

ALAMEDA COUNTY PROBATION DEPARTMENT
Donald H. Blevins, Chief Probation Officer

Presents

***What Works and What Doesn't
in Reducing Recidivism:
The Principles of
Effective Intervention:***

**Edward J. Latessa, Ph.D.
Center for Criminal Justice Research
Division of Criminal Justice
University of Cincinnati
www.uc.edu/criminaljustice**

What Works and What Doesn't in Reducing Recidivism: The Principles of Effective Intervention:

Presented by:
 Edward J. Latessa, Ph.D.
 Center for Criminal Justice Research
 Division of Criminal Justice
 University of Cincinnati
 www.uc.edu/criminaljustice

TERMS:

- **Evidence:** Refers to results from controlled studies, involving distinguishing between experimental groups and control or comparison groups.
- **Risk:** Refers to risk of reoffending. Recidivism rates are compared over a standard and specified follow-up period.

**Misapplication of Research
 "XXX Study Says"**

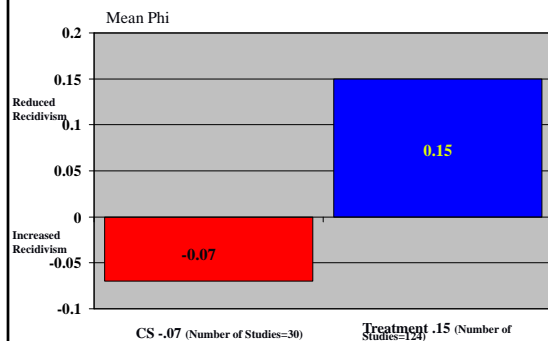
If you believe every study we wouldn't eat anything (but we would drink a lot of red wine!)

- Looking at one study can be a mistake
- Need to examine a body of research
- Three ways researchers summarize research:
 1. Traditional literature review
 2. Ballot Counting
 3. Meta-Analysis
- Meta-analysis is now the favored approach to conducting a systematic review of research studies. Meta-analysis provides a quantitative review of a body of literature

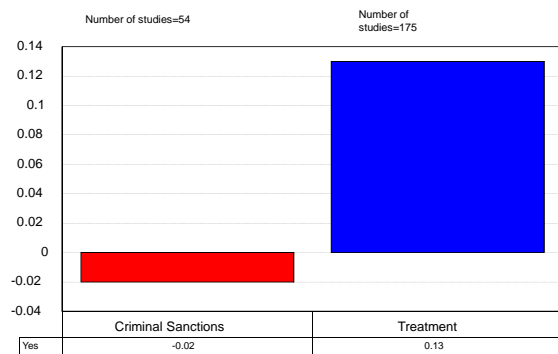
FROM THE EARLIEST REVIEWS:

- Not a single reviewer of studies of the effects of official punishment (custody, mandatory arrests, probation, increased surveillance, etc.) has found consistent evidence of reduced recidivism.
- At least 40% and up to 60% of the studies of correctional treatment services reported reduced recidivism rates relative to various comparison conditions, in every published review.

Criminal Sanctions versus Treatment



Criminal Sanctions vs Treatment for Youthful Offenders



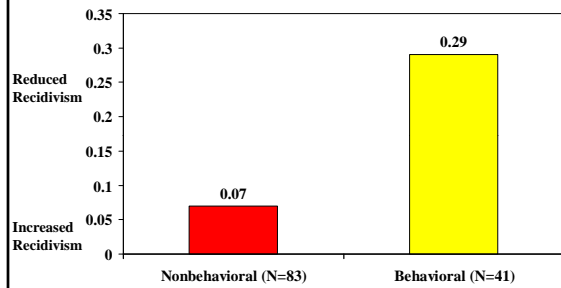
Source: Dowden and Andrews (1999), What Works in Young Offender Treatment: A Meta Analysis. Forum on Correctional Research.

People Who Appear to be Resistant to Punishment

- Psychopathic risk takers
- Those under the influence of a substance
- Those with a history of being punished

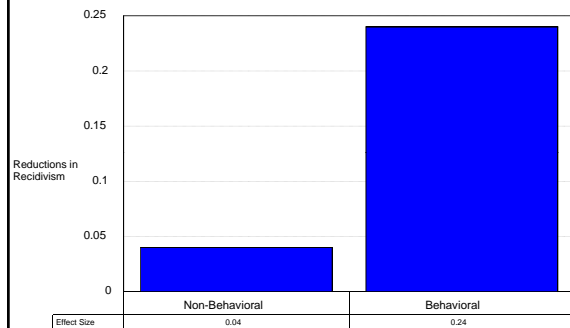
- The Evidence Indicates that Treatment is More Effective in Reducing Recidivism than Punishment – But Not All Treatment Programs Are Equally Effective

Behavioral vs. NonBehavioral



Andrews, D.A. 1994. An Overview of Treatment Effectiveness. Research and Clinical Principles, Department of Psychology, Carleton University. The N refers to the number of studies.

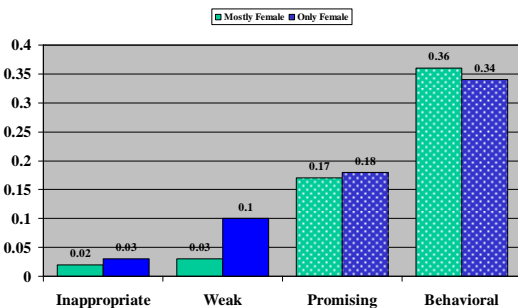
Type of Treatment and Effect Sizes for Youthful Offenders



Source: Dowden and Andrews (1999). What Works in Young Offender Treatment: A Meta Analysis. Forum on Correctional Research.

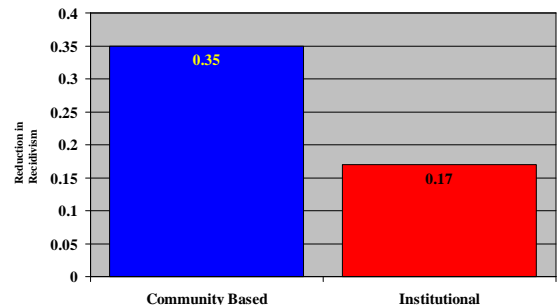
Meta-Analysis of Treatment for Females

by Dowden and Andrews



Dowden, C., and D. Andrews (1999). What Works for Female Offenders: A Meta-Analytic Review. Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 45 No. 4.

Community Based versus Institutional Programs: Results from Meta-Analyses of Programs Based on Principles of Effective Treatment



Source: Gendreau, P., French, S.A., and A. Taylor (2002). What Works (What Doesn't Work) Revised 2002. Invited Submission to the International Community Corrections Association Monograph Series Project.

Another important body of knowledge to understand is the research on risk factors

What are the risk factors correlated with criminal conduct?

Factors Correlated With Risk

	Mean r	# of studies
Lower class origins	0.06	97
Personal distress/psychopathology	0.08	226
Educational/Vocational achievement	0.12	129
Parental/Family Factors	0.18	334
Temperament/misconduct/personality	0.21	621
Antisocial attitudes/associates	0.22	168

Note: A re-analysis of Gendreau, Andrews, Goggin & Chanteloupe (1992) by Andrews & Bonta (1994)

Meta-Analysis of Risk Factors by Simourd Mean Adjusted r

Risk Factor	Adjusted R	#Studies
Lower social class	.05	38
Personal distress/psychopathy	.07	34
Family structure/parental problems	.07	28
Minor personality variables	.12	18
Poor parent-child relations	.20	82
Personal educational/vocational achievement	.28	68
Temperament/misconduct/self control	.38	90
Antisocial attitudes/associates	.48	106

Source: Simourd, L. (1993) Correlates of Delinquency: A Look at Gender Differences. Forum on Correctional Research, 6:26-31

Correlates of Criminal Conduct and Gender by Simourd and Andrews

Factor	Male	Female
Lower class origins	.04(58)	.03(12)
Personal distress/psychopathology	.09(157)	.08(19)
Personal education/vocational achievement	.11(96)	.13(7)
Parental/family factors	.16(180)	.16(43)
Temperament/misconduct/personality	.18(461)	.23(38)
Antisocial attitudes/associates	.21(113)	.23(12)

Simourd, L., and D.A. Andrews, 1994. Correlates of Delinquency: A Look at Gender Differences. Forum on Corrections Research, Vol. 6:26-31

Simourd and Andrews Mean Adjusted r by Gender

Risk Factor	Females	Males
Lower social class	.07	.06
Personal Distress/psychopathy	.10	.09
Family structure/parental problems	.07	.09
Minor personality variables	.18	.22
Poor parent-child relations	.20	.22
Personal educational/vocational achievement	.24	.23
Temperament or misconduct problems	.35	.36
Antisocial attitudes/peers	.39	.40

Source: Simourd, L., and D.A. Andrews (1994) Correlates of Delinquency: A Look at Gender Differences. Forum on Correctional Research, 6:26-31

Meta-Analysis of the Predictors of Female Delinquency by Hubbard and Pratt (2001)

Factor	Mean Effect Size
Socio-economic status	.03
Anxiety	.06
Self Image	.13
Family Relationships	.17
Antisocial Attitudes/Beliefs	.18
Physical or Sexual Abuse	.21
Antisocial Personality	.21
School Relationships	.25
History of Antisocial Behavior	.48
Antisocial Peers	.53

- Research by Andrews, Gendreau and others has led to the identification of some major risk/need factors

Major Set of Risk/Need Factors

1. Antisocial/procriminal attitudes, values, beliefs and cognitive-emotional states

Identifying Procriminal Attitudes, Values & Beliefs

Procriminal sentiments are what people think, not how people think; they comprise the content of thought, not the skills of thinking.

What to listen for:

- Negative expression about the law
- Negative expression about conventional institutions, values, rules, & procedures; including authority
- Negative expressions about self-management of behavior; including problem solving ability
- Negative attitudes toward self and one's ability to achieve through conventional means
- Lack of empathy and sensitivity toward others

Neutralization & Minimizations

Offenders often neutralize their behavior. Neutralizations are a set of verbalizations which function to say that in particular situations, it is "OK" to violate the law

Neutralization Techniques include:

- **Denial of Responsibility:** Criminal acts are due to factors beyond the control of the individual, thus, the individual is guilt free to act.
- **Denial of Injury:** Admits responsibility for the act, but minimizes the extent of harm or denies any harm
- **Denial of the Victim:** Reverses the role of offender & victim & blames the victim
- **"System Bashing":** Those who disapprove of the offender's acts are defined as immoral, hypocritical, or criminal themselves.
- **Appeal to Higher Loyalties:** "Live by a different code" – the demands of larger society are sacrificed for the demands of more immediate loyalties.

Major set Risk/needs continued:

2. Procriminal associates and isolation from anticriminal others

Major set Risk/Needs continued:

3. Temperamental and personality factors conducive to criminal activity including:
 - Psychopathy
 - Weak Socialization
 - Impulsivity
 - Restless Aggressive Energy
 - Egocentrism
 - Below Average Verbal intelligence A Taste For Risk
 - Weak Problem-Solving/Self-Regulation Skills

Psychopathy Checklist (Hare Psychopathy)

- Glib/superficial charm
- Grandiose sense of self
- Stimulation seeking
- Pathological lying
- Conning/manipulation
- Lack of remorse/guilt
- Shallow affect
- Callousness/lack empathy
- Parasitic lifestyle
- Poor behavioral control
- Promiscuous sexual behavior
- Early behavioral problems
- Lack of realistic goals
- Impulsivity
- Irresponsibility
- Not accepting responsibility
- Many marital relationships
- Juvenile delinquency
- Conditional release revoked
- Criminal versatility

Personality Factors

- Studies are finding that personality is related to criminal behavior
- Criminals are more likely to be characterized as negative or hostile in interpersonal relationships, unempathetic, and lacking in self control
- Personality is most likely working in tandem with other risk factors such as peers and attitudes

Major set of Risk/Need factors continued:

- 4. A history of antisocial behavior:**
- Evident from a young age
 - In a variety of settings
 - Involving a number and variety of different acts

History of Antisocial Behavior

Lifecourse studies indicate that:

- By age 12, up to 40% of later serious offenders have committed their first criminal act
- By age 14, up to 85% have committed their first criminal act
- Variety of settings including home, school, streets
- Escalating behavior

Major set of Risk/Needs Continued:

- 5. Family factors that include criminality and a variety of psychological problems in the family of origin including:**
- Low levels of affection, caring and cohesiveness
 - Poor parental supervision and discipline practices
 - Out right neglect and abuse

Major set of Risk/Needs continued:

- 6. Low levels of personal educational, vocational or financial achievement**

This research has led to the identification of some principles

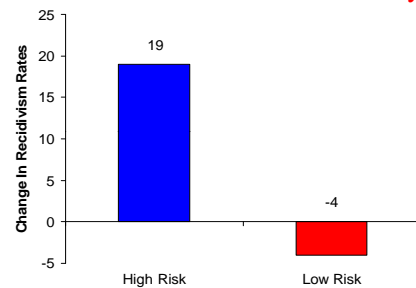
Principles of Effective Intervention

- Risk Principle – target higher risk offenders (WHO)
- Need Principle – target criminogenic risk/need factors (WHAT)
- Treatment Principle – use behavioral approaches (HOW)
- Fidelity Principle – implement program as designed (HOW WELL)

Risk Principle

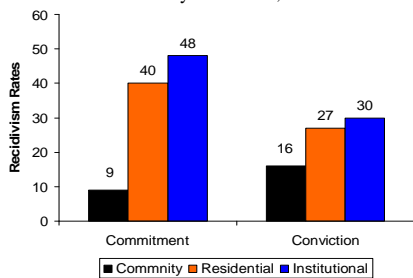
- Target those offender with higher probability of recidivism
- Provide most intensive treatment to higher risk offenders
- Intensive treatment for lower risk offender can increase recidivism

The Risk Principle & Correctional Intervention Results from Meta Analysis



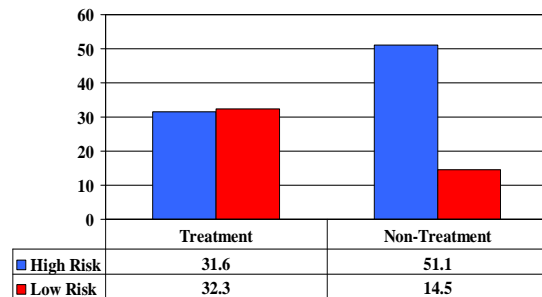
Dowden & Andrews, 1999

The Risk Principle and Lower Risk Youth: Results from Ohio Study of over 10,000 Youth

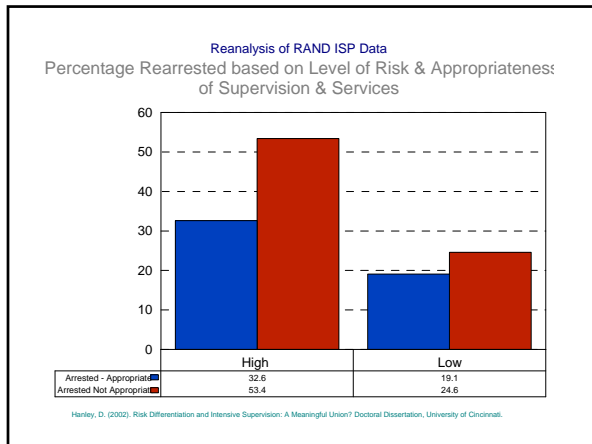


N=10,594, Community N= 8,582, Residential N= 500, Institutional N= 1,502

Recent Study of Intensive Rehabilitation Supervision in Canada



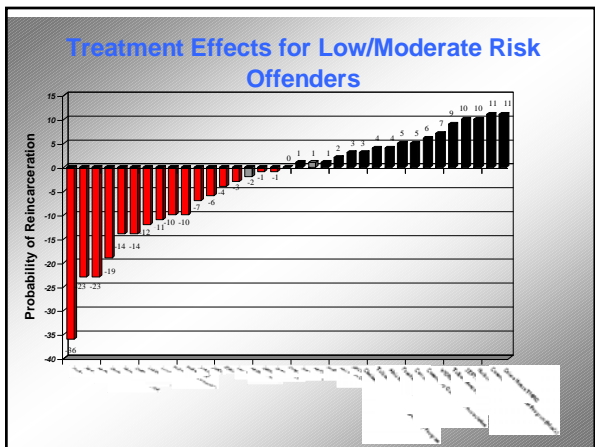
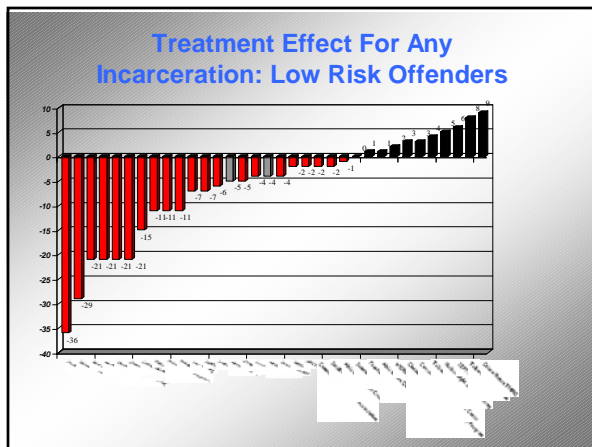
Bonta, J et al., 2000. A Quasi-Experimental Evaluation of an Intensive Rehabilitation Supervision Program, Vol. 27 No 3:312-329, *Criminal Justice and Behavior*

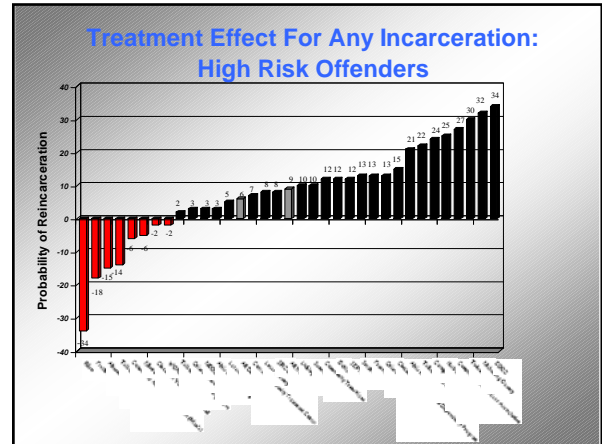
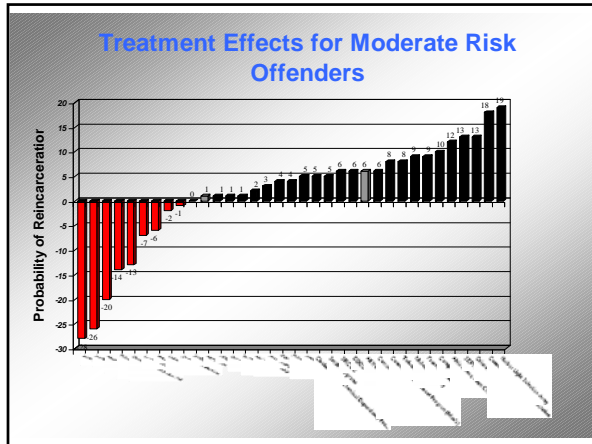


- ### RECENT STUDY OF COMMUNITY CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS IN OHIO
- Largest study of community based correctional treatment facilities ever done
 - Total of 13,221 offenders – 37 Halfway Houses and 15 Community Based Correctional Facilities (CBCFs) were included in the study.
 - Two-year follow-up conducted on all offenders
 - Recidivism measures included new arrests & incarceration in a state penal institution
 - We also examined program characteristics

- Experimental Groups:**
- 3,737 offenders released from prison in FY 99 and placed in one of 37 Halfway Houses in Ohio
 - 3,629 offenders direct sentenced to one of 15 CBCFs
- Control Group:**
- 5,855 offenders released from prison onto parole supervision during the same time period
 - Offenders were matched based on offense level & county of sentence

- ### Determination of Risk
- Each offender was given a risk score based on 14 items that predicted outcome.
 - This allowed us to compare low risk offenders who were placed in a program to low risk offenders that were not, high risk to high risk, and so forth.

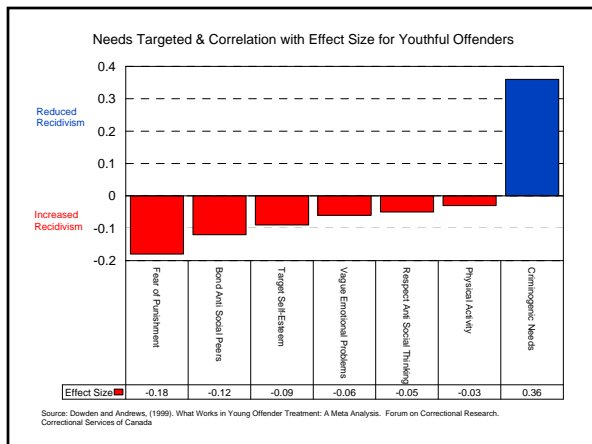
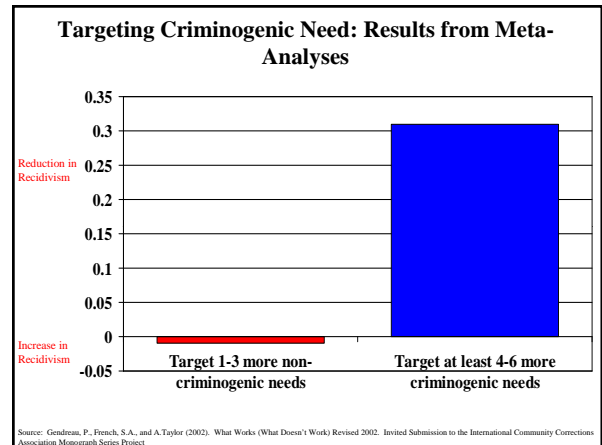




Need Principle

By assessing and targeting criminogenic needs for change, agencies can reduce the probability of recidivism

Criminogenic	Non-Criminogenic
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti social attitudes • Anti social friends • Substance abuse • Lack of empathy • Impulsive behavior 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anxiety • Low self esteem • Creative abilities • Medical needs • Physical conditioning

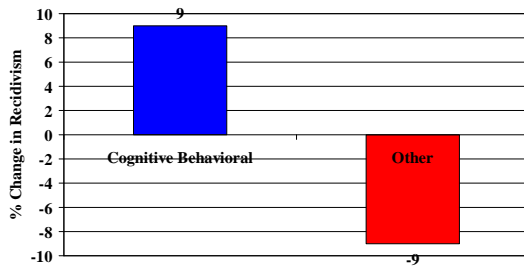


Treatment Principle

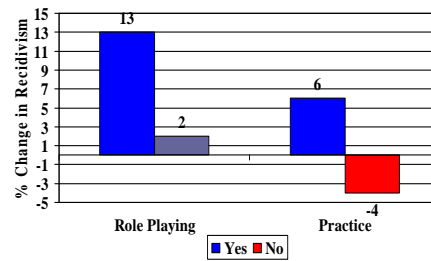
The most effective interventions are behavioral:

- Focus on current factors that influence behavior
- Action oriented
- Offender behavior is appropriately reinforced

Relationship between Treatment Model and Treatment Effect for Residential Programs



Why practice? Relationship between Treatment Activities and Treatment Effect for Residential Programs



Effective programs have certain characteristics:

- Are based on research & sound theory
- Have leadership
- Assess offenders using risk & need assessment instruments
- Target crime producing behaviors
- Use effective treatment models
- Vary treatment & services based on risk, needs, & responsivity factors
- Disrupt criminal networks
- Have qualified, experienced, dedicated & educated staff
- Provide aftercare
- Evaluate what they do
- Are stable & have sufficient resources & support

- Many correctional intervention programs are based on tradition, custom, & imitation rather than scientific evidence of effectiveness

Some so called "theories" we have come across

- "Been there done that theory"
- "Offenders lack creativity theory"
- "Offenders need to get back to nature theory"
- "Offenders lack discipline theory"
- "Offenders lack organizational skills theory"
- "Offenders have low self-esteem theory"
- "Offenders need to change their diet theory"
- "Treat them as babies & dress them in diapers theory"
- "We just want them to be happy theory"
- "Offenders (females) need to learn to put on makeup & dress better theory"
- "Male offenders need to get in touch with their feminine side theory"

Effective Programs are Based on Theory and Research

- Program development includes extensive literature review
- There is theoretical foundation to the program and its components
- The interventions are linked to criminogenic needs
- The staff understands the interventions, why they are being used, and how to apply them

Some Goals of Assessment

1. To identify risk of recidivism
2. To identify appropriate offenders for programs
3. To identify criminogenic needs
4. To identify factors that can affect program success
5. To provide risk & need levels that will facilitate development of case plan
6. To facilitate reassessment of offender to determine which risk & need factors have changed

Ideally a process will be utilized that allows for all of these goals to be accomplished.

The Evolution of Classification

- **First generation – “Gut Feelings”**
- **Second generation – Primarily historic or static predictors, e.g. Burgess Scale**
- **Third generation – Incorporates dynamic and static factors, e.g. Level of Service Inventory**

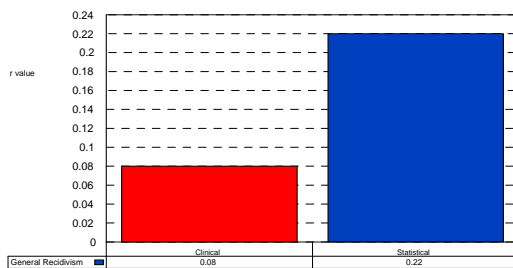
Factors in the Burgess Scale:

General type of Offense (e.g. fraud, robbery, sex, homicide)
Parental & Marital Status (parents living, offender married)
Criminal Type (first timer, occasional, habitual, professional)
Social Type (e.g. farm boy, gangster, hobo, drunkard, Ner’do well)
Community Factor (where resided)
Statement of Trial Judge & Prosecutor (recommend or protest leniency)
Previous Record
Work Record (e.g. no work record, casual, regular work)
Punishment Record in Prison
Months Served Prior to Parole
Intelligence Rating
Age when Paroled
Psychiatric Prognosis
Psychiatric personality type (Egocentric, Socially Inadequate, Unstable)

Classification & Assessment of Offenders

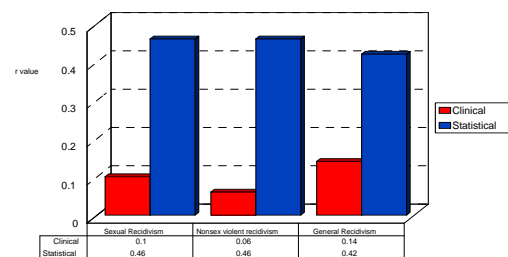
- **Primary measures have been identified**
- **Best predictors of criminal behavior:**
 Static factors – past criminal behavior
 Dynamic factors – crime producing needs
- **Best assessment method is the actuarial (statistical) approach**
- **Best practices allow for risk management and risk reduction through effective treatment**
- **Latest generation of instruments allow for measurement of change in offender**

Comparison of Clinical vs. Statistical Prediction of Recidivism

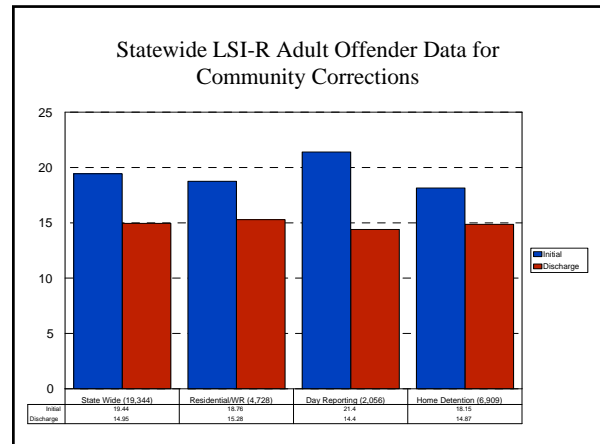
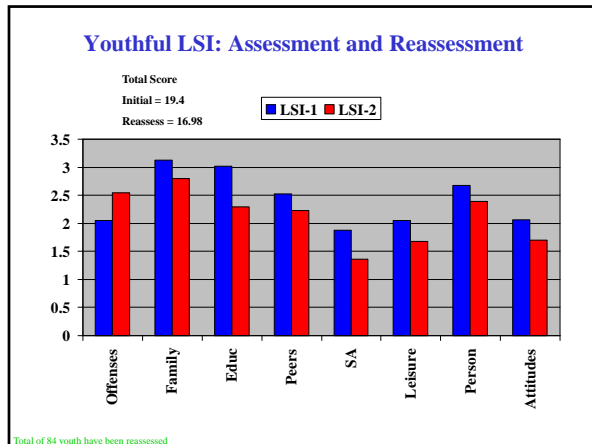


Doopin, C.E. (1994). Clinical versus Actuarial Prediction: A Meta-analysis. Unpublished manuscript. University of New Brunswick, Saint John's, New Brunswick.

Comparison of Clinical vs. Statistical Prediction of Sex Offenders



Hansen, R. K. and M. T. Bussell, 1998. Predicting Relapse: A Meta-Analysis of Sexual Offender Recidivism Studies. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 66: 346-362.



- ### Effective programs assess offenders:
- Program has screening criteria
 - Offenders are assessed on all major risk, need & responsivity factors
 - Assessment process is objective and standardized
 - Levels of risk, need & responsivity are determined by assessment process
 - Instruments are normed and validated

Responsivity refers to learning style and characteristics of the offender, which can effect their engagement in treatment

- ### Responsivity areas to assess can include
- Motivation to change
 - Anxiety/psychopathy
 - Levels of psychological development
 - Maturity
 - Cognitive functioning
 - Mental disorders

- ### Responsivity Factors
- | | |
|---|--|
| General Population | Offenders |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anxiety • Self esteem • Depression • Mental illness • Age • Gender • Race/Ethnicity | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor social skills • Inadequate problem solving • Concrete oriented thinking • Poor verbal skills |

Maximizing the Assessment Process

- View assessment as a process not a “one time” activity
- Develop a flexible process that expands as needed
- Standardize process and instruments
- Make sure the assessment is accurate & correct errors
- Make sure staff correctly interpret the results
- Develop case supervision & treatment plan from the assessment results
- Audit assessments on a regular basis
- Train and retrain staff
- Assign offenders to programs/groups based on assessment information
- Share information with service providers
- Reassess offenders periodically
- Collect data & analyze
- Periodically validate instruments with your population

Some Common Problems with Offender Assessment

- Assess offenders but process ignores important factors
- Assess offenders but don't distinguish levels (high, moderate, low)
- Assess offenders then don't use it – everyone gets the same treatment
- Make errors and don't correct
- Don't assess offenders at all
- Do not adequately train staff in use or interpretation
- Assessment instruments are not validated or normed

Most Effective Behavioral Models

- Structured social learning where new skills and behavioral are modeled
- Cognitive behavioral approaches that target criminogenic risk factors
- Family based approaches that train family on appropriate techniques



Social Learning

Refers to several processes through which individuals acquire attitudes, behavior, or knowledge from the persons around them. Both modeling and instrumental conditioning appear to play a role in such learning

The Four Principles of Cognitive Intervention

- 1. Thinking affects behavior**
- 2. Antisocial, distorted, unproductive irrational thinking causes antisocial and unproductive behavior**
- 3. Thinking can be influenced**
- 4. We can change how we feel and behave by changing what we think**

Recent Meta-Analysis of Cognitive Behavioral Treatment for Offenders by Landenberger & Lipsey (2004)*

- Reviewed 79 studies:
 - 26 random samples
 - 27 matched samples
 - 26 convenience samples
- Found that on average CBT reduced recidivism by 35%

Factors Not significant:

- Type of research design
- Setting - prison versus community
- Juvenile versus adult
- Minorities or females
- Total hours
- Brand name

Significant Findings (effects were stronger if):

- At least 2 sessions per week (.25)
- Smaller groups (.20)
- Implementation monitored (.25)
- Staff trained on CBT (.27)
- Higher proportion of treatment completers (.25)
- Higher risk offenders (.38)

Effects based on Cognitive targets:

- Cognitive restructuring .18
- Anger control .35
- Interpersonal problem solving .26
- Substance Abuse .22

*Landsberger, N. and M. Lipsey (2004). Cognitive Behavioral Treatment for Offenders. Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology annual meeting, Nashville, TN.

Some Examples of Cognitive Behavioral Correctional Curriculums

- Controlling Anger and Learning to Manage It (CALM and CALMER)
- Aggression Replacement Therapy (ART)
- Criminal Conduct and Substance Abuse Treatment (Strategies for Self-Improvement and Change) (SSC)
- Thinking for a Change (T4C)
- Choices, Changes & Challenges
- Persistently Violent Curriculum
- Corrective Thinking/Truthought
- Reasoning and Rehabilitation
- Moral Reconation Therapy
- Drug Abuse Treatment Program (FBOP)
- Moving On (Female Offenders)

Cognitive Behavioral Approaches Based on Social Learning Theory

Cognitive Restructuring
(What we think content)

Cognitive Skills Development

(How we think: process)

Behavioral Strategies

(Reinforcement and modeling prosocial behavior)

Treatment should be Behavioral in Nature

- Use rewards and punishers effectively
- Train, practice, rehearse offenders in prosocial alternatives
- Completion criteria should be based on acquisition of prosocial skills

For a new behavior to occur one must:

- Have a strong positive intention to perform the behavior
- Have the skills necessary to carry out the behavior, and
- Be in an environment that is free of constraints such that the behavior can occur

Skill Development

- Demonstrate, rehearse, practice prosocial alternatives
- Increase difficulty
- Completion based on acquisition of new prosocial skills

Effective Modeling

- Demonstrate behavior
- Specify the rewards for behaving this way
 - What do most people gain in the short & long term?
 - What can the person expect to gain?
- Provide reinforcement each and every time the person behaves in the desired way

One way is to structure groups around the quarter rule

- First ¼ spent reviewing what they learned last time
- Second ¼ demonstrate new skill
- Third ¼ practice new skill
- Fourth ¼ make practice more difficult

Maximizing the Effectiveness of Rewards

- Reinforcement is most effective when it comes immediately after the behavior, however, this is not always practical. You can make a *promise of delayed reinforcer* (IOU).
- Remember, vary reinforcers since they will lose potency over time
- Natural reinforcers should be used frequently (since they are likely to be received outside the program)
- Consistency is very important
- Rewards should outnumber punishers by 4-1.
- Build rewards into program structure and train staff on use

Punishers

- Designed to extinguish inappropriate behavior
- Most effective are response cost (i.e. losing privileges, and disapproval)

Maximizing the Effectiveness of Punishers

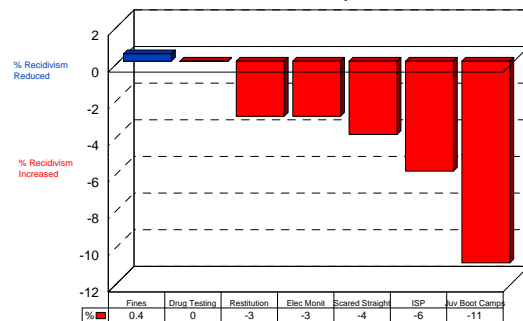
- Escape should be impossible
- Should be applied immediately
- Should be applied at maximum intensity
- Should be applied after every occurrence of deviant behavior
- Should not be spread out & should be varied
- Remember, a punisher only trains a person what not to do: must also teach prosocial alternative
- When punishment is inappropriately applied several negative consequences can occur (unwanted emotional reactions, aggression, withdrawal, or increased behavior that is being punished)

What Doesn't Work with Offenders?

Ineffective Approaches

- Drug prevention classes focused on fear and other emotional appeals
- Shaming offenders
- Drug education programs
- Non-directive, client centered approaches
- Bibliotherapy
- Freudian approaches
- Talking cures
- Self-Help programs
- Vague unstructured rehabilitation programs
- Medical model
- Fostering self-regard (self-esteem)
- "Punishing smarter" (boot camps, scared straight, etc.)

Average Effects of Punishing Smarter Programs on Recidivism: Results from Meta Analyses



Sources: Gendreau et al (2000) The Effects of Community Sanctions and Incarceration on Recidivism, FORUM; Aos et al (1999) The Comparative Costs and Benefits of Programs to Reduce Crime, Washington State Institute for Public Policy.

Effective programs evaluate what they do:

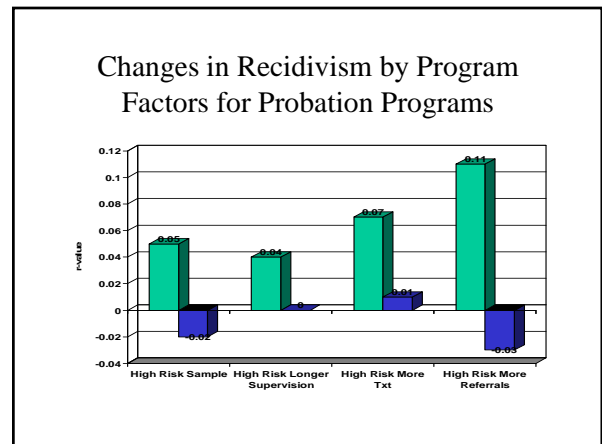
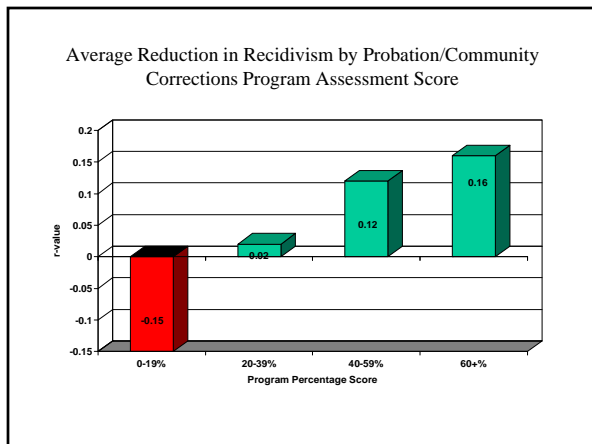
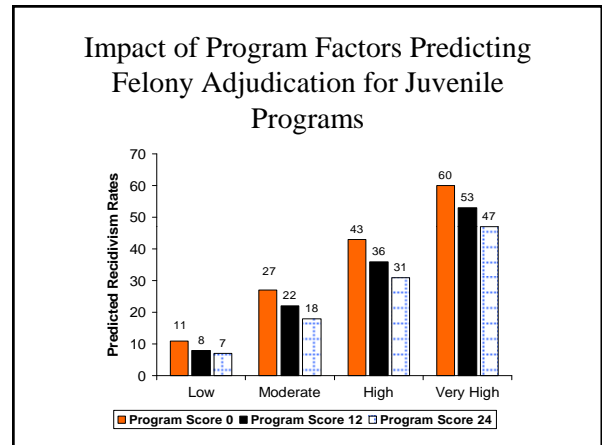
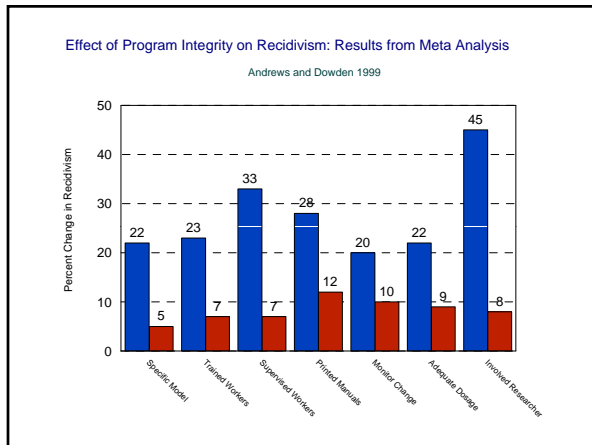
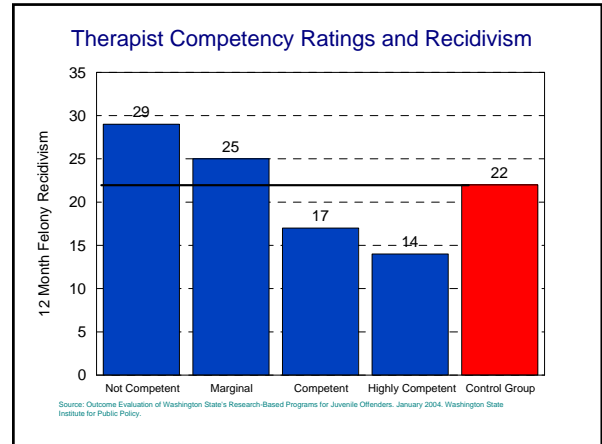
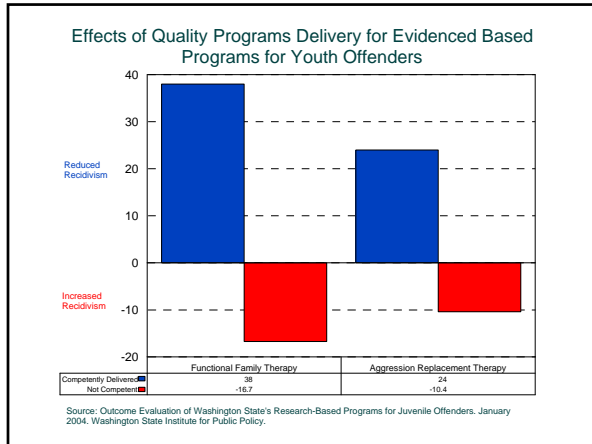
- Quality assurance processes (both internal and external)
- Assess offenders in meeting target behaviors
- Track offender recidivism
- Have an evaluator working with the program

Quality Assurance

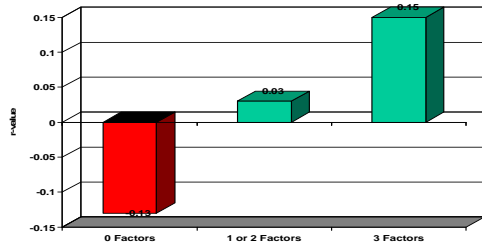
1. **Internal** – processes to ensure that assessments, services & interventions provided by the program are delivered as designed
2. **External** – processes to ensure services and interventions provided by outside providers are delivered as designed

Can include:

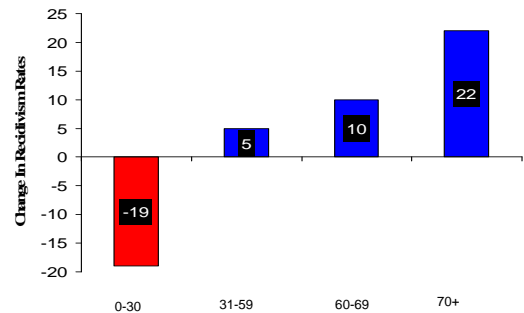
- Case file audits
- Video taping groups
- Client satisfaction surveys/ exit interviews
- Clinical supervision
- Program audits
- Site visits and observation
- Certification process



Change in Recidivism by 4 Point Factor Score for Probation Programs



Program Integrity—Relationship Between Program Integrity Score And Treatment Effect



How systems are applying assessments – A few examples

- Courts are using risk tools to assist in making placement and setting conditions
- Courts are taking risk level into account before determining how to respond to revocations
- Prosecutors use info for plea negotiations
- Prosecutors and defense attorneys plea negotiate in such a way that does not hamstring probation in applying appropriate conditions (open mandate)
- Prosecutors set up criteria for diversion for lower risk and does not require over-service
- Probation using assessments to determine level of supervision and appropriate referrals
- Probation careful to avoid over or under responding

How systems are applying programming: A few examples

- Courts are giving sole sanctions for low risk offenders
- Probation places low risk on group/administrative supervision
- Courts are using position for positive reinforcement (i.e. specialty courts)
- Probation is putting in place cog programs
- Response to violations is structured around risk level
- High risk offenders are being given more supervision and services
- Make referral/contracts for service providers that use EBP
- Pre-treatment programming is used to increase motivation

How systems are applying evaluation, fidelity, and quality assurance – A few examples

- Courts are asking for program information and performance data
- Existing programs are being evaluated/assessed
- QA teams are being formed to monitor programs
- Contracts/funding requires EBP
- Probation/DOC is auditing programs
- Training and refresher training/certification

Lessons Learned

- Who you put in a program is important – pay attention to risk
- What you target is important – pay attention to criminogenic needs
- How you target offender for change is important – use behavioral approaches

Important Considerations

- Offender assessment is the engine that drives effective programs
 - helps you know who & what to target
- Design programs around empirical research
 - helps you know how to target offenders
- Program Integrity make a difference
 - Service delivery, disruption of criminal networks, training/supervision of staff, support for program, QA, evaluation