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EXPLAINING RECIDIVSM: THE IMPACT OF PROGRAM INTEGRITY ON THE SUCCESS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MALE OFFENDERS

By

Paul Elam Jr.

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

EXPLAINING RECIDIVSM: THE IMPACT OF PROGRAM INTEGRITY ON THE SUCCESS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MALE OFFENDERS

By

Paul Elam Jr.

For many years, there has been much concern and inquiry on the subject of the impact of community based correctional interventions and programs in reducing criminal behavior and recidivism. Investigative studies conducted in the 1970s shed disbelief on the effectiveness of community based correctional programs in reducing recidivism. Not long after the publication of such research reviews, much research was conducted indicating that some programs work with some offenders. Studies in this area have advanced and quickly identified cognitive behavioral and other behaviorally based programs as the most effective in reducing criminal behavior. Another significant area of research on community-based correctional interventions has also evolved. This cutting edge focus of study, coined program integrity, seeks to identify the characteristics of programs, above and beyond type of treatment provided, that are related to a program's effectiveness in reducing recidivism. This study analyzed data from a prisoner re-entry community-based correctional intervention program in the State of Michigan to determine whether program characteristics relate to effectiveness. African American male offenders who successfully complete effective community based treatment programming were compared with offenders under parole/post release control who were not placed in community based treatment programming. Research findings indicate no significant relationship between correctional program integrity and treatment effectiveness for African-American male parolees.

This research is dedicated to the late Herman Daniels Jr. who dropped me off on the campus of Michigan State University as a freshman in 1991. Little did I know that I would receive a Ph.D. 17 years later.

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CHAPTER ONE

INCARCERATION TRENDS AND COMMUNITY-BASED CORRECTIONAL INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

Introduction

This study is designed to contribute to the expanding body of literature on effective community-based correctional intervention programs for African-American males by administering a research methodology on a general parole/postrelease population. The analyses in this study focus on identifying the characteristics of effective community-based treatment programs for African-American male prisoners returning from prison to the community. As part of a larger project, a selected prisoner re-entry program site in Michigan was evaluated on two dimensions: program integrity and outcome. This dissertation aims to answer the question: Is there a relationship between program integrity and program effectiveness for African-American male parolees? In this particular study, program effectiveness will be defined by the actual reduction in recidivism observed between the treatment group identified in the re-entry program and a matched comparison group. The integrity of the re-entry program was measured by assessing the fidelity of the implementation process through interviews with program directors and program staff, as well as by reviewing program materials.

Correctional Population Growth Trends

For the first time ever, more than one in every 100 adults in America is now incarcerated in a jail or prison (Pew Center on the States, 2008). A recent report released by the United States Department of Justice indicates that at the end of calendar year 2005 the correctional population reached a new high in this country at just over seven million

prisoners under correctional control (United States Department of Justice, 2006). This figure is up from approximately 6.5 million at the end of calendar year 2000. While this announcement represents only a 1 percent increase from the previous year, the gain in 2005 capped a 32 percent increase in the correctional population over the past decade. More specifically, the prison population experienced considerable growth during this time period (34 percent) along with the probation and parole populations, which grew by 35 percent and 15 percent, respectively (U.S. Department of Justice, 2006).

The constant growth in the number of individuals under community supervision, added to reductions in resources available for community supervision agencies, creates great concern, particularly with respect to ensuring public safety in neighborhoods and communities. As one example, recent research on probation samples indicates recidivism rates as high as 65 percent (Petersilia, 1985). While other research studies indicate much lower recidivism rates of offenders (McGaha, Fitcher, and Hirschburg, 1987; Vito, 1986), a national sample from 1986 indicates that within three years of release from incarceration, 62 percent of the sample had a disciplinary hearing for a violation of probation or were rearrested for another felony (United States Department of Justice, 1992). In addition, 46 percent of the sample had been sentenced to prison or jail or had absconded from supervision within that same three-year period (United States Department of Justice, 1992).

Additional data pertaining to probation and parole populations show that offenders under community supervision are still criminally active and choose to continue to engage in criminal behaviors while under correctional supervision (Cohen, 1995). Between 1975 and 1991 the number of individuals entering state prison systems as a

result of violations of community supervision increased from 18,000 to 142,000. In 1991, probation and parole violators represented 45 percent of the prison population. A great majority (77 percent) of these community-supervision violators in prison were sentenced to prison on a new felony conviction (Cohen, 1995).

Parole and probation violators in prison during 1991 equated to approximately 318,000 prisoners. Based on the new offense that led to incarceration, these 318,000 individuals committed approximately 13,200 murders, 12,900 rapes, 19,200 assaults, and 39,500 robberies while under supervision in the community (Cohen, 1995). While felony parolees and probationers are not permitted to carry firearms, 21 percent of the community-supervision violators in prison due to committing a new offense while under supervision reported possessing a firearm while under community control. A great majority of these prisoners (21 percent) were armed when committing their new offense (Cohen, 1995). Several additional crimes committed by individuals under community supervision such as absconding, substance abuse, failure to pay fines and/or the failure to meet other conditions of supervision are identified when reviewing data on parolees and probationers (Bonzcar, 1997; Cohen, 1995; United States Department of Justice, 1992). Data like these raise the question of the ability of community supervision to effect meaningful behavioral change among parolees in a direction favorable to public safety.

Minority Over-representation

When analyzing incarceration rates by demographics it becomes very clear that African-Americans are highly represented. The incarceration numbers are even more profound for African-American males; 1 in 15 African-American men ages 18 or older are incarcerated compared to 1 in 106 White men ages 18 or older (Pew Center on the

States, 2008). At the end of calendar year 2005, African-American inmates represented an estimated 40 percent of all inmates with a sentence of more than one year, while White and Hispanic inmates accounted for 35 percent and 20 percent, respectively (United States Department of Justice, 2006). While African-American inmates represent approximately 40 percent of all inmates, they only represent 11 percent of the total United States male population aged 20 and over. White and Hispanic inmates represent 78 percent and 11 percent, respectively, of the total United States male population aged 20 and over (United States Census Bureau, 2001). These data indicate that minority males — specifically African-American males — are truly overrepresented in the United States correctional population.

Although the total number of sentenced inmates rose sharply — up 35 percent between 1995 and 2005 — there were small changes in the racial and Hispanic composition of the inmate population (United States Department of Justice, 2006). At the end of calendar year 2005, African-American males (547,200) outnumbered White males (459,700) and Hispanic males (279,000) among inmates with a sentence of more than one year (United States Department of Justice, 2006).

When incarceration rates are estimated separately by age group, African-American males in their twenties and thirties are found to have higher rates than other groups (United States Department of Justice, 2006). Expressed in terms of percentages, 8 percent of African-American males aged 25 to 29 were in prison at the end of calendar year 2005, compared to 3 percent of Hispanic males and about 1 percent of White males in the same age group (United States Department of Justice, 2006).

Although incarceration rates drop with age, the percentage of African-American males aged 45 to 54 in prison at the end of calendar year 2005 was 3 percent — a rate higher than the highest rate among Hispanic males (3 percent for those aged 25 to 29), and more than twice the highest rate among White males — which was 1 percent for those aged 30 to 34 (United States Department of Justice, 2006).

Promising Community-Based Approaches

Is there anything that can be changed to improve the effectiveness of community-based treatment programs for returning African-American male prisoners? Overall, studies on intensive supervision programs and other supervision enhancements based on custody and control have failed to indicate real promise in reducing the recidivism rates of individuals supervised in the community (Cullen, Wright and Applegate, 1996; Petersilia and Turner, 1993). With that said, one research study offers a promising method of reducing the recidivism of individuals under community supervision. The answer lies in the provision of "clinically relevant" community-based treatment interventions (Andrews et al., 1990). While this research offers some insight into a promising approach, there is considerable variation in the effectiveness of community-based correctional treatment interventions. Cullen (2002) argues that to achieve program effectiveness, a community-based treatment program must possess certain correctional characteristics.

Cullen (2002) reviews a Theory of Correctional Rehabilitation that predicts which correctional programs will be effective in reducing recidivism among parolees and which programs will likely fail in reducing recidivism. Canadian scholars have developed the basis for this theory, which in turn provides specific characteristics for successful

community-based correctional treatment programs (Gendreau and Andrews, 1996). Researchers can determine if programs have incorporated correctional principles associated with this theory by administering a Correctional Program Checklist similar to a tool called the Correctional Program Assessment Inventory, or CPAI (Gendreau and Andrews, 1996). While the CPAI has been administered to several correctional programs, a review of the literature found no empirical research on the relationship between the fidelity assessment yielded by the CPAI and community-based program effectiveness for African-American males. This void in racial demographic research was confirmed during verbal conversations with the developers of this Correctional Program Checklist and other research staff employed by the Michigan and Ohio Departments of Corrections.

In light of these findings, the current study proposes to investigate the relationship between measures collected through a Correctional Program Checklist and program outcomes and effectiveness among African-American male parolees (see Appendix). Determining an empirical association between program integrity and effectiveness in reducing recidivism has substantial implications for developing successful community-based correctional interventions and reducing recidivism rates among parolees, especially African-American males who are overrepresented in U.S. prisons. Supportive results could confirm and/or further define the correctional principles required for effective community-based treatment interventions postulated by Gendreau and Andrews (1996). Findings could also assist community-based correctional treatment programs in becoming more effective for African-American males — currently the largest group represented in both the United States and State of Michigan correctional populations.

Research Question

While the main goal of this study is to determine if a high quality community-based correctional treatment program reduces overall recidivism rates for African-American male parolees, the following specific research question will be answered: Is there a relationship between program integrity and program effectiveness for African-American male parolees?

Summary and Conclusion

The number of prisoners that are released to the community to be supervised has grown substantially over the last 25 years due to the increasing number of individuals being incarcerated (United States Department of Justice, 2006). Recent research on parolees in the community indicates that they continue to engage in criminal activity (Cohen, 1995). Decreases in appropriations for incarceration and community-supervision agencies have created a gap in the correctional system's capacity to supervise, intervene with and treat parolees (United States Department of Justice, 2006). Opportunities to deal with this situation may be offered through the use of community-based correctional treatment programs that may help supplement services provided by a prison or other supervision agencies (Johnson-Listwan, Cullen and Latessa, 2006; Latessa and Lowenkamp, 2006).

Studies show that community-based correctional treatment programs vary in their ability to decrease future criminal behavior (Lowenkamp and Latessa, 2005). There is a Theory of Correctional Rehabilitation that may prove promising in providing direction regarding the characteristics that community-based correctional programs need in order to be effective for reducing recidivism among parolees, particularly African-American

male parolees (Cullen, 2002). Previous studies have operationalized this theory for the general inmate population by creating an objective and standard measure of correctional program quality. Operationalized, this measure quantifies how closely a particular correctional treatment program adheres to the underlying Theory of Correctional Rehabilitation (Cullen, 2002). The current research proposes to investigate the relationship between measures based on a Correctional Program Checklist and community-based program effectiveness for reducing recidivism among African-American male parolees.

Chapter two of this study begins with an introduction to ecological crime theory, then expounds on specific African-American crime explanations and further introduces the literature on program effectiveness. Additional literature is presented that reviews existing meta-analyses to determine what principles or characteristics of correctional programming are associated with the more effective programs. In closing, the chapter discusses the evolution of evaluation studies in the field of community corrections and how this research has lead to assessing the relationship between program integrity and effectiveness for parolees.

Chapter three describes in detail the research methods used to conduct this study. The parolee population for this research comes from a county-wide prisoner re-entry site in the State of Michigan. The nature of this research required the development of program-level measures of effectiveness. The procedure and data used for this process will also be discussed in detail in Chapter three.

Chapter four presents the results of the analyses conducted and chapter five provides a summary of the results, limitations of the study, implications for correctional

policy and implications for future research on correctional interventions for African-American male parolees.

CHAPTER TWO

ECOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS OF CRIME AND COMMUNITY BASED INTERVENTIONS

Introduction

More than 2 million individuals are arrested each year for crimes ranging in seriousness from loitering to murder (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2004). What is the cause of the initial onset of crime? There are several theories that attempt to describe the underlying causes of criminal behaviors. The latest generation of criminals have been described as cynical and preoccupied with material acquisitions (Davis, 1999). Each year viewers may see up to 1,000 rapes, murders, and assaults on TV (Davis, 1999). When analyzing child well-being, minority children often face more problems than more well-off Caucasian youth (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2004). For example, more African-American and Hispanic children, 53 and 30 percent respectively, are living with only one parent than white children (20%).

Because of family problems like this, more children are being polarized into two distinct economic groups: those in affluent, two-earner, married-couple households and those in poor, single-parent households (Eggebeen & Lichter, 1991). In addition, many children live in substandard housing which can have a negative influence on their long-term psychological health (Evans, Wells, & Moch, 2003).

Individuals and families living in deteriorated urban areas are prevented from having productive and happy lives. Many die from random bullets and drive-by shootings (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2005). Some are homeless and living on the street, where they are at risk of drug addiction and sexually

transmitted diseases (STDs), including AIDS (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2005). Today about one-third of U.S. households with children have one or more of the following three housing problems: physically inadequate housing, crowded housing, or housing that costs more than 30 percent of the household income (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2005).

Given the diversity and gravity of crime and other social problems, there is an urgent need for strategies to combat such complex social phenomena. Formulating these strategies requires a clear understanding of the causes of crime. Is crime a sole function of the individual, family, school, community or peer group or is it a phenomenon that must be explained through more holistic and ecological lenses?

Problems in the home, the school, and the neighborhood, coupled with health and developmental hazards, have placed a significant portion of American households "at risk." Communities considered at risk are those exposed to various forms of dangerous conduct such as drug abuse, alcohol use, sex, and other illegal behavior. Many adults are living in families that, because of economic, health, or social problems, are unable to provide adequate care and discipline (Children's Defense Fund, 2004a). Though it is impossible to determine precisely the number of at-risk youth, the Children's Defense Fund, a Washington, D.C. – based advocacy group reports that:

- An estimated three million children are reported to state child protective service agencies each year.
- An estimated 40 percent to 80 percent of the families whose kids become child protective service cases have problems with alcohol or drugs.
- More than a half million kids are now in foster care, a 35 percent increase since 1990.

- More than 5 million children live in households headed by a relative other than a parent; 39 percent of these children – 2.13 million – live in these households with no parent.
- These data indicate that millions of youth are at risk for social problems including crime and delinquency (Children's Defense Fund, 2004b).

Characteristics and Risk Factors for Crime

Individuals who have been exposed to a variety of personal and social problems are the most at risk for engaging in ongoing crime. One study of crime found that specific personal factors could predict chronic offending and that those individuals who experienced these problems in the home and at school were at risk for repeat offending (Schumacher & Kurz, 2000). In addition to gender, race, class and age, Schumacher and Kurz identify four domains of characteristics that predict chronic offending: school behavior/performance, family problems, substance abuse and delinquency. Additional research has found that early involvement in criminal activity, coupled with low intellectual development and parental drug involvement are also key predictors for chronic criminal behavior (Jones, Harris, Fader, & Grubstein, 2001).

The risk factor literature typically categorizes risk factors for crime into five ecological domains: individual, family, peer, school, and community (Wasserman & United States Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2003). Human ecology scholars have noted the promise in studying individuals in their environment from a comprehensive, holistic approach (Griffore & Phenice, 2001). Studying crime from an ecological approach will provide a vast view of the interconnectedness and patterns of criminals and their environments. The ecological risk factors that are highly associated with persistent crime are listed below in Table 1. While not exhaustive, this chapter summarizes many of the major theories grounded in the individual and

Table 2-1. Ecological Risk Factors for Persistent Crime

Individual Factors	- Early antisocial behavior	- Low intelligence
	- Emotional factors	- Hyperactivity
	- Poor cognitive development	
Family Factors	- Parenting	- Parental psychopathology
	- Maltreatment	- Familial antisocial behaviors
	- Family violence	- Teenage parenting
	- Divorce	- Large family size
Peer Factors	- Association with deviant peers	- Peer rejection
School Factors	- Failure to bond in school	- Low academic aspirations
	- Poor academic performance	
Community Factors	- Living in a poor neighborhood	- Access to weapons
	- Neighborhood disadvantage	- Concentration of criminals
	- Disorganized neighborhoods	

community domains. These two domains are being targeted because current correctional policy and program efforts are largely aimed at changing offender behavior and linking returning parolees to community resources.

Personal and Social Factors Associated with Crime

An important aspect of research on crime is measurement of the personal traits and social characteristics associated with misbehavior. If, for example, a strong association exists between criminal behavior and family income, then poverty and economic deprivation must be considered in explanations of the onset of criminality. If the crime-income association is not present, other factors may be responsible for producing antisocial behavior (Siegel, Welsh, & Senna, 2006).

It would not be worthwhile to concentrate crime control efforts in areas such as job creation and vocational training if social status were found to be unrelated to criminal behavior. Similarly, if only a few criminals are responsible for most serious crimes,

crime control policies and programs might be made more effective by targeting and treating these offenders (Siegel et al., 2006).

Gender and Crime

Males are significantly more criminal than females. The teenage gender ratio for serious violent crime is approximately 4 to 1, and for property crime approximately 2 to 1, male to female (Snyder, 2005). One relationship reverses this general pattern: girls are more likely than boys to be arrested as runaways (Snyder, 2005). Two possible explanations for this relationship could be that girls are more likely than boys to run away from home or police view female runaways as a more serious problem due to paternalistic attitudes toward girls.

In recent years, arrests of females have been increasing faster than those for males. Between 1994 and 2004, the number of arrests of males decreased about 22 percent, whereas the number of females arrested increased about 12 percent (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2004). The change in serious violent crime arrests is even more striking: males decreased 33 percent, whereas females' violent-crime arrests remained stable during this period (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2004).

Females that live in large urban communities may be even more at-risk for engaging in criminal behaviors when compared to their suburban or rural counterparts. Self-reported research studies conducted in a large Midwest urban city indicated that females carried weapons, engaged in violent fights, were members of gangs and were being placed in residential facilities (Taylor, 1993). Taylor and colleagues argue further that violence and crime committed by urban females may be the manifestation of

society's reluctance to acknowledge and accept them (Taylor, Smith, McNeil, & Taylor, 2006).

Research studies conducting self-reported data also show that the prevalence of female crime is much higher than believed and that the most common crimes committed by males are also the ones most female offenders commit (Hindelang, Hirschi, & Weis, 1981). In a recent self-reported survey study, about 31 percent of boys and 23 percent of girls admitted to shoplifting, 14 percent of boys and 5 percent of girls said they stole something worth more than $50, and 19 percent of boys and 5 percent of girls said they hurt someone badly enough that they required medical care (Institute for Social Research, 2004). Although self-report studies indicate that the content of girls' crime is similar to boys', adolescents who report engaging frequently in serious violent crime are still predominately male (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2004).

Race and Crime

In the United States, there are approximately 40 million white and 9 million African-Americans aged 5 to 17, a ratio of about 4.5 to 1 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). While this is true, racial minorities are disproportionately represented in federal arrest statistics (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2004). African-Americans are arrested for a disproportionate number of murders, rapes, robberies, and assaults, whereas whites are arrested for a disproportionate number of arsons (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2004).

Official statistics show that minorities are much more likely that whites to be arrested for serious criminal behavior (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2004). To many criminologists, this pattern reflects discrimination in the criminal justice system. In other

words, African-Americans are more likely to be formally arrested by the police, in contrast to informal treatment towards whites.

On the contrary, researchers have found that the relationship between race and self-reported crime is virtually nonexistent (Akers, 1981). This suggests that the official crime data may reflect that African-Americans have a greater chance of being arrested and officially processed (Dannefer & Schutt, 1982; Huizinga & Elliott, 1987). Self-report studies also suggest that the criminal behavior rates of African-American and white teenagers are generally similar and that differences in arrest statistics may indicate discrimination by police (Tracy, 1987). However, some experts warn that African-Americans may underreport more serious crimes, limiting the ability of self-reports to be a valid indicator of racial differences in the crime rate (Walker, Spohn, & DeLone, 2004).

Although evidence of gender and racial bias exists in the justice system, it is also possible that males and African-Americans are arrested at a disproportionately high rate because they are simply committing more crime. According to this view of crime, differentials in the crime rate may be tied to other exogenous factors related to social and/or economic disparities (Siegel et al., 2006).

African-Americans have suffered through a long history of discrimination, which has produced lasting emotional scars. Some argue that the burden of social and economic marginalization has weakened the African-American family structure (Phillips, 1997). For example, low employment rates among minority males place a strain on marriages. When families are weakened or disrupted, their ability to act as agents of social control is compromised. Divorce and separation rates are significantly associated with crime and violence rates in the African-American community (Phillips, 1997). Even during times

of economic growth, lower-class African-Americans are left out of the economic mainstream, a fact that is met with a growing sense of frustration and failure (Thomas, 1993). As a result of being shut out of educational and economic opportunities experienced by the rest of society, minorities may be exposed to the lure of illegitimate gain and criminality (Siegel et al., 2006).

Racial differentials in the crime rate may also be tied to frustrations over perceived racism, discrimination, and economic disparity. Such frustration my also be magnified by consistent exposure to violence. African-Americans who live in poor areas with high crime rates may be disproportionately violent because they are exposed to more violence in their daily lives than other racial and economic groups. Research has shown that that such exposure is a significant risk factor for violent behavior (Paschall, Flewelling, & Ennett, 1998).

While this is true, African-Americans growing up in communities categorized by poverty, high unemployment and single-parent households, but living in stable families with reasonable income and educational achievement are less likely to engage in violent behavior (McNulty & Bellair, 2003). Consequently, some argue that racial differences in crime rates could be reduced if the social and economic characteristics of racial minorities were improved to the current level of whites (Phillips, 2002).

Class and Crime

Defining the relationship between economic status and criminal behavior is also a key element in the study of crime. If crime is purely a lower-class phenomenon, its cause must be rooted in the social factors that are found solely in lower-class areas: poverty,

unemployment, social disorganization, culture conflict, and alienation (Fagan, Piper, & Moore, 1986).

At first glance, the relationship between class and crime seems clear. Individuals who lack wealth or social standing are the most likely to use criminal means to achieve their goals (Siegel et al., 2006). Communities that lack economic and social opportunities produce high levels of frustration. Individuals who live in these areas believe that they cannot compete socially or economically with others who live in more affluent areas (Siegel et al., 2006). They may turn to criminal behavior for monetary gain and psychological satisfaction (Agnew, 1999).

In recent years, a new paradigm has emerged and scholars are now arguing that the class-crime theory is not limited to the lower-class as a result of the evolution of Hip-Hop (Taylor & Taylor, 2004). Hip-Hop is "a way of life, a culture that is intricately woven into every aspect of individual's daily lives" (Taylor & Taylor, 2004). Hip-Hop has emerged and is providing a communication medium for urban, suburban and rural adolescents that transcend all levels of social class. Today's adolescents are defining themselves through this new culture, which has also fostered a new phenomenon of suburban and rural crime and violence that dispels many of the traditional beliefs that being white and rich in America leads to the American dream (Taylor & Taylor, 2004).

In addition, the social class-crime relationship has been challenged by pioneering self-report studies, specifically those that revealed no direct relationship between social class and the commission of criminal acts (Short & Nye, 1958). Both poor and rich individuals have been found to get into fights, shoplift, and take drugs, but lower-class citizens are likely to be arrested and sent to court for these actions (Dunaway, Francis,

Velmer, & Evans, 2000). Many affluent individuals from "functional" families choose to break the law, whereas most individuals who live in impoverished conditions remain law abiding citizens (Siegel et al., 2006).

Age and Crime

Age is inversely related to criminality: As younger offenders mature, their offending rates tend to decline (Farrington, 1986). Official statistics indicate that youth are arrested at a disproportionate rate (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2004). These data are also supported by victim surveys (O'Malley, Bachman, & Johnston, 1988). Youth 17 and under make up about 10 percent of the total U.S. population, but they account for 27 percent of the index crime arrests and 17 percent of the arrests for all crimes (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2004). In contrast, adults 50 and older, who make up 32 percent of the population, account for about 10 percent of arrests (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2004). Self-report studies also indicate that rates for crimes such as assault, robbery, and trespassing decline substantially between the ages of 17 and 23 (O'Malley et al., 1988; Steffensmeier, Allan, Harer, & Streifel, 1989).

Crime and the Individual Domain

To some theorists, the locus of crime is rooted in the individual. Research studies that target the individual domain focus on how individuals make decisions, the quality of biological makeup, and personality and psychological profiles (Siegel et al., 2006). While this is true, there is more than one ecological explanation for why individuals engage in crime.

Classical/Rational Choice Theories

The first formal explanations of crime held that human behavior was a matter of choice. Philosophers Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham argued that people weigh the benefits and consequences of their future actions before deciding on a course of behavior (Bentham, Burns, & Hart, 1988). Their writings formed the core of what is referred to today as classical criminology.

Classical theory argues that before individuals decide to commit crime, they compare the possible benefits or profits with the potential costs or penalties of their actions. Based on this view, the assumption is that most criminals would cease their actions if the pain associated with crime is outweighed by gain (Van den Haag, 1975). The theory further argues that punishment should be only severe enough to deter a particular offense (Beccaria, Bellamy, Davies, & Cox, 1995).

One position, referred to as choice theory, suggests that individuals choose to engage in antisocial activity because they believe their actions will be beneficial and profitable (Siegel et al., 2006). According to this theory, criminal acts are motivated by the belief that crime can be a relatively risk-free way to better their situation.

Routine Activities Theory

One example of a rationale choice theory is routine activities theory. Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson argue that the volume and distribution of crime are influenced by the interaction of three variables that reflect the routine activities in everyday life: the lack of capable guardians, the availability of suitable crime targets, and the presence of motivated offenders (L. E. Cohen & Felson, 1979). If each of these variables are present, there is a greater likelihood that crime will take place.

Trait Theories

While rationale choice theory may explain some acts of crime, all crimes cannot be traced to choice theory. Some violent acts of crime appear to be irrational, selfish or not well thought out. In addition, many forms of crime, such as substance abuse and vandalism, seem to be more impulsive. These acts of crime may be better explained by biochemical imbalances or genetic defects. These explanations of crime are referred to as trait theories because they link crime to biological or psychological traits that control human development (Siegel et al., 2006).

Criminal Atavism Theory

The first attempts to discover why criminal tendencies develop focused on the physical makeup of offenders. Biological traits present at birth were thought to predetermine whether people would live a life of crime (Martin, Mutchnick, & Austin, 1990). Cesare Lombroso is generally credited for developing this school of thought known as the theory of criminal atavism (Martin et al., 1990).

This theory argues that criminals manifest physical anomalies that make them biologically and physiologically similar to primates. Criminals with certain physical characteristics were seen as "savage throwbacks" to an earlier stage of human evolution. The research focused on physical traits such as jaw size, nose shape, and rows of teeth (Martin et al., 1990).

This early theory portrayed criminal behavior as a function of a single factor or trait, such as body build or defective intelligence. Eventually, these views evoked criticism for their unsound methodology and lack of scientific controls. By the middle of

the twentieth century, biological theories had fallen out of favor as an explanation of crime (Siegel et al., 2006).

Biosocial Theory

Biosocial theory argues that crime is produced by the interaction between predispositions and environmental factors (Fishbein, 1990). There is a suspected relationship between antisocial behavior and biochemical makeup. One view is that body chemistry can govern behavior and personality, including levels of aggression and depression (Raine, 1993). When criminologists Paul Stretesky and Michael Lynch examined lead concentrations in air across counties in the United States, they found that areas with the highest concentrations of lead also reported the highest level of homicide (Stretesky & Lynch, 2001).

Another focus of biosocial theory is the neurological structure of offenders. Studies measure indicators of system functioning, such as brain waves, heart rate, arousal levels, attention span, cognitive ability and spatial learning, and then compare them to measures of antisocial behavior (Siegel et al., 2006). One view is that the neuroendocrine system, which controls brain chemistry, is the key to understanding violence and aggression (Siegel et al., 2006). Another view is that neurological dysfunction is a key factor in causing aggression and violence. Individuals who manifest behavior disturbances may have identifiable neurological deficits, such as damage to the hemispheres of the brain (Voeller, 1986). Research also indicates that children exhibiting neurological impairment also have an increased risk for a variety of developmental problems, such as low IQ scores and cognitive impairment which have been associated with crime (Beckwith & Parmelee, 1986).

Biosocial theory also focuses on the genetic makeup of criminals. This theory argues that individuals inherit a genetic configuration that predisposes them to violence and aggression (DiLalla & Gottesman, 1991). The same way that individuals inherit genes for height and eye color, antisocial behavior characteristics and mental disorders may be passed down from one generation to the next. To test these assumptions, genetic research has focused on parent-child and sibling behavior (West & Farrington, 1977).

Psychological Theory

Some scholars view the cause of crime as essentially psychological. Sigmund Freud's psychodynamic theory argues that crime is a product of an abnormal personality structure formed early in life, which thereafter controls human behavior choices (Freud & Strachey, 1949). The theory poses that the human personality contains three major components: the id, the ego, and the superego.

The id is the unrestrained, primitive, pleasure-seeking component with which all individuals are born. The ego develops through the reality of living in the world and helps manage and restrain the id's need for immediate gratification. The superego develops through interactions with parents and other significant people and represents the development of conscience and the moral rules shared by most adults (Freud & Strachey, 1949). The theory further states that unconscious motivations for behavior come from the id's action in response to two primal needs – sex and aggression.

All three segments of the personality operate simultaneously. The id dictates needs and desires, the superego counteracts the id by fostering feelings of morality and righteousness, and the ego evaluates the reality of a position between these two extremes (Freud & Strachey, 1949). If these components are properly balanced, the individual can

lead a normal life. If one aspect of the personality becomes dominant at the expense of the others, the individual exhibits abnormal personality traits.

According to Freud, people who experience feelings of anxiety and are afraid that they are losing control of their personalities are said to be neurotics and people who have lost total control and who are dominated by their primitive id are know as psychotics (Freud & Strachey, 1949). Psychoanalytic studies have shown that the most serious types of antisocial behavior, such as murder, may be motivated by psychosis and neurotic feelings may be responsible for less serious criminal acts and status offenses (Halleck, 1967).

Erik Erikson expanded on the work of Freud and explains the onset of antisocial behavior by speculating that many individuals experience life crisis and feel emotional, impulsive, and uncertain of their role and purpose (Erikson, 1968). He associated criminal behaviors committed by adolescents with a period of "identity crisis." Erikson argued that youthful offending represents expressions of confusion of their place in society, their inability to direct behavior toward useful outlets, and their dependency on others to offer them solutions to their problems (Erikson, 1968).

Still other psychologists and experts have viewed crime as a consequence of feeling unable to cope with feelings of oppression. Crime may actually serve as an outlet for individuals to strive by producing positive psychic results such as feeling free and independent or by giving them and exciting opportunity to use their skills and imagination (Halleck, 1967).

Behavioral Theory

Not all scholars agree that crime is controlled by unconscious mental processes determined by relationships developed early in childhood. John Watson and B. F. Skinner's behavioral theory argues that the personality of individuals is learned throughout life during interaction with others (Siegel et al., 2006). If a particular behavior is reinforced by a positive reaction or event, the behavior will be continued and eventually learned. On the other hand, behaviors that are not reinforced or are punished will be extinguished.

Albert Bandura, Walter Mischel, and Richard Walters expanded behavioral theory by developing the social learning approach (Bandura & Walters, 1963). Social learning theory argues that a person's learning and social experiences, coupled with his or her values and expectations, determine behavior. According to this assumption, youth will model their behavior through observations of adults they are in close contact with or indirectly through behaviors they are exposed to through mass media. If aggression is consistently observed and approved by adults and the media, youth will likely react violently in similar circumstances (Perry, Perry, & Rasmussen, 1986).

Another perspective grounded in psychological theory is the cognitive approach. This approach focuses on the way individuals perceive and mentally represent the world around them to solve problems (Siegel et al., 2006). Building on the work of Jean Piaget, Wilhelm Wundt, Edward Titchener, and William James, Lawrence Kohlberg applied the concept of developmental stages to cognitive theory to address issues of crime (Kohlberg, 1969).

Kohlberg argued that individuals travel through states of moral development, during which the basis for moral and ethical decision making changes. Studies have shown that criminals are found to be significantly lower in their moral judgment development than law abiding citizens of the same social background (Kohlberg, Kauffman, Scharf, & Hickey, 1973). In addition, studies have shown higher stages of moral reasoning are associated with behaviors such as honesty, generosity, and nonviolence (Henggeler, 1989).

Summary

Crime theories that target the individual domain have been criticized based on several issues. One concern is that the research methodologies are weak and invalid. Most research efforts utilized adjudicated or incarcerated offenders absent control groups. With this selection process it is difficult to determine whether findings represent the criminal population. Some opponents also argue that individual-level theory is limited as a generalized explanation of criminal behavior because it fails to account for the known patterns of criminal behavior (Siegel et al., 2006).

Criminal behavior trends seem to be better explained by more holistic social-ecological factors like social class and gender roles rather than individual factors. These social factors that appear to be influencing the onset and persistence of crime are not accounted for by explanations that focus solely on the individual.

Crime and the Community Domain

Social Structural Theories

Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay developed social disorganization theory when studying neighborhood crime rates in concentric zones in Chicago, Illinois. They found that crime rates were the highest in transitional neighborhoods where family mobility was very high and factories and other commercial establishments were interspersed with neighborhoods (Shaw & McKay, 1969). On the contrary, neighborhoods farthest away from the city's center were the least prone to crime. The crime patterns identified in these ecological zones remained stable for over a 65-year period (Thrasher & Short, 1963). Because different ethnic or racial groups lived in these zones over this time period, Shaw and McKay argued that crime was tied to neighborhood characteristics rather than the personal characteristics of residents (Shaw & McKay, 1969).

Shaw and McKay argued further that a process called "cultural transmission" allowed for methods of crime and conformity to be passed from generation to generation ensuring the survival of cultural traditions. Healthy and organized communities have the ability to regulate themselves through social controls so that common goals and norms can be realized. On the other hand, disorganized neighborhoods are incapable of realizing social control because they are inundated with constant deterioration and economic failure (Shaw & McKay, 1969).

Scholars have argued that urban communities that remain in constant disorganization may breed crime (Lang, 1991; Sampson & Groves, 1989). William Julius Wilson has described why this phenomenon occurs. White working and middle-class families flee inner-city poverty areas, resulting in a poverty concentration effect

where elements of the most disadvantaged population are consolidated in urban ghettos (Wilson, 1987). As the working and middle classes move out, they take with them their financial and institutional resources and support. As a result, businesses are not inclined to locate in poverty-stricken areas and banks become reluctant to lend money for new housing and businesses. This concentration of poverty may motivate minorities to enter an illegal enterprise, increasing the likelihood they will become involved in other acts of crime (Fowles & Merva, 1996).

Robert Merton focused his research on another branch of social structure theory called strain theory (Merton, 1968). Strain theory argues that crime is a function of the conflict between the goals individuals have and the means they can use to legally obtain them. While social and economic goals may be common to people across all socio-economic strata, the opportunities to obtain these goals is dependent on class (Merton, 1968).

Merton (1968) claimed that most people desire wealth, material possessions, power, prestige, and other life comforts. Because members of the lower class are rarely able to achieve these success symbols through conventional means, they feel anger, frustration, and resentment. If lower class individuals are not able to accept their socio-economic conditions, they are very likely to choose criminal means of achieving success (Merton, 1968).

Strain is even more pervasive in communities where the poor and the wealthy live in close proximity to one another (Blau & Blau, 1982). Individuals who feel they are less well off than others may begin to form negative self-feelings and hostility, which motivates them to engage in criminal behavior (Stiles, Liu, & Kaplan, 2000). Studies

indicate that neighborhoods that experience high levels of strain have significantly higher levels of crime (Stiles et al., 2000). The effect of inequality may be felt the most among minorities who believe they are losing out in a society where there is an imbalance in economic and social power. Under these conditions, the likelihood that relatively poor individuals will engage in illegitimate behaviors may increase (Messner & South, 1986).

Robert Agnew expanded Merton's strain theory and constructed what is known as the general strain theory. Agnew's theory attempts to explain why individuals who feel strain are more likely to engage in crime, by offering a more general explanation of crime rather than focusing on lower-class crime (Agnew, 1992). Agnew's theory argues that crime is the direct result of "negative affective states" or the anger, frustration, and adverse emotions that emerge in the wake of negative and destructive social relationships.

Agnew's research found that negative affective states are produced by a variety of strain sources including: strain caused by the failure to achieve positively valued goals, strain caused by the disjunction of expectations and achievements, strain as the removal of positively valued stimuli from the individual, and strain as the presentation of negative stimuli (Agnew, 1992). Each type of strain may increase the likelihood of experiencing negative emotions such as anger. Anger increases perceptions of being wronged and may produce a desire for revenge or action.

Cultural deviance theory is another branch of structural theory and argues that crime is a result of an individual's desire to conform to lower-class neighborhood cultural values that conflict with those of the mainstream (A. K. Cohen, 1955). Individuals who share lower-class values such as being tough, living for today and disrespecting authority

figures are more likely to admire figures associated with criminality (A. K. Cohen, 1955). In addition, these same individuals find it difficult to impress authority figures such as teachers and employers and experience "culture conflict." Because they are incapable of achieving success through legitimate means, they often join gangs or other groups and engage in criminal behavior (A. K. Cohen, 1955).

Social Process Theories

Not all sociologists believe that living in an impoverished, deteriorated, lower-class neighborhood is associated with crime. Instead many scholars argue that crime is associated with learning criminal attitudes from peers, becoming detached from school, or experiencing conflict in the home (Siegel et al., 2006). The belief is that individuals living in inner-city communities will not get involved in crime if their socialization experiences are positive (Ingram, 1993). The family unit, schools, peers, and religion all play a huge part in the socialization process. Individuals who have positive ties to all of these institutions generally engage in lower rates of criminal behavior (Sutherland & Cressey, 1960).

Edwin Sutherland developed a learning theory called differential association theory to explain the importance of socialization (Sutherland & Cressey, 1960). The theory argues that as individuals are socialized, they are exposed to and learn prosocial and antisocial attitudes and behavior. If individuals learn more antisocial behaviors and attitudes than prosocial behaviors and attitudes, they will more than likely choose a criminal lifestyle.

David Matza expanded Sutherland's concept and injected the notion of "drift" (Matza, 1964). Matza argued that criminals hold values similar to those of law-abiding

citizens, but they learn techniques that enable them to neutralize those values and drift back and forth between legitimate and criminal behavior. Drift is the process by which an individual moves from one behavioral extreme to another, behaving sometimes in a criminal manner and at other times with control. The theory further argues that individuals develop justifications for their criminal behavior when it violates accepted rules and norms (Sykes & Matza, 1957).

Travis Hirschi developed control theory, another prominent social process theory (Hirschi, 1969). Control theory argues crime lies in the strength of the relationships or social bonds that individuals form with conventional peers and groups. If bonds to society are not maintained, individuals may feel free to violate the law because they have nothing to lose. The theory assumes that all people have the potential to commit crimes, are kept in check by their social bonds or attachments to society, and weakened social bonds free individuals to engage in criminal behaviors.

Elements of social bonds are interrelated and include attachment to conventional institutions, commitment to conventional activities, involvement in conventional activities, and belief in mainstream values (Hirschi, 1969). Research has consistently supported the concepts underlying control theory by showing that positive attachments to family and peers help control crime (Anderson, Holmes, & Ostresh, 1999).

Explaining Crime Among African-American Males

On the surface, race is simply a way of classifying groups based on skin color. Race is also used to locate and place people according to culturally defined social positions (Rose, 2006). These social positions are unequal and location in the structural

hierarchy determines cultural experiences. As a result, it makes a difference what one is called and into what social position one is placed (Rose, 2006).

By many, race is considered a dominant theme in American society. Few issues can be discussed without the factor of race underscoring the analysis. For some time, the topic of race and crime has become a proxy for studies of racial minorities and street crime. Scholars have sought to explain why African-American adolescent males have been overrepresented in arrest and prison statistics (Gabbidon & Greene, 2005; Mann, 1993; Russell, 1998). Crime statistics have traditionally suggested a disproportionate involvement in criminal activity by people of color in comparison to their representation in the population (Bureau of the Census, 2001; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2001). Official data point to African-American males as being the major perpetrators of crime (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2001).

Generally, criminologists have attributed high rates of crime and violence among African-American adolescent males to inequities in the social structure (Siegel, Welsh, & Senna, 2006). Popular explanations such as social disorganization and strain theories suggest that the greater involvement of minorities in crime is best explained by conditions associated with their lower-class status (Siegel et al., 2006). Scholars argue that these conditions weaken the proficiency of familial and communal institutions to regulate adolescent aspirations and desires and decrease the ability of minorities to obtain cultural goals (Siegel et al., 2006; Tatum, 2000). Blocked opportunities may lead to frustration that is acted out through criminal and violent behaviors.

There are four general criticisms of the approach of social structural theories to explain crime among African-American males. First, the theoretical models are primarily

class-based theories (Einstadter & Henry, 1994; Williams & McShane, 1998). These theoretical models assume that high rates of African-American male crime are the result of their lower-class status (Siegel et al., 2006). This approach confounds the effects of race and class on structural opportunities, frustration—or strain—and social disorganization, and suggests that the impact of the two variables are identical.

Second, mainstream structural theories fail to examine the influence or importance of historical antecedents in determining structural experiences. As a result of the institution of slavery and years of legal discrimination and segregation, the structural experiences of African-Americans differ sharply from those of other racial groups (Reed, 1993). Yet, mainstream structural models have provided little insight as to the impact of these factors on current structural status, criminal or violent behavior (Siegel et al., 2006).

Third, classic structural models fail to account for differential responses to shared structural conditions (Siegel et al., 2006). The theories fail to address why African-American males who face similar situations of structural exclusion choose different behavioral responses.

Fourth, classic structural models measure frustration—or strain—as a global concept. General strain theory identifies three major types of deviant-producing strain: 1) the failure to achieve an individual's goals, 2) the removal of positive or desired stimuli from the individual, and 2) the confrontation of the individual with negative stimuli (Agnew, 1992). Based on this theory, it is possible that African-American males experience different types of strain and that the various forms of strain will have different effects on crime and violence.

Alternative Theoretical Perspectives

The failure of mainstream structural perspectives to adequately address the role of race in explaining African-American crime has led to the development of alternative models (Austin, 1983, 1987; Staples, 1975). In addition to factors related to social structure, these models examine the effects of racial inequality—or oppression—on the personality and behaviors of African-American males. Both mainstream and alternative perspectives argue that crime are adaptive responses to structural inequities.

Earlier in this chapter, a review of many of the mainstream ecological explanations of crime in the individual & community domains was provided. That review of literature demonstrated that individual and sociological theories alone are not able to account for all acts of crime and that additional ecological perspectives should be reviewed and/or developed. This section will add to that review of literature by focusing on alternative perspectives that use race versus class as the starting point of analysis. Knowing that current correctional policy places great emphasis on class and social structural issues, these perspectives may prove to be more promising in helping to understand and reduce crime among African-American males. There is little evidence that race is considered when developing state and national corrections policy that will ultimately impact over 40 percent of the nations prison population.

Alternative Perspectives on African-American Male Crime

Ideas advanced by mainstream criminologists have assumed prominent positions in the field, policy, and practice of criminology. Millions of dollars are spent each year developing, testing, and refining theory and programs. In addition, billions of dollars are spent implementing programs based on ideas that evolve out of mainstream theory. This

mainstream theory and practice has consistently produced costly, inefficient, and ineffective results for African-American males. Research shows that crime and violence are unraveling the nation's social fabric and straining the existing capacity to finance the administration of criminal justice across the country (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2001; Siegel et al., 2006; Simms & Myers, 1988). Our current responses to crime fail to respond quickly to challenging social problems associated with undesirable behavior and rarely treat offenders in a humane manner. The crime and recidivism data clearly indicate that field is in need of a significant paradigm shift (Pew Center on the States, 2008).

As summarized earlier, sociologists and criminologists use a number of causal perspectives in the attempt to explain criminal behavior. Whether there is a distinct theoretical paradigm that can be identified to best explain "African-American male crime" is subject to debate along with the topic of crime in general. Varying views are expressed in the wide range of literature on crime (Siegel et al., 2006). However, several dominant themes have emerged from the writings of criminologists to help better explain crime among African-American males. Some scholars argue that among the most prominent theories, is that crime in African-American neighborhoods can be attributed to Whites' segregative and discriminatory attitudes and practices against African-Americans (Greene, 1979).

Many criminologists consistently argue that racism, discrimination, and segregation are inextricably interwoven with crime (Greene, 1979). For example, some scholars argue that crime can be attributed to a combination of causes stemming from the patterns of segregation and discrimination uniquely imposed on African-American males

by the dominant group, while others view crime as a complex reaction to oppression (Davis, 1976; Vontress, 1962). Structural and institutional racism, discrimination, and segregation often manifest themselves as economic, social, or political problems such as poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, over-crowded housing, inadequate nutrition, and differential law enforcement (Sulton, 1989; Vontress, 1962).

Criminologists adhere to the notion that social structural inequities produce variations in opportunities which may cause differential pressures to engage in criminal behavior. Thus, the incidence of illegal behavior in African-American neighborhoods is significantly related to and affected by social structures that substantially influence life opportunities and experiences (Siegel et al., 2006). Because crime is a social phenomena, criminal behavior should be evaluated within the context in which it occurs (Simms & Myers, 1988). To understand the phenomena of crime, we must cast it against a socioeconomic backdrop. Many times, the backdrop experienced by African-American males is not totally represented by mainstream crime theory, literature, policy, and programming (Greene, 1979; Tatum, 2000).

Many criminologists have challenged the theoretical adequacy of existing explanations of crime and victimization in the African-American community (Greene, 1979; Tatum, 2000). They argue that theories of crime causation attempting to explain the involvement of African-Americans have negated the impact of cultural and racial identity by assuming that variables which tend to explain the behavior of non-African-American individuals are necessarily adept at explaining the behavior of African-Americans (Covington, 1984; Greene, 1979).

In addition to studying the etiology of criminal behavior, criminologists have focused their attention on describing the statistical dimensions of the crime problem. Criminologists examine available data such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation's annual *Uniform Crime Reports*. However, unlike mainstream criminologists, criminologists that propose alternative perspectives on crime question the usefulness of government arrest data (Greene, 1979; Tatum, 2000). They interpret findings with caution, noting that the data provide little insight into the relationships between variables or the meaning of such relationships (Brown, 1974; Davis, 1976; Sulton, 1989; Vontress, 1962).

Other alternative theorists argue that African-American males in the United States are sub-groups that are systemically controlled and exploited by the dominant culture (Blauner, 1972, 1994; Staples, 1975, 1987; Tatum, 2000). These theorists specifically point to the sharp and enduring differentiation in economic, political, and social statuses between African-American and majority group members and the economic and political control of African-American communities (Blauner, 1972, 1994; Staples, 1975, 1987; Tatum, 2000). As in classical colonial societies, the relative permanence of these unequal structural relationships causes alienation—or frustration—among African-American males that, in turn, may lead to criminal and/or violent outcomes.

These deficit models were first proposed as alternatives to traditional theories of race relations, and later as alternative explanations of African-American crime (Austin, 1987; Staples, 1975, 1987). These alternative perspectives describe how the process of colonialization affects the structural and cultural status of African-American males. In colonial societies, the economic and political dominance of European Whites enables

them to create a social structure in which their culture and values are more salient than those of African-Americans (Austin, 1987; Staples, 1975, 1987). African-American culture is relegated to a lower status, systematically destroyed, and redefined in negative terms.

Scholars argue that because of racism, the stratification of African-American group members is caste like and members of the dominant group enjoy economic, political and social privileges while African-American males have little access to society's rewards (Austin, 1987; Staples, 1975, 1987). The primacy of race causes African-Americans of any social class to have lower social status than members of the dominant group. Representatives of the power structure—police, military, and corrections—help to maintain this system of superior/subordinate relations.

The unequal relations between superior and subordinate groups negatively affect the personalities of African-American males and often results in alienation. Staples (1987) defines alienation as a feeling of psychological deprivation that arises from the belief that the values of a nation are not congruent with one's own orientation. The literature suggests three behavioral adaptations to alienation (Bulhan, 1985). First, they may respond to their alienation by assimilating to the dominant culture. Assimilation to the dominant culture opens doors to limited structural opportunities available to African-American males (Bulhan, 1985).

Second, African-Americans may respond to alienation by turning their anger and frustration against themselves and/or other African-Americans or minorities. These forms of violence are manifested by high African-American crime rates (Bulhan, 1985).

Third, African-American males may resist the order developed by the majority group. This behavioral response involves an attempt to restore traditions and self- and group-confidence (Bulhan, 1985). Intragroup violence and other destructive behaviors may give way to proactive behaviors and anger and tensions may find appropriate and constructive avenues of expression.

The model of internal colonialism has been widely used to explain the structural relationship of African-Americans to dominant society (Blauner, 1972, 1994; Staples, 1975, 1987; Tatum, 2000). Taking a historical approach, the model describes the detrimental effects of the institution of slavery and years of discrimination and segregation on current structural statuses related to economics, politics, and social class.

Other alternative scholars advance a theoretical strategy that incorporates both structural and cultural arguments regarding race, crime, and inequality in America (Greene, 1979; Sampson & Wilson, 2005). The linkage between race and crime can be viewed through contextual lenses that highlight the very different ecological contexts that African-Americans and whites reside in, in their communities.

Another prominent theoretical explanation is Wolfgang and Ferracuti's (1967) subculture of violence theory. According to this theory, the unique historical experiences of African-American males have led them to adopt a set of values and attitudes that are conducive to violence (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967). African-American males represent an underprivileged class in American society. Concentrated at the bottom of the economic ladder, African-American males see few legitimate prospects in which to achieve future economic success (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967). The African-American male unemployment rate far exceeds that of other racial groups. A comparison of

African-American and white unemployment rates shows that African-American unemployment has quadrupled whereas white unemployment has remained relatively constant (Duster, 1987).

Although more African-Americans are completing high school, the rising cost of higher education and dwindling financial aid have reduced the number of African-Americans attending college (Bureau of the Census, 2004). High African-American unemployment rates and the high concentration of African-Americans in low-paying and low-status occupations provide little encouragement of future success in a society that stresses wealth, status, and achievement (Tatum, 1996). Thus according to this alternative analysis, the criminal behavior of African-American males may be a rational response to present and future situations of intergenerational unemployment, underemployment, low-paying, and low-status occupations (Tatum, 1996).

Research and theory also suggest that parenting is an important determinant of criminal behavior among African-American males (Jackson, Henriksen, & Foshee, 1998; Mincy, 1994). Poor parental supervision and monitoring, harsh and/or inconsistent disciplinary practices, infrequent parent-adolescent communication, and poor parent-adolescent relations have been shown to be associated with higher levels of crime and aggression among African-American males (Griffin, Botvin, Scheier, Diaz, & Miller, 1999; Paschall, Ennett, & Flewelling, 1996).

In addition, there has been a great deal of concern about the absence of fathers from African-American families and the negative effect this may have on the development of African-American males (Gibbs et al., 1988; Mincy, 1994). Single African-American mothers often have limited financial resources, greater social isolation,

and fewer coping resources than mothers in a two-parent family, which may limit their ability to monitor, supervise, and communicate effectively with their children (McLoyd, Jayarante, Ceballo, & Borquez, 1994; Taylor, 1991).

Summary

Classic structural theories are not sufficient to thoroughly explain African-American male crime. Structural models are deficient explanations of African-American male crime because they: 1) confound the effects of race and class on behavior, b) fail to control for historical experiences, c) fail to account for differential responses to shared conditions, and d) measure strain as a global concept.

Alternative perspectives which use race as the starting point may be more promising to better explain crime among African-American males. These alternative perspectives argue that the limited structural opportunities available to African-American males are primarily the result of race instead of class. As a result, frustration and alienation arises and leads to crime and violence.

To effectively provide services to African-American males, service professionals need to be educated on the specific risk factors associated with criminal behavior. These risk factors may differ from the risk factors identified in the mainstream literature on crime that draws from large samples of racial, ethnic, and socio-economic groups. Scholars have noted that there is very little scientific investigation on crime with a primary focus on African-American males. Furthermore, there is a neglect of African-Americans in research on crime and the literature on the correlates of crime among African-American males has not been explicitly presented within the contextual

framework of relevant experiences and ecological domains (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1992).

Lessons learned from the application of policies and practices grounded in mainstream and alternative perspectives may prove more promising in advancing the field of criminal justice. Research shows that the current mainstream interventions are not very successful for African-American males. If practitioners are educated on the risk factors associated with criminal behavior among African-American males, prevention and intervention programs may be more likely to incorporate appropriate responses into the formulation of strategies for service delivery. The alternative perspectives shared in this chapter identify additional risk factors that should be targeted by intervention designs that target African-American males, their homes, and their communities.

Community-Based Treatment and Successful Interventions

There is a substantial body of literature that describes what is effective when intervening with inmates in correctional treatment settings and parolees in community-based treatment settings (Lowenkamp and Latessa, 2005). These studies stem back over the last 25 years and began by identifying factors that were effective in reducing repeated acts of crime (Lowenkamp and Latessa, 2005). Shortly thereafter, the focus of this work shifted to begin to identify the specific types of correctional programs that were most effective (Lowenkamp and Latessa, 2005). Following several years where scholars spent time identifying the most effective correctional treatment modalities, studies in corrections evolved to measuring program integrity. The impact the quality of a community-based correctional intervention has on the recidivism of African-American

male parolees is an underdeveloped area of community-based correctional rehabilitation research.

In this section of the chapter, the body of literature that exists on effective community-based correctional treatment interventions is explored in greater detail. This section includes four sub-sections: (1) an overview of treatment and community-based interventions, (2) a review of literature on prisoner rehabilitation theory, (3) the operationalization of the prisoner rehabilitation theory and research methods for measuring program quality and (4) a review of the literature on the relationship between program integrity and program outcomes.

An Overview of Treatment and Community-Based Interventions

Individualized treatment plans that characterize the rehabilitative ideal grew out of research conducted in the early 1980s (Rothman, 1980; Cullen and Gilbert, 1982). These client-specific treatment plans made use of presentence investigations, indeterminate sentencing and the idea that interventions with prisoners should change their criminal propensities and make them productive, law-abiding citizens. This practice was very different when compared to the traditional practice of punishing individuals for their criminal behavior (Rothman, 1980; Cullen and Gilbert, 1982).

This belief system was prevalent in the correctional field without major opposition until the early 1970s (Cullen, 2002). During this time, social unrest and increasing crime rates led to a change in opinion concerning the value of correctional rehabilitation (Cullen, 2002). For several reasons, rehabilitation as a correctional strategy was brought under great scrutiny by both liberals and conservatives. As a result, the field

began to rethink the goal of rehabilitating individuals (Cullen, 2002; Cullen and Gendreau, 2000; and Cullen and Gilbert, 1982).

Research conducted by Robert Martinson (1974) also served as a source for criticizing the philosophy of rehabilitation and ushered in an alternative viewpoint that nothing works to reduce repeated acts of crime (Cullen and Applegate, 1997). Martinson's research included a review of 231 studies on correctional interventions. His conclusion on the efficacy of correctional programming in reducing recidivism was largely misinterpreted by practitioners that "nothing works."

A closer review of Martinson's (1974) work indicates that his findings concluded that no particular program works for all prisoners; however, there are some programs that appear to work in some instances. Further, Martinson pondered whether it is actually the inability of correctional programming to effect behavioral change or poor research methods and techniques that led to null findings. Nonetheless, policy makers simply focused on the conclusion that indicated that nothing worked. This lack of efficacy quickly became the characteristic of correctional rehabilitation (Cullen and Gendreau, 1989).

At about this same time, and shortly thereafter, a number of literature reviews of correctional programming began to appear (Andrews et al., 1990; Davidson, Gottschalk, Gensheimer and Mayer, 1984; Garrett, 1985; Gensheimer, Mayer, Gottschalk and Davidson, 1986; Gendreau and Ross, 1979; Izzo and Ross, 1990; Gottschalk, Davidson, Mayer and Gensheimer, 1987; Lab and Whitehead, 1990; and Ross and Gendreau, 1980). These reviews of correctional programming continued into the 1990s and beyond with more comprehensive reviews employing more sophisticated methods (Dowden and

Andrews 1999a, 1999b and 2000; Gallagher, Wilson and MacKenzie, 2000; Gendreau and Goggin, 1996; Wilson, Gottfredson and Najaka, 2002; Lipsey, 1992, 1999a; Lipsey and Wilson 1998; and Wilson, Gallagher and MacKenzie, 2000). All of these reviews, even those that conclude that correctional interventions as a whole are ineffective (Lab and Whitehead, 1988; and Martinson, 1974), confirm what Palmer (1975) had stated many years prior: that some programs are effective with some individuals.

A review of the correctional literature on interventions indicates that the majority of reviews provide some assessment of the impact of different treatment regimens in reducing recidivism. Heterogeneity in effectiveness is often noted across these differing treatment types (Andrews et al 1990; Gallagher, Wilson and MacKenzie, 2000; Garret, 1985; Lab and Whitehead, 1990; Lipsey, 1992; Lipsey and Wilson, 1998; and Redondo, Sanchez-Meca and Garrido, 2001). Even when looking within the same type of treatment, heterogeneity in effectiveness continues to persist (Lipsey, Chapman and Landenberger, 2001; Pearson, Lipton, Cleland and Yee, 2002; and Wilson, Gallagher and MacKenzie, 2000). This begs the question: What other characteristics about correctional interventions, aside from treatment modality, influence a program's effectiveness?

Research on correctional interventions has led to an understanding that not all correctional programs, even when using the same treatment modality, are equally effective. That is, two correctional programs based on the same treatment philosophy (e.g., cognitive behavioral) can have differing effects on post program recidivism rates. This research and accumulation of knowledge has provided a basis for establishing a theory of correctional rehabilitation that is capable of explaining some of the observed

heterogeneity in treatment effects across correctional programs (Cullen, 2002). The next section of this chapter discusses this theory of correctional rehabilitation.

The Theory of Correctional Rehabilitation

During the last thirty years, criminologists have developed a number of principles that guide effective correctional interventions (Andrews and Hoge, 1995; Andrews, Bonta and Hoge, 1990; Andrews et al., 1990; Gendreau, 1996; Gendreau and Ross, 1987). These principles have been summarized by Gendreau (1996) and refined by Gendreau, French and Taylor (2002). While these principles have not been presented as a theory, Cullen (2002) provides a review of these principles and places them in the context of what he calls the theory of correctional rehabilitation.

This theory largely reflects four principles that have come to shape effective correctional interventions. These principles are (1) the human service principle, (2) the risk principle, (3) the need principle and (4) the responsivity principle. In addition to these four overarching principles, Cullen (2002) also indicates that the theory calls for program integrity, which includes such things as staff education, experience and values; a program's quality assurance procedures; program implementation; and director qualifications (Gendreau, 1996; Gendreau, French and Taylor, 2002). Many other characteristics should be considered when discussing program integrity and will be detailed later in this chapter. The next several sections, however, deal with the four overarching principles in this theory of correctional rehabilitation: human service, risk, need and responsivity principles.

The Human Service Principle

The human service principle states that punishment alone is not sufficient to change prisoners' behavior. Further, some sort of human service must be delivered if substantial reductions in criminal behavior are to occur. Several reviews of the correctional literature have supported this contention. For example, studies by Andrews et al. (1990); Dowden and Andrews (1999a, 1999b, and 2000); Gendreau and Goggin (1996); Lipsey (1992); Lipsey and Wilson (1998); and Redondo, Sanchez-Meca and Garrido (2001) all provide support for the idea that punishment alone and/or control/surveillance-based interventions fail to adequately reduce recidivism.

In a review of 80 studies, Andrews et al. (1990) found that programs that provided only criminal sanctions actually increased recidivism by 2 percent. The authors also categorized programs that delivered services as inappropriate service, appropriate service or unspecified. Programs that provided some service were found to reduce recidivism by 13 percent (Andrews and Bonta, 1998) with appropriate programs reducing recidivism by 25 percent. This difference between the programs that provided only criminal sanctions and the programs that included human services provides empirical support for the human service principle.

A second meta-analysis conducted by Lipsey (1992) reviewed 443 studies of correctional programs for prisoners. This review also provides support for the human service principle. Lipsey found that programs based on punishment or deterrence, or that were vague in their targeting of behaviors, also increased recidivism. Conversely, programs that provided some services demonstrated positive effects on criminal behavior. The best programs were those that would have been identified as "clinically relevant" by

Andrews et al. (1990) and demonstrated reductions in recidivism of 20 percent to 40 percent. However, with some services, the results were inconsistent where programs of a similar type demonstrated reductions, increases or null effects on subsequent criminal behavior.

In a subsequent analysis using a subset of Lipsey's (1992) original sample of studies, Lipsey and Wilson (1998) calculated the effectiveness of correctional programming with serious offenders. With this subset of studies (N = 200), Lipsey and Wilson (1998) obtained results similar to Lipsey (1992). That is, Lipsey and Wilson (2001) found that deterrence-based and/or vague services had null effects on criminal behavior. Other programs categorized as delivering services demonstrated variable reductions in recidivism (10 percent to 40 percent).

Lipsey (1992) and Lipsey and Wilson (1998) both provide support for the human service principle. These two analyses indicate that deterrence- or punishment-based programs and those programs that are vague in the behaviors targeted have null or criminogenic effects on subsequent criminal behavior. Programs that provide services are, however, able to reduce recidivism. These reductions are variable, indicating that perhaps there are other factors that impact program effectiveness beyond the presence and type of service provided.

In a series of studies, Dowden and Andrews (1999a, 1999b and 2000) also investigated the relationship between the human service principle and program effectiveness (reductions in recidivism) for prisoners when using violent offending as an outcome measure. Dowden and Andrews (1999a) found that programs for female prisoners that provided services rather than sanctions were substantially more effective

(mean effect size of .18 for programs that delivered services versus a mean effect size of .01 for programs that only provided sanctions). Dowden and Andrews (1999b), using a sample of studies evaluating programming for prisoners, found a similar trend [mean effect size of .13 for programs that delivered services versus a mean effect size of -.02 (increase in recidivism) for programs that used sanctions only]. Finally, Dowden and Andrews (2000) investigated the relationship between the human service principle and program effectiveness when using violent offending as the outcome measure. A review of 35 studies that provided necessary recidivism data indicated that those programs that followed the human service principle were, again, substantively more effective (mean effect size of .12) than those programs that delivered only sanctions (mean effect size of -.01).

Studies from Europe indicate a similar trend. Redondo et al. (2001) conducted a meta-analytic review of correctional interventions delivered in several European countries. The authors categorized programs into several categories representing treatment modality, including "penal theory." Summarizing findings from 32 studies, the authors found varying reductions in recidivism for programs that delivered services compared to a small increase (-.006) in recidivism associated with penal theory programs.

Summary of the Human Service Principle

A review of the meta-analyses that relate to the human service principle and allow for some assessment of its empirical basis provides support for this principle. It should be noted, however, that several of these meta-analyses "recycle" samples of studies (e.g., Lipsey, 1992; Lipsey and Wilson, 1998; Andrews et al., 1990; and Dowden and Andrews, 1999a and 1999b). Other researchers have cautioned readers that the

methodology in some meta-analyses may be questionable (Lab and Whitehead, 1990; Logan and Gaes, 1993). Nonetheless, several of these meta-analyses contain independent samples and provide considerable support for the human service principle. In each of the three meta-analyses that would be included in this category (Andrews et al., 1990; Lipsey, 1992; and Redondo et al., 2001), empirical support for the human service principle was found. It should be noted that none of these analyses compared effect sizes by racial demographics.

The Risk Principle

Andrews, Bonta and Hoge (1990) stated that there are two aspects of the risk principle. The first is concerned with prediction or the ability to accurately classify prisoners based on the level of risk of reoffending. The second, and more germane aspect, concerns the issue of matching services to the level of risk of the prisoner. The risk principle indicates that higher-risk prisoners should be placed in higher-end correctional interventions while lower-risk offenders should be given minimal services (Andrews et al., 1990; Andrews, Bonta and Hoge, 1990). Gendreau (1996) also states that higher-risk prisoners are much more likely to respond to treatment than lower-risk prisoners; therefore, correctional programs should target higher-risk prisoners for intervention.

Considerable research has been conducted indicating that higher-risk prisoners are more likely to respond positively to correctional interventions (Andrews et al., 1990; Andrews, Bonta and Hoge, 1990; Lipsey, 1992; Andrews and Dowden, 1999; Dowden and Andrews, 1999a, 1999b and 2000; Bonta, Wallace-Capretta and Rooney, 2000;

Lowenkamp and Latessa, 2002). The following paragraphs review these meta-analyses and some issues surrounding the measurement of the risk principle.

Andrews et al. (1990) investigated the impacts of correctional programming for lower- and higher-risk prisoners. While the authors found a larger treatment effect for higher-risk prisoners compared to lower-risk prisoners, not all studies included in their analyses allowed for the calculation of such data. In addition, the methodology employed by Andrews et al. in calculating low- and high-risk treatment effects was criticized due to the lack of clarity in how risk was defined. In response, Andrews and Bonta (1998) reanalyzed data using an alternate methodology employed by Lipsey (1992). These reanalyses of the data continued to indicate that treatment programs were more effective with higher-risk prisoners than with lower-risk prisoners (mean effect size for higher-risk prisoners was .11 compared to .02 for lower-risk prisoners).

Another method used to estimate the risk level of the sample for a particular study was put forth by Lipsey (1992). In conducting his meta-analysis, Lipsey coded each study to represent the proportion of the sample that was higher-risk defined as either being processed in the justice system or having a history of criminal behavior. Findings indicated that if the majority of the sample was at higher risk, larger effect sizes were noted; however, this difference was small and nonsignificant. Lipsey (1992) does note that the possibility of such a relationship deserves further scrutiny in subsequent analyses.

One such analysis that bears upon the empirical validity of the risk principle was completed by Lipsey and Wilson (1998). This study reviewed data from 200 studies on serious offenders. The authors further disaggregated the data by setting (institutional versus noninstitutional). Findings from programs in noninstitutional settings indicated

that treatment effects were larger when "all" the offenders had a prior record compared to those studies where "most" of the sample had a prior record. When analyzing the data for institutionalized offenders, no effect of offender characteristics was noted. The authors noted that this might be attributable to reduced variation in the criminal history characteristics of institutionalized individuals. Ultimately, the authors concluded that their research on 200 studies of correctional interventions with serious offenders supported the risk principle (Lipsey and Wilson, 1998).

Three meta-analyses conducted by Dowden and Andrews (1999a, 1999b and 2000) reviewed the impact of adhering to the risk principle on program effectiveness in reducing criminal recidivism. In these three studies, an aggregate sample approach to coding adherence to the risk principle was used. This methodology was used by Lipsey (1992) and involves coding a study as including higher-risk cases if the majority of the sample had penetrated the justice system or had a prior record for criminal behavior at the time of the study. In all three studies, a program was coded as adhering to the risk principle if the majority of the sample was at higher risk.

Andrews and Dowden (1999) reported on the results from a meta-analysis of 26 studies of correctional programs for female prisoners. Programs that adhered to the risk principle had an average effect size of .19 while those programs that did not adhere to the risk principle increased recidivism (average effect size -.04). Dowden and Andrews (1999) investigated this same relationship with a sample of 229 studies that reported on the effects of correctional interventions with prisoners. This meta-analysis revealed an average effect size of .13 for programs that adhered to the risk principle versus an average effect size of .03 for those programs that did not adhere to the risk principle.

Finally, Dowden and Andrews (2000) investigated the impact of adherence to the risk principle on violent reoffending. A total of 35 studies were reviewed in this meta-analysis, which indicated that while the programs that adhered to the risk principle were slightly more effective than those that did not adhere to the risk principle (average effect size .09 versus .04), this difference was not statistically significant.

A meta-analysis of drug courts conducted by Lowenkamp, Holsinger and Latessa (2003) reveals a similar trend. This study reviewed 33 independent effect sizes from 22 studies. Using the aggregate method of coding for risk, the authors found drug court programs to be twice as effective in reducing recidivism when the majority of the sample had an indication of a prior record.

Also of interest are two meta-analyses that focus on reviewing the impact of school-based intervention programs. The first, conducted by Wilson, Gottfredson and Najaka (2002), reviewed the findings of 165 studies of school-based intervention programs aimed at reducing conduct problems. This meta-analysis found that programs that targeted high-risk populations were nearly three times as effective as those that targeted the general school population. The authors concluded that school-based interventions should be behavioral and should target higher-risk students rather than the general student population.

The second study, conducted by Wilson, Lipsey and Derzon (2003), investigated the affects of school-based intervention programs on aggressive behavior. Wilson et al. (2003) identified 221 studies of interest for this meta-analysis. The authors conducted analyses based on the risk-level of the sample in the study. Four categories of risk were created and used for subanalyses.

Interestingly, the effect sizes, indicating reductions in aggressive behavior, were related to the risk-level of the sample (Wilson, Lipsey and Derzon, 2003). The largest effect sizes were noted for studies with samples that had a history of aggressive behavior and were higher risk. The average effect size for the aggressive, high risk samples was four times as large as the effect size noted for general population samples. This impact of risk on effect size continues to hold even after controlling for other relevant variables in a multiple regression model.

Finally, a study by Lowenkamp and Latessa (2002) investigated the relationship between treatment effectiveness and risk level for over 50 community-based residential programs in Ohio. The results of this study indicated that the programs increased the recidivism rate of low-risk parolees relative to the comparison group. Further, substantial reductions in recidivism, ranging from 10 percent to 30 percent, were noted when looking at program effectiveness with high-risk parolees only. Again, it should be noted that none of these analyses compared effect sizes by racial demographics.

Summary of the Risk Principle

Existing research clearly provides empirical support for the risk principle or the notion that higher-risk prisoners should be targeted for treatment. It is with these prisoners that the greatest reductions in recidivism should be expected. In addition, some studies indicate that exposing lower-risk prisoners to programming increases recidivism (Andrews and Dowden, 1999). Yet, evidence for the risk principle is not seen in every individual study (Gaes, Flanagan, Motiuk and Stewart, 1999) or every meta-analysis (Lipsey, 1992; Dowden and Andrews, 2000). Nonetheless, as Cullen (2002) noted, while some contrary results do exist, overall, the evidence from research on correctional

interventions provides empirical support for the risk principle. This empirical support comes from studies on adults in the correctional system (Andrews, Bonta and Hoge, 1990), juveniles in the correctional system (Andrews et al., 1990; Lipsey and Wilson, 1998; Dowden and Andrews, 1999b), school-based interventions (Wilson et al., 2002; Wilson et al., 2003), adults in drug courts (Lowenkamp et al., 2003) and programming for female prisoners (Andrews and Dowden, 1999). There is not much empirical support from studies of high risk African-American males released from adult correctional facilities.

The Need Principle

The need principle states that to be effective, correctional interventions should assess and target criminogenic needs (Andrews, Bonta and Hoge, 1990; Andrews and Bonta, 1998; Gendreau, 1996). Criminogenic needs refer to risk factors that can change over time as opposed to static risk factors that do not change over time (Bonta, 1996). Criminogenic needs or dynamic risk factors would include antisocial attitudes, antisocial associates, antisocial personality (impulsivity, hostility, lack of empathy), educational and vocational achievement or status, familial relations and substance abuse (Andrews and Bonta, 1998). The importance of these risk factors has been confirmed by prior research (Simourd and Andrews, 1994; Gendreau, Little and Goggin, 1996; Lipsey and Derzon, 1998; Cottle, Lee and Heilbrun, 2001; and Jones-Hubbard and Pratt, 2002). This research has also generated a list of factors that, when targeted, are ineffective in reducing recidivism (Dowden and Andrews, 1999b; Gendreau et al., 1996). These ineffective targets include: medical needs, self-esteem, physical activity, discipline,

artistic and creative abilities, stress, anxiety and other vague emotional problems (Gendreau, 1996; Gendreau et al., 1996; Dowden and Andrews, 1999b).

Inquiries into the effectiveness of correctional programs, while not directly testing the need principle, do provide information to evaluate whether the need principle would hold up to empirical testing. Several meta-analyses report on types of treatment delivered or the treatment targets of particular programs (Andrews et al., 1990). These treatment types or targets are used to create groups of intervention programs for analysis purposes. If the groups of programs that use a treatment type or treatment targets that are consistent with the need principle show greater treatment effects than those programs that target noncriminogenic needs, support for the need principle would be found. There are several meta-analyses that review the impacts of focusing on different treatment targets on recidivism.

While Andrews et al. (1990) used the need principle in defining appropriate programs, it was not possible to separate the effects of adhering to the need principle from other characteristics that are used to define appropriate treatment programs. Andrews and Bonta (1998), however, reporting on additional analyses, indicated that those programs where a majority of their targets were criminogenic reduced recidivism (mean phi coefficient = .25; n = 121) while programs where the majority of targets were noncriminogenic had no effect on recidivism (phi coefficient = .00; n = 173).

Dowden and Andrews (2000) found support for the need principle when reviewing the impact of targeting criminogenic needs on violent reoffending. Programs that targeted more criminogenic than noncriminogenic needs had an average treatment

effect of .20 while programs that targeted more noncriminogenic needs than criminogenic had an average treatment effect of .00 (overall n = 52).

Using the Andrews et al. (1990) data and additional studies — Andrews (1999), Andrews and Bonta (1998), and Dowden (1998) — Dowden and Andrews (1999a) investigated the impact of the need principle among correctional programs that serve female prisoners. Using 26 unique studies that yielded 45 effect sizes, the authors found that the need principle was associated with a treatment effect over six times (.26 versus .04) as large as that found in programs that targeted more noncriminogenic needs than criminogenic (Andrews and Dowden 1999). Interestingly, Andrews and Dowden (1999) reviewed the impact of targeting particular criminogenic and noncriminogenic needs. Largely, they found that targeting criminogenic needs decreases recidivism. When reviewing the impact of targeting noncriminogenic needs, increases in recidivism were noted. Lipsey (1992) also found that programs that are most effective in reducing recidivism among prisoners are those that are behavioral, skill oriented and multimodal.

Gendreau, French and Taylor (2002) reported that programs that targeted more criminogenic than noncriminogenic needs did better than those that failed to meet this criterion. More specifically, programs that targeted one to three more criminogenic needs than noncriminogenic needs produced a slight increase in recidivism. Programs that targeted four to six more criminogenic needs than noncriminogenic needs demonstrated a substantial reduction in recidivism (r = .31).

Support for the need principle is also found in meta-analyses that review punishment-based programming (Gendreau and Goggin, 1996; Gendreau, Goggin, Cullen and Andrews, 2001). These studies found that punishment-based programming actually

increases or has very small reductions in recidivism. In comparing these findings to analyses of programs that target criminogenic needs (Lipsey, Chapman and Landenberger, 2001; Wilson, et al., 2000; Mayer, et al., 1986) it is apparent that treating at least certain criminogenic needs is much more effective in reducing recidivism than treating noncriminogenic needs.

Summary of the Need Principle

Research that allows for an assessment of the relevance of the need principle indicates that some needs are inappropriate for targeting when reductions in recidivism are the desired outcome. Correctional programs need to direct services at those needs that have been found to empirically relate to criminal behavior. When programs focus on noncriminogenic needs, the intervention fails to reduce offending behavior and, in some instances, can increase offending behavior (Dowden and Andrews, 1999b).

The Responsivity Principle

There are two aspects to the responsivity principle. The first aspect has to do with general learning styles of prisoners. The second aspect is related to specific prisoner characteristics that might impact an individual's ability to respond to the treatment being delivered such as anxiety, intelligence or reading ability (Cullen, 2002).

General Responsivity

The theory of correctional rehabilitation favors the use of programs based on behavioral, cognitive behavioral and social learning theories (Cullen, 2002). The reason for this is the presumption that most behavior is learned and supported or discouraged by the consequences of behavior and one's attitudes, values and beliefs about a particular behavior (Andrews and Bonta, 1998). In order to retrain prisoners to exhibit prosocial

behaviors, the prisoners must be given the opportunity to learn behaviors in a way that is consistent with the aforementioned theories. If this is accurate, one would presume to find that programs based on such theories would be the most effective in reducing criminal behavior.

Garrett's (1985) review of 126 study findings on correctional interventions for prisoners determined that behavioral programs, compared to psychodynamic, life skills-based and "other" programs, were the most effective in reducing recidivism. In a review of programs based on social learning theory, Mayer et al. (1986) found that the programs were able to significantly impact recidivism and other aberrant behaviors and attitudes. Wilson, et al. (2000) investigated the impacts of cognitive behavioral programs and found that all but two of the studies analyzed demonstrated a reduction of offending behavior. Similarly, Lipsey, Chapman and Landenberger (2001) found that only one of the cognitive behavioral programs reviewed failed to reduce criminal behavior. Redondo et al. (2001) reviewed studies on correctional interventions in several European countries and also found that behavioral and cognitive-behavioral programs were more effective in reducing recidivism than nonbehavioral, diversion, penal theory and therapeutic community programs.

Finally, research on special populations of prisoners also indicates the importance of general responsivity. Andrews and Dowden (1999) found this principle to be related to effectiveness when intervening with female prisoners. The importance of this principle when providing interventions to violent prisoners (Dowden and Andrews, 2000) and sex offenders (Gallagher et al., 2000; and Polizzi et al., 1999) has also been found.

Specific Responsivity

The other aspect of the responsivity principle relates to specific prisoner characteristics that may impact how an individual interacts with a particular mode of service delivery or the characteristics of the individual delivering the services. Specific responsivity focuses on "fine tuning" the delivery of services in such a way that prisoners are best able to respond to the intervention (Cullen, 2002). Andrews et al. (1990) reviewed a number of studies that demonstrated the importance of specific responsivity. They demonstrated that programs can be more effective when taking into consideration the motivation, maturity and anxiety level of prisoners when matching them to caseworkers or programs. Recent research (Jones-Hubbard, 2002; Stageberg, Wilson and Moore, 2001) has continued to identify responsivity characteristics (e.g., history of sexual abuse) that impact participants' responsiveness to programming.

Summary of the Responsivity Principle

The empirical research on the responsivity principle indicates strong support for both the general and specific aspects of this principle. Programs that use modeling, role-playing, problem solving, graduated practice of learned behaviors and/or are rooted in social learning, behavioral or cognitive-behavioral theories have been demonstrated to be the most effective as indicated by the responsivity principle. Similarly, a review of studies that allow for a comparison of effectiveness based on prisoner characteristics and treatment modality or caseworker characteristics also indicates the importance of specific responsivity.

While the human service, risk, need and responsivity principles are the overarching principles of the theory of correctional rehabilitation, other factors are

implicated in this theory. Given the necessity of service delivery and the types of services delivered, factors related to program implementation, program management, staff characteristics, quality assurance and other internal characteristics are deemed important in the theory of correctional rehabilitation. The following section outlines some of these characteristics and reviews the body of empirical literature on their relationship with treatment effectiveness.

Other Factors

In addition to the human service, risk, need and responsivity principles, Gendreau (1996) outlines eight additional principles of effective interventions. These principles state that:

1. Programs should be intensive and behavioral in nature.
2. Behavioral programs should focus on criminogenic needs.
3. Programs should match characteristics of prisoners and staff.
4. Program contingencies and behavioral strategies should be enforced in a fair manner, should be under the control of the staff, and should utilize positive reinforcement more so than punishment (ratio of 4:1).
5. Staff should be able to relate to prisoners in interpersonally sensitive ways and should be trained, supervised and evaluated. Staff should be selected based on interpersonal skills and values associated with effective counseling.
6. Programming and activities should be designed to disrupt criminal networks.
7. Programs should provide relapse prevention or booster sessions.
8. Programs should refer parolees to quality community-based programming when necessary and available.

The human service, risk, need and responsivity principles mentioned previously are interwoven through these eight specific principles of effective interventions. As such, a review of all of these principles would be redundant; however, there are some finer

details that should be highlighted. In summary, these eight principles underscore the importance of delivering interventions that are of sufficient duration and intensity, that are delivered by appropriate staff that are adequately trained and supervised, that include aftercare and/or booster sessions, that provide referrals to community-based programming when necessary and that enforce programming contingencies and reinforcements in a consistent and judicious manner. Another factor that deserves attention and is written about by Gendreau, Goggin and Smith (1999) and Lipsey (1999a) is program implementation.

Gendreau (1996) recommends that programs occupy 40 percent to 70 percent of the prisoners' time and last in duration between three and nine months. In his research, Lipsey (1992) noted that programs that were longer in duration and found to provide larger amounts of meaningful contact were associated with increased effectiveness. Lipsey (1999a) also found that when considering programs for prisoners, programs that were six months or more in duration were more effective than those with shorter durations. In a more specific analysis, Lipsey (1999b) indicated that programs that lasted 18 or more weeks in duration, had distinct treatment sessions (rather than continuous as in milieu therapy or therapeutic communities), had a mean number of contact hours greater than five hours per week and did not have degradation in treatment delivery were more effective in reducing recidivism than those programs that failed to meet these criteria.

Similarly, Andrews and Dowden (1999) found that programs that were of adequate dosage were more effective than programs that were not. More specifically, programs that were categorized as being delivered in an adequate dosage were associated

with an average treatment effect of .22. Programs that failed to deliver interventions in an adequate dosage were associated with an average effect size of .09.

Research from other meta-analyses also indicates the importance of treatment intensity and duration on program effectiveness. Redondo et al. (2001) found relationships between program intensity and duration when reviewing the effects of correctional programs on recidivism in European countries. Lipsey and Wilson (1995) also found a relationship between program intensity and duration when reviewing studies of correctional programs for serious offenders.

Gendreau (1996) also recommended that programs be delivered by staff that are adequately trained, supervised and have qualities and characteristics of effective counselors. Gendreau and Ross (1979) reviewed the literature on correctional programs and came to the conclusion that staff qualities and abilities, and the degree to which staff deliver the actual treatment, are important to the success of a program. Quay (1977) also made such a statement when outlining issues to be considered in evaluating correctional interventions. Several individual studies indicate the importance of staff characteristics in producing favorable results (Andrews and Kiessling, 1980; Jesness, 1975; Jesness et al., 1975; Palmer 1965; Warren, 1971; and Palmer, 1973). Palmer (1991 and 1994) reviewed several studies on the relationship between staff characteristics and offender outcomes and came to the same conclusion: the characteristics of staff can have an important impact on a program's ability to reduce recidivism. Finally, Andrews and Dowden (1999) found that having trained workers that are clinically supervised increased the effectiveness of correctional programs. In their study, programs that had trained workers were over three times as effective as those programs that did not, and those

programs that had clinical supervision of workers were almost five times as effective as the programs that were categorized as lacking clinical supervision of workers.

Gendreau (1996) indicated that once formal treatment has ended, programs should provide relapse prevention to increase treatment effectiveness. The importance of relapse-prevention programming has been stressed as an aspect of substance abuse treatment (Prendergast, Anglin and Wellisch, 1995) and sex offender treatment (Maletzky, 1991). Such programming can also be adapted for all types of prisoners to reinforce skills and behavioral changes made throughout programming. Research in this area has largely focused on the impact of relapse prevention on substance abusing behavior and indicates the importance of including aftercare as part of treatment. For example, see Wexler, Melnick, Lowe and Peters (1999), and Martin, Butzin, Saum and Inciardi (1999). Both of these studies indicated that those parolees that completed aftercare were substantially and significantly less likely to engage in drug-using behavior and/or engage in subsequent criminal behavior.

The last characteristic of effective programs to be discussed is program implementation. Implementation encompasses organizational factors, program factors, the change agent and staff factors (Gendreau, Goggin and Smith, 1999). While these factors are based on the clinical experience of Gendreau, et al. (1999), additional research on implementation has been provided by Lipsey (1999a). Lipsey found that strong implementation was important for the development of quality institutional and noninstitutional programs.

Summary of Principles of Effective Intervention

There are several characteristics of programs that make up the theory of correctional rehabilitation covered in this section. First, programs should focus on higher-risk prisoners. In addition, treatment and supervision duration and intensity should be commensurate with the prisoners' risk levels. Programs should be behavioral in nature and of adequate dosage. Programming should assess and target criminogenic needs. In order to reach the largest groups of prisoners, programs should employ behavioral, cognitive-behavioral or social-learning models that utilize modeling, role-playing and graduated practicing of acquired skills. Programs should also provide aftercare and brokerage of services and should have a staff that is selected based on desired characteristics and adequate training and supervision. It is theorized that these factors are capable of explaining substantial portions of the heterogeneity observed across correctional interventions (Cullen, 2002). The next section discusses how several researchers have measured adherence to the theory of correctional rehabilitation.

Measuring Program Quality

The principles reviewed in the previous sections have informed the development of correctional program checklists like the Correctional Program Assessment Inventory (CPAI). In 2002, Gendreau, French and Taylor provided an update of these principles that more closely linked the CPAI to the principles of effective interventions. These principles are listed below.

1. Organizational Culture: Organization should be receptive to change. Organizations should be characterized by low staff turnover, staff training and sharing of information.

2. Program Implementation and Maintenance: The program implementation should be based on the need for the service in that location and a review of relevant literature to identify the most promising interventions.

3. Management/Staff Characteristics: The director of the program should have a post-Bachelor's degree in the helping professions with several years of experience in working with prisoners. The program director should be involved with the supervision, training and hiring of staff.

4. Client Risk/Need Practices: Prisoners' risks and needs should be assessed and targeted with the interventions provided.

5. Program Characteristics: The most important characteristics are that the program is behavior based and targets criminogenic needs of high-risk prisoners.

6. Core Correctional Practice: Therapists should engage in anticriminal modeling, should use effective reinforcement and punishment and should have problem-solving skills, motivational-interviewing skills and interpersonal-relationship skills.

7. Interagency Communication: The agency engages in advocacy and brokerage, where appropriate.

8. Evaluation: The agency conducts program audits and parolee satisfaction surveys and follows the recidivism rates of the parolees served by the program.

These principles are similar to those found on the CPAI and initially shaped the content of the CPAI. The CPAI was originally developed by Gendreau and Andrews (1994) and provides a standardized way of assessing the extent to which a correctional program adheres to the theory of correctional rehabilitation. This instrument has been identified as the standard in program quality assessment by some researchers (Van Voorhis and Brown, 1996).

The initial version of the CPAI contains 65 items across 6 substantive areas. These areas are (1) program implementation, (2) client preservice assessment, (3) characteristics of the program, (4) characteristics of practices and staff, (5) evaluation and

(6) miscellaneous. Each section contains anywhere from 6 to 22 items. Each item is scored based on the presence or absence of what it is the item is measuring.

Previous Research Using the CPAI

To date, hundreds of assessments with the CPAI have been conducted on correctional programs in the United States and Canada. Data indicate that, overall, most programs are in need of improvement with many programs failing (scoring less than 50 percent), and only a few scoring in the very satisfactory range (70 percent to 100 percent). Holsinger and Latessa (1999), reviewed the scores of 51 programs assessed with the CPAI. The programs, on average, scored 56 percent on the CPAI. Most programs (60 percent) scored in the satisfactory but needs improvement or unsatisfactory range with only 12 percent scoring in the very satisfactory range.

Similarly, Matthews, Hubbard and Latessa (2001) reported on the CPAI assessments of 86 correctional programs. The data reported by Matthews et al. (2001) indicated again that a small percentage of the programs (10 percent) scored very satisfactory, 54 percent scored in the satisfactory or needs improvement range and 35 percent scored in the unsatisfactory range.

Reviews of CPAI scores by other researchers have indicated a similar trend. For example, Gendreau and Goggin (2000) reported on an early research effort in 1991 that assessed 101 correctional programs. These programs produced a mean CPAI score of 25 percent. Only 10 percent of the programs in this review received a satisfactory score. Another analysis of CPAI scores by Hoge, Leschied and Andrews (1993) summarized the CPAI scores of 135 programs. This review again noted an average program integrity

score that was failing (35 percent). Only ten percent of the programs in Hoge et al.'s review received a CPAI score of satisfactory or better.

In an assessment of the Wayne County, Michigan Juvenile Detention Facility, Taylor, Elam, and Minifee (2004) found that a fairly new, state of the art detention facility developed with ongoing assistance from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) surprisingly received only average scores in 2 of the 6 substantive areas. While the scores in the remaining 4 areas were very satisfactory, the findings also supported the general trend found in Gendreau and Goggin's (2000) review.

While the programs assessed in these studies typically did poorly overall, some areas assessed by the CPAI were better than others, indicating that programs have some integrity in some areas. In addition, while the overall means were in the 50 percent range for the United States samples, some variability exists in the overall scores and the specific-area scores. An analysis of 250 CPAI assessments (137 of which were used in two articles above and 123 were unpublished) indicates an average of 53 percent with a range from 25 percent to 80 percent and a standard deviation of 11.

Given the vast number of CPAI assessments completed, it is becoming clear that the field of corrections has begun to realize the importance of program-integrity assessment. However, the void that still exists in this area is empirically linking program integrity, as measured by a standardized assessment like the CPAI, to program outcomes. As Gendreau, Goggin and Smith (2001:260 fn 17) noted, "The ultimate validity, based on correlations between the CPAI scores and the recidivism rates associated with the programs being assessed, is a long way off." The only research published to date that

uses the CPAI as a predictor of success rates of prisoners that were served by the assessed programs are those by Gray (1997), Holsinger (1999) and Nesovic (2003).

Gray (1997) used a 20-item abbreviated version of the CPAI to assess program quality from 67 previously published evaluation studies on community-based interventions. The correlation between this abbreviated version of the CPAI and program outcome was 0.41.

Holsinger (1999) investigated the relationship between program integrity and program outcome for nine community-based correctional facilities in Ohio. The results of his analysis indicated that the CPAI score was a significant predictor of many postrelease outcome measures including re-arrest, arrest for a personal offense and a new adjudication. The analysis conducted in this research used pooled logistic regression where the CPAI total score was entered into the equation predicting individual-level outcomes.

Nesovic (2003), using a modified version of the CPAI, scored correctional programs based on information reported in published outcome evaluations. This study will contribute to this body of research by assessing the impact of correctional program quality on the success of African-American male parolees in a selected county in the State of Michigan.

Summary and Conclusion

The research reviewed in this chapter clearly illustrates the importance of identifying the underlying causes of crime, explanations that are relevant to African-American males and characteristics of effective correctional programs. While scholars argue that many mainstream efforts have not resulted in successful outcomes for African-

American male offenders, early reviews of cutting edge, evidence based correctional interventions indicate that something does, in fact, work in reducing recidivism for the overall correctional populations. Subsequent reviews of correctional interventions focused on identifying what types of treatment were most effective.

An important body of research by scholars served to provide a theory of correctional rehabilitation that identifies what types of programming should work in reducing recidivism and what types of programs should fail in reducing recidivism (Cullen, 2002). The latest reviews of correctional interventions have begun to investigate the connection between program integrity and program effectiveness in an effort to explain greater proportions of heterogeneity observed in correctional programs' impact on recidivism.

This empirical and theoretical research led to the development of the theory of correctional rehabilitation. The principles of this theory have reshaped the efforts to measure correctional program quality and likelihood of effectiveness. These efforts have produced the CPAI and other correctional program checklists, which are designed to objectively measure program integrity—the degree to which programs adhere to this theory—in a standardized way.

This study seeks to improve our understanding of the relationship between measures of effective program implementation and correctional program effectiveness for African-American males and to improve upon existing efforts aimed at measuring program quality. In this process, this study will also be applying and testing the theory of correctional rehabilitation among a population of African-American male prisoners

released to a community-based correctional treatment program in the State of Michigan. The next chapter will outline the methods used to answer these important questions.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

Introduction

This chapter provides detailed information on the question this research sets out to address, the data that will be used to answer these questions, and the methods that will be employed in collecting data, creating measures, and analyzing the data. The data for this study came from a larger research project related to the Michigan Department of Corrections' (MDOC) Michigan Prisoner ReEntry Initiative (MPRI). While the measures and methods of data collection are fixed, the expansive nature of the project for the MDOC will allow for the studying of many important issues related to program integrity and the impact on African-American male parolees.

The MPRI began in 2003 with a planning and development process. Designed to be a comprehensive effort that focuses on all offenders, including those presenting a high risk of re-offending, MPRI has provided funding to develop, implement and enhance reentry strategies that seek to increase public safety through reducing the extent to which offenders commit subsequent crimes and reduce correctional cost through their not returning to prison. The mission of the MPRI is to enhance public safety by implementing a seamless system of services for prisoners from the time of their entry to prison through their transition, community reintegration, and aftercare in their communities. The initial implementation, funded in part through the JEHT foundation, began in 2005 and included 8 pilot sites covering 18 counties. The initiative expanded statewide in 2007 and includes 18 reentry sites covering all 83 Michigan counties.

The advantages of this potential dataset and study are many and lead to several contributions to the literature on measuring program integrity and specifying the exact nature of the relationship between program integrity and program effectiveness for African-American male offenders. This study will conduct an analysis between measures of effective program implementation and program effectiveness for African-American male parolees. Again, the principles for measuring effective program implementation are listed below.

1. Organizational Culture: Organization should be receptive to change. Organizations should be characterized by low staff turnover, staff training and sharing of information.

2. Program Implementation and Maintenance: The program implementation should be based on the need for the service in that location and a review of relevant literature to identify the most promising interventions.

3. Management/Staff Characteristics: The director of the program should have a post-Bachelor's degree in the helping professions with several years of experience in working with prisoners. The program director should be involved with the supervision, training and hiring of staff.

4. Client Risk/Need Practices: Prisoners' risks and needs should be assessed and targeted with the interventions provided.

5. Program Characteristics: The most important characteristics are that the program is behavior based and targets criminogenic needs of high-risk prisoners.

6. Core Correctional Practice: Therapists should engage in anticriminal modeling, should use effective reinforcement and punishment and should have problem-solving skills, motivational-interviewing skills and interpersonal-relationship skills.

7. Interagency Communication: The agency engages in advocacy and brokerage, where appropriate.

8. Evaluation: The agency conducts program audits and parolee satisfaction surveys and follows the recidivism rates of the parolees served by the program.

Given the size of the research sample and the quality of the data, all of the items will be investigated in terms of their relationship with program-level outcome data. The items will be scored based solely on the MDOC's assessment of specific program characteristics. The substantive contributions of this research will assist in developing a better understanding of the relationship between program integrity and effectiveness for African-American male offenders.

Research Question

This study attempts to answer one basic question: Is there a relationship between program integrity and program effectiveness for African-American male parolees? Research does in fact indicate that certain types of interventions are quite effective in reducing recidivism. However, there is less literature that provides strong evidence of the empirical link between program integrity and program effectiveness. There is even a smaller body of literature that provides strong evidence of the empirical link between program integrity and program effectiveness for African-American male offenders. This study proposes to provide empirical analyses of the relationship between measures of effective program implementation and program effectiveness for African-American male offenders.

Methods

In order to answer the question listed above, secondary analysis was conducted on program integrity and program effectiveness data that were collected by the MDOC from one of its 18 MPRI correctional re-entry program sites. To collect and produce data on program integrity, MDOC staff and evaluation consultants conducted site visits to each reentry program site during summer 2007. Based on the presence, or lack thereof, of the

8 principles of effective program implementation, a correctional program score was produced for all 18 re-entry program sites by administering an assessment with a correctional program checklist. Information was gathered through interviews with individuals responsible for overseeing and coordinating the delivery of local correctional programs and reviewing correctional program materials. The site that scored the highest on the correctional program assessment was selected for inclusion in this study.

Additional measures were also developed that pertain to services provided to the offender and length of participation in the community based correctional treatment program. For every intake into one of these programs data pertaining to demographics, criminal history, and service needs were collected.

Comparing the recidivism rates of a treatment and comparison group in the selected reentry program site served as the measure of program effectiveness. The recidivism data are based on reincarceration rates computed between a 1-month to 2-year follow up period and were collected from the MDOC Offender Management Information System (OMNI) on offenders in the treatment and comparison group. Statistical analyses involve calculating Pearson Chi-Square values to test for significant differences between groups.

Sample

The sampling method for this research is fairly basic. The sample includes male parolees released to a high quality reentry program site funded by the MPRI in the State of Michigan that provides seamless re-entry services to MPRI designated parolees and parolees released to a low quality reentry program site in the same county that provides uncoordinated referrals for services to non-MPRI designated parolees. To be included in

the sample parolees had to be released to the reentry site between January 2006 and July 2007. This sampling method yielded a total of 522 male parolees; 100 parolees in the comparison group and 422 parolees in the experimental group. There were 59 African-Americans in the comparison group and 254 African-Americans in the experimental group; an adequate number to track over the 1- to 2-year follow up period.

The comparison cases were drawn from a larger sampling frame and were selected based on county of conviction, sex, risk level, and crime type. The descriptive statistics on demographic characteristics for the experimental and comparison group are contained in Table 3-2. Data reported in this table indicate that the comparison group was significantly younger than the treatment group (38 versus 46 years old). The two groups were equal in terms of racial composition. While the two groups differed in terms of the specific crimes that were committed most participants had been incarcerated more than once prior to inclusion in this study.

The MPRI as the Experiment

The Michigan Prisoner ReEntry Initiative (MPRI) is focused sharply on crime reduction. Michigan's prison population grew by 2,142 inmates in 2002, continuing 19 consecutive years of annual growth that nearly tripled the number of incarcerated offenders in the State prison system from year-end 1983 to year-end 2002 (Michigan Department of Corrections, 2008). The forecast was for more of the same through 2003 and beyond unless decisive action was taken. In response, the planning for MPRI was launched in October 2003 beginning with a complete review of the literature on what works to reduce crime and culminating in a strategy for building a statewide, seamless system of risk-reduction services and supervision for every prisoner.

Table 3-1. Number of Participants by Group Membership

Program	Comparison Group	Treatment Group	Total
MPRI Reentry Site	100	422	522

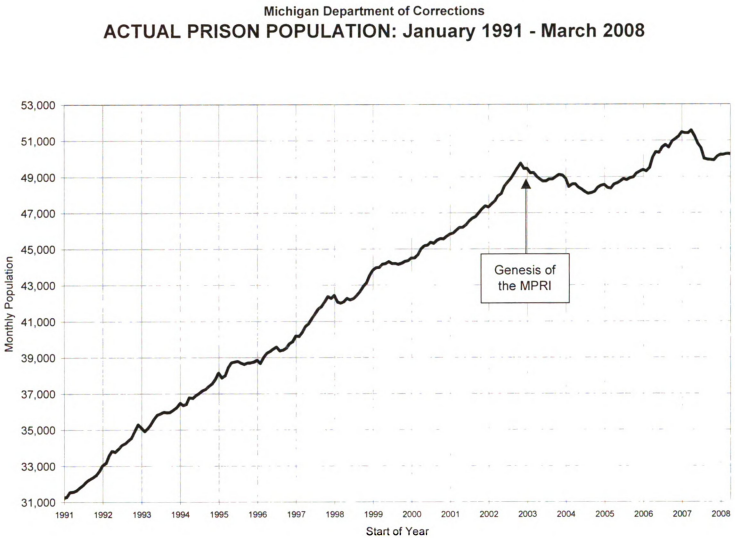
Table 3-2. Descriptive Statistics for MPRI Reentry Site by Group Membership

Variable	Comparison Group	Treatment Group
	Mean (N)	Mean (N)
Age (Average Age in Years)	38 (100)	46 (422)
Race	% (N)	% (N)
African-American	59 (59)	60 (254)
White	37 (37)	37 (155)
Other	4 (4)	3 (13)
	% (N)	% (N)
Prior Incarceration (Yes)	96 (96)	100 (422)

The method of delivery of correctional services central to the MPRI represents a fundamental departure from the historical punitive practices mentioned in chapter two. Traditional correctional practices were generally applied to all offenders and often based upon security classification. The new model is individually focused with levels of services, supervision, and intervention based upon a systematic assessment of individual levels of risk and criminogenic needs as identified by MDOC's ecological assessment instrument. The MPRI model involves decision making at seven points during three critical phases: custody (Phase One), release (Phase Two), and community supervision/discharge (Phase Three).

An integral component of the three phases of the model is the Transition Accountability Plan (TAP). During each phase of the MPRI model Transition

Figure 3-1. Michigan Prison Population Trend



Accountability Plans (TAPs) are created for each offender. This tool directly describes for the offender, the staff, and the community exactly what is expected and needed for the offender to achieve success. During the three phases of the MPRI transition process, the TAP is created, revised, or updated at four points: at offender prison intake, at the point of the parole decision, when the offender returns to the community, and before the offender's discharge.

Phase One-Getting Ready

The custody/institutional phase describes the details of events and responsibilities which occur during the offender's imprisonment from admission until the point of the parole decision and involves the first two major decision points: assessment and classification and inmate programming. The first point involves using the COMPAS to measure the offender's risks, needs, and strengths. This information is used to create the offender's first TAP (Case Management Plan). The offender's first TAP outlines the expectations for the prison term. The material in the TAP is dynamic and changing to facilitate transitional planning. This information is then used to assign the offender to programming aimed towards reducing risk, addressing their needs, and building on their strengths.

Phase Two-Going Home

The transition to the community or re-entry phase begins approximately two-four months prior to the offender's target release date. During this phase, specific re-entry plans are created to address the offender's housing, employment, addiction, and mental health needs. As in Phase One, there are two important decision points: inmate release

preparation and release decision making. At this point, the offender's second TAP is created. The second TAP presents the offender's reentry plan. This document outlines the specific terms and conditions of the offender's release to the community. The inmate release preparation point involves the creation of a public-safety-focused parole plan. The goal is to improve the parole release supervision process for the offender and to make sure that the services, supports, and supervision are in place to maximize the offender's chance for success.

Phase Three-Staying Home

The final phase of the model is the Community and Discharge Phase. This phase begins when the inmate is released from prison and continues until discharge from parole supervision. During this phase, it is the responsibility of the ex-offender, the parole agent, human service providers, and the ex-offender's community support network to work together to address the factors that may lead to the offender's failure in the community. This phase includes the final three critical decision points of the re-entry process: supervision and services, revocation and decision making, and discharge from aftercare. During the supervision and services point, the ex-offender is provided flexible and firm supervision and needed services. Additionally, during this phase the offender's TAP is updated creating the offender's Parole Supervision Plan. This TAP outlines the supervision and services offenders will experience in the community. Next, graduated sanctions to respond to the ex-offenders behavior (should problems arise) may be employed during the violations process. During this phase, the offender's final TAP is created. This TAP includes the offenders plan for eventual discharge from parole. During the final point of the MPRI transition process, the community takes over

responsibility for continuing to work with offenders as they are finishing their parole supervision period.

The cornerstone of the MPRI model is the use of evidence based practices. During each phase, MPRI prison and community programs are to employ procedures and programs that are driven by evidence based practices; EBP provides specific guidelines for offender assessment, classification, programming, supervision, and release preparation that have been established through consistent findings in a variety of evaluations of correctional interventions and studies of offender reintegration and recidivism. These guidelines are specific as to the dosage, duration, and content of correctional interventions.

This study focuses in on phase three by looking at the outcomes of African-American male parolees that participated in the MPRI reentry program in a selected county in the State of Michigan.

Measures

The following sections describe the measures to be used in these analyses and the justification for such measures. The method and data used for the independent variables are presented followed by the method and data for the dependent variables.

Individual Level Measures

While this study is focused at the program-level, individual level measures were aggregated to control for differences across the two groups (treatment and comparison). The next several paragraphs discuss the relevant individual level measures.

Composite Risk Measure

Research indicates that services and supervision should be directed towards high-risk offenders (Andrews et al., 1990; Bonta, et al., 2000). In order to compare outcomes between from the treatment and comparison group and determine whether programs provided effective services to high-risk offenders, only high-risk offenders were included in the sample. Offenders were designated as high-risk by the Michigan parole board upon release.

Demographic Characteristics

Prior research has indicated differences in the effectiveness of programs based on the age of the participants (Redondo et al. 2001. Individual level age was defined as the number of years from month of birth to July 2008 when the data were extracted from the MDOC OMNI system.

Recidivism

The measure of recidivism used in this research will be return to a Michigan Correctional Facility for any reason (technical violation or new arrest). The decision to use this measure over others is based on the unreliable nature of arrest and conviction data available. While incarceration is a conservative measure of future criminality, the data on prison intakes is quite complete and easy to access and query from the MDOC OMNI system.

Program-level Measures

Some measures at the program-level were developed from aggregated offender level data however most of the measures were developed based on program-level

characteristics. This section discusses all of the program-level measures and how they were developed if they were created from individual level data.

Program Integrity Data

Program integrity was measured using a program checklist with concepts derived from a correctional program checklist. The checklist contained several items across the six substantive areas outlined below:

- Program implementation
- Client pre-service assessment
- Characteristics of the program
- Characteristics of practices and staff
- Evaluation
- Miscellaneous

Each section contains anywhere from 6 to 26 items. Each item was scored based on the presence or absence of what the item measured.

The items on the program checklist were scored in such a fashion that one point is assigned for each characteristic that is observed. The total number of points in each section was divided by the total number of questions in each section providing a percentage score for each section. To obtain the overall score, all points from all sections were added together and then divided by the total number of items. The following sections outline all of the areas and the intent of each area.

Program Implementation

How well a program is developed prior to implementation, how qualified is the program director, and the program director's involvement could be related to program effectiveness. Andrews (1999) states that this area is not necessarily that relevant to the assessment of a program's rehabilitative potential. However, an empirical analysis of this relationship may indicate otherwise. As such, measures from the program checklist will

be used to assess program implementation and determine its relationship with program effectiveness.

The focus of this section is to ascertain the program initiators' previous experience and training and how involved the program director is in the program. This section also assesses the need for the program, whether its values are congruent with those of the criminal justice community and the community-at-large, whether or not the program has sustainable funding, and the degree to which research and planning has figured into program design. These have all been previously identified as important factors relating to program success (Gendreau et al., 1999 and Lipsey, 1999a, 1999b).

Client Assessment

This section measures the types of clients accepted into the program, whether the program has relevant exclusionary criteria, and how offenders' risk, need, and responsivity are assessed.

Program Characteristics

The section given the most weight on the checklist assesses a correctional program's treatment characteristics. This is expected as meta-analyses and individual studies have indicated that the type of programming is certainly a substantial and significant predictor of program effectiveness. Items in this section will capture information pertaining to the quality of programming and supporting materials. As well, this section will measure the utilization of rewards and punishers, and the existence of booster sessions and aftercare. While the checklist's coverage of the program characteristics section is quite comprehensive, additional measures will be developed from data pertaining to offenders served in each program.

Staff Characteristics

Staff characteristics can greatly influence the integrity of the services being delivered. This is not a new development in correctional programming and was discussed by Quay (1977) over 25 years ago. In addition, research by Palmer (1991, 1994, and 1995) indicates that staff characteristics are related to individual outcomes. The staff characteristics section of the checklist measures how well staff members are trained, their experience, supervision, the extent of staff turnover, and the degree to which they are able to change the program.

Evaluation

The evaluation section of the checklist contains items that ascertain how well a program evaluates its services. This section measures internal audits and quality assurance processes and audit or quality assurance mechanisms for external service providers. This section also measures whether the program conducts outcome evaluations based on the offenders that are served by the program. Research conducted by Lipsey (1992) indicated that programs that have an involved researcher are more effective than programs that do not.

Miscellaneous Characteristics

The last section of the checklist measures the existence of several miscellaneous factors. The manner in which client records are kept and the existence of ethical guidelines are both evaluated. Program support and changes along with the existence of an advisory board are also measured in this section. Given the independent variables of previous meta-analyses, several additional measures may be developed from the COMPAS database. These measures include: the percentage of offenders that are

African-American males, whether the facility served a single sex or mixed population, the average age of offenders served by the program, how long the program has been in operation, and the size of the facility.

The preceding paragraphs outline the intended focus to operationalize the independent variables used in these analyses. The nature of the data allowed for analyses in the assessment of the relationship between program integrity and program efficacy for African-American male offenders. The next section details the methods and data that were utilized in developing the dependent variable in these analyses.

Dependent Variable

The aggregate measure of recidivism measures the difference in re-incarceration rates for any reason (technical violation or new criminal offense) between the treatment and comparison groups.

Data Collection

Data on the treatment and control groups were collected from the MDOC OMNI database system. Data on program integrity was collected through interviews with the program staff responsible for overseeing and coordinating the delivery of program services to returning MPRI prisoners. In addition, criminal history data and record checks for subsequent criminal behavior were also collected from the MDOC OMNI database.

Individual Level Data Collection

Data pertaining to demographic characteristics and county of conviction were extracted from the OMNI database. Criminal history data were also collected from the MDOC OMNI database.

Program Integrity Data Collection

Site visits were conducted at all 18 MPRI funded reentry program sites. During each visit, assessors conducted a survey of program staff responsible for overseeing and coordinating the delivery of MPRI programs and services. In addition, reviews of program materials such as treatment manuals, offender assessments, and other supporting materials were conducted. The correctional program checklist was scored for each site from the interviews with program staff and the review of supporting documentation. The site that was selected for this study scored the highest on the program integrity checklist.

These assessments were conducted between the months of April and September 2007. There may be a concern in that the programs may have changed substantially from FY 2006 (when a significant portion of the treatment group was served by the program) to 2007 when the checklist assessments took place. To address this issue, interviews with the program staff were conducted based on the program's operations as they existed during fiscal year 2006.

Analysis

To answer the research question stipulated earlier in this chapter several separate stages of statistical analyses were conducted. First, crosstabs between the experimental and comparison group were calculated to assess any difference in parolee recidivism. Second, crosstabs between the experimental and comparison group were calculated to assess any difference in African-American parolee outcomes. Third, a time series analysis was completed to assess any difference in time to failure between the experimental and comparison group. Last, a time series analysis was completed to assess

any difference in time to failure between the experimental and comparison group for African-American parolees.

Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has provided information on the methods utilized to conduct this research. Information and data on the sampling methods, samples, data collection, data sources, measures and analyses were provided. The proposed analyses for this research focus on answering the research question listed earlier in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

The analyses conducted for this dissertation focus on answering the question: Is there a relationship between program integrity and program effectiveness for African-American male parolees? This chapter presents the results of the analyses conducted to answer this research question. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section provides the results from the analyses of program quality on treatment effectiveness. The second section provides the results from the analyses of program quality and treatment effectiveness on time to failure. The third section provides a summary of the chapter.

Program Quality Measures

The program checklist focused on six areas. The analyses for each section are reported here and provides the results of the descriptive analyses related to parolee outcomes. Each section discusses the survey-based items and the presence or lack thereof within the experimental and comparison programs.

Program Implementation

It has been argued that program implementation is extremely important to the effectiveness of correctional programs (Gendreau et al., 1999). Programs that are effectively implemented have adequate mechanisms in place to deliver the services associated with the program, have leadership that is involved in the program, and support from the community that they serve. The impact of program implementation has been verified empirically by Lipsey (1999a). The following section reviews the results of the

qualitative analyses of the program implementation section of the program checklist and the survey items that measure similar factors.

The experimental program received points for program initiation, literature review and research, designer qualifications, selecting staff, training staff, staff meetings, supervising staff, and being valued by the community at large and criminal justice community. The experimental program had a director that had adequate experience in working with offenders and was involved in coordinating service delivery to offenders. A structured review and implementation of the literature was evident in the programs that were being implemented. The comparison program did not receive points for these areas because returning prisoners were not provided with coordinated programming.

Client Pre-Service Assessment

The client pre-service assessment area measures how well a program assesses the risk, need, and responsivity factors of clients. This information should drive targeting of offenders and should identify treatment targets and responsivity factors to consider in assigning case managers and services. While prior research has looked at the impact of adhering to the risk, need, and responsivity principles, this section of the program checklist and survey items measured whether the program gathers the information that will allow staff to adhere to the aforementioned principles.

Again, the parolees in the comparison and treatment groups were all considered high-risk by the Michigan parole board upon release. So, while both programs should have received appropriate clients, only the experimental program collected information on important risk and need factors during the prisoner's community transition process. The experimental program also used a standardized risk and need assessment instrument

to collect risk and need information; the comparison program did not. While the experimental program showed evidence of using a standardized risk and need assessment tool, it was not evident that processes were in place to assess responsivity. In fact, when asked about responsivity, staff did not define it correctly nor were they able to clearly articulate the methods that were in place to delivery responsive programming.

These concerns all bear on the assessment practices of the program and can be thought of as measuring a common component of programming: how offenders are targeted for entry into the program and assessed once they enter the program. Using a standardized risk and need assessment for initial assessments and reassessments prior to termination are important aspects of a correctional program.

Program Characteristics

The characteristics of the actual programming provided by an agency should be strongly tied to effectiveness. Specifically, a program that uses an effective treatment model, varies intensity by risk and need, uses rewards and punishers to change behavior, and trains offenders in new skills and allows them opportunity to practice those skills should be more effective than programs that do not. The experimental program showed evidence of implementing treatment interventions that had great promise to provide offenders with new skills. These programs were established through a competitive bidding process that allowed the reentry site to purchase high quality programming services from local providers. Again the comparison program lacked these programs.

The experimental program also collaborated with parole agents through the use of collaborative case management to track the offenders' whereabouts while in the program. While promise was seen in the experimental program, there was no requirement for

offenders to stay engaged in programming for three to nine months, nor to involve offenders in treatment for 40 to 70 percent of their time as suggested by the literature. In addition it was not clear if parolees were allowed an opportunity to provide input regarding programming or if there was a consistent use of appropriate rewards. It should also be noted that good quality aftercare was not provided by the experimental or comparison programs and parole terminations were typically not based on successfully completing suggested programming.

Staff Characteristics

Quay (1977) argued that the effectiveness of programming could not be evaluated without considering several factors of the agency providing the intervention. One of these factors is who is delivering the intervention. This notion, that staff characteristics impact the effectiveness of an intervention, is also reflected in the correctional program checklist. This section reviews the items on the staff section of the checklist.

The experimental program received points for hiring or subcontracting with staff that meet the educational requirement for the provision of treatment and points for providing structured training on the interventions used in the program. Because the MPRI is fairly new, the experimental program did not receive points for having staff that met the experiential requirement for providing services to parolees.

Evaluation

It is theorized that effective programs consistently deliver the intervention that underlies the program. To do this, quality assurance measures need to be in place. It is also theorized that programs that evaluate what they do know whether the intervention is having the intended consequences. Previous research has indicated the involvement of a

researcher is associated with increased effectiveness. This relationship is possibly due to the direction that outcome evaluations can provide for a program in terms of reshaping the intervention to become more effective if the treatment effects desired are not initially observed.

The experimental program received points for internal and external quality assurance procedures and conducting client satisfaction surveys but did not receive points for conducting in program reassessments and outcome evaluations. Again, none of these practices were a part of the comparison program. Efforts at evaluating whether the program has intended consequences on the offenders that have participated in the program need to be enhanced in order to help practitioners identify program areas that need to be improved. Without investing in ongoing evaluation, it will be hard to improve upon the outcomes that were uncovered through this research project.

Miscellaneous Characteristics

This section covers miscellaneous characteristics that do not fall into one of the other categories. Measures include the capacity of the program, the successful termination rate, having ethical guidelines, staff turnover, whether the facility served males and females, how long the program has been in operation, and the percentage of offenders that were female. The experimental program only received points for having ethical guidelines. The other characteristics were not evident during the review of this particular reentry program site. Again the comparison program did not receive any points.

Treatment Effectiveness

When comparing the number of parolees in the experimental group that returned to prison with the number of parolees in the comparison group that returned to prison there was no statistical significance. The Pearson Chi-Square reported a value of .182 and the significance was .670.

When comparing the number of African-American parolees in the experimental group that returned to prison with the number of African-American parolees in the comparison group that returned to prison there was no statistical significance. The Pearson Chi-Square reported a value of .008 and the significance was .929. Table 4.1 provides the return to prison rate outcomes for the comparison and treatment groups.

When comparing the number of white parolees in the experimental group that returned to prison with the number of white parolees in the comparison group that returned to prison, again there was no statistical significance. The Pearson Chi-Square reported a value of .118 and the significance was .732. Table 4.1 provides the return to prison outcomes for the comparison and treatment groups. While there was no significant difference between the comparison and treatment groups it should be noted that a larger percentage of African-American males returned to prison in both groups when compared to white parolees. In addition, the comparison program served younger offenders and appeared to be more effective. This might be related to risk in that younger offenders are likely to be higher risk. Higher risk offenders are better targets for correctional interventions according to the risk principle.

Table 4-1. Program Quality and Treatment Effectiveness for Parolees

Returned to Prison	Comparison Group	Treatment Group	Total
Race	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
White	24 (9)	27 (42)	27 (51)
African-American	31 (18)	31 (79)	31 (97)
Total	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
	27 (27)	29 (123)	29 (150)

Treatment Effectiveness over Time

When analyzing failure over time between the comparison and experimental group there appears to be a meaningful difference worth noting. Both African-American and white male parolees in the experimental group tend to fail 3 to 4 months quicker than their counterparts in the comparison group. It could be hypothesized that the added visibility, community attention and intensity of supervision brought to bear on offenders under the MPRI might possibly yield worse rather than better outcomes because of local response to better detection of negative behaviors instead of focus on offender success, as well as the release of more marginal offenders in the comparison group. Table 4.2 provides the return to prison rate outcomes for the comparison and treatment groups over time.

The outcomes noted here are not consistent with previous research on correctional interventions, which indicates that good implementation is strongly tied to effectiveness (Gendreau et al, 1999; Lipsey, 1999a). It should be noted that the findings could be related to lack of community and/or criminal justice support and can be

Table 4-2. Program Quality and Treatment Effectiveness over Time for Parolees

Months to Return to Prison	Comparison Group	Treatment Group	Total
Race	Mean (N)	Mean (N)	Mean (N)
White	14 (9)	10 (42)	11 (51)
African-American	14 (18)	11 (79)	12 (97)
Total	Mean (N)	Mean (N)	Mean (N)
	14 (27)	11 (123)	12 (150)

explained in one of two ways. First, it could be that programs that don't receive support from the community-at-large and the criminal justice community are not able to operate as designed and don't receive the appropriate referrals and other types of support. Alternately, it could be that a reentry program just established in the community has not proven itself in a sense and therefore does not receive the desired support from the community-at-large and criminal justice community. It should be noted that the treatment program was implemented in January 2006 and may not have been implemented long enough to have a significant impact on the initial program participants that are being tracking in this particular study. In addition, no difference between parolee outcomes could be the result of negative staff attitudes and values about offenders and rehabilitative interventions (Maahs and Pratt, 2001). After all, a quality program can only be as good as the staff that are responsible for implementing it with fidelity to a quality model.

In a review of the research on correctional officers Farkas (2001) reports that officers with less than five years of experience were less likely to favor rehabilitative roles (see Farkas, 2000; Toch & Klofas, 1982). Officers with 20 years experience or

more were likely to support being involved with the delivery of services to offenders (see Toch & Grant 1982). Other research indicates that the longer one is employed in corrections the more likely that individual is to develop custody oriented attitudes and disbelief in the rehabilitative ideal (see Jurik 1985; Poole and Pogrebin, 1988). If attitudes are related to behaviors, length of time employed in the field of corrections might impact a program's effectiveness. Perhaps ongoing training of staff is one way to mitigate the effects of years of service and education on program effectiveness if attitudes are in fact related to the behaviors of staff.

In addition, the slightly better return to prison percentages reported by the comparison group could be due to the fact that the traditional parole program has historically provided more services to higher risk offenders and has been in operation for a greater number of years. Both of these findings are consistent with previous research on the need principle (Andrews and Dowden, 1999; Dowden and Andrews, 1999a & 1999b) and research that investigates the effectiveness of programs based on years in operation (Lipsey, 1999a). While not significantly different, it is worth noting.

Findings could also be related to the current level of funding that is provided to the program to ensure that parolees have an opportunity to participate in programming and treatment and that the proper dosage is being provided to parolees that are high-risk and high-need. Even further, findings could be do to a difference in defining what is an adequate set of risk and need factors to be assessed. That is, while staff that were surveyed might think that the program's process is adequate for measuring risk and need and that a survey of such factors is conducted, reality could be that the assessment is not valid and is really overlooking meaningful underlying causes of crime. Referencing back

to the section on alternative perspectives on African-American male crime in chapter two, it may be that quality programs are being implemented, but they are focused on class-based issues rather than race related issues.

Lastly, given that some key components of the MPRI Model have yet to be fully implemented (especially the front-end Phase I model components mentioned in chapter 3), it is truly premature to attempt a definitive evaluation of MPRI outcomes of African-American male parolees at this time. The methodology used in this study to track the outcomes of African-American male parolees should serve as a starting point to establish whether the results to date are consistent with expectations that offender outcomes will show improvement rather than either no change or negative results, as all of the various elements of the MPRI are gradually brought on-line.

Summary and Conclusion

The results presented in this chapter provide information to evaluate the relationship between program integrity and program effectiveness. The analyses provided a measure of program effectiveness that captured the difference in recidivism rates between a treatment and comparison group. Program integrity was measured using assessor rated items and items from staff surveys. The measure of program integrity is consistent with the dominant mainstream principles of effective correctional interventions; however, this does not generalize beyond this sample.

The correctional program checklist scores do not appear to be significantly related to the return to prison outcomes for African-American male parolees nor the experimental group in general. Based on these findings, it is not apparent that programs that adhere to the principles implicated by the theory of rehabilitation are more effective

for African-American male parolees. To address this issue, different groupings of checklist items should be are investigated to determine if there are other components of program integrity related to African-American success as indicated by Palmer (1995), Quay (1977) and Tatum (1996).

The next chapter provides a summary of the results reported in this chapter within the context of the research and literature reviewed in Chapter Two. The following chapter also reviews the limitations of the current study, implications for correctional policy, and implications for future research.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Conclusions

Over the past 25 years there has been a focus on identifying which correctional interventions are effective in reducing recidivism. This research has converged to identify cognitive behavioral and behavioral programs as being the most effective with the greatest percentage of offenders. This research, however, often indicated considerable heterogeneity in the effectiveness of correctional programs that were based on cognitive-behavioral or behavioral therapies (Lipsey, Chapman and Landenberger, 2001; Pearson, Lipton, Cleland, and Lee, 2002; and Wilson, Allen, and MacKenzie, 2000). That is, when pooling all the studies on correctional interventions where a cognitive behavioral or behaviorally based program was studied, some programs were very effective, some were moderately effective, and some had no effect or negative effects. It has been argued that some of this heterogeneity can be explained by program integrity (Quay, 1977; Gendreau, 1996; Cullen, 2002; and Palmer, 1995). Given the problems associated with criminal behavior and the rehabilitation of offenders in this country, it is imperative to understand the link between program implementation, program integrity, and program effectiveness. This research set out to answer the question: Is there a relationship between program integrity and program effectiveness for African-American male parolees?

To investigate these questions, data on program integrity was collected from a high quality prisoner reentry program in the State of Michigan. Data were also collected on over 400 offenders placed in this program during calendar years 2006 and 2007. Additionally, data were collected on 100 comparison cases that were not placed in a high

quality MPRI reentry program. Offenders were compared on risk-level, county of conviction, sex, and type of offense. Comparing offenders on risk level and county of conviction neutralizes differences in recidivism rates due to individual differences and differences associated with criminal justice system processing. Recidivism data were used to calculate treatment effects for each program. More specifically, recidivism was defined as any return to a state correctional facility during a two year follow-up period. Treatment effectiveness was calculated using Pearson Chi-Square.

Analyses focused on determining whether there is a relationship between program integrity and program effectiveness for African-American males. This chapter summarizes the results within the context of the literature reviewed in Chapter Two, provides a discussion of the limitations of this study, and the implications for correctional policy and future research.

Major Findings

This section summarizes the major research findings of this study. First, the analyses of treatment effects are summarized. The findings regarding the measurement of program integrity and its relationship with program effectiveness are reviewed. Finally, the findings are then placed in the larger context of existing research on program effectiveness.

Treatment Effects

The analyses of the treatment outcomes calculated indicated that no effect was demonstrated by the MPRI reentry program for African-American males in the analysis (Pearson Chi-Square of .008 and significance of .929). This effect was observed when calculating treatment effects using data on all program participants.

Program Integrity

The analyses of the program integrity data revealed several important findings. This section summarizes the steps taken in constructing the measures of program integrity and the analyses relating these measures to the treatment effects.

A correctional program checklist was used to create measures of program integrity. The data used to score the program checklist were collected during interviews of reentry staff responsible for overseeing the implementation of all programs related to the MPRI site selected for this study. Relevant program material was also collected and used to assist in the scoring of the correctional program checklist. The checklist was only used as standardized method to collect data on program integrity.

Scores for the measures of program integrity were calculated. There were two measures of program implementation, client pre-service assessment, treatment characteristics, staff characteristics, evaluation, and "other" characteristics. Analyses involved noting the presence or lack thereof for each component of program integrity and determining the total impact on the return to prison outcomes for African-American male parolees. The results are reviewed in the following paragraphs.

Some aspect of the program checklist measures were noted or observed in the experimental program for all six areas. That is the experimental program produced evidence of implementing characteristics related to program integrity, treatment, client assessment, evaluation, staffing, and other. While these characteristics where present in the experimental program they were not significantly related to the return to prison outcomes for African-American males.

Research Findings within the Context of Previous Research

This research is rather inconsistent with the previous research related to program integrity discussed in Chapter Two, but supports the research in the same chapter that encourages the review and implementation of alternative policies and perspectives to improve upon the success of African-American male parolees. The theory of rehabilitation implicates several principles that should be related to program effectiveness and should help us predict which programs will be effective and which programs will have no effects on recidivism. In particular there are four main principles that are implicated: treatment, risk, need, and responsivity. The analyses contained in this research do not provide support for these principles.

There are several reasons that could underlie the lack of support for these principles including: the control group was made up of a younger and very likely higher-risk sample; a lack of community and/or criminal justice support for the program; negative staff attitudes and values about offenders and rehabilitative interventions; minimal training of staff; traditional parole is more responsive to higher risk offenders; inadequate level of funding that provides proper treatment and dosage; the use of invalid risk and needs assessment instruments; and the infancy state of a program that was not fully implemented at the time of this study.

Limitations of Current Research

This research has provided information on the lack of a relationship between program integrity and program effectiveness for African-American male parolees. And while this research adds to the literature base on this topic there are several limitations of the current study. First, the sample size is small. There was only one experimental

program included in this dataset. The sample is further limited to adult offenders and findings should not be extrapolated to apply to juvenile offenders. The final limitation that relates to the sample is that the reentry program was situated in one jurisdiction in the State of Michigan and only provided services to offenders released from a state prison facility. Given these considerations the generalizability of the findings are very limited and should be interpreted with caution.

The second limitation involves the timing of the data collection on program integrity. While the offenders were released to the program during fiscal year 2006 and 2007, the program integrity data was collected during summer 2007. And while attempts were made to gather data on the program as it operated in 2006 this was not always possible due to staff changes.

Third, the correctional program checklist was not scored in the standard format as the CPAI, nor was data collected to score the entire instrument. Due to the brevity of the site visits, many items on the checklist could not be verified and may have been scored improperly. In addition, the scoring of the checklist was based on information reported by the staff for overseeing the implementation of the programs rather that the subcontractors that were responsible for the actual delivery of services. I full CPAI assessment is scored based on interviews with the program director, program staff, offenders in the program, supporting documentation, and observation of treatment groups.

Finally, the only outcome measured used is reincarceration in a state facility. This is a conservative estimate of recidivism. While this measure was used consistently across the treatment and comparison groups, additional measures of recidivism might

indicate differing relationships. Similarly, the follow-up period was only for two years and did not differentiate return to prison for a technical violation versus return to prison for a new criminal offense. Perhaps using a longer follow-up period and differentiating between reincarceration for new criminal offense and technical violations would also yield different results.

Implications for Correctional Policy

Not withstanding the limitations, this research has substantial implications for correctional policy. Community based correctional reentry programs have become increasingly popular for a number of reasons. This programs have become a popular method for reintegrating offenders returning to the community from prison. These programs have also become a means to reducing prison and or jail populations.

Research on the theories that drive many of our existing correctional prison and jail interventions indicates that they are not based on sound theory and research, and that the interventions typically fail to embody the principles of effective correctional interventions. While there is research on individual principles of effective correctional interventions, these studies are often limited by the data and information presented by the original researcher. The current research is unique as data could be collected that specifically relates to program integrity and provides measures of many of the principles of effective interventions according to mainstream theory and literature. Given this advantage a more complete testing of these principles was possible. The results of such have several implications for community based correctional reentry interventions and correctional policy.

First, it appears that program integrity by itself does not guarantee success for African-American male parolees. While several of the principles related to effective interventions have been verified through meta-analyses and traditional literature reviews, there is limited research that tests the measurement of program integrity and its relationship with program effectiveness for African-American male parolees. This research has demonstrated, with a limited sample, that additional measures of program integrity should be considered and tested to determine the characteristics that are strongly related to program effectiveness for African-American male parolees. Anecdotally, correctional practitioners often question the utility of program assessment. Prior literature has also identified dysfunctional attitudes about evaluation research (Van Voorhis, Cullen, and Applegate, 1995).

Second, the factors measured and methodology used to assess program integrity are malleable or dynamic. While it would likely take considerable time and effort for a correctional reentry program to increase the quality of the program, it certainly is possible. Furthermore the assessment of program integrity can facilitate change in current programing. After having program integrity assessed, a correctional program can focus on problem areas identified in an effort to increase the program's effectiveness. Finally, this research can help funding agencies determine which programs are likely to have substantial impacts on recidivism, those programs that are likely to have negligible effects, and those that are likely to have negative effects. Given the budgetary constraints that have historically and continue to plague corrections, this research will help policy makers and funding agencies make decisions regarding the financial support of programs.

Understanding that crime trends among African-American males are not improving, it is urgent that sound and effective policy and program solutions be developed. Absent these solutions, state and federal resources that were once used for education, transportation, community revitalization and things of the like will be consistently redirected to deal with our nation's unsuccessful battle on crime, recidivism and public safety. Surely, U.S. citizens and tax payers deserve a system that produces better outcomes.

Recommendations for Future Research

This research has provided information that can be used to answer questions regarding correctional program integrity. It has also raised a number of questions and underscored the importance of continued research in this area.

First, researchers should continue to investigate and refine the components of program integrity with a major emphasis on characteristics of race and ethnicity. The data in this research indicates that program integrity may be a much more narrow construct than initially thought or only applicable on certain populations of prisoners or parolees. Another possible explanation is that the measures employed did not adequately measure the constructs. In either case, research on program integrity should focus on identifying the underlying constructs and methods for more accurately measuring the constructs thought to compose program integrity. A particular area of interest is the characteristics that deal with offender responsivity. This may be a promising area for including questions that allow for assessing race related issues that may underlie the criminal behaviors of African-American males. Perhaps questions concerning institutional racism and bias can built in as checklist items.

Second, different methods should continue to be used when assessing program integrity. As these different methods are used more concrete criteria can be developed to assess program integrity. A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods should also be used. Such measures might include counts of relevant activities, surveys of staff and surveys of offenders, observation of treatment interventions, and interviews with staff, clients and key stakeholders. Once a substantial database of these data is developed, attempts can be made to integrate the different sources for a more complete and accurate picture of program integrity for African-American male parolees. Such measures can then be refined and validated using various sources of recidivism data.

Third, research should focus on expanding the number and types of programs that these data are collected on. Efforts should focus on collecting data on programs that provide services for juvenile offenders and other special populations (violent offenders, domestic violence offenders, mentally ill offenders) to see if findings are replicable. These data collection efforts should also include measures of risk, demographic characteristics, and recidivism data. When possible data on comparison groups should also be collected. Such a collection of data will allow for the testing of multivariate models that will allow for the inclusion of all six component scores together in one model. Multivariate analyses will help to develop our understanding of whether these areas have unique contributions in explaining program effectiveness and will also allow for tests to determine if these areas act synergistically.

Finally, and ultimately, research on program integrity should continue to investigate the link between program integrity and program effectiveness for African-American males since they are incarcerated at a higher rate than any other demographic

in the State of Michigan and the U.S. These efforts will help programs and funding agencies at all levels develop effective correctional options in the community and prison settings. This information should be shared with correctional practitioners along with support for implementing what is revealed by future research. Such efforts should lead to a pool of quality correctional interventions that are able to provide long-term public safety though behavioral changes in African-American male offenders.

APPENDIX

CORRECTIONAL PROGRAM CHECKLIST

Name of Program:_____ Location of Program:_____

Date:_____ Name of Reviewer:_____ Type of Program:_____

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION:

The current program director refers to the person responsible for the treatment/service delivery.

_____ Was the current program director involved in designing the program or current interventions?

_____ Does the program director have at least a baccalaureate degree in a helping profession?

_____ Does the program director have at least three years experience working with offenders?

_____ Is the program director directly involved in hiring staff?

_____ Is the program director directly involved in training staff?

_____ Is the program director directly involved in supervising staff?

_____ Is the program director directly involved in providing some direct services to offenders?

_____ Were the treatment/criminological literature used in designing the current program?

_____ Were the interventions/program piloted for at least one month prior to full implementation?

_____ Does a documented need for the program exist?

_____ Are the values and goals of the program consistent with the values in the community at-large?

_____ Are the values and goals of the program consistent with the values in the criminal justice community?

_____ Is the program perceived as cost effective by staff and administration?

_____ Is the program funding adequate to sustain the program as designed?

CLASSIFICATION AND ASSESSMENT

_____ Are the vast majority of referrals appropriate for the program?

_____ Are there legal/clinical/community criteria for the exclusion of certain types of offenders from the program?

_____ Is there a reasonable survey of risk factors at intake?

_____ Does the program use a standardized and objective risk assessment instrument?

_____ Is there a reasonable survey of need factors at intake?

_____ Does the program use a standardized and objective need assessment instrument?

_____ Is there a reasonable survey of responsivity factors?

_____ Does the program use standardized and objective responsivity assessment instruments?

_____ Does the risk instrument provide a summary score and distinguish levels?

_____ Does the need instrument provide a summary score and distinguish levels?

_____ Do the responsivity instruments provide summary scores?

_____ Has the risk/need instrument(s) been validated within the last five years on a local population?

PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

_____ Are at least 80 percent of the program's services and interventions designed to target criminogenic needs and behaviors?

_____ Does the program utilize an effective treatment model (i.e. cognitive behavioral)?

_____ Does the program last between 3 and 12 months in duration (not including aftercare)?

_____ Are the whereabouts and associates of the offenders monitored closely or, if in an institution, are the offenders in treatment kept separate from the general population?

_____ Does the program have detailed treatment manuals?

_____ Do offenders spend between 40-70% of their time in structured activities?

_____ Does the intensity of treatment vary by risk of offender (if risk is not determined by an objective instrument do not check)?

_____ Does the duration of treatment vary by the risk of offender (if risk is not determined by an objective instrument do not check)?

_____ Does the program use responsivity factors to match offenders and programs (if responsivity factors are not assessed do not check)?

_____ Does the program assign staff to treatment/groups based on skills/interests?

_____ Does the program use responsivity factors to match offenders and staff (if responsivity factors are not assessed do not check)?

_____ Do the offenders have input in the structure of the program?

_____ Has the program developed appropriate rewards?

_____ Do rewards outnumber punishers in their application by at least 4:1?

_____ Does the program utilize a theory of punishment?

_____ Does the program utilize appropriate punishers?

_____ Are punishers administered in the following manner: escape impossible, applied immediately, maximum intensity, after each occurrence, punishers vary, prosocial alternative taught after punishment administered?

_____ Are staff trained to look for negative responses to punishers?

_____ Does the program have completion criteria based on offender progress in meeting target behaviors?

_____ Does the program systematically train offenders to monitor and anticipate problem behaviors?

_____ Does the program systematically train offenders to plan and rehearse alternatives to problem behaviors?

_____ Does the program have offenders practice alternatives to problem behaviors in increasingly difficult situations?

_____ Does the program routinely refer clients to other services and agencies that help address their needs?

_____ Does the program train family members to assist offenders when they are released from the program?

_____ Are offenders able to return to the program for "booster sessions?

_____ Is aftercare provided?

STAFF CHARACTERISTICS

_____ Do a minimum of 75% of the staff possess at least a baccalaureate degree?

_____ Do a minimum of 10% of the staff possess a graduate degree?

_____ Do 75% of the staff have their degree in a helping profession?

_____ Does at least 75% of the staff have at least two years experience working with offenders?

_____ Are staff selected on personal qualities (e.g. empathy, flexibility, firmness, and life experiences)?

_____ Have 50% or more of the staff remained on the job for at least two years?

_____ Are staff regularly assessed and evaluated on their service delivery skills?

_____ Do the program staff receive regular clinical supervision?

_____ Do the program staff receive 3-6 months of training on the program's interventions?

_____ Do the program staff regularly participate in on-going training and workshops?

_____ Are the program staff able to modify the program structure?

_____ Does the program staff support the goals and objectives of the program?

EVALUATION

_____ Are there quality assurance mechanisms in place to monitor service delivery by the program?

_____ Are quality assurance mechanisms in place to monitor service delivery by outside providers?

_____ Are offenders surveyed as to their satisfaction with the services that are being provided?

_____ Is offender progress measured with periodic, objective and standardized assessments on target behaviors?

_____ Is offender recidivism tracked at least 6 months after leaving the program?

_____ Have there been any formal outcome evaluations conducted on the program that include a comparison group?

_____ Have the results from the evaluation been written into a report or article?

_____ Have the results from the evaluation been published in a referred journal?

MISCELLANEOUS

_____ Are the client records complete and kept in a confidential file?

_____ Does the program have ethical guidelines for staff?

_____ Have there been any changes in the program over the past two years that have jeopardized the program?

_____ Have there been any changes in program funding over the past two years that have jeopardized the program?

_____ Have there been any changes in community support over the past two years that have jeopardized the program?

_____ Is there an advisory board in place to oversee and advise the program?

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