

MARKET SOUNDING: REDUCING RE-OFFENDING AND RETURN TO CUSTODY AMONG PAROLEES

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*NSW Social
Impact
Investment Policy*



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1. Introduction

On 4 February 2015, the NSW Government released its Social Impact Investment Policy. The policy builds on the success of our social benefit bonds and clearly sets out our intent to support a broader social impact investment market in NSW. As part of the policy, the government aims to deliver two new social impact investment transactions to market every year. The Statement of Opportunities 2015, released at the policy launch, identifies four areas the government believes provide strong opportunities to achieve better outcomes through social impact investment mechanisms.

This document is designed to provide information to stakeholders interested in developing social impact investment proposals to support parolees to reduce their levels of re-offending and re-incarceration. It accompanies the market sounding session, held on 20 February 2015. Information on the expected outcomes, potential cohort and costs of re-offending to the NSW Government is provided. Together with an outline of tools and principles for interventions, and some guidance on the elements of interventions that we are most interested in.

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2. Reducing re-offending and re-incarceration among parolees

The NSW Government is committed to enhancing community safety and has goals to reduce the overall level of crime in NSW, as well as the level of re-offending. Addressing re-offending is important, both to ensure the safety of communities and to reduce costs to the government. These costs arise primarily in the justice portfolio in policing, courts and where offenders are incarcerated, prisons.

Governments around the world have implemented social impact investment mechanisms to help reduce crime and re-offending, and to achieve savings. Key examples are the social impact bonds in Peterborough, United Kingdom and Rikers Island, New York. The NSW Government has previously investigated opportunities for a social benefit bond to reduce recidivism, which did not proceed to implementation. However, we consider there are opportunities for different mechanisms that will help address this issue and contribute to keeping the community safe, for example, through a payment-by-results (PBR) contract.

We are interested in hearing from the private and not-for-profit sectors about innovative ways of funding and providing services to reduce crime. In particular, we want to assist those who have previously offended and are serving the final part of their custodial term in the community by way of a supervised parole order.

Government-funded achievements to reduce re-offending are encouraging. There has been a steady downward trend in re-offending since 2011. However, government resources are stretched and finite. The rehabilitation of offenders is highly resource intensive. Robust partnerships with the private and not-for-profit sectors could help us develop offender management practices that result in closing prison wings or prisons, or reducing the need for more prisons. As a result, this kind of partnership could also offer major returns on social impact investments.

2.1 Intended outcomes

The key goal of a social impact investment mechanism in this priority area is to reduce the rate of re-offending and return to custody for parolees.

Additional outcomes we hope to achieve include:

- Increased time to re-offending among parolees
- Reduce severity of re-offences, if any.

2.1.1 Outcome measures

For the purposes of an intervention funded through social impact investment, re-offending is defined as 'someone who has received some form of criminal justice sanction (such as a conviction or a caution) going on to commit another offence within a set time period' (UK Ministry of Justice, 2012).

The government seeks to link the outcomes we are measuring in transactions in this area to the savings that will be used to make payments, and prefer that there is a robust and reliable data source for this. As the greatest costs arise when a person is incarcerated, we propose measuring the return to custody of parolees within a specified period of their release to supervised parole. This data is reliable and available to us and will provide a method of measuring the savings associated with the outcomes. We are open to negotiating the length of the measurement period but suggest that 12 to 24 months following the first release to supervised parole (or date of referral to the intervention) is appropriate.

Innovative ways of incorporating additional outcomes in the structure, such as reduced severity of, and increased time to, re-offend and return to custody for non-compliance are also of interest. We are open to discussing these as part of any social impact investment mechanism developed in this space.

BOCSAR have estimated that those who continue to offend spend approximately 560 days in custody in the 5 years following release. Re-offending, particularly when it leads to re-incarceration, is a costly problem for society and government. Some costings data related to the above include:

Table 1: Costs of re-offending that may be saved by the NSW government (Report on Government Services, 2014; Allard et al. 2014)

Variable	Cost to government
Direct cost to Corrective Services NSW for incarceration	*\$19 per inmate per day (excluding fixed costs) (*Approx. saving of \$189 per inmate per day can be achieved if a wing or prison can be closed as a result of the reduction in re-incarceration)
Court costs associated with a court finalisation leading to an imprisonment penalty	\$1,202
Police costs associated with court finalisations	\$2,696

*The different costs to Corrective Services NSW arise from the fixed costs in prisons that can only be saved if a wing or entire prison can be closed.

Please note that the police and court figures are indicative only and are subject to verification. However, they may be used for modelling purposes at this stage.

2.2 Potential cohort

A parole term allows an inmate to serve the final part of a custodial term in the community under the supervision of Corrective Services NSW. NSW data shows that, as a cohort, those serving parole have a higher risk profile than those serving legal orders wholly in the community. Accordingly, targeting parolees has the potential to reduce rates of re-offending and improve community safety.

Efforts should be focused on those most likely to re-offend and who are supervised by Corrective Services NSW on release to parole. However, we are seeking interventions that would work with all parolees referred by Corrective Services NSW, regardless of:

- gender
- the offence for which they were incarcerated
- whether their parole period and conditions of their parole order is determined by a court or the State Parole Authority (SPA).

We anticipate that the majority of parolees referred to the intervention would be accepted.

2.2.1 Parolees at medium-high and high risk of re-offending

Of all parolees released each year, approximately 2,200 are in the categories of medium-high and high risk of further offending, based on actuarial-style risk assessment. While numbers vary from year to year, those released during financial year 2013/14 and who fall into the medium-high and high risk categories totalled 2,092. They were released to the following locations (Table 2).

Table 2: Release locations of medium-high and high-risk supervised parolees (2013/14)

Location	Releases	Location	Releases	Location	Releases
Albury	24	Glen Innes	11	Newcastle	109
Armidale	14	Gosford	34	Nowra	71
Bankstown	44	Goulburn	29	Orange	27
Batemans Bay	23	Grafton	32	Parramatta	88
Bathurst	28	Griffith	13	Penrith	58
Bega	8	Gunnedah	9	Port Macquarie	20
Blacktown	42	Hornsby	10	Queanbeyan	6
Bourke	28	Hurstville	29	Sutherland	13
Bowral	6	Inverell	10	Tamworth	32
Broken Hill	42	Katoomba	0	Taree	25
Burwood	22	Kempsey	58	Tumut	8
Campbelltown	78	Lake Macquarie	37	Wagga Wagga	49
Casino	29	Leichhardt/Newtown	117	Wellington	18
Sydney City	101	Lismore	54	Windsor	51
Coffs Harbour	30	Lithgow	4	Wollongong	109
Cooma	16	Liverpool	59	Wyong	47
Coonamble	20	Maitland	58	Young	11
Dee Why	15	Moree	17		
Deniliquin	0	Mt Druitt	44		
Dubbo	59	Murwillumbah	0		
Fairfield	53	Muswellbrook	16		
Forbes	27	Narrabri	0		

Note: Shaded locations are where funded additional support services are available under the CSNSW Funded Partnership Initiative.

2.3 Re-offending and risk

2.3.1 Assessing the risk of re-offending

In 1998, NSW adopted an actuarial-style risk instrument, the Level of Service Inventory – Revised (LSI-R), enabling precise and accurate identification of individual risk levels and the degree of intervention required to meet that level of risk. The LSI-R has 54 items which are grouped into 10 subscales:

- criminal history
- education/employment
- finances
- family/marital status
- accommodation (i.e. high crime neighbourhood, dissatisfaction with current accommodation)
- leisure/recreation

- associates
- drug/alcohol use
- emotional/personal
- attitudes/orientation.

All offenders are administered the LSI-R when they first have contact with Corrective Services NSW Community Corrections. To date, over 300,000 LSI-R assessments have been undertaken and recorded on a central database.

The LSI-R categorises the offender's risk of re-offending into:

- low/medium-low
- medium
- medium-high/high risk.

In line with the contemporary evidence-based correctional practices, current government policy is to prioritise higher-risk offenders (medium, medium-high and high risk) with sufficiently intensive interventions to meet individual needs.

2.3.2 Characteristics of high risk offenders

Higher-risk offenders are more likely than lower-risk offenders to have:

- higher levels of antisocial personality traits such as impulsivity, hostility, inability to delay gratification, risk taking, pleasure seeking, disregard for others, callousness, etc.
- poor cognitive abilities, including problem solving skills and poor emotional coping/ability to tolerate distress
- antisocial associations and lack of pro-social associations
- antisocial thinking styles and values/beliefs that are supportive of offending
- started to experiment, use and abuse drugs and alcohol at an earlier age and more likely to experience early severe dependence
- been raised in dysfunctional, chaotic families
- co-morbid psychiatric issues such as psychotic, affective and anxiety disorders, *which are independent of offending behaviour*
- personality disorders, particularly antisocial and borderline personality disorder
- experienced multiple traumas
- complex, dynamic psychosocial issues relating to education, accommodation, relationships, chronic unemployment and subsequent financial problems, unstructured and antisocial leisure activities, and social alienation
- low levels of literacy and numeracy.

2.3.3 Risk assessment, gender and Aboriginality

In a study of community-based supervised offenders, Ringland (2011) found that in the 12 month period from the imposition of a supervised good behaviour bond or suspended sentence, women offended less than men across all risk levels. For example, the 12-month re-offence rate for high risk men was 59 per cent, compared with 44 per cent for their female

counterparts. For low-medium risk offenders, 19 per cent of men re-offended within 12 months, compared with 16 per cent of women.

Using the LSI-R, the study also found the following rates of re-offending among the cohort studied, based on risk level categories set out by the LSI-R (Table 3):

Table 3: LSI-R categories/score and further offending (Ringland, 2011)

LSI-R Risk Level (Score Range)	Males (n=5,523) % Re-offend	Females (n=1,414) % Re-offend
Low (0 – 13)	10.2	6.8
Low-Medium (14 – 23)	19.2	15.8
Medium (24 – 33)	31.2	25.2
Medium-High (34 – 40)	44.5	40.6
High (41 – 54)	59.2	43.8

Ringland (2011) noted the centrality of risk assessment to NSW offender management practices, including entry to interventions. On the basis of these findings, Ringland concluded that the LSI-R is a valid tool for identifying those offenders who should be prioritised for services and it is the higher-risk offender groups who are the subject of this social impact investment opportunity.

There has been considerable debate within the academic literature which calls into question the predictive validity of the LSI-R and other actuarial risk assessment instruments for females (e.g. Holtfreter & Cupp, 2007; Reisig, Holtfretter, & Morash, 2006).

In a study of 14,737 female offenders, Smith, Cullen and Latessa (2009) concluded that the LSI-R is equally likely to predict further offending in female offenders as it does for male offenders. Furthermore, the results for women were similar to the results that previous meta-analyses had generated when using mixed samples dominated by male offenders.

2.3.4 Aboriginality

Some 21 per cent of all male parolees and almost 31 per cent of all female parolees identify as Aboriginal. However, there is a higher proportion of Aboriginal parolees in the target population. Table 4 details the risk levels of community-based offenders who identify as Aboriginal compared to non-Aboriginal offenders.

Table 4: Risk levels and Aboriginality

<i>n</i>	Low	Med-Low	Med	Med-High	High	Pending
Aboriginal	53	321	1089	549	127	453
Non-Aboriginal	832	2032	2910	1024	194	1381
Pending	19	32	26	4	1	263
Total	904	2385	4025	1577	322	2097
%						
Aboriginal	5.9%	13.5%	27.1%	34.8%	39.4%	21.6%
Non-Aboriginal	92.0%	85.2%	72.3%	64.9%	60.2%	65.9%
Pending	2.1%	1.3%	0.6%	0.3%	0.3%	12.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Watkins (2011) found that the LSI-R does not appear to predict re-offending quite as well with Aboriginal women as it does with Aboriginal men or non-Aboriginal offenders. In fact, there was a notable decline in the re-offending predictive power of the LSI-R when applied to Aboriginal females. This decline may have been due to the relatively low numbers of Aboriginal women in the study's sample ($n = 417$). Alternatively, it would seem likely that Aboriginal women have different or additional offence-related needs to those of Aboriginal males or non-Aboriginal offenders. CSNSW is not aware of any risk/need instrument that would better predict the offending of Aboriginal females.

Exploring the relatively poor LSI-R predictive reliability for Aboriginal females, Watkins (2011) found that for Aboriginal females, only two LSI-R sub-scales were statistically significant – education/employment and attitudes/orientation (see Table 5). This would seem to support the notion that Aboriginal women have different offence-related needs to those of Aboriginal males and non-Aboriginal offenders.

2.4 Principles for effective interventions

International research on 'what works' in reducing re-offending has grown substantially over the past two decades. There are three principles which frame current international and NSW 'best practice' in the management of all supervised offenders.

2.4.1 The Risk Principle

The key finding of international research is that interventions targeting those at higher risk of re-offending have greater impact. Logically, this practice is based on the fact that those at greater risk have, potentially, the most to gain. Targeting higher-risk offenders can have substantial benefits in reducing re-offending and costs in this space.

Lower-risk offenders do not benefit to the same extent as higher-risk offenders from intervention since they have relatively little to gain. For example, Ringland (2011) found that only some 10 per cent of men assessed as low-risk offenders committed a further offence in the 12 months after receiving a sentence of a supervised good behaviour bond or suspended sentence. On the other hand, more than 59 per cent of male offenders assessed as high risk committed a further offence while under the same sentence conditions.

Accordingly, even the best intervention would need to target large numbers of lower risk offenders to potentially reduce re-offending. Importantly, it has been shown that intrusive/intensive interventions applied to lower-risk offenders can substantially *increase* the risk of further offending (Andrews & Dowden, 1999; Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, & Rooney, 2000; Lowenkamp & Letessa, 2002; Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2004). On this basis, the target group for intervention should always be those at higher-risk of further offending.

2.4.2 The Need Principle

Offence-related needs can be conceptualised as the dynamic subset of all factors linked to re-offending. The Need Principle states that interventions should target needs that are directly related to further offending as a reduction in dynamic risk factors directly reduces the risk of further offending.

Studies have identified the factors that are linked to further re-offending (see Andrews & Bonta, 2006). These factors are outlined below, in order of how strongly they predict re-offending (see Table 5).

Table 5: Offence-related need domains and therapeutic targets/indicators (Andrews & Bonta, 2006)

Domain	Therapeutic targets/indicators
Antisocial associations	Association with pro-criminal others (social support for crime) and relative isolation from anti-criminal others. Intervention should reduce association with criminal associates and increase association with pro-social others.
Antisocial personality traits	Impulsive, adventurous pleasure-seeking, generalised trouble (multiple persons, multiple settings), restlessly aggressive, callous disregard for others, weak self-constraints, negative emotionality etc.
Antisocial attitudes	Attitudes, beliefs and values, rationalisations for offending and a personal identity that is favourable of crime. Justification of offending. Self-identification as criminal, negative attitude towards the criminal justice system, beliefs of entitlement, and a belief that crime will pay off and pride in the commission of criminal acts. Appropriate targets for change include building self-efficacy beliefs supporting reform ("I know what to do to avoid criminal activity and I know that I can do what is required"). Cognitive restructuring includes reduction of antisocial thinking through building and practicing pro-social beliefs and behaviours.
Leisure/recreation	Low levels of involvement and satisfactions in anti-criminal leisure pursuits. Dynamic need and promising intermediate targets are to enhance satisfaction/rewards associated with goal directed, pro-social leisure activities and involvement with pro-social others.
Family/marital	Low-quality/dysfunctional multiple relationships (lack of mutual caring, respect, and interest) and partner's complicity with criminal activity.
Education/employment	History of alienation from the education system. Low levels of performance and involvement in the workforce and low levels of rewards and satisfactions with employment opportunities. Intervention may include training/further education and satisfying work opportunities
Substance abuse	Reduce/eliminate illicit substance abuse/dependence, reduce the personal and interpersonal supports for substance-oriented behaviour (including drug associations), enhance alternatives to substance abuse. Reduce/eliminate alcohol use where this had led to offending.

'Associations', 'personality traits' and 'antisocial attitudes/values/beliefs' are the strongest predictors of further offending and are therefore promising targets for interventions designed to reduce re-offending. According to Andrews and Bonta (1994) criminal sentiments can explain up to 40 per cent of the total variance in re-offending with three year follow up. Together with criminal history, these factors form 'The Big Four' risk factors for re-offending.

Moderate risk factors, such as 'leisure/recreation', 'family/marital', 'education/employment' and 'substance abuse' are also potentially favourable targets to reduce re-offending. However, research suggests that minor factors ('verbal IQ', 'social disadvantage', 'psychopathology' and 'personal distress', and 'fear of punishment') are not promising targets, with little relationship to further offending. For example, while large numbers of offenders are socially disadvantaged, most socially disadvantaged people do not offend. Consequently, social disadvantage is not a predictor of criminality.

Table 6: Offence-related needs for NSW offenders (Watkins, 2011)

Rank	Non-ATSI Females	Non-ATSI Males	ATSI Females	ATSI Males
1	Criminal History (Static factor)	Criminal History (Static factor)	Criminal History (Static factor)	Education/Employment
2	Alcohol/Drug Problems	Alcohol/Drug Problems	Education/Employment	Criminal History (Static factor)
3	Associations	Education/Employment	Attitudes/Orientation	Attitudes/Orientation
4	Education/Employment	Financial	Leisure/Recreation (ns)	Alcohol/Drug Problems
5	Accommodation	Associations	Financial (ns)	Associations
6	Financial	Attitudes/ Orientation	Alcohol/Drug Problems (ns)	Family/marital
7	Attitudes/Orientation	Accommodation	Family/marital (ns)	Financial
8	Family marital	Leisure/Recreation	Associations (ns)	Accommodation
9	Leisure/Recreation	Family/marital	Accommodation (ns)	Leisure/Recreation
10	Emotional/Personal	Emotional/ Personal	Emotional/Personal (ns)	Emotional/Personal

2.4.3 The Responsivity Principle

The Responsivity Principle of offender management seeks to maximise the offender's ability to learn from a rehabilitative intervention by tailoring the intervention to their learning style, motivation, abilities and strengths (Andrews & Bonta, 2006). Responsivity issues can also include barriers to change such as major mental health disorders (including schizophrenia, bipolar disorder and major depressive episodes), and stress/anxiety. Major mental health disorders are not offence-related needs in higher risk offender groups but have considerable implications for the offender's full participation in interventions to reduce re-offending. Stable accommodation is also an important responsivity factor; without a stable base it is difficult for offenders to establish and maintain links to services and programs which can address their risks factors for further offending.

2.5 Duration of intervention

The duration of the intervention should be logically linked to the most critical period following release, when intervention would have the greatest impact. The duration of the supervised, mandated parole period may also impact upon the duration of the intervention.

2.5.1 Survival

Government data suggests a parolee is 2.5 times more likely to return to custody in the first three months following release compared to nine to 12 months post release and this survival pattern is consistent across different years. Figure 1 illustrates the 'survival' term of high-risk,

medium-high risk and medium risk offenders for 2010/11 and 2011/12, demonstrating the critical nature of the first three months. However, there is potential for improvement past this initial period as the survival curves below demonstrate.

Figure 1: Return to custody rate for high-risk offenders for 2010/11 and 2011/12

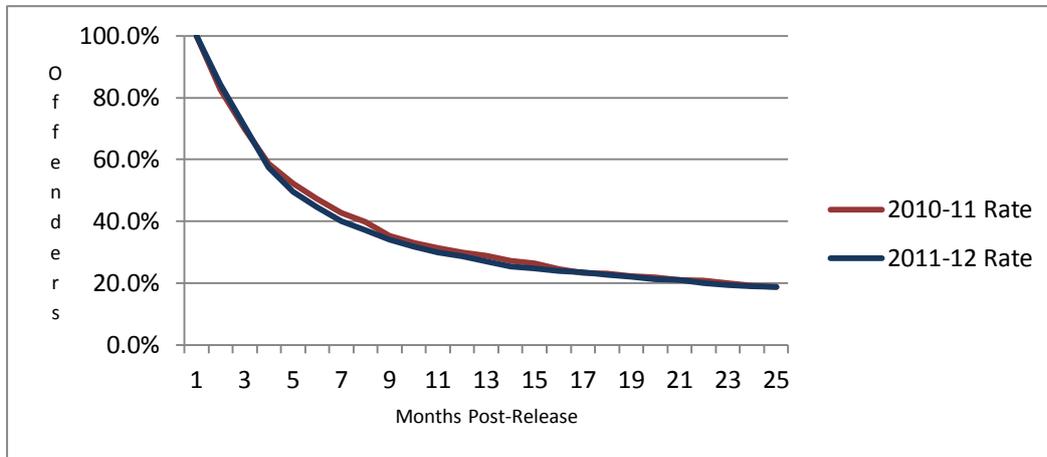


Figure 2: Return to custody rate for medium-high risk offenders for 2010/11 and 2011/12

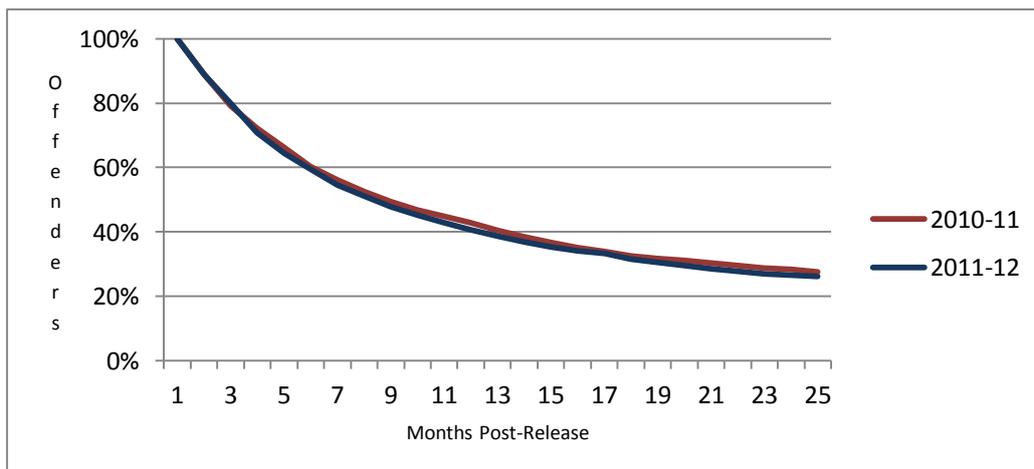
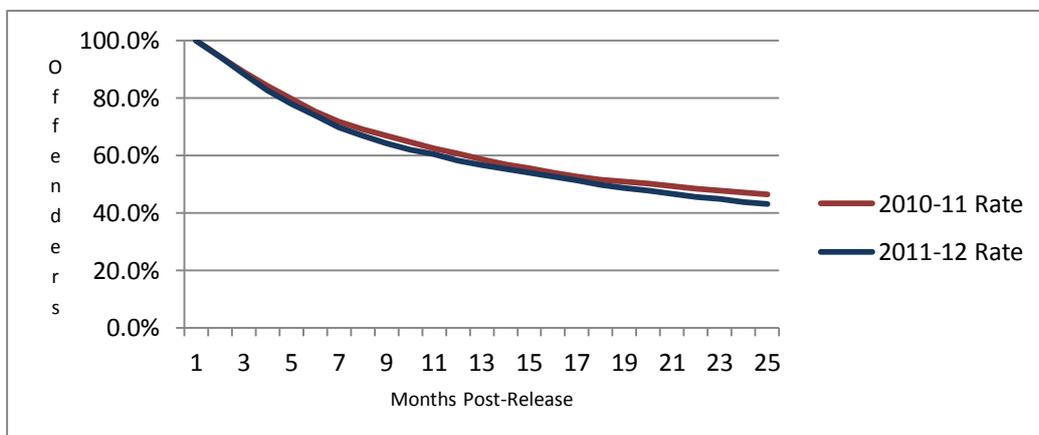


Figure 3: Return to custody rate for medium-risk offenders for 2010/11 and 2011/12



2.5.2 Duration of parole terms

The duration of the intervention may also be impacted by parole duration. Table 7 provides a snapshot of parole terms for both those subject to court-based parole and those subject to SPA release.

Table 7: Duration of parole terms based on profile of all parole terms for all current parolees as at 1 December 2014

Parole term duration	State Parole Authority		Court-based parole		All parole orders	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
≤ 3 months	3	0.1	123	3.8	126	2.3
>3 and ≤ 6 months	26	1.2	773	23.7	799	14.6
>6 and ≤ 9 months	44	2.0	760	23.3	804	14.7
> 9 and ≤ 12 months	53	2.4	625	19.2	678	12.4
≥ 12 months	2085	94.3	975	29.9	3060	56.0
TOTAL	2211	100.0	3256	100.0	5467	100.0

2.6 Evidence-based practice

While a proposed social impact investment intervention need not include each of the principles of correctional “best practice” as outlined in this document, deviations to them should be supported by evidence. The extent of evidence for interventions involved in social impact investment mechanisms will determine the risk/return profile for stakeholders and is therefore an important factor for consideration.

The evidence for an intervention should identify the therapeutic target(s) to be addressed by the intervention, and the relationship of the therapeutic targets to offending. The strategy to deliver the therapeutic targets must be viable but creativity and innovation is encouraged. The government accepts that a unique strategy for delivery of the therapeutic targets may not have been subject to evaluation.

3. Investment Opportunities

There are a number of readily apparent gaps in current service provision that could be met by a social impact investment initiative. These are listed below. However, proponents should not consider that investment opportunities are limited to those specified.

3.1 Support

Government-funded support services for medium-high and high risk parolees are available in 14 locations (those locations are shaded in Table 2, p. 6). Possible attractive investment gaps in current service provision include:

- 14 locations where funded support services are available for medium-high and high risk parolees, but where demand exceeds supply
- 43 other locations where no funded support services are available for medium-high and high risk parolees but where parolees are supervised upon release
- 57 locations where medium-risk offenders are supervised on release but where no funded support services are currently available.

3.2 Interventions

Higher risk offenders require considerable levels of intervention. A challenge for Corrective Services NSW is the provision of sufficiently high levels of intervention to meet the needs of higher risk offenders. This gap occurs in spite of referral to a range of external services and programs to supplement Corrective Services NSW services. This gap in service provision provides an opportunity for the proponent to deliver programs/interventions targeting factors related to the offence.

The basis for the social impact bond at Rikers Island, New York is a therapeutic cognitive behavioural program. A similar program could be developed to 'boost' the impact of existing Corrective Services NSW programs for higher-risk parolees. The NSW Government is interested in any strategies that target evidence-based offence-related needs.

Importantly, the NSW Government would welcome suggestions for highly creative and innovative interventions. There are a number of opportunities for offence-related needs (including 'The Big Four') to be targeted in an alternative way to cognitive behavioural group-based programs.

3.3 Effect size

Cognitive behavioural programs can reduce re-offending since they target those variables which are the strongest predictors of further offending. However, this effect can be optimised by systematically addressing all variables which predict re-offending.

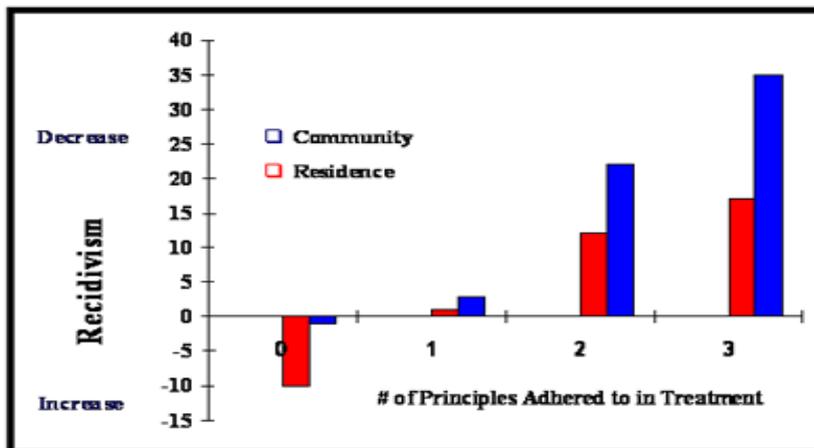
Based on the premise of proposals that "boost" service provision by Corrective Services NSW, we anticipate an intervention that encompasses the principles of Risk, Need and Responsivity to achieve a reduction in re-offending of approximately 10 per cent. The provision of post-release employment or post-release accommodation alone has not been shown to reduce re-offending (MacKenzie, 2013). For the intervention to be effective, proponents will need to work closely and collaboratively with Corrective Services NSW and complement existing service delivery.

There is considerable potential for improvement of current rates of re-offending despite the success being achieved by the government. Weatherburn and Ringland (2014) examined the rate of re-offending of 9,604 NSW parolees released during 2010 and 2011 and found:

- 29 per cent ($n = 3,412$) of medium risk parolees re-offended on parole
- 38 per cent ($n = 2,317$) of medium high risk parolees re-offended on parole
- 48 per cent ($n = 670$) of high risk parolees re-offended on parole.

Figure 4 shows the likely effect size from interventions that incorporate the Risk/Need and Responsivity Principles both in residential settings and in the community.

Figure 4: Benefits of adherence to the Risk/Need and Responsivity Principles in reducing re-offending (Andrews & Bonta, 2006).



It should be noted that interventions which fail to comply with the Risk/Need and Responsivity Principles can have a negative impact on further offending (see McCord 1978, 2003; Wilson et al., 2005). However, a well-designed and well implemented intervention can have substantial impact on rates of re-offending, particularly when delivered in the community setting (Andrews & Bonta, 2006).

3.4 Evaluation

In addition to measuring the outcomes for payment purposes, the intervention will be fully evaluated. Evaluation methodology will be determined by the type of intervention. Proponents will be expected to participate in the development of an evaluation plan and its execution.

4. Appendix:

4.1 Business As Usual – The Role of Community Corrections

Corrective Services NSW has a legislated responsibility to manage supervised parolees on release from custody. All supervised parolees are individually case managed.

4.1.1 Case management

An individualised case plan is prepared by Community Corrections based on LSI-R and other assessments. The case plan addresses the individual offence-related needs of the parolee at a level of intensity that matches the assessed level of risk. Interventions include standardised and accredited cognitive-behavioural programs to reduce denial and resistance, address the underlying attitudes and beliefs associated with offending as well as the development of new skills so that pro-social choices can be adopted. In addition, the parolee is referred to external government and non-government services to address offence-related needs (e.g. methadone maintenance) and responsivity factors (e.g. mental health and housing).

It should be noted however, that the provision of services to address offence-related needs in some locations is limited by resource availability in that location.

4.1.2 Mandated participation

A further benefit of a social impact investment initiative which is framed by empirical evidence and that targets offence-related needs is that the initiative would become a component of the parolee's Corrective Services NSW case plan. The parolee would be required to attend and participate in the initiative under the direction of the Community Corrections Officer. This would mean that the parolee would not be required to volunteer for the social impact investment initiative and steps could be taken by the Community Corrections Officer to minimise drop-out and attrition. Therefore, the social impact investment initiative would serve to "boost" the level of success currently being achieved by Community Corrections in reducing re-offending.

There is no evidence that mandated intervention participants have different outcomes to those who volunteer. For example, Kelly, Finney, & Moos (2005) found that outcomes for men ordered by the court to attend a drug and alcohol program, and who reported lower intrinsic motivation at the commencement of the program, had the same outcomes as those who volunteered. Coviello, Zanis, Wesnoski et al. (2013) found that mandated offenders again reported less motivation at entry into intervention but were over 10 times more likely to complete the intervention compared to volunteers. In fact some studies, for example, Terlecki, Larimer and Copeland (2010), report enhanced outcomes for mandated participants.

4.1.3 Cognitive behavioural programs

Corrective Services NSW provides a range of cognitive behavioural programs/group-work interventions that directly target criminal thinking and criminal personality traits. These programs are listed in Table 8.

Table 8: Cognitive behavioural and group-based programs provided by Corrective Services NSW

Program	Description	Duration	Eligibility
EQUIPS (Explore, Question, Understand, Investigate, Practice, Succeed)	EQUIPS is a therapeutic program developed by CSNSW to increase participation opportunities for both male and female offenders. <i>Can be followed by EQUIPS Addiction, or EQUIPS Domestic Abuse or EQUIPS Aggression</i>	20 x 2-hour sessions	Medium, medium-high and high-risk offenders (LSI-R) only and assessed as suitable based on pre-program interview
EQUIPS Addiction	Based on key SMART Recovery factors with an additional self-management module. Designed to address addictive behaviours and provide a pathway to SMART Recovery maintenance meetings, support groups for self-help or both. Modules are: motivation to abstain; urge coping skills; problem solving skills; lifestyle balance; and self-management planning for the future	20 x 2-hour sessions	Medium, medium-high and high-risk offenders (LSI-R) only and assessed as suitable based on pre-program interview
EQUIPS Domestic Abuse	Based on a psycho-behavioural framework, modules are: identifying abuse; managing emotions, beliefs and attitudes; offence-mapping; victim impact; and sexual respect, relationship skills and self-management strategies	20 x 2-hour sessions	Medium, medium-high and high-risk offenders (LSI-R) only and assessed as suitable based on pre-program interview
EQUIPS Aggression	Targets with expressive and instrumental aggression. Five modules are: emotional regulation; anger management skills, communication, relationships and values; offence-mapping; and self-management strategies	20 x 2-hour sessions	Medium, medium-high and high-risk offenders (LSI-R) only and assessed as suitable based on pre-program interview
Sober Driver	Assists repeat offenders to separate drinking from driving. Sober Driver does not address alcohol abuse as such but rather alcohol consumption in combination with driving.	9 x 2-hour sessions	Low, medium-low, medium, medium-high and high risk (LSI-R) repeat drink drivers
Pathways to Employment, Education and Training (PEET)	Operated in partnership with TAFE, assists offenders to identify opportunities for further education or employment opportunities. Participants become TAFE students for the duration of the program.	3 modules comprising 3 x 3-hour sessions	Low, medium-low, medium, medium-high and high-risk offenders (LSI-R), unemployed, drug and alcohol issues

Parolees may participate in multiple programs and may also be referred to external programs and services to address offence-related needs. However, resourcing for delivery of CSNSW programs to all eligible community-based offenders is a challenge for Corrective Services NSW. As a result, there are gaps in service delivery in both regional and metropolitan locations.

4.1.4 Support services

For the target group, in some locations, the NSW government funds non-government agencies to support the parolee to access services specified in the Corrective Services NSW case plan. These agencies work closely and collaboratively with Community Corrections Officers to ensure that activities are directly linked to the offence-related and responsibility needs of the individual parolee as identified in the Corrective Services NSW case plan. The activities of these support agencies may include any, or any combination of the activities detailed in Table 9.

Table 9: Offender support service activities

Domain	Activities
<i>Accommodation Support</i>	Activities that assist parolees in gaining access to suitable community/private rental housing arrangements and to other appropriate community resources and services that will help maintain them in such accommodation. Activities are practice in nature as opposed to referrals.
<i>AOD service support</i>	Supporting the engagement with the AOD services and compliance with relevant care/case plans.
<i>Mental health</i>	Assist the parolee to access and engage with mental health treatment services and to help ensure that the parolee complies with prescription medication regime.
<i>Recreation / leisure</i>	Organising recreation/leisure activities for the purposes of supporting personal and social functioning, reinforcing positive behaviours and pro-social engagement and networks
<i>Navigating Centrelink services and other financial services</i>	Assisting offenders to navigate Centrelink services and to access financial services that may support vocational training and work development opportunities. This may include advocating on behalf of the offender to ensure appropriate streaming and/or assessment if a Disability Support Benefit is identified as a viable option.
<i>Assistance with Debt Reduction</i>	Assisting the offender to engage in services recognised as Work Development Order services.
<i>Access to Education</i>	Provision of assistance to access and participate in structured educational programs such as TAFE.
<i>Access to Educational support</i>	Provision of assistance to access and participate in remedial or transitional education programs or scholarships/grants.
<i>Job search skills development</i>	Provision of assistance in acquiring basic skills for obtaining employment
<i>Social and personal development</i>	Activities that promote personal, interpersonal and social development and a sense of belonging in the community

Domain	Activities
<i>Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural support</i>	Activities that promote connection to culture and heritage. These may be provided as structured classes or group activities on various aspects of personal development or active referral to appropriate services
<i>Cultural support for CALD offenders</i>	Activities that promote connection to culture and heritage. These may be provided as structured classes or group activities on various aspects of personal development or active referral to appropriate services
<i>Living skills development</i>	Provision or active referral to practical assistance and activities to develop or support the capacity for independent living, social interaction and community integration
<i>Transport assistance</i>	Provision of transport support to help offenders stay engaged in services related to their case plan, including assisting offenders to learn to coordinate public transport, meet the service provider at a central point to assist with transport or reminder telephone calls
<i>Development of family/ household management skills</i>	Activities that re-establish and maintain family and household management skills
<i>Financial Advice and Guidance</i>	Provision or active referral for financial advice and guidance, for example, budgeting, paying fines and other commitments, financial management etc.

As members of the community, parolees have the same right of access to mainstream support agencies as any other member of the community. However, funded support services for supervised parolees are closely interlinked with the Corrective Services NSW Community Corrections case plan and funded support service agencies work closely with the Community Corrections Officer who supervises the parolee. The target group for funded support services is medium-high/high-risk parolees in the 'top' 14 release locations throughout NSW. These locations are shaded in Table 2 (see p. 6).

Resource constraints mean that not all of the target group in each location receive such support services since demand exceeds supply. In addition, the support services do not target medium-risk offenders and this may represent a gap in service provision. The 12-month re-offence rate for medium-risk males is 31 per cent and 25 per cent for females (Ringland, 2011) and so targeting this group may also appeal to proponents.

Funded support services are not only operating in limited locations but the duration of support is also constrained by resources. The first 12 weeks post-release is the initial duration for funded support services. This period can be extended if required and requested by the supervising Community Corrections Officer as a component of the parolee's case plan. This additional support is a relatively new funded service and has yet to be tested in terms of duration and intensity or the impact on rates of further offending and re-incarceration or revocation of parole due to non-compliance.

4.1.5 Compliance monitoring

Corrective Services NSW also assesses the harm that further offending may cause and the parolee's case plan also incorporates monitoring of compliance with the requirements of the parole order and the directions of the Community Corrections Officer. Such monitoring can include, any, or any combination, of the following:

- drug/alcohol testing

- scheduled home visits
- unannounced home visits
- reporting to the Community Corrections Office
- follow up on external referrals to ensure participation, compliance, and conditions of order/direction are being met, including discussions with service providers and case conferencing
- follow up on internal CSNSW referrals to ensure participation, and compliance
- contact with victims to ensure safety (domestic violence offenders only) if cohabiting or in an ongoing relationship with the perpetrator
- police contact and exchange of information
- CSNSW Security and Investigations (S & I) contact and exchange of information
- order conditions/direction in relation to antisocial associations and place restrictions and monitoring of compliance
- re-location accommodation checks
- visits to places of employment/contact with employers
- contact with family and significant others
- electronic monitoring (limited numbers)
- any other compliance and monitoring strategies deemed appropriate.

A pattern of failure to comply with the requirements of the parole order or the direction of the Community Corrections Officer may result in the parolee's order being revoked by the State Parole Authority (SPA). Unless the revocation is successfully appealed, the parolee will serve a further year, or the balance of the parole term (whichever is less), in custody. New legislation may provide SPA with the opportunity for greater flexibility in relation to revocation terms.

Parolees who are subject to the social impact investment intervention will also be subject to Corrective Services NSW programs and services, and monitoring by the supervising Community Corrections Officer. Supervision by the Community Corrections Officer should be viewed as positive since international and NSW research has demonstrated that the relationship between the supervising Community Corrections Officer and the offender is directly linked to reduced re-offending. For example, Wan, Poynton, van Doon, & Weatherburn, (2014) found that supervising officers with frequent rehabilitative contact with offenders resulted in a statistically significant reduction in rates of re-offending. Overseas, Kennealy, Skeem, Manchak & Eno Loudon (2012) found that supervising Community Corrections Officers who balanced a working collaboration with procedural fairness (i.e. were firm, fair and caring) protected against re-arrest even after the offenders' pre-existing personality traits and risk of re-offending were accounted for.

BOCSAR conducted a propensity score matching study of inmates released from prison to freedom without supervision and those released to Corrective Services NSW supervised parole. They found that, 12 months after release 48.6% of the unsupervised ex-offenders had re-offended, compared with 43.6% of the supervised parolees. At 36 months, the comparative rates of re-offending were 70.3% for the unsupervised group and 65.7% for the

supervised group (Wan, Poynton, van Doon, & Weatherburn, 2014). These differences are statistically significant. Further findings from this study are detailed in Table 10 below.

Table 10: Re-offending characteristics of supervised and unsupervised parolees

Variable	Unsupervised Group (n = 2,772) %	Supervised Group (n = 4,722) %
New proven offence	64.1	59.7
New proven offence resulting in imprisonment penalty	31.1	31.4
Return to custody	62.0	62.6
Number of new proven offences within 12 months (Mean)	1.8	1.4
Number of new proven offences within 24 months (Mean)	3.1	2.6
Number of new proven offences within 36 months (Mean)	4.2	3.6

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