Doing More of What Matters Effective Correctional Programming in Perspective

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Frank J. Porporino, Ph.D.

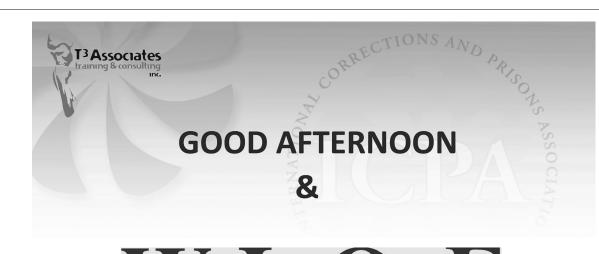




ICPA

International Corrections and Prisons Association

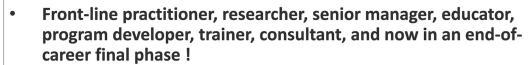
INTERNATIONAL CORRECTIONS AND PRISONS ASSOCIATION





INTRODUCTIONS -- Who Am I?

- I am Frank Porporino
- Italian by origin
- Canadian by birth
- A Ph.D. Clinical Psychologist
- Entire career in 'corrections' ... beginning
 as a prison psychologist ... almost 40 years



- Consulting work in over 25 countries
- First time in Japan!

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"The problems we see ... and the solutions we embrace ... derive from the perspectives we adopt"

A CONCISE History of Correctional Treatment Era of Experimentation Helping Professionals Invade Corrections 1950s & 60s Assume "Authority" of Knowledge & Expertise Martinson 1974 "Nothing Works" Correctional Pessimism Spreads Quickly 1970s Evidence vs. Ideology 1980s Re-Emergence of Rehabilitation Practice Beginning in Canada championing 'what works' ... RNR & CBT then to the UK, Australia, Scandinavian countries etc. **System Wide Implementation off Evidence-Based Practice** 1990s ... institutionalizing 'what works' THIRD WAVE Era of Integration 2000s ... -Programs in most countries now part what really works & what else works? of a broader CORRECTIONAL STRATEGY ... But still searching for "effectiveness"!



We Have Been Trying To Apply a "Science" of Human Change In Corrections

- Avoids hunches, personal theories and/or myths or biases;
- ◆ Base design of 'service delivery' on available EVIDENCE;
- ◆ Adopt 'BEST BET' approaches (strategies & programs in facilitating change in clients) ...

But Has It Always Been Science???

Complexity & Individuality of the process ??

"It is axiomatic that no one in prison is reprehensible and anti-social all of the time. Another way of putting this dictum is that no inmate is impervious to intervention all of the time, and that means that if the 'right' overture happens to intersect with the 'right' intermission or crisis in even a discouraging chronology, the inmate is likely to resonate and respond."

Hans Toch, 1987

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Historical Themes & Trends: WHAT STILL HOLD US BACK!

- Professional elitism still exists ... still insular & disconnected;
- Professionals are still 'playing' with their favorite ideas & paradigms ... patching & pasting ... over-emphasizing 'rationalism';
- Programs & rehabilitation 'theories' are still competing with one another (e.g., RNR vs. Desistance vs. Good Lives);
- New program design is pervasive ... but not always building thoughtfully on an integration of our knowledge base;
- Offenders are not being listened to ... no voice in program development;
- Line staff are still not as involved as they should be in program delivery ... not supported when they are;

Historical Themes & Trends: WHAT STILL HOLD US BACK!

Correctional 'pessimism' still spreads quickly ... preparedness to accept that we can't really influence 'change';

Negative findings still overwhelm the positive;

Programs are still seen in isolation ... they 'work' or 'don't work':

Programs still implemented in 'silos' & evaluated in 'silos';

Program efficiency still reigns supreme ... programs need to be quicker, easier, generic, give us better outcomes ...

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Is there risk of falling back into another 'nothing works' era!

Archbishop Martino said The Times

I think, therefore I am ... still a criminal

Richard Ford

TEACHING prisoners how to TEACHING prisoners how to think, and giving them social skills, has failed to stop them returning to a life of crime, according to British Home Office research.

The Prison Service has invested £200 million (\$496 million) in the courses which air

lion) in the courses, which aim to cut reconviction rates. Prisoners who attended the

courses were just as likely to re-offend as inmates who did not attend. Among medium to high-risk offenders, the reconviction rate was actually

reconviction rate was actually higher.

The programs, intended to improve "thinking skills", have been adopted in more than 100 jails in England and Wales. But the research found no difference between

The Home Office resear chers admitted the results were unexpected because an earlier study had shown the courses to be successful. They insisted that their findings "should not be taken as evidence that these programs are ineffective".

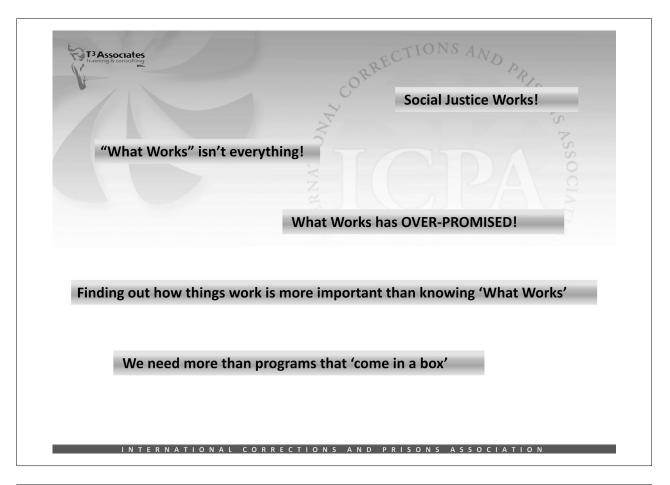
are ineffective".

Enver Solomon, of the Prison Reform Trust, said: "This research must be deeply disappointing, given that the Prison Service has invested so much in the cognitive skills program."

He said the findings raised the question of whether the programs had been sufficiently evaluated before being widely adopted.

ently evaluated before being widely adopted.

The courses, which cost an estimated £2000 to £7000 per place, aim to control "impulsivity, develop greater empathy with others and improve





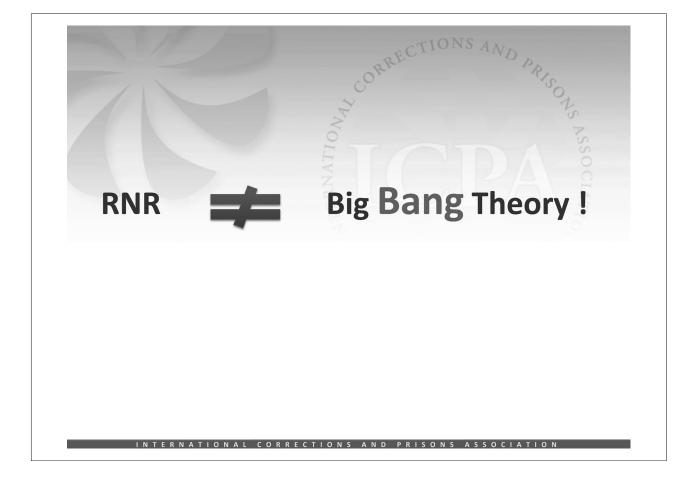
What Works INTERVENTIONS Applied to Offenders

RNR framework points us to some key principles

RISK should direct INTENSITY of service;

'Criminogenic' **NEEDS** ... should direct TARGETS of service Personal (e.g. criminal attitudes; poor self-control); Interpersonal (e.g., social skills; poor social perspective); Social (e.g., criminal associates; addictions)

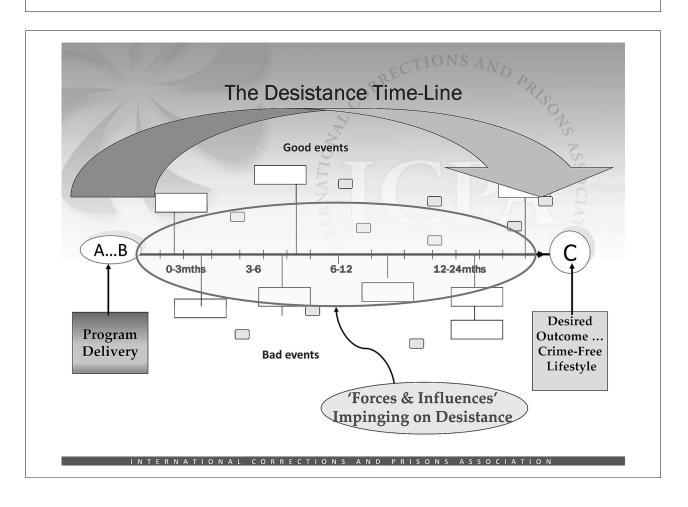
RESPONSIVITY ... learning style of offenders and what they will 'respond' to ... should influence DELIVERY of service;



"Why Do They Hate Us?: Making Peace Between Prisoners and Psychology"

Shadd Maruna

Psychology has drifted away from being a 'helping' profession in corrections, to being primarily a 'judging' profession ... scaring offenders with our basket of risk prognostication tools and instruments more than reaching out to them.



Evidence-Informed or Evidence-Based

We know very little about how intervention X delivered during the period A to B has any effect on changing personal circumstances, or changing reaction to personal circumstances, in the period B to C!

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Evidence-Informed or Evidence-Based

We don't know at all precisely which dynamic risk factors we might need to change by how much for which offenders, so our programs mostly take the scatter gun approach; try to change as many things as possible and hope for the best.

Evidence-Informed or Evidence-Based

We target offenders for intervention based on our calibration of their risk/needs levels, but on the *needs* side our assessment tools are at best crude. They help identify only broad domains we could target for treatment so we use guesswork to match program type with offender type, miss-matching routinely,

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Evidence-Informed or Evidence-Based

Though we believe that what we target between A to B (i.e., what we try to teach) is what is making the difference, it may be something else. For example, the central process of change-inducement for the offender may be more relationship-based than it is skills-based and this relationship-based change-inducement may come from either another offender and/or the program facilitator, or even another source all together (e.g., a family member supporting the offender's demonstrated intent to work at change, a probation officer's continued encouragement).

Evidence-Informed or Evidence-Based

Lots of offenders don't like what we do from A to B and one of the most consistent findings in the field, with different programs that address very different areas, is that program drop-outs show considerably worse outcomes at C, much worse than program completers and typically even worse than the comparison group who we have left alone.

Offenders dropping out of programs tend to be higher-risk, have more previous convictions, are younger, less well educated, generally have less stable lives, and often come from ethnic or cultural minority groups. We could say that those offenders who might need to be engaged the most by our programs are indeed perhaps engaged the least.

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"What Works": Two Interpretations!

Practicality ... Forcing it to Work

A set of techniques and/or methods we apply in "fixing" offenders;

Evidence Informed ... Helping It To Work

A guiding framework for developing a PROCESS of effective service delivery for offenders;

Process = The progress or course of something; implies that it takes time; and that it doesn't work if segmented;

What Works INTERVENTIONS Applied to Offenders

C-B-T Methods Ideally Suited In Many Ways!

Practical, Focused and Structured Approaches!

Can Help Teach New Skills!

Can Help Change Attitudes!

BUT MAYBE WE FORGOT THAT

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What Works INTERVENTIONS Applied to Offenders

□(MOST) Offenders are *Unwilling* participants;

- □ Some new 'thinking skills' may be learned ... BUT core beliefs may remain ... insight is still elusive;
 - □ Maintaining factors for offending are both Personal and Social;
- ☐ Attitudes & coping strategies of offenders strongly RESIST CHANGE ... especially when we try to IMPOSE change

What Works INTERVENTIONS Applied to Offenders □ CB Intervention by necessity has to be multi-faceted ... MANY dynamic risk factors at play! □ High dose is needed to do this BUT lengthy structured CB Intervention can tax offender's attention □ Offender's need the opportunity to rehearse & practice new skills ... experience the consequences of their application in real life ... before NEW skills are taught! □ The 'social' dynamic risk factors may need to be changing TOGETHER with the 'personal' ... not apart from or later on!

What Works INTERVENTIONS Applied to Offenders

CBT methods with 'soft' power to influence can't be applied as if they have 'hard' power' to change!

C-B INTERVENTION APPLIED TO OFFENDERS: Constraints & Obstacles





SOFT Power To Influence

Is it possible?
Could it Be?
Raise Doubt?
Negotiating Behavior
Change Over Time!

Challenge = Goal

But Not Style

HARD Power To Change

Assess & Target
Enforce Attendance
Time-Limited Treatments

Teach, Tell & Run!

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VS.

What isn't "Change" in Offenders?

I've taken a whole lot of programs. I've taken
Anger Management 5 times. I understand about
triggers and all that stuff... but it just doesn't help
me when I get angry"

an offender

What is "Change" in Offenders?

I've known for a long time that my life was shit ... but until I took this program ... I always thought it was all just because of bad luck"!

an offender

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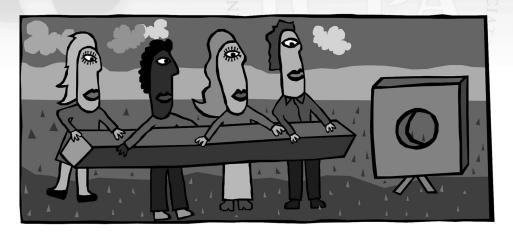
Institutionalizing 'What Works' Has Led To

- Program 'Fetishism' ...
- Imposition of 'Managerialism' ... e.g., targets
- Loss of 'individualization' ...
- Design towards accreditation 'criteria' (little innovation) ...
- Misguided Expectations of offender compliance ...

Colluding to Distract Us From Developing
A True 'Evidence-Informed' Process
For Effective Intervention With Offenders

"Fix Them" What Works

Slotting Offenders As Square Pegs Through Our Round Program Holes!



Program Type	Recidivism Impact		
Intensive Treatment-Oriented Community Supervision	-19.0%		
Drug Treatment in the Community Vocational Education in Prison C-B-T Programs Correctional Industries Programs In Prison TC with Community Aftercare	-10.9% -12.4% -8.1 -7.7		
		Prison Basic Adult Education Programs	-5.0



RESPONSIVITY

Purposeful, structured Correctional Programming (interventions) can be rehabilitative ...

but not as a short quick fix ...

We need time and consistent follow-through ... and multiple sources of pro-social influence ...

not just coming from correctional staff ... but from family, community volunteers and agencies who show interest in supporting the offender's efforts to change;

need a combined 'sphere of influence'

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If Corrections = Helping Effect Some Sort of Interest In 'Change' in Individual Offenders

We Need To Understand What We Are Doing & Why

Apply **ALL** That We Know With Sense & Sensitivity

Remain Evidence Informed ... not Pretend We Are Evidence-Based

Stop Competing & Start Integrating

Are There Correctional Programs That 'WORK'?

DUMB QUESTION ... BECAUSE ... IT DEPENDS ...

What the program is intended to do (or what we expect it to do)?

With Whom?

In What Context?

With What Other Services To Address Offender Needs & Concerns?

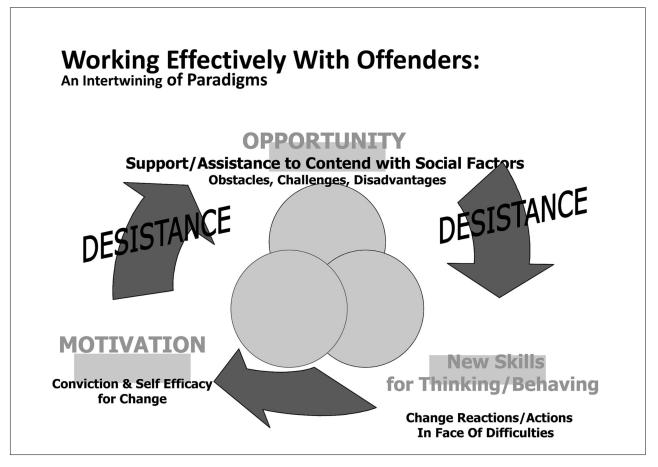
With What Follow-Through & Continued Support?

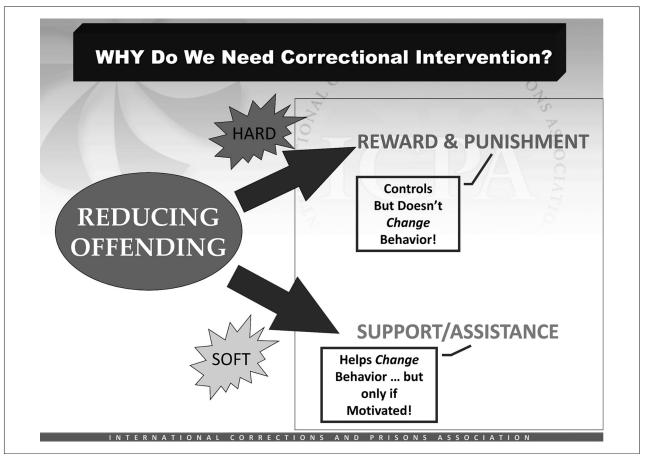
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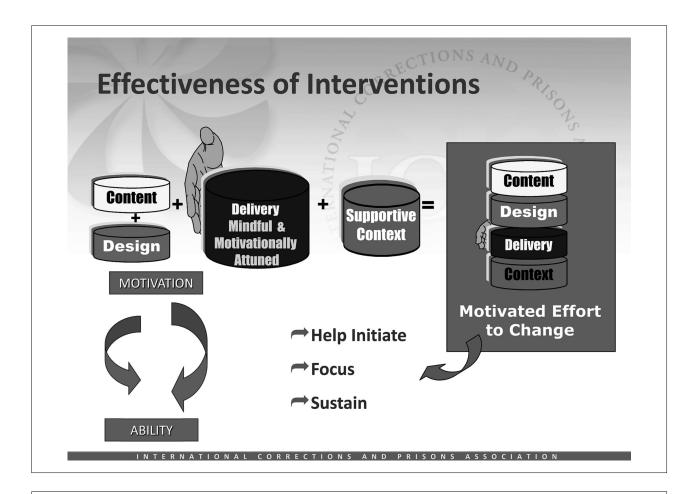
Effective Correctional Practice?

IT DEMANDS:

- Integrated, Coherent, Theoretically Sound Framework for how we should intervene with offenders.
- Consistency and Continuity ... in how services are provided to offenders across the agency and in all intersections of the agency with other agencies;
- Accessibility to an Appropriate Level of Service for all Offenders ... so there is neither more than is necessary nor less than is required;
- Quality Control of services as a routine embedded into the agency culture;
- System-Level Accountability that is Clear and Unambiguous (why we're doing what we're doing with whom!);







Initiating and Maintaining 'CHANGE' Involves Helping Offenders Find • Motive (some reasons to begin considering change) • Method (strategies and remedies to address obstacles/problems) • Experience (of success and satisfaction) • Acceptance (by respected and significant others)



"In addressing the factors that contribute to re-offending, correctional services often have to remedy a lifetime of combined service failure, often unaided. And when prisoners are released, agencies are far from pro-active in identifying them, and indeed there is evidence that prisoners are actively de-prioritised"

"Most prevalent amongst released prisoners is low motivation and poor self-organization"

SEU Report Reducing Re-Offending by Ex-Prisoners

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Evidence About What Makes For Successful Re-Entry ... Urban Institute Re-Entry Initiative

EMPLOYMENT

Prisoners who participate in job training and educational programs in prison are less likely to return to prison after release;

Participation in work release programs while in prison has a positive impact on the likelihood of finding full-time employment after release;

An increase in levels of employment for returning prisoners is a strong predictor of reductions in drug dealing, violent crime, and property crime;

Case-managed re-entry services increase the likelihood of finding and maintaining employment after release from prison;

While prisoners believe that having a job is an important factor in staying out of prison, few have a job lined up after release (only 1 in 5) and few find work their first year out (only about 50%);

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SUBSTANCE USE AND REENTRY

A majority of prisoners have extensive substance use histories (up to 80%)

Prisoners identify drug use as the primary cause of many of their past and current problems;

Consensus in the field is that in-prison treatment is much more likely to effectively sustain a decline in substance use if it is tailored to an individual's needs, integrated across all stages of the justice system, and linked to drug treatment aftercare in the community;

Participation in A/A and N/A treatment after release is associated with significant reductions in substance use among offenders;

Offenders with substance use histories and those who engage in substance use after release are at a much higher risk to reoffend within their first year out;

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HOUSING REENTRY

The majority of prisoners believe that having a stable place to live is important to successful re-entry;

Returning prisoners with stable accommodation live mostly with family members and/or intimate partners upon release;

But many former prisoners return home to living arrangements that are only temporary;

Housing options for returning prisoners who do not stay with family members or friends are extremely limited;

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HEALTH AND REENTRY

A substantial number of prisoners have been diagnosed with a serious physical or mental health condition (about 30%);

Less than ½ of those diagnosed actually receive treatment while in prison;

Many corrections agencies lack discharge planning and preparation for addressing health care needs upon release, making continuity of care difficult;

Securing health care is a major concern for many released prisoners;

The vast majority of returning prisoners do not have any form of medical insurance

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FAMILY

Most 'successful' ex-offenders report that family support was a critical factor in helping them stay out of prison (i.e., emotional and financial support);

Prisoners who reported more positive family relationships were less likely to be reconvicted after release;

Close family relationships significantly improved employment outcomes for returning prisoners (30% better chance);

Returning prisoners who are married are more likely to find employment after release, and those with children to whom they are closely attached enjoy better employment and substance use outcomes;

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COMMUNITIES AND REENTRY

A relatively large number of prisoners return to a small number of communities;

Returning prisoners are often clustered in a few neighbourhoods within those cities (Million Dollar Blocks!) ... where there is high levels of social and economic disadvantage;

Former prisoners who relocate after they are released tend to move to neighbourhoods similar to the ones they left;

Prisoners returning to neighbourhoods that they perceived to be unsafe and lacking in social capital are at much greater risk of recidivism (and of not remaining drug free or employed).

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Initiating and Maintaining 'CHANGE'

Involves Helping Offenders Find

- Motive (some reasons to begin considering change)
- Method (strategies and remedies to address obstacles/problems)
 - **Experience** (of success and satisfaction)
 - **Acceptance** (by respected and significant others)

Evidence From the 'Desistance' Paradigm

- Offenders Can Accurately Assess Their Readiness to Desist ... and it predicts re-offending!
- ➤ Desistance is not an EVENT ... it's a PROCESS with Zigs and Zags ... where relapses should be expected!
- ➤ AGENCY is as important as STRUCTURE in movement towards desistance.

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Evidence From the 'Desistance' Paradigm

- There are 'TRANSITIONS' in offenders lives that may be critical ... and that can activate 'desistance' narratives;
- ➤ Help with major social problems may not be sufficient but it is a necessary condition in encouraging desistance;
- ➤ Focus should be on the 'possibility' of change and 'labelling' should be avoided;
- As offenders move towards embracing desistance ... many will need new skills and opportunities to make use of them (human and social capital).

EFFECTING DESISTANCE: KEY PRACTICE PRINCIPLES

- Being realistic about the complexity and difficulty of the process;
- Individualising support for change;
- Building and sustaining hope (optimism);
- Recognising and developing people's strengths (self-efficacy);
- Respecting and fostering agency (or self-determination);
- Working with and through relationships (personal & professional);
- Developing social as well as human capital;
- Recognising and celebrating progress;

<u>DESISTANCE = Re-Defined Sense of Self</u> ... Able to accept 'who I was' but preferring 'who I am becoming' ... adopting new roles and identities and differentiating oneself from criminal others (I'm not like them).

INSIGHTS

How and why people stop offending: discovering desistance; 2012 Fergus McNeill, Stephen Farrall, Claire Lightowler & Shadd Maruna

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Decisional Balance: The "Desistance Shift" **Not To Change** To Change Concerns **Benefits** Shift in Goals & Values (locus of control shift) (OBSTACLES) UNIMPORTANT! MANAGEABLE! Self-Identity Concerns **Benefits** (Costs) **SATISFYING! MEANINGFUL!**

RNR ... Core Correctional Practices

(Andrews, 1980)

- ✓ Effective use of authority;
- √ Promoting pro-social & counteracting anti-social sentiments;
- ✓ Collaborative problem-solving to help remove obstacles and/or reduce emotional distress;
 - ✓ Steering towards appropriate community resources (i.e., structuring);
- ✓ Communicating & relating meaningfully (i.e., warmly, optimistically & enthusiastically)

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Lessons We Have Learned In Applying Evidence-Informed Practice!

- A 'program' can be part of the correctional experience
 ... but <u>impact</u> comes from the whole experience;
- Depending on when, how and why they are delivered, interventions can be helpful ... but they can also be irrelevant or even exasperating and risk-enhancing;



Lessons We Have Learned In Applying Evidence-Informed Practice!

- Negotiating meaningful goals with offenders (motivationally!!) works better than imposing them;
- And teaching them skills they want to learn works better than teaching them why they should learn them!

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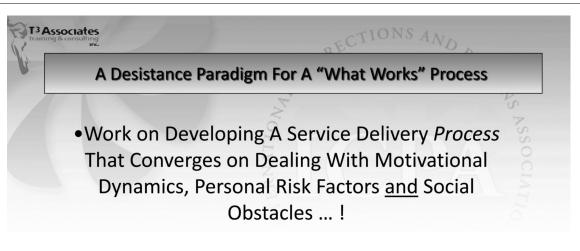
Lessons We Have Learned In Applying Evidence-Informed Practice!

- Good corrections is not just about supporting, assisting and monitoring. It's about ensuring 'continuity of intervention' within the context of the relationship we build with offenders.
- Change begins to take shape for offenders when they develop both desire to make it happen and confidence that it can ...

Motivation + Ability = DESISTANCE

Nudging, Skilling & Supporting!





- Don't Just Implement Programs ... Attend to the Context;
- Understand the Offender and his/her Offending Before Prescribing Programs as Solutions;

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A Desistance Paradigm For A "What Works" Process

- Work on Developing a Service Delivery Process
 That Converges on Dealing With Motivational
 Dynamics, Personal Risk Factors and Social
 Obstacles ... in parallel and with continuity!
- Don't just Implement the Program ... Attend to the Context;
- Understand the Offender and his/her Offending Before Prescribing Programs as Solutions;

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A Desistance Paradigm For A "What Works" Process

- ✓ How the offender experiences and reacts to the world;
 - ✓ The inter-relatedness of problems linked to offending;
- ✓ Problem 'un-awareness', how much of it there may be and with relevance to what issues;
- ✓ The attitudes that may have to be overcome to accept putting effort into changing;

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A Desistance Paradigm For A "What Works" Process

- Attend to 'Agency' ... By Providing Some Choice and Variety for the Pro-Social Learning Experience (Enhancement of personal 'capacities'; Changes in immediate circumstances; Timing, sequencing and nature of services and interventions that might help.);
- Learn As The Process Is Failing ... not Just from When it Succeeds;

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Effective Probation Supervision!

- A demeanour that shows sensitivity and understanding of the offender's perspective (without collusion);
- An ability to negotiate active participation;
- An attuned sense of how offenders may tend to <u>react</u> to <u>and/or reject</u> what is proposed to them;

Effective Probation Supervision!

- That focuses on encouraging the offender to arrive at sensible and reasonable conclusions (through analysis of their own decisions/thinking);
- Provides "critical" and "problem-solving" advice when it seems welcomed ... but grounded in a "demonstrated understanding of the offender's situation";

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Effective Probation Supervision!

- Can talk convincingly about the consequences of, and alternatives to offending;
- Provides encouragement that is perceived as genuine ...
 coming from a desire for "wishing you make a success
 of your life";
- Attends to promoting self-determination ... and change in the offender's "self-identity and sense of maturity and responsibility".

Working Effectively With Offenders: An Intertwining of Paradigms

In the Before ... During ... and After

- Attend to Engagement
- Attend to Quality
- Attend to Continuity
- Attend to Interdependence

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Skills, Risk and Reconviction in Probation

- · Effective use of authority
- Modelling and reinforcing anti-criminal attitudes
- Teaching problem-solving skills
- Effective use of community resources
- Relationship factors open, warm, enthusiastic, mutual respect, therapeutic alliance, + communication skills

Raynor et al., (2013) Skills and outcomes: the results of the Jersey supervision skills study

