelity. Moreover, the research also shows that application of this knowledge can produce significant cost benefits to cities, counties, and states.[9]

[5] Lowenkamp, VanNostrand, & Holsinger, 2013.
[6] In 2009 alone, U.S. residents age 12 or older experienced approximately 20 million crimes. Of these, 15.6 million (78%) were property crimes, 4.3 million (21.5%) were crimes of violence, and 133,000 (<1%) were personal thefts (Truman & Rand, 2010).
[7] See Andrews et al., 1990; Andrews & Bonta, 1998; Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005; Lowenkamp et al., 2010; Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2004a; McGuire, 2001, 2002.
[8] Current knowledge refers to information regarding offender risk, dynamic risk factors (i.e., criminogenic needs), applying interventions appropriately, and utilizing specific tools and techniques.
[9] Aos, Miller, & Drake, 2006a; Romani et al., 2012; see Section 3 for additional information.

Other Systems Have Made Progress; So Too Can the Justice System

A 2000 report by the Institute of Medicine (IOM) [10] revealed that hospital medical errors across the nation resulted in a loss of nearly 100,000 lives each year. The report demonstrated that these mistakes did not result from individual incompetence, but instead were primarily the result of system failures. **"People working in health care are among the most educated and dedicated workforce in any industry,"** the authors wrote. **"The problem is not bad people; the problem is that the system needs to be made safer."**

The IOM report propelled the medical profession into a state of alarm. Healthcare professionals had always viewed themselves as *being* safe and *saving* lives, not costing lives. While the medical code of ethics affirms a commitment to **"competence"** and a commitment to **"study, apply, and advance scientific knowledge,"**[11] the IOM report revealed something quite different. Actions on the part of medical professionals—and in some cases inaction—were actually increasing the death rate.

In the eyes of one organization, the report presented an opportunity. The Institute for Healthcare Improvement (IHI) had been working for a decade to introduce systemic change in hospitals in an effort to prevent loss of life due to human error. Under the leadership of President and CEO Dr. Donald Berwick, the IHI's philosophy was to view problems not as a "base metal" to be hidden and ignored but as a desirable "treasure" or resource that, when mined and understood, could lead to improvement and advancement. For Dr. Berwick, the IOM report was a veritable gold mine.

"The problem with most people is not that they aim too high and miss the mark, but that they aim too low and hit it."

–Michelangelo

The 100,000 Lives Campaign

IHI launched a national campaign to reduce the devastating—and somewhat embarrassing—loss of 100,000 accidental hospital and clinical deaths to a more acceptable level: zero. Creating the slogan **"some is not a number; soon is not a time,"** Berwick launched the 100,000 Lives Campaign. He proposed a method to reduce 100,000 needless, error-driven hospital deaths within 2 years.

[10] Kohn, Corrigan, & Donaldson, 2000.
[11] See American Medical Association, 2001.

IHI's efforts were met with unprecedented success. With roughly 3,100 of the nation's hospitals—representing 75% of the available patient bed space—enrolled in the initiative, an estimated 122,342 deaths were prevented.[12]

What was the key to the success of the 100,000 Lives Campaign? According to the campaign's manager, Joe McCannon (Stanford Graduate School of Business, 2008, p. 22):

> The shared nature of our goal (and the fact that we did not seek to expose any hospital for poor performance) changed the tenor of the campaign; it was a positive initiative that called on the best in people, drawing them back to the reasons they first were interested in this work. There was so much untapped energy and so much unleashed joy, centered on the providers' commitment to their patients.

Five key lessons from the IHI experience—those with the most direct application to the justice field—are interspersed throughout the remainder of this document.

Calling on the "Best in People": The 1 Million Fewer Victims Campaign

The IHI initiative sought to save 100,000 lives through the application of research-based techniques. The justice system could achieve equally dramatic results.

It is estimated that the United States could experience 1,000,000 fewer victimizations.[13] To achieve these results, a similar approach to the IHI initiative—adopting key strategies that are evidence-based—must be faithfully adopted. The public deserves and expects nothing less.[14]

This Framework defines the strategy. Through their efforts to apply the EBDM Framework, more than two dozen state and local jurisdictions are testing it empirically.[15]

---

[12] Schoenbaum, 2006.

[13] See Appendix 3 for the methodology used to compute this figure.

[14] The NIC-commissioned 2009 Zogby study reflects the public's expectation that, among others, the current rate of offender failure is unacceptable; spending should be increased on approaches proven to reduce crime; and criminal justice professionals should rely on research in their decision making.

[15] In Phases II and III, NIC and its project partners competitively selected seven local jurisdictions, and assisted them in building truly collaborative teams and the capacity to implement EBDM locally through ongoing planning and implementation support. In Phase IV, NIC and its project partners worked with teams in the five EBDM states to engage additional in-state partners, build awareness, and plan for EBDM expansion to additional local teams and to state-level teams. In Phase V, NIC and its project partners assisted 21 teams in three states to develop systemwide change strategies, advance EBDM locally and at the state level, and align local and state jurisdictions with one another and with the principles of EBDM. In the fall of 2016, NIC agreed to support all 22 state and local EBDM teams in Indiana, Virginia, and Wisconsin to receive support in Phase VI. NIC will also support additional teams in the State of Indiana as EBDM is expanded specifically in the area of pretrial justice.

IHI LESSON #1: QUANTIFY THE GOAL

Drawing on the advice of experienced civic activist Gloria Steinem, IHI sought to mobilize supporters and critics alike by flatly naming the problem they were attempting to address (deaths as a result of medical error) and quantifying the goal: the 100,000 Lives Campaign. So powerful was this message that when the campaign was publicly launched at IHI's 16th Annual National Forum on Quality Improvement in December 2004, speaker after speaker expressed what amounted to the equivalent of moral outrage that any of their colleagues might even consider not joining the campaign. In the words of Sister Mary Jean Ryan, who, at the time, was president and CEO of SSM Health Care, one of the largest Catholic healthcare systems in the country: "'No needless deaths' is fundamental to any healthcare organization, so I think that CEOs should really worry more about not declaring commitment to this goal than to declaring it." The lesson for criminal justice?

1 MILLION FEWER VICTIMS IS POSSIBLE;
THE TIME TO START IS NOW.

Making the Comparison Between Healthcare and Justice System Reform

IHI's success in reducing unnecessary deaths is well documented. Lessons learned from IHI are intended to serve as helpful ways of thinking about advancing evidence-based decision making in the justice system. Without question, there are significant differences in these systems. Hospitals and clinics are not managed by individuals elected by the general public. They are not operated by a set of actors who, for all intents and purposes, are independent and have unilateral decision making authority. They were not designed with a system of checks and balances in mind, where one team of doctors produces evidence in an attempt to prevail over another medical team. On the other hand, while employees report to a single administrator and share a common overarching goal, hospitals are staffed by individual labor units, with distinct areas of expertise and responsibilities, that compete for limited resources and work in environments fraught with differing viewpoints, communication barriers, and performance pressures. They coordinate and collaborate with contracted and governmental agencies, insurance companies, and funders, and, as such, they face many of the same constraints professionals in other disciplines face.

Promoting shifts in attitudes and behaviors that support rather than defy a system's vision; overcoming the obstacles presented by a large workforce; staying current and conversant with the latest research; creating change in the face of unprecedented work demands and ever tightening resources; adapting to new technologies; overcoming skill and knowledge deficits—these are but a few of the challenges common to large systems, whether justice or healthcare or another field. While the context and complexion of criminal justice certainly differ from those of healthcare, the lessons of IHI bear consideration by those interested in advancing change on a significant level.

The IHI Experience and Its Relevance to Criminal Justice

There is no doubt that although there are similarities, there are also many differences between healthcare and justice systems. Nonetheless, the IHI experience is instructive in several ways. Some of the key "lessons" have relevance to possible reforms to justice system practices. But perhaps more importantly, the broader goal of improving outcomes in the face of daunting challenges (e.g., complicated systems and processes, multiple players, competing goals such as patient wellness versus cost containment, etc.) is perhaps the most fundamental similarity. In the words of one of this initiative's advisors:

IHI proceeded from the following premises, which are definitely applicable to the justice system:

1. Things can be improved.

2. Improvement will come over time, through a succession of actions, each of which will provide the opportunity for learning.

3. Better than the status quo is, by definition, "better" and we should not wait to solve everything before beginning to improve some things.

4. We should be modest and realistic about our insights and abilities.

5. We need to do something, because in the absence of informed action, nothing will change. And we can learn as we proceed.

–Jeffrey Pfeffer, Stanford Graduate School of Business

An Overview of Key Research Findings Related to Risk Reduction and Their Implications for the Justice System

Studies examining the question of how best to prevent future crime have important implications for justice system policy and practice. While these studies (and citations) are detailed more comprehensively in Appendix 4 of this document—and their policy implications are demonstrated through the work of the EBDM sites[16]—the significance of this body of research is illustrated in "7 Ways to Reduce Recidivism" (pp. 9-12).

> 54% of respondents indicate that punishing those who commit crimes should be the primary purpose of the criminal justice system; 31% indicate that reducing the likelihood that convicted offenders will commit new crimes should be the primary purpose.
>
> 87% of respondents indicate they would be more likely to support alternatives to jail if research consistently showed there are ways other than jail to reduce the likelihood that non-violent offenders will commit new crimes.
>
> When it comes to violent crime, 40% of respondents were in favor of alternatives to jail if they would reduce the likelihood of reoffense.
>
> –Zogby International, August 2009

Distinguishing Between EBP and EBDM

"Evidence-based decision making" (EBDM) is the practice of using research to inform decisions throughout the justice system. EBDM is distinguished from the use of evidence-based practices (EBP), which is the application of specific research findings to discrete practices. For instance, a judge's use of a risk assessment tool to inform pretrial release decisions is an EBP; understanding the risk principle and applying it across decision points is EBDM.

Examples of EBDM

- Justice system decision makers craft an array of pre- and post-conviction options and policies to guide their use—all informed by risk reduction research.
- County commissioners and executives fund programs that research demonstrates are effective in reducing offender risk—and eliminate programs that research has proven are ineffective.

[16] See https://info.nicic.gov/ebdm/ for a variety of resources—including EBDM pilot site case studies, discipline-specific stakeholder briefs, and instructional materials, among others—that have been developed since the initiative's inception.

7 Ways to Reduce Recidivism

1. Use risk/needs assessment tools to identify risk to reoffend and criminogenic needs.

Research finding: Structured assessment tools predict pretrial misconduct, institutional misconduct, and risk of reoffense more effectively than professional judgment alone.[17] Brief screening tools provide a quick assessment of risk; comprehensive tools provide information on risk to reoffend and effective targets of intervention to reduce future crime. Adjunctive tools (e.g., substance abuse, gender-informed, sex offense-specific, mental health, violence) provide more comprehensive and specialized information.[18]

Examples of policy and practice implications: Law enforcement uses assessments to inform cite versus arrest decisions; pretrial services conduct assessments prior to key decisions; prosecutors and judges use assessments to inform plea and sentencing decisions; jails and prisons use assessments to determine housing assignments and work release placements; parole boards consider validated risk/needs assessment results during their deliberations; and community corrections uses assessments to determine intensity of supervision and case management.

2. Direct programming and interventions to medium and high risk defendants/offenders.

Research finding: Recidivism rates are reduced an average of 30% when medium and high risk offenders receive appropriate behavior changing programming.[19] Conversely, offenders assessed as low risk to reoffend do not benefit from behavior changing programming[20] and are slightly more likely to recidivate when they are overly supervised or programmed.[21]

Examples of policy and practice implications: Agencies performing assessments color code case files of high, medium, and low risk offenders for easy identification by decision makers; for low risk offenders, prosecutors use diversionary programs, prosecutors and judges avoid excessive conditions, defense counsel advocates for low intensity interventions, community corrections uses call-in or kiosk reporting; judges, prosecutors, and defense counsel target medium and high risk offenders for programming designed to positively influence behavior; treatment programs designed to reduce recidivism modify admission criteria to admit only medium and high risk offenders.

[17] Andrews & Bonta, 1998; Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2006; Andrews et al., 1990; Bonta, 2007; Cadigan & Lowenkamp, 2011a; Gendreau, Little, & Goggin, 1996; Grove & Meehl, 1996; Grove et al., 2000; Harris, 2006; Hilton, Harris, & Rice, 2007; Holsinger, Lowenkamp, & Latessa, 2006; Lowenkamp, Lemke, & Latessa (2008); Makarios & Latessa, 2013; Smith, Gendreau, & Swartz, 2009; Wong & Pharhar, 2011.

[18] Barber-Rioja et al., 2012; Van Voorhis et al., 2010.

[19] Andrews, 2007; Andrews & Bonta, 2007; Andrews et al., 2006; Andrews & Dowden, 2007; Andrews, Dowden, & Gendreau, 1999; Bonta, 2007; Dowden, 1998; Gendreau, Goggin, & Little, 1996; Lipsey & Cullen, 2007; Smith et al., 2009.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Andrews & Bonta, 2007; Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, & Rooney, 2000; Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Gendreau et al., 2001; Latessa, Lovins, & Smith, 2010; Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2004b; Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Holsinger, 2006.

7 Ways to Reduce Recidivism

3. Focus interventions for medium and high risk offenders on their individual criminogenic needs and match the level of interventions to their risk levels.

Research finding: Cognitive behavioral programs are generally the most effective programming interventions for higher risk offenders.[22] Furthermore, employing program interventions that influence the traits that lead to future crime (i.e., criminogenic needs) yields stronger reductions in recidivism (up to an average of 30% reduction).[23] The net value (the cost of the program less the savings derived from preventing crime) of the average, evidence-based cognitive behavioral program targeted to medium and high risk offenders, using a cost/benefit formula, is $10,050 per adult offender.[24] Finally, the level of programming intensity or dosage should match offenders' risk levels.[25]

Examples of policy and practice implications: Judges ensure that sentencing conditions align with specific criminogenic needs; community corrections and treatment providers use assessment instruments to identify offenders' criminogenic traits; treatment providers provide program listings that identify the criminogenic needs their services address and avoid "one size fits all" programs; cognitive behavioral services are systematically utilized; community corrections refers offenders to programs based upon the match between offenders' needs and programs' services; county executives/managers ensure that service contracts with treatment providers include accountability measures to make certain that the services provided include cognitive behavioral interventions.

4. Respond to misconduct with swiftness, certainty, and proportionality.

Research finding: There is little evidence that graduated sanctions (i.e., sanctions that increase in severity based on the number and nature of acts of misconduct) increase compliance with supervision and treatment; instead, they may increase noncompliance.[26] Responses to behavioral misconduct are more likely to result in positive outcomes when they adhere to the principles of celerity (swiftness),[27] certainty,[28] fairness,[29] responsivity,[30] proportionality,[31] and parsimony[32]. Further, the use of confinement as a sanction for technical violations can actually result in increased recidivism rates.[33]

Example of policy and practice implications: Court administrators develop policies to move cases swiftly through the court system; judges, prosecutors, and community corrections agencies establish violation decision making guidelines that take into account the risk of the offender and the severity of the violation behavior; community corrections uses a decision making tool to aid supervision officers in structuring their responses to violation behavior and in responding to all violation behavior in some fashion; judges and community corrections streamline procedures that allow for swift action following offender misbehavior.

---

[22] Andrews, 2007; Aos, Miller, & Drake, 2006b; Jensen & Kane, 2012; Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005; Lipsey & Landenberger, 2006; Lipsey, Landenberger, & Wilson, 2007; Lowenkamp et al., 2009; Smith, Gendreau, & Swartz, 2009; Tong & Farrington, 2006.

[23] Andrews, 2007; Andrews et al., 1990; Bonta et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2009.

[24] Washington State Institute for Public Policy, 2016.

[25] Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005; Lipsey, Landenberger, & Wilson, 2007; Makarios, Sperber, & Latessa, 2014; Sperber, Latessa, & Makarios, 2013a, 2013b; Wilson, Bouffard, & Mackenzie, 2005; Zhang, Roberts, & Callanan, 2006.

[26] Marlowe, DeMatteo, & Festinger, 2003; Wodahl, 2007.

[27] Hawken & Kleiman, 2009; Paternoster, 2010.

[28] Hawken & Kleiman, 2009; Nagin, 1998; National Institute of Justice, 2014; Paternoster et al., 1997; Pogarsky, 2007.

[29] Paternoster et al., 1997; Sherman, 1993; Taxman, Soule, & Gelb, 1999; Tyler, 2007.

[30] Andrews et al., 1999; Sherman, 1993.

[31] Martin & Van Dine, 2008; Quirk, Seldon, & Smith, 2010; Taxman et al., 1999.

7 Ways to Reduce Recidivism

5. Use more carrots than sticks.

Research finding: The use of incentives and positive reinforcement are effective in promoting behavioral change.[34] Positive reinforcement should be provided at a rate of at least four reinforcers for every expression of disapproval (or sanction).[35] To be effective, incentives and rewards should be tailored to the individual;[36] swiftly applied;[37] applied generously initially, and tapered over time;[38] and provided in a manner that encourages internalizing the intrinsic benefits of the behavior. This formula enhances offenders' motivation to continue exhibiting prosocial behaviors and attitudes.

Examples of policy and practice implications: Judges and community corrections develop policies around the structured and specific use of rewards to reinforce positive behavior; defense counsel requests review hearings when clients reach significant milestones; community corrections acknowledges progress through the posting of awards, writing letters of affirmation, providing complimentary bus passes, praising offenders' behavior to their families, reducing reporting requirements; community corrections consistently emphasize the link between continued prosocial behavior and achieving long-term prosocial goals; law enforcement acknowledges law abiding behavior of known offenders.

6. Deliver services in natural environments where possible.

Research finding: Although treatment services provided in structured (e.g., residential, institutional) settings are demonstrated to be effective, services delivered in natural environments (i.e., settings in offenders' immediate surroundings that most closely resemble prosocial, supportive environments) improve offenders' bonding to the prosocial community and more effectively reduce recidivism.[39] Diversion programs with an intervention component can be effective in reducing recidivism as compared to the traditional forms of criminal justice processing (i.e., incarceration and probation).[40]

Examples of policy and practice implications: Law enforcement refers to community-based crisis services for offenders with mental health conditions; judges and prosecutors use community-based rather than residential or institutionally based programs when the safety of the community is not in jeopardy; county executives/managers provide support for funding and zoning community-based programming options; judges, prosecutors, defense counsel, community corrections, and others take inventory of available services to ensure a continuum of service options; community corrections utilizes prosocial family members, employers, and mentors to support the offender; resource directories are developed and shared among stakeholders.

---

[32] Quirk et al., 2010.
[33] Drake & Aos, 2012.
[34] Andrews & Bonta, 2006; Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Drake & Barnoski, 2009; Latessa, Cullen, & Gendreau, 2002; National Research Council, 2007; Petersilia, 2004, 2007; Taxman et al., 1999.
[35] Andrews & Bonta, 2006; Gendreau, 1996; Wodahl et al., 2011.
[36] Bonta & Andrews, 2007; Tittle & Botchkovar, 2005.
[37] See Hawken & Kleiman, 2009; Paternoster, 2010.
[38] Skinner, 1974.
[39] Andrews, 2007; Bales & Piquero, 2012; Bonta et al., 2002; Clear & Sumter, 2002; Egelko et al., 1998; Emrick et al., 1993; Gaes & Camp, 2009; Galanter, 1993; Higgins & Silverman, 1999; Meyers et al., 2002; Meyers & Smith, 1997; O'Connor & Perryclear, 2003; Ryan, Abrams, & Huang, 2014; Shapiro & Schwartz, 2001.
[40] Loughran et al, 2009; Wilson & Hoge, 2013a, 2013b.

7 WAYS TO REDUCE RECIDIVISM

7. Pair sanctions with behavior change interventions.

Research finding: Research demonstrates that sanctions without programming (e.g., boot camps without a treatment component,[41] electronic monitoring,[42] intensive supervision, [43] incarceration[44]) do not contribute to reductions in reoffense rates. In fact, the use of incarceration can have an iatrogenic effect on individuals;[45] increases in time served does not reduce, or may even increase, recidivism.[46]

Examples of policy implications: Prosecutors and judges employ a combination of sanctions and behavior changing programming for purposes of risk reduction; county executives/managers fund a balance of behavior changing programming and accountability measures; community corrections agencies address offender misbehavior with behavior changing, rather than solely punitive, responses.

IHI LESSON #2: MAKE IT PROFOUNDLY SIMPLE

IHI realized that establishing a lofty goal and leaving it to hospital staff across the country to find their own ways to reach it was a recipe for failure. Adopting evidence-based practice places an additional burden on decision makers and staff. In addition to meeting their routine responsibilities, they have to collect and analyze research, determine the optimal method to integrate it into the existing culture, and define the practical steps to implementing it on a day-to-day basis. These additional tasks layered over existing duties can easily create resistance even on the part of the best-intentioned professionals. IHI sought to ameliorate this danger by defining, on behalf of the profession, six evidence-based steps (such as using proven processes to prevent ventilator-related pneumonia, elevating the head of the patient's bed to between 30 and 45 degrees at all times, and reducing surgical on-site infections through the use of simple procedures such as frequent and careful hand washing). The lesson for criminal justice?

TRANSLATE EVIDENCE-BASED RESEARCH INTO PROFOUNDLY SIMPLE STRATEGIES.

[41] MacKenzie et al., 1995; MacKenzie, Wilson, & Kider, 2001.
[42] MacKenzie, 1997.
[43] Aos, Miller, & Drake, 2006b; Aos et al., 2001; Lowenkamp et al., 2010; Petersilia, 1999; Petersilia & Turner, 1993a, 1993b; Tonry, 1997.
[44] Andrews, 2007; Drake & Aos, 2012; Gendreau, Goggin, & Cullen, 1999; Gendreau et al., 2001; Jonson, 2011.
[45] Bales & Piquero, 2012; Loughran et al., 2009; Wilson & Hoge, 2013a, 2013b
[46] Hughes, Wilson, & Beck, 2001; Langan & Levin, 2002; Meade et al., 2012; Smith, Goggin, & Gendreau, 2002; Vito, Tewksbury, & Higgins, 2010.

SECTION 1: UNDERLYING PREMISES

In developing the Framework, the following premises were acknowledged:

- Given the current state of knowledge in the justice and the behavioral health fields, better outcomes than have been realized in the past can be expected.
- Better outcomes will be derived if existing resources (including non-incarcerative and incarcerative) are used more effectively.

> What Are "Outcomes"?
>
> "Outcomes" under a risk reduction model are defined as decreases in the rate or severity of reoffense by offenders, decreases in the harm caused to communities as a result of crime, increases in the level of satisfaction with the justice system by victims, and increases in the level of public confidence in the justice system.

- If, through the support of empirical evidence, a logic model for criminal justice processes and decision making[47] is defined and implemented with fidelity, these improved outcomes will result.
- The careful collection and analysis of data and information regarding the implementation of the logic model will produce clear and convincing evidence to guide further advancements in policy and practice. In this way, justice system outcomes can continue to improve over time.
- The U.S. justice system has developed around a set of core values. These are to be honored and protected. They provide a foundation upon which this Framework is constructed.

THE CORE VALUES OF THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

The U.S. justice "system" is in actuality many justice systems—each governed by a different combination of state and federal laws and each made up of many different organizational components. In their missions and in their involvement in individual cases, these components often have specific goals that vary considerably and are sometimes in conflict. However, their work is grounded in values that have a long history in the U.S. and that are widely embraced across the many components of any justice system. These core values guide the development and implementation of the Framework. They include the following:

- **public safety** (assuring the protection of the community and of individuals);
- **fairness** (ensuring that processes in the courts and other justice system agencies are fair and free from bias);

[47] A logic model is a graphic representation of the theory behind a conceptual framework; see Section 5 for more information.

- **individual liberty** (recognizing that a primary function of the justice system is to protect the rights and freedoms of individuals and to guard against an arbitrary exercise of governmental authority);
- **respect for the rights, needs, and concerns of victims of crime;**
- **respect for the rights of persons accused of crime;**
- **respect for the rule of law;**
- **discretion** (recognizing that the sound and informed exercise of discretion, within the parameters established by law, is an essential part of justice system decision making); and
- **appreciation for differences in perspectives and practices across jurisdictions** (recognizing that local differences in policy and practice exist and can foster innovation and contribute to improvements in practice and outcomes).

Section 2: The Key Decision Points, Decision Makers, and Stakeholders in the Criminal Justice System

This Framework was developed with key decision points, decision makers, and stakeholders in mind.[48] The following are generic terms for the key decision points; each jurisdiction must develop terms and definitions to reflect its own decision points.

Key Decision Points

- Arrest decisions (cite, detain, divert, treat, release)
- Pretrial status decisions (release on recognizance, release on unsecured or secured bond, release with supervision conditions, detain, respond to noncompliance, reassess supervision conditions)
- Diversion and deferred prosecution decisions
- Charging decisions (charge, dismiss)
- Plea decisions (plea terms)
- Sentencing decisions (sentence type, length, terms and conditions)
- Local and state institutional intervention decisions (security level, housing placement, behavior change interventions)
- Local and state institutional/parole release decisions (timing of release, conditions of release)
- Local and state reentry planning decisions
- Probation and parole intervention decisions (supervision level, supervision conditions, behavior change interventions)
- Community behavior change (treatment) interventions
- Noncompliance response decisions (level of response, accountability and behavior change responses)
- Jail and prison (or local and state) discharge from criminal justice system decisions (timing of discharge)

[48] While this list is not exhaustive, for purposes of this Framework these are considered the *primary* decision points, decision makers, and stakeholders. Omission of other stakeholders, including defendants/offenders and their family members, researchers, and others, is not intended to diminish the important contribution they play in advancing evidence-based decision making.

Key Decision Makers and Stakeholder Groups at the State Level

- The governor's office and cabinet
- State supreme court, judicial department, court rule-making authority, Administrative Office of the Courts
- State legislators (chairs or representatives of standing or ad hoc judiciary, corrections, or sentencing committees; joint judiciary and budget committees)
- Office of the Attorney General
- State defense bar
- State directors of corrections; probation and parole/community corrections
- State pretrial executives
- Paroling authority
- Victim advocates
- Directors of state behavioral health, health, employment, family services, housing, veterans affairs, financial assistance, and other agencies serving justice-involved individuals
- Families of offenders advocacy groups
- Representatives of state criminal justice coordinating groups, advisory boards, sentencing commissions, criminal justice advocacy groups, and reform coalitions (e.g., mental health alliances)
- State defense counsel association
- State judges' association
- State prosecutors' association
- State law enforcement (sheriff, police, jail administrators) association

Key Decision Makers and Stakeholder Groups at the Local Level

- Law enforcement officials
- Pretrial executives
- Victim advocates
- Prosecutors
- Defense attorneys
- Jail administrators
- Court administrators
- Judges
- Probation/parole/community corrections officials
- City/county managers/commissioners
- Community representatives (e.g., civic leaders, members of faith-based organizations, service providers)
- Behavioral health and human service representatives

SECTION 3: EXAMINING JUSTICE SYSTEM DECISION MAKING THROUGH THE LENS OF HARM REDUCTION

CRIME HARMS THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY

While crime often results in the specific pain and suffering of individuals, all crime disrupts the fabric of our communities, jeopardizes our individual and collective sense of safety, and extracts a financial penalty by diverting public monies to the justice system that might otherwise support building the health of our communities (e.g., schools for our children, parks for our families). Everyone is a victim of crime. And while some suffer more than others, everyone benefits—directly and indirectly—from crime prevention and reduction efforts.

Harm Reduction

"Harm reduction," as used in the Framework, refers to decreases in the ill effects of crime experienced broadly by communities (e.g., resources allocated to the justice system that could otherwise be directed to alternative public priorities, unsafe streets, abandoned businesses, etc.), by victims (e.g., fear of reprisal or revictimization, financial losses, etc.), by citizens (e.g., lack of confidence in community protection efforts, generalized fears of victimization, etc.), by families of offenders (e.g., loss of wages by a family member who is justice-system involved, inability of incarcerated fathers/mothers to fulfill their parenting roles, etc.), and by offenders themselves (e.g., homelessness, unemployment, etc.).

THE JUSTICE SYSTEM STRIVES TO ACHIEVE RISK AND CRIME REDUCTION

Risk reduction results from the successful application of principles and techniques that have been demonstrated to reduce the likelihood, frequency, or severity of reoffense by known defendants/offenders.[49] A growing body of science provides justice system professionals with the information and tools to estimate the level of risk an individual poses and provides principles for intervention to reduce the likelihood, severity, and/or frequency of future risk. This approach does not devalue offender accountability. In fact, it ensures that the steps taken by justice system decision makers to hold offenders accountable produce tangible and meaningful outcomes—reduced risk to reoffend.

[49] This document is intended to address the entire criminal justice system and as such there is equal interest in pretrial and post-sentence system activities and defendant/offender conduct. The term "defendant" is used to refer to the non-adjudicated, pending trial population; the term "offender" refers to the post-conviction population. In some instances, "offender" may be used to refer to both populations for ease of reading.

Actuarial Instruments

Actuarial instruments are one example of the research-supported tools available to criminal justice professionals. These instruments enable professionals to assess the level of risk an individual is likely to pose. While these instruments cannot determine any *one* individual's risk level with absolute certainty, they can—like the actuarial tools used to determine that a 17-year-old boy is more likely to get into a traffic accident than a 40-year-old woman—statistically predict the likelihood of an outcome among a large group of individuals with similar characteristics.

The Justice System Can Result in Harm Reduction

Although the impact of crime is generally thought of in terms of the perpetrator and the victim, crime affects the health and welfare of the community in a much broader way. A harm reduction philosophy posits *the community* as the focus and acknowledges these broad impacts. Some of these very significant collateral consequences are

- high costs of incarceration, leading to increased taxes for residents and businesses;
- erosion of property values and decreased property tax revenue, leading to decreasing tax bases as residents move out of crime-plagued neighborhoods;
- loss of business revenue in high crime neighborhoods, leading to fewer job opportunities for the community;
- unraveling of residents' sense of commitment to local communities, which is critical to ensuring safe, healthy, and prosperous neighborhoods;
- growth of crime cultures, where criminal activity is so commonplace it becomes viewed as a normal part of life;
- negative influence of criminal behavior from one generation to the next;
- disruption of normal everyday activities that promote social interaction and vibrant communities;
- overall distrust of the justice system to be responsive to community, victim, defendant, or offender needs;
- unsafe conditions for children—particularly in violent neighborhoods, places where drugs are manufactured (e.g., meth labs), and schools plagued by gangs;
- removal of significant segments of some demographic subgroups (e.g., males in age groups prone to high crime) from the community; and
- repercussions (e.g., financial, emotional) experienced by families and children of incarcerated persons.

Achieving, Measuring, and Maintaining Harm Reduction and Advancing Community Wellness

Justice systems focused on harm reduction and community wellness can create real and meaningful change. Understanding what these changes are and how to measure them requires establishing a set of tangible performance measures. Broadly, these performance measures can be grouped into four categories: 1) increases in public safety, 2) improvements in the wellness of the community, 3) increases in satisfaction with the justice system, and 4) improvements in the social and fiscal costs of justice system interventions.[50, 51] Examples of possible performance measures include the following:

Increases in public safety, as measured by

- reduced physical, psychological, and economic harm to primary victims;
- fewer released defendants arrested for new offenses;
- longer elapsed time from release to reoffense;
- fewer released offenders arrested for a more serious offense than their original offense;
- decreased average number of new offenses for released offenders;
- faster case processing times (i.e., shorter elapsed time from arrest to final adjudication) that decrease the likelihood of pretrial misbehavior and increase swiftness of punishment;
- fewer people victimized by released offenders;
- fewer victims "revictimized" by original perpetrators;
- decreased number of protection order/stay-away orders violated;
- fewer reports of crime from "hot spots" involving either known offenders or new offenders; and
- increases in the proportion of jail and prison beds occupied by high risk offenders compared to low risk offenders.

> 93% of respondents indicate the criminal justice system should make neighborhoods safer.
>
> –Zogby International, August 2009

[50] Real total criminal justice spending increased by 74 percent (from $158 billion to $274 billion) between 1993 and 2012. In 2012, real criminal justice spending was estimated at $872 dollars per person in the United States (Executive Office of the President of the United States, 2016).

[51] Exhibit 1 provides Washington State Institute for Public Policy's analysis of the costs and benefits of studies on 33 specific adult criminal justice programs. Analyses of this kind allow policymakers to make informed choices regarding the investment of resources and the benefits that can be derived from these investments. For Washington State Institute for Public Policy's latest benefit-cost analysis, visit http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/BenefitCost?topicId=2.

Exhibit 1: Reducing Crime with Evidence-Based Options: Benefits & Costs

Source: Washington State Institute for Public Policy (WSIPP), 2016

Adult Criminal Justice Programs: Washington State Institute for Public Policy Benefit-Cost Results Based on literature reviews conducted between April 2012 and October 2015 For the latest estimates, see: http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/BenefitCost?topicId=2	Taxpayer Benefits Value to taxpayer if crime is avoided [a]	Non-Taxpayer Benefits Includes victims and potential victims [b]	Total Benefits Benefits to the taxpayer and non-taxpayer	Costs Present value of net program costs in 2015 dollars [c]	Total Benefits Minus Costs Net present value	Benefit to Cost Ratio Amount of benefit per $1 of cost	Chance Benefits Will Exceed Costs Odds program will generate benefits ≥ costs
Employment and job training assistance during incarceration	$10,092	$24,768	$34,860	($465)	**$34,396**	**$75.04**	**99%**
Electronic monitoring (probation)	$7,160	$18,579	$25,739	$1,124	**$26,863**	**n/a**	**94%**
Therapeutic communities for offenders with co-occurring disorders	$7,975	$17,872	$25,848	($3,738)	**$22,109**	**$6.91**	**99%**
Correctional education (basic or post-secondary) in prison	$6,449	$15,339	$21,788	($1,187)	**$20,601**	**$18.36**	**100%**
Offender Re-entry Community Safety Program (dangerously mentally ill offenders)	$22,404	$33,083	$55,488	($36,283)	**$19,204**	**$1.53**	**90%**
Day reporting centers	$6,958	$15,531	$22,489	($3,940)	**$18,549**	**$5.71**	**92%**
Vocational education in prison	$6,017	$14,048	$20,064	($1,653)	**$18,411**	**$12.13**	**100%**
Drug Offender Sentencing Alternative (for drug offenders)	$5,875	$13,993	$19,867	($1,610)	**$18,257**	**$12.34**	**98%**
Mental health courts	$5,941	$13,140	$19,080	($3,067)	**$16,014**	**$6.22**	**99%**
Electronic monitoring (parole)	$3,963	$10,379	$14,342	$1,125	**$15,467**	**n/a**	**100%**
Outpatient/non-intensive drug treatment (incarceration)	$4,475	$10,585	$15,060	($935)	**$14,125**	**$16.10**	**100%**
Swift and certain sanctions for offenders on community supervision	$3,699	$9,658	$13,356	$696	**$14,052**	**n/a**	**100%**
Inpatient/intensive outpatient drug treatment (incarceration)	$4,682	$10,763	$15,445	($1,599)	**$13,846**	**$9.66**	**100%**
Sex offender treatment in the community	$3,478	$10,987	$14,464	($1,664)	**$12,800**	**$8.69**	**93%**
Risk, need & responsivity supervision (for high and moderate risk offenders)	$5,642	$11,483	$17,125	($5,005)	**$12,121**	**$3.42**	**100%**
Jail diversion programs for offenders with mental illness (post-arrest programs)	($3,760)	$8,803	$5,044	$5,618	**$10,661**	**n/a**	**61%**
Cognitive behavioral treatment (for high and moderate risk offenders)	$3,079	$7,405	$10,483	($433)	**$10,050**	**$24.19**	**100%**
Therapeutic communities for chemically dependent offenders (community)	$3,499	$8,004	$11,503	($1,562)	**$9,941**	**$7.37**	**100%**
Case management: swift and certain/graduated sanctions for substance abusing offenders	$4,762	$9,501	$14,263	($4,996)	**$9,267**	**$2.85**	**95%**

Adult Criminal Justice Programs: Washington State Institute for Public Policy Benefit-Cost Results Based on literature reviews conducted between April 2012 and October 2015 For the latest estimates, see: http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/BenefitCost?topicId=2	Taxpayer Benefits Value to taxpayer if crime is avoided [a]	Non-Taxpayer Benefits Includes victims and potential victims [b]	Total Benefits Benefits to the taxpayer and non-taxpayer	Costs Present value of net program costs in 2015 dollars [c]	Total Benefits Minus Costs Net present value	Benefit to Cost Ratio Amount of benefit per $1 of cost	Chance Benefits Will Exceed Costs Odds program will generate benefits ≥ costs
Drug Offender Sentencing Alternative (for property offenders)	$3,249	$7,378	$10,627	($1,609)	**$9,018**	**$6.60**	**70%**
Drug courts	$4,098	$8,917	$13,015	($4,984)	**$8,031**	**$2.61**	**100%**
Employment and job training assistance in the community	$2,469	$5,972	$8,441	($464)	**$7,977**	**$18.17**	**99%**
Work release	$1,959	$4,492	$6,450	($693)	**$5,757**	**$9.30**	**99%**
Correctional industries in prison	$2,071	$4,366	$6,437	($1,493)	**$4,945**	**$4.31**	**100%**
Therapeutic communities for chemically dependent offenders (incarceration)	$3,590	$6,303	$9,892	($5,004)	**$4,888**	**$1.98**	**94%**
Outpatient/non-intensive drug treatment (community)	$1,461	$3,251	$4,712	($854)	**$3,858**	**$5.52**	**91%**
Sex offender treatment during incarceration	$2,602	$6,212	$8,813	($5,222)	**$3,591**	**$1.69**	**75%**
Intensive supervision (surveillance and treatment)	$4,440	$7,069	$11,508	($8,231)	**$3,278**	**$1.40**	**73%**
Restorative justice conferencing	$1,224	$2,543	$3,767	($1,081)	**$2,686**	**$3.49**	**70%**
Inpatient/intensive outpatient drug treatment (community)	$501	$732	$1,233	($1,045)	**$188**	**$1.18**	**51%**
Case management: not swift and certain for substance-abusing offenders	$1,614	$1,569	$3,183	($5,000)	**($1,817)**	**$0.64**	**33%**
Intensive supervision (surveillance only)	($326)	($2,990)	($3,316)	($4,330)	**($7,646)**	**($0.77)**	**5%**
Domestic violence perpetrator treatment (Duluth-based model)	($2,074)	($5,925)	($8,000)	($1,434)	**($9,433)**	**($5.58)**	**17%**

a: Taxpayer benefit estimates include the operating costs and annualized capital costs of police and sheriffs, superior courts and county prosecutors, local juvenile corrections, local adult corrections, state juvenile corrections, and state adult corrections. For some programs, the cost to taxpayers may be higher than treatment-as-usual (e.g., mental health or domestic violence treatment).

b: Non-taxpayer benefits are those costs avoided by people who would otherwise have been victims of crime, had the crimes not been averted. Depending on the program, benefits could include reductions in crime victimization, the economic benefits from a more educated workforce, and the benefits from employer-paid health insurance.

c: Per-participant cost estimates were provided by the Washington State Department of Corrections. The figures shown are estimates of the costs to implement programs in Washington. The comparison group costs reflect either no treatment or treatment as usual, depending on how effect sizes were calculated in the meta-analysis. Positive costs occur when the program costs less than the comparison group (i.e., treatment as usual).

Improved community wellness, as measured by

- decreased number of drug/alcohol-related traffic accidents and fatalities;
- decreases in emergency-room admissions for crime-related and drug-related injuries;
- increased number of drug-free babies born;
- fewer child welfare interventions in families of offenders;
- increases in the number of people successfully completing treatment programs; and
- fewer jail and prison admissions for people with mental health issues.

Increased satisfaction with the criminal justice system, as measured by

- increased number of victims satisfied with the justice system's responses;
- increased number of offenders making restitution payments;
- increased victim participation in the justice system;
- increased cooperation of the public with the justice system;
- increased confidence by the public in the justice system/fewer people who believe the justice system is a "revolving" door; and
- increases in the number of positive media reports about the justice system.

> 90% of respondents indicate that the criminal justice system should work to increase the public's confidence.
>
> –Zogby International, August 2009

Improvements in the social and fiscal costs of justice system interventions, as measured by

- fewer family members of known offenders who become involved with the justice system;
- decreases in the costs for incarceration;
- greater financial return on investment in treatment, rehabilitation, and alternatives to incarceration;
- decreased crime rate;
- increased tax base;
- increases in timely child support payments; and
- increases in court-imposed fees collected.

A harm reduction philosophy focuses more broadly on the overall and long-term health and welfare of the community, particularly in terms of creating a collective sense of public safety.

> 74% of respondents agree with the statement "We should increase spending on approaches proven to reduce the chances that offenders will commit new crimes."
>
> –Zogby International, August 2009

SECTION 4: THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE FRAMEWORK

Four principles, each based upon empirical research, underlie *A Framework for Evidence-Based Decision Making in State and Local Criminal Justice Systems*. They define, in broad terms, the way criminal justice professionals will work together, make decisions, and operate their agencies under this approach.

PRINCIPLE ONE: THE PROFESSIONAL JUDGMENT OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM DECISION MAKERS IS ENHANCED WHEN INFORMED BY EVIDENCE-BASED KNOWLEDGE[52]

Decades of research in the justice and behavioral health fields have resulted in empirical findings that support practices and interventions that result in crime reduction. Enhanced awareness and the consistent application of that knowledge throughout the justice system offer the promise of decreased pretrial misconduct and post-sentence crime and community harm. The justice system's discretion points provide for the use of professional judgment to ensure that individual factors and the totality of circumstances are taken into consideration when decisions are made.

Implications of Principle One

For professional judgment to be informed by evidence-based knowledge

- evidence-based knowledge must be documented and readily available;
- the policy implications of knowledge—and their potential outcomes—must be identified;
- the methods for applying knowledge to practice must be delineated;
- professional judgment should take into account both evidence-based knowledge and case-specific circumstances; and
- where decisions are made that counter empirical evidence, the rationale for those exceptions should be explained.

> 61% of respondents indicate that when criminal justice professionals make decisions, research on what works in preventing crime should be the most important thing they rely on. 24% say professional experience and 9% say personal beliefs should be the major determinant.
>
> –Zogby International, August 2009

[52] See the following research citations which support this principle: Andrews & Bonta, 1998; Aos et al., 2006b; Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Gendreau et al., 2001; Gendreau, Little, & Goggin, 1996; Grove & Meehl, 1996; Grove et al., 2000; Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Holsinger, 2006; Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Smith, 2006; Lowenkamp, Pealer, Smith, & Latessa, 2007.

Principle Two: Every interaction within the criminal justice system offers an opportunity to contribute to harm reduction[53]

Offenders interact with an array of professionals (e.g., law enforcement officers, pretrial staff, jailers, judges, probation/parole officers, etc.) as their cases are processed through the justice system. Likewise, an array of professionals—and the agencies they represent—interact with *one another* (e.g., law enforcement with prosecutors, prosecutors with defenders, judges with pretrial staff, etc.). Three separate but equally important bodies of research are relevant to these justice system conditions. First, research demonstrates that professionals' interactions with offenders can have a significant positive impact on offenders' behavior. Second, parallel research demonstrates that professionals' positive interactions with victims can promote a sense of satisfaction and fairness. Third, research demonstrates that systems are most effective in achieving their ultimate outcomes when they operate as "value chains." Under a value chain system, each component of a system provides additive rather than duplicative or detracting value. For this to be true, the components' interactive operations must be fully coordinated with one another.

Implications of Principle Two

For the criminal justice system to take advantage of its interaction potential

- all professionals in the justice system must understand their individual potential to positively influence offender behavior;
- all professionals in the justice system must understand their individual potential to positively influence victims' experiences with the justice system;
- criminal justice professionals must have the knowledge and skills that will enable them to maximize these opportunities;
- agency[54] policies and practices throughout the justice system must enable professionals to exercise this knowledge and apply these skills;
- justice system processes must be evaluated to ensure that interchanging systems are coordinated and aligned with one another (i.e., information is shared, policies are compatible, interests and outcomes are in agreement); and
- where interchanging systems lack coordination, processes must be realigned.

[53] See the following research citations which support this principle: Bazemore & Schiff, 2004; Bonta et al., 2008; Dowden & Andrews, 2004; Henggeler et al., 1998; Lind & Tyler, 1988; MacDuffie & Helper, 2006; Paternoster et al., 1997; Porter, 1985; Tyler, 2000, 2007; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Umbreit, 1998; WSIPP, 2004.

[54] Throughout this document, we use the term "agency" to indicate a discrete entity organized to serve a particular function, such as a police agency, prosecutor's office, court, corrections agency, etc.

Principle Three: Systems achieve better outcomes when they operate collaboratively[55]

Research demonstrates that specific activities, processes, and approaches—when instituted and adhered to across components—will more likely result in the achievement of articulated outcomes. As distinguished from value chain research, which addresses the importance of the interactions of *subsystems* (components of a larger whole), the research on collaboration speaks to the manner in which the *individuals* who represent different interests and organizations (e.g., court administration, jail operations, etc.) work together towards a shared outcome (decreased crime and harm, increased community safety).

Implications of Principle Three

For criminal justice leadership to achieve effective collaboration

- key decision makers and stakeholders must be identified;
- a formal, ongoing process of collaborative policymaking must be established;
- partners must ensure that collaboration occurs at the system and case levels only inasmuch as it does not infringe upon the individual rights of the accused or the responsibilities and authority of the system actors; and
- policy teams must establish and adhere to empirically derived collaboration methods that have been demonstrated to be successful in facilitating goal attainment.[56]

Judges on Collaborative Teams

While ethical questions regarding the participation of judges on collaborative teams have arisen in a number of circumstances, judges across the country have led or participated on teams that have addressed jail crowding, established specialty courts, revised policy and practice related to the management of a particular offender population, or otherwise contributed to improvements in court and justice system operations. The ABA Model Code of Judicial Conduct and the majority of state judicial rules of ethics support the participation of judges in commissions or policy-level groups that are "devoted to the improvement of the law, the legal system, or the administration of justice." For a more in-depth discussion of the ethical conduct of judges on collaborative teams, see Stroker, 2006, and Gray, 2002.

[55] See the following research citations which support this principle: Adler, Kwon, & Heckscher, 2008; Collins & Porras, 1997; Heckscher & Adler, 2006; Henggeler et al., 1998; Larson & LaFasto, 1989.

[56] A body of literature on successful collaborative processes exists and should guide this work. As addressed in Section 6, supporting documents will describe these research findings and translate findings into specific steps collaborative teams can follow.

Principle Four: The criminal justice system will continually learn and improve when professionals make decisions based on the collection, analysis, and use of data and information[57]

Learning systems are those that adapt to a dynamic environment through a process of continuous information collection and analysis. Through this process of individual and collective learning, entities—whether a single professional working with an individual case, an agency monitoring its overall operations, the justice system as a whole monitoring system efficiency and effectiveness, or a state agency monitoring the policy and practice outcomes throughout multiple departments statewide—improve their processes and activities in a constant effort to achieve better results at all levels. In addition to facilitating continuous improvements in harm reduction within an agency or system, ongoing data collection adds to the overall body of knowledge in the field about what works and what does not.

> 89% of respondents indicate that criminal justice officials should tell the public how well they are doing at reducing crime.
>
> –Zogby International, August 2009

Implications of Principle Four

For the justice system to become a learning entity, the following is necessary:

- the establishment of clear, specific, and transparent performance measurements that identify and measure approaches and activities demonstrated or believed[58] to contribute to desired outcomes at the case, agency, and system levels;
- the establishment of baseline measures at the case, agency, and local and/or state system levels;
- ongoing, accurate, and objective collection of data at the case, agency, and system levels;
- critical and objective analysis of these data to compare agency and system performance with established targets;
- commitment to quality assurance in the performance of activities and in the collection of meaningful data;
- continual feedback loops to ensure that information is shared, mutually understood, and collaboratively deliberated;

[57] See the following research citations which support this principle: Peters & Austin, 1986; Peters & Waterman, 2004; Senge, 2006.

[58] Where the evidence falls short or is incomplete, data collection and critical analysis are particularly important.

- commitment to view less-than-desirable results as opportunities to improve; and
- modification of policy and practice as performance measures and quality control monitoring indicate.

Lessons in Using Evidence...From *Moneyball*

In the book *Moneyball: The Art of Winning an Unfair Game* (2003), Michael Lewis examined the question of how the Oakland Athletics, the second poorest team in Major League Baseball, repeatedly excelled against better-financed teams. Unable to match the financial strength of perennial favorites such as the New York Yankees, the Oakland Athletics used another strategy to achieve consistently high performance: they used evidence.

Oakland Athletics general manager Billy Beane challenged baseball's conventional wisdom around common decisions such as the advantage of drafting power hitters and when to bunt. By using statistics and other evidence, Beane determined, for example, that a walk is not an inferior way to get on base; it is, in fact, as good as a single. With this conclusion, Beane set out to recruit not the power hitters but those with the best walk-to-at-bat statistics. In this way, players were recruited based on their overall "value-add" to the team.

Applying this type of analysis to every aspect of baseball, Beane established a method of decision making that relied on data and information to support the cost–benefit decisions that would lead to a higher performing team, demonstrating that it matters less how much money is spent and more how it is spent.

Section 5: Applying Evidence-Based Principles to Practice

A Logic Model for Harm Reduction Decision Making at the System Level

A logic model is a graphic representation of the theory behind a conceptual framework and the set of activities designed to achieve one or more desired impacts. The logic model supporting *A Framework for Evidence-Based Decision Making in State and Local Criminal Justice Systems* reflects, broadly, the EBDM planning process.[59] Logic models illustrating implementation efforts at the local *system* level and the state *system* level are also provided. They are built upon the four principles underlying the Framework (as described in Section 4). The models outline the logical flow of both the processes and activities involved in implementation, and they demonstrate the expected harm reduction impacts that will result from these processes and activities.

Logic models are built using several key elements:

- inputs, which represent existing and needed **resources** (both financial and human), policies, practices, facilities, and capabilities that jurisdictions bring to the table in implementing the Framework;
- activities, which represent the specific **strategies** to be put in place to implement the Framework and apply evidence-based decision making to achieve harm reduction;
- outputs, which specify the **immediate results** that occur as activities and strategies are implemented (e.g., change in policy/practice, adoption of new tools/protocols, number of people trained, etc.);
- outcomes, which serve as **indicators** that change is occurring at key decision points in the justice system as a result of the activities and which demonstrate that evidence-based decision making has been implemented; and
- impacts, which define the types of **long-term results** that can be anticipated and measured as a result of the Framework's implementation.

Underlying each logic model are assumptions and contextual conditions. The assumptions are based on the principles in the Framework and serve as the rationale for how jurisdictions can achieve harm reduction by implementing this Framework. Because the logic models are illustrative, each jurisdiction will tailor specific aspects of the activities and types of outcomes/impacts expected based on its unique circumstances. These circumstances are referred to as contextual conditions.

[59] The EBDM planning process is presented in greater detail through the EBDM Starter Kit and planning roadmap.

Evidence-Based Decision Making System-Level Implementation Steps

Implementation of evidence-based decision making requires a desire and commitment to change how the justice system responds to alleged and substantiated illegal behavior in a way that enhances public safety and reduces harm to communities, victims, defendants, and offenders. Such change necessarily involves a complex set of implementation steps that need to occur at multiple levels within the system—at the overall system level (i.e., involving all local or state stakeholders within the justice system), within each agency/entity that engages in the criminal justice process (e.g., police, prosecutors, defense, pretrial services, courts, community corrections, and corrections), and at the case level (e.g., in terms of how decisions are made in individual cases). The Framework provides an overall vision for how evidence-based decision making can work in local and state criminal justice systems and the types of outcomes and impacts that might be expected if evidence-based decision making is implemented.

In general, the implementation process includes four stages: 1) developing a systemwide vision and process for evidence-based decision making, 2) developing a plan to implement the policy and procedural changes necessary to support the implementation of evidence-based decision making, 3) implementing evidence-based decision making, and 4) institutionalizing and refining evidence-based decision making through an ongoing process of review and refinement.

Results-Based Management

What gets measured gets done.

If results are not measured, successes cannot be distinguished from failures.

If successes cannot be distinguished, they cannot be replicated.

If failures cannot be identified, they cannot be corrected.

If results cannot be demonstrated, support cannot be secured.

–Adapted from Osborne & Gaebler, 1992

Samples of system-level logic models are provided below. They depict the relationships between activities, outcomes, and impacts at the state level and at the local level. Each sample logic model is provided to show generally how implementation of evidence-based decision making can change the system's response to alleged or substantiated illegal behavior, enhance public safety, and reduce harm.

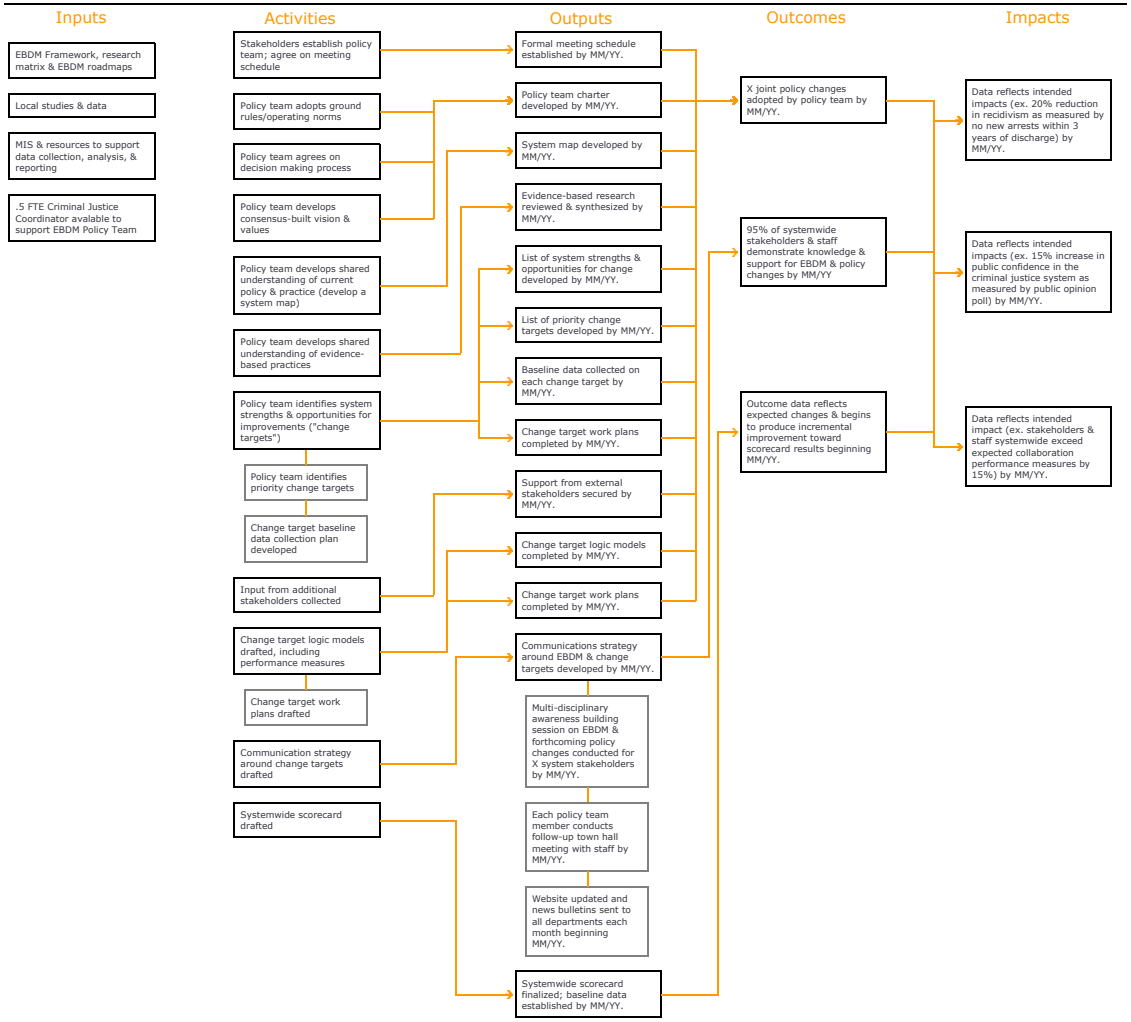
IHI LESSON #3: A MARATHON IS RUN ONE STEP AT A TIME

IHI announced from the start that not every Campaign participant had to implement all six interventions at once. Recognizing that small wins would unleash an appetite for larger victories, their motto became "one step at a time." This approach resolved the problem of implementing change across a very large and diverse nation: what was possible in an urban research facility in Massachusetts, for example, might not be practical for a small, rural hospital in Minnesota. Yet each had the opportunity to succeed, one step at a time. The lesson for criminal justice?

PROVIDE THE TOOLS TO WIN THE RACE;
LET THE RUNNERS SET THEIR PACE.

EXAMPLE: EBDM PROCESS LOGIC MODEL

(See EBDM roadmap for additional details)



Assumptions:

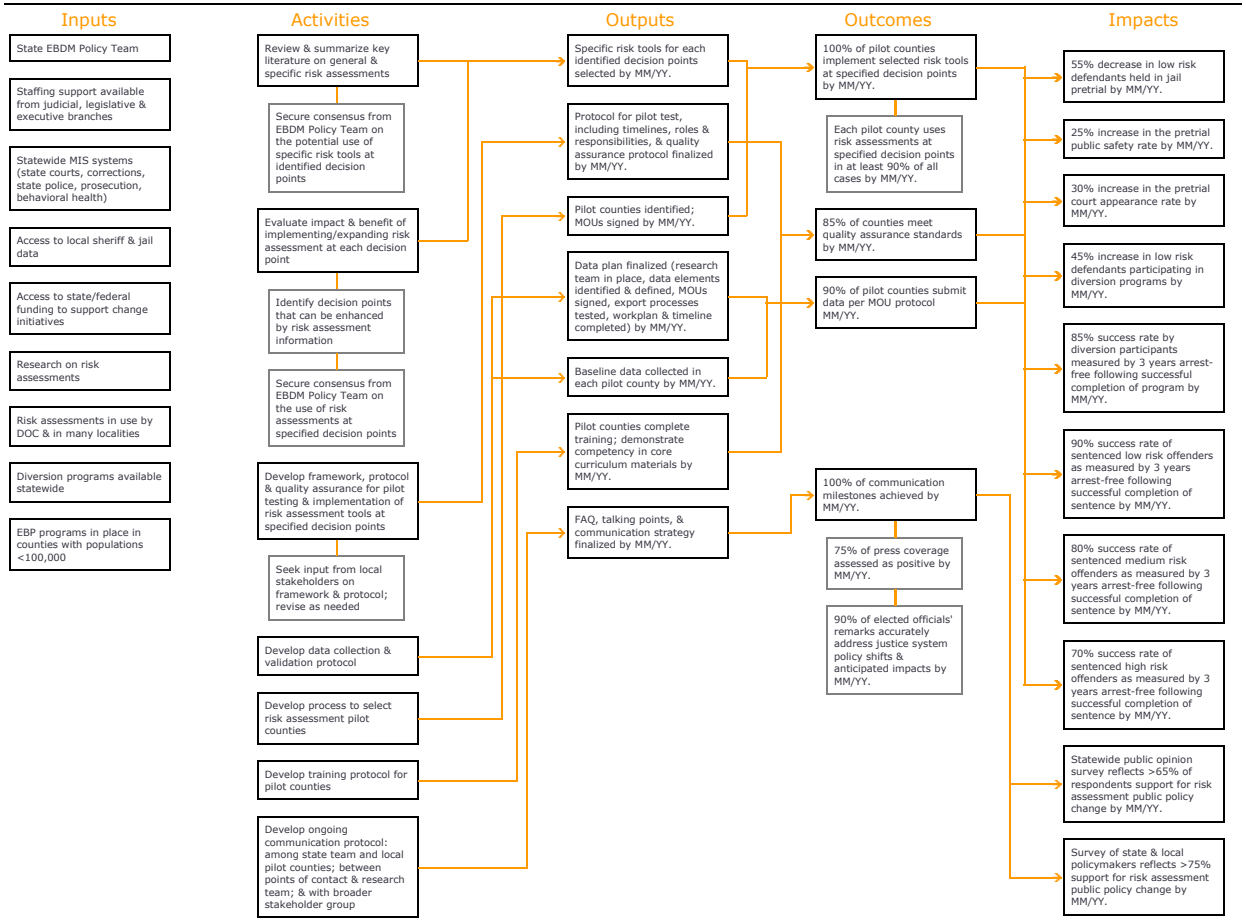
1. The professional judgment of criminal justice system decision makers is enhanced when informed by evidence-based knowledge.
2. Every interaction within the criminal justice system offers an opportunity to contribute to harm reduction.
3. Systems achieve better outcomes when they operate collaboratively.
4. The criminal justice system will continually learn and improve when professionals make decisions based on the collection, analysis and use of data and information.

Contextual Conditions (to be assessed):

- Core values of the justice system
- Local and/or state politics
- Local economic situation
- Justice system stakeholder commitment & support
- Collaborative climate & level of trust among stakeholders
- Willingness to share data
- Commitment to building a results-driven structure
- Availability of funding to support planning process & change initiatives
- Justice system structure and staffing
- Community support

EXAMPLE: PORTION OF AN EBDM LOCAL-LEVEL LOGIC MODEL (RISK ASSESSMENT)

(Illustrative, not comprehensive)



Assumptions:

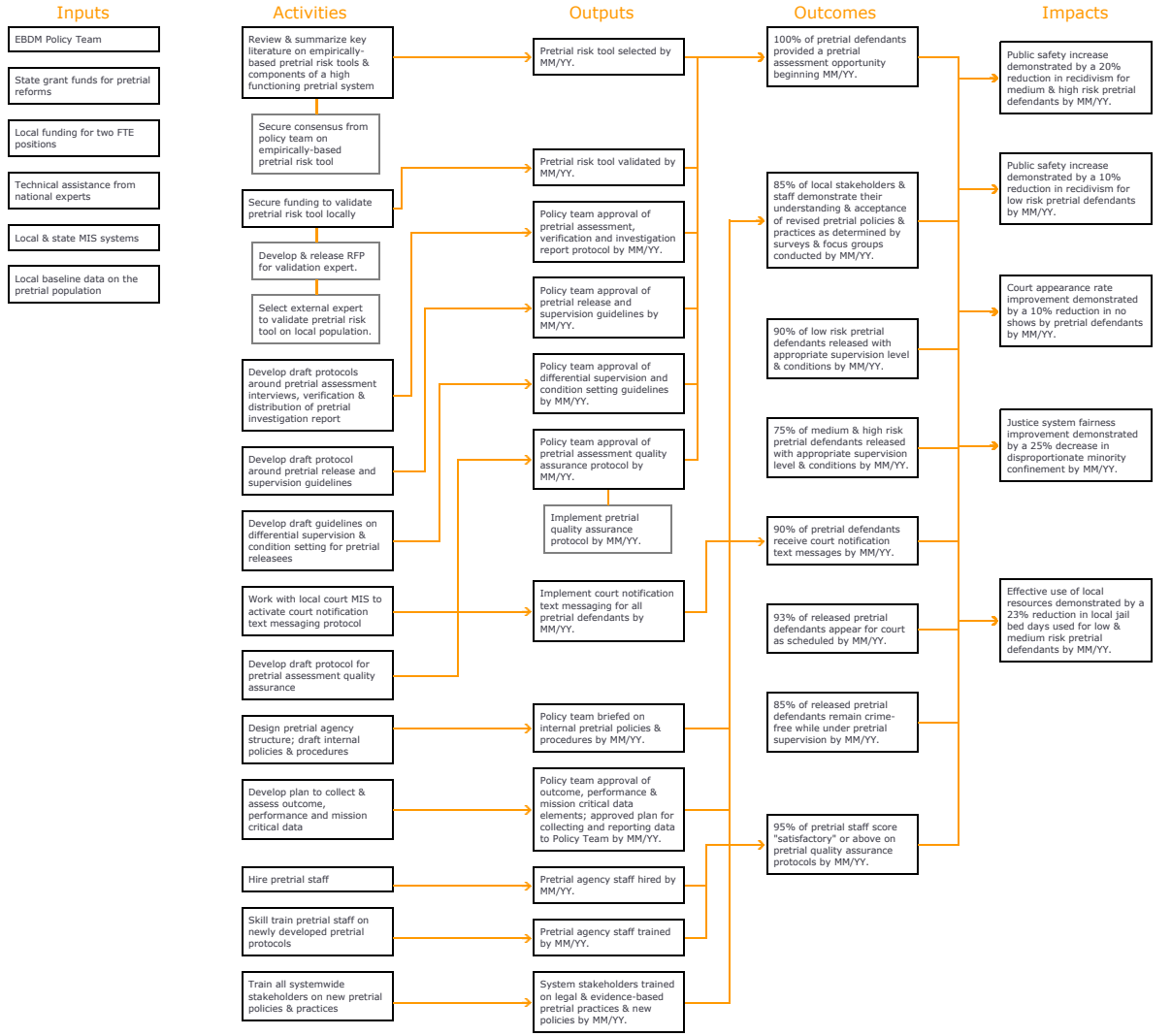
1. The professional judgment of criminal justice system decision makers is enhanced when informed by evidence-based knowledge.
2. Every interaction within the criminal justice system offers an opportunity to contribute to harm reduction.
3. Systems achieve better outcomes when they operate collaboratively.
4. The criminal justice system will continually learn and improve when professionals make decisions based on the collection, analysis and use of data and information.

Contextual Conditions:

- State policymakers have articulated a key justice system goal of risk reduction
- Support for EBDM from Executive, Legislative & Judicial leadership
- Support for EBDM effort from statewide associations
- State and local economic conditions stable
- Statewide assessment of programs indicates the majority of services are evidence-based but placements are not informed by risk/needs assessments
- Statewide assessment demonstrates diversion programs across the state are widely underutilized
- Statewide workgroup is currently developing a model policy for the operation of diversionary programs
- Public & media unfamiliar with risk reduction research; data suggests that awareness-building is necessary to gain public support

EXAMPLE: PORTION OF AN EBDM STATE-LEVEL LOGIC MODEL (PRETRIAL)

(Illustrative, not comprehensive)



Assumptions:

1. The professional judgment of criminal justice system decision makers is enhanced when informed by evidence-based knowledge.
2. Every interaction within the criminal justice system offers an opportunity to contribute to harm reduction.
3. Systems achieve better outcomes when they operate collaboratively.
4. The criminal justice system will continually learn and improve when professionals make decisions based on the collection, analysis and use of data and information.

Contextual Conditions:

- National movement around pretrial has led local and state stakeholder interest in pretrial reform
- Policy Team consensus on the goals of pretrial change effort & values to guide future pretrial practices
- Local concerns around ensuring policies and practices are fair and address system disparities, particularly for minority populations
- Long-standing practice of using financial release conditions (money bond) & bond schedules

SECTION 6: KEY CHALLENGES IN IMPLEMENTING THIS FRAMEWORK

Without a doubt, implementation of this Framework has raised a number of challenges and "thorny" issues for criminal justice system decision makers. Some of these are pragmatic, some operational, others philosophical. While we do not attempt to identify all of these, a few key issues are noted as among the most complex. How they are addressed has proven to be jurisdiction-specific; the extent to which these (and other) issues have surfaced, and the manner in which their resolution has been addressed, is based in large part on the culture and resources of individual communities.

RISK REDUCTION AND EVIDENCE-BASED DECISION MAKING IN THE CONTEXT OF SANCTIONING PURPOSE

Different Cases, Different Purposes

Much has been written about the purposes of sentencing. Each (just desserts/retribution, deterrence, rehabilitation, and incapacitation) offers a rationale for sanctioning offenders. The most notable of the differences among them is the distinction between utilitarian goals—those that aim to produce some good as a result of the sanction (such as discouraging criminal behavior, helping offenders learn to avoid future criminal engagement, restoration of the harm caused to the victim and community, or restraining those thought likely to pose a threat in the future)—and the non-utilitarian "just deserts" approach which asserts that offenders deserve to be punished for their crimes, regardless of whether that punishment will influence future behavior.[60] Only some of these attend to the issue of risk reduction.

The unique factors and considerations of a given case may result in one sanctioning purpose taking precedence over another. In those instances where risk reduction is not identified as the primary purpose of sanctioning, its significance and important role should nonetheless be fully considered.

The Weight of the Evidence

As described previously, there is a wide body of research to support the claim that risk reduction is possible.[61] The evidence regarding other sanctioning purposes is, thus far, less compelling.[62] Evidence-based decision making requires that decision makers understand the

[60] See particularly the writings of M. Kay Harris on the topic of sanctioning philosophies (e.g., Harris, 1986).
[61] See "What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism" in Appendix 4 and "7 Ways to Reduce Recidivism" on pages 9-12.
[62] For instance, research finds that incarceration and other punitive sanctions, in isolation of other interventions, do not reduce future offending; see Gendreau & Goggin, 1996; Gendreau et al., 1999; Lipsey & Cullen, 2007; Smith et al., 2002. Research also suggests that deterrent effects are inconsistent and depend on individual characteristics, emotions, experiences, etc. Therefore, outcomes derived solely from deterrence are difficult to predict; see Bouffard, Exum, & Paternoster, 2000; Exum, 2002; Matsueda, Kreager, & Huizinga, 2006; Nagin, 1998; Piquero & Pogarsky, 2002; Pogarsky, 2002, 2007; Stafford & Warr, 1993.

relative impact of various sanctioning options and take this into account when determining the outcome of a particular case.

In point of fact, 95% of convicted offenders will ultimately be released to the community.[63] The weight of the evidence demonstrating the efficacy of risk reduction approaches provides justice system actors with confidence that the goal of risk reduction can be achieved[64] either singularly or in conjunction with other sanctioning purposes. In this way, risk reduction should not be "sidelined" when other sanctioning goals are considered to be of equal or higher value. It is not an "either/or" proposition, although *how* risk considerations are factored into a case may vary. Several case scenarios may best illustrate this point:

- A low risk offender who has committed a serious crime might be sentenced to serve his time in jail rather than prison if it is determined that jail would be less likely to expose the offender to the antisocial influences that lead to increases in crime among lower risk offenders.
- A moderate risk offender sentenced to prison might be placed in an institution closer to home, where supportive family members have a greater opportunity to offer positive influence. He may also be provided risk reducing programming during and following incarceration.
- A high risk offender convicted of a low level offense might be placed on intensive supervision and be required to complete a high intensity treatment program.

In each of these scenarios, risk reduction is a consideration in the crafting of an appropriate disposition, in some cases *alongside* other sanctioning purposes.

Plea Negotiations

In most jurisdictions, well over 90% of felony criminal cases are handled through pleas, with the majority of the courts accepting those pleas as negotiated.[65] In many jurisdictions, plea negotiations are often crafted in highly prescriptive ways, dictating, for example, not only the length of incarceration and probation supervision but also the specific conditions of supervision. Yet, few jurisdictions have available to them information about an offender's risk to reoffend or criminogenic needs at the point of plea negotiation, meaning that key decision makers—prosecutors and defenders—negotiate these agreements absent information about how best to influence future criminal behavior based on the unique characteristics of the offender being sentenced. As a result, in most jurisdictions, cases are passed along to corrections and/or probation, which then assess risk/needs and, in many cases, work to retrofit research-based interventions to court-imposed sentencing parameters.

[63] See Hughes & Wilson, 2003.
[64] For a review of some of the research, see Appendix 4.
[65] See Durose & Langan, 2007; Rosenmerkel, Durose, & Farole, 2009. While misdemeanor cases outweigh felonies 4 to 1 (LaFountain et al., 2008), no national data is available to indicate the percentage of these cases that are settled through plea agreement.

Perhaps no other justice system process has as profound an effect on harm reduction as plea negotiations. To be successful in reaching the goal of public safety, plea negotiation practices should be guided by research.

Arguably, the introduction of risk/need information at the plea stage—and perhaps earlier—could have a profound effect on judicial decisions, and yet this is not without its due process and resource challenges. This is another of the important issues to be addressed by this initiative.

The Management of Low Level Offenses

Many justice systems across the country are inundated with minor criminal matters. These petty or "nuisance" crimes, as they are often called, consume enormous system resources, including police officer time, pretrial assessments and perhaps pretrial supervision, hearings before bail commissioners and magistrates, jail beds, court dockets, etc. Often, the defendants charged with these crimes are indigent, mentally ill, and/or homeless; many are "revolving door" cases, individuals who are apprehended and processed numerous times over the course of a year. Efforts to process and manage their cases consume a significant portion of the justice system budget. Insufficient funding or services and/or the press of overwhelmingly high caseloads can result in quick-fix responses that may address the immediate, pressing problem of moving the case forward within established timeframes but too often fall short of resolving the systemic influences that lie at the heart of the criminal behavior.

Criminal justice entities and agencies across the country process hundreds or even thousands of these cases in a given day or week,[66] oftentimes without the opportunity to diagnose the factors leading to the criminal behavior or to construct a solution with long-term potential. Assessments are rarely conducted in these cases, resulting in a situation in which little information other than a criminal history and arrest report are available to guide decision making.

The Framework seeks to apply evidence-based knowledge to all criminal justice decisions and in all types of cases—petty, serious, and all those in between. There are at least two challenges in doing so. First, there is a dearth of research-informed knowledge to guide policy and practice in some areas. Second, the volume of cases, shortage of labor, press of time, difficulties associated with unique challenges such as the seriously mentally ill, and, in some cases, insufficient physical space to conduct interviews, provide services, etc., combine to create seemingly impossible barriers to evidence-based practices with all cases. This is yet a third key implementation challenge that remains a focus for the EBDM initiative.

[66] The actual numbers vary widely by jurisdiction and in some jurisdictions are very low. See LaFountain et al., 2008; National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers, 2009.

Looking to the Future

Implementation of the Framework has surfaced a variety of "thorny issues," including those anticipated in the 1st edition and addressed here: risk reduction as opposed to or alongside other sanctioning purposes; whether and how risk and criminogenic need information should be considered at early decision points (that is, at the arrest, pretrial, and plea negotiation stages); and how best to effectively and efficiently use research to end the revolving door of low level criminal cases. As time and experience have evolved, other "thorny issues" have arisen. These include the complexities of the current drug epidemic sweeping some communities in our nation; the movement toward the elimination—or significantly curtailed use—of money bond; the crushing burden of fines and fees, particularly on indigent persons; disproportionate minority confinement; and policing practices, to name just a few.

Perhaps the best test of the EBDM Framework is the fact that the EBDM teams that have confronted (or been confronted by) these issues have not shied from them, or pulled away from the EBDM policy team table. On the contrary, these are precisely the matters that have solidified the resolve of the EBDM teams to press forward with their work.

Further galvanizing their efforts is the promise of the in-state partnerships. Phase III of the EBDM effort suggested the potential of EBDM if it were applied more broadly than in one or two localities within a given state. Phases IV, V, and now VI of the EBDM effort have demonstrated the promise of EBDM as a focused strategic effort within multiple localities and in partnership with state policymakers. Indeed, the change initiatives underway in the Phase VI EBDM states are nothing short of remarkable with respect to the degree that they are coordinated across jurisdictional boundaries, widely supported by both state and local decision makers, empirically based, and supporting alignment across both policy and practice. The processes used and outcomes realized from these unprecedented state–local partnerships will be the subject of future EBDM publications.

While it is expected that the continued discussions and debates about how to address these complex issues facing our nation's justice systems, both at the state and local levels, will be difficult—and will raise questions that compel policymakers to confront directly their philosophies, values, commitment to past practices, and abilities to creatively design new justice system approaches—there is no doubt that these deliberations will move the field forward in the advancement of evidence-based decision making and improved justice system outcomes. To be sure, one of the key strategies to making this possible is collaborative policymaking.

Section 7: Collaboration: A Key Ingredient of an Evidence-Based System

Aligning the Criminal Justice System to Achieve Harm Reduction

Components of the criminal justice system—and the agencies and actors that represent them—frequently operate without clarity of, or consensus on, the outcomes the system seeks to achieve and/or the optimal methods to reach them.

New ways of thinking about how this "system" *could* work; evidence-based knowledge about how best to produce intended outcomes at the system, agency, and case levels; and empirical evidence about methods to achieve effective collaborative processes offer guidance to state and local jurisdictions interested in working collaboratively to achieve harm reduction.

Bringing the Stakeholders to the Table to Form Policy Teams[67]

Collaboration in the criminal justice system seeks to overcome the limitations of traditional and non-systemic approaches to criminal justice problem solving and solution development by bringing together stakeholders to share information, work toward the development of common goals, and jointly create policies to support those goals. *Stakeholders* are defined as those who influence and have an investment in the justice system's outcomes. These systemwide stakeholder groups are referred to as *policy teams*.

"Collaboration" is the process of working together to achieve a common goal that is impossible to reach without the efforts of others.

Ideally, policy teams are comprised of the criminal justice agencies and community organizations that impact, or are impacted by, decisions that will be made by the collaborative team. The specific composition of the collaborative team varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction and depending on whether it is a local or state-level team. Those with the positional or personal power to create change within their own agencies and organizations are appropriate members of the collaborative team. All of the key decision makers and stakeholder groups (listed in Section 2) play a part in the administration of justice and bring valuable information, resources, and perspectives to this collaborative endeavor.

[67] Carl Larson and Frank LaFasto (1989) studied an array of public and private sector working groups in an effort to identify the characteristics of highly effective teams. Their findings provide a roadmap for jurisdictions that seek to work together in a truly collaborative manner. For more information and guidance on establishing policy teams to undertake a collaborative, evidence based decision making process, see the EBDM Starter Kit.

IHI LESSON #4: INDIVIDUALS ARE NOT FLAWED; SYSTEMS ARE

In its campaign to save 100,000 lives, IHI refused to view individual failure as the way to account for the needless loss of 100,000 lives. Instead, they focused on correcting the system of medical care. In the words of Berwick, "Every system is perfectly designed to achieve exactly the result it gets." IHI adopted the position that individual healthcare professionals did not need to work harder, smarter, or faster; instead, they needed to change a flawed system that led smart and dedicated people to make mistakes. The lesson for criminal justice?

BUILD A SYSTEM THAT WILL NATURALLY RESULT IN THE OUTCOMES WE SEEK.

Section 8: Building Evidence-Based Agencies

Aligning Criminal Justice Agencies to Achieve Harm Reduction

For evidence-based decision making to be effective, it must occur with consistency throughout the justice system. That is, the reliance on evidence to inform decision making should occur at the system level, at the agency level, and at the case level.

The preceding section on collaboration suggests that system-level alignment can best be achieved through a collaborative policy team process. Agency- and case-level alignment require a different approach; they require a specific focus on organizational development within each of the justice system agencies.

Adopting a practice of relying on evidence to inform decision making—rather than relying on tradition, personal beliefs, or other factors—will undoubtedly require some (but more likely all) agencies in the criminal justice system to reevaluate their policies and practices.[68] Doing so involves

- reevaluating agency mission, goals, and values to support a vision that is shared by all the justice system stakeholders as well as the workforce within the agency;
- reconsidering agency policy and practice in light of evidence-based knowledge;
- in some instances, retooling organizational structure;
- addressing, where necessary, organizational culture to align with a new vision, mission, and goals; and
- providing new knowledge and skills for staff.

For these change efforts to take hold, they must prove themselves to be reliable and to better support staff's ability to effectively carry out their duties. For example, if at the sentencing stage, objective data is provided to defense counsel, prosecutors, and judges that effectively informs and shapes the sentencing decision, decision makers will come to not only expect but also to rely on this information in the future. If, on the other hand, the information provided is neither useful nor reliable, the new approach of considering objective data will be abandoned and past practice will prevail.

Organizational change is not easy, nor is it always successful. According to experts[69]

- up to 85% of organizational change initiatives fail; and
- up to 70% of these failures are due to flawed execution.

"Organizational development" is the practice of changing internal systems, and people, for the purposes of vision and mission advancement.

[68] Appendix 4 is a compilation of evidence-based knowledge that has policy implications for justice system professionals.
[69] Rogers, Wellins, & Connor, 2002.

IHI LESSON #5: MAKE THE NEW EASIER THAN THE OLD

IHI understood that if the practices they were promoting did not appeal to those who would implement them—if they were seen as nothing more than additional work burdens—change would not occur. On the other hand, if the new practices could save staff time and effort and enhance patient safety, staff would be quick to embrace and integrate the new practices. Models for replacing former practices with newer, streamlined approaches were adopted by involving staff in the process. Senior physician Steven Tremain, Contra Costa Regional Medical Center, summarized the results: "We basically exposed people who were hungry to learn how [to achieve better results without additional burden]…and they took it and ran with it. What [we]…created is the belief that it can be done." The lesson for criminal justice?

REPLACE CURRENT PRACTICES WITH THOSE THAT ARE MORE EFFECTIVE AND EASIER TO IMPLEMENT.

Making "What Works" Work

An enormous investment of public funds is made each year in the name of public safety. The strategic use of those funds can produce a profoundly positive impact, as measured by fewer new victims and fewer new crimes committed by offenders under criminal justice control. However, changing policy and practice at the system, agency, or case level is no simple task, particularly when these changes challenge current philosophies, understandings of the research, and the day-to-day practice routines of agencies and staff. To reach their full potential, evidence-based practices cannot simply be placed alongside past practice or through the piecemeal exchange of one past practice for a new one. Instead, an **evidence-based decision making process**—a systemic approach that uses research to inform decisions at all levels—offers the greatest promise for recidivism reduction and the potential for a tremendous return: one million fewer victims.

Some Dos and Don'ts of Recidivism Reduction

Do…	Use risk assessment tools: they are the foundation of risk reducing strategies.
Do…	Provide evidence-based programming that targets criminogenic needs for medium and higher risk offenders.
Do…	Address antisocial thinking and problem solving skills.
Do…	Respond to misconduct with swiftness and certainty.
Do…	Use more carrots than sticks.
Do…	Deliver services in natural (community) environments.
Don't…	Expect sanctions alone to change behavior.

Appendix 1: Advisory Board Members: Evidence-Based Decision Making in Local Criminal Justice Systems Initiative[70]

- Shirley Abrahamson, Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin
- Suzanne Brown-McBride, Executive Director, California Coalition Against Sexual Assault, Sacramento, California
- Edwin Burnette, Chief Public Defender, Cook County Public Defender's Office, Chicago, Illinois
- Gary Christensen, Principal, Corrections Partners, Inc., Clinton Corners, New York
- Gary Darling, Criminal Justice Planning Manager, Larimer County, Fort Collins, Colorado
- Adrian Garcia, Harris County Sheriff, Houston, Texas
- Robert Johnson, Anoka County Attorney, Anoka, Minnesota
- Dale Koch, Senior Judge, Multnomah County Courthouse, Multnomah County Circuit Court, Portland, Oregon
- Sally Kreamer, Director, Fifth Judicial District, Department of Correctional Services, Des Moines, Iowa
- Michael Marcus, Judge, Multnomah County Circuit Court, Portland, Oregon
- Carlos Martinez, Public Defender, Law Offices of the Public Defender, Miami, Florida
- Peggy McGarry, Director, Center on Sentencing and Corrections, Vera Institute, New York, New York
- Geraldine Nagy, Director, Travis County Community Supervision and Corrections Department, Austin, Texas
- Wendy Niehaus, Director, Department of Pretrial Services, Hamilton County, Cincinnati, Ohio
- Michael Planet, Executive Officer, Ventura County Superior Court, Ventura, California
- Ronald Reinstein, Director, Center for Evidence Based Sentencing, Arizona Supreme Court, Phoenix, Arizona
- Susan Shaffer, Director, District of Columbia, Pretrial Services Agency, Washington, D.C.
- P. David Soares, District Attorney, Albany Judicial Center, Office of the District Attorney, Albany, New York
- Mark Thompson, Judicial District Administrator, Hennepin County District Court, Minneapolis, Minnesota
- Roger Warren, President Emeritus, National Center for State Courts, Williamsburg, Virginia
- Thomas White, Director of Operations, Court Support Services Division, Connecticut Judicial Branch, Wethersfield, Connecticut

[70] This list reflects the titles and positions of Advisory Board members at the time they served on the board during Phase I.

APPENDIX 2: ADVISORS FOR EVIDENCE-BASED DECISION MAKING IN STATE AND LOCAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEMS INITIATIVE[71]

- John Choi, County Attorney, Office of the Ramsey County Attorney, Minnesota
- Carol Fredrick, Attorney, Yamhill County, Oregon
- Tiana Glenna, Criminal Justice Coordinator, Eau Claire County, Wisconsin
- Wendy Goodman, Chief Probation Officer, District #9 Probation and Parole, City of Charlottesville/County of Albemarle, Virginia
- Stan Hilkey, Executive Director, Colorado Department of Public Safety, Former Mesa County Sheriff, Colorado
- Mary Kay Hudson, Problem-Solving Court Administrator, Indiana Judicial Center, Indiana
- Jeff Kremers, Chief Judge, 1st Judicial District, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin
- Julie Lanham, Executive Director of Case Management and Reentry Initiatives, Indiana Department of Correction, Indiana
- Cindy McCoy, Director, Grant County Correctional Services, Probation Department, Indiana
- Roberta Nieslanik, Deputy Director, Office of Alternate Defense Counsel, Mesa County, Colorado
- Eric Philp, Director, Division of Probation Services, Colorado
- Carol Roberts, Director, Ramsey County Community Corrections, Minnesota
- Jane Seigel, Executive Director, Indiana Judicial Center, Indiana
- Ted Smietana, Director, Yamhill County Community Corrections, Oregon
- Jeanne Smith, Director, Division of Criminal Justice, Colorado Department of Public Safety, Colorado
- Pat Smith, Director, OAR/Jefferson Area Community Corrections, Pretrial and Local Probation, City of Charlottesville/County of Albemarle, Virginia
- Mark Spitzer, Judge, Grant Circuit Court, Grant County, Indiana
- Glenn Tapia, Director, Office of Community Corrections, Division of Criminal Justice, Colorado Department of Public Safety, Colorado
- Kellie Wasko, Deputy Executive Director, Colorado Department of Corrections, Colorado

[71] This list reflects the titles and positions of Advisors during Phase IV.

Appendix 3: Methodology Used to Compute 1 Million Fewer Victims

This Framework was developed to assist criminal justice system stakeholders in applying evidence to decision making. Applying evidence to decision making can contribute to reductions in the rate of recidivism and in collateral harm to communities. A specific goal—fewer victims—has been identified as a means to gauge success and galvanize stakeholders around this national initiative. The initiative has established the goal of one million fewer victims.

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics,[72] in 2012 there were 2,425,011 full-time employees working in federal, state, and local justice systems. The listing includes those involved in corrections (749,418), judicial and legal positions (491,979), and police protection (1,183,614). It does not include part-time employees or those engaged in working directly with offenders in programming (such as non-governmental, contractual service providers in community settings).

2.4 Million Justice System Employees

2.4 million justice system employees means that every day, there are 2.4 million opportunities to reduce harm and the likelihood that an individual will commit another crime. If just *half* of these individuals were to effectively apply evidence-based practices on just one case resulting in one less offender with one less victim, the net effect would be one million fewer victims.

This Framework and initiative form the basis of the "One Less _____" campaign because every individual who works in the justice system *can* make a difference. It is nothing less than a call to action.

One less offender.

One less crime.

One less victim.

[72] Kyckelhahn, 2015.

Appendix 4: Research Findings Matrix

The research in this matrix is a snapshot, rather than a thorough review, of current research on reducing pretrial misbehavior and offender recidivism. The summaries provided here are intended to briefly describe the major conclusions of the research studies. Each of the studies cited has been reviewed by an expert researcher in the criminal justice system for methodological soundness and interpretation of the findings.[73] Many of the studies focus on general populations and may not reflect the latest findings specific to special populations, such as women offenders, sex offenders, and so on. Readers are encouraged to refer to the source documents for more in-depth detail about the study methodology, how concepts were measured, the study population, and other contextual information that help put the findings into perspective. In addition, certain areas of the justice system have been studied more rigorously than others; as a result, there are gaps in the research that will be evident to the reader. For example, there is very little research on police decisions to arrest or issue citations. Also, some of the studies presented here are very recent; others are not because there are no current research studies that have produced better or different results. Finally, new research is published routinely, and readers should be mindful that new studies may have relevant findings that are not included in this matrix.

How to Read the Matrix

The research studies have been categorized into one of four categories: What Doesn't Work, What Works, What's Promising, and What's Not Clear.

- The "What Doesn't Work" category includes findings based on rigorous and methodologically sound research that repeatedly shows (either through numerous single studies or meta-analysis studies) that the intervention does not have the intended or desired results.
- The "What Works" category is based on rigorous and methodologically sound research that demonstrates significant positive findings (either through numerous single studies or meta-analysis studies).
- The "What's Promising" category includes findings that show promise but require more rigorous empirical study.
- The final category, "What's Not Clear," includes studies that have conflicting findings (i.e., one study shows something works while another study shows that it doesn't). These findings require additional empirical study.

[73] The authors wish to acknowledge the significant contributions of the following researchers, whose reviews appear in whole or in part in this matrix: Melissa Alexander, Timothy Bynum, Natalie J. Jones, Ed Latessa, Chris Lowenkamp, Roger Pryzybylski, and Ralph Serin.

The first column contains a brief summary of the methodology and major findings that are relevant for evidence-based decision making in the criminal justice system. The second column notes methodological considerations that may impact the generalizability of the findings. The third column highlights the various decision points within the justice system for which the findings are relevant and a summary of possible policy and practice implications.

What Doesn't Work in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism

What Doesn't Work in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses that demonstrate null or negative outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
This study compared recidivism outcomes of 2,738 youths transferred to criminal court in Florida with a matched sample of offenders retained in the juvenile justice system. The matching procedure was applied to control for severity of the index offense, number of charges, number of prior offenses, severity of prior offenses, and sociodemographic factors—namely, age, gender, and race. During the follow-up period that extended up to 1 year, 30% of transferred youths were rearrested compared with only 19% of non-transfer cases. Time to rearrest was also significantly shorter for the transfer group compared with the non-transfer group (135 days vs. 227 days). Finally, severity of the reoffense was found to be greater among the transfer cases. Ultimately, results suggest that transfer to adult court produced no deterrent effect and, in fact, increased recidivism across all measures considered. *Primary Citation*: Bishop et al. (1996) *Supporting Citations*: Bishop & Frazier (2000); Redding (2010); Schubert et al. (2010)	None noted.	Transfer of juveniles to adult criminal court has the potential to aggravate short-term recidivism rates. Diversion and deferred prosecution decisions Charging decisions Plea decisions
A meta-analysis of 85 studies on the effects of imprisonment was conducted. Controlling for a number of potential confounds (e.g., age, risk level, etc.), it was found that compared to noncustodial sentences, custodial sanctions increased post-release offending by 14%. Moreover, placement in harsher confinement conditions (e.g., prison vs. residential program) was associated with a 15% increase in recidivism. Sentence length, however, was negatively associated with recidivism, with longer sentences (i.e., over 5 years) associated with a 5% decrease in reoffending. *Primary Citation*: Jonson (2011)	Given that age at release was not controlled for as was the case with Meade et al. (2012), it is possible that those offenders with longer prison sentences were more likely to desist as a result of maturation.	The use of prison does not appear to produce a specific deterrence effect. Diversion and deferred prosecution decisions Plea decisions Sentencing decisions

What Doesn't Work in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses that demonstrate null or negative outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A review of seven meta-analyses investigating the risk principle (i.e., the principle that correctional treatment should be proportional to an offender's risk to reoffend) found that providing intense correctional interventions to low risk offenders does not decrease recidivism and may even increase recidivism rates. The reasons cited for failure included exposure of low risk offenders to high risk offenders (i.e., antisocial peers) and disruption of the factors that make them low risk (i.e., strong family ties, job, etc.). *Primary Citation:* Lowenkamp & Latessa (2004b) *Supporting Citations:* Latessa, Lovins, & Smith (2010); Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Holsinger (2006); Makarios, Sperber, & Latessa (2014)	None noted.	The majority of services and more intensive supervision should be directed to higher risk offenders. Diversion and deferred prosecution decisions Sentencing decisions Institutional intervention decisions Institutional release/parole release decisions Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions
A meta-analysis of more than 400 research studies that examined the effects of punishment on recidivism found that punishment produced almost identical effects on recidivism as no punishment or reduced punishment. This included drug testing, electronic monitoring, fines, intermittent incarceration, restitution, Scared Straight programs, and incarceration. *Primary Citation:* Gendreau & Goggin (1996) *Supporting Citations:* Cid (2009); McGrath & Weatherburn (2012); Piquero & Pogarsky (2002)	While all studies included had a comparison group, the criteria for study inclusion were not provided and no controls were added (e.g., quality of research design, dosage, etc.).	Sanctions on their own do not change offender behavior or reduce recidivism. Plea decisions Sentencing decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Violation response decisions

What Doesn't Work in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses that demonstrate null or negative outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A study of 14 Intensive Supervision Programs found that a higher percentage of individuals on ISP were incarcerated during the 1-year follow-up period than the control group. There were no differences in arrests for new crimes between the treatment and control groups. However, ISP was associated with more technical violations: 81% of the ISP offenders had technical violations compared with 33% of those in the control group. In addition, five times as many ISP offenders were returned to prison for technical violations as compared to the control group (21% compared to 4%). The authors also concluded that ISP did not result in cost savings during the 1-year follow-up period and that ISP ultimately cost 50% more than traditional probation or parole supervision. *Primary Citation:* Petersilia & Turner (1993b)	Data were collected in each site on offender demographics, prior criminal history, current offense, and dependence and treatment history. Data on services received, participation in treatment and work programs, and recidivism (technical violations, arrests, and incarceration) were collected at the 6- and 12-month points of supervision.	Stringent supervision conditions tend to produce more technical violations and more incarceration and do not reduce recidivism by themselves. Plea decisions Sentencing decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Violation response decisions
A meta-analysis of 117 studies involving 442,471 offenders showed that none of the three "treatment" conditions—length of time incarcerated, serving an institutional sentence versus receiving a community-based sanction, and receiving an intermediate sanction—were associated with a reduction in recidivism. In fact, longer time periods in prison were associated with ***an increase in recidivism*** compared with shorter time periods in prison. These effects held across gender, adults/juveniles, race, and risk level of the offender. There was some evidence that more stringent sanctions may affect females more adversely than males. *Primary Citation:* Smith, Goggin, & Gendreau (2002) *Supporting Citations:* Gendreau, Goggin, & Cullen (1999); Lipsey & Cullen (2007)	To be included in the meta-analysis, the study must have used a follow-up period of at least 6 months and must have provided sufficient information to calculate an effect size between the sanction and recidivism. Studies of treatment services that also employed a sanction were eligible for inclusion in the analysis. Many of the prison-based studies included in the analysis lacked essential descriptive information regarding study methodology (e.g., conditions of confinement).	Sanctions on their own do not change offender behavior or reduce recidivism. More severe sanctions (i.e., longer prison sentences) may increase recidivism. Plea decisions Sentencing decisions Discharge decisions

What Doesn't Work in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses that demonstrate null or negative outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A meta-analysis of 29 studies found that there is no overall effect of boot camps on recidivism (i.e., the boot camp and comparison group had nearly equal odds of recidivating). Juvenile boot camps were less effective overall than adult boot camps. *Primary Citation:* MacKenzie, Wilson, & Kider (2001) *Supporting Citations:* Mitchell, Wilson, & MacKenzie (2007); Wilson, MacKenzie, & Mitchell (2003)	The study included 29 experimental and quasi-experimental studies and used official data and multiple indices of recidivism. There was considerable variation among the studies. In nine studies, boot camp participants had lower recidivism rates than did comparison groups; in eight studies, comparison groups had lower recidivism rates; and in the remaining studies, no significant differences were found. Of the 29 eligible studies, only nine were published in peer-reviewed journals and the year of publication was not considered. Also, there was insufficient information on sample demographics (gender, ethnicity) for comparisons, some adult boot camps included juveniles, and programming information was incomplete.	Boot camps (especially juvenile boot camps) are of doubtful efficacy. Sentencing decisions Community behavior change interventions

What Doesn't Work in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses that demonstrate null or negative outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
An evaluation of a short-term, multimodal, prison-based reentry program called Project Greenlight (GL) was conducted based on a sample of 344 participants (and 391 controls). Applying survival analysis, GL participants were shown to recidivate at higher rates than controls. At 18 months post-release, 47% of GL participants had been rearrested for an offense compared with an average of 37% for the control group. The authors attribute the aggravating effect of Project GL to a number of factors perceived as violations of certain principles of effective correctional intervention. First, GL classes were very large. Second, the program was condensed and delivered in half the time specified as ideal by program designers. Third, there was no community follow-up in place except for standard parole supervision. Fourth and finally, treatment was not matched to participants' level of risk or to their specific criminogenic needs. *Primary Citation*: Wilson & Davis (2006) *Supporting Citations*: Andrews et al. (1990); Lowenkamp & Latessa (2005)	The recidivism measure includes new arrests throughout New York State for a minimum of 12 months post-release.	Programs that are poorly designed and implemented (i.e., those that do not adhere to basic principles of effective correctional intervention) are apt to increase recidivism rates. Institutional intervention decisions Reentry planning decisions
A study was conducted to determine the effects of various sanctions—from reprimand to confinement—when offenders violate certain technical conditions of a community sentence (e.g., failure to report to correctional officer, neglecting to honor legal financial obligations, etc.). The sample of offenders under consideration consisted of those who had a single community correctional officer (CCO) and incurred at least one violation during a 36-month follow-up period (N = 1,273). After controlling for age, gender, race, and risk level, it was found that those offenders who received confinement as a sanction were nearly 19% more likely to commit a felony offense in the follow-up period. *Primary Citation*: Drake & Aos (2012)	Note that the Washington State Department of Corrections (DOC) employs a static risk assessment tool to gauge risk level and determine classification (Barnoski & Drake, 2008). While some CCOs are more likely to employ confinement as a sanction, the DOC attempts to evenly distribute offenders to CCO caseloads, thus mimicking random assignment.	Confinement is an ineffective sanction for technical violations and can result in increased recidivism rates. Violation response decisions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism

***What Works* in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism**		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
The justice system is often ill-equipped to deal with the high prevalence of mental illness among incarcerated populations. A study examined the impact on taxpayer costs of pre-booking diversion options for offenders with serious mental health conditions. Pre-booking diversion involves the initial intervention of a trained police officer (or an officer accompanied by trained mental health staff). Rather than being arrested, the offender is linked with appropriate community-based treatment services. The pre-booking diversion sample included 121 people who (1) were eligible for arrest for a misdemeanor offense and (2) displayed indications of a serious mental illness. The comparison group of 347 offenders consisted of an historical sample whose arrest predated the diversion program implementation but who otherwise met the eligibility criteria. Groups were matched as closely as possible on a number of covariates. After 2 years, diversion was associated with a relative savings of $2,800 per person in contrast to the traditional control group conditions. These savings were primarily the result of the decrease in justice system costs associated with traditional processing. *Primary Citation:* Cowell et al. (2013)	None noted.	Pre-booking diversion options for adult offenders with serious mental illness are associated with fiscal savings. Arrest decisions Diversion and deferred prosecution decisions Charging decisions Plea decisions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A meta-analysis was designed to determine whether, among juvenile offenders, diversion produced greater reductions in recidivism compared with traditional judicial sanctions such as probation or incarceration. Diversion programs were inclusive and encompassed both caution programs (warning issued by police officer with no further action) and intervention programs (programming options involving community service referrals, restorative justice, or more direct evidence-based services like cognitive behavioral therapy [CBT]). A total of 73 diversion programs were examined across 45 unique evaluation studies. The general recidivism rate associated with intervention programs was 33.1% versus 41.1% for the comparison group of conventional justice system options. In turn, the recidivism base rate for cautioned youth was 26.8% versus 39.5% for the comparison group. Overall, no significant differences were observed between caution and intervention programs. However, in accordance with the risk principle, caution programs were more effective in reducing recidivism among low risk youth while intervention programs were more beneficial to medium-high risk youth. Among interventions programs, CBT-based options were most successful. *Primary Citation:* Wilson & Hoge (2013b) *Supporting Citations:* Loughran et al. (2009); Wilson & Hoge (2013a)	None noted.	Consistent with research indicating that justice system contact can increase offending risk, both caution and intervention diversion programs were more effective in reducing general recidivism compared to the more restrictive traditional forms of justice system processing (i.e., incarceration and probation). Low risk youths are more likely to benefit from caution programs (warning issued by police officer with no further action), while moderate to high risk youths are more likely to benefit from intervention programs (namely, CBT-based interventions). Arrest decisions Diversion and deferred prosecution decisions Charging decisions Plea decisions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
Meta-analyses of more than 100 correctional programs and treatment research studies show that the risk of recidivism is greatly reduced (10–30% on average) when attention is paid to dealing with criminogenic needs (i.e., dynamic risk factors such as antisocial attitudes and values, antisocial peers, certain personality and temperament traits, family and relational factors, substance abuse, employment, school and occupational training, and the use of personal and leisure time). These studies also found the following: the most powerful approaches to changing offender behavior include cognitive behavioral and social learning strategies (e.g., modeling, reinforcement, and skill acquisition) in the context of a quality professional relationship; more intensive levels of treatment are most effective with higher risk offenders (the risk principle); intervention efforts should target multiple criminogenic needs (the need principle); and effective interventions are those that are responsive to the motivation, cognitive ability, and other characteristics of the offender (the responsivity principle). Further findings include the following: recidivism reduction effects are slightly greater when community-based services and interventions are delivered in the community as compared to services delivered in residential/institutional settings; aftercare and follow-up services that provide a continuum of care are also necessary to manage and prevent relapse; recidivism slightly increased when inappropriate correctional services were provided (i.e., treatment services that do not adhere to the risk, need, and responsivity principles). These findings hold across community corrections, residential corrections, diversionary programs, males and females, juvenile and adult corrections, restorative and non-restorative justice programs, different types of treatment, and different types of needs targeted. *Primary Citation:* Andrews (2007) *Supporting Citations:* Andrews & Bonta (2006); Andrews & Dowden (2007); Andrews et al. (1990); Bonta (2007)	The authors acknowledge that further meta-analytic review on responsivity is needed, and that understanding of the risk principle is still limited by the relatively few studies that report separate effects for lower and higher risk cases.	Recidivism is more likely reduced when the justice system focuses on criminogenic needs, uses a cognitive behavioral approach, reserves more intensive services for the higher risk offender, and uses aftercare services. Diversion and deferred prosecution decisions Charging decisions Plea decisions Sentencing decisions Institutional intervention decisions Institutional release/parole release decisions Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
This study evaluated costs and savings attributable to the California Substance Abuse and Crime Prevention Act (SACPA), legislation mandating probation or continued parole with substance abuse treatment as an alternative to incarceration. SACPA is appropriate for adult offenders convicted of a nonviolent drug-related offense, as well as probation and parole violators. The intervention group, comprised of 41,607 offenders (2001–2002 cohort), was compared with a control group of 41,607 offenders (1997–1998 cohort) meeting the SACPA eligibility criteria prior to the enactment of the legislation. Controlling for potentially confounding variables, results indicated that despite the higher costs associated with drug treatment among the SACPA group, this additional cost was more than offset by the savings associated with reduced levels of incarceration. In total, the SACPA implementation led to a total savings of $2,317 per offender over a 30-month period. *Primary Citation:* Anglin et al. (2013)	The broader societal impacts such as victimization costs and insurance reimbursement costs were not considered.	Diversion of nonviolent drug offenders into substance abuse treatment as opposed to incarceration produces long-term cost savings. Diversion and deferred prosecution decisions Plea decisions
In this research, the recidivism patterns of 79,000 felony offenders sentenced to a Florida state prison and 65,000 sentenced to a community-based diversion program (Community Control) were compared. Incorporating a range of control variables (e.g., sex, race, age, index offense, criminal history, sentence recommendation) and applying three different statistical techniques (regression, precision matching, propensity score matching), imprisonment was found to exert a criminogenic effect relative to the diversion program. Compared with Community Control cases, ex-prisoners recidivated 15.4% more within 3 years post-release ($p < .001$). *Primary Citation*: Bales & Piquero (2012) *Supporting Citation*: Cid (2009)	Recidivism was operationalized conservatively as a felony offense committed within 3 years following prison release (or placement in the diversion program) that resulted in a conviction.	Offenders sentenced to a term of imprisonment were significantly more likely to recidivate than those referred to a community-based diversion program. Plea decisions Sentencing decisions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
Given mixed evidence on the relationship between judicial dispositions and recidivism outcomes for high risk youths, a study examined the likelihood of rearrest for 2,504 first-time violent juvenile offenders sentenced to one of three conditions in the state of California: (1) in-home probation, (2) group-home probation, and (3) probation camp. Whereas in-home and group-home probation are community-based sentences, probation camp is a secure setting—the most restrictive option before a youth is committed to state prison. The study found that while 48% of juveniles were rearrested for a new offense over the 5-year follow-up period, recidivism trajectories varied as a function of disposition even when controlling for gender, race, and criminal history indicators. Over a 5-year period, 56% of youth assigned to probation camp had recidivated, in contrast to 47% of group-home placements and only 39% of in-home placements. *Primary Citation*: Ryan, Abrams, & Huang (2014) *Supporting Citation*: Loughran et al. (2009)	None noted.	Even among first-time violent offenders, the most effective (and economical) sentencing alternative lies in the least restrictive option (i.e., community supervision). Sentencing decisions

***What Works* in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism**		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A meta-analysis of more than 800 rigorous program evaluations found that a number of approaches demonstrated a reduction in recidivism rates, including treatment-oriented intensive supervision (22% reduction) compared with no reduction for surveillance-oriented intensive supervision, cognitive behavioral treatment for sex offenders in prison (15%), vocational education in prison (13%), drug treatment in the community (12%), adult drug courts (11%), and cognitive behavioral programs in general (8%). Cognitive behavioral treatment for low risk sex offenders on probation achieved a 31% reduction in recidivism. Overall, cognitive behavioral approaches were consistently found to be more effective in reducing the recidivism rate across a variety of correctional contexts and offender populations. Cost savings were also substantial. Approximate per person cost savings examples include $11,000 for treatment-oriented intensive supervision, $13,700 for vocational education in prison, $10,000 for community drug treatment, and $10,000 for cognitive behavioral approaches. While the absolute differences in the recidivism rates in some situations may have been modest, even small reductions in the rate can have considerable economic and social benefits. *Primary Citations:* Aos, Miller, & Drake (2006a, 2006b) *Supporting Citation:* Wilson & Hoge (2013b)	None noted.	Emphasis should be placed on treatment targets (i.e., criminogenic needs) using a variety of interventions, especially cognitive behavioral programming. Decisions regarding correctional investments should consider the cost/benefit of the intervention. Sentencing decisions Institutional intervention decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

***What Works* in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism**		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A synthesis of 18 meta-analyses of correctional interventions found similar results with regard to reducing recidivism. Interventions that utilized "intensive criminal sanctioning" or were exclusively deterrence-based tended to be ineffective or even increased recidivism. On the other hand, there were some interventions that were found to reduce recidivism by an average of 25 to 30%. This group of more effective interventions "predominantly employed behavioral and/or cognitive skills training methods." The overall conclusion was that the programs that work best are founded on an explicit empirically based model of crime causation; have a sound method of assessing risk of reoffending, and offenders are assigned different levels of service and supervision accordingly; contain a sound method of assessing criminogenic needs and dynamic risk factors that are linked to offending; require skilled and structured engagement by staff; utilize cognitive behavioral approaches; and are delivered by personnel who have adequate training and resources. *Primary Citation:* McGuire (2001)	None noted.	Programs designed to reduce recidivism should be monitored through continuous quality improvement techniques to ensure that the program conditions for behavioral change are met. Sentencing decisions Institutional intervention decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
Given gender differences observed in both the severity and context of offending behavior, it is frequently argued that mainstream assessments omit criminogenic factors that are unique to women and discount gender differences in the predictive salience of items represented on the tool. Based on samples of prison, probation, and pre-release adult females across four American states, a study aimed to assess the incremental predictive validity of the gender responsive supplements, intended to be used in conjunction with a currently adopted gender neutral protocol (i.e., the LSI). Support emerged for the relationship of several gender responsive scales to criminal outcomes. The most highly predictive gender responsive factors included current mental health needs, family support, parental stress, child abuse, and adult victimization. Most notably, the overall gender responsive supplement (and subsets of these factors) did offer incremental predictive validity over the gender neutral model. For example, in the Minnesota probation sample, the hierarchical model assessing the unique contribution of optimal gender responsive scales while controlling for the effects of gender neutral domains yielded a strong partial correlation with new arrests (r = .22, p < .01). *Primary Citation*: Van Voorhis et al. (2010) *Supporting Citations:* Daly (1994); Jones (2011)	None noted.	Gender responsive assessment (and treatment) strategies are recommended for female offenders so as to tap into the unique contextual factors surrounding their criminal conduct. In turn, this will serve to improve the prediction of criminal outcomes and the identification of appropriate treatment targets for women. Sentencing decisions Institutional intervention decisions Institutional release/parole release decisions Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions Violation response decisions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
Based on 58 ISPs, a study aimed to determine whether program philosophy and treatment integrity impact program effectiveness (i.e., reductions in recidivism). Surveys of staff from each program were based on the Correctional Program Assessment Inventory (CPAI). Results indicated that ISPs grounded in principles of effective intervention (RNR + treatment integrity – e.g., manualized program, skilled staff, etc.) *and* adopting a human service philosophy (vs. a punitive philosophy) optimized recidivism reduction. *Primary Citation*: Lowenkamp et al. (2010) *Supporting Citations*: Andrews & Dowden (2005); Drake, Aos, & Miller (2009); Gendreau & Andrews (1994); Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Smith (2006); Petersilia & Turner (1993a)	None noted.	Both maintaining a high level of treatment integrity *and* adhering to a human service treatment philosophy increase program effectiveness. It is recommended that agencies implement periodic assessments such as the CPAI to ensure continued program integrity. Sentencing decisions Institutional intervention decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions
Vermont's reparative probation program, based on the principles of restorative justice, was initially implemented in 1995. Offenders are sentenced to probation with the condition that they will appear before a reparative board of trained citizen volunteers. The offender, the victim, the board, and other implicated parties negotiate a plan whereby the offender agrees to engage in a number of tasks to better understand the negative consequences of his/her behavior, repair damage to victims, and the like. Tasks can include but are not limited to community service, letters of apology, and restitution. Controlling for offense type, age, gender, and criminal history, a study was conducted to compare the recidivism outcomes of offenders sentenced to either standard (n = 6,682) or reparative probation (n = 2,396). Over a 5-year follow-up period, placement on reparative probation was found to decrease risk of new convictions by 11% ($p < .01$) relative to traditional probation. *Primary Citation*: Humphrey, Burford, & Dye (2012)	None noted.	Grounded in principles of restorative justice, reparative probation (as implemented in Vermont) is a more promising alternative to standard probation with respect to lowering recidivism rates. Sentencing decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A study recently revisited the literature on the risk, need, and responsivity (RNR) principles using 120 groups of offenders from the corpus of articles originally reviewed by Andrews et al. (1990). The goal was to compare the relative cost of service provision for appropriate correctional services (i.e., those adhering to RNR), inappropriate correctional services (i.e., those not adhering to RNR), and traditional sanctions. In terms of total estimated costs per offender per day, appropriate correctional services cost $66, criminal sanctions cost $44, and inappropriate correctional treatment costs $69. However, when considering the relative long-term effectiveness of each option, appropriate RNR-based treatment is significantly more cost-effective. For example, to produce a 1% drop in the recidivism rate, RNR-based services cost $2, versus $19 for inappropriate services, and $40 for traditional sanctions. *Primary Citation*: Romani et al. (2012) *Supporting Citations*: Andrews & Bonta (2010); Andrews & Dowden, 2006; Andrews et al. (1990)	None noted.	Correctional interventions that are grounded in the principles of risk/need/responsivity produce recidivism reductions in the most cost-effective manner. Sentencing decisions Institutional intervention decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A study examined the impact of applying operant behavioral strategies—namely both sanctions and reinforcement—on 283 adult offenders involved in an Intensive Supervision Program (ISP). The imposition of rewards to increase desirable behavior and sanctions to reduce noncompliant behavior was dictated by a combination of departmental policy and officer discretion. In this study, agency records were used to record an offender's sanction and reward history while in the program. Controlling for demographic information, criminal history, and substance abuse history indicators, the reward model was found to be more highly predictive of successful program completion than the sanction model. However, the optimal model encompassed a combination of both rewards and sanctions. Confirming previous research, the probability of successful program completion was optimized when the reward-to-sanction ratio was 4:1. *Primary Citation*: Wodahl et al. (2011) *Supporting Citations*: Andrews & Bonta (2010); Gendreau (1996); Lester, Braswell, & Van Voorhis (2004); Petersilia (2007)	In this study, program completers were defined as those who satisfied ISP requirements over the specified program period of approximately 1 year. In turn, failures or non-completers either absconded or had their probation or parole revoked.	Research supports correctional agencies' adoption of operant behavioral techniques in the management of offenders on community supervision. Specifically, rewards should exceed sanctions in a ratio of at least 4:1. Sentencing decisions Institutional intervention decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Violation response decisions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A study was conducted to determine the relationship between prison security level classification and post-release recidivism. A total of 297 California inmates who were classified as risk level III (i.e., high risk) were randomly assigned to level I prisons (i.e., low security). Another 264 inmates also classified as risk level III were randomly assigned to level III prisons (i.e., high security). After an average post-release follow-up period of 5.9 years, those inmates assigned to higher security prisons were 31% more likely than their low security counterparts to return to prison (either for a new offense or for parole violation). As such, assignment to higher security levels at a constant level of risk actually increased the probability of recidivism. *Primary Citation*: Gaes & Camp (2009) *Supporting Citation*: Chen & Shapiro (2007)	The authors note that criminal history is a major consideration in guiding post-release supervision levels. Given equivalent levels of criminal history between study groups, it is *unlikely* that post-release supervision conditions would have confounded results (i.e., group differences were not expected).	Higher levels of security within institutions can exert criminogenic effects. Prison administrators might experiment with classification thresholds to ensure the least restrictive conditions possible given one's level of risk. Institutional intervention decisions
A study examined the effect of TCs delivered across four prison sites in Idaho. Their overall sample consisted of 725 male offenders. After a 4-year follow-up period, those who were classified as needing TC and completing treatment had a rearrest rate of 37.7%, compared with 66.7% for those who were classified as needing TC but did not participate in the program. When covariates (potential confounds) were controlled for statistically, it was shown that those who did not participate in TC (but needed the services) were three times more likely to recidivate than those who needed and completed the treatment. *Primary Citation:* Jensen & Kane (2012) *Supporting Citations:* Aos et al. (2006b); Mitchell et al. (2007); Welsh (2007)	Propensity score matching was used to minimize group differences on relevant covariates (e.g., demographic information, risk level, etc.). Note that participants in this research were not self-selected (thus removing the potential self-selection bias). Although TC participation did not have any effect on reconviction rates, this is likely an artifact of charging and prosecution policies in Idaho. According to the authors, prosecutors are likely to treat TC participation as an aggravating factor in deciding how to charge a returning offender, and are more likely to process former TC participants aggressively.	Research indicates that therapeutic communities are effective in attenuating recidivism rates among offenders reentering the community. Institutional intervention decisions Reentry planning decisions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A meta-analysis of several hundred studies of justice system interventions found that when core correctional practices (e.g., the effective use of authority, modeling and reinforcing prosocial attitudes, teaching concrete problem solving skills, advocating for community resources, and building a relationship that allows for open communication and respect) were used, particularly in combination with adherence to the risk, need, and responsivity principles, programs had better treatment outcomes than programs that did not use core correctional practices. The findings were particularly true for higher risk cases, programs that targeted criminogenic needs, and clinically appropriate treatment. The findings of the analysis held for various offender and program characteristics. The only core correctional practice that was not associated with significant reductions in rates of reoffending was the effective use of authority. *Primary Citation:* Dowden & Andrews (2004) *Supporting Citation:* Bonta et al. (2008)	None noted.	Attention to staff characteristics and skills is necessary to enhance outcomes with offenders. Institutional intervention decisions Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions Violation response decisions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
In accordance with the responsivity principle, cognitive behavioral programs adapted to correctional populations yield the most notable reductions in recidivism. A quasi-experimental evaluation of a real-world implementation of Thinking for a Change (TFAC), a 22-session correctional program heavily grounded in CBT principles, was conducted. A total of 217 participants were recruited for the evaluation (121 treatment cases and 96 control cases). All participants had been placed on probation in the state of Indiana. Controlling for race, gender, age, risk level, and time at risk, those offenders referred to TFAC had significantly lower recidivism rates than control subjects (28% vs. 43%). *Primary Citation:* Lowenkamp et al. (2009) *Supporting Citations:* Dowden & Andrews (2000); Golden, Gatchel, & Cahill (2006); Landenberger & Lipsey (2005); Lipsey, Chapman, & Landenberger (2001); Wilson, Bouffard, & MacKenzie (2005)	The treatment group included all offenders who attended at least one TFAC session, regardless of successful treatment completion. In addition, participants must have minimally had a 6-month follow-up period to be included in the study.	Consistent with research supporting CBT interventions with offenders, Thinking for a Change (TFAC) participation produced significant reductions in recidivism rates among offenders on probation. Institutional intervention decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions
A meta-analysis of randomized or quasi-experimental studies found that cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) is effective in reducing recidivism by as much as 25 to 50% under certain conditions. The effects increased when the treatment dosage was increased, when higher risk offenders were targeted, and when the quality of implementation was monitored. The effects held for all brands of curriculum, adult and juvenile offenders, male and female offenders, and minority/non-minority offenders. *Primary Citation:* Lipsey, Landenberger, & Wilson (2007) *Supporting Citations:* Landenberger & Lipsey (2005); Makarios et al. (2014); Wilson et al. (2005)	The analysis included a limited number of studies by category.	Programming dosage should match offenders' risk levels. Institutional intervention decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
Program integrity and effectiveness were evaluated for 38 halfway house programs in Ohio. A version of the Correctional Program Assessment Inventory (CPAI; Gendreau & Andrews, 1994) was used to gauge program integrity related to client pre-service assessment, staff practices, presence of manualized protocols, etc. The higher the CPAI score, the larger the reduction in recidivism (e.g., programs scoring lowest on integrity produced an average of 1.7% reduction in recidivism, while programs scoring in the highest range produced a 22% reduction in recidivism). *Primary Citation*: Lowenkamp & Latessa (2004a) *Supporting Citations*: Gray (1997); Holsinger (1999)	Note that only one program scored in the "satisfactory" range on the CPAI. In this study, recidivism was defined as returns to an Ohio correctional facility for any reason (i.e., technical violation or new arrest).	Research indicates a relationship between the integrity with which a correctional program is implemented and recidivism outcomes. Institutional intervention decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions
Reasoning and Rehabilitation (R&R) is a multimodal program developed to teach offenders a series of cognitive and behavioral skills ranging from social perspective taking to critical thinking. The program was designed to be delivered to small groups of 6–12 participants across 36 2-hour sessions. A meta-analysis intended to evaluate the effectiveness of R&R in reducing recidivism included 16 evaluations featuring a total of 26 effect sizes. Overall results revealed a 14% decrease in reconvictions for program participants compared with control subjects. The effectiveness of R&R transcended setting (community vs. institutional), offender risk level (low vs. high), and country of implementation (Canada vs. US vs. UK). *Primary Citation*: Tong & Farrington (2006) *Supporting Citations*: Allen, MacKenzie, & Hickman (2001); Pearson et al. (2002); Wilson et al. (2005)	None noted.	Cognitive behavioral programs—namely, Reasoning and Rehabilitation (R&R)—applied across both institutional and community settings effectively reduce recidivism rates. Institutional intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

***What Works* in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism**		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
In an effort to assess the factors being used to guide parole decision-making, this investigation included a random sample of 219 inmates from New Jersey exhibiting an Axis I disorder with the exclusion of substance abuse, along with a comparison group of 184 offenders with the absence of mental illness. Although several criminogenic needs were elevated in the group with mental illness relative to the group without mental illness as gauged by the LSI-R (e.g., substance abuse, antisocial personality, prior convictions, etc.), having a diagnosed mental health condition per se had no direct effect on release decisions, nor did sociodemographic characteristics such as gender, race, and age. While the decision making process appears to be somewhat evidence-based, it should be noted that the actuarial model accounted for less than 30% of the variance in release decisions. It is clear, then, that parole boards are relying on extraneous factors to guide their decision making process. For example, although not assessed in this investigation, parole board members may potentially be relying on visual cues to assess honesty—indicators that do not tend to function as valid indicators of deception. *Primary Citation*: Matejkowski et al. (2011) *Supporting Citations:* DePaulo et al. (2003); Feder (1994); Hannah-Moffat (2004); Walters & Crawford (2014)	The fact that mental illness was not related to parole decisions in this investigation runs counter to prior research (e.g., Feder, 1994). Given that Feder operationalized mental illness as having psychiatric commitments while incarcerated, it is possible that the current sample reflects a less severely impaired population. It may also be the case that in this more recent study, parole board members rendered decisions that were increasingly evidence-based (i.e., made a purposeful effort to disregard mental illness in rendering decisions).	A holistic consideration of mental health conditions along with key evidence-based criminogenic needs such as substance abuse and antisocial cognition is recommended in correctional assessment and treatment. However, parole boards should be aware that mental illness *per se* does not tend to predict recidivism among parolees. Institutional release/parole release decisions

***What Works* in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism**		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
Post-sentencing measures of institutional misconduct are frequently key factors used by parole boards to render release decisions (Mooney & Daffern, 2011). The preponderance of the empirical literature suggests that prison misconducts are indeed related to post-release recidivism. Heil and colleagues (2009) found that offenders who engaged in sexual misconduct while incarcerated were more likely to recidivate violently in the community. Furthermore, in a meta-analysis of 68 studies, French and Gendreau (2006) determined that programs that most effectively reduced levels of prison misconduct were also effective in reducing recidivism rates. *Primary Citations*: Heil et al. (2009); Mooney & Daffern (2011) *Supporting Citations*: French & Gendreau (2006); Gottfredson & Adams (1982)	Note that the literature that calls into question the relationship between institutional behavior and recidivism is often plagued by a failure to account for potential confounds such as age, overall risk level, etc.	Empirical evidence suggests that institutional misconduct is predictive of future criminal outcomes in the community. It is therefore appropriate for parole boards to incorporate this information into their decision-making process. Institutional release/parole release decisions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
The Preventing Parolee Crime Program (PPCP) is a large offender reintegration initiative that was implemented by the state of California in the 1990s. PPCP is multimodal, targeting substance abuse, education/employment, and housing. A population-based evaluation of the program was completed to determine the extent to which PPCP served to reduce recidivism among parolees. The population of offenders consisted of California parolees released between July 1, 2000 and June 30, 2002. The treatment group comprised all offenders enrolled in PPCP services (*n* = 28,708), while the comparison group comprised offenders who were not (nor had ever been) enrolled in PPCP (*n* = 211,211). Controlling for a number of known recidivism risk variables including demographic information, criminal history factors, and risk level, 44.8% of PPCP participants recidivated after 1 year compared with 52.8% of non-PPCP offenders. It is notable that the degree of treatment immersion (i.e., dosage) was significantly related to outcome. For example, PPCP participants who met multiple treatment goals (*n* = 480) had a reincarceration rate that was 47.1% lower than that of the comparison group. *Primary Citation:* Zhang, Roberts, & Callanan (2006)	Recidivism over a fixed 12-month follow-up period included reincarceration due to a new conviction or parole violation, or suspension from parole due to absconding.	Participation and immersion in the Preventing Parolee Crime Program (PPCP)—a multimodal treatment protocol—was consistently associated with lower rates of reincarceration and absconding compared with traditional parole. Given that only 40% of PPCP participants met one or more of their treatment goals, the authors recommend that program designers/ administrators consider developing strategies to ensure proper dosage (e.g., improve parolee retention and service utilization). Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions

What Works in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Rigorous and methodologically sound research and meta-analyses demonstrating significant positive outcomes*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A study evaluated the effectiveness of a training program for probation officers (POs) grounded in the rehabilitative model of intervention and the associated principles of RNR. A total of 80 POs were randomly assigned to either a training or no training condition. Training involved an in-depth discussion of the RNR principles, with a particular focus placed on the targeting of procriminal attitudes. In accordance with the responsivity principle, a cognitive behavioral model of intervention was endorsed, along with various techniques used in behavioral influence (e.g., reinforcement, modeling, problem solving, etc.). In turn, POs recruited a total of 143 probation clients and agreed to audiotape their interviews at regular intervals over a 6-month period. Relative to the control group, results showed that POs in the training group spent more of their sessions focusing on criminogenic needs and proportionally less time discussing noncriminogenic needs and probation conditions. In situations where less than 15 minutes were spent discussing probation conditions, the recidivism rate was 19% compared with 42% when more time was devoted to discussing probation conditions. Trained POs also used more frequent rapport-building skills and cognitive techniques (as per the responsivity principle). After a 2-year fixed follow-up period, clients of trained officers had a reconviction rate that was 15% lower than that of the control group. While use of cognitive behavioral techniques and general adherence to RNR was associated with reductions in recidivism rates, a greater focus on discussing probation conditions served to increase recidivism rates. *Primary Citations*: Bonta et al. (2008); Bonta et al. (2011) *Supporting Citations*: Andrews & Bonta (2010); Robinson et al. (2011)	The sample size and limited power resulted in between-group differences only approaching statistical significance. Replication with larger samples is warranted. Self-selection biases may have resulted from the fact that POs were volunteers and, in turn, selected their participating clients.	The enforcement role of the probation officer needs to be balanced with a helping role that is grounded in cognitive behavioral principles. Training probation officers to adhere to the principles of RNR can effectively serve to reduce recidivism rates of clients under community supervision. Specifically, supervision officers should spend the majority of their time (i.e., at least 15 minutes per session) working with offenders on criminogenic needs rather than focusing on conditions that are noncriminogenic, and use appropriate cognitive behavioral techniques (e.g., reinforcement, modeling, etc.). Probation and parole intervention decisions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism

What's Promising **in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism**		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
This archival study of 522 spousal assault cases of male-to-female perpetrated violence examined the link between arrest and recidivism, while controlling for pre-arrest risk gauged through an actuarial assessment tool. The Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment (ODARA, Hilton et al., 2004) is a 13-item instrument pertaining to the perpetrator's history of violence, history of substance abuse, victim circumstances, etc. An offender's score reflects his likelihood of spousal assault recidivism. Police officers arrested approximately half of the perpetrators in the sample. Pre-arrest risk retrospectively coded via the ODARA was significantly related to wife assault recidivism over an average follow-up period of 4.9 years ($r = .41$, $p < .001$). Although arrest was associated with increased likelihood of recidivism, this effect was attributable to pre-arrest differences in risk level. That stated, police officers also appeared to base arrest decisions on the severity of the index offense—a variable shown to be only weakly related to recidivism (Hilton et al., 2004). In order to ensure the arrest of higher risk cases as per the risk principle, the adoption of actuarial tools by police officers could be a helpful adjunct. *Primary Citation:* Hilton, Harris, & Rice (2007) *Supporting Citation:* Hilton et al. (2004)	Note that measures of recidivism were based solely on police reports (official arrest data) rather than victim reports and, as such, recidivism rates may have been underestimated.	The introduction of objective actuarial risk assessment tools (e.g., ODARA) into police decision making tasks may support more effective assessments of public safety risk than professional judgment alone. Arrest decisions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A study was conducted to examine the impact of male suspects' perceived sense of procedural justice regarding punitive sanctions (i.e., arrest) on subsequent incidents of spousal assault. A total of 476 suspects were interviewed following their arrest regarding the perceived fairness of their treatment by police officers (e.g., "Did the officer take the time to listen to your side of the story?" [representation]; "When the police came, did you expect to be arrested?" [consistency]; "Did police take the time to listen to your story as well as to the alleged victim's story?" [impartiality]; "Were you handcuffed in front of the victim? Did the officer use physical force?" [dignity/respect], etc.). Of the arrestees, the effect of perceived fair treatment by police officers was negatively related to spousal assault recidivism. *Primary Citation:* Paternoster et al. (1997)	Replication with a larger sample is warranted.	Police officers' conscientiousness in treating criminal suspects in a procedurally fair manner may have crime-reducing effects. Arrest decisions
The Pretrial Risk Assessment (PTRA) tool is an 11-item measure designed to determine an offender's likelihood of incurring new criminal arrests, technical violations leading to revocation, and failures-to-appear in court. One's final score on the PTRA allows for classification into a risk category, which in turn is associated with likelihood of failure. Preliminary results from implementation in Nebraska and North Carolina indicate that the PTRA increases officer recommendations in favor of release—a desired outcome of the assessment protocol given recommendations of extant literature. For example, over a 1-year period, recommendations for release in the Western District of North Carolina increased by 13.5%. *Primary Citation:* Cadigan & Lowenkamp (2011a) *Supporting Citations:* Cadigan & Lowenkamp (2011b); VanNostrand & Keebler (2009)	Efforts to gauge predictive validity are warranted once data becomes available.	Use of standardized risk assessment tools is recommended at the pretrial stage to appropriately gauge a defendant's risk level and to subsequently guide release decisions. Use of structured protocols serves to minimize the decision maker's biases, appropriately place offenders based on their actual level of risk, and improve the allocation of scarce justice system resources. Pretrial status decisions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
The effectiveness of pretrial release upon subsequent justice system outcomes was assessed. Based on a large sample of 79,064 offenders released on pretrial supervision between 2000 and 2007, results indicated that defendants detained during the pretrial period were more than twice as likely to fail on post-conviction supervision compared with defendants released during the pretrial period. This effect was generalized across risk levels, save for the highest risk cases who failed at similar rates regardless of pretrial condition. *Primary Citation:* Cadigan & Lowenkamp (2011b)	While the authors controlled for risk, no mention was made of controlling for other potential confounds.	Defendants released at the pretrial stage experience more desirable outcomes at later stages of justice system processing (i.e., lower recidivism rates) than those who are detained in custody. Pretrial status decisions
The study's aim was the construction and validation of a pretrial risk assessment instrument based on a sample of 342 adult offenders from multiple agencies across two states. Eight items were selected to comprise the instrument based on both empirical and face validity considerations: age at first arrest, history of failure-to-appear (FTA), recent occurrence of FTA, prior jail incarcerations, employment status, drug use, drug-related problems, and residential stability. The total score was significantly related to both FTA and new arrests while under supervision ($r = .21 – .27$, $p < .001$). In addition, the increase in failure rates from low, moderate, and high risk categories was statistically significant. *Primary Citation*: Lowenkamp, Lemke, & Latessa (2008) *Supporting Citations:* VanNostrand (2003); Winterfield, Coggeshall, & Harrell (2003)	The relationship between the risk assessment aggregate score and new arrests was not significant for the subsample of female defendants. The applicability of this tool to specialized offending populations (e.g., sex offenders) is also contingent on further research. Additionally, results should be replicated on larger samples.	Structured and empirically validated risk assessment protocols should be incorporated into the pretrial decision making process. Risk assessment tools should be validated on the specific population being served. Pretrial status decisions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A study predicting risk using an assessment instrument for pretrial populations examined the following factors: charge type, pending charges, outstanding warrants, prior convictions, prior failures to appear, prior violent convictions, length of time at current residence, employment status, and history of drug abuse. Statistical analysis showed that the instrument predicted equally across gender, race, and geographic location. The study found that not only did the instrument predict for failure to appear (i.e., high risk defendants were less likely to appear) but it also predicted for danger to the community (i.e., higher risk defendants were more likely to be arrested pretrial) and for failure due to technical violations (i.e., higher risk defendants were more likely to have technical violations). A similar test in Federal Court found that offenders with different risk levels may respond to pretrial conditions differently. In addition, most conditions did not have an impact on recidivism risk for low risk offenders. This finding is supported by another study of Federal District Court in the District of Columbia. *Primary Citations*: VanNostrand (2003); VanNostrand & Keebler (2009) *Supporting Citation*: Winterfield et al. (2003)	There is no measure of association between risk score and outcome (e.g., failure to appear or rearrest). In the Federal study, there were no data on fulfillment of conditions or the quality of services.	By assessing risk, decision makers are able to base the use of pretrial detention and release conditions on level of risk. Pretrial status decisions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A study found that judges who used bail guidelines were more consistent in their decision making regarding release on recognizance than judges who did not use bail guidelines. The judges who used guidelines were more likely to grant ROR to non-seriously charged defendants and to be more stringent with defendants facing more serious charges than the control group, who lacked this level of consistency in their decisions. In addition, with regard to defendants classified within the cash bail decision group in the guidelines, 65% of the judges who used guidelines set bail in this range, while only 38% of the judges in the control group set bail similarly. The equity of bail decisions involves decision making in which one would expect "similarly situated" defendants to be treated in a similar manner, which was confirmed by this study. The variation in bail amounts was substantially reduced among the judges using guidelines. *Primary Citation:* Goldkamp & Gottfredson (1985)	This was an experimental study of bail guidelines looking at 960 cases and conducted over a 14-month period. Judges were randomly assigned to an experimental group, which would use bail guidelines, or a comparison group, which would set bail decisions as they had in the past. This was a single site study.	Providing judicial officers with objective information about defendants' backgrounds and community ties (as well as about the charges against the defendant) coupled with the use of a validated instrument helps produce more equitable and effective pretrial decisions. Pretrial status decisions
A study was conducted to compare the criminogenic needs of male and female offenders, and the influence of these needs on pretrial outcomes—namely, failure-to-appear and new arrests. For a sample of 266 pretrial defendants, data were drawn from the Inventory of Need Pretrial Screening Tool implemented in Ohio, a tool that includes items sampled from both the mainstream and gender responsive literatures. The criminogenic effects of trauma, mental health, and homelessness were especially noteworthy for women. These gender responsive scales collectively enhanced the prediction of gender neutral scales (e.g., criminal history, employment, education, substance abuse) when considering new arrests and failure-to-appear at 4-months and 6-months follow-up. *Primary Citation:* Gehring & Van Voorhis (2014)	Beyond a small sample size, note that follow-up periods were relatively short (4 and 6 months), potentially attenuating the stability of results. Revalidation on additional samples over longer follow-up periods is advisable.	Identifying and addressing gender responsive needs at the pretrial stage via structured assessments and interventions may contribute to more successful outcomes for women. Pretrial status decisions Community behavior change interventions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A recent meta-analysis featuring 28 studies published between 1980 and 2011 included a total of 57 experimental comparisons and 19,301 youths under the age of 18. The goal was to examine the effectiveness of diversion referrals by law enforcement officers or other juvenile justice agencies at the pre-adjudication stage. While the overall effects of diversion were not statistically significant given the heterogeneity of the programs included, capacity to reduce recidivism was clearly moderated by type and quality of intervention. Both family-based programming and restorative justice options with high levels of researcher involvement and monitoring led to significant reductions in recidivism compared with traditional processing. *Primary Citation:* Schwalbe et al. (2012)	The authors did not account for risk level among clients, which may have obscured the potential effectiveness of certain programs.	The success of diversion programs is contingent on quality of program design and implementation. Diversion programs that include family-based interventions and that demonstrate a high level of fidelity monitoring are especially promising in terms of reducing recidivism rates among juvenile offenders. Diversion and deferred prosecution decisions
A meta-analysis of 131 studies for almost 750,000 adult offenders found that the strongest predictors of recidivism proved to be criminogenic need, criminal history/history of antisocial behavior, social achievement, age/gender/race, and family factors. Both static and dynamic predictors proved important. Overall, validated risk assessment instruments were superior to static measures and indices of antisociality. Early family factors and pre-adult antisocial behavior are correlated with recidivism but are rarely included in adult offender risk assessments. Focus on personal distress, social class, and, to a lesser extent, intelligence is contraindicated based on the empirical evidence. *Primary Citation:* Gendreau, Goggin, & Little (1996) *Supporting Citations:* Andrews & Bonta (2010); Andrews et al. (1990); French & Gendreau (2006)	The studies included in the meta-analysis had an overrepresentation of males in their samples.	Validated risk assessments have been demonstrated to effectively identify risk and criminogenic needs. Diversion and deferred prosecution decisions Charging decisions Plea decisions Sentencing decisions Institutional intervention decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A review of 50 studies (of 55 drug courts) found that the recidivism rate (for both drug and non-drug offenses) was lower on average for drug court participants than for those in the comparison group (38% compared to 50%). Three studies that used random assignment and did not have a high participant attrition rate demonstrated a reduction from 50% to 43%. In addition, other studies that used a group of eligible but non-referred offenders as the comparison group also observed a moderate reduction in reoffending. Programs that used either a pre-plea or post-plea model were more effective than those that employed a mixed model. Moreover, programs that offered a clear incentive for completion (e.g., dismissal of charges) had greater success than those that did not. Finally, drug courts that used a single dedicated provider were more successful because they were more likely to use a cognitive behavioral model. *Primary Citation*: Wilson, Mitchell, & MacKenzie (2006) *Supporting Citation:* Mitchell et al., (2012)	None noted.	Drug courts should consider adopting a pre-plea or post-plea model, providing offenders with incentives for completion, and using cognitive behavioral techniques. Diversion and deferred prosecution decisions Plea decisions
Anecdotal reports suggest that few diversion programs currently use standardized assessment tools to determine eligibility. In an effort to determine the accuracy of risk assessment protocols in forecasting diversion noncompliance and reincarceration, a total of 131 offenders arrested for misdemeanor or felony charges in the state of New York were subject to analysis. All defendants had been diagnosed with an Axis I disorder and opted for mental health diversion over incarceration. They were released on their own recognizance and entered a community-based treatment program. Both the HCR-20 and the PCL:SV accurately predicted noncompliance and reincarceration over a 1-year period. Notably, the Clinical scale of the HCR-20 was particularly useful for predicting noncompliance over the short term (3 months). *Primary Citation:* Barber-Rioja et al. (2012)	The slightly inferior performance of the PCL:SV is likely attributable to the low base rate of psychopathy in the sample and the consequent restricted score range. Notably, nearly 75% of the sample had initially been charged with a nonviolent offense. Replication with larger samples (including both violent and nonviolent offenders) and longer follow-up periods is advisable.	The application of structured assessment tools such as the HCR-20 and PCL:SV could potentially be used to assess the diversion eligibility of offenders with mental illness and place them in community-based treatment, thereby reducing the number of noncompliances and reincarcerations. Diversion and deferred prosecution decisions Community behavior change interventions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
This study of the effectiveness of jail diversion for offenders with diagnosed mental illness considered a sample of 546 participants across 14 sites. Being processed through mental health courts resulted in significantly lower 12-month post-enrollment arrest rates relative to the arrest rate in the year prior to enrollment. *Primary Citation:* Case et al. (2009) *Supporting Citations:* DeMatteo et al. (2012); Lim & Day (2014); Sarteschi, Vaughn, & Kim (2011)	This evaluation was based on a pre-post comparison design. A more methodologically sound design would be to compare the arrest rate of diverted clients against that of a non-diverted comparison group.	Mental health courts (diversion programs) linked to a range of community resources are a promising avenue for the processing of offenders battling mental illness. Diversion and deferred prosecution decisions Community behavior change interventions
A study that examined the dose-response relationship between time served in prison and recidivism (i.e., rearrest for a felony offense over a 1-year follow-up period) considered a total of 1,989 adult offenders under post-release supervision in Ohio. Results showed that lengthier prison terms did not have a meaningful effect on recidivism until an offender had served at least 5 years. Sentences of 5 or more years were associated with a reduction in offenders' odds of recidivism. *Primary Citation:* Meade et al. (2012) *Supporting Citation*: Loughran et al. (2009)	Outcome measures included felony arrests and did not include arrests for minor crimes of technical violations of parole. Although the authors controlled for age at time of imprisonment, they did not control for age at release. Given the significant relationship between age and sentence length, it is possible that those offenders who served at least 5 years were simply incapacitated until they "aged out" of their peak offending years.	The specific deterrent effect of prison sentences may be limited. Sentences less than 5 years may be reduced without a substantial threat to public safety. Plea decisions Sentencing decisions
A randomized experiment exploring drug court monitoring found that offenders assigned to adaptive intervention (i.e., a treatment-oriented response as opposed to a judge-oriented response) were more likely to graduate, had fewer warrants issued, and had more negative (i.e., clean) drug screens. The effects were present for both low and high risk offenders, although low risk offenders performed better. *Primary Citation:* Marlowe et al. (2008)	The sample size was small: 31 offenders. In addition, the experiment was conducted in a single drug court, which makes generalization problematic.	Drug courts should be administered with a treatment orientation. Plea decisions Sentencing decisions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A study of 130 low risk and 57 high risk offenders found strong support for the risk principle in drug courts. High risk offenders (who were scheduled to biweekly status hearings) performed better in drug court than those who were assigned to status hearings as usual (they had more negative drug screens and better attendance at counseling sessions). *Primary Citation*: Marlowe et al. (2006) *Supporting Citation:* Lowenkamp, Holsinger, & Latessa (2005)	The sample size for the high risk group was small (57 high risk offenders compared to 130 low risk offenders), and there was limited follow-up on illegal behavior, which limits the ability to generalize about the staying power of the effects.	Drug court participants should be selected based on risk level (i.e., the risk principle holds in drug court settings). Plea decisions Sentencing decisions
A meta-analysis of 140 studies of community (intermediate) sanctions and 325 studies of incarceration found that, for intermediate sanctions, there appeared to be a "net widening" effect through the targeting of individuals who would not have previously received as severe a sanction. In addition, there was no indication that these more severe sanctions were more effective than traditional community supervision. In the 47 studies of intensive supervision included in this review, there was no difference between the groups, with each having a recidivism rate of 29%. However, there was an indication that the inclusion of a treatment component with the intensive supervision program resulted in a 10% reduction in recidivism. The analysis of whether longer periods of incarceration produced lower recidivism rates included two components: one comparing similar offenders who spent more time (averaging over 30 months) in prison compared with less time (averaging less than 17 months) and the second comparing offenders who were sent to prison for a brief time with a similar group not receiving a prison sentence. Neither of these analyses exhibited different effects on recidivism. *Primary Citation:* Gendreau et al. (2001)	Methodological rigor was not included as a criterion for inclusion in the meta-analysis.	Intermediate sanctions should be utilized with recognition of both their ability to achieve certain outcomes and their limitations, such as accountability as opposed to risk reduction. Careful controls should be put in place when implementing intermediate sanctions to avoid unintended net widening. Plea decisions Sentencing decisions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
Holsinger, Lowenkamp, & Latessa (2006) examined the degree to which the composite score of the Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (YLS/CMI) predicted institutional misconduct. The instrument, designed to predict general recidivism in youth populations, contains 42 items across eight domains. This study is the first to examine the tool's predictive validity with respect to institutional behavior. A total of 80 youths were randomly selected by staff and subsequently assessed. Controlling for age and time spent in the institution, the YLS/CMI total score emerged as a significant predictor of all infraction types ($r = .40$, $p < .001$). Moreover, results showed that high risk offenders engage in misconducts at a significantly higher rate than their medium risk counterparts (95% vs. 62%). Using American survey (self-report) data collected from approximately 20,000 male inmates over two time periods (1991 and 1997), Steiner and Wooldredge (2008) specifically showed that younger age, prior incarceration, and pre-arrest drug use were salient predictors of institutional infractions. *Primary Citation:* Holsinger, Lowenkamp, & Latessa (2006) *Supporting Citation:* Steiner & Wooldredge (2008)	Given the small sample size and the staff selection of participants, further validation is recommended.	Structured risk/needs tools such as the YLS/CMI are useful for aiding in the classification of young offenders within institutions. Sentencing decisions Institutional intervention decisions
A summary of 30 meta-analyses found that (1) overall treatment reduces recidivism by about 9–10%, and slightly more for "appropriate" services, when the program is matched to the offender's unique traits, (2) community programs have greater effect sizes, (3) there is some influence of age of offenders on recidivism outcome, and (4) larger effect sizes are derived from programs with higher risk offenders. *Primary Citation:* McGuire (2002) *Supporting Citation:* French & Gendreau (2006)	This is a summary of evaluation studies and does not have any controls. In addition, evaluations of juvenile programs are overrepresented in the summary, as are males.	Treatment programming should be targeted to higher risk offenders and their criminogenic needs, and preferably (though not exclusively) be community-based. Sentencing decisions Institutional intervention decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A quasi-experimental study compared outcomes between Breaking the Cycle counties and non-Breaking the Cycle counties with a total sample size of 5,600 adult offenders. (Breaking the Cycle is a community-based drug treatment/intervention program designed to address drug-related crime.) The Breaking the Cycle group had a slight but statistically significant lower likelihood of arrest for any offense and significantly fewer drug arrests overall. In the Breaking the Cycle counties that administered more drug tests and sanctions, offenders with drug conditions had a statistically significant lower likelihood of arrest for any offense and significantly fewer drug arrests. An analysis of the costs and benefits of the Breaking the Cycle program found that it returned $2.30 to $5.70 for every dollar invested. The conclusion was that the Breaking the Cycle program is a cost-effective strategy for reducing drug arrests for offenders with drug conditions. More recently, the Juvenile Breaking the Cycle program was validated with youths (Krebs et al., 2010). *Primary Citations*: Harrell, Mitchell, et al. (2003);Harrell, Roman, et al. (2003); Krebs et al. (2010)	The major limitation is the reliance on secondary data, which limited the analyses (for example, there were no data on treatment utilization). In addition, although some of the findings were statistically significant, most observed differences were modest.	Programs designed to achieve specific outcomes should be evaluated to determine their effectiveness and overall cost/benefit. Sentencing decisions Community behavior change interventions
A meta-analysis of 70 prison-based treatment studies found higher effect sizes resulting from behavioral programs and programs with greater integrity in terms of implementation. In particular, programs that targeted criminogenic needs had increased effects on recidivism, which increased with the number of criminogenic needs targeted. Overall, the study found that misconduct was reduced by about 26% through programming. *Primary Citation:* French & Gendreau (2006)	The meta-analysis had few studies of women offenders, and it did not control for factors that have been demonstrated to influence misconduct (i.e., prison overcrowding, population instability through transfers, security level, etc.). The authors note that important offender characteristics (risk, need, misconduct history) may moderate the findings.	Enhanced prison management will result through a strategy in which programming has a central role. Institutional intervention decisions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
Using a prospective research design, two empirically constructed risk/needs instruments—a classification tool to assess risk of institutional misconduct and a case management tool to predict community recidivism—were tested on a sample of 414 Ohio inmates. The classification tool accurately predicted prison misconducts (AUC = 0.73), yet it performed poorly in the prediction of new arrests at 6 months follow-up (AUC = 0.58). Conversely, the case management tool predicted new arrests with a respectable level of accuracy (AUC = 0.70), yet it showed an inferior performance upon the prediction of prison misconducts (AUC = 0.62). The authors propose a streamlined hybrid tool to assess both outcomes effectively and efficiently. *Primary Citation:* Makarios & Latessa (2013) *Supporting Citation*: Weinrath & Coles (2003)	The relatively short time at risk (5.4 months) and the low base rate of prison misconducts (16%) should be noted.	A single one-size-fits-all approach to risk assessment may not be appropriate across all levels of justice system processing. For example, dynamic factors that are important for community adjustment (e.g., substance abuse) may not be as important to predicting misconduct in custodial settings. Ultimately, jurisdiction-specific validation of risk assessment tools vis-à-vis the various outcomes of interest is highly recommended. Institutional intervention decisions Institutional release/parole release decisions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
Using a well-designed randomized experiment, the effectiveness of the Minnesota Comprehensive Offender Reentry Plan (MCORP) was evaluated. MCORP underscores a collaborative relationship between institutional caseworkers and community supervision agents so as to provide greater continuity upon an offender's return to the community. MCORP agents meet with offenders several times prior to release from prison and offer assistance in the domains of employment, education, housing, health, and the like. Between 2008 and 2010, a total of 415 offenders were randomly assigned to participate in MCORP, while 274 offenders were randomly assigned to the control group. Controlling for a number of possible confounds (e.g., age at release, risk level, sentence length, etc.), survival analysis revealed reductions in recidivism ranging from 20 to 25% as defined by rearrest, reconviction, revocations for technical violations, and any return to prison. Moreover, the cost avoidance benefit of MCORP was approximately $4,300 per participant, or $1.8 million overall. *Primary Citation*: Duwe (2014) *Supporting Citation*: Duwe (2012)	The average follow-up period for offenders in the study was 3 years, with a minimum of 18 months and a maximum of 53 months.	Well-designed and implemented reentry programs such as the Minnesota Comprehensive Offender Reentry Plan (MCORP) (which underscores a collaborative relationship between institutional caseworkers and community supervision agents) can effectively reduce recidivism rates and yield a positive return on investment. Institutional intervention decisions Institutional release/parole release decisions Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions
A study was conducted to evaluate an implementation of the Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiatives (SVORI)—a comprehensive program designed to prepare high risk offenders for successful community reintegration through both institutional and community-based programming targeting housing, employment, health issues, and so forth. The sample consisted of 71 SVORI participants and 106 controls from North Dakota who simply received traditional prison/parole services. Controlling for demographic characteristics, risk level, and time-at-risk via survival analysis, results indicated that reentry program completers were 60% less likely to be rearrested than members of the comparison group. *Primary Citation:* Bouffard & Bergeron (2006)	Analyses should be replicated on larger samples.	The North Dakota Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiatives (SVORI) successfully reduced the likelihood of recidivism in contrast to traditional parole services and supervision. Institutional intervention decisions Institutional release/parole release decisions Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
The predictive validity of the Violence Risk Scale (VRS) was assessed prospectively on a sample of 60 federal parolees in Canada. The VRS, a 26-item tool tapping both static and dynamic risk factors, was designed to gauge the risk of violent recidivism in adult forensic populations. The VRS was scored by researchers subsequent to the parolees' release into the community, and recidivism follow-up data was collected after approximately 7 years. While 60% of participants had been reconvicted of any offense, 35% were reconvicted for a violent offense. Importantly, the VRS aggregate score was significantly related to all measures of recidivism under consideration (e.g., dichotomous indicator of reconviction, days to reconviction, and reconviction severity for both violent and general reoffending). Notably, the predictive accuracy of VRS total scores vis-à-vis any reoffending and violent reoffending yielded AUCs of .72 and .83, respectively. Time to reoffending also decreased significantly when comparing the low to moderate risk group to the high risk group (groups were identified based on VRS classifications). VRS scores and recidivism outcomes of the released sample of parolees were compared with those of a normative sample of male federal offenders in Canada (*N* = 918). While the VRS static scores (i.e., historical markers) were statistically equivalent between groups, dynamic scores were lower in the released sample. These lower assessment scores were reflected in lower recidivism rates after a 3-year fixed follow-up period (46.67% vs. 58.50% for general recidivism; 26.67% vs. 31.31% for violent recidivism). The researchers concluded that while the parole board did make appropriate decisions in releasing offenders presenting lower risk, their decision making accuracy would have improved significantly had they additionally relied on the VRS (or a similar validated risk/needs tool) during their deliberations and released those identified as low or medium risk. In this latter scenario, there would have been a 30.6% reduction in general recidivists and a 42.9% reduction in violent recidivists. *Primary Citation:* Wong & Pharhar (2011)	Statistically, the small sample size of 60 would theoretically make it more difficult to detect an effect in significance testing. As such, it is noteworthy that the VRS yielded such high predictive accuracy despite this limitation.	Results suggest that scores yielded from structured risk/needs tools such as the Violence Risk Scale (VRS) should be considered in parole board deliberations. Institutional release/parole release decisions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A study using data from Washington State sought to determine whether supermax prisoners (i.e., those segregated from the general prison population in high security settings) would be more likely to reoffend upon release than their non-supermax counterparts. A one-to-one matching procedure was used to pair a total of 200 supermax participants with 200 control subjects. Matching variables included mental illness and a number of demographic and criminal history indicators. Over a 3-year follow-up period, 53% of supermax participants recidivated compared with 46% of their non-supermax matches, reflecting only a trend towards a statistically significant difference. However, a more pronounced difference was observed when comparing supermax prisoners released directly to the community with their matched controls (69% vs. 51%, $p < .016$). Applying survival analysis, direct release status was also associated with reduced time to reoffense (either felony or misdemeanor) compared with later release supermax inmates (14 weeks vs. 8 months). *Primary Citation:* Lovell, Johnson, & Cain (2007)	Supermax participants were operationally defined as those whose last stay in supermax was less than 4 years before their release date and who had spent at least one continuous period exceeding 12 weeks in supermax, or those who had shorter stays that, when combined, equaled 40% or more of their prison term. Control subjects spent no more than 30 days in supermax over their incarceration history.	Direct release from high security, segregated supermax settings to the community is associated with increases in recidivism rates and shorter time to reoffending. More gradual steps to aid in offender reentry may be advisable. Institutional release/parole release decisions Reentry planning decisions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A study on a sanctions grid used by parole field staff in Ohio to determine the appropriate response to violations of conditions of post-release supervision indicated that moderate and high risk offenders in all supervision categories had a lower likelihood of recidivism after completing a halfway house program. However, low and low/moderate risk offenders recidivated more frequently when they were placed in these higher security settings than into a straight community placement. In addition, offenders in the parole violator category were the only group that experienced a significantly lower level of recidivism across all risk levels when placed in halfway houses. *Primary Citation:* Andrews & Janes (2006) *Secondary Citation*: Latessa et al. (2010)	Offenders in a halfway house program were tracked for 2 years post-release to determine the baseline recidivism rate and the characteristics of those most likely to succeed. Based on this research, a supervision grid was created to classify offenders into four risk levels and three supervision categories. The article does not provide details on the research methodology. The research was conducted with offenders in one state.	Halfway house interventions with supervision geared to level of risk/need can be effective with higher risk offenders. Low risk offenders may do worse when placed in high security/intensive supervision halfway house programs. Institutional release/parole release decisions Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A content analysis of women's reentry programs offered in the 10 largest metropolitan cities of the United States was undertaken to determine whether currently available programs address the afore-listed needs. A total of 155 reentry programs were considered; all programs were specific to women and operational at the time of the investigation. Moreover, all information pertinent to eligibility and services was publically available. Overall results of the analysis suggest that the needs of reentering women were not being met by currently offered programming. For example, no more than 20% of programs in a given city provided childcare and parenting services, less than 50% of programs in any metropolitan area provided counseling and mental health services, and less than 20% of programs offered housing and transportation services. Employment and education programming was the most readily available, offered by a minimum of five programs in each city. *Primary Citation:* Scroggins & Malley (2010) *Supporting Citations:* Arditti & Few (2006); Petersilia (2004)	None noted.	Many of the needs that are particularly salient to women offenders are not currently being addressed in the context of reentry services. It is therefore important to continue developing gender responsive treatment strategies for this growing population. Institutional release/parole release decisions Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
The effectiveness of various offender reentry programs was evaluated in a synthesis of the empirical literature. For the purposes of the analysis, the authors operationalized reentry programs as (1) American or Canadian correctional programs that focus on the transition from prison to community (among adult populations), and (2) programs that have initiated treatment in a secure custody setting but have established links with community services to ensure continuity of care. Extant empirical studies were categorized by program type and according to scientific rigor. Based on a comprehensive review of 32 published studies, evidence was found for the effectiveness of vocational/work programs at reducing prison misconducts, reducing post-release arrest rates, and improving employment outcomes (e.g., Saylor & Gaes, 1997; Turner & Petersilia, 1996). Drug rehabilitation reentry programs were found to reduce recidivism and subsequent drug use (e.g., Knight et al., 1999). Halfway house programs and pre-release programs were also effective in reducing recidivism (e.g., Castellano et al., 1996; Dowell et al., 1985). Finally, education programs showed some success in increasing educational achievement scores but not in reducing the likelihood of future offending (e.g., Vito & Tewksbury, 1999). Note that in a separate meta-analysis, Visher and colleagues (2005) also failed to find a significant effect of employment programs upon recidivism. *Primary Citation:* Seiter & Kadela (2003) *Supporting Citations:* Castellano et al. (1996); Dowell, Klein, & Krichmar (1985); Knight, Simpson, & Hiller (1999); Saylor & Gaes (1997); Turner & Petersilia (1996); Visher, Winterfield, & Coggeshall (2005); Vito & Tewksbury (1999)	None noted.	Reentry programs showing the most promise in reducing recidivism rates include vocational/work programs, drug rehabilitation programs, halfway house programs, and pre-release programs. Institutional release/parole release decisions Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
This research examined whether Kentucky's commutation initiative increased risk to public safety. The recidivism patterns of 883 nonviolent offenders released through sentence commutations within 120 days of the expiration of their sentences were compared with those of a matched control group of inmates not granted early release. Controlling for age, race, sex, index offense type, and custody level, reincarceration over a 5-year follow-up period was statistically identical for the two groups (40.0% for commuted group vs. 38.7% for comparison group). *Primary Citation*: Vito, Tewksbury, & Higgins (2010)	None noted.	Nonviolent inmates in Kentucky who had their sentences commuted posed no greater threat to public safety than those who remained incarcerated until their sentence expiration date. Moreover, by releasing the commuted sentence group, the research team estimated a cost savings of $13,430,834. Institutional release/parole release decisions Discharge decisions
A total of 29 programs were featured in a comprehensive narrative review of 35 evaluations of community-based reentry programs published between 2000 and 2010. Nearly 80% of the evaluations reviewed reported positive results (e.g., recidivism reduction, drug relapse reduction). Beyond the commonly offered life skills and substance abuse treatment protocols, programs providing an aftercare component and housing assistance yielded the most positive outcomes. *Primary Citation:* Wright et al. (2014)	None noted.	In general, community-based reentry programs tend to yield positive outcomes—particularly when they include housing assistance and aftercare components. Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A study was conducted to determine whether participation in a reentry program among those no longer under justice system supervision is associated with reductions in recidivism. Project Re-Connect (PRC) is a 6-month voluntary program in St. Louis, Missouri, that provides case management and monetary stipends in the form of bus passes, gift cards to grocery stores, payments towards housing, and the like. PRC participants included 122 inmates released from prison, while the control group was comprised of 158 offenders eligible for the program who chose not to participate. By the end of the observation period (approximately 3.5 years), 20.3% of nonparticipants and only 7.4% of participants had recidivated. Even when controlling for various risk and demographic variables via survival analysis, participation in PRC was associated with a 42.2% reduction in the conviction rate. *Primary Citation:* Wikoff, Linhorst, & Morani (2012)	Recidivism was defined as convictions for a state-level crime that resulted in a new sentence of probation or incarceration. Note that recidivism excluded convictions for offenses that resulted in fines or jail terms. Given participant self-selection, it is plausible that at least some of the apparent success of PRC is attributable to differences in offender motivation.	Particularly in the absence of community supervision, reentry programs (such as Project Re-Connect in St. Louis, Missouri) that address multiple service needs and link offenders to important services (e.g., housing, education, transportation) play a crucial role in the successful reintegration of offenders. Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions
A large-scale investigation was conducted of the potential influence of neighborhood context on reentering parolees in California. The total sample included 280,121 offenders released between 2005 and 2006 and followed up for a maximum period of 24 months. The key outcome variable was whether or not a parolee was returned to prison. The research team found that the likelihood of recidivism decreased by 41% when social service providers were located within 2 miles of the offender. This protective effect was especially pronounced for African American parolees. Moreover, greater neighborhood disadvantage and social disorder (as measured by bar and liquor store capacity) were associated with increased recidivism. *Primary Citation*: Hipp, Petersilia, & Turner (2010) *Supporting Citation*: Kubrin & Stewart (2006)	Note that at the individual level, the authors did not appear to control for offender risk level or criminogenic needs.	The neighborhood context in which parolees return plays an important role in their successful reintegration. In particular, the close proximity of social service providers to offenders appears to be important in attenuating recidivism. Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
Based on a large sample of prison inmates released between 2008 and 2009 (*N* = 13,198), Hamilton and Campbell (2014) evaluated the effectiveness of a collection of 18 halfway house (HWH) programs across New Jersey. Comparing 6,599 HWH participants with a matched sample of comparison subjects, the authors found that HWH participation resulted in 40% less odds of having one's parole revoked or of being returned to prison (for any reason). While the effectiveness of treatment did not vary by risk level in the Hamilton and Campbell study, Latessa, Lovins, and Smith (2010) found a treatment by risk interaction in their study of 44 Ohio HWH programs operational in 2006. Based on 6,090 matched offender pairs, the average reduction in recidivism rates associated with HWH interventions was about 5%. However, treatment was only effective for moderate to high risk offenders. In accordance with the risk principle, HWH participation actually aggravated recidivism rates among low risk cases. *Primary Citations*: Hamilton & Campbell (2014); Latessa et al. (2010) *Supporting Citation*: Lowenkamp & Latessa (2002)	In the Hamilton and Campbell study (2014), subjects from treatment and control groups were matched based on 14 prerelease characteristics (e.g., age, race, risk) using propensity score methods, and all subjects were followed up for a minimum of 3 years. Note that in the Hamilton and Campbell study, nonsignificant findings were found when comparing halfway house participants and nonparticipants on rearrest, reconviction, and reincarceration (following the commission of an offense).	In general, there is support for the effectiveness of halfway house programs in reducing recidivism rates. However, one should be mindful of reserving these services primarily for moderate to high risk offenders. Reentry planning decisions Community behavior change interventions

What's Promising in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Studies that show promising outcomes but require more rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
The effectiveness of behavioral responses in deterring noncompliant acts is contingent on the certainty, swiftness, and fairness (consistency and proportionality) of the response. In addition, the supervision process must be proactive and have the following critical elements: (a) inform the offender about the behavior that constitutes an infraction and about the potential consequence for that behavior, (b) ensure that the judiciary, supervision agents, and other treatment agencies adhere to the sanctioning model, and (c) uphold the offender's dignity throughout the process of change. Thus, a sound behavioral response model should clearly define infractions, utilize a swift process for responding to infractions, respond to sanctions using a structured sanction menu with consequences, and employ behavioral contracts for offenders, with written offender acknowledgement of violation behavior. *Primary Citation:* Taxman, Soule, & Gelb (1999) *Supporting Citations:* Fischer & Geiger (2011); Harrell & Roman (2001)	This is not a research project that makes statistical inferences to a larger population; however, the discussion is supported by the citation of numerous individual studies.	Certainty, swiftness, and fairness in responding to misbehavior are important. Probation and parole intervention decisions Violation response decisions

What's Not Clear in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism

***What's Not Clear* in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism**		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Findings that contradict or conflict with other studies and require additional rigorous research*	**METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
Britt and colleagues (1992) conducted a randomized experiment on the effects of drug testing during pretrial release on offender misconduct found there was no statistically significant difference between the treatment and control groups with regard to failure to appear or rearrest. The overall conclusion was that the use of drug testing during the pretrial period did not significantly reduce pretrial misconduct. Perry and colleagues (2009) conducted a meta-analysis on 13 randomized controlled trials conducted between 1980 and 2014. Echoing previous findings, drug testing during the pretrial release period had limited success in changing defendants' behavior, as compared to routine parole and probation. *Primary Citations:* Britt, Gottfredson, & Goldkamp (1992); Perry et al. (2009)	In the Brit et al., 2009, study, there was significant attrition in both of the study sites. In addition, in one of the sites, 20% of the treatment group did not receive a drug test and, among other individuals, the amount of testing was varied. As such, it is unclear how the integrity of the intervention may have impacted the results.	Not applicable Pretrial status decisions
A study of 1,378 defendants from 12 urban and rural counties in North Carolina found that the seriousness of charges and the presence of codefendants influenced the final disposition. The seriousness of charges affected the severity of the sentence for defendants who were found guilty. The presence of codefendants increased the odds of dismissal for Class 1 felony defendants. Defendants' prior criminal history did not affect the odds of dismissal but did increase severity of sentencing. Black defendants charged with Class 2 felonies were more likely to have longer stays in pretrial detention. Longer time in pretrial detention influenced court disposition. Whether the defendant had a private versus public defender did not affect the likelihood of charges being dismissed. Plea bargaining was related to the length of sentence for moderate to high risk groups (where risk is related to detention). *Primary Citation:* Clarke & Kurtz (1983)	Risk was defined as the probability of detention, not the probability of future reoffending.	Not applicable Pretrial status decisions Charging decisions Plea decisions

What's Not Clear in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Findings that contradict or conflict with other studies and require additional rigorous research*	**METHODLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
A study of 2,014 adult and juvenile offenders in five sites found that offenders placed in the Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime (TASC) program had lower drug use in three of the five sites studied. Two of the sites reported fewer drug crimes based on self-report data, and there was no difference in reoffending in three sites. While TASC offenders performed worse in terms of new arrests and technical violations in two sites, a more recent study (i.e., Ventura & Lambert, 2004) yielded positive effects on recidivism reduction. *Primary Citations:* Anglin, Longshore, & Turner (1999); Ventura & Lambert (2004)	The follow-up period was only 6 months. Also, TASC was compared with other interventions or probation rather than using a treatment/no treatment comparison.	Not applicable Plea decisions Sentencing decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Community behavior change interventions
Using data from six states, Zhang and colleagues (2014) applied survival analysis to study the relative effects of indeterminate versus determinate sentencing on recidivism outcomes for offenders released from custody in 1994. With indeterminate sentences, inmates are generally released at the discretion of parole boards, whereas with determinate sentences, offenders are subject to mandatory release at sentence expiration. Effects of release type varied across the six states under study. Congruent with results of Solomon et al. (2005), time to rearrest over a 3-year period was longer for discretionary release cases than for mandatory release cases for New York and North Carolina. In the case of Maryland and Virginia, the reverse pattern emerged. Finally, the statistical models generated for Oregon and Texas show no relationship between release type and time to rearrest. *Primary Citation*: Zhang, Zhang, & Vaughn (2014) *Supporting Citation:* Solomon, Kachnowski, & Bhati (2005)	Sample sizes were 1,394 for Maryland, 1,853 for Virginia, 1,705 for New York, 1,836 for North Carolina, 1,220 for Oregon, and 1,782 for Texas. Although some demographic and criminal history indices were controlled for in survival models, matching procedures were not employed. As such, group equivalence is questionable.	Not applicable Sentencing decisions Institutional release/parole release decisions Discharge decisions

What's Not Clear in Reducing Pretrial Misbehavior and Offender Recidivism		
MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS *Findings that contradict or conflict with other studies and require additional rigorous research*	**METHODLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**	**IMPLICATIONS & RELEVANT DECISION POINTS**
In a national study of 38,624 prisoners released in 1994 (across 15 states), Solomon et al. (2005) found that when controlling for demographic and criminal history variables, discretionary parolees were statistically just as likely to be rearrested over a 2-year follow-up period (57%) compared with mandatory parolees and unconditional releasees (61%). That stated, certain low risk offender subgroups were more likely to benefit from discretionary release—namely, female offenders, public order offenders and technical violators, and individuals with few prior arrests. Arguing that some successful reentry systems might be obscured by the consideration of national level data, Schlager and Robbins (2008) examined the outcomes of 480 offenders released from prison via discretionary release versus offenders released at the expiration of their sentences. Up to 4 years post-release, the latter were rearrested and reconvicted at significantly higher rates than those granted discretionary release (70% and 44% vs. 60% and 34%). Even when controlling for a number of demographic and criminal history indicators, time to rearrest was significantly longer for discretionary release parolees versus offenders released at sentence expiration (465 days vs. 349 days). *Primary Citations*: Schlager & Robbins (2008); Solomon et al. (2005) *Supporting Citation*: Hughes, Wilson, & Beck (2001)	Although some covariates were included in statistical models, neither Solomon et al. (2005) nor Schlager and Robbins (2008) employed case control matching procedures in an attempt to equalize study groups on potential confounds.	Not applicable Reentry planning decisions Probation and parole intervention decisions Discharge decisions

Appendix 5: Using Evidence to Inform Decision Making

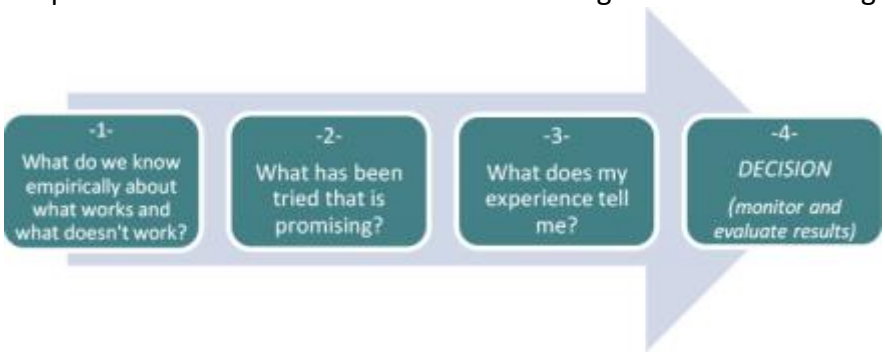
Despite their commitment to applying research to decision making, some criminal justice professionals express confusion over how to apply evidence when it conflicts with personal experience. How much emphasis should be placed on research versus experience? This tension is understandable, particularly when research is in opposition to intuition or experience (such as the empirically supported findings that providing programming to lower risk offenders can increase recidivism or that increasing the degree of punishment can increase recidivism). Even when research is not in opposition to beliefs or experience, outcomes are never a 100% guarantee (i.e., some false positives and false negatives are to be expected, regardless of the strength of the evidence), although, when following the evidence, favorable outcomes are more likely to occur than unfavorable outcomes.



Tension Between Experience and Research

The model below is presented as a way to reconcile seemingly contradictory understandings. It suggests the following:

1. Decision makers begin the decision making process with an understanding of the existing research. In some cases, the relevant research findings will be fairly robust; in others, it will be sparse or absent.
2. When the research is insufficient, decision makers defer to promising practice findings. These findings are weaker than research evidence because they either have not been subject to rigorous testing or been replicated; nonetheless, they can provide more external explanatory power than belief or personal experience alone.
3. When personal experience conflicts with research evidence/promising practice, decision makers weigh the preponderance of evidence with the strength of experience.
4. If the conclusion inferred from the evidence is not followed, decision makers are encouraged to monitor outcomes to determine if the desired results are achieved. Without this, perceptions will neither be affirmed nor challenged and new learning will not result.



APPENDIX 6: 2009 ZOGBY INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

Zogby International was commissioned by the National Institute of Corrections and its Evidence-Based Decision Making in Local Criminal Justice Systems partners to conduct a telephone survey of likely voters from July 31, 2009 to August 4, 2009. The target sample was 1,005 interviews, with approximately 39 questions asked. Samples were randomly drawn from telephone compact discs of a national listed sample.

Zogby International employed a sampling strategy in which selection probabilities were proportional to population size within area codes and exchanges. Up to six calls were made to reach a sampled phone number. Cooperation rates were calculated using one of the American Association of Public Opinion Research's approved methodologies[74] and were comparable to other professional public-opinion surveys conducted using similar sampling strategies.[75] Weighting by region, political party, age, race, religion, and gender was used to adjust for non-response. The margin of error was +/– 3.2 percentage points.

A fact sheet that summarized the key findings from this national public opinion survey is available.

[74] The American Association of Public Opinion Research, 2009.
[75] Sheppard & Haas, 2003.

Appendix 7: Glossary of Terms

The terms used in this document have specific meanings within the context of a harm reduction philosophy and an evidence-based decision making model.

Criminogenic: Attributes or characteristics of the individual or his/her environment that produce or tend to produce criminal behavior and recidivism.

Data: A collection of observations or statistics used to measure and analyze interventions.

Data-driven: The ongoing collection and analysis of data to track performance and inform policy and practice.

Defendant: A person who has been formally charged with a crime.

Evidence-based: Conclusions drawn from rigorous research studies that have been replicated numerous times with defined, measurable outcomes about the effectiveness of an intervention or process.

Evidence-based decision making (EBDM): The practice of using research to inform or guide decisions across the justice system.

Goal: The desired end result of an effort.

Objective: Measurable, short-term indicators or benchmarks that indicate progress is being made toward the goal.

Offender: A person convicted of a criminal charge.

Outcome: Change that occurs as a result of an action or intervention.

Performance measure: A quantifiable measure that is used to support the decision making process by documenting how well specific functions or processes are carried out.

Research: The systematic analysis of data, using scientific methods, to study the effect of an intervention.

Appendix 8: References

Adler, P. S., Kwon, S., & Heckscher, C. (2008). Perspective—Professional work: The emergence of collaborative community. *Organization Science, 19*, 359–376. http://dx.doi.org/10.1287/orsc.1070.0293

Allen, L. C., MacKenzie, D. L., & Hickman, L. J. (2001). The effectiveness of cognitive behavioral treatment for adult offenders: A methodological, quality-based review. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 45,* 498–514. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0306624X01454009

American Association of Public Opinion Research. (2009). *Standard definitions: Final dispositions of case codes and outcome rates of surveys*. Oakbrook Terrace, IL: Author.

American Medical Association. (2001). *AMA principles of medical ethics.* Retrieved from https://www.ama-assn.org/sites/default/files/media-browser/principles-of-medical-ethics.pdf

Andrews, D. A. (2007). Principles of effective correctional programs. In L. L. Motiuk & R. C. Serin (Eds.), *Compendium 2000 on effective correctional programming.* Retrieved from Correctional Service Canada website: http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/005/008/compendium/2000/chap_2-eng.shtml

Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (1998). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (2nd ed.). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2006). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (4th ed.). Newark, NJ: Anderson.

Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2007). *Risk-need-responsivity model for offender assessment and rehabilitation* (2007-06). Retrieved from Public Safety Canada website: http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/rsk-nd-rspnsvty/index-eng.aspx

Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2010). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (5th ed.). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

Andrews, D. A., Bonta, J., & Wormith, J. S. (2006). The recent past and near future of risk and/or need assessment. *Crime and Delinquency, 52*, 7–27. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011128705281756

Andrews, D. A., & Dowden, C. (2005). Managing correctional treatment for reduced recidivism: A meta-analytic review of program integrity. *Legal and Criminological Psychology, 10,* 173–187. http://dx.doi.org/10.1348/135532505x36723

Andrews, D. A., & Dowden, C. (2006). Risk principle of case classification in correctional treatment: A meta-analytic investigation. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 50,* 88–100. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0306624x05282556

Andrews, D. A., & Dowden, C. (2007). The risk-need-responsivity model of assessment in human service and prevention and corrections crime prevention jurisprudence. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 49*, 439–464. http://dx.doi.org/10.3138/cjccj.49.4.439

Andrews, D. A., Dowden, C., & Gendreau, P. (1999). *Clinically relevant and psychologically informed approaches to reduced reoffending: A meta-analytic study of human service, risk, need, responsivity, and other concerns in justice contexts* (Unpublished manuscript). Ottawa, Canada: Carleton University.

Andrews, S., & Janes, L. (2006). Ohio's evidence-based approach to community sanctions and supervision. *Topics in Community Corrections: Effectively Managing Violations and Revocations, Annual Issue, 2006*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections.

Andrews, D. A., Zinger, I., Hoge, R. D., Bonta, J., Gendreau, P., & Cullen, F. T. (1990). Does correctional treatment work? A clinically relevant and psychologically informed meta-analysis. *Criminology, 28*, 369–404. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.1990.tb01330.x

Anglin, M. D., Longshore, D., & Turner, S. (1999). Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime (TASC): An evaluation of five programs. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 26*, 168–195. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854899026002002

Anglin, M. D., Nosyk, B., Jaffe, A., Urada, D., & Evans, E. (2013). Offender diversion into substance use disorder treatment: The economic impact of California's Proposition 36. *American Journal of Public Health, 103,* 1096–1102. http://dx.doi.org/10.2105/ajph.2012.301168

Aos, S. (2009). *Changing the sentencing grid? Creating a "crime impact statement" (to accompany a fiscal impact statement) to assist decision making.* Olympia, WA: Office of Financial Management.

Aos, S., Miller, M., & Drake, E. (2006a). *Evidence-based adult corrections programs: What works and what does not*. Retrieved from Washington State Institute for Public Policy website: http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/ReportFile/924

Aos, S., Miller, M., & Drake, E. (2006b). *Evidence-based public policy options to reduce future prison construction, criminal justice costs, and crime rates*. Retrieved from Washington State Institute for Public Policy website: http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/ReportFile/952/Wsipp_Evidence-Based-Public-Policy-Options-to-Reduce-Future-Prison-Construction-Criminal-Justice-Costs-and-Crime-Rates_Full-Report.pdf

Aos, S., Phipps, P., Barnoski, R., & Lieb, R. (2001). *The comparative costs and benefits of programs to reduce crime*. Retrieved from Washington State Institute for Public Policy website: http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/ReportFile/756/Wsipp_The-Comparative-Costs-and-Benefits-of-Programs-to-Reduce-Crime-v-4-0_Full-Report.pdf

Arditti, J. A., & Few, A. I. (2006). Mothers' reentry into family life following incarceration. *Criminal Justice Policy Review, 17,* 103–123. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0887403405282450

Bales, W. D., & Piquero, A. R. (2012). Assessing the impact of imprisonment on recidivism. *Journal of Experimental Criminology, 8,* 71–101. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11292-011-9139-3

Barber-Rioja, V., Dewey, L., Kopelovich, S., & Kucharski, L. T. (2012). The utility of the HCR-20 and PCL-SV in the prediction of diversion noncompliance and reincarceration in diversion programs. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 39*, 475–492. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854811432609

Barnoski, R., & Drake, E. K. (2008, October 17). *Washington's Offender Accountability Act: Department of Corrections' static risk instrument.* Retrieved from Washington State Institute for Public Policy website: http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/ReportFile/977/Wsipp_Washingtons-Offender-Accountability-Act-Department-of-Corrections-Static-Risk-Instrument_Full-Report-Updated-October-2008.pdf

Bazemore, G., & Schiff, M. (2004). *Juvenile justice reform and restorative justice: Building theory and policy from practice*. Portland, OR: Willan.

Bishop, D., & Frazier, C. (2000). Consequences of transfer. In J. Fagan & F. Zimring (Eds.), *The changing borders of juvenile justice: Transfer of adolescents to the criminal court* (pp. 13–43). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Bishop, D. M., Frazier, C. E., Lanza-Kaduce, L., & Winner, L. (1996). The transfer of juveniles to criminal court: Does it make a difference? *Crime & Delinquency, 42*, 171–191. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011128796042002001

Bonta, J. (2007). Offender assessment: General issues and considerations. In L. L. Motiuk & R. C. Serin (Eds.), *Compendium 2000 on effective correctional programming.* Retrieved from Correctional Service Canada website: http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/005/008/compendium/2000/chap_4-eng.shtml

Bonta, J., & Andrews, D. A. (2007). *Risk-need-responsivity model for offender assessment and rehabilitation.* Retrieved from Public Safety Canada website: http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/rsk-nd-rspnsvty/rsk-nd-rspnsvty-eng.pdf

Bonta, J., Bourgon, G., Rugge, T., Scott, T.-L., Yessine, A. K., Gutierrez, L., & Li, J. (2011). An experimental demonstration of training probation officers in evidence-based community supervision. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 38,* 1127–1148. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854811420678

Bonta, J., Rugge, T., Scott, T.-L., Bourgon, G., & Yessine, A. K. (2008). Exploring the black box of community supervision. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 47*, 248270. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10509670802134085

Bonta, J., Wallace-Capretta, S., & Rooney, R. (2000). A quasi-experimental evaluation of an intensive rehabilitation supervision program. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 27, 312–329. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854800027003003

Bonta, J., Wallace-Capretta, S., Rooney, J., & McAnoy, K. (2002). An outcome evaluation of a restorative justice alternative to incarceration. *Justice Review, 5*, 319–338. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10282580214772

Bouffard, J. A., & Bergeron, L. E. (2006). Reentry works: The implementation and effectiveness of a Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiative. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 44,* 1–29. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J076v44n02_01

Bouffard, J. A., Exum, M. L., & Paternoster, R. (2000). Whither the beast? The role of emotions in a rational choice theory of crime. In S. S. Simpson (Ed.), *Of crime and criminality: Using theory in everyday life.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Britt, C. L. III., Gottfredson, M. R., & Goldkamp, J. S. (1992). Drug testing and pretrial misconduct: An experiment on the specific deterrent effects of drug monitoring defendants on pretrial release. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 29*, 62–78. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022427892029001004

Cadigan, T. P., & Lowenkamp, C. T. (2011a). Implementing risk assessment in the federal pretrial services system. *Federal Probation, 75*(2), 30–34. Retrieved from United States Courts website: http://www.uscourts.gov/statistics-reports/publications/federal-probation-journal/federal-probation-journal-september-2011

Cadigan, T. P., & Lowenkamp, C. T. (2011b). Preentry: The key to long-term criminal justice success? *Federal Probation, 75*(2), 74–77. Retrieved from United States Courts website: http://www.uscourts.gov/statistics-reports/publications/federal-probation-journal/federal-probation-journal-september-2011

Case, B., Steadman, H. J., Dupuis, S. A., & Morris, L. S. (2009). Who succeeds in jail diversion programs for persons with mental illness? A multi-site study. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law, 27,* 661–674. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/bsl.883

Castellano, T. C., Soderstrom, M. S., Ringel, C. L., Plant, S., McIntosh, J., & McDermott, M. J. (1996). *The implementation and impact of Illinois' PreStart Program: A final report.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Corrections. Retrieved from http://www.icjia.org/assets/pdf/ResearchReports/IllPreStartProgram1996.pdf

Chen, M. K., & Shapiro, J. M. (2007). Do harsher prison conditions reduce recidivism? A discontinuity-based approach. *American Law and Economics Review, 9*, 1–29.

Cid, J. (2009). Is imprisonment criminogenic? A comparative study of recidivism rates between prison and suspended prison sanctions. *European Journal of Criminology, 6,* 459–480. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1477370809341128

Clarke, S. H., & Kurtz, S. T. (1983). The importance of interim decisions to felony trial court dispositions. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 74,* 476–518. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1143085

Clear, T. R., & Sumter, M. T. (2002). Prisoners, prison, and religion: Religion and adjustment to prison. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 35,* 127–159. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/j076v35n03_07

Collins, J. C., & Porras, J. I. (1997). *Built to last: Successful habits of visionary companies.* New York, NY: HarperCollins.

Cowell, A. J., Hinde, J. M., Broner, N., & Aldridge, A. P. (2013). The impact on taxpayer costs of jail diversion programs for people with serious mental illness. *Evaluation and Program Programming, 41,* 31–37. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2013.07.001

Cullen, F. T., & Gendreau, P. (2000). Assessing correctional rehabilitation: Policy, practice, and prospects. In J. Horney (Ed.), *Criminal justice 2000: Policies, processes, and decisions of the criminal justice system* (pp. 109–175). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice. Retrieved from http://www.d.umn.edu/~jmaahs/Correctional Assessment/cullen and gendreau_CJ2000.pdf

Daly, K. (1994). *Gender, crime, and punishment*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

DeMatteo, D., LaDuke, C., Locklair, B. R., & Heilbrun, K. (2012). Community-based alternatives for justice-involved individuals with severe mental illness: Diversion, problem-solving courts, and reentry. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 41,* 64–71. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2012.09.002

DePaulo, B. M., Lindsay, J. J., Malone, B. E., Muhlenbruck, L., Charlton, K., & Cooper, H. (2003). Cues to deception. *Psychological Bulletin, 129*, 74–118.

Dowden, C. (1998). *A meta-analytic examination of the risk, need and responsivity principles and their Importance within the rehabilitation debate*. Retrieved from Carleton University website: https://curve.carleton.ca/d453a97b-6cc9-4b72-8a13-50586b31b262

Dowden, C., & Andrews, D. A. (2000). Effective correctional treatment and violence reoffending: A meta-analysis. *Canadian Journal of Criminology, 42,* 449–467.

Dowden, C., & Andrews, D. A. (2004). The importance of staff practice in delivering effective correctional treatment: A meta-analytic review of core correctional practice. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, *48*, 203–214. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0306624x03257765

Dowell, D. A., Klein, C., & Krichmar, C. (1985). Evaluation of a halfway house. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 13,* 217–226.

Drake, E. K., & Aos, S. (2012). *Confinement for technical violations of community supervision: Is there an effect on felony recidivism?* (Document No. 12-07-1201). Retrieved from Washington State Institute for Public Policy website: http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/ReportFile/1106

Drake, E. K., Aos, S., & Miller, M. G. (2009). Evidence-based public policy options to reduce crime and criminal justice costs: Implications in Washington State. *Victims and Offenders, 4,* 170–196. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15564880802612615

Drake, E. K., & Barnoski, R. (2009). *Increasing earned release from prison: Impacts of 2003 law on recidivism and criminal justice costs*. Retrieved from Washington State Institute for Public Policy website: http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/ReportFile/1039/Wsipp_Increased-Earned-Release-From-Prison-Impacts-of-a-2003-Law-on-Recidivism-and-Crime-Costs-Revised_Full-Report.pdf

Durose, M. R., Cooper, A. D., & Snyder, H. N. (2014). *Recidivism of prisoners released in 30 states in 2005: Patterns from 2005 to 2010.* Retrieved from Bureau of Justice Statistics website: http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/rprts05p0510.pdf

Durose, M. R., & Langan, P. A. (2007). *Felony sentences in state courts, 2004* (NCJ 215646). Retrieved from Bureau of Justice Statistics website: http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/fssc04.pdf

Duwe, G. (2012). Evaluating the Minnesota Comprehensive Offender Reentry Plan (MCORP): Results from a randomized experiment. *Justice Quarterly, 29,* 247–283. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2011.555414

Duwe, G. (2014). A randomized experiment of a prisoner reentry program: Updated results from an evaluation of the Minnesota Comprehensive Offender Reentry Plan (MCORP). *Criminal Justice Studies, 27,* 172–190. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1478601X.2013.850081

Egelko, S., Galanter, M., Dermatis, H., & DeMaio, C. (1998). Evaluation of a multisystems model for treating perinatal cocaine addiction. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, *15*, 251–259. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/s0740-5472(97)00225-0

Emrick, C. D., Tonigang, J. S., Montgomery, H., & Little, L. (1993). *Alcoholics Anonymous: Opportunities and alternatives.* New Brunswick, NJ: Alcohol Research Documentation, Inc., Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies.

Executive Office of the President of the United States. (2016). *Economic perspectives on incarceration and the criminal justice system.* Retrieved from https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/whitehouse.gov/files/documents/CEA+Criminal+Justice+Report.pdf

Exum, M. L. (2002). The application and robustness of the rational choice perspective in the study of intoxicated/angry intentions to aggress. *Criminology*, *40,* 933–966. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2002.tb00978.x

Feder, L. (1994). Psychiatric hospitalization history and parole decisions. *Law and Human Behavior, 18,* 395–410. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/bf01499047

Fischer, M., & Geiger, B. (2011). What "works" in drug court: A bottom-up female participants' perspective. *Journal of Human Behavior and the Social Environment, 21,* 752–765. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2011.615678

French, S., & Gendreau, P. (2006). Reducing prison misconduct: What works! *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 33,* 185–218. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854805284406

Gaes, G. G., & Camp, S. D. (2009). Unintended consequences: Experimental evidence for the criminogenic effect of prison security level placement on post-release recidivism. *Journal of Experimental Criminology, 5,* 139–162. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11292-009-9070-z

Galanter, M. (1993). *Network therapy for alcohol and drug abuse: A new approach in practice*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Gehring, K. S., & Van Voorhis, P. (2014). Needs and pretrial failure: Additional risk factors for female and male pretrial defendants. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 41,* 943–970. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854814538022

Gendreau, P. (1996). The principle of effective intervention with offenders. In A. Harland (Ed.), *Choosing correctional options that work* (pp. 117–130). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gendreau, P., & Andrews, D. A. (1994). *The Correctional Program Assessment Inventory.* Fredericton, Canada: University of New Brunswick.

Gendreau, P., & Goggin, C. (1996). Principles of effective programming with offenders. *Forum on Corrections Research*, *8*(3), 38–40.

Gendreau, P., Goggin, C., & Cullen, F. (1999). *The effects of prison sentences on recidivism*. Retrieved from Public Safety Canada website: http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/ffcts-prsn-sntncs-rcdvsm/index-en.aspx

Gendreau, P., Goggin, C., Cullen, F. T., & Andrews, D. (2001). The effects of community sanctions and incarceration on recidivism. In L. L. Motiuk & R. C. Serin (Eds.), *Compendium 2000 on effective correctional programming: Volume 1*. Retrieved from Correctional Service Canada website: http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/005/008/compendium/2000/chap_3-eng.shtml

Gendreau, P., Goggin, C., & Little, T. (1996). *Predicting adult offender recidivism: What works!* (1996-07). Ottawa: Solicitor General of Canada.

Gendreau, P., Little, T., & Goggin, C. (1996). A meta-analysis of the predictors of adult offender recidivism: What works? *Criminology, 34,* 575–607. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.1996.tb01220.x

Golden, L. S., Gatchel, R. J., & Cahill, M. A. (2006). Evaluating the effectiveness of the National Institute of Corrections' "Thinking for a Change" program among probationers. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 43,* 55–73. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J076v43n02_03

Goldkamp, J. S., & Gottfredson, M. (1985). *Guidelines for bail: The Philadelphia experiment*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Gottfredson, M. R., & Adams, K. (1982). Prison behavior and release performance. *Law and Policy Quarterly, 4,* 373–391. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9930.1982.tb00282.x

Gray, C. (2002). *Ethics and judges' evolving roles off the bench: Serving on governmental commissions.* Des Moines, IA: American Judicature Society. Retrieved from http://ncsc.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/judicial/id/367

Gray, G. A. (1997). *Does coercion play a significant role in community treatment programs that reduce offender recidivism?* (Unpublished master's thesis). Fredericton: University of New Brunswick.

Grove, W. M., & Meehl, P. E. (1996). Comparative efficiency of informal (subjective, impressionistic) and formal (mechanical, algorithmic) prediction procedures: The clinical-statistical controversy. *Psychology, Public Policy and Law*, *2,* 293–323. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037//1076-8971.2.2.293

Grove, W. M., Zald, D. H., Lebow, B. S., Snitz, B. E., & Nelson, C. (2000). Clinical versus mechanical prediction: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Assessment*, *12,* 19–30. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037//1040-3590.12.1.19

Hamilton, Z. K., & Campbell, C. M. (2014). Uncommonly observed: The impact of New Jersey's halfway house system. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 41,* 1354–1375. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854814546132

Hannah-Moffat, K. (2004). Losing ground: Gendered knowledges, parole risk, and responsibility. *Social Politics, 11,* 363–385. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxh041

Harrell, A., & Roman, J. (2001). Reducing drug use and crime among offenders: The impact of graduated sanctions. *Journal of Drug Issues, 31*, 207–231. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/002204260103100111

Harrell, A., Roman, J., Bhati, A., & Parthasarathy, B. (2003). *The impact evaluation of the Maryland Break the Cycle initiative*. Retrieved from The Urban Institute website: http://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/alfresco/publication-pdfs/410807-The-Impact-Evaluation-of-the-Maryland-Break-the-Cycle-Initiative.PDF

Harrell, A. V., Mitchell, O., Merrill, J., & Marlowe, D. (2003). *Evaluation of Breaking the Cycle.* Retrieved from The Urban Institute website: http://www.urban.org/research/publication/evaluation-breaking-cycle/view/full_report

Harris, M. K. (1986). *The goals of community sanctions.* Retrieved from National Institute of Corrections website: http://www.nicic.org/pubs/pre/004569.pdf

Harris, P. M. (2006). What community supervision officers need to know about actuarial risk assessment and clinical judgment *Federal Probation, 70*(2). Retrieved from United States Courts website: http://www.uscourts.gov/statistics-reports/publications/federal-probation-journal/federal-probation-journal-september-2006

Hawken, A., & Kleiman, M. (2009). *Managing drug involved probationers with swift and certain sanctions: Evaluating Hawaii's HOPE* (NCJRS no. 229023). Retrieved from http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/229023.pdf

Heckscher, C., & Adler, P. S. (Eds.). (2006). *The firm as a collaborative community: Reconstructing trust in the knowledge economy*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Heil, P., Harrison, L., English, K., & Ahlmeyer, S. (2009). Is prison sexual offending indicative of community risk? *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 36,* 892–908. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854809338989

Henggeler, S. W., Schoenwald, S. K., Borduin, C. M., Rowland, M. D., & Cunningham, P. B. (1998). *Multisystemic treatment of antisocial behavior in children and adolescents*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Higgins, H., & Silverman, K. (1999). *Motivating behavior change among illicit-drug abusers: Research on contingency management interventions*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Hilton, N. Z., Harris, G. T., & Rice, M. E. (2007). The effect of arrest on wife assault recidivism: Controlling for pre-arrest risk. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 34,* 1334–1344. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854807300757

Hilton, N. Z., Harris, G. T., Rice, M. E., Lang, C., Cormier, C. A., & Lines, K. J. (2004). A brief actuarial assessment for the prediction of wife assault recidivism: The Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment. *Psychological Assessment, 16,* 267–275. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/1040-3590.16.3.267

Hipp, J. R., Petersilia, J., & Turner, S. (2010). Parolee recidivism in California: The effect of neighborhood context and social service agency characteristics. *Criminology, 48,* 947–979. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2010.00209.x

Holsinger, A. M. (1999). *Opening the "black box": Assessing the relationship between program integrity and recidivism* (Doctoral dissertation). Cincinnati, OH: University of Cincinnati.

Holsinger, A. M., Lowenkamp, C. T., & Latessa, E. J. (2006). Predicting institutional misconduct using the Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory. *American Journal of Criminal Justice, 30*, 267–285. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/bf02885895

Hughes, T., & Wilson, D. J. (2003). *Reentry trends in the United States: Inmates returning to the community after serving time in prison.* Retrieved from Bureau of Justice Statistics website: http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/reentry.pdf

Hughes, T., Wilson, D., & Beck, A. (2001). *Trends in state parole, 1990–2000* (NCJ 184735). Retrieved from Bureau of Justice Statistics website: http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/tsp00.pdf

Humphrey, J. A., Burford, G., & Dye, M. H. (2012). A longitudinal analysis of reparative probation and recidivism. *Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society, 25,* 117–130.

Jensen, E. L., & Kane, S. L. (2012). The effects of therapeutic community on recidivism up to four years after release from prison: A multisite study. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 39,* 1075–1087. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854812442331

Jones, N. J. (2011). *Merging theoretical frameworks to inform risk assessment for the young female offender* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from https://curve.carleton.ca/system/files/etd/6acb828d-7c13-4493-b2ef-0d03ca67301c/etd_pdf/82710f5be28b212bfb24695fa1bc893e/jones-mergingtheoreticalframeworkstoinformriskassessment.pdf

Jonson, C. L. (2011). *The impact of imprisonment on reoffending: A meta-analysis* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from https://etd.ohiolink.edu/!etd.send_file?accession=ucin1285687754&disposition=inline

Kaeble, D., Maruschak, L. M., & Bonczar, T. P. (2015, November). *Probation and parole in the United States, 2014* (NCJ 249057). Retrieved from http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/ppus14.pdf

Knight, K., Simpson, D. D., & Hiller, M. L. (1999). Three-year reincarceration outcomes for in-prison therapeutic community treatment in Texas. *The Prison Journal, 79*, 337–351. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032885599079003004

Kohn, L. T., Corrigan, J. M., & Donaldson, M. S. (Eds.). (2000). *To err is human: Building a safer health system.* Committee on Quality Healthcare in America, Institute of Medicine. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.

Krebs, C. P., Lattimore, P. K., Cowell, A. J., & Graham, P. (2010). Evaluating the Juvenile Breaking the Cycle Program's impact on recidivism. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 38,* 109–117. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2010.02.008

Kubrin, C. E., & Stewart, E. A. (2006). Predicting who reoffends: The neglected role of neighborhood context in recidivism studies. *Criminology, 44,* 165–197. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2006.00046.x

Kyckelhahn, T. (2015, February 26). *Justice Expenditure and Employment Extracts, 2012—Preliminary* (NCJ 248628). Retrieved from http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=5239

LaFountain, R. C., Schauffler, R. Y., Strickland, S. M., Raftery, W. E., Bromage, C. G., Lee, C. G., & Gibson, S. A. (2008). *Examining the work of state courts, 2007: A national perspective from the Court Statistics Project.* Retrieved from National Center for State Courts website: http://cdm16501.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/ctadmin/id/1278

Landenberger, N. A., & Lipsey, M. W. (2005). The positive effects of cognitive-behavioral programs for offenders: A meta-analysis of factors associated with effective treatment. *Journal of Experimental Criminology, 1,* 451–476. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11292-005-3541-7

Langan, P., & Levin, D. (2002). *Recidivism of prisoners released in 1994* (NCJ 193427). Retrieved from Bureau of Justice Statistics website: http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/rpr94.pdf

Larson, C., & LaFasto, F. (1989). *Teamwork: What must go right/What can go wrong.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Latessa, E., Cullen, F. T., & Gendreau, P. (2002). Beyond correctional quackery: Professionalism and the possibility of effective treatment. *Federal Probation*, *66*(2), 43–49. Retrieved from United States Courts website: http://www.uscourts.gov/statistics-reports/publications/federal-probation-journal/federal-probation-journal-september-2002

Latessa, E. J., Lovins, L. B., & Smith, P. (2010). *Final report: Follow-up evaluation of Ohio's community-based correctional facility and halfway house programs – Outcome study.* Retrieved from University of Cincinnati website: https://www.uc.edu/content/dam/uc/ccjr/docs/reports/project_reports/2010 ODRC HWH FINAL REPORT2.pdf

Lester, D., Braswell, M., & Van Voorhis, P. (2004). Radical behavioral interventions. In P. Van Voorhis, M. Braswell, & D. Lester (Eds.), *Correctional counseling & rehabilitation* (5th ed., pp. 61–82). New York, NY: Matthew Bender.

Lewis, M. (2003). *Moneyball: The art of winning an unfair game*. New York, NY: Norton.

Lim, L., & Day, A. (2014). Mental health diversion courts: A two year recidivism study of a South Australian mental health court program. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law, 32,* 539–551. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/bsl.2126

Lind, E. A., & Tyler, T. R. (1988). *The social psychology of procedural justice.* New York, NY: Springer.

Lipsey, M. W., Chapman, G. L., & Landenberger, N. A. (2001). Cognitive behavioral programs for offenders. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 578,* 144–157.

Lipsey, M. W., & Cullen, F. T. (2007). The effectiveness of correctional rehabilitation: A review of systematic reviews. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science, 3,* 297–320. http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.lawsocsci.3.081806.112833

Lipsey, M. W., & Landenberger, N. (2006). Cognitive-behavioral interventions. In B. Welsh & D. P. Farrington (Eds.), *Preventing crime: What works for children, offenders, victims, and places.* Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.

Lipsey, M. W., Landenberger, N.A., & Wilson, S. J. (2007). *Effects of cognitive-behavioral programs for criminal offenders* (Campbell Collaboration Systematic Reviews 2007-06). Retrieved from https://www.campbellcollaboration.org/library/criminal-offenders-cognitive-behavioural-programmes.html

Loughran, T. A., Mulvey, E. P., Schubert, C. A., Fagan, J., Piquero, A. R., & Losoya, S. H. (2009). Estimating a dose-response relationship between length of stay and future recidivism in serious juvenile offenders. *Criminology, 47*, 699–740. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2009.00165.x

Lovell, D., Johnson, L. C., & Cain, K. C. (2007). Recidivism of supermax prisoners in Washington State. *Crime & Delinquency, 53,* 633–656. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011128706296466

Lowenkamp, C. T., Flores, A. W., Holsinger, A. M., Makarios, M. D., & Latessa, E. J. (2010). Intensive supervision programs: Does program philosophy and the principles of effective intervention matter? *Journal of Criminal Justice, 38,* 368–375. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2010.04.004

Lowenkamp, C. T., Holsinger, A. M., & Latessa, E. J. (2005, Fall). Are drug courts effective?: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Community Corrections, 1,* 5–11.

Lowenkamp, C. T., Hubbard, D., Makarios, M. D., & Latessa, E. J. (2009). A quasi-experimental evaluation of Thinking for a Change: A "real-world" application. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 36,* 137–146. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854808328230

Lowenkamp, C. T., & Latessa, E. J. (2002). *Evaluation of Ohio's community based correctional facilities and halfway house programs: Final report*. Retrieved from University of Cincinnati website: https://www.uc.edu/content/dam/uc/ccjr/docs/reports/project_reports/HH_CBCF_Report1.pdf

Lowenkamp, C. T., & Latessa, E. J. (2004a). Investigating the relationship between program integrity and correctional program effectiveness. *Ohio Corrections Research Compendium, Volume II,* 208–213. Retrieved from https://www.uc.edu/content/dam/uc/ccjr/docs/articles/Program_Integrity_and_Program_Effectiveness.pdf

Lowenkamp, C. T., & Latessa, E. J. (2004b). Understanding the risk principle: How and why correctional interventions can harm low-risk offenders. *Topics in Community Corrections, Annual Issue 2004: Assessment Issues for Managers.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections. Retrieved from https://www.uc.edu/content/dam/uc/ccjr/docs/articles/ticc04_final_complete.pdf

Lowenkamp, C. T., & Latessa, E. J. (2005). Increase the effectiveness of correctional programming through the risk principle: Identifying offenders for residential placement. *Criminology & Public Policy, 4,* 263–290. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2005.00021.x

Lowenkamp, C. T., Latessa E. J., & Holsinger, A. M. (2006). The risk principle in action: What have we learned from 13,676 offenders and 97 correctional programs? *Crime and Delinquency, 52*, 77–93. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011128705281747

Lowenkamp, C. T., Latessa, E. J., & Smith, P. (2006). Does correctional program quality really matter? The impact of adhering to the principles of correctional intervention. *Criminology and Public Policy, 5,* 201–220. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2006.00388.x

Lowenkamp, C. T., Lemke, R., & Latessa, E. (2008). The development and validation of a pretrial screening tool. *Federal Probation, 72*(3), 2–9. Retrieved from United States Courts website: http://www.uscourts.gov/statistics-reports/publications/federal-probation-journal/federal-probation-journal-december-2008

Lowenkamp, C., Pealer, J., Smith, P., & Latessa, E. (2006). Adhering to the risk and need principles: Does it matter for supervision-based programs? *Federal Probation, 70*(3). Retrieved

from United States Courts website: http://www.uscourts.gov/statistics-reports/publications/federal-probation-journal/federal-probation-journal-december-2006

Lowenkamp, C. T., VanNostrand, M., & Holsinger, A. (2013). *The hidden costs of pretrial detention.* Retrieved from the Laura and John Arnold Foundation website: http://www.arnoldfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/LJAF_Report_hidden-costs_FNL.pdf

MacDuffie, J. P., & Helper, S. (2006). Collaboration in supply chains: With and without trust. In C. Heckscher & P. S. Adler (Eds.), *The firm as a collaborative community: Reconstructing trust in the knowledge economy* (pp. 417–466). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

MacKenzie, D. L. (1997). Criminal justice and crime prevention. In L. W. Sherman, D. Gottfredson, D. MacKenzie, J. Eck, P. Reuter, & S. Bushway (Eds.), *Preventing Crime: What works, what doesn't, what's promising! A report to the United States Congress*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/works/

MacKenzie, D. L., Brame, R., McDowall, D., & Souryal, C. (1995). Boot camp prisons and recidivism in eight states. *Criminology, 33,* 327–357. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.1995.tb01181.x

MacKenzie, D. L., Wilson, D. B., & Kider, S.B. (2001). Effects of correctional bootcamps on offending. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *578,* 126–143. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781483328874.n14

Makarios, M., & Latessa, E. J. (2013). Developing a risk and needs assessment instrument for prison inmates. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 40,* 1449–1471. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854813496240

Makarios, M., Sperber, K. G., & Latessa, E. J. (2014). Treatment dosage and the risk principle: A refinement and extension. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 53,* 334–350. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10509674.2014.922157

Marlowe, D. B., DeMatteo, D. S., & Festinger, D. S. (2003). A sober assessment of drug courts. *Federal Sentencing Reporter, 16,* 1–5. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/fsr.2003.16.2.153

Marlowe, D. B., Festinger, D. S., Arabia, P. L., Dugosh, K. L., Benasutti, K. M., Croft, J. R., & McKay, J. R. (2008). Adaptive interventions in drug court: A pilot experiment. *Criminal Justice Review, 33,* 343–360. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0734016808320325

Marlowe, D. B., Festinger, D. S., Lee, P. A., Dugosh, K. L., & Benasutti, K. M. (2006). Matching judicial supervision to clients' risk status in drug court. *Crime and Delinquency, 52,* 52–76. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011128705281746

Martin, B., & Van Dine, S. (2008). *Examining the impact of Ohio's progressive sanction grid: Final report.* Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/224317.pdf

Matejkowski, J., Draine, J., Solomon, P., & Salzer, M. S. (2011). Mental illness, criminal risk factors and parole release decisions. *Behavioral Science and the Law, 29,* 528–553. http://dx.doi.org/ 10.1002/bsl.991

Matsueda, R. L., Kreager, D. A., & Huizinga, D. (2006). Deterring delinquents: A rational choice model of theft and violence. *American Sociological Review, 71,* 95–122. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/000312240607100105

McGrath, A., & Weatherburn, D. (2012). The effect of custodial penalties on juvenile reoffending. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 45,* 26–44. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0004865811432585

McGuire, J. (2001). What works in correctional intervention? Evidence and practical implications. In G. Bernfeld, D. P. Farrington, & A. Lescheid (Eds.), *Offender rehabilitation in practice: Implementing and evaluating effective programs*. Chichester, UK: Wiley.

McGuire, J. (2002). Integrating findings from research reviews. In J. McGuire (Ed.), *Offender rehabilitation and treatment: Effective practice and policies to reduce re-offending*. Chichester, UK: Wiley.

Meade, B., Steiner, B., Makarios, M., & Travis, L. (2012). Estimating a dose-response relationship between time served in prison and recidivism. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 50,* 525–550. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022427812458928

Meyers, R. J., Miller, W. R., Smith, J. E., & Tonnigan, J. S. (2002). A randomized trial of two methods for engaging treatment refusing drug users through concerned significant others. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 70*, 1182–1185. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-006x.70.5.1182

Meyers, R. J., & Smith, J. E. (1997). Getting off the fence: Procedures to engage treatment-resistant drinkers. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, *14,* 467–472. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/s0740-5472(97)00122-0

Mitchell, O., Wilson, D. B., Eggers, A., & MacKenzie, D. L. (2012). Assessing the effectiveness of drug courts on recidivism: A meta-analytic review of traditional and non-traditional drug courts. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 40,* 60–71. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2011.11.009

Mitchell, O., Wilson, D. B., & MacKenzie, D. L. (2007). Does incarceration-based drug treatment reduce recidivism? A meta-analytic synthesis of the research. *Journal of Experimental Criminology, 3,* 353–375. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11292-007-9040-2

Mooney, J. L., & Daffern, M. (2011). Institutional aggression as a predictor of violent recidivism: Implications for parole decision making. *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health, 10,* 52–63. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14999013.2010.550984

Nagin, D. S. (1998). Criminal deterrence research at the outset of the twenty-first century. In M. Tonry (Ed.), *Crime and justice: A review of research* (Volume 23, pp. 1–42). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers. (2009). *Minor crimes, massive waste: The terrible toll of America's broken misdemeanor courts.* Washington, DC: Author.

National Institute of Justice. (2014, July). *Five things about deterrence.* Retrieved from https://ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/247350.pdf

National Research Council, Committee on Community Supervision and Desistance from Crime. (2007). *Parole, desistance from crime, and community integration*. Available from The National Academies Press website: http://www.nap.edu/catalog/11988/parole-desistance-from-crime-and-community-integration

O'Connor, T., & Perryclear, M. (2002). Prison religion in action and its influence on offender rehabilitation. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, *35*(3/4), 11–33. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/j076v35n03_02

Osborne, D., & Gaebler, T. (1992). *Reinventing government: How the entrepreneurial spirit is transforming the public sector*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Paternoster, R. (2010). How much do we really know about criminal deterrence? *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 100,* 765–824. Retrieved from http://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=7363&context=jclc

Paternoster, R., Bachman, R., Brame, R., & Sherman, L. W. (1997). Do fair procedures matter? The effect of procedural justice on spouse assault. *Law & Society Review, 31*, 163–195. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3054098

Pearson, F. S., Lipton, D. S., Cleland, C. M., & Yee, D. S. (2002). The effects of behavioural/cognitive-behavioural programmes on recidivism. *Crime and Delinquency, 48,* 476–496.

Perry, A. E., Darwin, Z., Godfrey, C., McDougall, C., Lunn, J., Glanville, J., & Coulton, S. (2009). The effectiveness of interventions for drug-using offenders in the courts, secure establishments and the community: A systematic review. *Substance Use & Misuse, 44,* 374–400. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10826080802347560

Peters, T. J., & Austin, N. (1986). *A passion for excellence: The leadership difference*. New York, NY: Warner Books.

Peters, T. J., & Waterman, R. H. (2004). *In search of excellence: Lessons from America's best run companies.* New York, NY: HarperCollins Business.

Petersilia, J. (1999). A decade of experimenting with intermediate sanctions: What have we learned? *Perspectives*, *23*(1), 39–44.

Petersilia, J. (2004). What works in prisoner reentry? Reviewing and questioning the evidence. *Federal Probation*, *68*(2), 3–9. Retrieved from United States Courts website: http://www.uscourts.gov/statistics-reports/publications/federal-probation-journal/federal-probation-journal-september-2004

Petersilia, J. (2007). Employ behavioral contracting for 'earned discharge' parole. *Criminology and Public Policy*, *6*, 807–814. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2007.00472.x

Petersilia, J., & Turner, S. (1993a). *Evaluating intensive supervision probation/parole: Results of a nationwide experiment.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

Petersilia, J., & Turner, S. (1993b). Intensive probation and parole. In M. Tonry (Ed.), *Crime and justice: A review of the research, Volume 17.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Piquero, A. R., & Pogarsky, G. (2002). Beyond Stafford and Warr's reconceptualization of deterrence: Personal and vicarious experiences, impulsivity, and offending behavior. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 39*, 153–186. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/002242780203900202

Pogarsky, G. (2002). Identifying deterrable offenders: Implications for deterrence research. *Justice Quarterly*, *19*, 431–452. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07418820200095301

Pogarsky, G. (2007). Deterrence and individual differences among convicted offenders. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 23*, 59–74. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10940-006-9019-6

Porter, M. E. (1985). *Competitive advantage*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Quirk, H., Seldon, T., & Smith, G. (Eds.). (2010). *Regulation and criminal justice: Developing a new framework for research and policy development.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Reaves, B. A. (2013). *Felony defendants in large urban counties, 2009 - Statistical tables* (NCJ 243777). Retrieved from Bureau of Justice Statistics website: https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/fdluc09.pdf

Redding, R. E. (2010). *Juvenile transfer laws: An effective deterrent to delinquency?* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/220595.pdf

Robinson, C. R., VanBenschoten, S., Alexander, M., & Lowenkamp, C. T. (2011). A random (almost) study of staff training aimed at reducing re-arrest (STARR): Reducing recidivism through intentional design. *Federal Probation, 75*(2), 57–63. Retrieved from United States Courts website: http://www.uscourts.gov/statistics-reports/publications/federal-probation-journal/federal-probation-journal-september-2011

Rogers, R. W., Wellins, R. S., & Conner, D. R. (2002). *The power of realization: Building competitive advantage by maximizing human resource initiatives.* Retrieved from Development Dimensions International website: http://www.ddiworld.com/DDI/media/white-papers/realization_whitepaper_ddi.pdf?ext=.pdf

Romani, C. J., Morgan, R. D., Gross, N. R., & McDonald, B. R. (2012). Treating criminal behavior: Is the bang worth the buck? *Psychology, Public Policy, & Law, 18,* 144–165. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0024714

Rosenmerkel, S., Durose, M., & Farole, D., Jr. (2009). *Felony sentences in state courts, 2006—Statistical tables.* Retrieved from Bureau of Justice Statistics website: http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/fssc06st.pdf

Ryan, J. P., Abrams, L. S., & Huang, H. (2014). First-time violent juvenile offenders: Probation, placement, and recidivism. *Social Work Research, 38,* 7–18. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/swr/svu004

Sarteschi, C. M., Vaughn, M. G., & Kim, K. (2011). Assessing the effectiveness of mental health courts: A quantitative review. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 39,* 12–20. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2010.11.003

Saylor, W. G., & Gaes, G. G. (1997). Training inmates through industrial work participation and vocational apprenticeship instruction. *Corrections Management Quarterly, 1*(2), 32–43.

Schlager, M. D., & Robbins, K. (2008). Does parole work? Revisited: Reframing the discussion of the impact of postprison supervision on offender outcome. *The Prison Journal, 88,* 234–251. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032885508319164

Schoenbaum, S. C. (2006). *Saving lives, raising hopes*. Retrieved from The Commonwealth Fund website: http://www.commonwealthfund.org/publications/from-the-president/2006/saving-lives--raising-hopes

Schubert, C. A., Mulvey, E. P., Loughran, T. A., Fagan, J., Chassin, L. A., Piquero, A. R., … Cauffman, E. (2010). Predicting outcomes for youth transferred to adult court. *Law and Human Behavior, 34,* 460–475.

Schwalbe, C. S., Gearing, R. E., MacKenzie, M. J., Brewer, K. B., & Ibrahim, R. (2012). A meta-analysis of experimental studies of diversion programs for juvenile offenders. *Clinical Psychology Review, 32,* 26–33. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2011.10.002

Scroggins, J. R., & Malley, S. (2010). Reentry and the (unmet) needs of women. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 49,* 146–163. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10509670903546864

Seiter, R. P., & Kadela, K. R. (2003). Prisoner reentry: What works, what does not, and what is promising. *Crime & Delinquency, 49,* 360–388. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011128703049003002

Senge, P. (2006). *The fifth discipline: The art and practice of the learning organization* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Doubleday.

Shapiro, C., & Schwartz, M. (2001). Coming home: Building on family connections. *Corrections Management Quarterly, 5*(3), 52–61.

Sheppard, J. M., & Haas, S. (2003). *Cooperation tracking study: April 2003 update*. Cincinnati, OH: The Council for Marketing and Opinion Research.

Sherman, L. W. (1993). Defiance, deterrence, and irrelevance: A theory of the criminal sanction. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 30,* 445–473. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022427893030004006

Skinner, B. F. (1974). *About behaviorism.* New York, NY: Vintage.

Smith, P., Gendreau, P., & Swartz, K. (2009). Validating the principles of effective intervention: A systematic review of the contributions of meta-analysis in the field of corrections. *Victims and Offenders*, *4,* 148–169. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15564880802612581

Smith, P., Goggin, C., & Gendreau, P. (2002). *The effects of prison sentences and intermediate sanctions on recidivism: General effects and individual differences.* Retrieved from Public Safety Canada website: http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/ffcts-prsn-sntncs/index-en.aspx

Solomon, A. L., Kachnowski, V., & Bhati, A. (2005). *Does parole work? Analyzing the impact of postprison supervision on rearrest outcomes.* Retrieved from The Urban Institute website: http://www.urban.org/research/publication/does-parole-work

Sperber, K. G., Latessa, E. J., & Makarios, M. D. (2013a). Establishing a risk-dosage research agenda: Implications for policy and practice. *Justice Research and Policy, 15*(1), 123–142.

Sperber, K. G., Latessa, E. J., & Makarios, M. D. (2013b). Examining the interaction between level of risk and dosage of treatment. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 40,* 338–348.

Stafford, M. C., & Warr, M. (1993). A reconceptualization of general and specific deterrence. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 30,* 123–135. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022427893030002001

Stanford Graduate School of Business. (2008, January 21). *Institute for Healthcare Improvement: The campaign to save 100,000 lives* (Case: L-13). Stanford, CA: Author.

Steiner, B., & Wooldredge, J. (2008). Inmate versus environmental effects of prison rule violations. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 35,* 438–456. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854807312787

Stroker, R. (2006). *Five reasons why judges should become more involved in establishing, leading, and participating on collaborative, policy-focused teams.* Silver Spring, MD: Center for Effective Public Policy. Retrieved from http://www.collaborativejustice.org/docs/Judges on Collaborative Teams Paper.pdf

Taxman, F., Soule, D., & Gelb, A. (1999). Graduated sanctions: Stepping into accountable systems and offenders. *Prison Journal, 79*, 182–204. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032885599079002004

Tittle, C. R., & Botchkovar, E. V. (2005). Self-control, criminal motivation and deterrence: An investigation. *Criminology, 43,* 307–353. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.0011-1348.2005.00010.x

Tong, L. S. J., & Farrington, D. P. (2006). How effective is the "Reasoning and Rehabilitation" programme in reducing reoffending? A meta-analysis of evaluations in four countries. *Psychology, Crime and Law, 12,* 3–24. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10683160512331316253

Tonry, M. (1997). *Intermediate sanctions in sentencing guidelines.* Washington, DC: U.S Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles/165043.pdf

Truman, J. L., & Rand, M. R. (2010, October). *Criminal victimization, 2009* (NCJ 231327). Retrieved from Bureau of Justice Statistics website: https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv09.pdf

Turner, S., & Petersilia, J. (1996). Work release in Washington: Effects on recidivism and corrections costs. *The Prison Journal, 76*, 138–164. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032855596076002003

Tyler, T. R. (2000). Social justice: Outcome and procedure. *International Journal of Psychology*, *35*, 117–125. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/002075900399411

Tyler, T. R. (2007). Procedural justice and the courts. *Court Review*, *44,* 26–31. Retrieved from http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1254&context=ajacourtreview

Tyler, T. R., & Huo, Y. J. (2002). *Trust in the law: Encouraging public cooperation with the police and courts.* New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Umbreit, M. S. (1998). Restorative justice through victim–offender mediation: A multi-site assessment. *Western Criminology Review, 1*(1). Retrieved from http://westerncriminology.org/documents/WCR/v01n1/Umbreit/Umbreit.html

VanNostrand, M. (2003). *Assessing risk among pretrial defendants in Virginia: The Virginia Pretrial Risk Assessment Instrument*. Richmond, VA: Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services website.

VanNostrand, M., & Keebler, G. (2009). *Pretrial risk assessment in the Federal Court.* Retrieved from http://web.archive.org/web/20091222051907/http://www.luminosity-solutions.com/publications/Pretrial Risk Assessment in the Federal Court Final Report.pdf

Van Voorhis, P., Wright, E. M., Salisbury, E., & Bauman, A. (2010). Women's risk factors and their contributions to existing risk/needs assessment: The current status of a gender-responsive supplement. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 37*, 261–288. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854809357442

Ventura, L. A., & Lambert, E. G. (2004). Recidivism 12 months after TASC. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 39,* 63–82. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J076v39n01_04

Visher, C. A., Winterfield, L., & Coggeshall, M. B. (2005). Ex-offender employment programs and recidivism: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Experimental Criminology, 1,* 295–315. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11292-005-8127-x

Vito, G. F., & Tewksbury, R. (1999). Improving the educational skills of inmates: The results of an impact evaluation. *Corrections Compendium, 24*(10), 46–51.

Vito, G. F., Tewksbury, R., & Higgins, G. E. (2010). Evaluation of Kentucky's early release initiative: Sentence commutations, public safety and recidivism. *Federal Probation, 74*(3), 22–

26. Retrieved from United States Courts website: http://www.uscourts.gov/statistics-reports/publications/federal-probation-journal/federal-probation-journal-december-2010

Walters, G. D., & Crawford, G. (2014). Major mental illness and violence history as predictors of institutional misconduct and recidivism: Main and interaction effects. *Law and Human Behavior, 38,* 238–247. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000058

Washington State Institute for Public Policy. (2004). Outcome evaluation of Washington State's research-based programs for juvenile offenders. Retrieved from http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/ReportFile/852/Wsipp_Outcome-Evaluation-of-Washington-States-Research-Based-Programs-for-Juvenile-Offenders_Full-Report.pdf

Washington State Institute for Public Policy. (2016, June). Benefit-cost results. Retrieved from http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/BenefitCost?topicId=2

Weinrath, M., & Coles, R. (2003). Third generation prison classification: The Manitoba case. *Criminal Justice Studies, 16,* 305–316. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0888431032000183506

Welsh, W. N. (2007). A multisite evaluation of prison-based therapeutic community drug treatment. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 34,* 1481–1498. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854807307036

Wikoff, N., Linhorst, D. M., & Morani, N. (2012). Recidivism among participants of a reentry program for prisoners released without supervision. *Social Work Research, 36,* 289–299. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/swr/svs021

Wilson, D., Bouffard, L. A., & MacKenzie, D. L. (2005). A quantitative review of structured, group-oriented, cognitive-behavioral programs for offenders. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, *32*, 172–204. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854804272889

Wilson, D. B., MacKenzie, D. L, & Mitchell, F. N. (2003). Effects of correctional boot camps on offending. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, *1*. Retrieved from Campbell Collaboration website: www.campbellcollaboration.org/lib/download/3/

Wilson, D, B., Mitchell, O., & MacKenzie, D. L. (2006). A systematic review of drug court effects on recidivism. *Journal of Experimental Criminology, 2*, 459–487. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11292-006-9019-4

Wilson, H. A., & Hoge, R. D. (2013a). Diverting our attention to what works: Evaluating the effectiveness of a youth diversion program. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 11,* 313–331. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1541204012473132

Wilson, H. A., & Hoge, R. D. (2013b). The effect of youth diversion programs on recidivism: A meta-analytic review. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 40,* 497–518. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854812451089

Wilson, J. A., & Davis, R. C. (2006). Good intentions meet hard realities: An evaluation of the Project Greenlight reentry program. *Criminology & Public Policy, 5*, 303–338. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2006.00380.x

Winterfield, L., Coggeshall, M., & Harrell, A. (2003). *Development of an empirically-based risk assessment instrument*. Retrieved from The Urban Institute website: http://www.urban.org/research/publication/development-empirically-based-risk-assessment-instrument

Wodahl, E. J. (2007). *The efficacy of graduated sanctions in reducing technical violations among probationers and parolees: An evaluation of the Wyoming Department of Corrections' Intensive Supervision Program.* Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest.

Wodahl, E. J., Garland, B., Culhane, S. E., McCarty, W. P. (2011). Utilizing behavioral interventions to improve supervision outcomes in community-based corrections. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 38,* 386–405. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854810397866

Wong, S. C. P., & Pharhar, K. K. (2011). Evaluation of the predictive validity of the Violence Risk Scale in a paroled offender sample: A seven-year prospective study. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology, 22,* 790–808. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14789949.2011.623172

Wright, B. J., Zhang, S. X., Farabee, D., & Braatz, R. (2014). Prisoner reentry research from 2000–2010: Results of a narrative review. *Criminal Justice Review, 39,* 37–57. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0734016813501192

Zhang, S. X., Roberts, R. E. L., & Callanan, V. J. (2006). Preventing parolees from returning to prison through community-based reintegration. *Crime & Delinquency, 52,* 551–571. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011128705282594

Zhang, Y., Zhang, L., & Vaughn, M. S. (2014). Indeterminate and determinate sentencing models: A state-specific analysis of their effects on recidivism. *Crime & Delinquency, 60,* 693–715. http://dx.doi.org/ 10.1177/0011128709354047

Additional EBDM Resources:

- Evidence-Based Decision Making (EBDM) Primer
- EBDM Case Studies: Highlights from the Original Seven Pilot Sites
- Evidence-Based Decision Making Stakeholder Briefs
- Evidence-Based Decision Making User's Guides
- Evidence-Based Decision Making Starter Kit

For more information, or to view these and other resources on EBDM, visit http://www.nicic.gov/ebdm or http://ebdmoneless.org/.