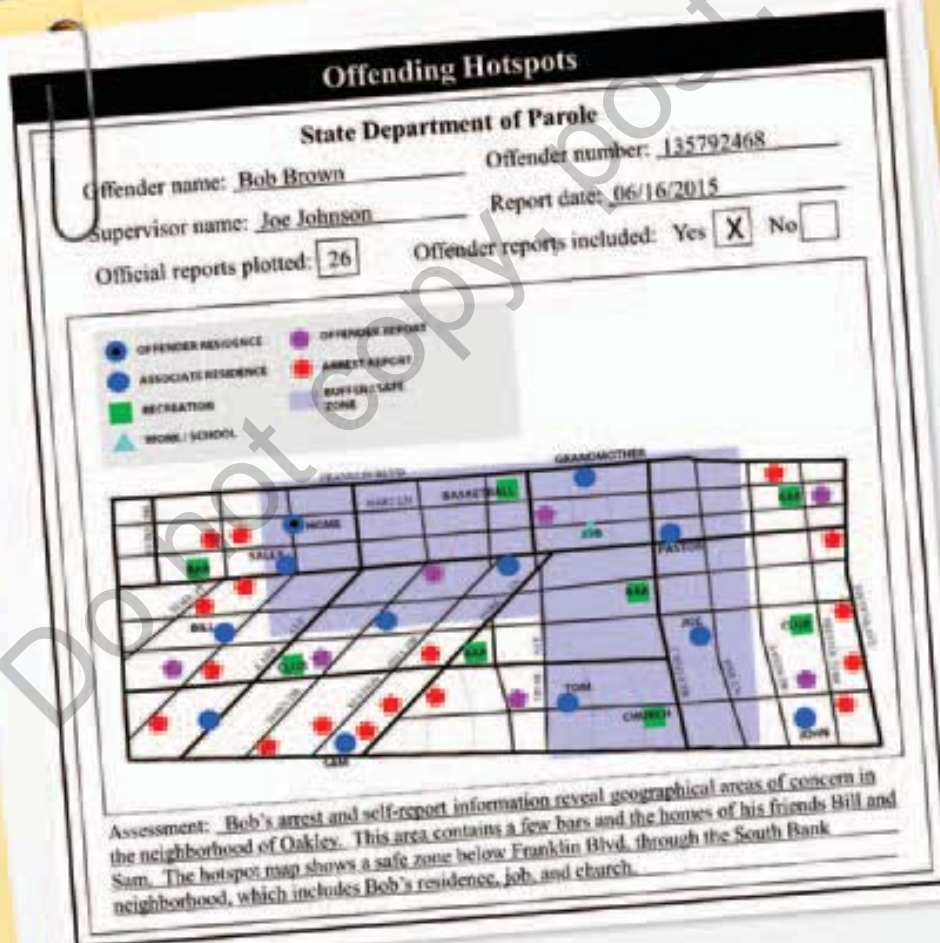


# ENVIRONMENTAL CORRECTIONS

## A New Paradigm for Supervising Offenders in the Community



# 3

## How to Supervise Offenders

**P**robation and parole often are largely ineffective in reducing recidivism because supervision is based on the failed strategy of generic deterrence (Glaze & Bonczar, 2011; Glaze, Bonczar, & Zhang, 2010; MacKenzie, 2006; Petersilia & Turner, 1993; Solomon et al., 2005; Taxman, 2002). As discussed previously, research has demonstrated that attempts to have offenders comply with strict rules or be “scared straight” through intensive supervision or by threats of revocation do not work. With this limited success, it is clear that a new approach to community supervision is past due. We argue that a promising alternative, rooted in the theory and research of environmental criminology, involves teaching probation and parole officers how to reduce their supervisees’ exposure to criminal opportunities (Cullen, Eck, & Lowenkamp, 2002; Taxman et al., 2003; Travis & Waul, 2002).

This chapter seeks to extend this line of reasoning. Our discussion begins by examining current supervision practices, showing that much of what is done under the umbrella of probation and parole supervision is not well suited to affecting behavioral change in offenders. The limits of the standard model again suggest the need for an alternative perspective. Specifically, the goal of opportunity-reduction practices should be to promote desistance rather than simply controlling crime during the supervision term (McNeill, Farrall, Lightowler, & Maruna, 2012). Toward this end, the second section of the chapter will identify five key components that an opportunity-reduction model of supervision might include.

First, the chapter discusses strategies for identifying what crime opportunities the offender is routinely exposed to. Examples include antisocial associates, problematic times or days, high-crime places, and risky situations (such as substance use at social events). The following chapter develops some technologies that might be used to glean this information about crime opportunities for offenders; the current discussion, however, focuses on the process that probation and parole officers would engage in to collect and use these data.

Second, the chapter explores how the product of this data collection would be used; specifically, how probation and parole authorities can develop an offender’s

case plan according to the information gained about his or her actual crime opportunities. Rather than prescribing very general rules for all supervisees, the officer would create a personalized case plan with supervision stipulations tailored to manage the unique opportunities for crime that the client encounters in his or her day-to-day activities. The conditions of supervision must be centered on reducing opportunities to commit crime; included here is a discussion of how this can be accomplished.

Third, the chapter outlines reasons and processes for modifying an offender's case plan. Importantly, as offenders progress through their supervision term, their crime opportunities will change. The offender may encounter fewer chances to commit crime, he or she may encounter more chances to commit crime, or the nature of the offender's crime opportunities may change. In any of these events, the probation or parole officer should be responsive to these changes, and the case plan should be modified to reflect the current crime opportunities that the client is exposed to during his or her normal routine.

Fourth, this chapter discusses the graduated consequences that should be part of a probation or parole case plan. Community supervision typically includes a standard set of rules and punishments that apply to all offenders, often with no regard to circumstances. Conversely, the environmental corrections model advocates for rewards and punishments that are tailored to the behavior of each individual offender. Possible methods for individualizing consequences for probationer and parolee outcomes are explored.

Fifth, the chapter outlines recommendations for earned release and aftercare. Normal community supervision procedures include a mandatory window of supervision (e.g., 12 months of probation), followed by a blunt discharge with no period of transition or post-release services being offered. Opportunity-reduction supervision promotes a gradual return to an unsupervised life (such as decreasing the number of supervision meetings across time). Further, an offender's eventual discharge might be earned; if the probationer or parolee exhibits positive behavior and meets predefined goals, then his or her supervision term should be complete. This section discusses strategies for structuring earned release, and best practices for providing transition services during and after the supervision term has expired.

## Current Offender Supervision Practices

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Prior to outlining what environmental corrections may look like in practice, it is important to examine the ways in which current community supervision of offenders is flawed. In many ways, current probation and parole practices are suffering from an ideological crisis. The tug-of-war between treatment versus control orientations, combined with rising caseloads and diminishing resources, has led to an era of managerialism (Burrell, 2012). Rather than officers working to prevent recidivism or enhance public safety, many current probation and

parole practices are aimed at processing cases. By focusing on the process of offender *management*, there is little room left for the more important focus of offender *change* (Feeley & Simon, 1992; Simon, 1993). This is not to say that efficiency should be disregarded, as it is a bureaucratic necessity. Yet offender supervision that is not built around preventing (as opposed to controlling) crime is fundamentally misguided. The vast majority of offenders will eventually be released from correctional control, so it is important to encourage lasting prosocial change before supervision terms expire.

Unfortunately, current community corrections strategies and corresponding practices, detailed in the discussion that follows, are in many ways inherently unsound. The limited effectiveness of probation and parole supervision can be attributed to two problems of conceptualization. First, many offender monitoring programs use atheoretical methods at multiple stages of supervision (including intake and assessment, case plan development, offender management, or review and discharge). This means that probation and parole agencies do not base their practices on a framework of how to reduce crime. Second, many community corrections frameworks are premised on faulty theories about the causes of crime (seen in misguided attempts to treat and control offenders). In both of these cases—having an invalid theory about how to prevent recidivism or having no theory at all—it is unreasonable to expect that offenders will desist from crime and lead prosocial lives.

Yet corrections agencies have a remarkable opportunity to help improve offenders' lives and enhance community safety. Traditionally, probation and parole are periods of community supervision ordered by a court following a plea, conviction, or sentence. Less commonly, a period of community corrections may be ordered following a term of incarceration as determined by parole authorities. In either case, offenders submit to a period of supervision, agreeing to exchange two freedoms: gaining the freedom to live in the community while sacrificing freedoms of lifestyle. This latter agreement involves requirements of the offender (participating in treatment or maintaining legitimate employment, for instance) as well as restrictions on the offender (such as abstaining from alcohol or abiding by a curfew). If offenders fail to abide by these requirements and restrictions, their freedom may be revoked and incarceration could result. Therefore, many offenders are highly vested in following the stipulations of their supervision plan, and officers can capitalize on this motivation to incite positive change (Clark et al., 2006). Given the impressive sway court and correctional authorities have over this active criminal population, probation and parole supervisions are ripe opportunities to alter offender behavior, and as a result improve public safety.

Unfortunately, however, the normal business of monitoring offenders in the community falls short of this goal; simply, we are not maximizing the chance to reduce recidivism. The interactions between corrections authorities and their clients are in most ways not reformatory (Smith, Schweitzer, Labrecque, & Latessa, 2012). Routinely, offenders are being managed but not changed. This is not to say that there are not successful programs or even departments (MacKenzie, 2006), though considering the millions of hours spent meeting with offenders, we are not getting our tax dollars' worth. The status quo within probation and parole is a

bureaucratic process focused on vague restrictions and nonspecific requirements. This results in momentary behavioral compliance (at best) rather than emphasizing lasting cognitive and lifestyle change. This downfall can be seen in four specifics that are characteristic of community supervision.

First, probation and parole officers are provided with minimal professional training and virtually no guidance in the performance of their job. At best, officers are provided training on how to manage their cases (e.g., completion of paperwork, particulars of the law, allocation of resources), yet they receive little instruction on how to change offender behavior (Bourgon, Gutierrez, & Ashton, 2011). Although in part a product of rising caseloads, the bureaucratic role embodied by most community corrections officers can largely be attributed to a lack of education: Probation and parole officers are not skilled in affecting behavioral change. If offender supervisors are expected to impact criminal behavior, then they must be provided with the knowledge and resources to do so.

Second, offender supervisors are not accountable for public safety. Rather than focusing on the prevention of recidivism through offender change, probation and parole officers are concerned with compliance. Indeed, contrary to the job title, hardly any time is spent by officers actually supervising or correcting their clients. Rarely does a probation or parole officer meet with an offender outside of the office or engage in prescriptively rehabilitative practices (Bonczar, 1997; Reinventing Probation Council, 2000). Supervisors must process cases by completing paperwork and communicating with the court, which shifts their attention away from the objective of preventing crime (Reinventing Probation Council, 2000; Smith & Dickey, 1998). Yet rather than judging officers' job performance on case-management objectives, probation and parole agents should be evaluated according to the outcomes of the offenders under their supervision. Although this improper focus is in part related to the lack of training officers receive in reorienting offender behavior, it also suggests a larger misunderstanding of the goal of community supervision (Pew Center on the States, 2008b). Largely, corrections agencies cannot anticipate reductions in re-offending until they explicitly define the goal of probation and parole as the enhancement of public safety through the prevention of recidivism (Smith & Dickey, 1998).

Third, the principles of community supervision are enforcement-based, as opposed to emphasizing risk reduction. Observational research demonstrates that the criminogenic needs of offenders are not discussed in meetings with their supervising officer (Bonta et al., 2008). The rules probationers and parolees are instructed to follow are as global and vague as to perhaps be meaningless. For example, offenders are often prohibited from possessing a firearm, though this misses the larger point of the daily routines and environments in which the offender is embedded and how these contribute to recidivism. Indeed, there is nothing inherent to gun possession that leads to crime, but the variables associated with gun possession (e.g., engagement in illicit markets, fellowship with antisocial associates, development of pro-crime values) may be more important targets for change. Many existing community corrections practices are atheoretical, while others are based on inaccurate theories that may actually increase

re-offending. In order to evoke change, the conditions of supervision placed on offenders must be grounded in valid criminological theory.

Fourth, the guiding philosophy of probation and parole—a merger of punishment and treatment resulting in case management—is in many ways unsuccessful. In particular, the use of a vague deterrence orientation often guides offender supervision practices despite its limited effectiveness. Whether this is because the theory is unsound or the tenets of rational choice are untrue or we cannot practice true deterrence methods is beside the point. What matters here is that the model that guides community corrections is based on a theory that is demonstrably ineffective (Gendreau et al., 1994). Although deterrence and incapacitation are elements of a successful offender-management program, they must be used in constructive (as opposed to punitive) ways that adhere to valid criminological theory (Winstone & Pakes, 2005). Deterrence that is centered on surveillance and punishment (essentially watching offenders closely and threatening them with revocation for slight misbehaviors) is of little value. Yet *focused* deterrence interventions, often seen in problem-oriented policing interventions, can be a purposive crime reduction strategy. When designed properly, deterrence has an important influence in community corrections; however, supervising offenders based solely on the premises of monitoring, compliance, and control is ineffective (Pew Center on the States, 2008b).

These shortcomings are even further handicapped by the infrequency with which supervisors meet with their clients. Offenders may receive no more than 15 minutes of interaction with their supervising officer in each meeting (Clear, Cole, & Reisig, 2009; Teague, 2011). This is undesirable, as evaluation research shows that more in-depth interactions have crime prevention effects (Bonta et al., 2008). Importantly, short offender meetings (which may be a practical necessity given caseload sizes) can be effective if officers engage in proper cognitive-behavioral shaping (Robinson et al., 2012; Trotter, 1996). Again, however, this takes proper training and guidance of offender supervisors, and a theory of how meeting time ought to be spent (Burnett & McNeill, 2005; Smith et al., 2012). Overall, research consistently indicates that adherence to the risk, need, and responsivity principles (and the general application of the principles of effective correctional intervention) is most influential in minimizing recidivism (Bonta et al., 2011; Robinson, VanBenschoten, Alexander, & Lowenkamp, 2011; Taxman, 2008).

However, in order to reduce recidivism, the aforementioned limitations of existing probation and parole organization must be addressed: (1) Community corrections officers must be trained to affect behavioral change in their supervisees. (2) Community corrections officers must be held accountable for public safety through the reduction of recidivism of the clients under their supervision. (3) Principles of probation and parole must be specific to the individual offender and must be based on sound criminological theory. (4) The use of the philosophy of generic deterrence-oriented supervision must be replaced by an evidence-based model of probation and parole. The remaining sections of this chapter demonstrate how an opportunity-reduction model of offender supervision would reorient probation and parole to overcome these existing limitations.

## Introduction to Environmental Corrections Supervision

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Research in environmental criminology demonstrates the marked reductions in crime that are achieved when opportunities for offending are limited. Borrowing from these theories, the implications for probation and parole are now explicitly explored. By training probation and parole officers as problem solvers who are appreciative of the larger context that encourages or dissuades offending (and by providing them tools to do so), community corrections agencies reorient their goal toward one of crime prevention. As the conceptual model developed in this volume suggests, designing an offender's supervision conditions in ways that limit or restructure the person's exposure to crime opportunities may be a successful model to reduce re-offending. Rather than providing all community-supervised offenders with generic restrictions and prescriptions, the environmental corrections model of probation and parole would tailor supervision conditions to the unique and precise crime opportunities that each individual is vulnerable to.

The implications of this reorientation are promising. Probation and parole agencies are routinely in contact with active offenders, providing them with a bounty of opportunities to intervene. Moreover, supervising officers are potential super controllers, as they may be capable of managing the behaviors of other agents that influence the actions of offenders (Sampson, Eck, & Dunham, 2010). If given the proper tools, community corrections officers can become invaluable informal problem solvers, using various innovations to tailor a supervision plan to the offender or offending of concern (Cordner & Biebel, 2005). As Sherman (2011a) describes, "criminology as invention" requires an understanding of a crime problem in its original context, which then creates theories about the causes of that crime problem, in turn developing new ways of dealing with the crime problem. These solutions will include: (1) supervision stipulations that make it more difficult for offenders to access crime opportunities, (2) the inclusion of new agents of informal social control, and (3) restructuring offenders' daily routines with prosocial activities (Cullen, Eck, & Lowenkamp, 2002). While each probation or parole officer must rely on innovation for the unique circumstances of each offender and each community, the discussion that follows details methods that can be used to discover and restrict access to crime opportunities.

### Identifying Exposure to Crime Opportunities

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Following the theoretical contributions of environmental criminology, probation and parole can be refashioned to alter offenders' opportunities to commit crime. Opportunity-reduction supervision is guided by four tenets: (1) Offenders are constrained by their patterns of daily activity. (2) The environments encountered during these routines vary according to the real crime opportunities that they present. (3) Offenders will gauge each environment according to whether deviant behavior is socially acceptable and whether criminal behavior is feasible. (4) The clues

offenders use in making their decisions are based on their perceptions of effort, ability, risk, and reward. The thrust of environmental corrections supervision is the reduction of offenders' exposure to situations that are conducive to crime. Thus, an important task in creating an individual's case plan and the conditions of his or her supervision is identifying the offender's exposure to crime opportunities. We hypothesize that there are four central questions that must be answered to discover a probationer or parolee's routine opportunities for offending. Each of these questions is discussed in the subsections that follow, accompanied by sample pictorial representations of data that can be used to detect environments where crime opportunities abound.

Thus, in order to prevent community-supervised offenders from accessing chances to commit crime, probation and parole officers must first identify those crime opportunities by asking and then compiling the data to answer these four questions for each supervisee: (1) With whom does the individual commit crime? (2) When does the individual commit crime? (3) Where does the individual commit crime? (4) Why does the individual commit crime? Addressing these "Four W's"—the who, when, where, and why of crime opportunities—will be a logistical challenge for any agency initially interested in implementing this sort of process, and procedures will obviously require adjustment to the local circumstances and available resources. While research is needed to evaluate the best methods for gathering and using offender-specific data about crime opportunities (see Chapter 7), it is probable that these processes will vary according to department size and offender population characteristics. As illustrative examples, four "infographics"—that is, graphical or visual presentations of data in a format intended to make the relevant information more easily understood—have been included in this chapter (see Figures 3.1 through 3.4). Readers should note that all the data used in the following infographics are fictional as are the names of people and places. The purpose of these infographics is to illustrate how various sources and forms of data can be organized and then used to create individualized and purposeful offender supervision case plans. While designing and using these tools will provide several initial challenges, we argue that they are worth serious pursuit. The upfront investment of assessing offenders and developing individualized case plans will be diminished by the benefits gained, particularly after these processes are streamlined and improved. Although each agency will develop different data tools and crime opportunity identification procedures, it is the novel approach used here that deserves special note.

To clarify, the four subsections that follow introduce infographics as illustrations of how to identify the crime opportunities of offenders. These data presentations are offered as examples of how offender supervisors can arrive at meaningful conclusions about offenders' routine activities from an abundance of peripheral information. Ideally, community corrections agents can recreate or approximate these figures in order to learn about opportunities for offending that are specific to each individual probationer and parolee. However, data about crime patterns (especially aggregated data from a specific jurisdiction) may still be helpful in creating specialized conditions of supervision relevant to local crime opportunities.



On that note, the next section, which discusses the creation of offenders' case plans, provides examples of how the information gleaned from these data syntheses can be used to develop supervision stipulations. Specific samples of conditions of offender supervision are presented to demonstrate the utility of the included infographics. Finally, the following chapter, which explores offender supervision technologies, addresses how the information displayed in these infographics can be gathered. In order to be useful for community corrections agencies, data must be collected in an organized and goal-oriented fashion, so as to serve as diagnostic tools for developing offender supervision conditions. Thus, the discussion of the figures in this chapter will speak to the following: (1) What kind of information can be used to determine an offender's crime opportunities? (2) How can this information be used to design the offender's supervision case plan? (3) Where does this information come from?

### *WITH WHOM DOES THE INDIVIDUAL COMMIT CRIME?*

Antisocial associates are one of the strongest correlates of criminal behavior (Andrews, 1989; Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Cullen & Jonson, 2012; Gendreau, 1996; Van Voorhis et al., 2009). Knowing this, it is imperative that offender supervision case plans include stipulations that minimize this risk factor. However, traditional conditions of probation and parole include the blanket restriction that offenders do not *associate* with other *known* offenders. This creates two unfortunate problems.

First, the exact meaning of this phrase comes under frequent fire. Perhaps most obviously, is the interpretation of the word "known." Supervisees are quick to rebut that they did not know that an individual they were with had an arrest record. In addition, there is confusion over what the word *offender* is supposed to mean. It is unclear whether this term encompasses anyone with any criminal record, or people who are active criminals, or offenders who specialize in the same offense as the probationer or parolee, or even fellow gang members or previous co-offenders. Finally, there are disputes over what is implied by the word "associate." There is little understanding over whether this extends to whereabouts or social gatherings or solely criminal pursuits. This supervision rule creates problems of knowledge (who is known), interpretation (who is an offender), and breadth (what is meant by association). Taking the stipulation at face value, it seems a difficult task for anyone to achieve, as any person you encounter at any place may meet the definition of criminal association.

Second, even when offenders are known, the supervisee may have a difficult time eliminating all associations. It is not uncommon for a probationer or parolee to be intimately related to someone with a criminal record. In fact, an offender may live with other offenders (such as a parent, sibling, or spouse), without the option to terminate the relationship and relocate. Moreover, removing these social ties from supervisees may only worsen the problem, as family and friends are often part of the desistance process and can help to encourage prosocial behavior.

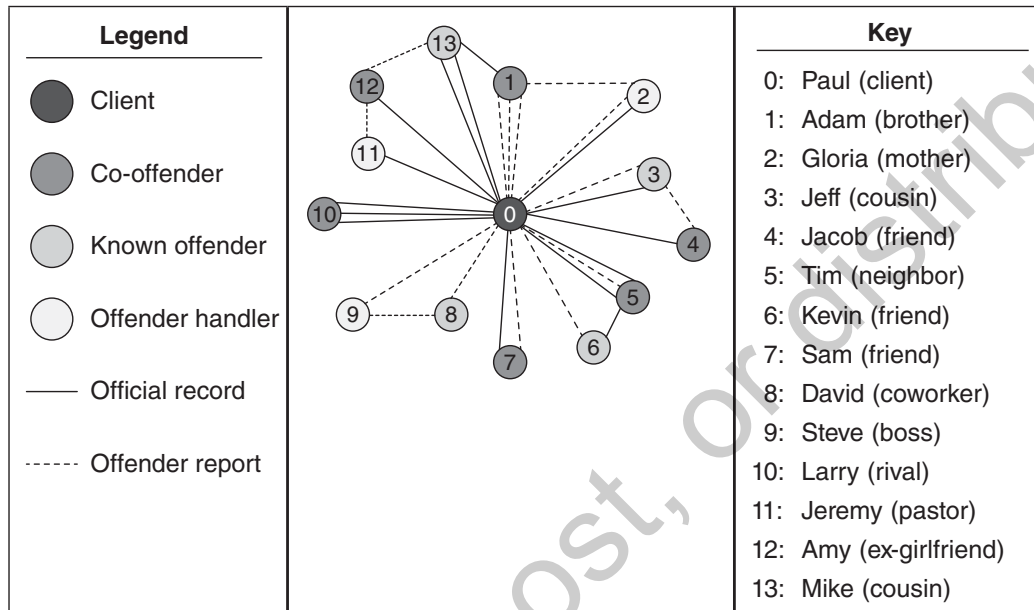
As a result of these limitations, community corrections officers often ignore violations of this rule. The infractions are too great in number to pursue, and too difficult to discover and sanction, and offenders can often excuse the misbehavior.

We acknowledge that an effective probation or parole plan will include some condition that recognizes the influence of deviant peers; however, a more pragmatic and impactful approach is necessary. According to environmental corrections supervision, the goal of probation and parole ought to be the reduction of opportunities to commit crime. The most important task in creating a useful case plan, then, is the identification of criminal opportunity that relates to an offender's associates. It is of little help to speak generally of all offenders. Rather, supervision officers must identify those individuals whom their client has committed crimes with before (co-offenders), those individuals whom their client may be at risk of committing crimes with (known offenders), and individuals who are associated with the offender but were not participants in his or her offenses (offender handlers). That is, this specific question should be asked: With whom does—or might—the offender commit crime?

Figure 3.1 provides an example of an infographic that depicts these data. This pictorial provides a social network analysis in which the associations of the offender of interest are plotted for analysis. These three kinds of relationships are graphed, and additionally indicate whether the information came from official reports (e.g., police reports, court records) or whether the offender divulged the information to the officer. Through this data synthesis, a great amount of data is reduced to a consumable and analyzable piece of information. Rather than having too much information and not knowing what to do with it (resulting in a generic restriction on who their clients can spend time with), probation or parole officers can now see an overview of the risky and protective people a client is associated with. In this way, officers can create a case plan (discussed in the next section) that is tailored to specific crime opportunities of their supervisee.

The central advantage of this infographic (Figure 3.1) is the ability to differentiate between various risks. Whereas traditional probation and parole supervision provides a blanket restriction (i.e., the client is not allowed to associate with any known offenders), this data presentation can distinguish between different types of crime opportunities. For example, in terms of causation (criminological theory), there is an important difference between associations that are adversarial (parties in conflict) and cooperative (parties working in concert). Officers can create a more realistic and impactful case plan when they can differentiate between co-offending that may occur at the same time and place but be adversarial (such as an assault in which both parties are arrested) and co-offending occurring together (such as two individuals breaking into buildings as a team). Community corrections supervisors can also tailor case plan restrictions by having information about the relationship between co-offenders and known offenders. Officers should be prepared for their supervisees to seek out new associations if they are restricted from spending time with their criminal peers, and recognize that offenders may steer away from specialization (e.g., branching out from drug dealing when they cannot associate with fellow dealers, and moving toward drug trafficking with friends of fellow dealers). Knowing ahead of time who may pose a risk in the future is an important crime prevention tool, so possessing and being able to assess information about prospective antisocial associates is beneficial to community corrections.

### State Department of Parole

Offender name: Paul PetersonOffender Number: 213546879Supervisor name: Troy ThompsonReport date: 07/08/2015Official reports plotted: Offender reports included: Yes  No 

Assessment: Paul has been arrested with six other offenders; of particular concern are Larry (a rival gang member) and Tim (his neighbor), though Paul reports using and dealing drugs with his brother (Adam) and friend (Sam). Paul's cousins (Jeff, Mike) are reported offenders, though they do not commit crime together. Potential handlers include Paul's mother, boss, and pastor, each of whom have influence over other offenders involved in Paul's network.

**Figure 3.1** Social Network Analysis

### WHEN DOES THE INDIVIDUAL COMMIT CRIME?

As Chapter 2 presented, criminological research demonstrates that offending is not distributed randomly in space (see the next subsection) or time. The commission of crimes is concentrated around a number of time points, such as time of the month, season of the year, or generational eras. Of concern for community corrections officers are the temporal crime patterns that emerge in shorter windows, such as across time of the day and day of the week. The graphical presentation of time geography gives a framework through which supervisors can recognize the patterns of behavior—both criminal and law-abiding—that their clients exhibit (Miller, 2005). Macro-level examples include offending hotspots at bars in the evening hours or in city centers during workdays (Ratcliffe, 2010). It is this pattern recognition that provides probation and parole officers with ideas for how to effectively prevent the convergence of their supervisees and crime opportunities at specific points in time (Ratcliffe, 2006).

For this reason, crime problem solvers would be remiss not to include temporal analyses in their address of offending. Unfortunately, the mapping of crime incidents across time is a woefully underdeveloped area in criminology and research methods (Ratcliffe, 2010). Even more difficult is that temporal geography is usually performed with aggregated data, providing evidence of patterns of offending across hundreds if not thousands of criminals and crime incidences. However, infographics of smaller scales are still valuable tools for identifying observable offending patterns. Depending on the individual offender, even a small handful of data points can prove useful in discerning when the probationer or parolee encounters and takes advantage of chances to commit crime. In any event, the strong association between time and crime commission demands the attention of offender supervisors. General correlations provide important supervision conditions; curfew, for example, is imposed based on the understanding that crime opportunities increase in the late evening and early morning hours. Offender-specific links between opportunities for offending and time are also valuable, giving community corrections officers information about the times of the day and days of the week when their clients are most likely to encounter situations that are conducive to crime. Thus, officers need to ask this question about each of their supervisees: When does the individual commit crime?

As seen in Figure 3.2, the times one offender converges with crime opportunities (in various circumstances, such as at a given place, with certain people, or in the presence of rewards) have been plotted. This pictorial provides two axes through which data points are graphed: time of the day and day of the week. Each of these levels of measurement provides offender supervisors with different types of information to use in identifying their client's pursuit of crime opportunities. For example, the figure demonstrates that the hypothetical offender accrues crime incidences most frequently in the afternoon and late night hours, with many of those events taking place on the weekends. As discussed in the following subsection, this information provides clear implications for how to structure the offender's time, in turn reducing his or her exposure to crime opportunities that have proved tempting in the past.

Of additional use for community corrections officers is the variation in the types of data points used in creating Figure 3.2. As not all encounters with the criminal justice system are equal, a quality data synthesis will be sensitive to the different forms of information included in the offender's record. Discussed in earlier chapters, the substantial difference between technical violations of supervision conditions and the commission of a new crime is important. Accordingly, this pictorial divides data points into three forms of criminal justice contacts: violations of case plan stipulations, contact with the police in which no further action was taken, and arrests. Again, by providing probation and parole officers with a diverse amount of information in a readily digestible format, recidivism can be more handily understood and prevented.

Of import is that this data presentation can be used to infer the causality of offending for the probationer or parolee. It is not helpful to merely note that the offender makes most of his or her contact with police during the afternoon hours. Rather, this observation should provide (1) an idea about why this is occurring, and (2) what case plan stipulations can be created to prevent it from continuing (examples of this are provided in the following section). The emphasis for

**State Department of Parole**

Offender name: John Jones

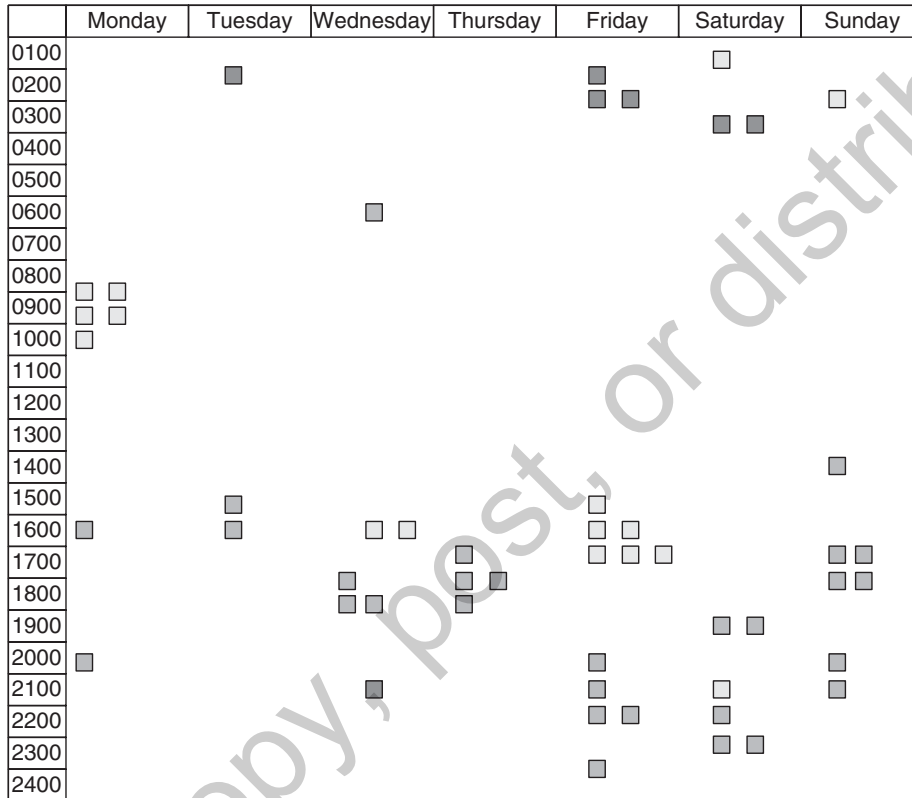
Offender Number: 789456123

Supervisor name: Sharon Smith

Report date: 11/11/2014

**Total number of reports plotted: 52**

Parole violations: **15** Police contacts: **30** Arrests: **7**



Assessment: John's parole violations largely take place during weekdays through failure to report to meetings/classes, with two failed drug screens and one curfew skip. John's police contacts take place predominantly in the afternoon and early evenings, especially on weekdays. John's arrests are concentrated in the early morning hours, especially on Fridays and Saturdays.

**Figure 3.2** Time and Day Plot

community corrections officers must be on uncovering the crime opportunities that are associated with the observations made from the data.

*WHERE DOES THE INDIVIDUAL COMMIT CRIME?*

As the research presented in Chapter 2 demonstrates, there is a strong empirical and practical association between offending and place. The traditional concern for criminologists has been mapping the spatial dispersion of aggregate crime data, although lower levels of analyses have important uses, as well. First, knowing the

places where an offender converges with crime opportunities is a necessary ingredient to general crime prevention. Place-based crime control measures are effective methods of avoiding potential problems for individual offenders in addition to large groups of readily motivated offenders. Second, when offender supervisors have information about where offenders commit crime, they can tailor a case plan to make access to criminogenic places less likely. Beyond general place management and situational crime prevention, probation and parole officers can create supervision conditions that restrict access to places where crime opportunities abound and cannot be easily controlled otherwise. Environmental criminology, in both theory and the practical application of place-based crime prevention policies, has unique applications for corrections that have yet to be explored.

Typically, community corrections agencies engage in “fortress supervision,” in which probation and parole officers work in centrally located offices (Pew Center on the States, 2008b). This setup does little to help the officer understand the environment that promotes offending among their clients, and creates little deterrent effect for offenders who understand that their supervising officer is not present in their community. Opposing this model is “place-based supervision,” in which offender supervisors have geographically based caseloads. This approach allows for a more efficient allocation of corrections resources, and places probation and parole officers directly in the communities where offenders meet with crime opportunities. By supervising offenders in their home communities, corrections agents can foster collaborations with the people who know and have some influence over the offender, and become familiar with the local resources and the high-risk areas for clients on their caseload (Pew Center on the States, 2008b; Reentry Policy Council, 2005; Solomon, 2006; Taxman, 2006).

To determine where the offender meets with crime opportunities (in order to then tailor a case plan and design interventions aimed at preventing offenders from meeting with those opportunities), community corrections officers would benefit from place-based crime data. Accordingly, they must ask this question about each of their supervisees: Where does the individual commit crime? Figure 3.3 demonstrates what a graphical presentation of offending hotspots for one individual might look like. This infographic provides a plot of arrest records and offender reports about where the individual participates in illegal activity. In addition to these data points are the locations associated with those crime opportunities, such as the offender’s residence, his or her workplace, or places where social gatherings take place (e.g., friends’ houses, bars, recreation centers). By having a visual presentation of where offenders spend their time and where they commit crime, the community corrections supervisor can strategically develop a case plan that restricts access to areas that offer high numbers of crime opportunities.

Importantly, the non-criminal activities of offenders and how their time is spent in a daily routine provide important information about the likely criminal activities of offenders (Brantingham & Brantingham, 2008). The crime opportunities that individuals encounter are intimately linked with their daily activity patterns, and it is therefore important that offender supervisors be knowledgeable about the activity and awareness spaces of their clients (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1993). Many times, offenders do not go out looking for places to commit crime. Rather, they may

**State Department of Parole**

Offender name: Bob Brown

Offender Number: 135792468

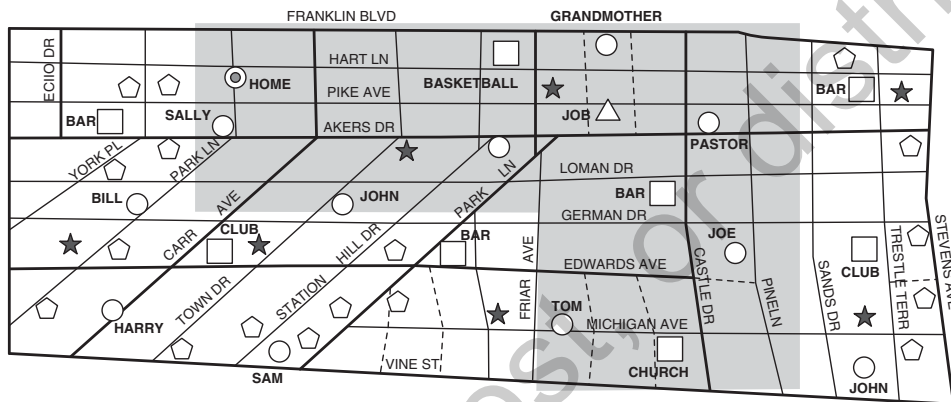
Supervisor name: Joe Johnson

Report date: 06/16/2015

Official reports plotted:

Offender reports included: Yes  No

	OFFENDER RESIDENCE		OFFENDER REPORT
	ASSOCIATE RESIDENCE		ARREST REPORT
	RECREATION		BUFFER / SAFE ZONE
	WORK / SCHOOL		



Assessment: Bob's arrest and self-report information reveal geographical areas of concern in the neighborhood of Oakley. This area contains a few bars and the homes of his friends Bill and Sam. The hotspot map shows a safe zone below Franklin Blvd. through the South Bank neighborhood, which includes Bob's residence, job, and church.

**Figure 3.3** Offending Hotspots

encounter a crime-conducive place (filled with low risks, high rewards, and facilitating tools) that triggers criminal motivation, but only in the unfolding of non-criminal activities. There are different data that can be resourced in creating an infographic of hotspots for an individual; whether through qualitative interviews, hand-plotted by corrections officers, or by mapping geocached police reports, the goal is to analyze real data from the perspective of crime pattern theory (Brantingham & Brantingham, 2008). In order to create supervision stipulations that keep offenders away from risky places, probation and parole officers must first identify what circumstances are tempting for their clients and where those factors are located.

*WHY DOES THE INDIVIDUAL COMMIT CRIME?*

Figuring out what factors prompt an individual to take advantage of an existing crime opportunity is an important crime prevention tool. Yet many critics of criminology assert that after centuries of theorizing and studying offending and offenders,

there is still no consensus regarding why people commit crime on the whole. True, the search for a general theory of crime is not complete, and no proposed explanation for an offense is perfect (i.e., there is unexplained variation remaining). Still, aside from these insurmountable faults, researchers have discovered a number of variables that are strongly associated with offending. After hundreds of studies (across decades, countries, and populations), we know that antisocial peers, antisocial attitudes and beliefs, and an antisocial personality pattern are highly predictive of criminality (Andrews & Bonta, 2010).

Yet some of these variables may be of little help to community corrections officers desiring to prevent crime there and then. As previously discussed, altering deep-seated propensities (such as someone with an antisocial personality pattern) is a difficult task requiring a great amount of time and effort. If probation and parole supervisors are to be held accountable for the relapses of their clients, then they require more usable information about the more immediate factors that prompt their supervisees to commit crime. Beyond internal inclinations, officers can more readily manipulate the environment and the situations that their clients are exposed to. To design an intervening case plan, then, the task for community corrections officers is to identify the situational motivators for offending.

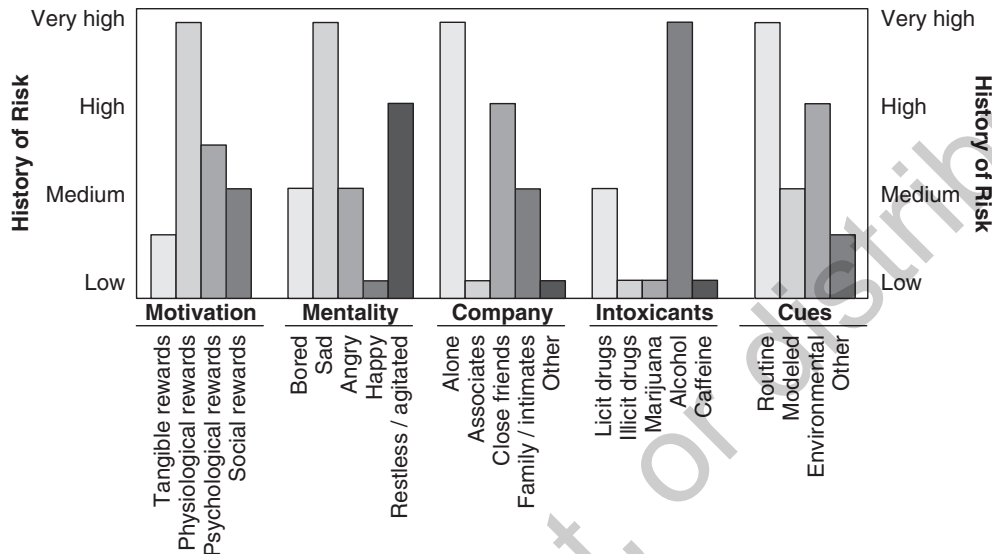
Thus, officers must ask this question for each of their supervisees: Why does the individual commit crime? But in accumulating information to address this issue, they should take a specific approach. Rather than focusing on the causes of crime that are difficult to determine and change, probation and parole officers should attempt to identify and manipulate those circumstances that encourage offenders to pursue crime opportunities—that is, those proximate factors that influence the individual to offend when an opportunity is available.

As described by Wortley (2001), one of the keys to reducing criminal opportunity is the control of crime precipitators, or, accounting for those factors that lead to a criminal event. Generally speaking, these precipitants include prompts, pressures, permissibility, and provocations. That is, environments can present cues that *prompt* the individual to offend, the situation may exert social *pressure* on people to offend, factors can reduce moral inhibitions and therefore *permit* someone to commit a crime, and the environment might create an emotional response from a person that would *provoke* a criminal response (Wortley, 1997, 1998, 2001). The trouble experienced by practitioners is translating these generic categories into clearly defined causes of crime within a given situation. If probation and parole officers must develop an actionable case plan centered around minimizing crime opportunities, then information about the specific variables that produce these prompts, pressures, permissions, and provocations must be available.

Examples of these crime precipitators are seen in Figure 3.4. Although the specific information used by community corrections officers will naturally vary by the data available, these provide an idea of the kind of considerations that may prove valuable. Five different kinds of categories are included in this illustration: motivation (what kind of reward the offender seeks when pursuing crime opportunities); mentality (what kind of mood the offender experiences when pursuing crime opportunities); company (what kind of setting is present when the offender pursues



### County Probation Department

Offender name: Mary MillerOffender Number: 321654987Supervisor name: Bob BrownReport date: 01/02/2014

Assessment: Mary is an admitted alcoholic; all of her arrests involved actions undertaken while drunk, demonstrated in her risk history. Mary's primary impetus for offending is fueled by her addiction to alcohol, with crimes occurring when she is reportedly sad or agitated, and alone or in familiar social settings. Mary's cues for committing crime are largely a matter of routine (driving while intoxicated), though she is also spurred on when she becomes distressed at social gatherings (assault, public indecency).

**Figure 3.4** Crime Precipitators

crime opportunities); intoxicants (what kind of substances influence the offender's behavior when pursuing crime opportunities); and cues (what chain of events leads the offender to pursue crime opportunities).

These distinctions are highly important, as they provide individualized information about the kinds of situations that are more or less likely to tempt an offender. There are too many crime precipitators to remove them all or to restrict a probationer or parolee's access to them. As a result, offender supervisors require a general understanding of the different triggers that their clients respond to. Specifically, officers need information about the reasons why an individual offender noticed, was attracted to, and decided to exploit an existing crime opportunity. Opportunities to commit crime are in every place at all times, but the appeal of and access to these chances to offend can be controlled. Consequently, the most effective combatant will be interventions (i.e., case plan stipulations) that address the specific situational antecedents that cause an offender to exploit the available crime opportunity (Wortley, 2001). Rather than assuming that offenders are readily motivated at all times, it is helpful to examine the situational circumstances that create, heighten, or facilitate offender motivation (Cornish & Clarke, 2003; Cromwell & Birzer, 2014).

### IDENTIFYING SUPERVISEES' CRIME OPPORTUNITIES WITH THE FOUR W'S

The environmental corrections model of offender supervision reasons that in order to effectively reduce recidivism among probationers and parolees, vague and generic rules must be replaced by case plans that reduce the actual crime opportunities that offenders are vulnerable to. Taken together, we suggest that four categories of information about crime opportunities will be helpful for developing these targeted supervision conditions: who, when, where, and why. After gathering data about the particular circumstances surrounding individual supervisees' past offending, probation and parole departments are able to tailor case plans that help offenders to avoid coming into contact with these tempting situations altogether. Rather than using a broad deterrence model with blanket restrictions that are difficult to enforce (e.g., stay away from other offenders, be home by 10:00 p.m., steer clear of that suburb, and refrain from alcohol consumption), these "Four W's" of offenders' crime opportunities will help to produce unique case plans that are purposively corrective.

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### Considering Gender

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At the core of environmental corrections is the assumption that supervision aimed at reducing exposure to crime opportunities should be as individualized as possible. That is why the Four W's emphasize asking questions about the *individual*. Still, any experienced probation or parole officer will enter an assessment session with some sense of the kinds of opportunities that the supervisee being interviewed is likely to have encountered and that are likely to be criminogenic. For example, similar to other sources of crime and desistance (Sampson & Laub, 1993), crime opportunities will be age-graded. Juveniles and adults may live in quite different social worlds and be exposed to quite different opportunities. Similarly, offenders from a structurally dense neighborhood marked by hot spots for crime encounter a vastly different illegitimate opportunity structure than those from a suburban community zoned primarily for residential use.

Although a range of these factors might well be pertinent, here we consider gender, where there is a long-standing debate over whether the causes of criminal conduct—including crime opportunity—are "general" (the same for everyone) or "gender specific" (different for males and females) (Daigle, Cullen, & Wright, 2007; Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter, & Silva, 2001). The general perspective extends to Freda Adler's (1975) *Sisters in Crime*. In this classic work, Adler argued that due to changing social roles, women had gained access to new crime opportunities that would both increase their lawbreaking and allow them to commit illegalities heretofore reserved for men. In the rehabilitation area, Andrews and Bonta (2010) are among those who argue that the criminogenic needs of offenders are general. At most, gender is a "responsivity" factor that affects the ways in which treatment might be

delivered (see also Smith, Cullen, & Latessa, 2009; Smith & Manchak, 2015). By contrast, other scholars argue that gender intimately shapes the nature of crime opportunities, pathways into crime, and the criminogenic needs that should be targeted in treatment (for discussions of these issues, see Alarid & Wright, 2015; Miller & Mullins, 2006; Smith & Manchak, 2015; Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996).

Perhaps because its focus is mainly on the way opportunities are rooted in *situations*, environmental criminology has not paid considerable attention to how male and female *offenders* might differ in how they perceive, select, and respond to crime opportunities. Some insights can be gained from the work of Steffensmeier (1983), who has documented how sex-segregation and sexism restrict opportunities in the “underworld.” With Allan, he also created a general paradigm for understanding female crime that has implications for understanding the gendered nature of criminal opportunity (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996). For example, women will be unable to engage in some crimes due to a lack of physical strength but other illegalities are available because of their sexuality. They also may find the use of firearms and aggression to be inconsistent with their gender identity and may be less likely to see strangers as suitable targets for victimization. Other scholars have emphasized the role that sexual victimization and domestic violence play in pushing girls and women into homeless situations where criminal opportunities become available and are pursued out of necessity (Chesney-Lind, 2015). Trying to knife off crime opportunity might prove difficult if the reason why a female offender initially entered a risky situation is not addressed.

Again, at this stage, it is not clear how much the existing scholarship can assist probation and parole officers in developing a more effective case plan for helping offenders avoid criminal opportunities. Still, it is likely important that officers be sensitized to the potential role that gender might play in access to criminal opportunities. Over time, a knowledge base should be created by examining closely the case plans designed for male and female offenders to see if differential opportunity risks have been identified. Phrased differently, the role of gender and other factors (e.g., age, race) should be investigated systematically to see if they can sophisticate the ability of supervising officers to engage more effectively in opportunity reduction.

## Creating the Offender’s Case Plan

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For probation and parole supervision to be effective, the conditions that offenders are subjected to must be based on their individual risk level, criminogenic needs, and responsivity considerations (Jalbert, Rhodes, Flygare, & Kane, 2010; Taxman, 2008). Moreover, the development of supervision conditions must be based on the actuarial assessment of these characteristics (the importance of proper offender assessment will be discussed in Chapter 4). The creation of an offender’s case plan should therefore be based upon the crime opportunities unique to the offender that were uncovered during their assessment. As discussed in the previous section, the “Four W’s”—with whom, when, where, and why offenders encounter and take

advantage of chances to commit crime—provide individualized information that can be used to prevent recidivism. Although each agency will have access to different types of data and different resources for gathering and using those data, the general standard is that the case plan must reflect the real crime opportunities individual to each offender. Once data collection has taken place, however, general supervision conditions that reflect the crime opportunities relevant to a specific population or place might be gleaned. For example, probation and parole agencies may benefit from crime data about crime opportunity hotspots (see Chapter 6). In any event, the goal is to create supervision conditions that reflect the real chances for offending that each community corrections client is actually exposed to.

To begin, we note that a quality opportunity-reduction supervision case plan will require four reorientations from existing probation and parole practices, irrespective of the information that is used. First, real data should be used (as opposed to generic abstractions), even if the information is gained through qualitative interviews with the offender. Second, the information should be specific to the individual offender. Some general rules are fine (e.g., offending increases after sundown) and should be incorporated when original data are absent; however, the best predictor of future behavior is relevant past behavior (Andrews & Bonta, 2010), and looking at an offender's history provides detailed insight about what crime opportunities should be of greatest concern. Third, the data gathered or consulted as part of an offender's intake and assessment should imply a causal theory about his or her offending. Additional information may be useful as responsivity considerations, but the purpose of data analysis is the identification of those variables that increase the likelihood that the probationer or parolee will seek out or exploit an available crime opportunity. Fourth, the information that is gathered should provide usable recommendations for the offender's case plan. Moreover, these recommendations should be based on the theory of why that individual offender commits crime.

This process is fundamental to achieving the overarching argument made in this book: To improve probation and parole outcomes, the supervision of offenders must be based on their exposure and vulnerability to crime opportunities. Central to meeting this goal is a thoughtfully designed case plan that strategically accounts for the risks identified for each offender. Rather than a litany of generic prescriptions and restrictions, supervision conditions ought to be realistic, relevant, and research-based (Pew Center on the States, 2008b). That is, the stipulations of an offender's community supervision case plan must be attainable (and officers must be prepared to hold offenders consistently accountable to those conditions), tailored to each client, and based on evidence known to improve public safety and encourage offender desistance.

The development of supervision conditions must be customized to the risk level and criminogenic needs of the probationer or parolee (Crime and Justice Institute at Community Resources for Justice, 2009; Taxman, 2012; Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2004). Specifically, the tools used to manage criminal behavior must proactively reduce offenders' exposure and vulnerability to opportunities for crime (Solomon et al., 2008; Taxman et al., 2006). Importantly, supervision conditions are often more effective when they intrinsically enhance offender motivation to

change (see Chapter 5 in this volume; see also Ginsburg, Mann, Rotgers, & Weekes, 2002). One method for encouraging offenders is to involve them in the development of the rules and requirements of community supervision (Pew Center on the States, 2008b). Not only do offenders provide invaluable information about their own crime opportunities, but they are also more likely to hold themselves accountable to the supervision conditions that they themselves help develop (Clark et al., 2006). Further, as a cooperative process, community corrections officers should communicate to offenders the rationale behind the restrictions and goals that are prescribed (Pew Center on the States, 2008b).

In any case, it is vital that the supervision plan of an offender reflect the assessment of his or her crime opportunities, prioritizing the criminogenic risks, needs, and responsivity factors that are most influential. In particular, the situational variables that trigger criminal behavior (that were identified during assessment) must be controlled through the stipulations of the offender's case plan (Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2004). Following the four categories of crime opportunities discussed in the previous section (i.e., with whom, when, where, and why offending takes place), the creation of case plan conditions must directly address these specific crime opportunities.

First, community corrections case plans must account for the offender's social network. Given what is known about the people the offender commits crime with (e.g., see Figure 3.1), how can this information be used to reduce his or her crime opportunities? Conditions of supervision should be reflective of the kind of relationship and the past and prospective influence of that relationship. Using the illustration presented in the previous section, supervision stipulations should be tailored to the offender's antisocial associates and prosocial handlers. For instance, the client should be prohibited from being around or communicating with co-offenders that the individual has a documented history of committing crime with (i.e., Paul is restricted from being in the same place as Larry, and must refrain from communications with Tim). Further, the offender should only be allowed to associate with potential co-offenders when identified prosocial influences are present (e.g., Paul is disallowed from spending time with his brother Adam except for in the presence of his mother Gloria, and is prohibited from associating with coworkers outside the supervision of his work manager). As opposed to providing vague and unreasonable restrictions about who the offender can associate with, the probation or parole officer should aim to provide stipulations, narrowly and explicitly, about (1) who the offender cannot associate with, and (2) under what conditions. Recall, the goal is to fashion the offender's case plan conditions to restrict exposure to crime opportunities, which in this regard includes the people that encourage or dissuade the pursuit of these opportunities.

Second, probation and parole case plans must reflect when the offender tends to get into trouble. Given what is known about when the offender commits crime (e.g., see Figure 3.2), how can this information be used to reduce his or her crime opportunities? Supervision conditions should structure the offender's time through the restriction of access to crime opportunities (such as curfew) and the replacement of access to crime opportunities with exposure to prosocial activities (such as employment). Using the

previously introduced example, the client should be restricted from tempting activities at certain times of the day (e.g., John is prohibited from leaving his residence or having guests in his residence between the hours of 9:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m.). Further, the offender experiences a number of police contacts and technical violations in the afternoon and evening hours; therefore, activities where crime is less likely to occur should be substituted in these time windows (e.g., John is required to attend work readiness training at Grove Recreation Center on Mondays to Thursdays from 3:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m., and must participate in his assigned alcoholism support group on Saturday afternoons). Not only are these activities prosocial influences, but they are specifically designed and then employed to replace the unstructured use of leisure time that has previously been problematic for the offender.

Third, offender supervision case plans must address where the offender encounters situations that are conducive to crime. Given what is known about where the offender commits crime (e.g., see Figure 3.3), how can this information be used to reduce his or her crime opportunities? Case plan stipulations should restrict the offender's access to places where crime opportunities abound, but should also redirect the offender's activities to locations where crime opportunities are not as common. From the illustration that was introduced earlier, the parolee should be prohibited from being in or around crime hotspots (e.g., Bob is restricted from being in the neighborhood of Oakley during activities or from passing through it, or, Bob is restricted from being in or around AJ's Bar, Mike's Sports Club, Players Bar & Grill, Harry's apartment, and Sam's house). Further, the daily routines of offenders should be redirected to geographic "safe zones" where crime opportunities are minimal (e.g., Bob is encouraged to play basketball at the park on Hart Lane, or, Bob is allowed to attend church at Michigan Avenue and Castle Drive, though he is allowed to travel only through the South Bank neighborhood). It is of little influence or practicality to restrict offenders from all locations where alcohol is served or where criminals congregate. These prohibitions are vague, and are difficult to interpret and enforce. Moreover, such general restrictions are only distantly related (if at all) to the situations that entice offenders to commit crime. Contrarily, probation and parole officers can tailor supervision conditions to account for the places where crime opportunities are more or less likely to be present.

Fourth, community corrections case plans must account for why the offender takes advantage of opportunities to commit crime. Given what is known about why the offender commits crime (e.g., see Figure 3.4), how can this information be used to reduce his or her crime opportunities? Although there are a number of reasons why people commit crime, there are circumstances unique to each individual that make offending more or less probable, and supervision conditions should account for these factors. Following the illustration presented in the prior section, the probationer should be restricted from being in the presence of certain crime precipitators (e.g., Mary is required to refrain from any alcohol consumption and may not attend any social gathering where alcohol is provided, and, Mary is discouraged from driving or attending family gatherings when she feels depressed or agitated). In addition to these restrictions, the risk history for some of the triggers identified in Figure 3.4 imply treatment recommendations (e.g., Mary is obligated to attend

family therapy on Wednesday evenings, or, Mary is required to participate in the Saturday problem-solving class held at First Baptist Church). As opposed to supervision case plan stipulations that are only loosely tied to criminological theory or are based on faulty theories about why people commit crime, the case plan should be created to account for the specific reasons why the individual offender finds himself or herself in situations that make crime more likely.

As these example case plans illustrate, probation and parole officers should create rules that disrupt the meeting of offenders and crime opportunities, which can be accomplished in two ways: (1) developing restrictions that eliminate an offender's access to situations that are known to be conducive to crime for that individual, and (2) creating new daily routines that contain prosocial activities. This approach is very different from the traditional model of community corrections that applies generic and global rules for all supervised offenders. Although these more targeted supervision stipulations may seem too specific to monitor, it is more effective (in resources and outcomes) to develop narrower guidelines for offender behavior (and as will be discussed in Chapter 6, the police are an invaluable partner in monitoring offender compliance with these supervision conditions). In addition to the conditions that will redirect offenders' activities away from crime opportunities and toward prosocial outlets, the case plan should also account for the individual's criminal propensity (specifically, how a probationer or parolee interprets environmental cues; see Chapter 5). Importantly, community corrections case plans must be established with no ambiguity about what is expected of offenders, in both restrictions and prescriptions. Central to environmental corrections, probation and parole officers must provide their clients with a clear message about the logic of their case plan: The rules that offenders are required to abide by are designed to reduce their opportunities for crime and increase their chances of desistance.

## Modifying the Offender's Case Plan

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Community corrections officers should see themselves as problem solvers (focused on offenders as opposed to places, as is often the case with policing interventions), and therefore must adjust their tactical solutions to offending problems as their clients' crime opportunities change (Clarke & Eck, 2005; Goldstein, 1990). Indeed, in accordance with the principles of effective correctional intervention, the conditions that offenders are subjected to should reflect their criminogenic risks and needs; because these variables change throughout the treatment window, so too should supervision stipulations be adjusted (Bernstein, Farrington, & Leschied, 2001; Bonta et al., 2008; Harland, 1996). An offender's exposure to crime opportunities and his or her susceptibility to engage in those opportunities for misbehavior will fluctuate across time, therefore supervision case plans require periodic modification (Healey, 1999; Reinventing Probation Council, 2000; Schlager & Pacheco, 2011).

In addition to the content of community corrections interventions changing across the supervision term, the quantity must be adjusted, as well. In accordance

with the risk principle, a greater amount of resources should be targeted at offenders with a greater likelihood of recidivating (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2004; Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Holsinger, 2006). Similarly, because the risk of recidivism is greatest in the first three months of supervision, resources should be frontloaded to account for these greater criminogenic needs (National Research Council, 2008; Pew Center on the States, 2008b). Then, as offenders progress through their community corrections sentence, the level of supervision they are subjected to should be altered in accordance with their decreased likelihood of relapsing (Reinventing Probation Council, 2000). This is not to say that all offenders should receive periodic adjustments to their supervision conditions, or that the adjustments across offenders should be the same. Some offenders will remain at moderate risk of recidivating throughout their supervision term, and thus their case plan should remain reflective of this level of risk the entire time. Yet for offenders whose risk level changes, supervision conditions and the level of intervention should change in reflection.

Importantly, the only way to know whether an offender's risk level is changing and whether the supervision conditions or intensity should be altered is through assessment. Because success in community corrections ought to be defined as recidivism reduction, offender progress toward this goal must be measured (Pew Center on the States, 2008b). Probation and parole officers invested in positive outcomes for their clients need to know whether supervision conditions are effectively changing offenders for the better, which requires intermittent reassessment (Lowenkamp & Bechtel, 2007). This appraisal should evaluate the offender's current exposure and vulnerability to existing crime opportunities, which includes positive changes the offender has made in addition to relapses in antisocial behavior (Clark, 2006; Maruna & LeBel, 2003). Then, just as with the initial creation of a case plan, the modification of supervision must reflect the real (and therefore contemporary) crime opportunities of each offender.

## Graduated Consequences

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Similar to supervision case plans requiring modification to reflect the offender's current criminogenic risks and needs, probation and parole officers must adjust the consequences they supply their clients to account for the offender's behavior. Misbehaviors require attention, but the consequence must be commensurate with the action. For example, it seems unreasonable to revoke a parole sentence because the offender missed a meeting with his or her supervising officer, yet it is also a mismatched result if an offender has multiple failed drug screenings with no changes to the nature of his or her supervision. As general principles of deterrence, punishment cannot be ambiguous, excessive, capricious, or arbitrary. Thus, undesirable actions must be met with consequences that reflect the severity of the misbehavior. And while the offender population is often characterized as persons who struggle with self-regulation and rebel against this sort of structure, carefully



designed rules and consequences that are applied fairly and consistently do result in behavioral change (Dowden & Andrews, 2004; Gendreau, 1996; Gendreau & Andrews, 2001; Higgins & Silverman, 1999; Taxman, Soule, & Gelb, 1999).

The content of probation and parole meetings must be an address of the offender's risks and criminogenic needs, and the stipulations of the supervision term must be tailored to reflect and support that same goal (Bonta et al., 2011; Bonta et al., 2008). When properly assessed and classified (see Chapter 4), reduced supervision intensity for a large group of community corrections offenders does not result in higher rates of re-offending or threats to public safety (Barnes, Hyatt, Ahlman, & Kent, 2012). Evaluations on the practical application of graduated sanctions demonstrate effective crime prevention outcomes and reduced costs, especially with high-risk offenders (Whitworth, 2009).

In many ways, community corrections sanctions are already inherently graduated, reflecting the accountability of offenders and the proportionality of offenses in supervision sentences (Harris, Petersen, & Rapoza, 2001). Embedded within probation and parole programs, however, must be a continuum of consequences for supervision violations *and* consistent compliance; that is, there must be a range of consequences for the behaviors that offenders present, both positive and negative (Burke, 1997; Taxman et al., 1999). In this regard, analyses reveal that graduated interventions (as opposed to a one-size-fits-all or tough-on-crime approach to offender supervision) reduce recidivism (Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2004, 2005). For example, the success of drug courts is in part attributed to the graduated nature of rewards and punishments in response to offender behavior (Guastaferrro & Daigle, 2012; Taxman et al., 1999). Relapses in criminal behavior and progress in prosocial outcomes are to be expected during the supervision term, so the case plan stipulations should be graded to reflect these changes (Lindquist, Krebs, & Lattimore, 2006).

When consequences for misbehavior are logically derived and swiftly imposed, offenders are dealt with in a way that approximates the treatment they will receive post-release. Community corrections officers aid in the behavioral change of their clients when they provide unambiguous rules about what is expected of them, and what will take place when those rules are violated (Reinventing Probation Council, 2000; Taxman et al., 1999). Readers should note the important distinction between punishment in criminal justice terms (such as supervision revocation and incarceration) and punishment in the realm of behavior modification (any consequence that decreases the occurrence of an action). To change offender behavior, community corrections officers should not rely on the most severe (criminal justice) punishments at all times, but should use the least severe (behavior modification) punishments that the offender will respond to (Morris & Tonry, 1990; Petersilia, 1999; Reinventing Probation Council, 2000). That being said, probationers and parolees cannot be allowed to believe that their supervising officer will not swiftly and certainly punish misbehaviors with a noxious consequence, yet the strength of the punishment should match the severity of the infraction (Reinventing Probation Council, 2000).

Additionally, supervising officers should be mindful that reinforcement is a more effective behavior modification technique than punishment (Andrews & Bonta, 2010), and can be used to leverage prosocial behavior from probationers

and parolees (Crime and Justice Institute at Community Resources for Justice, 2009; Robinson et al., 2012). The equation is simple: Offender behaviors that supervisors would like increased (i.e., prosocial actions) must be rewarded, and offender behaviors that supervisors would like decreased (i.e., antisocial actions) must be sanctioned (Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2004). The range of behaviors that receive reinforcement should be wide, from minor actions such as making polite conversation to major accomplishments such as gaining employment. When offenders are praised, whether with tangible prizes or verbal compliments, they are being trained to relocate the assessment, evaluation, and congratulation within themselves (Farrall, 2002). Enhancing intrinsic motivation, which includes helping offenders to value components of a prosocial lifestyle, is an important contribution to desistance and post-release success (Campbell, 2008; Clawson & Guevara, 2011; McNeill, 2006; Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2004).

An important distinction is that we do not advocate an approach that has graduated sanctions as the core framework for supervising offenders. For instance, Project HOPE (Honest Opportunity Probation with Enforcement) has its core feature the use of swift and certain punishments meant to invoke compliance. While there is some evidence that shows that this program has achieved some success, there are also limitations and downsides. Offender supervision philosophies that emphasize graduated sanctions above other tactics overstate the value of specific deterrence and downplay the value of other successful correctional practices (such as the risk-need-responsivity model; Duriez, Cullen, & Manchak, 2014). In some ways, probation and parole interventions focused on graduated sanctions may be too punishment-oriented, ignoring other contributors to criminality and effective prosocial mechanisms for achieving desistance. For these reasons, we envision graduated consequences as but one component of a larger opportunity-based offender supervision framework.

## Earned Discharge and Aftercare

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Just as immediate consequences for offender behavior should be graduated, so too must long-term outcomes reflect offender performance during probation and parole. Under the traditional model of offender supervision, probationers and parolees are discharged upon expiration of their term. This approach stands in contrast to the preferred method of releasing offenders from community corrections when they meet important goals *after* completing a minimum set sentence (such as completing a treatment program, committing no rule infractions for one year, or showing a marked reduction in the assessment of their criminogenic risks and needs; Petersilia, 2003; Solomon et al., 2008). One way to increase motivation and compliance, eventually leading to positive offender change, is to incorporate earned discharge or “accelerated release, whereby parolees have the ability to reduce the total length of their parole term by demonstrating arrest-free behavior and self-sufficiency” (Petersilia, 2007, p. 808). When low-risk offenders consistently meet strict supervision

guidelines, they should be provided the opportunity to earn their release from probation or parole (Pew Center on the States, 2008b). Not only does this refocus resources on the offenders in greatest need of surveillance and treatment, but it also provides offenders with the incentive to change and meet prosocial goals.

Because the assessment of community corrections programs should be based on public safety, so too should offenders be held to comparable standards. Setting aside the justifications of certain philosophies of punishment (e.g., just deserts; Cullen & Jonson, 2012), offenders should no longer be supervised by the criminal justice system when their threat of recidivism subsides (Burrell, 1998; Reinventing Probation Council, 2000; Rhine & Paparozzi, 1999). To achieve this goal, community corrections meetings between supervisors and offenders must be reoriented toward behavioral change (Raynor & Vanstone, 2015; Smith et al., 2012). There must be an emphasis on risk reduction, reflected in a decrease of the offender's exposure to crime opportunities (Cullen, Eck, & Lowenkamp, 2002). This goal is achieved through a cooperative process between probation and parole officers and their supervisees (Schwalbe, 2012), in which daily routines are structured around practical (achievable) and desirable (prosocial) activities.

Criminogenic risks and needs typically decrease across the supervision term, which not only has implications for case management but also for their discharge and aftercare (Schlager & Pacheco, 2011). In order to prepare offenders for their eventual release, internal control (such as emotional self-regulation) must be cultivated, and should increase as external controls (such as drug testing) are reduced (Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2004). Because offenders will at some point no longer be under the sway of correctional authorities, supervision officers should ultimately be preparing their clients for a prosocial, independent life. If positive outcomes are observed when offenders are provided with structure during their supervision (composed of surveillance and treatment components), then naturally there should be a continuity of care after release (Smith, Gendreau, & Goggin, 2009). That is, whatever factors contribute to probationers and parolees demonstrating prosocial behavior during the supervision term, community corrections departments can help to encourage lasting desistance by working to make those same factors available after the sentence has ended (e.g., access to counseling). Aftercare should be in place to support the progress the offenders made during their probation or parole term, but should also be transitional to prepare offenders for life after correctional supervision (Dowden et al., 2000; Latessa & Holsinger, 1998; Taxman, 1999). Importantly, the services provided to offenders during their supervision sentence must be relocated in the offender's community (as opposed to those that are conditionally tied to the local department of corrections; Reinventing Probation Council, 2000; Solomon et al., 2008).

The development of coping skills is a necessary ingredient to post-release relapse prevention in community corrections (Dowden et al., 2000). Additionally, engaging the offender's social network aids in reintegration and helps to limit lingering crime opportunities (Burke & Tonry, 2006; Dickey & Smith, 1998; Solomon et al., 2008). These individuals, when prosocial themselves, offer lasting informal social control after community corrections control has expired (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Laub, Sampson, & Allen, 2001; Taxman, 2006). The goal for probation and parole

officers is to prepare offenders for life independent of correctional supervision. This requires offender supervisors to understand their clients' environment and the crime opportunities it presents. To do so, community corrections officers require detailed information about the opportunities for offending their clients are exposed to, in what ways they are vulnerable to those crime opportunities, and what place managers, target guardians, and offender handlers they can recruit to minimize re-offending. Strategies for gathering these data are discussed in the following chapter.

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## Conclusion

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As the opening chapter of this book demonstrated, current offender supervision practices are not as effective as they could be. The traditional model of balancing treatment and control results in a bureaucratic process of brokering services to probationers and parolees while holding them accountable to unrealistic regulations on their conduct, rather than intervening in the factors that are causing an individual's offending. However, as the second chapter explored, the advances in crime prevention achieved in environmental criminology have several helpful implications for community corrections. Crime science innovations can inform offender supervision practices, as the reduction of crime opportunities for probationers and parolees should lower re-offending. The present chapter more specifically discussed how offenders can be supervised in the community according to the tenets of environmental corrections (Cullen, Eck, & Lowenkamp, 2002).

In line with this model, the nature of offender-supervisor meetings must be restructured. These interactions must focus on the causes of the individual's offending, creating supervision conditions that restructure the offender's daily routines so as to avoid exposure to crime opportunities and enhance opportunities for a prosocial lifestyle. Although current probation and parole practices traditionally emphasize general behavioral restrictions that are only loosely tied to criminological theory, opportunity-reduction supervision creates case plan stipulations designed to reduce chances to offend that are specific to each offender. As this chapter has outlined, information unique to each individual must be consulted in the development of supervision case plans, changing as necessary to reflect the offender's current criminogenic risks and needs. To tailor supervision conditions to the crime opportunities of each offender, data about the individual's patterns of activity are required. Indeed, to create a new model of supervision, new information is required, and to gain this new information, new data collection techniques are required. In the next chapter, we present new offender supervision technologies, providing offender supervisors with a sample of tools to help gauge their clients' opportunities for crime.