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# Evaluation of Washington State Department of Corrections (WADOC) Swift and Certain (SAC) Policy Process, Outcome and Cost-Benefit Evaluation

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**Evaluation of  
Washington State Department of Corrections (WADOC)  
Swift and Certain (SAC) Policy  
Process, Outcome and Cost-Benefit Evaluation**

**August 31, 2015**

Submitted by:

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## Executive Summary

In 2012, the Washington State Department of Corrections (WADOC) embarked on an ambitious effort to restructure their community supervision model. These changes were driven by the passage of Senate Bill 6204, which created substantial operating changes to the Community Corrections Division (CCD) of the WADOC, including matching the level of supervision to offender's risk level, utilizing evidence-based treatment and implementing swift and certain (yet moderate) jail sanctions for community supervision violations (Washington State Department of Corrections 2008; 2014). The Swift and Certain (SAC) policy was implemented in May of 2012, with the intent of expanding the HOPE model to a much broader community-based criminal justice population. Primarily, SAC was established to reduce confinement time for sanctions following a violation of supervision conditions. While maintaining a substantial focus on public safety, the Washington SAC program also sought to reduce correctional costs associated with short-term confinement for violation sanctioning. Through support by the Laura and John Arnold Foundation (LJAF), researchers at Washington State University (WSU) completed a multi-phase project to examine the implementation process and provide an outcome and cost-benefit evaluation of SAC.

*Process Evaluation:* The purpose and intent of this research is to provide a deeper understanding of the implementation, adoption and use of SAC with over 10,000 offenders across the state of Washington. To complete this evaluation, WSU Researchers conducted the following: 1) a careful document review of policies and procedures, 2) focus groups were conducted with community corrections officers and supervisors (CCOs & CCSs), and 3) community corrections offenders. Over 16 hours of interviews were transcribed, and were then coded to search for common themes and patterns in the data. Interviews were also conducted with numerous WADOC Administrators in order to clarify or gain further insight.

Findings from the qualitative data analysis of document and focus group transcripts reveal several major theme domains for both CCOs/CCSs and offenders and are summarized as follows:

Community Correction Officers	Offenders
Implementation Challenges Changes to Organizational Culture Offender Needs	Policy and Practice Interpretation Offender Needs

We found substantial overlap in the focus group results between officers and offenders. Both groups held strong opinions about the lack of discretion provided under SAC. It was suggested that a return of some small level of discretion would better ensure the needs of WADOC clients are met. In addition, there was a desire to individualize case management, providing a wider array of interventions for offenders. It was also

indicated that SAC might not be appropriate for all offender types, including those with significant mental health diagnoses and active drug/alcohol addictions.

While some implementation challenges were apparent, SAC's rollout was relatively efficient and is in use in all WADOC field offices today. The efficiency is likely the result of quality assurance measures implemented with SAC to ensure fidelity. It is also interesting to note that, while some minor differences were identified; overall SAC's implementation and practices are similar across the six correctional regions. What is most remarkable about the study findings is that, despite the accelerated timeline provided by the legislative mandate, SAC was implemented as intended and is achieving its objectives. With a continued focus on quality assurance and training the WADOC will attempt to ensure that the policy retains fidelity and stability over time.

*Outcome and Cost-Benefit Evaluation:* The core focus of the outcome and cost-benefit evaluation was to examine if SAC was meeting its intended goals, including: reduced confinement sanctioning resulting from community corrections violations, reduced recidivism, increased treatment utilization, reduced violation behavior, and a reduction in correctional and associated costs. Utilizing a quasi-experimental design and making use of a historically matched comparison group (offenders participating in community supervision prior to SAC's implementation) we evaluated these SAC objectives. Overall the findings were positive, demonstrating effectiveness across several key areas. Findings show that:

- 1) SAC participants were found to incur fewer incarceration sanction days following a violation. Specifically, SAC significantly reduced the proportion of offenders confined following a violation and the duration of time they served for those violations. This was an impressive reduction as the **odds of confinement were reduced by roughly 20 percent and the duration of confinement was reduced by average of 16 days in the initial 12 months following reentry.**
- 2) SAC's implementation did *not* impact public safety negatively, as participants were found to have a reduced probability of recidivism. Specially, **SAC participants were found to have 20 percent reduced odds of any conviction, felony conviction, and property conviction. Furthermore, SAC participants possessed 30 percent reduced odds of a violent felony conviction.**
- 3) SAC participants possess greater treatment program utilization. **The findings indicate that SAC participants had an increased participation and duration of chemical dependency and cognitive behavioral therapies,** with many significant differences identified in the 12 months following reentry.
- 4) SAC participants greatly reduced their propensity of committing "any" and "non-serious" violations and a reduced propensity for "serious" violations in the 12 months following reentry. While SAC participants incurred an anticipated greater frequency of non-serious (or low level) violations in the first months of their supervision, **SAC participants reduced their propensities for non-serious violations at a greater rate than comparison subjects over time and were less likely to incur a serious violation throughout their supervision.** Variations were found among "absconding" violations as well, where policy alterations for this violation type indicated that SAC participants incurred greater absconding propensities prior to the policy



change; while those that participated following the policy change possessed reduced propensities in reference to comparison subjects.

5) Participants possess lower correctional and associated costs. As anticipated, supervision and confinement costs decreased, while the costs of treatment provision increased as a result of SAC. Overall, recidivism reduced among participants, which generated costs savings for the policy. **Specifically, a cost savings ratio of 16 dollars saved for every dollar spent on SAC was identified.**

Overall, SAC has been successful in meeting its intended objectives and, in some respects, may have exceeded expectations. Due to the economic downturn, the WADOC was asked to make large budget cuts, while maintaining public safety. This was a substantial task of which SAC was one of several methods used to achieve this goal. While additional factors may have contributed to the findings, our results indicate that not only was public safety maintained but that reductions in recidivism were also observed. Furthermore, while correctional and associated costs were significantly reduced, what is still unmeasured are the societal cost reductions provided through the reduced confinement time, which (qualitative analyses confirmed) resulted in maintained offender employment, social support and increased treatment participation.

While SAC still has room for improvement, there are many strengths and “take-aways” of the initiative that can be utilized by other states or agencies looking to adopt programs similar to SAC.

- 1) In contrast to many deterrence-based sentencing strategies implemented in previous years that relied on longer periods of incarceration for violations, SAC reduced the length of confinements and created greater proportionality with regard to the violation level. Although WADOC significantly reduced the amount of time spent in jail on violations, these reductions had no appreciable negative impacts on public safety, and in fact our findings indicate improved public safety as a result of SAC.
- 2) While certainty of sanctioning was the key policy alteration, it was combined with a graduated sanctioning schedule that provided distinctions between low versus high level violations. This schedule (for the most part) was well known to all offenders. Findings revealed greater reductions of violations overtime and focus group results of SAC indicated greater appreciation of known consequences and the consistency of their application.
- 3) Portions of the monies saved were reinvested in programming in an attempt to further improve offender’s reentry transition and reduce recidivism as a result.
- 4) Perhaps key to this entire initiative was that the WADOC implemented training and quality assurance practices to maintain SAC’s fidelity. This contribution has been notably absent in many historical policy shifts or program applications in the corrections field. Still in place currently, the WADOC quality assurance team was an important model component that should be replicated if SAC is attempted in other jurisdictions.

## Section A: Introduction

This report is being submitted by researchers with the Washington State University (WSU) Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology (DCJC) and the Washington State Institute for Criminal Justice (WSICJ) in response to the request for a process, outcome and cost-benefit evaluation of the Washington State's Swift and Certain (SAC) policy. This report covers the combined findings from the *process, outcome and cost-benefit study* of SAC. Separate technical reports for both the process and the outcome and cost-benefit studies were submitted in April and July of 2015.

For the process evaluation, this report examines how well the Washington State Department of Corrections (WADOC) implemented and operated the new legislatively mandated procedures and programs of SAC. Data for the process evaluation was gathered via document review and focus groups of community corrections participants, officers and supervisors. Findings from these various sources are combined to produce a general understanding of how closely SAC was implemented as intended and served to inform the outcome and cost-benefit studies. Completion of the process evaluation also provided perceived barriers of the program, allowing for further recommendations of policy and training modifications going forward.

For the outcome and cost-benefit evaluation, this report seeks to determine whether SAC was an effective policy, achieving its goals in contrast to a historical comparison of supervision participants prior to SAC's implementation. The core focus of the outcome evaluation was to determine if SAC participants were confined for fewer days on average following a technical violation, less likely to be reconvicted, more likely to utilize cognitive behavioral treatments (CBT) and chemical dependency treatments, and incur fewer correctional and associated costs. Data was collected and analyzed from a variety of database systems, including those from the WADOC, Administrative Office of the Courts (AOC), and the Department of Social and Health Services (DSHS).

The WSU research team constructed two retrospective samples of subjects who began their community corrections supervision following the implementation of SAC. The first sample of participants was those that began supervision during the months of September through November of 2012 (representing the first experimental group). A policy change regarding absconding violations occurred in December of 2012. In an attempt to study the effects of this change, a second SAC group was created from participants beginning community supervision between the months of December 2012 through February 2013 (representing the second experimental group). For the historical comparison group, we selected all offenders beginning their community supervision during the months of September 2010 through February 2011. All study subjects were followed for 12 months from their community supervision start date. Confinement, recidivism, and key treatment measures are examined, comparing each group over the follow-up period. The

cost-benefit study for this project focused solely on the allocation of taxpayer dollars as it pertains to the various treatment, confinement, supervision, and cost associated with recidivism.

## Section B: Background

A substantial portion of the dramatic increase in the amount of individuals incarcerated over the past two decades has been linked to sanctions for community supervision violations. Both anecdotal and qualitative findings (Steen, Opsal, Lovegrove, & McKinzie, 2013) have shown that the method and severity of sanctions applied to violations of community supervision (probation) is decidedly idiosyncratic and allows for probation officers to employ a great deal of discretion. Community supervision of offenders is a demanding task for Community Correctional Officers (CCOs), as they are required to embrace many different roles (e.g. law enforcement, social worker, serve broker, educator) while managing a caseload of offenders with complex and varied needs. It is not surprising that research has shown that the method and severity of sanctions applied to violations of community supervision (probation) widely vary, and that CCOs employ a great deal of discretion (Steen, Opsal, Lovegrove, & McKinzie, 2013; Lipsky, 2010).

While there has been a vast amount of research conducted on predicting recidivism of offenders, (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2006), the discretion utilized by community supervision officers has made it difficult to empirically evaluate the nature, frequency, and common characteristics of offenders and community corrections violations. Many minor violations (i.e. treatment termination, failed drug screens, and missed office visits) often do not result in a sanction or confinement. Generally, only after a major violation or a preponderance of minor violations is an offender sanctioned to confinement, often with few-to-no preceding intermediate sanctions. Furthermore, the “threshold” of violations required for sanctioning may vary by officer, offender, and region. It was for this reason that community correction’s use of confinement sanctions has been seen as overly punitive and costly (Drake & Aos, 2012; Grattet, Petersilia, Lin, & Beckman, 2009; Lin, Grattet, & Petersilia, 2010). The erratic nature of community corrections sanctioning is not unique to Washington and is witnessed nationally (Clear, Harris, & Baird, 1992; Grattet, Petersilia, Lin, & Beckman, 2009; Lin, Grattet, & Petersilia, 2010; Steen et al., 2013; Wodahl, Ogle, & Heck, 2011).

The intended goals of community corrections are many – justice, public safety, rehabilitation, and deterrence. During the process of supervision, technical violations of an offender’s supervision conditions act as a proxy for criminal behavior, thus, a supervision officer is tasked with observing and punishing offenders accordingly for said violations. A primary theory that governs supervision practices is *deterrence theory*. Deterrence theory specifies that the punishment of offenders is most effective when sanctions are incurred swiftly, with certainty, and with proportional severity (Bentham, 1780). More specifically, an immediate consequence (*swiftness*) is more effective than one that is delayed either due to officer discretion or procedural restrictions. *Certainty* of sanctioning for all violations will result in an offender taking few risks and greater compliance with supervision conditions. Finally, sanctions must be *proportional in severity* to the violation incurred. All punishments must impact the offender to have an effect. However, if both minor and major

violations are sanctioned with the same confinement duration, offenders question the costs (and benefits) of committing major violations, resulting in both types becoming more likely to be committed.

Prior to the implementation of SAC, a similar program was piloted in Hawaii. Known as the Hawaii Opportunity Probation with Enforcement (HOPE), this program made attempts to use deterrence strategies to reduce drug use, new crimes, and incarceration of violators by using swift and certain sanctions that were less severe than sending violators to prison (Hawken, 2010; Hawken & Kleiman, 2009). To accomplish this, HOPE authorized short-term stays in local jails immediately following any violation. An evaluation of HOPE revealed a successful implementation, achieving significant findings of all stated goals. This was also a notable break from previous trends in corrections and application of deterrence. This new wave of deterrence model (spawned by HOPE) is contrary to other recent attempts of employing deterrence through punishment. It instead suggests that less, not more, confinement time will result in greater model fidelity.

In Washington State the historical practice of applying sanctions following a violation was previously discretionary-based and disproportional based on localized resources. Although a variety of sanctions were possible, ranging from a stipulated agreement<sup>1</sup> to a jail confinement, application of said sanctions lacked consistent delivery. Jail confinement sanctions were delivered in durations of 30, 60, 90 and 120 days. Graduated jail confinements were used as sanctions resulting from violations but were primarily provided via officer discretion. The stated severity of confinement duration resulted in their erratic delivery, which varied by Community Corrections Officer (CCO), hearing officer and geographic region.

Therefore, the primary principles of deterrence were not applied efficiently in Washington. The disproportionality of violation sanction severity, coupled with officer discretion created an erratic application. This prevented sanctions from being applied both with certainty and of appropriate intensity. It was clear to the WADOC that substantial drift had occurred, away from the traditional model of deterrence towards a more punitive and potentially damaging system. Following the promising findings of HOPE, a change was needed to revitalize community corrections.

Coinciding with an anticipated policy change, the economic recession of 2007/2008 had a profound impact on the WADOC. In response to the economic downturn, all state agencies in Washington were required to engage in budget reduction efforts. In years following 2008, the WADOC was tasked to reduce costs of community supervision while maintaining public safety (Washington State Department of Corrections, 2012).

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<sup>1</sup> A *Stipulated Agreement* is considered a formal violation process/action. The form (agreement) indicates the commission of a violation and the right to a hearing to contest the violation. By stipulating (signing) to the agreement, the offender forgoes a hearing and agrees to abide by the sanctions provided by the community corrections officer (CCO). If there is a failure to abide by the stipulations described in the agreement, a violation is considered to have been committed. Sanctions based on a stipulated agreement can vary (i.e. community services, programming, etc.) but cannot include confinement.

Acknowledging these challenges, the WADOC embarked on an aggressive restructuring of the Community Corrections Division (CCD) in 2012. In an effort to control costs, the Washington State Legislature signed in law 2E2SSB6204 in May, 2012. This law, termed Swift and Certain (SAC), aimed to reduce confinement resulting from probation and parole violation sanctioning. Under SAC, CCOs are now required to quickly and with certainty address all violation, which are classified as either low or high level violations. This report evaluates the effectiveness of SAC's implementation and findings with regard to achieving stated public safety and cost-reduction goals.

## Section C: Overview of Swift and Certain

“Research shows that traditional mechanisms of surveillance-based supervision and sanctioning are ineffective in reducing recidivism or improving public safety. The legislature is persuaded by recent studies showing that swift and certain sanctions, in combination with treatment-based interventions that address chemical dependency and criminogenic behaviors, are a more effective and efficient use of public resources to affect future crime.”

Legislative Declaration, Second Engrossed Second Substitute Senate Bill 6204 (2E2SSB 6204)

Encouraged by the positive signs of caseload reduction initiatives, the WADOC embarked on a pilot initiative in Seattle – the Washington Intensive Supervision Pilot (WISP) (Hawken & Kleiman, 2011). Modeled from the principles of the HOPE program (see Hawken & Kleiman, 2009), the WISP program was created to pilot and assess the applicability of the model in Washington and made use of a short (60 day) evaluation period. Initial positive findings spawned the creation and state-wide roll out of the policy (Washington State Department of Corrections, 2012).

On May 2, 2012 the Washington State Legislature signed into law Senate Bill 6204 – Swift and Certain (SAC). The policies and programming of SAC aim to increase the swiftness in which a sanction is given for a violation and the certainty in which it is applied. Utilizing immediate and brief jail stays (DOC 460.130) in lieu of long-term confinement, the law attempts to change behavior through consistent, more frequent, albeit less severe consequences. To create consistent sanctioning for violations, the WADOC assembled their “Behavior Accountability Guide” (BAG). Specifically it requires that:

1. Violations are categorized as either “Low” or “High”, and after five “low level” violations the subsequent violation is classified as “high level”.
2. On the first “low level” violation offenders can sign a stipulated agreement. Offenders committing two-to-five additional “low level” violations receive up to three days jail confinement.
3. Following a “high level” violation, a mandatory arrest occurs. Offenders with suspended confinement time may have their supervision revoked.
4. Offenders committing “high level” violations receive (up to) 30 days in jail confinement.
5. “Low level” confinements do not require a sanctioning hearing and may be provided by the supervision officer (with a supervisor’s approval) and are provided immediately.
6. All new crimes committed in an officer’s presence are to be reported to law enforcement or filed with the local prosecutor.
7. Offenders are informed/educated as to the new violation procedures upon release to community supervision.
8. Estimated savings generated under SB6204 are to be used to expand evidenced-based offender change programming. Programming modifications were to focus on chemical dependency and/or cognitive behavioral treatments based on offenders’ assessed needs.

The BAG is a document provided to all offenders that defines high versus low-level violations, what the process entails for violations, and aggravating factors. There are some larger breaks with traditional supervision practices. In particular, the concepts that all violations are sanctioned, CCOs have the ability to sanction without a hearing, and all new crimes are handled separately (not as back-door violations) are somewhat novel. The BAG's provision is intended to increase the accountability for absconding violations, create greater proportionality of sanctioning and, in turn, bring the SAC policy application closer to the deterrence model goal it was seeking to achieve.

While focus group findings revealed notable apprehension with the scale and accelerated pace of the SAC rollout, the implementation process, somewhat surprisingly, lacked controversy. This, in part, can be attributed to three important implementation adherence measures that the WADOC put in place, including:

- 1) A "rolling training" model that was launched statewide, and delivered by subject matter experts.
- 2) The creation of quality assurance safeguards to monitor the adherence model through a Sustainability Review process carried out by the implementation team.
- 3) The use of "Community Corrections Weekly Messages" to relay important information about SAC.

Operations feedback from CCO's and administration was also evaluated on a weekly basis to monitor public safety and program effectiveness.

Rarely is an implementation of this magnitude void of hurdles, however, and SAC was no exception. In the initial implementation of the BAG, SAC (May-to-December of 2012) inadvertently created an opportunity for abscond violations to be considered "low level". The WADOC Contact Standards require the offender to make periodic "check in's" with CCOs at a local field office or allow for field contacts at their home or work. While missing a CCO contact appointment may be viewed as a minor violation, a long duration in which a CCO cannot locate an offender should be viewed as a more serious violation (or an "abscond" from supervision). In the initial stages of SAC this distinction was not defined. Meaning that all failures to report (including absconds) were sanctioned as a minor violation. This disproportionality of sanctioning was identified by the Sustainability Review to be in contrast with deterrence principles and resulted in a policy modification. In December of 2013, the BAG was modified to include a "high level" violation for offenders who missed a scheduled CCO contact and failed to surrender to authorities within seven days.

The objective of SAC in Washington was to reduce incarcerations resulting from community corrections violation sanctioning. Although similar in concept to the HOPE project, the program differs from Hawaii's probation model in three important ways, including that:

1. SAC was implemented statewide, making it one of the first programs to be taken to scale and provide results via a rigorous outcome evaluation.



2. SAC includes both felony offenders and court supervised cases (i.e. misdemeanor probation). Thus, the policy's effect among a more heterogeneous population (with regard to crime severity and risk) is tested. Positive effects identified would provide an argument for the policy's wider use throughout the country.
3. SAC was almost immediately brought to scale, and by July of 2012 the entire community corrections population was converted to the SAC supervision model. Washington has thus created a naturalized experiment, absent observation effects that have been known to artificially heighten positive results of small pilots.

Therefore, the evaluation of SAC fills an important gap in existing research while providing a guide for state supervision practices nationwide. In the sections that follow (Sections D, E and F) a detailed report is provided for the methods and findings of the process, outcome and cost-benefit studies of SAC.

## Section D: SAC Process Evaluation

To conduct this process evaluation, WSU researchers completed three main tasks. First, we completed a careful document review of both the interim and standing policy and procedures for the program was completed, i.e., forms, training resources, communication materials, memos and legislative reports.

Next, focus groups with SAC participants were conducted across the state of Washington. Focus groups were also conducted with offenders' CCOs and Supervisors. The use of both methods allowed researchers to gather information regarding what the offenders and staff found to be both rewarding and challenging from the SAC. Focus groups were completed with a total of 79 CCOs and CCSs, and with 56 offenders under current supervision. All focus groups were conducted by trained WSU researchers. Participants were informed that the process was completely voluntary, confidential, and that could leave the interview at any time. The sessions for both the offenders and CCO/Supervisor staff had similar open-ended questions centered around key topics such as the roll-out and training/education on SAC, perceived effectiveness of SAC, strengths and challenges and recommendation for change. The years of experience for the CCOs and CCSs ranged from 2 days of employment to 41 years. There were more male CCO participants than female. The majority of focus groups were held either at Field Administration offices, or Community Justice Centers. Interviews with CCOs and CCSs lasted approximately one hour, while offender focus groups averaged 30-35 minutes in length. Audio recordings of focus groups/interviews were transcribed for qualitative data analysis. This resulted in over 350 pages of transcription from approximately 16 hours of recordings.

Finally, interviews were conducted with key WADOC officials to confirm findings and to provide greater insights into transitional practices and policy changes.

In the sections that follow, a detailed description of the document review, as well as the focus group findings are presented in order to provide a deeper understanding of how WADOC has been able to achieve their targeted goals under such a relatively short time frame.

**A) Document Review:** In qualitative research, the review of documents, program materials and policies and procedures is an important tool. Review of such materials allows an evaluator to gain insights into program operations that often cannot be observed, creates an investigative track of practices that occurred before the evaluation began, and can reveal the complexity of a program (Patton, 2002). For this study, WSU Researchers reviewed all interim and standing policies and procedures related to SAC, as well as training, implementation, communication, and quality assurance materials. What follows below is a detailed description

of these materials, and then a presentation of the focus group results.

**Implementation Team:** After the passage of 6204, WADOC Administration quickly, and wisely, assembled a *6204 Implementation Team* that was charged with serving as trainers and subject matter experts on Swift and Certain. All team members were Supervisors, and were taken off-line for over a one-year period in order to provide training and support for SAC. This team worked closely with WADOC headquarters staff to develop various training materials (e.g. power points, sample documents) and to conduct the trainings across the six WADOC regions. This team also served as subject matter experts (SMEs), and CCOs and field staff were able to directly contact their assigned SMEs for on-going support and assistance. In addition to this team, WADOC created workgroups for SAC that were focused on developing materials and policies for some key components of SAC, including the following:

- Behavioral Accountability Guide
- Swift and Certain Process
- Hearing Review and Appeal
- Safety, Arrest and Transport Process
- Measures/Outcomes
- Records and Violators Desk

**Staff Training Procedures and Materials:** All trainings and supporting materials that were developed were based from language that was contained in 6204 and from feedback from the workgroups. After review of all the policy changes that were set to occur under SAC, the following trainings were created:

**1) 30-day Sanction Training:** Senate bill 6204 was signed into law May 2012 and upon the passage of the bill, confinement in jail for violations was restricted to 30 days. Because of this, an immediate training was necessary for all CCOs, CCSs and support staff. This training was conducted via staff meetings, through web-ex opportunities and a Power Point presentations. CCSs were charged with ensuring that all staff were properly trained and using the 30-day rule.

**2) Swift and Certain Sanction Training:** The implementation team and other WADOC staff developed an eight-hour training on SAC, which included Power Point materials, forms and policies. This training was tested on three sites and then rolled-out across each of the six regions. Constant revisions to the training and curriculum took place as the WADOC responded to the operational realities of SAC. As the training was modified, so too were policies and procedures. Statewide training for all offices concluded in September, 2012.

After the completion of training, team members continued to support field offices through both in person visits and through making themselves available via email and phone. Having SMEs allowed for a concentrated knowledge base of SAC, and the SMEs were able to share effective practices that were observed across offices. Revisions to policies occurred throughout 2012 and early 2013. Training on revisions was completed by November, 2013.

**3) Arrest Planning and Implementation Training:** This further training provided “hard skills” training on how to conduct arrest, building entries, building sweeps and working as an armed group.

**4) Failure to Obey All Laws:** Swift and Certain significantly changed how CCOs are to handle offenders who commit a crime in the presence of a CCO. If a crime is committed, the CCO has one business day to notify law enforcement or prosecutors. They can detain the offender for up to 3 business days. This training covered such topics as reading Miranda rights; documentation of and handling evidence; and drafting detainers. This training was completed March, 2013.

***Communications materials:*** The WADOC employs over 8,000 employees that work across five major divisions, including prisons, community corrections, administrative services, health service, and offender change. While the implementation and operation of SAC largely effects community corrections, it also impact On prisons (need to orient offender on SAC at release), offender change and even administrative services. In order to reach such a large population of employees, numerous tools were used, including a “Community Corrections Weekly Message” from the Assistant Secretary, formal media communication plans, email updates, and Supervisor updates.

***Policies and Procedures:*** Another noted strength in the roll-out of SAC was the fact the WADOC developed a staged plan for implementation of the changes contained in 6204. WADOC focused their initial efforts, and training on interim policies by working with three field offices. This allowed the WADOC to employ a “test-re-test” model and quickly make adjustments as needed in order to refine interim policies and to continue to roll-out the training across all regions. Displayed in Appendix B, there were substantial revisions that occurred throughout the first year of SAC, including changes to Intake (policy 310.100), Community Supervision of Offenders (policy 380.200), and Arrest & Search (policy 420.390A), and Warrants (policy 350.750). It is important to note that whenever a policy change occurred, all applicable forms required updating, memos were released by the Assistant Secretary communicating changes and training was offered via the Implementation Team. According to WADOC records, by September 2012, all community

corrections offices had shifted to SAC and were operating under interim policies. Final (standard) policies were finalized 12/2013.

**Quality Assurance:** The Implementation Team developed a compliance tool to measure adherence by staff to SAC. In order to ensure fairness in the process, the team randomly selected a representative sample of SAC cases from each field office. The team, under the direction of Senior Program Administrator Dianne Ashlock, developed a “Sustainability Review Form” to document findings. The form covered such policy directives as:

- Was the offender orientation of the “Notification of Department Violation Process, completed?
- If applicable, was warrant issued per policy?
- Was the offender arrested at the earliest opportunity?
- Did the offender serve a low level sanction according to the Behavior Accountability Guide?
- If low level, were aggravating factors present but not utilized?
- Did the offender serve a high level sanction
- Were sanctions listed as high level according to the BAG?

The team completed the audits across all selected field offices by August of 2013.

**Other tools used for monitoring implementation:** There were several other important measures that the WADOC put in place in order to monitor for implementation challenges. First, the WADOC was awarded a technical assistance (TA) grant through the Bureau Justice Assistance (BJA). This TA grant allowed Dr. Angela Hawken from the University of Pepperdine to conduct numerous on-site consultations/observations and to provide feedback on operations based on her experience from evaluation of the HOPE program.

Second, 6204 required WADOC to conduct ongoing surveys in order to gather input and suggestions. The surveying of staff was intended to be an ongoing activity. The WADOC contracted with the University of Cincinnati (U of C) to conduct a survey of staff to assess their “readiness for organizational change.” In addition to the U of C survey, the implementation team surveyed CCOs across all six regions and ask four standard questions. The results from the questions were used to further develop training materials and strengthen coaching/mentoring efforts. As common concerns were noted, the implementation team cycled this information back to WADOC administration so that necessary adjustments could be made.

## **B) Inmate Focus Groups and Staff Interviews**

Focus groups are a common qualitative tool used to collect information from persons engaged in or operating a program. The procedure is defined as a "carefully planned series of discussions designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, nonthreatening environment" (Krueger & Casey, 2009). Generally, focus groups are a way to get information about attitudes, beliefs, and feelings about the operations of program, and to adjust programs as needed.

As was noted above, for this evaluation, offender focus groups and separate CCO focus groups were conducted to assist in developing an in-depth description and understanding of the implementation and current operations of SAC. WSU Researchers drafted a set of standard questions to be used across both groups, which included questions on perceptions on the “roll-out” of SAC, training effectiveness, the proper use of SAC requirements (e.g. willful violations), and recommended policy changes. Focus groups were selected as our primary method of data collection after it was determined by WADOC administration that a survey of staff would likely yield low results, as staff had recently been surveyed multiple times already for SAC, and for other change initiatives occurring throughout the WADOC.

Focus groups were conducted over a 30 day period, and were held in the following sites:

- Kennewick
- Pasco
- Spokane
- Yakima
- Moses Lake
- Seattle
- Tacoma
- Olympia
- Bellingham

A total of 79 CCOs and Supervisors, and 56 offenders participated in the focus groups. The analysis of the qualitative data allowed WSU Researchers to classify events and responses and to develop common themes and domains. As is depicted in Figure 0, these procedures resulted in three conceptual domains for the CCO focus groups, and two conceptual domains for the offender focus groups. The domains for the CCO focus groups, displayed in the lower half of the figure include 1) Implementation Challenges; 2) Change to Organizational Culture; 3) Offender Needs. For the offender focus groups, the domains are somewhat similar to the CCO findings, and include 1) Policy and Practice Interpretation and 2) Offender Needs. The recommended changes (final step in the chart) will be discussed in the summary/recommendation section at the end of the report.

Figure 0. Events and Responses Resulting from SAC



**CCO Focus Group Results:** Each focus group session yielded a large amount of data and themes. In general, CCOs and CCSs believed that the training and roll-out of SAC was sufficient and staff were

particularly appreciative of the SME support that was offered for the first year of SAC. There were a few topics, however, that staff discussed repeatedly and with great passion across all the focus group session. Main themes included loss of discretion, hearing officer process, and the idea that SAC is not a fit for all offenders. The need to individualize the SAC process was also discussed for a substantial amount of time, as did the concern that variation on the SAC policy execution still exists cross-sites. In the sections that follow, these findings will be fully presented, including the key themes that emerged under each domain, followed by a discussion and will conclude with a set of recommendations at the end of the report.

**Domain One: Implementation procedures and challenges.** As was noted above, proper implementation of policies, and adherence to new policies is a challenge in many fields, and the field of criminal justice certainly is replete with examples of program implementation challenges. Under this domain, there were several themes that emerged around personal and professional adjustments, the effectiveness of the training and overall roll-out by WADOC, and the support that was offered to staff.

**a) Training procedures:** As was noted above, the WADOC created numerous trainings for the SAC roll-out and interim policy changes. Overall, the majority of staff reported attending the initial SAC eight-hour training, while fewer reported attending subsequent trainings, although it was still a significant portion.

“In the first 6 months of the beginning of being a CCO2, I was trained by veteran staff, supervisors and have read policy thoroughly so that I may monitor my caseload accordingly. I am still being trained and will continue to learn more as it develops.”

“What I got out of the rollout was actually a very positive experience.”

Trainings that were offered on the initial SAC roll-out were “Failing to Obey all Laws” trainings and an “Arrest Procedures Training.” A common theme among the CCOs was that while the initial SAC training was helpful, as the training series went on, some suffered from “training fatigue.” Others reported frustration over a lack of sufficient training in certain topics, such as drug detection, evidence-seizure and storage, and report writing.

“It was a separate training, it was on evidence. It was process minimums, we had a quick one-day course on packaging, documenting, etc. And we don’t do it that often, so when we have to do it, we’re struggling to... you know, we don’t have evidence officers like the cops do. Weighing it, packaging it...”

Given the seriousness of some of the crimes and drug seizures that occur and are now handled by CCOs, staff reported feeling ill-prepared. It was noted in several jurisdictions (but not all) that CCOs and CCSs have been informed by local prosecutors’ offices that they will not file on drug seizure cases by local CCOs due to their insufficient training.



**b) Subject-matter expert process:** There was almost unanimous agreement among all CCOs and Supervisors that the SMEs were a valuable component to the SAC roll-out. Staff were particularly appreciative of their quick availability and expertise. It was expressed in numerous interviews that when the SMEs returned to their original duties/positions there appeared to be a noticeable void in the knowledge dissemination process.

“We had subject matter experts that came to the units and basically went over everything with us. And then once they did the initial training, they let them stay on and would do refreshers and all that stuff. And they would be available for basically, I mean I was on the phone constantly with Kim Dewing constantly at the beginning because she was our subject matter expert for our region. I mean, there were so many questions and so many variables, and so many things that were new to us that they, at the beginning, didn’t make sense, I guess.”

## **Domain Two: Challenges to Organizational Culture**

Researchers in the field of criminal justice have repeatedly documented the task of interpreting and implementing new policies and practices (Rudes et al., 2011; Rothman, 2002; Lipsky, 1977). Recent research by Rudes and colleagues has revealed numerous challenges that CCOs face in trying to navigate and implement new practices and tools while working within their current organizational culture (Rudes et al., 2011). Organizational culture is defined as “the way things get done” and includes “existing values, practices, norms and influences” (Rudes et al., pg 468, 2011). Some of the strongest and most frequent responses across CCOs centered on challenges to the organizational culture, as SAC requires that CCOs confront their existing philosophical beliefs and current practices.

**a) Loss of discretion:** The most frequently cited theme for CCOs, across all of the focus groups was loss of discretion in managing their offender caseload. This should not be a surprising finding, as a great amount of research in the field of criminal justice highlights the challenges encountered in operating systems as criminal justice professionals (e.g. police, attorneys, probation officers) lose their discretion due to reforms.

“Keep the limited sanctions, kick SAC to the curb and give us our discretion back.”

“There are holes in SAC – we need our discretion back because everything should not be so black and white.”

“I mean sometimes the offender will...stumble, but they have positives going for them in other areas. And before we had the option of working with them. And now, that was taken away and we don’t have a choice, if they did have a stumble, they lose everything.”

“It would be nice if CCOs could have the discretion to address low-level violations through a variety of means.”

“Mixed emotion about loss of discretion. Sometimes I like to not have to think about the violation and just go by the SAC guide, but other times I need flexibility to work with my caseload.”

“Well the plus side is that you don’t have to think anymore. A guy comes in a day late, and you press the green button, he goes to jail. The negative side is, like I said, you lost all of the intelligence of 100 years (of CCO experience) of supervising offenders.”

“Yeah, I understand the uniformity of swift and certain and all that. It has balanced officers across the state to conduct their business the same. But we work with these people on a day-to-day basis, some of them for a year or two years. Who not better to make that decision (about a violation)? As long as we can articulate. Hell, we have college degrees, this job mandates it. Our opinion and work should count for something.”

From the analysis of the transcripts and codes/themes, it appears that this lack of discretion weighs on CCOs, not because they are concerned about a lack of power or control, but rather through frustration for not being able to properly support and help those that stumble. The intensity of feelings on the loss of discretion varied across the sites as well, with some CCOs very concerned, while others expressed more limited concern and provided some suggestions for change. There was a general sense across the focus groups that CCOs appreciated the consistency that was created with SAC. As was stated by one participant: “It was nice because some CCOs didn’t do anything with their offenders, while others were hammering them. This brought everyone to the same page.” Several CCOs took a more pragmatic approach during the discussions and acknowledged that no reform or change is perfect and that naturally modifications will need to be made over time.

Another participant provided an interesting summary by stating: “SAC is a blessing and a curse.” In other words, it saved jobs by creating significant cost savings, and it brought about a level of consistency across the regions, but it limited discretion and impacted effective case management according to participants.

**b) Workload:** When loss of discretion was discussed, focus group participants typically shifted the conversation into a discussion about workload. It is the perception of the CCOs that their workload has not necessarily increased, but *changed* substantially, in large part due to some of the new duties that are now required, including warrant checks, arrests, detains, greater amount of transports, paperwork surrounding hearings and logging of evidence. This shift to including more law enforcement type duties has created some stress as it now feels (according to some CCOs) that the workload is more dangerous than pre-SAC.

“Our workload, to answer your question, has changed dramatically. Not so much has it increased, as they have taken some things away. I’m not going to use the word increase. Our responsibilities have moved more towards a law enforcement personnel. So we say workload issues, not increased but changed, more of a dangerous job today than it was yesterday.”

**c) Variations in practice:** Although CCOs reported that SAC was able to create some consistency across the regions and offices regarding violations, there was concern expressed that variations still occur across staff, among different Supervisors and across field offices. This is not a surprising finding, as there is still a level of interpretation that naturally exists across the different groups. The most common statement on variation was how the different offices interpret “late reporting” for an office session.

“There is inconsistency throughout the department with portions of how SAC is administered. Different officers have their own criteria addressing offenders that report late on their scheduled report day. Some officers violate offenders after 30 minutes late, others 2 hours, and some don't violate at all as long as they report the same day.”

Some portions of SAC were vague and left open to interpretation by supervisors, so it is not alarming that some level of variation will occur. Supervisors are also afforded discretion in determining what is a “willful” violation. Some CCOs reported that the interpretation of “willful” in a violation is one way in which they can gain some discretion back.

“The field unit you go to, that supervisor is going to have a different perspective of what willful vs. unwillful is. And then when you look at policy, there’s nothing really in policy that talks about willful or unwillful. It doesn’t clarify.”

“Allow more CCO discretion for what is considered ‘willful.’”

**d) Hearing officer process:** A significant amount of discussion centered on the hearing officer process. Although WADOC policy 460.130 clearly outlines the hearing officer process, some confusion still exists among CCO and CCS staff about the outcomes from hearings. Staff maintains that there appears to be a disconnect in training or the understanding of SAC between the two divisions. According to policy, the

hearing officer is to consider the CCO sanction recommendation and also use the BAG, or graduated sanction/violation response guide as a tool to determine appropriate sanctions. Policy dictates that the hearings officer can impose (via the BAG) either total confinement or partial confinement (such as work release). A major theme, however, amongst almost all CCO and CCS focus group members was a frustration in asking for the full 30 days, and almost always the hearing officer would impose a significantly lesser amount of jail time – often just ordering time served.

“So the hearing is still a little fuzzy, and we still come up with these hiccups, hearing officers have their own interpretation of what policy is. And sometimes management needs to step in and sort it out.”

“Pre-SAC was 60 days. With the 30 days now, and with the HOs giving them so much credit for time served and wondering why we aren’t doing negotiated’s, it’s because the offender knows. I’m not signing this negotiated because I’ll take my chances at a hearing. I’ve got nothing to lose, and I’ll probably get credit for time served.”

“Yeah, I had one offender on their seventeenth SAC violation and he got fourteen days. I was like, ‘How do you get a lesser amount of days than the number of processes you’ve had?’”

“Inconsistency between the HO training and the CCO training.”

“Like, I’ve got a guy that failed to report; he got eighteen days. But then I got a guy that, you know, was on every drug in the book, playing in traffic downtown, and he gets credit for time served.”

WSU researchers did have the opportunity to interview several hearing officers during the site visits. The impact of their work, and the balance that they must strike is difficult at times. While CCOs and CCSs experience frustration as they do not get their 30-day stints requested, one hearing officer commented that their frustration stemmed from an observation of inconsistency across some CCOs. As was stated “I do all of the hearings mostly, and it’s pretty clear which officers are following SAC and which are not.”

### **Domain Three: Offender Needs**

In 1994, Andrews and Bonta published their groundbreaking work, “The Psychology of Criminal Conduct.” This publication created a new conversation within courts and corrections and placed a renewed emphasis on proper assessment and treatment of offenders utilizing evidence-based methods. This carefully conducted research shifted the conversation from operating an “offense” based criminal justice system to engaging in an “offender based” system, whereby criminal justice officials focus on the risk, needs and responsivity (RNR) of individuals. The key to the RNR system is properly assessing risk to reoffend, identifying needs and matching individuals to services based on their abilities while accounting for such factors as motivation, availability, culture, personality type, education and cognitive abilities (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). Research shows that the best results for clients is achieved with the use of cognitive-behavioral

techniques, but it is also important to consider individual characteristics and factors that can impact success, and to match clients carefully to services. Numerous themes emerged from the focus groups regarding the need to individualize case plans and the need for more diverse resources.

**a) Need to individualize case management of offenders:**

A major theme to emerge from the CCO focus groups was the frustration with how SAC does not allow for CCOs to engage in more individualized and effective case management with their clients. The passage of 6204 not only created mandatory responses to violations, but also required the WADOC to increase the use of evidence-based offender change programs. The WADOC has invested heavily in training and adoption of Thinking for a Change (T4C) in the community. In the opinion of some staff, T4C then becomes the main focus rather than individualized care.

“They (offenders) are mandated to go to all these classes and services. These offenders that are working, taking care of their kids, dealing with DOC is enough. Now you’re going to stick this (T4C) on top of that?”

“I wouldn’t do that if I could manage the case load.”

“So an offender has to complete financial obligations, chemical dependency, work every day, and having to do T4C – is this over the top?”

Other staff was more concerned with the lack of ability to tailor interventions based on need and responsivity. As was stated by one focus group participant, “No two offenders are the same and what works for one will cause the other to rebel. I tailor my supervision to each offender. SAC takes that ability away. While we can point to some offenders as examples of success, I see as many, if not more, say ‘screw this’ and never report... DOC HQ is pushing for a more cognitive behavior therapy approach, but at the same time forcing the CCOs into a pure ‘hook and book’ role.”

**b) More resources:** According to CCOs, the creation of SAC limited the amount and types of resources and interventions that they can access, in large part the use of SAC limits the types of sanctions that can be imposed by hearing officers.

“SAC killed the ability to impose work crew, use day reporting, other treatment programs for the hearing officer. Now they can only impose jail.”

Others were more concerned with a lack of proper staffing patterns, and found it to be a barrier to effectively delivering SAC, given that there is a perception that workload has increased significantly under SAC. “We have no resources, not enough probation officers.”

Given that the WADOC is geographically dispersed throughout six regions in the state, some regions have greater resources and treatment services available, while others suffer from a lack of providers. There is

a perception among CCOs that the use of SAC further limits the types of treatments and resources that can be used because the WADOC has created such a focus on the use of CBT programs, while potentially not placing a balanced interested in other services. Other resources discussed included anger management, mental health services, effective domestic violence treatment, job skills training, employment assistance and trauma care.

“There just needs to be less of a gap between programs and SAC. We need jobs for these offenders, we need treatment availability more so then we do now. We need mental health services that are more effective.”

“I think we need more assistance in getting mental health treatment, or domestic violence, or anger management treatment.”

“I like the tools that we have now, I think they need some adjusting, nothing is ever perfect.”

**c) Ineffective for select populations:** There was overwhelming belief across all of the nine focus groups that SAC is simply not appropriate for all WADOC offender populations. Specifically, staff are increasingly concerned about the application and use of SAC for those with serious substance abuse disorders and those with diagnosed mental health disorders. Staff expressed strong concerns about the ability of SAC to meet the needs of those with drug offenses. This was echoed in the offender focus groups as well. CCOs reported that not only is the 1-3 days ineffective for a drug offender who is actively using, it actually perpetuates the problem as it gives them time to rest, and then they are back on the streets quickly and return to using drugs. CCOs believe that the longer stays in jail create stability, and then efforts can be made to find treatment placement.

In numerous sites, CCOs took a firm stance that they do not support prison-based DOSA offenders serving on SAC. This in part is because the CCOs view the court as a criminal justice partner, and CCOs believe that imposing SAC conditions on prison-based DOSA offenders sends a poor message to the court. Superior courts are likely to revoke a residential DOSA after one to two violations. However, under SAC, prison-based DOSA offenders have numerous opportunities.

CCO 1: “I would rather see the prison DOSA offenders not be part of Swift and Certain.”

CCO 2: “Here here {knocks on the table and laughs}.”

CCO 1: “This is a sentence structure where the court has already given them a break. They’re doing half the time. And now, when they come out, we’re being told they are part of Swift and Certain. So when you have 5 or 6 violations on a DOSA offender, and now they’re all low levels, they are 1, 2, or 3 days, it’s very hard for me because the courts are partners, who have residential DOSA. And for those guys, one hearing, maybe two at the tops, and they are done.”

In some jurisdictions, CCOs reported frustration and concern with how the mental health cases were handled under SAC. WADOC policy 460.130 does allow, with CCS approval, “for an arrest to be mitigated for offenders with known mental health issues when confinement would interfere with the stability of medications, treatment, employment, or housing.” The CCS must approve this, and the violation is to be addressed through a stipulated agreement. While this policy was referenced in several focus group sessions, it appears to not be sufficient in addressing the needs of this special population per CCOs.

**Offender Focus Groups Results:** Surprisingly, there are several noted similarities between the offender focus group results and the CCO results. The offender focus groups had many comments regarding the roll-out and education/intake process of SAC, much like CCOs, they are concerned about the lack of discretion for CCOs, and they believe that the WADOC needs to invest in more diverse treatment resources. Many (but not all) offenders also reported that they believed their CCO to be supportive and a strong resource for them. In the sections that follow, the two domains are presented and major themes associated with each are detailed.

#### **Domain One: Policy Interpretation and Use**

The criminal justice system, including the probation and parole process is complex and multifaceted. Those that serve time on probation or parole do so with a compromised freedom, and therefore it is important that they fully understand their rights, court orders and probation/parole conditions. Given that research shows that upwards of 65% of probationers receive some form of technical violation (e.g. failing to report, dirty UA), it is critical that conditions are well understood by the offender (Gray et al., 2001; Taxman, 2002).

**a) Understanding of SAC process:** Most focus group participants reported that the SAC process was explained to them by their CCO. Some focus group members reported that the intake procedures on SAC were quite thorough, while others maintained that they weren’t sure exactly what was shared at that intake appointment, due to the whole process being so overwhelming. A very small portion of offenders reported that they actually learned more from fellow inmates inside the prison before release, rather than from prison staff or from their CCO, and a select few reported not comprehending or remembering the SAC information. Regardless of the method by which the information was shared or learned, offenders seem to value knowing what would happen when they violate, rather than the arbitrary system that they experience in other courts, or under different models of supervision.

“It’s nice to know the amount of time one will be sentenced up front rather than municipal probation who sentences arbitrarily (and often much longer) amounts for violations.”

“I’m not sure. I didn’t really know all about the Swift & Certain. I didn’t really keep track of all that.”

**b) Loss of discretion by CCO:** A surprising finding from the focus groups was the fact that both CCOs and offenders had strong opinions about the loss of discretion. Both groups lamented the loss of discretion from the standpoint of not being able to properly case manage, and the loss of flexibility to handle some low level violations in a different manner. Many offenders were frustrated that while progress is often made on certain conditions, such as attending treatment, they would be violated for showing up late for an office appointment. Offenders believe that by stripping all discretion from the CCO, it actually creates greater challenges for them in reaching their goals and damages the offender change cycle.

“I feel like, maybe, we shouldn’t have to go to jail no matter what we do. Maybe our CO can say, ‘alright, well they’re improving, so maybe we shouldn’t lock them up.’ Instead of it’s guaranteed that I’m going to jail.”

“He’s a great guy (CCO) and everything but it’s kind of like his hands are tied with the whole situation.”

“I do think that there needs to be some type of discretion for situations like this. I’m a sales manager at a car dealership right now, and I’m going to be released right into the same exact thing, there’s going to be times and days where I just can’t walk away from work, and if I have a CCO appointment, I think that there needs to be some type of discretion to work with me.”

“Discretion would be nice. Yeah whether it’s 1 or 3 days, it could trigger some things. Because I’m on supervision with another city program, it could cause them to want to terminate some things. I could face 30 to 45 days in jail, so yeah definitely, so if that happens, it’s all downhill from there.”

## **Domain Two: Offender Needs**

Much like the feedback provided from CCOs, a significant amount of offenders provided input regarding the need to personalize the management of their cases and the impact that SAC can have on maintaining employment, housing and healthy relationships.

**a) Loss due to SAC:** Both offenders and CCOs believe that SAC is most effective for those that have something to lose. In other words, some are compliant because they are employed, have a home, family, or are connected in other means to their community and they don’t want to lose this.

“The SAC 1-3 helped because I was participating in my family circle. So, it helped keep my job. It helped insure that my family wasn’t too far gone without me.”

Some offenders reported that they personally had lost a job due to SAC, or knew of others that had lost employment, housing or family connections because of their continual violation behaviors. Offenders struggle with the timing of classes and treatment, and several reported losing their jobs because they were



required to attend treatment or Thinking for a Change during peak work hours (11-2pm), and were fired due to these requirements.

“I denied a UA. He said instantly, “Well, I’ve got to put you in treatment.” And, he put me in treatment from 11 ‘til 3 in the afternoon! It was like Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. I said, ‘Can’t you wait a week and put me in the evenings?’ So then I lost that job.”

**b) Need to individualize case management of offenders:** Much like CCOs, offenders also support an individualized case management approach. The reasons varied for this position varied. For some offenders, they wanted to make sure that they had access to services that matched to their individual needs, including dealing with past trauma and anger issues.

“Um, I think that there should be more programs based...the things that I’ve addressed the last four years I’ve never addressed, and it’s been kind of a spiritual program too, but there’s a reason why I’ve continued to use and make bad decisions, and it wasn’t until I got to the core of those things, back when I was a young man, a young boy. “

“I mean there’s a lot of young men in there, whether it’s sexual abuse, or abandonment from their family, or dads...the DOC doesn’t address any of that stuff.”

Other offenders believe that all cases are handled and processed exactly the same, which all offenders get the same classes and requirements, and that personalization of cases is not occurring but is necessary. Some offenders blamed this lack of addressing needs and responsivity per case on the fact that in their eyes, CCOs appear overworked. Most focus group participants suggested that additional case managers are needed to support the work of the CCOs.

“I don’t know about punishment, but definitely, I think that the way that they funnel people through programs, um I think is just about putting people in programs. I think that a lot of personal... a lot of personal attention, it’s just you need to go through this, whether you want it or not.”

“You’re going to take this class, and this class, and this class, instead of addressing people’s personal, individual needs, they’re just kind of locking them in with a groups of people, and most people don’t want to be in them, they’re just going through the motions. And for the people who really want to be in them, it’s a distraction, so...”

“I too on a personal level think that they’re generally concerned. I think that they’re probably overloaded for the caseload.”

**c) More resources:** Another theme for focus group participants was their concerns about receiving more effective drug/alcohol treatment (this finding was not consistent across all sites), as well as a greater or more varied menu of programs to be offered. Many recommended interventions were put forward, including anger management, domestic violence counseling, employment assistance, dealing with trauma and parenting classes.

As was mentioned above, many offenders commented on the need to bolster the CCO workforce, either through the addition of case managers or more CCOs. This will be discussed more thoroughly in the recommendation section.

**d) Ineffective for select populations:** Similar concerns were expressed by the offender focus groups regarding the applicability of SAC to all offender populations. The two populations that were continually referenced were those with active drug addictions and those with mental health challenges. Many examples and stories were shared, but the comments all pointed towards appropriately matching these special clients with treatment, support and creating a different form of accountability.

“It’s (SAC) kind of a joke in a way. But like, let’s say that I was selling drugs and I’m a user, and I take a UA, and I get dirty UA for whatever drug it is. They give me 3 days for it, right? Well, I think – I would see it as maybe this guy needs treatment instead of 1 – 3 days because in 1 – 3 days, well I’m going to be right back out. I’m going to be using drugs, and I’m going to be selling drugs, and doing the same damn thing. So, it didn’t help me. So, it’s a repeat cycle.”

“You come down. You eat, sleep, catch up.”

“Maybe after the first 3 of Swift & Certain, maybe you get like 30-day treatment, or something like that.”

### **Summary**

Review of thousands of pages of policies, communication materials, power points slides, quality assurance resources, and reports, coupled with the results of over 16 hours of focus groups are combined here to create a picture of how the WADOC managed to launch and effectively operate this major initiative. It appears from this qualitative review that SAC is a policy that is currently moving from a state of implementation and is trending towards a state of sustainability, in which the policy is becoming standardized across the agency (Maguire and Mastrofski, 2000). Despite the successes experienced in the implementation of Swift and Certain, it is still a major policy shift that impacts organizational culture. It is not surprising that WSU researchers found ambivalence and even opposition to the new practices among CCOs. Even the offenders shared in some of the same concerns as the CCOs. Although many supports were offered (training, weekly communication memos), and the SMEs were an effective component of the roll-out, SAC still challenges core beliefs and values of individuals around the use of deterrence based practices. Barriers

that are inhibiting true sustainability from occurring include assumptions about the “right way” to supervise offenders and the loss of discretion. There are essentially overlapping philosophical models of supervision that clearly exist among CCOs. Continued support and education of staff (using data) will bring about greater legitimacy and sustainability to the SAC efforts. The WADOC has engaged in a strategic process to prevent “initiative drift” – essentially preventing the policy from being reinterpreted and trending back towards the historical discretionary model.

## Section E: SAC Outcome Evaluation

Outcome evaluations are a common method used in the criminal justice sciences to determine if an intervention or program improves the short and long-term outcomes for clients/participants over the traditional system. For this project, the outcome evaluation provides evidence to determine whether SAC was effective in achieving its goals when compared to supervision practices prior to SAC's implementation. The core focus of this outcome evaluation was determining if SAC participants are less likely to be confined and/or reconvicted and utilize treatment at a greater rate than a matched historical comparison group.

### *Research Questions*

With regard to these goals, four research questions were examined. First, while minor ("low level") violations under SAC were expected to occur more frequently, serious ("high level") violations would be observed less. Therefore, SAC was anticipated to result in short lengths of confinement following a technical violation, which allowed us to question:

- 1) Do SAC participants incur fewer incarceration days resulting from sanctions for violations than comparison subjects?

Second, if SAC's reduced confinement times, it may have also reduced offenders' accountability, the statute would result in *greater* criminal behavior. However, if SAC is effective, then the impact of graduated sanctioning on offender reconvictions would either be unaffected or deter new crime and result in a reduction in recidivism. The second research question was then as follows:

- 2) Do SAC participants display a reduced likelihood for reconvictions than comparison subjects?

Using estimated confinement savings, the WADOC implemented new interventions to help initiate and maintain offenders' behavior change. CBT was made available via SAC dollars for eligible participations across the state. For substance abusers, prior to SAC chemical dependency (CD) treatment could be used as sanction in lieu of confinement. Following SAC's implementation, CD treatment was only provided if the offender volunteered or requested the intervention. In addition, the WADOC changed CD service payment to a "fee for service" contract and eliminated the policy of mandatory treatment termination after two missed sessions. These changes increase treatment staff efforts to motivate offenders to remain in treatment. It was anticipated that CBT treatment participation would expand as a result of SAC and that the duration of offenders' participation in CD treatment would also increase. To understand this potential impact we sought to answer the following:

- 3) Do SAC participants possess greater program utilization than comparison subjects?

Finally, a closer adherence to deterrence principles would suggest that the greater certainty and improved proportional severity of SAC would provide greater behavioral compliance with supervision conditions. Therefore offenders would be expected to incur a greater frequency of non-serious (“low level”) violations early in the supervision process but learn to accountability and be more compliant at an increased rate in contrast to comparison subjects. We then sought to answer the following four part question:

- 4) Do SAC participants incur a reduced propensity for violations over time than comparison subjects?

One would also anticipate that greater accountability for non-serious violations would prevent serious (or “high level”) violations.

- 4a) Do SAC participants incur a reduced propensity for serious violations than comparison subjects?
- 4b) Do SAC participants incur a reduced propensity for non-serious violations, over time, than comparison subjects?

One caveat of the described behaviors is anticipated for abscond violations. As previously indicated, SAC policies were changed to crease absconding to a “high level” violation in December of 2012. It is anticipated that this policy change effectively reduced the rate of absconding violations post-implementation.

- 4c) Do pre-policy SAC participants incur an increased propensity for abscond violations than comparison subjects?
- 4d) Do post-policy SAC participants incur a reduced propensity for abscond violations than comparison subjects?

Each of the described hypotheses was tested using robust methods to isolate and analyze the distinctions between study groups. Next a description of the study design is provided, including: the sampling procedure, study groups, measures, and matching techniques.

### ***Study Design***

While SAC was fully implemented in September of 2012, the evaluation was not initiated until 2014. Therefore a randomized and/or prospective study was not feasible. Using a retrospective quasi-experimental design we examined the impact of SAC across a variety of outcomes contrasted with a historical comparison group. All subjects supervised in the community by the WADOC were eligible for study, which includes

offenders convicted of a felony or gross misdemeanor and sentenced to serve term of community supervision in Washington State.

### *Study groups*

Three study groups were created, which included two cohorts of SAC participants and a group of comparison subjects that were supervised by the WADOC prior to the implementation of SAC<sup>2</sup>. Intervention subjects (i.e., SAC participants) were grouped into two cohorts and analyzed separately. Although there was a statewide implementation of SAC in July of 2012, the first two months of the roll out was described as “staggered”, where full operations were not observed until September. Thus, the first cohort (E1) consisted of SAC participants newly released to the community during September through November of 2012. This amounted to roughly 740 subjects each month, for a total of 2,151 E1 subjects.

As described, SAC was modified in December of 2012, where if an offender missed a scheduled contact with their CCO, and did not surrender within seven days, a “high level” violation was sanctioned. To identify the impact of this policy change, a second cohort of subjects (E2) was established. These subjects were those that were newly released from the date of the policy change through February of 2014. Data collection during this sample frame amounted to roughly 890 subjects<sup>3</sup> each month, for a total of 2,687 E2 subjects.

Because SAC’s roll out was implemented statewide, there is a lack of similar offenders released during the same time period that can be utilized as a comparison group. We instead utilized a historical comparison group. To prevent overlap of SAC follow-up periods, we selected those offenders released between September 2010 and February 2011. This allowed for a full 12 months of follow-up data collected prior to the implementation of SAC. All potential comparison subjects were identical to SAC participants in terms of eligibility criteria, however, the extended sample frame allowed for a larger population of potential study subjects to which SAC offenders could be matched (N=15,561).

For all subjects, study outcomes were observed for 12 months. As the vast majority of WADOC offenders serve terms of 12 months or less in the community, we felt the outcome observation period was ideal for the examination of confinement following a violation and still adequate for observing group differences on recidivism. To be study eligible offenders in must have been sentenced to serve at least one year of community supervision.

### *Measures*

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<sup>2</sup> To remove potential study contaminants, only those subjects entering supervision on an initial release were eligible, thus excluding those individuals reentering from a revocation on a previous violation.

<sup>3</sup> There is a noted variation of roughly 150 subjects per month between the E1 and E2 samples that is likely due to random fluctuations of study eligible releases during described sampling dates.

The WADOC are currently implementing the Static Risk Offender Needs Guide-Revised (STRONG-R). The items of this instrument have been collected for all WADOC supervised since 2008. Items are a mix of static and dynamic measures across nine offender domains, including: Criminal History, Education, Employment, Peers, Residential, Family, Substance Use, Mental Health, and Attitudes/Behaviors. In total 249 relevant measures were available from data collected via STRONG-R items.

Several measures were collected to serve as dependent variables to examine the four study questions described. Confinement was assessed for each subject as a dichotomous measure (No/Yes) to identify a jail *or* prison sanction following a violation and a more specific measure of “prison only” confinement was also created. A continuous measure of “Days Confined” was collected for all subjects. For the subgroup of offenders that were confined, an additional measure (“If Violation, Days Confined”) was created, where subjects that did not receive a sanction following a violation were not included in the analysis. Several types of reconvictions were collected, including (any) Conviction (including misdemeanors and felonies), (any) Felony, Violent Felony, Property Felony, and Drug Felony. Reconvictions were categorized based on the Washington State Institute for Public Policy’s (WSIPP’s) classification, which is derived from the Revised Code of Washington (RCW).

SAC’s programmatic impact was narrow. Two program types were expanded in use – CD and CBT interventions<sup>4</sup>. A dichotomous (No/Yes) measure of program participation was created, where a subject was identified to participate if they were involved in at least one hour of a given any WADOC funded intervention. The total number of hours was also assessed for each subject as an additional measure of participation dosage.

Four measures of supervision violations were collected, including Any (or all types), Serious, Non-Serious, and Abscond. These types were operationalized via the WADOC’s Behavior Accountability Guide (see Appendix I), where “low level” violations are defined as Non-Serious, “high level” violations listed are defined as serious, and Absconding, although also considered a Serious violation, is defined separately for the purposes of tracking the policy change occurring in December of 2013. To track changes over time, monthly counts of violations were collected. Due to the low monthly frequency of each violation type, dichotomous (No/Yes) measures of violation occurrences were tracked for each subject<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> While CD treatments vary in programmatic content and intensity from region to region, all are certified by the State of Washington. CBT treatment provided via SAC funds were exclusively Thinking for a Change (T4C). Prior to SAC a variety of CBT program brands were used.

<sup>5</sup> An offset measure was also needed to adjust for exposure. That is, offenders confined for all, or a portion, of a given month would have a reduced propensity to commit a violation event in that month. A measure of “Days in the Community” was created and indicates the number of days an individual *was not* confined in jail or prison for each month.

## Propensity Score Modeling (PSM)

Although ideally a randomized design would be constructed to eliminate biases stemming from group selection, ethical considerations along with feasibility restrictions prevented the utilization of this “gold standard”. To compensate, the quasi-experimental study design took care to collect a sizable group of eligible historical comparison group subjects. However, retrospective designs commonly have unanticipated selection bias issues, which could prevent our ability to isolate the impact of SAC.

PSM is the preferred matching technique and typically returns a comparison group that is similar across key demographic, criminal history, and offender needs measures (Guo & Fraser, 2010). To start, we implemented two safeguards. First, all subjects must possess stated eligibility requirements. Second, we created two PSM matches, matching E1 subjects to eligible comparison group pool members and then E2 group subjects with the same pool of comparisons. Subjects were matched on all 249 available items, creating a match that was *very* robust.

The procedure begins by assessing the differences between the SAC groups and the comparison group pool on the 249 items. Bivariate comparisons are completed and significant differences between groups are assessed. Standardize Differences (STD)<sup>6</sup> were also assessed, where a standardized absolute bias equal to or greater than 20 percent was used as an indication of imbalance (Rosenbaum & Rubin, 1985). Using a somewhat liberal alpha, those item comparisons indicating at least a marginal significance ( $p < 0.1$ ) pre-match were included in the PSM.

The propensity score modeling routine was completed with a one-to-one, greedy matching procedure, utilizing a selection caliper (less than 0.1 of a standard deviation unit). A total of 4,838 comparison subjects were selected and matched to experimental groups. Summary statistics of post-match results are also provided in Table 0 and additional sample descriptives for all pre and post-match measures are provided in Appendix C. The results of the matches revealed suitable comparison group matches for both the E1 and E2 groups. These matched groups were then used to examine the study questions.

**Table 0. Summary of Propensity Score Matching Descriptives**

Model Fit Summary	Pre-Match		Post-match	
	E1 vs. C	E2 vs. C	E1 vs. C	E2 vs. C
Percent significant differences	31.7	36.9	4.8	4.8
Mean STD Difference	4.96	4.66	2.09	2.10
Maximum STD Difference	19.21	23.53	12.40	10.68
AUC	0.64	0.67	0.53	0.53

<sup>6</sup> The following formula, created by Rosenbaum and Rubin (1985), was used to calculate the standardized absolute differences in percentages,  $100(\bar{X}_t - \bar{X}_c) / ([s_t^2 + s_c^2] / 2)^{1/2}$ , where  $X_t$  and  $X_c$  are the means for the treatment and control groups, respectively, and  $s_t$  and  $s_c$  are the variances.



Following the match, descriptive statistics were created for key outcomes. In Table 1 frequencies are provided for dichotomous outcomes while means and standard errors are provided for continuous measures. Three columns are presented – one for each match and another that represents the combined (E1 & E2) SAC group.

**Table 1. Outcome Descriptives by Follow-up Period**

Outcome	E1 & Comparison		E2 & Comparison		SAC & Comparison	
	n	%/M(SE)	n	%/M(SE)	n	%/M(SE)
Confined Violation	4302	22.5	5374	28.8	9676	26.0
Violation Prison Confinement	4302	11.2	5374	11.1	9676	11.2
Days Confined‡	4302	14.9(0.6)	5374	17.8 (0.6)	9676	16.5(0.4)
If Violation, Days Confined‡	947	67.9(2.1)	1148	61.9(1.6)	2489	64.2(1.3)
Conviction (Misd. or Felony)	4302	33.9	5374	29.8	9676	31.7
Felony (any)	4302	18.2	5374	15.6	9676	16.8
Violent Felony	4302	6.4	5374	4.1	9676	5.1
Property Felony	4302	6.3	5374	5.8	9676	6.0
Drug Felony	4302	6.7	5374	5.9	9676	6.2
CD Treatment	4302	17.4	5374	16.3	9676	16.8
CBT	4302	5.7	5374	5.4	9676	5.5
CD Treatment Hours	4302	11.4(0.5)	5374	9.4(0.4)	9676	10.3(0.3)
CBT Hours	4302	2.5(0.2)	5374	1.9(0.2)	9676	2.2(0.1)
If CD, Treatment Hours	750	35.5(2.2)	875	57.7(1.2)	1625	61.3(1.3)
If CBT, Treatment Hours	251	42.4(2.9)	292	35.7(2.0)	543	38.8(1.7)

‡ Note, the sentence is given during the follow-up period but the days indicate the duration of the sentence, which may span past the end of the follow-up period.

### *Analysis Plan*

Following the PSM match, analyses were completed for each of the study questions. To examine questions 1, 2, and 3, cross-tabulations and chi-square tests were computed for dichotomous measures, while non-parametric tests (Mann-Whitney U) were computed for continuous count outcomes<sup>7</sup>. For Question 4 we examined monthly dichotomous (No/Yes) violation outcomes for Any, Serious, Non-Serious and Abscond violations. To examine study group trends across the 12 month supervision follow-up period, binary growth curve models were computed for violation outcomes. The combined SAC group was used to examine Any, Serious, and Non-Serious violations, while the separate E1 and E2 matched samples were used for the Abscond violation analysis. Mixed-effects binary logic regression analyses were computed for each model. At the “month-level” of our growth models we included both time and study group assignment as violation predictors. Time was modeled as both a linear and curvilinear (polynomial) trend to assess the shape of monthly violations. Interaction terms were also created with time and the quadratic time measure to assess growth curve shapes between study groups. Finally, monthly exposure time was also included as an offset measure<sup>8</sup>.

### **Results**

<sup>7</sup> It should be noted that Mann-Whitney tests were computed rather than t-tests as diagnostic examinations revealed significant right skewed distributions for all outcomes.

<sup>8</sup> It was created by transforming “Days in the Community”, multiplying monthly values by the natural log.

Findings for the first three study questions are presented in Table 2. To test our first study question “Do SAC participants incur fewer incarceration days resulting from sanctions for violations than comparison subjects?”, SAC and comparison group subject differences were examined on the four confinement outcomes. In contrast to the comparison group, SAC subjects were found to have reduced propensities for “Any” (jail or prison) confinement following a violation ( $p < .001$ ), possessing 20 percent reduced odds of confinement following a violation. With regard to prison confinement, SAC subjects possessed reduced propensities for prison confinement ( $p < .001$ ) and substantially reduced odds of confinement than comparison group subjects ( $OR = 0.1$ ). When examining the number of days confined following a violation, SAC subjects were found to have spent, on average, 16 fewer days confined ( $p < .001$ ) in contrast to comparison subjects and this was found to be a moderate effect size ( $r = 0.2$ ). With regard to the reduced sample of only those subjects experiencing a violation, on average, SAC subjects spent 49 fewer days confined ( $p < .001$ ) than comparison subjects and this was found to be a large effect size ( $r = 0.5$ ).

**Table 2. Outcome Event Comparisons by Study Group**

Hypoth.	Outcome	C	SAC	OR/ $r$
		%/M(SE)	%/M(SE)	
H1	Confinement Violation	28.0	24.0***	0.8
	Prison Confinement	19.2	3.1***	0.1
	Days Confinement	24.4(0.8)	8.6(0.3)***	0.2
	If Violation, Days Confinement	85.8(1.9)	37.3(0.9)***	0.5
H2	Conviction (any)	34.7	28.6***	0.8
	Felony (any)	18.0	15.6**	0.8
	Violent Felony	6.2	4.1***	0.7
	Property Felony	6.6	5.4*	0.8
	Drug Felony	6.6	5.9	0.9
H3	CD	16.3	17.3	1.0
	CBT	3.6	7.5***	2.2
	CD Number of Hours	8.5(0.4)	12.1(0.5)	0.1
	CBT Number of Hours	1.4(0.2)	2.9(0.2)***	0.1
	If CD, Number of Hours	52.1(1.6)	70.0(2.0)***	0.2
	If CBT, Number of Hours	39.5(4.1)	38.5(1.7)	<0.1

\*  $p < .05$  \*\*  $p < .01$  \*\*\*  $p < .001$

With regard to our second study question “Do SAC participants possess a reduced propensity for reconvictions than comparison subjects?”, SAC and comparison group subject differences were examined on the five reconviction outcomes. SAC participants were found to have significantly reduced reconviction proportions on four of the five reconviction outcomes – any conviction, any felony, violent felony, and property felony – in contrast to comparison subjects. For these four significant contrasts, SAC participants were found to have 20 to 30 percent reduced odds of reconviction, with the largest reduction identified for violent felonies ( $OR=0.7$ ). Objectively, non-significant recidivism findings were anticipated, as an indication of *maintaining public safety* was expected. Reductions in reconvictions identify an additional level of SAC’s effectiveness that exceeded expectations. While still a reduction, the non-significant finding for drug felonies is not surprising, given the CCO focus group findings described previously.

When examining the third study question “Do SAC participants possess greater program utilization than comparison subjects?”, SAC and comparison group subject differences were examined on the six

intervention utilization outcomes. Three significant findings were identified, all favoring SAC participants. First, in contrast to comparison subjects, a significantly greater proportion of SAC participants were involved in CBT programming ( $p < .001$ ). The number of hours of CBT was also significantly greater ( $p < .001$ ), with SAC participants receiving twice the number of CBT program hours than their matched comparisons. Lastly, for those offenders that received CD treatment, the average number of hours of SAC participants exceeded that of comparison subjects by nearly 20 hours ( $p < .001$ ).

It should be noted that, while CBT treatment utilization is significantly increased, one might expect and even greater difference; however, there was an initial slow start of CBT following SAC's implementation. Therefore, one can assume that the CBT utilization difference would likely be even greater with current supervision participants. Furthermore, while CD utilization overall did not significantly increase as a result of SAC, the policy changes around mandatory terminations following two missed sessions and the restructured "fee for service" contract that the WADOC entered with their treatment providers likely contributed to the significant difference.

#### *Growth Curve Modeling*

To examine the fourth study question "Do SAC participants incur a reduced propensity for violations over time than comparison subjects?" and its subcomponents, SAC and comparison group subject differences were examined on the four monthly violation outcomes with mixed-effect binary growth curve models<sup>9</sup>. Model results are presented in Table 3. To provide a visual representation of each model, Figures 1 through 5 were created using subjects' predicted probabilities provided from each model. As mentioned previously, the combined SAC group (E1 & E2) was used to analyze three of the four violation growth trends, while separate trends were used to examine absconding violations pre and post policy modification.

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<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that all analyses used random intercepts and random slopes for each model and examined covariation between random effects using an "Unstructured" covariance structure.

**Table 3. Binary Growth-Curve Models of Community Corrections Violations**

Comparison	Predictor	SAC vs. C			E1 vs. C	E2 vs. C
		Any	Serious	Non-Serious	Abscond	Abscond
SAC vs. C	<i>Fixed effects</i>	<i>OR(SE)</i>	<i>OR(SE)</i>	<i>OR(SE)</i>	<i>OR(SE)</i>	<i>OR(SE)</i>
	SAC	1.05(0.10)	0.68(0.05)***	1.11(0.11)	1.87(0.22)***	0.63(0.06)***
	Time	0.46(0.07)***	0.41(0.09)***	0.41(0.07)***	0.44(0.10)***	0.45(0.14)*
	Time <sup>2</sup>	0.71(0.05)***	0.72(0.04)***	0.75(0.05)***	0.74(0.06)***	0.91(0.07)
	Study Group* Time	0.69(0.09)**	0.60(0.07)***	0.82(0.10)	--	0.64(0.10)**
	Study Group * Time <sup>2</sup>	1.20(0.11)*	--	1.21(0.11)*	--	--
	<i>Random effects</i>	<i>Logit(SE)</i>	<i>Logit(SE)</i>	<i>Logit(SE)</i>	<i>Logit(SE)</i>	<i>Logit(SE)</i>
	Time	2.48(0.08)*	1.54(0.10)*	2.35(0.08)*	1.82(0.16)*	0.64(0.26)*
	Inter.	3.63(0.07)*	2.54(0.06)*	3.42(0.07)*	2.46(0.07)*	2.27(0.08)*
	Corr. (Inter_ Time)‡	0.02(0.06)	0.32(0.09)*	0.03(0.06)	0.15(0.10)	0.39(0.32)
	Log Likelihood	-17,155.13***	-12,881.86***	-16,307.59***	-5,518.11***	-5,599.11***

\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

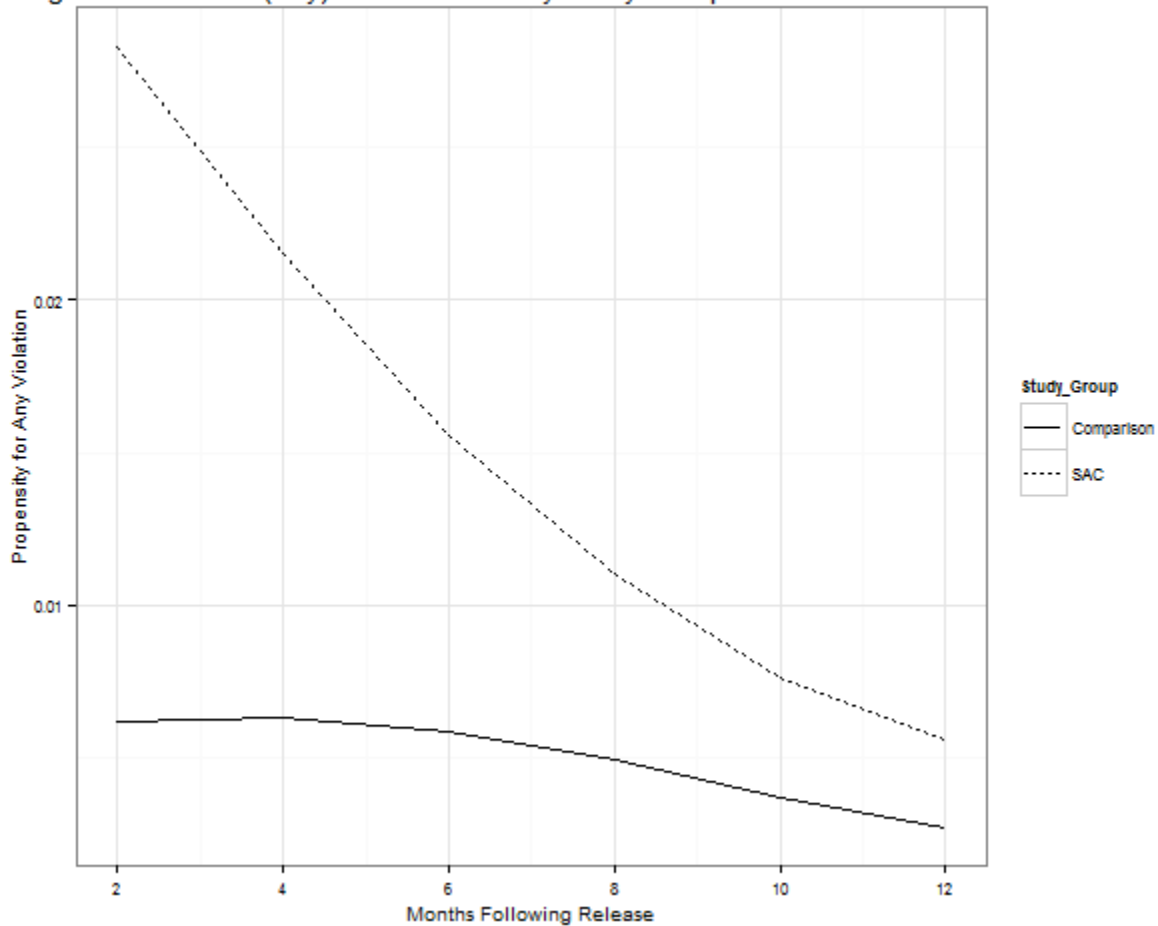
-Note that the natural log of days of a given month in the community (Log\*Exposure) was used as an offset measure in all models.

-Note that Time and Time<sup>2</sup> measures were converted to orthogonal scales for use in binary logistic models.

‡All models utilized an “unstructured” covariance structure.

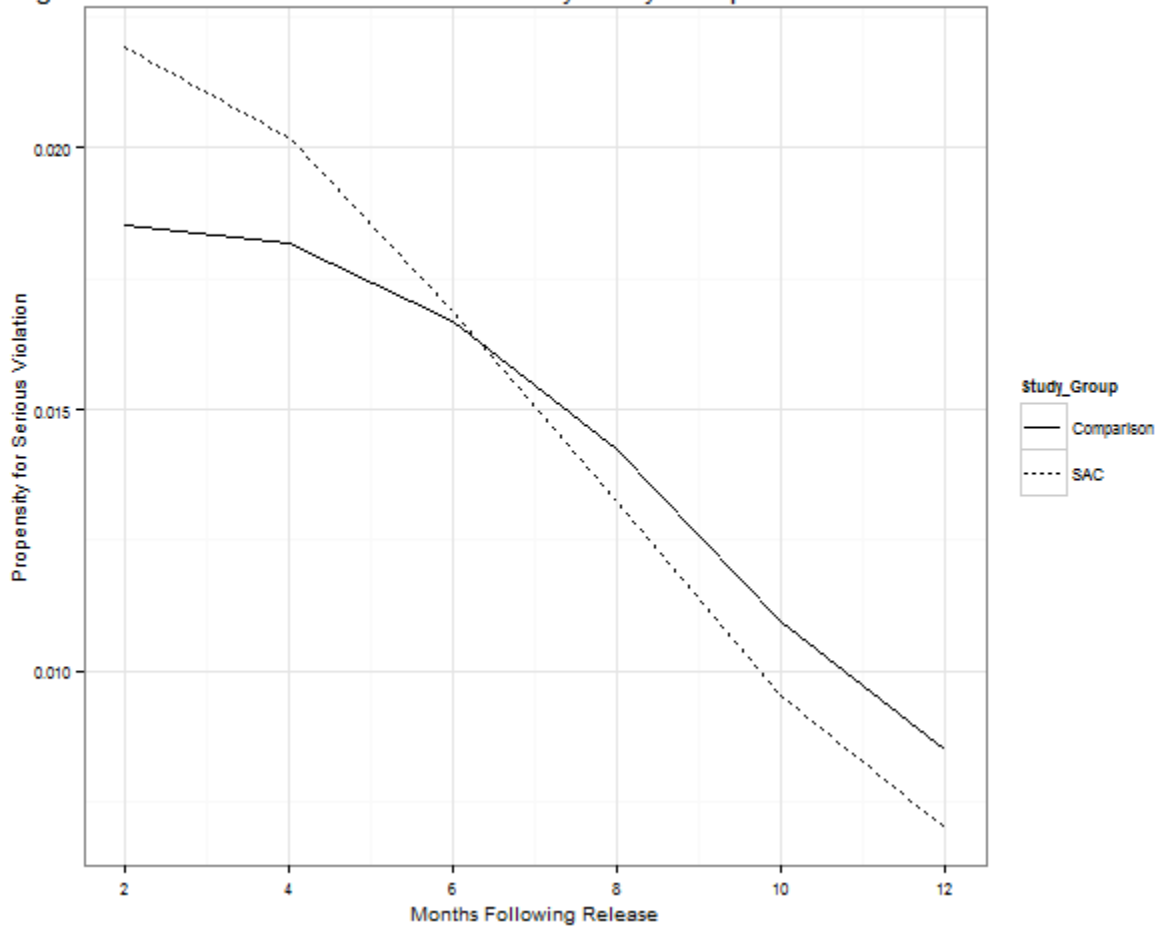
When examining the monthly growth trends of any violation, what is most notable is the lack of significance SAC participation. That is, despite the anticipated early increase in the frequency of violations (as seen in Figure 1), the monthly proportion of offenders violating in the SAC group reduces overtime and group differences become non-significant. While still retaining a slightly larger proportional average, contrasted with the comparison group, the SAC’s curvilinear trend reduces to a near equivalent level. The significant interaction (Study Group\*Time) indicates a greater reduction of violation propensity over time, a key indicator of SAC’s effectiveness.

Figure 1. Violation (Any) Growth Rates by Study Group Over Time - SAC vs. C



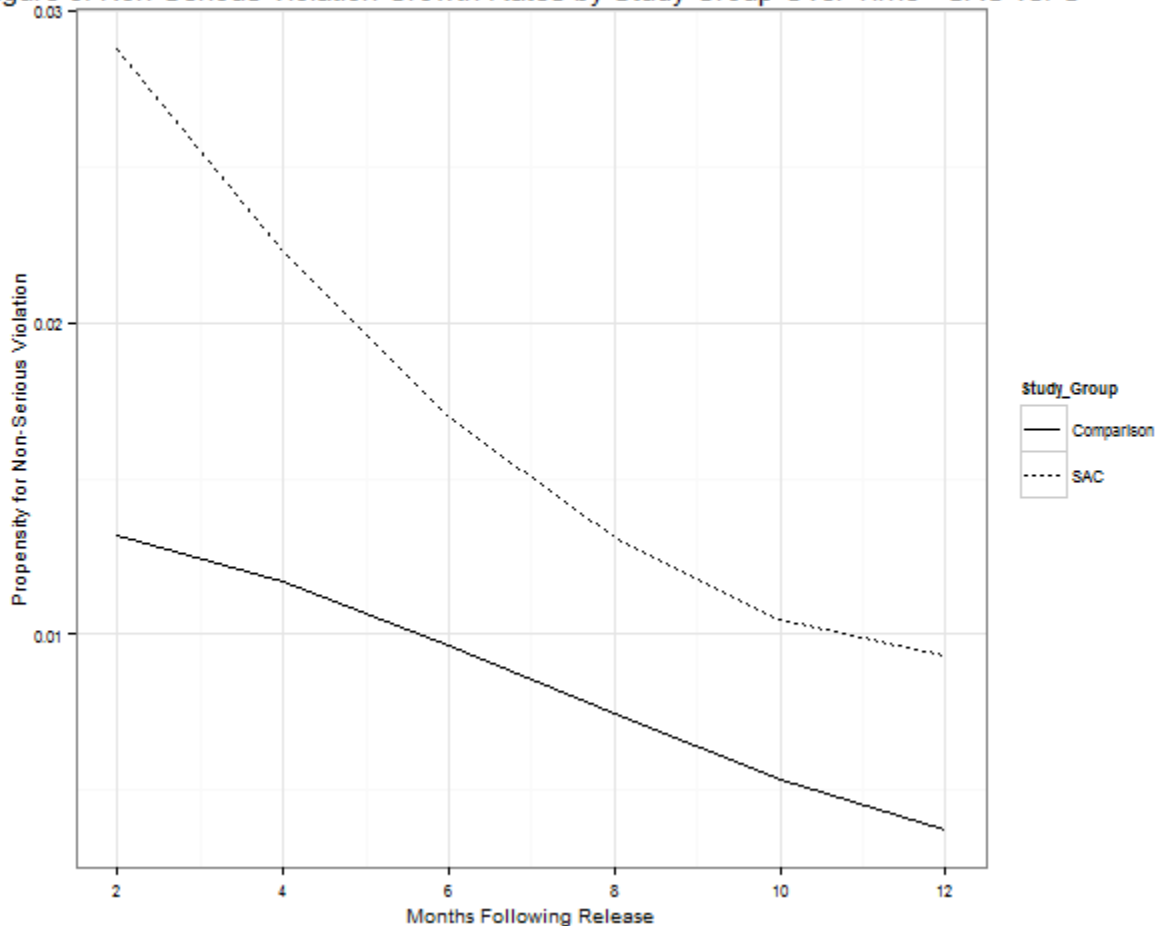
Serious violation trends are depicted in Figure 2. The notable difference from the violation (any) growth trend is the significant effect of SAC participation ( $p < .001$ ); where participants demonstrate a 32 percent reduced odds of serious violation in reference to comparison group subjects. While similarly establishing a greater frequency of serious violation in the initial four months, this trend inverts, with SAC participants indicating a reduced likelihood overtime. With regard to deterrence principles (described previously), the reduced likelihood of Serious violations is an anticipated finding and suggests that SAC's ability to deter said violations by more consistently and with certainty in establishing offender accountability for all violations and, in turn, is preventing violations that are more impactful to public safety, over time.

Figure 2. Serious Violation Growth Rates by Study Group Over Time - SAC vs. C



When examining Non-Serious violations (see Figure 30) a slightly different trend is established. While SAC participants possess a greater propensity for this violation type, the contrast to comparison subjects fails to reach significance. While the effect of Non-Serious violations changes significantly over time ( $p < .001$ ), the interaction of study group and time is non-significant. Overall the findings indicate that, despite a slightly larger propensity to commit Non-Serious violations, participation in SAC has little-to-no impact on this violation type generally and across time. Given, SAC's anticipated increase to low level violations, this finding was surprising and positive.

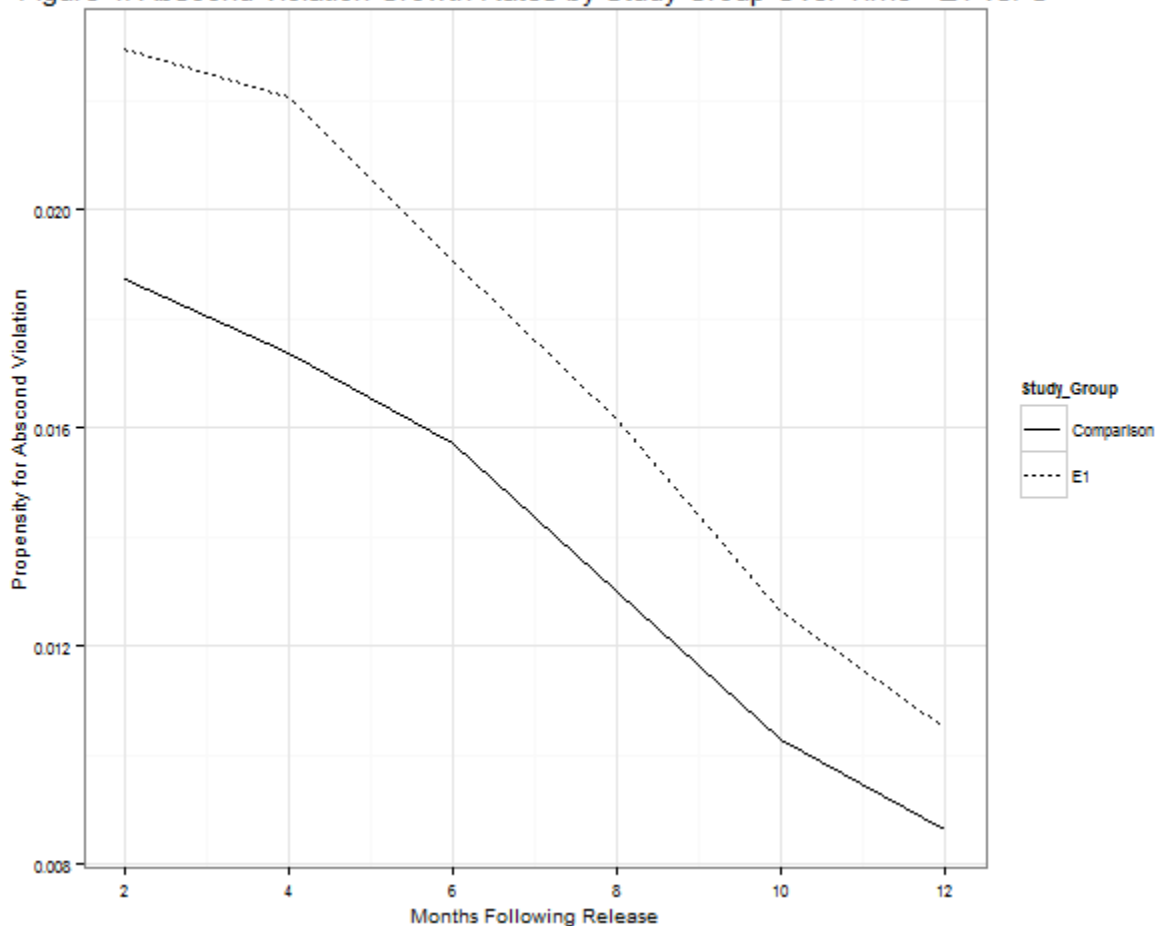
Figure 3. Non-Serious Violation Growth Rates by Study Group Over Time - SAC vs. C



### Abscond Violations

Due to the discussed and unforeseen need to adjust the SAC policy regarding absconding violations, it was necessary to conduct an additional growth curve analysis. In contrast to prior analyses, the two SAC groups (E1 & E2) were analyzed separately. In the first examination the E1 group was contrasted with their matched comparison subjects. As depicted in Figure 4, prior to the policy change, SAC participants possessed significantly greater propensities (on average) to commit absconding violations ( $p < .001$ ). This finding was anticipated and was the motivation the DOC used to make the described policy change, creating the distinction between missed CCO contacts (“low level”) and absconding (“high level”) violations.

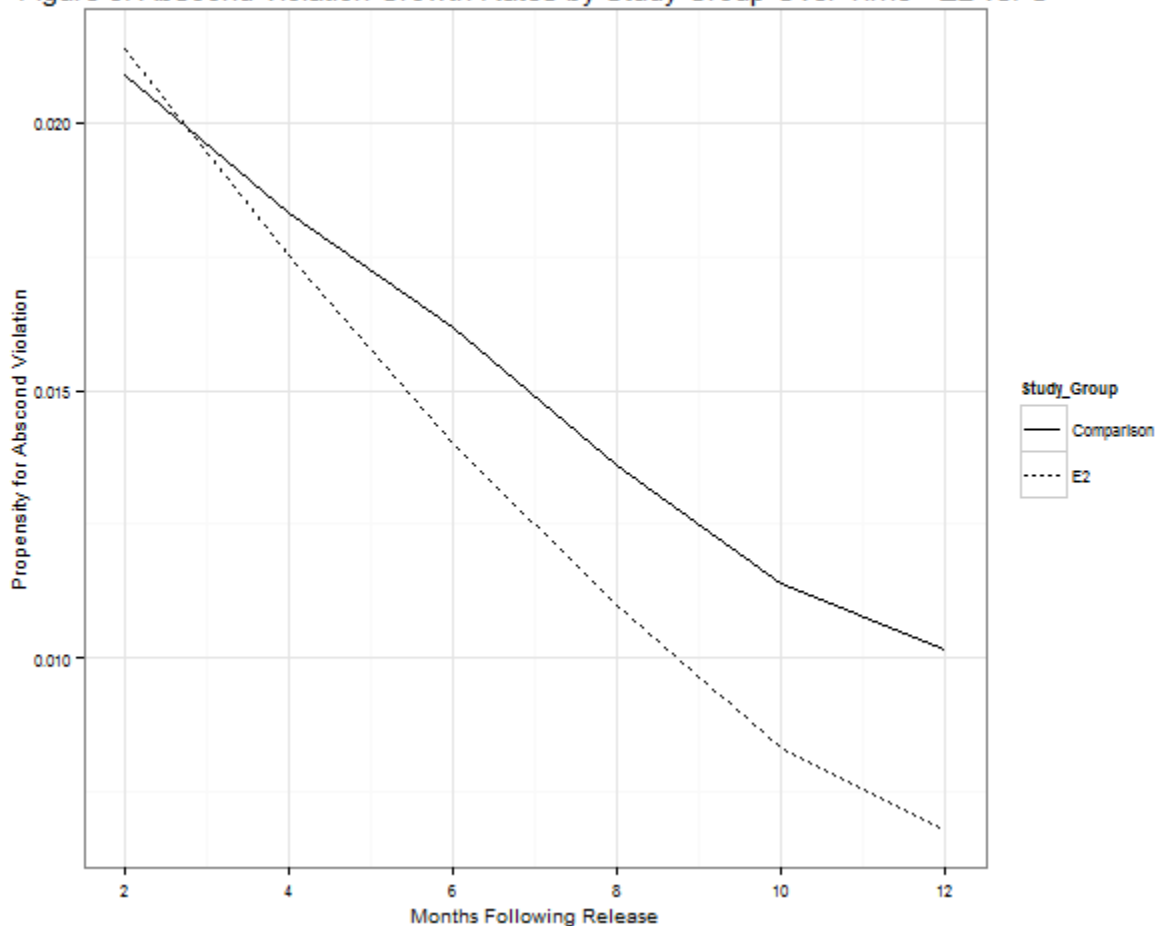
Figure 4. Abscond Violation Growth Rates by Study Group Over Time - E1 vs. C



Following the described policy change, the inverse trend is observed (see Figure 5). As indicated, SAC participants possess a reduced likelihood of committing and absconding violation ( $p < .001$ ), reducing their odds of this violation type by 37 percent in contrast to comparison subjects. This trend is also impacted by time, as SAC participants possessed a greater decreased rate in their monthly propensity of absconding in contrast to comparisons subjects (Study Group \* Time  $p < .01$ ). Combining the results of the E1 and E2 analyses, it was observed that the SAC policy change surrounding absconding violations was not only necessary but effective in achieving the desired result, further reducing this specified type of serious violation.



Figure 5. Abscond Violation Growth Rates by Study Group Over Time - E2 vs. C



### Summary

Overall, the findings of the SAC outcome evaluation are strongly positive. While SAC’s impact on study outcomes that were a direct result of policy changes, such as reduction in confinement, treatment utilization, and absconding violations, were anticipated, additional positive trends were not expected. That is, while the WADOC had hoped for the noted increase in public safety as a result of SAC (i.e., decreases in reconvications), this finding was an added bonus; where even a non-significant finding would have likely been considered a “net win” for the agency. While the positive effects are not universal for SAC (i.e., drug felonies) and recommendations will be given in latter sections to improve efficiencies, the positive findings presented here provide a foundation of evidence for which the WADOC has established intended deterrence goals and can build toward further achievements going forward.

## Section F: Cost-Benefit Analysis

This section of the report estimates the relative correctional and associated cost regarding offenders under community supervision following the implementation of SAC, as compared to matched subjects in the historical (pre-SAC) study group.

### Methods

As described previously, one of the primary distinctions of SAC, as compared to HOPE, was its intent to reduce correctional costs. It was expected that offenders would likely incur sanctions more frequently in the early stages of supervision but that reduced confinement times for “low level” violations would, in time, decrease costs related to violation sanctioning. While the additional investment in correctional programming was expected to be a slight increase to supervision costs, any reductions observed in reconvictions were anticipated to reduce costs associated with offending. Combining these fiscal outcomes of SAC a final study question was stated.

- 5) Do SAC participants possess lower correctional and associated costs than comparison subjects?

### *Measures*

For the subsequent cost-benefit analysis, three cost types are estimated. The first is the cost of treatment programming provided to offenders. Two drug treatment programs are tracked: inpatient/intensive outpatient drug treatment for offenders in the community (valued at \$1,039.82 per class), and outpatient/non-intensive drug treatment for offenders in the community (\$844.35 per class) (WSIPP, 2014b). Cognitive behavioral therapy treatment is also tracked, priced at \$427.21 per class. Cost estimates were originally in 2013 USD and adjusted to provide for 2015 USD inflation. The second cost type is the Department of Corrections supervision. The daily costs of community supervision were \$8.04 for comparison group members and \$8.09 for SAC group members<sup>10</sup>. The daily costs of prison and jail per offender were estimated to be \$57.76, \$93.51, respectively (WSIPP, 2014a). These estimates were adjusted from 2014 to 2015 USD. Finally, costs associated with recidivism during the follow up were also calculated. Specifically, calculated costs account for expenses related to arrest, court processing, and tangible victim costs, and were calculated for seven different crime types. Specific reconviction crime type costs calculated included felony sex crimes, robbery, aggravated assault, felony property, felony drug, any felony, and misdemeanor (WSIPP, 2014a). These estimates were also adjusted from 2009 to 2015 USD inflation.

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<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that a slight increase in costs for SAC participants was observed during the sample frame data collection period, due to higher community corrections staff overtime and travel expenses attributed to the SAC program.

### *Analysis Plan*

To examine this final research question, five t-tests were conducted to assess cost differentials. Mean differences in costs were tested for treatment programming, supervision (prison, jail, and community supervision), recidivism, and finally total mean costs. The sum of all costs contrasted between SAC and comparison subjects is reported, from which a ratio of costs-to-benefits was computed.

### **Results**

The results of the cost-benefit analysis (CBA) are presented in Table 4. Differential dollar allotments are organized into “Costs,” or costs of the treatment program being evaluated, and “Benefits,” the subsequent benefits of the treatment in the form of reduced DOC incarceration and recidivism costs. Costs of the SAC program included the costs of treatment program enrollment and community supervision costs. As anticipated, treatment costs were found to increase significantly for SAC group members relative to comparison subjects. However, differences in community supervision costs were not significant, while, on average, were larger for SAC members. Regarding the benefits, incarceration expenses were found to be significantly reduced as a result of SAC participation. However, while recidivism costs were reduced for SAC group members, the differences were not significant. Finally, combining costs and benefit estimates, findings revealed significant cost savings for SAC participation, overall.

**Table 4. Average Costs in 2015 USD per Offender**

Hypoth.	Cost	Comparison M\$	SAC M\$	t
H4	Costs:			
	Treatment	72.27	99.03	4.58***
	Community Supervision	2,034.03	2,078.36	1.83
	Benefits:			
	Incarceration	1,057.32	292.17	-16.54***
	Recidivism	4,344.71	3,973.38	-0.92
	<b>Total costs</b>	<b>7,508.33</b>	<b>6,442.93</b>	<b>-2.6**</b>
	<b>Cost-Benefit Ratio</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>--</b>

\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

The sum of the costs for treatment programming and community supervision provided to the SAC participants was \$10,534,181, whereas \$10,190,263 was spent on the comparison, resulting in a difference of \$343,917. The total amounts of DOC “benefits” for incarceration and recidivism at follow up for the SAC and comparison subjects was \$20,636,721 and \$26,135,028, respectively (a difference of \$5,498,307). The amount spent on treatment programming relative to the costs of supervision and recidivism at follow up yields a cost benefit ratio of 1:16, indicating a \$16 return on investment for every dollar spent on SAC participants.

### *Summary*

Overall the CBA of SAC was positive and anticipated. As one of the primary objectives of the initiative was to reduce correctional costs, there was an expected savings resulting from reduced confinement sanctioning. The added benefit associated with reduced reconvictions added to the CBA ratio. The estimated 1:16 savings associated with SAC is not only large but is in line with CBA estimates of similarly effective initiatives (see WSIPP, 2014b)<sup>11</sup>. Extending the findings of HOPE, the CBA results presented provide a base-understanding of the potential of SAC-like initiatives in reducing correctional budgets.

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<sup>11</sup> WSIPP provides an annual meta-analysis of cost-benefit analyses of criminal justice programming. Placed within the list of adult programs, 1-to-16 ratio would rank fifth (out of 35) on WSIPP's list, just behind highly effective programs such as – correctional education, drug treatment, CBT, and employment and job training.

## Section G: Conclusion and Recommendations

Since the promising results of HOPE many states have ventured to test the deterrence strategies that demonstrated effectiveness in Hawaii. Making use of technical assistance funds provided by the Bureau of Justice Assistance, 40 jurisdictions across 18 states have begun pilots to examine results of programs similar to that of SAC. However, early results are not replicating the glowing results of HOPE.

Unlike HOPE, which was notably focused on drug offenders, Washington State's SAC population and scope were remarkably different and provide a more definitive evaluation of deterrence principals. As indicated, SAC differs from Hawaii's probation model in two important ways. First, the effects of SAC were demonstrated with a more heterogeneous and notably higher risk population. Meaning, the WADOC population possessed a greater propensity for recidivistic outcomes and increased incident severity. Second, after an abbreviated pilot, the entire community corrections population was converted to the SAC supervision model; thus, creating a naturalized experiment. The current study examined the effectiveness of SAC's implementation efforts and the achievement of outcome and cost-benefit goals. What is most remarkable about the process and outcome study findings is that regardless of the accelerated timeline for implementation, and the challenges that CCOs faced, adjusting to changes in organizational culture, the SAC policy is still reaching the intended goals of reducing costs while ensuring public safety.

This final report first discussed the qualitative results of SAC. A review of thousands of pages of policies, communication materials, power points slides, quality assurance resources, and reports, coupled with the results of over 16 hours of offender and CCO focus groups combine to describe this major initiative. Based on our qualitative findings, SAC received a relatively efficient roll out, established good practices and maintained fidelity. While staff are still adapting to changes in day-to-day operations, SAC has provided a sustainable practice resulting from numerous implementation adherence measures. These practices, put in place by the WADOC, are a likely contributor to the positive program outcomes. Practices to be adopted by agencies seeking to implement similar practices include the following:

- 1) A "rolling training" model that was launched statewide, and delivered by subject matter experts (SMEs) in SAC. The training covered the WADOC policy changes, implications for workload, new forms and the Behavior Accountability Guide.
- 2) Use of Subject Matter Experts (SMEs) to answer questions, clarify policies and lend support.
- 3) The creation of quality assurance safeguards to monitor the adherence model through a *Sustainability Review* process carried out by the implementation team.
- 4) The use of "Community Corrections Weekly Messages" to relay important information about SAC.
- 5) Operations feedback from CCO's and administration was evaluated on a weekly basis to monitor public safety and program effectiveness.
- 6) Use of outside consultants to guide implementation efforts.
- 7) Continued use of data to measure impacts of SAC

With that said, SAC was not without its faults and growing pains. Given that SAC's implementation created a major shift in correctional culture, it is not surprising that ambivalence and even opposition to the new practices were identified by a substantial portion of CCOs. Offenders discussed sharing many of the same concerns as CCOs. While training and other forms of support were provided by the WADOC, SAC's departure from the CCO discretion-based methods, challenged core beliefs and values rooted in years of experience and practice. Assumptions surrounding the "right way" to supervise offender make dramatic cultural shifts such as SAC difficult to craft into a sustainable policy, allowing staff and offenders to "pull on the loose strings" of the policy, finding methods of maintaining the status quo, or returning to known and previously accepted practices. Essentially, SAC created overlapping philosophical models of supervision that clearly still exist among CCOs. Continued support and education of staff (using data-driven findings) will bring about greater legitimacy and sustainability to the SAC efforts.

The trend towards a sustainable model can be credited to the WADOC continual training model, quality assurance measures and the work of local CCSs in managing, monitoring and supporting their staff through this change. With continued quality assurance, it is likely that shifts in culture will continue and the consistent implementation of SAC will improve as a result. With that said, SAC should be monitored for *policy drift*, as not all CCOs have been able to embrace the SAC model. Our findings identify a trend among CCO staff that may be younger (new to WADOC), or those that had been recently received academy training. If efforts are made by experienced CCOs to "re-train" to the traditional pre-SAC supervision model, policy drift will likely be observed. To counteract these efforts, senior and veteran CCO staff should be made to feel supported and attempts to improve buy-in to the SAC model should be a goal over time.

With regard to study outcomes and the CBA, SAC's results are remarkably consistent, identifying positive results that are generally in line with expectations and in some instances exceed anticipated findings. Although questions may remain in terms of dosage, increased confidence is provided for the more consistent (i.e., frequent) use of graduated sanctions and a reduction in longer confinement periods for violation behavior. Although notable barriers were identified, modifications to SAC policies were implemented in December of 2013 and findings indicate that the intended effects in absconding occurred as a result. The expansive sample collected from the program being "taken to scale" resulted in a relatively large state-wide data set not typically seen in program and policy evaluation. This large scale initiative allowed for the examination of violation propensities via growth curve models, illustrating the program's intended effects overtime. This type of modeling effort has, to our knowledge, not yet been attempted for correctional populations and represents a novel illustration of SAC's effects that will likely be replicated in future correctional program evaluations and examinations of deterrence. Therefore, this evaluation of SAC fills an important gap in existing research while providing a guide for state supervision practices nationwide.

Our key findings demonstrate that SAC's goals to increase proportionality of violation sanctioning with quicker and more consistent/frequent use of shorter jail confinements. Based on study findings, this goal appears to have been achieved, as both the proportion and duration of violation sanctioning was identified. The key to the WADOC's success in achieving this goal was the establishment of the BAG, making clear and proportional sanctioning guidelines for offenders to be informed of and held accountable to while supervised. In addition, the ability for "low level", non-serious violations to be sanctioned by CCOs immediately, avoiding a lengthy sanctioning hearing, was a progressive step forward in the use of deterrence-base correctional strategies.

Next, the WADOC wanted to make rehabilitation efforts a priority of SAC, reinvesting dollars saved on confinement in programming. Two programs were the primary focus – CD and CBT – and findings indicate greater utility. While noted delays in CBT training occurred during the study period, the use of said programming has expanded greatly since and is likely utilized at greater rates than current findings demonstrate. Furthermore, CD came to no longer be used as a sanction under SAC, reducing the unwanted uses of mandated treatment. Simultaneously, duration of CD programming increased as a result of SAC policy changes, moving the community use of treatment closer to best practices guidelines.

While the modified utilization of sanctioning and treatment programming were anticipated findings, based on policy and statute changes, the recidivism goals of SAC were simply to "maintain" public safety. Here, even non-significant differences between SAC and comparison offenders would have been viewed as a "net win", as the discussed cost reduction goals of the state would have been achieved. However, findings indicate a reduction in recidivism as a result of SAC. These reductions in reconvictions demonstrate the increased positive effects of SAC and give support to this deterrence-based strategy.

However, there should be some caution when examining these findings as the current study is not without limitations. In particular, because randomization of SAC and control group subjects could not be implemented, a historical comparison was created. Because this method lacked that ability to control for other WADOC policy changes and associated impacts, a multitude of additional factors may be producing the reductions in recidivism identified. While not entirely certain that the positive recidivism effects can be attributed to SAC alone, it is highly probable that the reductions in reconvictions were due in part to SAC and, at the very least, public safety was *maintained*, as nearly all findings indicate that safety was improved following SAC's implementation. Furthermore, as one of the only studies to demonstrate a positive impact on recidivism using a HOPE-style model, these findings are decidedly important for policy makers considering adoption of SAC-style programming or those agencies currently implementing similar programs.

What is most the remarkable evaluation finding is observation of deterrence in action. While deterrence is often used as a rationale to increase the use of incarceration and the duration of offender

sentences, prior research has demonstrated that fidelity of the deterrence principles is important. Specifically, as was previously the case in Washington, when the severity of sanctions is provided disproportionately and/or with greater severity than necessary, the other principals (swiftness and certainty) were provided idiosyncratically. Once SAC was implemented, severity of “low level” violation sanctions were greatly reduced, which allowed for swiftness and certainty to be reestablished. Although collectively study findings do not provide definitive confirmation that deterrence is effective, results demonstrate that, overtime, SAC offenders reduced their propensity for violations at a greater rate and were less likely to commit serious violations as compared to their matched counterparts. While studies of violation behavior are not standard practice of evaluations in community corrections settings, we feel that our examination of these behaviors over the supervision time period provided needed descriptive results that should become a more common evaluation practice going forward.

Finally, our CBA revealed substantial and significant correctional and associated cost reductions as a result of SAC. While costs of confinement were likely to generate savings due to reduced jail duration sanctions, the reductions in recidivism further drove the savings upward. The one to sixteen dollars spent-to-saved ratio is quite large as compared to other corrections CBAs (see WSIPP, 2014b), indicating likely savings of similar programs where agencies have begun or are considering replication of SAC.

Although, strongly positive, we would like to caution readers that the savings generated will likely not happen with any generic application of deterrence principles. Over the last thirty years there have been many efforts to implement and evaluate the effects of deterrence-style models. SAC’s application is unique in that it *reduced* confinement times for sanctions. Many perceptions of deterrence focus on providing “accountability”, which commonly results in escalating sanctions. The efforts of SAC that likely led to its successful implementation was the modifications of sanctions to produce not only swiftness and certainty of sanctioning but to couple these methods with *proportionality* of confinement durations. By reducing the duration of confinement for “low level” violations, offenders were more likely to maintain employment, social supports and continue to participate and receive needed treatments and services in the community. Without the notable component of proportionality, SAC would likely have not achieved the positive outcome and cost savings identified. Although further research may be needed to provide a more accurate calibration of violation sanctioning dosage, the current results extend the promising findings of HOPE and indicate that SAC’s broader application of deterrence-based supervision can substantially reduce the impact of incarceration to both offenders and tax payers, all while maintaining public safety.

To conclude the current study and identify ways of increasing SAC’s initial success, we offer the following recommendations:

- *Continue to invest in treatments, programs, and services in the community and provide an array of well-rounded services available within all correctional area offices.* Drawing from qualitative findings, programs such as anger



management, vocational training and mental health services could also be expanded and improved similar to the efforts that surrounded CD and CBT.

- *Examine a greater variety of societal costs and benefits of SAC.* While we were effectively able to assess the base costs that resulted from SAC's implementation, societal costs (such as tax revenues generated through offender employment) were not examined and may prove to further increase understanding around the reduced confinement duration efforts of the policy.
- *Examine if recidivism effects are short-term.* While optimal for examining violation and sanctioning, our one year follow-up is likely insufficient to provide a robust understanding of SAC's effects on recidivism. It is possible that the effects identified are short-term and fade over time. Additional research efforts are needed to examine the effects of SAC on recidivism at the more traditional two or three year follow-up intervals.
- *Monitor population differences to examine dosage and responsivity needs – particularly for drug offenders.* Identified to be effective for the general supervision population, the guidelines set forth by the BAG may not be effective dosages for all offender types. Specifically, our findings revealed non-significant effects in reducing drug felonies, and it was certainly the perception of CCO and CCSs that SAC is ineffective for drug abusing populations. While drug addicted offenders were the focus of HOPE, SAC was not devised to specifically impact drug offenders. Examining for who SAC is most effective and creating an understanding of why would improve its provision and may allow practitioners to alter confinement and other supervision services and dosages to provide greater specific responsivity.
- *Examine the reduction in offender risk over time both on and off supervision.* SAC was designed to increase an offender's sense of accountability. It is anticipated that lessons learned while supervised will improve prosocial behaviors after supervision is complete. While the effects of SAC during supervision are identified, prosocial behaviors following supervision should also be studied to provide a greater understanding of prevention efforts.

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## Appendix A. WADOC Behavior Accountability Guide

VIOLATIONS	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>High level Violations</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 6<sup>th</sup> or subsequent low level violation process on an open cause</li> <li>• Weapons use/possession</li> <li>• Contact with a prohibited business/location or person</li> <li>• Domestic Violence related violation behavior</li> <li>• Threatening/Assaultive behavior</li> <li>• Search refusal</li> <li>• Use of device/adulterants to interfere with/alter the UA process</li> <li>• Unauthorized possession of ammunition or explosives</li> <li>• Absconding from supervision as defined in DOC 350.750 Warrants, Detainers, and Holds</li> <li>• Unapproved residence for a sex offender (current offense)</li> <li>• Failure to submit to a scheduled polygraph test</li> <li>• Any behavior resulting in a new misdemeanor, gross misdemeanor, or felony arrest that requires a Failure to Obey All Laws violation hearing (Underlying Felony offenders only)</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center; font-style: italic;">*A low level violation can be addressed through a Department hearing if defined aggravating factors are present and validated per DOC 460.130 Violations, Hearings, and Appeals.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Low level Violations</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All other violations not listed as High</li> </ul>
VIOLATION PROCESSES	
<p><b>1<sup>st</sup> Low level Violation Process or a Mitigated Arrest – Stipulated Agreement</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If the offender refuses to sign the stipulated agreement or is arrested on a Secretary’s Warrant, s/he is ineligible for the non-confinement option</li> </ul> <p><b>2<sup>nd</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> Low level Violation Process – Mandatory Arrest</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1-3 days confinement</li> <li>• Misdemeanor offenders with insufficient suspended confinement time remaining will be referred back to the sentencing court for revocation/termination</li> </ul> <p><b>6<sup>th</sup>+ Low level Process, all High level Violations, Low level Violations with validated aggravating factor(s), and all Combination Violations (contains both High and Low Violations) – Mandatory Arrest</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proceed with a Department hearing with a maximum of 30 days confinement</li> <li>• Misdemeanor offenders with suspended confinement time remaining may have a Department hearing or be referred back to the sentencing court for revocation/termination. Misdemeanor offenders with no suspended confinement time remaining <u>must</u> be referred back to the court.</li> <li>• Mandatory 30 day sanction for threats/assault violations committed against employees or their families</li> </ul>	
AGGRAVATING FACTORS to address Low level Violation through a Department Hearing	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>(must be directly related to the alleged violation)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Escalating aggression</li> <li>• Behavior during the commission of the violation that manifested deliberate harm, cruelty, or intimidation of the victim(s)</li> <li>• Physical resistance</li> <li>• Posing a significant risk to public safety while failing to comply with Department imposed electronic monitoring</li> <li>• Offense Cycle Behavior that indicates potential harm or threat of harm to a previous or potential victim(s)</li> </ul>	

**Appendix B. WADOC Pre- and Post-SAC Policies**

<b>Policy Area</b>	<b>Policy Pre-Swift and Certain</b>	<b>Policy Change to Support SAC</b>	<b>Interim Policy Date</b>	<b>Standard Policy Date</b>
Intake	Added Policy statement II. On interim policy for staged implementation sites	Adjusted order of intake process. Adjusted references to other policies	04/19/12	12/6/13
Arrest & Search	Emergency Arrest	Emergent Arrest: Defined as an unexpected event that requires prompt attention.	06/01/12	12/6/13
Community Supervision	Added interim policy for staged implementation sites.	Incorporated interim policy changes	04/19/12	12/6/13
	KIOSK can be used to: supplement, but not replace in person reporting for High and Moderate risk offenders, and Low risk offenders required to register. DOSA offenders can use KIOSK, but also have weekly in- person contact. Non-registered Low risk offenders primarily managed by KIOSK. KIOSK may be used to enhance, but not replace reporting for homeless offenders. KIOSK may be used as a supervision enhancement of legal financial obligations and to assist in scheduling of drug testing requirements.	KIOSK reporting may be used as an enhancement to supervision, but will not substitute for required face to face contacts per new schedule		
	Community Corrections employees will provide office coverage to ensure that services are available to offenders and stakeholders during regular business hours.	Community Corrections employees will provide office coverage to ensure that services are available to offenders and stakeholders during regular business hours. Exceptions may be approved by the Field Administrator/designee.		
	Contact Standards for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High Risk/High Violent: 3 face to face per month of which 1 is out of office and 1 collateral contact per month.</li> <li>• High Risk/Non-Violent: 2 face to face contacts per month, 1 of which is out of the office, and 1</li> </ul>	Updated minimum contact standards: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High Risk/High Violent Offenders: 3 face-to-face contacts per month, of at least one which is in the office and at least in the field. 1 collateral contact per month.</li> <li>• For low-risk offenders: 1 face-to-face office contact per month.</li> </ul>	4/19/12 and 06/01/12	12/6/13

	<p>collateral contact per month.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Moderate: 1 face to face office contact per month, 1 face to face contact out of the office per quarter, and 1 collateral contact per month.</li> <li>• Registered Low Risk: 1 face to face contact per month, 1 face to face contact out of the office per quarter, and 1 collateral contact per month.</li> <li>• All other Low Risk: KIOSK reporting when change occurs to address, phone, employment, contact information, or if arrested.</li> <li>• Homeless Offenders: 1 face to face contact per week in the field if possible.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Homeless offenders 1 face to face contact per week and 1 collateral contact per month.</li> </ul>		
Violations, Hearings & Appeals	Violation response time: “as soon as practical, but not more than 14 days.”	Violation response time: “at earliest opportunity, but not more than 3 business days”		
		For those offenders that are SAC eligible and were sentenced before 05/31/12, must have an orientation to new policy. Those sentenced after 05/31/12 can be sanctioned under SAC regardless of orientation		

	<p>High level violations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 6<sup>th</sup> or subsequent low level violation process on <u>an</u> open causes</li> <li>• Weapons use/possession</li> <li>• Contact with a prohibited business/location where the offender's presence poses a threat of physical harm to a previous or potential victim.</li> <li>• Contact with a prohibited person(s) where the offender's presence poses a threat of physical harm to a previous or potential victim.</li> <li>• Domestic Violence related violation behavior that poses a threat of physical harm to a previous or potential victim.</li> <li>• Threatening/Assaultive behavior</li> </ul>	<p>High level violations - added the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Search refusal</li> <li>• Use of device/adulterants to interfere/alter UA process</li> <li>• Unauthorized possession of ammunition/explosives</li> <li>• Absconding from supervision</li> <li>• Unapproved residence for sex offender</li> <li>• Failure to submit to polygraph test</li> <li>• Any behavior resulting in a new misdemeanor, gross misdemeanor, or felony arrest that requires a Failure to Obey All Laws violation hearing (Underlying Felony offenders only)</li> </ul>	<p>4/19/12 Revised: 6/1/12 Revised: 6/8/12 Revised: 8/3/12</p>	<p>12/6/13</p>
Warrants, Detainers & Holds	Secretary's Warrant (SW) issued for absconding	Warrants may now be issued for violations of supervision, not just absconding.	4/19/12 Revised: 6/1/12 Revised: 6/8/12 Revised: 8/3/12	12/6/13
		Absconding now includes: a) Offender fails to report and a Secretary's Warrant (SW) is issued and they have not turned themselves in within 7 days; b) travels out of state w/out permit and is arrested for a new crime; c) fails to report following a conditional release Absconding is now a high level violation and requires a hearing.		
		"Escape" no longer used in violation behavior; it is a crime.		
		Prior to issuing a SW staff must attempt to call offender by phone.		

### Appendix C. Propensity Score Modeling and Sample Descriptives

				Pre-Match		Post-match					
<b>Model Fit Summary</b>											
Percent significant differences				31.7	36.9				4.8	4.8	
Mean STD Difference				4.96	4.66				2.09	2.10	
Maximum STD Difference				19.21	23.53				12.40	10.68	
AUC				0.64	0.67				0.53	0.53	
Domain/Measure	E1%	E2%	Comparison %	STD % E1 vs. C	STD % E2 vs. C	E1%	E2%	Comparison %	STD % E1 vs. C	STD % E2 vs. C	
<b>Demographics</b>											
Age at time of assessment				3.66	15.95				1.24	0.88	
60+				1.8	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.0		
50-59				8.0	8.8	8.4	8.3	9.0	8.1		
40-49				19.1	19.4	20.4	19.3	20.8	19.2		
30-39				28.1	29.4	27.7	26.9	28.6	27.3		
20-29				39.6	36.8	37.5	39.6	37.1	39.8		
18-19				3.1	3.1	3.6	3.6	2.7	3.4		
<18				0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2		
Non-White				31.7	34.0	33.6	33.3*	33.1	33.2	2.26	0.74
<b>Criminal History</b>											
Age at first conviction				**	*			†		2.39	1.88
24 or older				29.0	29.6	32.3	31.1	31.1	28.7		
18 to 23				34.9	33.7	33.5	33.3	34.0	34.2		
15 to 18				22.3	22.1	20.5	22.3	19.7	22.3		
Less than 15				13.8	14.5	13.7	13.6	15.1	13.8		
Number of juvenile felony convictions					**					0.96	0.49
None				74.7	74.5	77.5	74.8	76.9	74.7		
One				12.1	12.4	10.9	11.6	10.6	11.9		
Two				6.3	6.5	5.5	6.8	6.0	6.6		
Three				3.8	3.3	3.2	3.0	3.1	3.3		
Four				1.7	2.0	1.5	1.9	1.5	1.8		
Five or more				1.4	1.3	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.7		
<b>Adult Felony Conviction History</b>											
Violent property										1.35	2.43
One				13.4	12.2	11.8	12.7	12.3	13.1		
Two or more				2.2	1.8	1.9	2.4	2.3	2.2		
Assault				**			†			0.27	0.05
One				18.2	17.8	17.1	16.6	16.7	17.3		
Two				3.0	2.9	2.9	3.5	3.4	3.3		
Three or more				1.5	1.0	0.8	1.2	1.0	1.4		



<i>Domestic assault</i>				1.55	1202				1.82	0.00
<i>One</i>	120	130	121			112	130	117		
<i>Two or more</i>	42	50	45			45	47	43		
<i>Weapon</i>	**			3.33	208				0.21	0.10
<i>One</i>	95	102	89			97	92	97		
<i>Two or more</i>	22	1.5	1.4			1.6	1.8	20		
<i>Property</i>	*	*		7.18	0.49		**		0.77	1.01
<i>One</i>	226	233	225			230	235	223		
<i>Two</i>	122	123	108			112	110	118		
<i>Three</i>	78	7.5	6.8			6.1	7.3	6.9		
<i>Four</i>	38	49	4.7			4.7	5.0	4.5		
<i>Five or more</i>	6.7	7.3	7.4			6.0	7.3	6.4		
<i>Dmg</i>				2.75	5.22				1.90	6.50
<i>One</i>	231	245	24.1			26.1	25.4	24.4		
<i>Two</i>	9.6	8.7	9.8			10.4	10.6	9.8		
<i>Three or more</i>	9.8	9.2	9.7			10.8	9.9	10.5		
<i>Escape - One or more</i>	5.5	5.1	5.2	0.40	1.72	5.0	5.2	5.4	4.80	1.43
Total number of adult felonies	**	***		2.18	4.11		*		0.92	1.68
<i>One</i>	9.0	9.0	11.5			10.0	11.2	9.8		
<i>Two</i>	9.2	7.4	9.6			9.5	9.2	9.3		
<i>Three</i>	6.7	8.5	7.9			7.6	7.4	7.2		
<i>Four</i>	6.6	7.8	7.0			6.9	6.9	6.8		
<i>Five</i>	6.5	5.8	6.0			6.2	5.4	6.4		
<i>Six</i>	6.8	5.8	6.2			6.7	6.0	6.6		
<i>Seven or more</i>	55.3	55.8	51.9			53.1	53.8	53.9		
Adult Misdemeanor Conviction History										
<i>Assault</i>		**		1.26	4.03				1.40	0.83
<i>One</i>	19.0	21.8	19.1			18.4	20.2	18.7		
<i>Two</i>	9.5	8.6	8.7			9.6	8.6	9.6		
<i>Three</i>	4.5	4.5	3.9			4.3	4.1	4.5		
<i>Four</i>	3.2	2.1	2.6			3.2	2.7	3.2		
<i>Five or more</i>	3.1	4.0	3.6			3.2	4.0	3.3		
<i>Domestic assault</i>		***		1.87	9.92				3.46	0.45
<i>One</i>	14.0	15.2	14.4			14.0	16.0	14.1		
<i>Two or more</i>	16.4	18.4	15.1			15.2	17.5	16.2		
<i>Sex</i>				2.38	1.11				0.33	2.05
<i>One</i>	1.8	1.9	2.4			2.2	2.1	2.1		
<i>Two or more</i>	0.7	0.8	0.9			0.7	0.7	0.7		
<i>Domestic Non-violent—One or more</i>	4.1	4.8	4.3	2.87	2.02	4.8	4.6	4.5	4.75	0.69
<i>Weapon—One or more</i>	7.6	7.4	7.2	0.18	0.63	6.8	7.8	7.5	1.81	2.68
<i>Property</i>	***	***		8.25	11.70				5.03	0.80
<i>One</i>	14.9	14.9	15.4			15.4	14.8	15.0		
<i>Two</i>	11.6	11.7	9.9			9.6	10.3	10.5		
<i>Three or more</i>	44.3	45.5	40.9			43.7	46.1	43.9		
<i>Dmg</i>				3.36	1.58				0.22	1.76
<i>One</i>	16.6	16.5	16.1			17.3	17.4	16.9		

<i>Two or more</i>	85	84	7.6			81	81	82		
<i>Escape—One or more</i>	22	26	23	1.84	0.26	25	22	25	1.40	1.47
<i>Alcohol related—One or more</i>	27.8	28.8**	26.4	2.05	3.85	26.8	28.0*	27.4	2.87	0.55
<b>Institutional</b>										
Time since last conviction occurred	***	*		2.40	3.57				1.92	4.01
<i>No prior conviction</i>	240	28.1	28.7			248	28.4	239		
<i>Over three years</i>	16.1	12.8	13.7			15.5	13.2	14.9		
<i>18 months to three years</i>	14.5	13.8	15.0			13.3	13.7	15.1		
<i>Six months to 18 months</i>	34.7	33.4	32.4			34.8	33.7	34.9		
<i>Up to six months</i>	10.7	11.8	10.2			11.2	10.1	11.1		
Prior prison infractions over the person's incarceration history										
<i>Any infraction</i>	***	***		19.21	16.54		**		1.20	7.37
<i>1 to 3</i>	20.7	17.9	19.9			17.2	17.4	17.1		
<i>4 to 10</i>	20.6	19.8	17.6			17.1	15.4	17.3		
<i>11 or more</i>	18.9	17.5	12.8			15.9	12.9	16.8		
<i>Violent infractions</i>	**			1.73	2.28	†			2.86	1.40
<i>One</i>	9.7	8.3	8.6			6.9	5.0	7.1		
<i>Two or more</i>	8.4	7.0	6.6			3.5	2.1	3.4		
<i>Serious infractions</i>	***	*		1.08	4.29	*			6.49	1.36
<i>One to two</i>	24.2	22.4	20.4			21.6	20.5	22.7		
<i>Three or more</i>	24.1	21.3	21.4			21.4	20.5	11.6		
Prior prison infractions during most recent incarceration										
<i>Any infraction</i>	***	***		19.09	19.58				1.27	3.41
<i>1 to 2</i>	17.0	14.7	16.2			20.9	20.0	21.3		
<i>3 to 6</i>	17.0	15.1	14.2			19.9	18.4	20.1		
<i>7 or more</i>	17.6	14.9	11.5			17.6	16.0	18.2		
<i>Violent infractions</i>	**			4.77	0.06				0.68	1.10
<i>One</i>	9.7	5.7	8.6			8.4	8.1	9.3		
<i>Two or more</i>	8.4	2.7	6.6			8.8	7.0	8.5		
<i>Serious infractions during current incarceration</i>	***	*		4.56	0.59				1.17	3.92
<i>One to two</i>	23.6	20.5	20.1			21.5	31.9	23.2		
<i>Three or more</i>	10.9	8.6	10.1			23.7	17.7	23.9		
Prior technical violations while in the community				2.10	0.75		†		1.63	0.01
<i>One</i>	10.7	9.9	11.3			11.6	12.1	11.3		
<i>Two</i>	10.4	11.1	11.0			10.6	11.6	10.3		
<i>Three or more</i>	20.9	20.5	19.0			19.0	18.0	20.2		
<b>Education</b>										
Highest grade completed—11 <sup>th</sup> grade or less	31.0	32.1	32.2	2.57	1.15	33.5	33.7	33.5	2.50	2.11
Expelled or quit school prior to high school graduation				3.03	2.83				1.54	3.90
<i>No—expulsion or quit</i>	34.9	35.5	36.9			34.0	37.6	34.4		
<i>Quit</i>	37.0	38.0	36.9			37.8	33.9	37.8		
<i>Expelled</i>	28.1	26.5	26.2			28.2	28.5	27.8		
Academic motivation	**	***		3.07	7.65	†	**		2.96	0.74
<i>Participating in or has a high school diploma/GED</i>	39.1	36.1	40.7			40.7	37.8	40.6		
<i>Some/No desire to continue education</i>	57.7	60.5	55.0			54.5	57.2	55.3		

<i>Legal mandate to participate in education</i>	32	34	43			48	50	41		
<b>Employment</b>										
Longest period of continuous employment – Less than three years				2.37	0.49				3.27	0.73
<i>More than 3 years</i>	38.3	38.9	38.9			36.9	39.0	37.3		
<i>1 to 3 years</i>	25.5	24.0	25.2			25.2	25.4	25.5		
<i>6 months to 1 year</i>	14.9	15.2	15.9			15.2	15.2	15.3		
<i>Less than 6 months</i>	13.4	13.7	12.7			14.0	12.6	13.6		
<i>Never employed</i>	7.9	8.3	7.2			8.6	7.8	8.3		
General labor skills at time of assessment or reassessment	28.3	27.7	28.8	5.35	0.50	26.1	27.8	26.8	1.67	0.52
Primary source of income during the most recent 6 months in the community	***	***		6.22	0.49	**			3.67	5.77
<i>Income from employment or student loans</i>	33.6	31.8	36.3			33.5	34.4	34.0		
<i>Income dependent</i>	34.3	38.4	35.8			37.5	37.2	35.4		
<i>Illegal income</i>	32.1	29.7	27.9			29.0	28.4	30.0		
Average monthly legal income	***	***		11.16	7.68	**			4.01	6.68
<i>2000+</i>	10.4	10.8	13.1			11.6	11.3	11.1		
<i>1000-1999</i>	20.7	19.1	19.9			17.0	19.0	18.2		
<i>Under 1000</i>	27.3	28.8	29.4			31.1	30.2	29.0		
<i>No legal income</i>	41.6	41.3	37.6			40.3	39.5	41.1		
Does not possess health insurance of any kind	*			7.23	10.11	**			9.19	4.77
<i>Private insurance</i>	7.0	7.2	7.8			6.5	6.9	6.9		
<i>Suspended, public or tribal</i>	20.2	23.9	22.2			24.0	22.4	21.6		
<i>No health insurance</i>	72.8	68.9	70.0			69.5	70.7	71.6		
Employment status at time of assessment		**		6.66	9.37				3.04	5.75
<i>Full-time employment</i>	23.4	21.9	24.6			23.1	22.0	23.6		
<i>Retired, homemaker, or disabled and unable to work</i>	6.6	6.3	6.2			7.4	6.6	6.9		
<i>Part-time employment</i>	13.1	13.3	13.9			12.9	13.9	13.3		
<i>Unemployed but able to work</i>	56.9	58.5	55.3			56.6	57.4	56.2		
Problems while employed since age 18										
<i>Performance related issues</i>	20.4	20.8	20.9	0.19	0.28	21.9	21.5	21.3	2.40	1.37
<i>Problems with co-workers</i>	10.4	10.5	10.6	1.36	1.23	10.7	11.6	10.5	4.31	3.17
<i>Anti-social behavior on the job</i>	13.9	12.5	13.1	1.15	1.13	14.4	13.3	14.1	0.05	3.78
<i>Barriers unrelated to employment</i>	22.5	22.7	22.8	1.70	4.73	27.3	23.9	22.7	1.07	2.17
Employment barriers										
<i>Poor social skills</i>	5.6	5.5	5.4	2.73	2.63	5.4	6.3	5.5	1.89	1.70
<i>Education related</i>	0.8	0.8	0.7	3.03	4.10	0.7	0.6	0.8	1.40	5.27
<i>Child care issues</i>	1.2	1.4	1.3	2.84	2.72	1.5	1.1	1.3	4.31	5.02
<i>Developmental disabilities</i>	2.4	2.2	2.4	0.30	0.25	2.8	2.7	2.6	6.11	1.63
<i>Mental health issues</i>	8.5	9.4*	8.1	0.48	2.36	8.8	9.3	8.3	9.56	2.64
<i>Criminal conviction</i>	46.4***	45.2**	42.4	12.96	11.23	44.2*	45.2	45.5	1.24	3.67
<i>Drug use</i>	23.4**	26.6***	20.9	11.25	16.89	22.0	23.7	22.6	2.18	9.72
Financial issues										
<i>No interest in finances</i>	9.8	9.1	8.9	1.49	0.16	9.5	9.0	9.8	4.12	0.91
<i>Problems meeting financial obligations</i>	73.1**	73.8***	69.9	6.89	10.75	73.6	73.6	73.2	1.41	6.71
<i>Relies on public assistance</i>	22.9***	25.9***	19.3	11.92	23.34	22.4	24.3	21.8	6.07	10.68

<i>Rules on family</i>	35.7***	39.3***	31.3	15.93	22.88	35.1	37.1	35.8	2.49	8.44
<i>Pays some child support</i>	46	5.0	5.3	3.88	1.65	42	4.3	46	0.36	2.93
<i>Required to pay child support</i>	93.2**	93.0**	94.6	5.46	6.18	92.5	93.1	93.0	3.45	2.57
<i>Rules on illegal activities</i>	19.0***	18.7***	15.4	9.03	8.32	17.8	17.4	18.4	2.39	2.04
<i>Rules on selling drugs</i>	5.4	4.4	4.8	2.63	1.93	5.6	5.0	5.4	0.34	0.65
<i>Protective payee</i>	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.24	1.89	0.6	0.7	0.6	1.05	0.00
<i>Cannot manage finances</i>	28.2*	26.0	25.9	5.05	0.25	27.3	25.4	27.8	2.51	3.21
<b>Friends/Associates</b>										
No friends	20.0	21.9**	25.0	11.08	7.55	21.8	22.7	21.3	2.59	0.89
Friends are unstable	10.1	11.1	9.5	4.68	3.89	11.4	10.7	10.1	4.28	0.00
Friends willing to help	67.3**	68.9	67.7	0.80	2.67	68.7	69.8	67.8	0.66	0.00
Has prosocial friends	91.0	91.3**	90.9	0.36	1.41	90.8	91.4	91.0	1.63	1.32
Has antisocial friends	44.0	45.6***	39.2	9.62	12.90	42.5	44.4***	43.0	2.12	0.18
Gang member friends	6.1	5.9	4.7	5.79	5.33	5.9	5.6	5.8	0.82	0.27
Antisocial friends in the last six months				11.09	10.30				0.73	1.09
<i>No antisocial friends or associates</i>	29.8	30.2	35.4			32.2	31.9	34.1		
<i>...Chooses not to associate with antisocial friends or associates</i>	14.2	13.7	13.5			12.4	14.0	13.3		
<i>Almost always resists going along with antisocial friends or associates</i>	15.8	16.0	15.2			15.3	15.8	15.6		
<i>...Rarely resists going along with antisocial friends or associates</i>	28.0	28.8	25.1			28.2	27.8	28.1		
<i>...Never resists, emulates, or leads antisocial friends or associates</i>	12.1	11.2	10.8			11.7	10.6	11.7		
<b>Residential</b>										
Residence primary occupant	20.5	20.9**	23.1	6.55	5.41	22.3	21.0**	21.5	4.71	0.84
Family residence	46.8	46.0*	46.1	1.36	0.09	46.5	45.9	46.2	0.93	0.25
Friends residence	11.5	11.7*	11.8	0.82	0.22	12.3	11.9	11.8	2.07	0.29
Group home	3.8*	3.7*	3.1	3.82	3.31	3.8*	3.6†	3.1	0.40	0.33
Residential treatment	1.2	0.2	1.0	1.88	3.19	1.2	0.8	1.0	0.35	4.61
Homeless	6.3	6.8	6.1	1.14	3.10	5.7	6.7	6.0	2.73	2.36
Transient	9.8	10.1†	8.9	3.21	3.96	8.7	9.9*	9.4	4.17	0.00
Reside with spouse	22.6**	24.3	24.5	4.44	0.50	22.9	24.4	22.6	0.83	1.41
Resides with positive friends	9.8	8.9	9.6	0.85	2.34	9.9	9.1	9.4	1.82	3.89
Reside with adult children	2.7	2.2	2.8	0.17	4.16	2.8	2.1	2.7	0.47	1.67
Reside with father	5.1†	5.3	5.0	0.41	1.34	5.1	5.4	5.2	0.88	1.18
Reside with minor children	13.6	13.3†	10.0	3.99	4.82	13.3	13.7	13.4	1.47	3.89
Reside alone	8.1	7.6	8.4	1.12	3.22	8.1	7.6	8.2	0.56	1.65
Resides with mother	22.5	28.1	21.5	2.31	0.51	23.0	21.9	22.9	1.49	1.69
Reside with father	12.3***	12.3**	12.7	1.50	1.42	12.2	12.6	12.3	0.35	0.68
Residential support				8.70	9.98				0.45	1.94
<i>Strong prosocial environment</i>	25.7	24.8	26.3			25.4	25.6	25.5		
<i>Living in a remote and isolated area with minimal or neighborhood influence</i>	2.9	3.0	2.9			3.0	3.0	3.0		
<i>Some exposure to antisocial influence, lacking ties/ attachment to neighborhood</i>	47.0	48.1	48.1			49.1	48.7	48.2		
<i>Significant barriers (frequent crime, drug transactions, police presence)</i>	24.4	24.1	22.8			22.5	22.7	23.0		
<b>Family</b>										
Number of minor children				3.74	2.18				1.71	1.55

<i>No minor children</i>	51.7	51.3	52.6			53.0	52.2	52.7		
<i>One</i>	19.9	21.9	21.2			19.9	22.2	19.6		
<i>Two or more</i>	28.4	26.7	26.1			27.1	25.5	27.7		
Offender living with minor children at the time of the offense	19.2	17.9	19.2	0.32	5.13	18.0	17.8	18.6	2.68	0.94
<i>No minor children</i>	50.0	49.3	50.2			50.7	50.3	50.7		
Offender plans to reestablish relationship with the child	32.2	33.9		0.97	2.84	31.3	31.9		0.85	0.35
<i>No minor children</i>	51.7	51.3	52.5			53.0	52.2	52.7		
<i>...Currently residing with minor children</i>	9.8	8.4	9.4			9.2	8.9	6.4		
No current partner relationship	64.8	64.9***	64.3	1.18	1.38	65.6	65.2	65.3	0.89	0.58
Positive partner influence	81.5	82.5	81.2	0.90	3.46	82.8	82.4	82.0	2.80	0.16
Negative partner influence	3.8	3.5	4.1	1.17	3.10	4.2	3.5	4.0	2.43	9.12
Partner enables antisocial tendencies	2.2*	1.8	1.9	2.26	0.26	2.3	1.8	2.3	0.53	2.36
Partner with drug or alcohol problem	6.8	6.4	6.3	1.97	0.52	7.9	6.0	7.1	1.55	5.86
Partner antisocial	3.6	3.4*	3.1	2.56	1.55	3.9	3.5	3.6	2.12	1.73
Partner criminal	5.2	4.8	5.3	0.44	2.50	5.9	4.7	5.3	3.17	6.79
Partner has employment problems	1.9	1.9	1.6	2.22	2.23	1.6	1.8	1.8	2.56	1.18
Partner mental health issues	1.9	1.6	1.7	1.46	2.67	1.4	2.0	1.6	3.19	2.49
Partner conflict domestic violence perpetrator	0.5	0.8*	0.7	3.45	1.02	0.6	0.9	0.7	2.28	0.00
Partner conflict domestic violence offender is perpetrator	3.0	3.7	3.2	1.42	2.75	3.4	2.7	3.3	2.32	5.24
Partner help occasional	70.9	71.4	71.9	2.16	1.11	73.0	70.5	71.7	4.02	1.38
Partner not willing to help	2.1	2.7	2.8	4.78	0.04	3.1	2.8	2.6	6.63	2.49
Partner hostile relationship	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.54	1.91	0.4	0.9	0.6	1.92	1.39
Family influence positive	43.3	44.5**	47.0	7.22	5.15	46.1	46.4**	45.7	1.57	0.94
Family influence negative	2.2*	2.1	1.9	2.43	1.36	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.58	1.32
Family estranged	2.9	2.5	2.5	2.47	0.08	3.2	2.2	3.0	3.10	6.36
No family problems	37.5	37.1*	40.7	6.57	7.35	39.8	38.8*	39.5	0.72	1.74
Family problems alcohol	4.1	4.6	4.1	0.38	2.16	4.6	4.2	4.2	2.39	0.76
Family problems antisocial	2.1	1.9†	1.7	2.89	1.83	1.9	1.7	1.8	1.10	1.16
Family problems criminal	2.8	3.2	2.6	1.23	1.99	2.9	2.4	2.6	2.13	2.70
Family member employment t problem	1.5†	1.0	1.1	2.87	1.62	1.2	0.9	1.1	3.59	2.30
Family member physical or mental health problems	4.8	4.4	3.4	6.43	4.71	4.2	3.9	3.7	4.81	1.61
Family conflict domestic violence perpetrator	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.14	1.91	0.3	0.1	0.2	2.65	2.65
Family conflict domestic violence (offender is perpetrator)	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.52	1.83	0.6	0.4	0.6	1.09	3.43
Family help occasional	29.5	29.3	34.0	9.80	10.23	32.5	31.5	32.0	1.27	1.83
Family not willing to help	3.2	3.1	3.2	0.79	0.70	3.2	2.7	3.2	1.73	2.21
Family hostile	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.94	0.04	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.59	1.11
No minor children	51.7	51.4*	52.6	1.89	2.42	53.2	52.5	52.8	1.48	0.43
Minor children no current contact	9.0**	11.7	8.9	0.19	8.84	9.7*	11.0	9.0	0.68	0.09
Minor children support required	12.8	14.7*	12.0	2.56	7.63	9.1	13.7*	9.2	2.33	0.54
Minor children legal action pending	10.8	9.9†	9.0	5.80	3.12	11.6	9.4	9.8	2.93	2.37
Minor child is victim	0.9*	0.9†	1.0	1.36	1.56	0.9	1.0	1.0	0.86	0.65
Minor child resides with offender	95.3	95.9	95.4	0.81	2.14	95.1	95.9	95.5	3.46	2.46
Minor child supervised visit	99.0	98.0	98.7	0.98	1.06	95.9	98.8	98.7	4.19	3.74
Minor child no restrictions	87.6	87.1†	86.9	1.84	0.61	87.3	86.9	87.3	0.11	1.30
<b>Substance Use/Abuse</b>										

Age of first drug/alcohol use				4.56	3.23				0.40	0.59
>17	19.4	20.7	21.1			19.3	20.6	19.3		
14-16	54.2	52.6	54.0			54.5	52.7	54.4		
<14	26.4	26.7	24.9			26.2	26.3	26.2		
Alcohol abuse	*	***		5.34	3.50				0.54	2.68
History	47.8	48.1	47.9			45.2	49.0	48.0		
Last 6 months prior to incarceration	19.7	18.9	17.8			33.4	18.1	18.8		
Drug abuse	***	***		9.42	17.30				2.78	1.24
History	44.9	42.4	46.4			48.1	45.7	45.5		
Last 6 months prior to incarceration	34.9	39.1	30.7			33.2	34.8	33.4		
History of problem with:										
Alcohol	68.4	71.3***	67.5	1.87	8.46	67.8	70.8	67.9	0.25	1.26
Marijuana	53.4***	58.9***	47.3	12.28	23.53	52.0	56.0	52.5	1.48	1.18
Cocaine	45.3	47.1**	43.8	3.09	6.62	44.8	45.4	45.1	0.07	1.33
Heroin	23.9***	28.9***	19.0	11.62	21.96	23.8	26.4	23.2	0.36	0.16
Prescription drug use	16.2***	19.2***	13.2	8.04	15.24	14.6	12.5	15.1	2.87	3.26
Use/abuse in the last 6 months										
Alcohol problem	28.8	28.6	28.8	0.04	0.36	27.8	29.4	28.0	0.34	0.13
Marijuana problem	27.7***	33.6***	23.7	8.83	20.86	25.8	31.6	26.2	3.84	1.66
Cocaine problem	7.9*	6.2***	9.3	5.05	12.52	7.4	6.7	7.7	2.01	0.79
Heroin problem	10.2***	12.6***	7.0	10.70	16.97	9.6	10.5	9.5	1.30	8.24
Prescription drug use	5.1	5.3	5.0	0.46	1.32	5.6	6.8	5.3	2.32	0.00
Impact of drug use history										
Caused family conflict	59.5	61.7***	58.0	2.90	7.48	57.9	59.7	58.2	1.50	1.53
Education and employment problems	51.0	52.7**	49.7	2.60	6.07	48.6	51.4	49.7	4.36	0.99
Interfered with keeping pro-social friends	67.7**	70.6***	64.8	6.25	12.85	67.8	69.7	67.3	1.24	1.83
Current conviction	61.7***	63.0***	56.9	9.72	12.50	60.9	60.9	60.7	0.79	2.25
IV use	5.8***	5.6***	4.0	7.81	7.25	5.0	4.8	5.1	1.69	1.54
Impact of most recent drug use										
Education and employment problems	18.4	19.2	18.0	1.14	3.19	17.8	19.3	17.8	1.72	0.47
Interfered with keeping pro-social friends	33.0*	36.3***	30.8	4.78	11.48	31.7	35.5	31.9	2.90	1.89
Current conviction	35.9†	38.6***	33.9	4.14	9.75	35.8	39.1	35.4	0.32	3.55
IV use	7.1***	8.9***	4.9	8.74	14.17	6.0	6.9†	6.1	3.39	3.43
Support for drug use/abuse										
Legal income	37.8†	36.2***	39.6	3.85	7.15	37.8	36.4	37.7	0.88	0.06
Illegal income	15.9†	13.7	14.4	4.14	1.94	15.3	13.8	15.9	2.13	0.81
Selling drugs	20.8	21.7	21.3	1.20	1.00	22.8	21.8	21.1	1.86	0.99
Property crime	19.5**	20.7***	17.1	6.16	9.05	17.4*	19.7	18.5	5.31	0.07
Prostitution	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.25	2.63	1.1	1.0	0.9	3.45	2.08
Stealing/bartering	43.0**	46.8***	39.8	6.42	13.95	41.9	44.3	41.7	2.48	1.37
Other criminal acts	19.3	20.0	19.4	0.19	1.50	20.6	23.2	19.6	3.77	5.91
Drug treatment	*	*		2.53	2.74				1.31	0.35
Currently participating	21.3	19.8	21.8			22.4	20.5	22.0		
Has participated in the past	10.9	10.3	9.4			10.3	10.2	10.3		
Never participated in treatment	42.9	43.2	41.7			42.5	42.9	42.6		
Referred for treatment, but unwilling to participate	24.9	26.7	27.1			24.8	26.4	25.1		

Drug protective factors										
<i>Has never been clean</i>	31.0**	30.2*	28.2	5.94	4.14	31.0	29.7	31.2	0.67	2.38
<i>Family/friends</i>	75.8	74.5**	77.1	2.73	5.16	77.4	74.8	83.9	2.30	1.36
<i>Changed residence</i>	67.7	65.9 <sup>†</sup>	67.5	2.95	5.79	67.8	66.7	76.8	1.58	0.26
<i>Attends support groups</i>	83.3	82.3**	84.3	0.34	3.29	84.1	83.0	68.3	2.63	0.24
<i>Other</i>	91.2	89.7**	91.4	0.63	5.16	92.1	90.9	92.0	1.93	1.75
<b>Mental Health</b>										
No evidence of mental health issue	35.8*	37.9	35.7	2.23	6.65	33.9	36.3	33.7	0.16	2.51
Mental health diagnosis	35.8	38.0	34.8	2.26	6.58	30.1	36.3	30.7	0.24	2.32
Number of in-patient commitments				1.67	4.27				0.45	0.40
<i>None</i>	64.2	62.0	62.2			66.0	63.7	66.2		
<i>One</i>	26.4	28.5	25.4			24.7	27.1	24.7		
<i>Two</i>	5.3	5.3	5.3			5.1	5.2	5.1		
<i>Four</i>	4.1	4.1	4.1			4.2	4.0	4.0		
No history of suicide	18.1	17.1	15.9	5.58	3.07	16.5	16.2	16.7	1.22	0.83
Prior suicide attempt	10.1	9.5 <sup>†</sup>	8.6	5.25	3.11	9.5	9.0	9.2	2.49	0.64
Provoked suicide	0.2	0.1	0.3	3.79	0.58	0.6	0.1	0.4	10.86	6.49
Suicidal thoughts in the last six months	2.0 <sup>†</sup>	2.4	1.7	4.44	2.13	2.3	1.8	2.2	0.79	1.39
Suicide attempt in the last six months	1.2**	0.7	0.7	4.98	0.08	1.0*	0.5	1.0	0.79	2.14
No history of outpatient treatment	10.9**	12.1 <sup>†</sup>	11.8	3.01	0.90	10.6	12.1	10.7	0.24	0.09
History of outpatient treatment	21.5**	22.1	19.4	4.93	6.49	20.9*	21.2	20.7	0.57	2.28
Counseling not required	1.0*	0.8	1.2	1.27	4.01	1.0	0.7	1.0	0.38	3.13
Current outpatient treatment	95.1	94.4	95.0	0.59	2.53	95.7	94.9	95.1	5.35	0.82
No history of medication	5.7	6.0	6.1	1.70	0.43	5.5	6.0	5.6	1.67	2.35
Prior medication history	22.9	24.1	20.4	5.73	8.57	21.1	23.0	21.4	3.17	6.03
Current medications used	87.1	86.0	87.1	0.06	3.06	87.4	86.9	86.7	5.28	0.63
Current medications prescribed but not compliant	1.1*	0.9 <sup>†</sup>	0.8	2.22	0.21	1.0	0.8	0.9	1.87	0.70
<b>Aggression</b>										
Threatening, aggressive, or violent behaviors during the offender's lifetime										
<i>In the community</i>	60.9**	61.5**	58.4	4.98	6.15	58.9	60.5	59.8	1.35	0.00
<i>During any period of confinement</i>	10.8**	9.4	8.7	6.64	2.43	10.5	9.7	10.6	0.37	2.78
<i>Currently an ongoing issue</i>	5.4 <sup>†</sup>	6.5	6.5	4.57	0.37	6.6	6.7	6.1	5.71	1.41
Characteristics of threatening, aggressive, or violent behaviors over lifetime										
<i>History of aggressive characteristics</i>	63.4	64.0 <sup>†</sup>	62.3	2.40	3.70	62.8	64.8	63.1	0.80	3.24
<i>Past 6 months prior to incarceration</i>	86.4**	87.3 <sup>†</sup>	88.5	6.00	3.57	87.6	87.2	87.2	2.17	1.52
<i>Domestic violence with current partner</i>	7.2	6.8	6.4	2.95	1.32	6.8	6.9	7.0	0.60	0.62
<i>Domestic violence involving family member</i>	7.9 <sup>†</sup>	8.1*	6.8	4.07	4.71	6.9	7.1	7.3	2.18	2.85
<i>Property destruction</i>	7.3	5.9	6.4	3.33	2.30	7.7	5.6	7.2	1.65	2.53
<i>Stalking</i>	2.7	3.8**	2.6	0.47	6.06	2.5	3.3	2.6	0.72	0.26
<i>Fixed unrecanted relationship</i>	0.9	1.1	1.1	2.23	0.57	1.1	1.4	1.0	2.83	0.50
<i>Threats</i>	1.9	1.9	2.2	2.02	1.78	2.1	2.4	2.0	3.16	5.25
<i>Excessive violence</i>	5.4 <sup>†</sup>	4.8	4.6	3.61	1.02	4.8	4.5	5.1	0.51	4.53
<i>Beggar behavior</i>	0.4	0.4	0.3	1.26	2.07	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.00	0.44
<i>Random violence</i>	3.7	4.2*	3.4	1.49	3.74	3.9	3.8	3.8	1.25	7.50

<i>Fire setting</i>	12	12	09	291	264	12	10	13	000	186
<i>Violent conduct during custody</i>	7.5***	6.7*	5.5	7.30	4.53	7.0	6.0	7.0	0.74	0.12
<i>Physically assault authority</i>	5.4	5.9**	4.6	3.34	5.36	5.5	5.1	5.1	1.05	2.41
<i>Physically assault a child or adolescent</i>	8.0†	7.9†	7.0	3.67	3.35	7.6	7.4	7.7	0.43	0.70
<i>Physically assault an adult</i>	22.6***	21.8**	19.1	8.18	6.50	21.6	21.2	22.0	1.77	0.83
<i>Physically assault a male</i>	21.1**	20.1*	18.2	6.92	4.76	20.3	19.4	20.2	0.67	0.55
<i>Physically assault a female</i>	21.5**	22.9***	18.5	7.23	10.29	20.8	21.5	20.5	0.76	0.82
<b>Motivation for threatening, aggressive, or violent behaviors over lifetime</b>										
<i>Aggressive motives used to achieve goal, including material gain</i>	108	103	98	1009	1.49	11.6	10.6	11.1	1.62	0.92
<i>Power, dominance, or control</i>	178	178	178	0.10	0.03	18.1	19.8	18.1	0.00	4.17
<i>Impulsive</i>	28.9***	28.7***	25.3	7.74	7.46	27.3	25.9†	28.0	0.86	3.89
<i>Peer status, acceptance, attention, or compliance with rules of peer group</i>	5.5*	4.6	4.5	4.55	0.39	5.7	4.3	5.7	0.51	0.45
<i>Retaliation, vengeance</i>	7.4	7.9	7.6	0.66	1.33	7.7	7.7	7.5	2.22	0.23
<i>Excitement, amusement, or fun</i>	3.4	3.8	3.7	1.68	0.57	4.1	4.0	3.9	3.85	0.32
<i>Hatred for other individuals or specific groups</i>	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.16	0.15	0.8	0.7	0.8	1.92	1.58
<i>Chemically induced violent behaviors</i>	21.2**	22.2***	18.9	5.60	7.75	19.4	21.6	20.1	4.51	0.30
<i>Mental health medication issues</i>	2.2	2.2	2.1	0.52	0.73	2.2	2.1	2.2	0.26	0.42
<i>Hostile toward women</i>	1.0	0.9	0.8	2.05	1.07	0.7	0.8	0.7	3.11	1.36
<b>Attitudes/Behaviors</b>										
<b>Motivation for criminal behavior during the offender's lifetime</b>										
<i>Anger</i>	11.2**	12.7	13.4	7.07	2.12	11.0*	12.8	11.2	0.61	1.03
<i>Retaliation, vengeance</i>	13.9	12.6	13.4	1.51	2.52	11.9	13.7	13.1	5.04	2.82
<i>Impulsive, opportunistic</i>	5.9	5.8	6.5	2.44	2.79	7.2	6.4	6.5	6.66	3.06
<i>Sexual gratification</i>	34.5	31.9	33.0	3.21	2.19	34.1	32.1	34.2	0.08	0.53
<i>Reaction to conflict or stress</i>	29.7***	31.7***	26.2	7.59	11.79	29.0	30.5	29.1	1.62	1.88
<i>Power, dominance, or control</i>	8.7	9.6	8.7	0.14	2.85	8.8	9.1	8.8	0.13	2.86
<i>Money or material gain</i>	10.2	10.5	10.4	0.71	0.17	10.6	9.9	10.3	1.79	1.72
<i>Excitement, amusement, or fun</i>	8.9	8.3	8.1	2.67	0.81	9.4	7.4	9.3	1.09	3.25
<i>Peer status, acceptance, or attention</i>	29.4	31.5**	28.4	1.99	6.58	27.4	30.3	28.1	2.56	0.60
<i>Obtain drugs, chemical addiction</i>	50.4***	53.0***	45.6	9.60	14.66	50.2	50.5	50.1	0.00	2.99
<b>Anti-social tendencies that are rooted, firmly established, and constant</b>										
<i>Glib/superficial charm</i>	11.3*	11.1*	9.8	4.56	4.12	11.0	11.2	11.0	0.98	1.51
<i>Need for thrill or stimulation</i>	6.8	8.0	7.5	3.00	1.71	8.0	8.3	7.5	5.78	2.43
<i>Pathological lying</i>	6.4	6.5	5.7	2.60	2.91	6.2	6.2	6.3	0.32	0.65
<i>Conning / manipulative</i>	11.5	10.8	10.5	3.16	1.09	11.4	11.3	11.4	0.00	2.15
<i>Parasitic lifestyle</i>	14.1***	13.4***	10.9	9.02	7.32	13.4	12.2	13.8	1.79	0.83
<i>Lacks empathy or tact</i>	11.0	10.9	11.6	1.90	2.23	13.0	12.1	12.2	6.50	3.95
<i>Lacks remorse/guilt</i>	17.1	15.5	16.5	1.71	2.60	18.2	16.7	18.0	1.86	4.19
<i>Lacks realistic long term goals</i>	23.0**	24.6***	20.3	6.26	9.82	22.1	24.2	22.7	2.04	1.17
<i>Irresponsibility</i>	27.2*	26.8*	24.9	5.17	4.40	25.8†	27.3	27.0	2.28	1.70
<i>Criminally diverse—has a diversity of types of criminal offenses and associates great pride with them</i>	7.5	7.3	7.8	1.14	1.92	8.5	8.1	7.8	5.81	5.01



<b>Criminal acceptance</b>											
<i>Does not accept responsibility for anti-social behavior</i>	63.7**	60.6	60.7	6.06	0.33	63.4	61.4	63.8	1.29	1.72	
<i>Superficial acceptance</i>	36.3***	35.3***	31.6	9.77	7.64	35.9	34.1	36.1	0.16	0.13	
<i>Minimizes, denies, or blames others</i>	32.1	29.7**	32.2	0.32	5.58	32.5	31.2	32.5	0.58	2.32	
<i>Disregards societal conventions or rules of supervision</i>	5.6	5.4	5.3	1.43	0.27	6.0	5.6	5.9	2.70	1.53	
<i>Disregards societal conventions or rules that apply to him/ her</i>	7.6*	7.5*	6.5	4.23	3.75	6.9	7.1	7.2	1.18	0.60	
<i>Rules do not apply to him/ her</i>	3.0	3.2*	2.4	3.22	4.26	2.9	3.4	3.0	0.68	2.26	
<i>Views crime as useful</i>	2.5	2.6	2.3	1.11	1.56	2.2	2.5	2.4	0.76	1.65	
<i>Proud and boastful</i>	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.01	0.58	1.2	1.3	1.2	0.35	3.04	
<b>Attitudes toward authority</b>											
<i>Respectful and compliant</i>	61.7	61.2	62.8			61.5	62.1	61.7			
<i>Indifferent toward authority</i>	33.3	34.4	33.1			34.3	33.9	33.7			
<i>Resentful and refuses to comply</i>	4.9	4.4	4.1			4.1	4.0	4.6			
<b>Respect for property of others</b>											
	**	***		1.99	10.04		***		0.14	0.40	
<i>Respects property of others</i>	49.0	47.3	53.2			49.3	49.4	49.1			
<i>Respects personal but not public/ business property</i>	13.1	13.2	12.7			12.0	12.8	12.4			
<i>Conditional respect for personal property</i>	26.6	29.6	23.8			27.2	25.8	27.0			
<i>No respect for personal property of others</i>	11.3	9.9	10.3			11.6	12.0	11.4			
<b>Readiness to change</b>											
				0.57	0.43				0.05	4.63	
<i>Taking specific steps towards change</i>	39.1	39.5	39.7			37.6	37.4	38.0			
<i>Verbalizes but not taking specific steps for change</i>	50.4	50.6	50.4			52.2	52.2	51.3			
<i>Does not see need for change</i>	8.5	8.0	8.1			8.6	8.2	8.8			
<i>Hostile towards change, unwilling to change</i>	2.0	1.9	1.8			1.7	2.2	1.9			
<b>Belief in successfully completing supervision</b>											
		†		2.03	2.04				1.17	8.79	
<i>Believes in success, has developed skills to support pro-social lifestyle</i>	35.8	36.6	36.2			34.4	33.5	34.8			
<i>Believes in success, but has not yet developed skills to support pro-social lifestyle</i>	49.4	49.6	48.5			49.8	49.5	49.8			
<i>Believes in success only if external controls are in place (DOC, family, friends, etc)</i>	10.1	9.4	11.2			12.2	12.5	11.2			
<i>Does not believe in success</i>	2.3	2.0	1.9			1.7	2.1	2.0			
<i>Hostile to supervision</i>	2.4	2.3	2.3			2.1	2.5	2.0			
<b>Coping</b>											
<b>Demonstrated consequential thinking in most recent 6 months</b>											
				2.03	0.17				0.28	1.42	
<i>Behaviors and/ or verbalizations demonstrate understanding of consequences</i>	60.0	61.0	61.0			59.8	61.3	59.7			
<i>Behaviors and/ or verbalizations demonstrate conviction not yet made</i>	37.1	36.1	36.3			37.6	35.8	37.5			
<i>Cannot cognitively connect behavior and harm</i>	2.9	2.8	2.7			2.6	2.8	2.7			
<b>Demonstrated impulse control in the last 6 months</b>											
	**	**		6.79	7.25	*			4.72	0.54	
<i>Uses self-control, thinks before acting</i>	31.9	31.1	34.0			33.2	31.2	31.9			
<i>Some self-control, sometimes thinks before acting</i>	55.0	56.3	55.2			56.0	55.6	55.9			
<i>Impulsive, doesn't think before acting</i>	13.1	12.7	10.8			10.8	12.8	12.2			
<b>Demonstrated skills dealing with others in most recent 6 months</b>											
	†			2.93	0.38				0.76	4.42	
<i>Uses social skills effectively</i>	53.6	53.8	53.9			53.2	53.0	53.5			

<i>Has adequate social skills, but isolates self by choice</i>	29.5	29.7	29.8			30.0	30.0	29.6		
<i>Avoids dealing with others due to limited or lack of social skills, shy or withdrawn</i>	9.4	10.3	10.2			10.8	9.7	10.2		
<i>Attempts to deal with others, but rejected by peers</i>	2.0	1.7	1.5			1.7	1.8	1.9		
<i>Interactions are characterized by aggression, conflict, arguments and fights</i>	5.5	4.5	4.6			4.3	5.5	4.8		
Demonstrated problem-solving skills in most recent 6 months				0.08	1.62				24	7.04
<i>Thinks through situations</i>	43.9	44.2	43.2			41.7	40.8	42.2		
<i>Problem solving skills limited</i>	45.9	45.7	46.6			47.5	48.3	47.2		
<i>Passive response, withdraws from difficult situations</i>	5.5	6.2	6.3			6.8	6.2	6.2		
<i>Hostile response, strikes out verbally and/ or physically</i>	4.7	3.9	3.9			4.0	4.7	4.4		
Need for independent living services at time of assessment										
<i>No need for services</i>	59.1***	60.6***	53.4	11.65	14.84	59.6	59.9	59.2	1.66	0.76
<i>Employment services</i>	32.1	33.6**	30.8	2.70	5.94	31.9	33.0	31.5	0.75	1.19
<i>Housing services</i>	28.2	29.6**	26.7	3.33	6.27	28.6	27.7	28.3	1.21	1.30
<i>Clothing services</i>	15.3	15.4	14.5	2.10	2.48	16.0	15.4	15.5	3.15	1.74
<i>Food services</i>	18.4	19.5	18.7	0.70	2.12	19.7	19.1	19.1	4.43	1.27
<i>Budget services</i>	15.3	15.8	15.4	0.29	0.87	16.9	15.8	16.2	3.78	1.29
<i>Transportation services</i>	20.6	21.6	20.8	0.66	1.83	22.0	22.5	21.0	3.76	5.21
<i>Hygiene services</i>	2.6	2.4	2.7	0.95	1.98	2.9	2.5	2.8	1.22	0.20
<i>Medical services</i>	8.1*	7.3***	9.8	6.07	9.53	8.2	7.5	8.1	1.56	0.35
<i>Mental health</i>	10.2	10.4	10.1	0.31	1.12	10.3	10.7	9.8	5.45	5.46

$†p < .1$ ,  $*p < .05$ ,  $**p < .01$ ,  $***p < .001$

Note—the p value for dichotomous categories is next to the comparison group value, while it is in the empty cell of the variable title for multinomial measures