

*Understanding the Risk and Needs Principles and
their Application to Offender Reentry*

Presented by:

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www.uc.edu/criminaljustice

Evidence Based – What does it mean?

There are different forms of evidence:

- The lowest form is anecdotal evidence; stories, opinions, testimonials, case studies, etc - but it often makes us feel good
- The highest form is empirical evidence – research, data, results from controlled studies, etc. - but sometimes it doesn't make us feel good

To understand What Works in reducing recidivism
you first have to understand the factors that are
correlated with criminal conduct

So, what are the major risk/need factors?

Major Set of Risk/Need Factors

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

Cognitive Emotional States

- Rage
- Anger
- Defiance
- Criminal Identity

Identifying Procriminal Attitudes, Values & Beliefs

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

What to listen for:

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

Neutralization & Minimizations

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

Neutralization Techniques include:

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

Major set Risk/needs continued:

**2. Procriminal associates and isolation
from prosocial others**

Major set Risk/Needs continued:

3. Temperamental & anti social personality pattern conducive to criminal activity including:

- Weak Socialization
- Impulsivity
- Adventurous
- Pleasure seeking
- Restless Aggressive
- Egocentrism
- Below Average Verbal intelligence
- A Taste For Risk
- Weak Problem-Solving/lack of Coping & Self-Regulation Skills

Major set of Risk/Need factors continued:

4. A history of antisocial behavior:

- Evident from a young age
- In a variety of settings
- Involving a number and variety of different acts

Major set of Risk/Needs Continued:

5. Family factors that include criminality and a variety of psychological problems in the family of origin including:

- Low levels of affection, caring and cohesiveness
- Poor parental supervision and discipline practices
- Out right neglect and abuse

Major set of Risk/Needs continued:

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

Leisure and/or recreation

7. Low levels of involvement in prosocial leisure activities

- Allows for interaction with antisocial peers
- Allows for offenders to have idle time
- Offenders replace prosocial behavior with antisocial behavior

Substance Abuse

8. Abuse of alcohol and/or drugs

- It is illegal itself (drugs)
- Engages with antisocial others
- Impacts social skills

Recent study of parole violators in Pennsylvania found a number of criminogenic factors related to failure*

*Conducted by Pennsylvania Dept. of Corrections

Pennsylvania Parole Study
Social Network and Living Arrangements
Violators Were:

- More likely to hang around with individuals with criminal backgrounds
- Less likely to live with a spouse
- Less likely to be in a stable supportive relationship
- Less likely to identify someone in their life who served in a mentoring capacity

Pennsylvania Parole Study
Employment & Financial Situation
Violators were:

- Only slightly more likely to report having difficulty getting a job
- Less likely to have job stability
- Less likely to be satisfied with employment
- Less likely to take low end jobs and work up
- More likely to have negative attitudes toward employment & unrealistic job expectations
- Less likely to have a bank account
- More likely to report that they were “barely making it” (yet success group reported over double median debt)

Pennsylvania Parole Study
Alcohol or Drug Use
Violators were:

- More likely to report use of alcohol or drugs while on parole (but no difference in prior assessment of dependency problem)
- Poor management of stress was a primary contributing factor to relapse

Pennsylvania Parole Study

Life on Parole

Violators were:

- Had unrealistic expectations about what life would be like outside of prison
- Had poor problem solving or coping skills
- Did not anticipate long term consequences of behavior
- Failed to utilize resources to help themselves
- Acted impulsively to immediate situations
- Felt they were not in control
- More likely to maintain anti-social attitudes
 - Viewed violations as an acceptable option to situation
 - Maintained general lack of empathy
 - Shifted blame or denied responsibility

Pennsylvania Parole Violator Study:

- Successes and failures did not differ in difficulty in finding a place to live after release
- Successes & failures equally likely to report eventually obtaining a job

Mentally Disordered Offenders (MDOs)

Conventional Clinical Wisdom:

- Criminal activities of MDOs best explained by psychopathological models
- Assessments typically focus on psychiatric diagnoses, psychiatric symptomatology, and personal distress (i.e. anxiety, depression)
- Assessments are often costly and time consuming

MDOs Continued

Review of the Empirical Research:

- The Psychopathological model has little relevance regarding the prediction of MDO criminal behavior
- Gendreau conducted meta-analysis on studies of psychiatric symptomatology and general recidivism: Correlation=ZERO
- Bonta's meta analysis found correlation between having a diagnosed mental disorder, mood disorder, or psychosis and general/violent recidivism ranged from $r = .01$ to $-.17$.
- Criminogenic risk factors were the strongest predictors ($r=.23$)

Criminal Thinking and Mental Illness*

Morgan, Fisher and Wolff (2010) studied 414 adult offenders with mental illness (265 males, 149 females) and found:

- 66% had belief systems supportive of criminal life style (based on Psychological Inventory of Criminal Thinking Scale (PICTS))
- When compare to other offender samples, male offenders with MI scored similar or higher than non-mentally disordered offenders.
- On Criminal Sentiments Scale-Revised, 85% of men and 72% of women with MI had antisocial attitudes, values and beliefs – which was higher than incarcerated sample without MI.

Conclusion

- Criminal Thinking styles differentiate people who commit crimes from those who do not independent of mental illness
- Incarcerated persons with mental illness are both mentally ill *and* criminal
- Needs to be treated as co-occurring problems

Major Risk and/or Need Factor and Promising Intermediate Targets for Reduced Recidivism

Factor	Risk	Dynamic Need
History of Antisocial Behavior	Early & continued involvement in a number antisocial acts	Build noncriminal alternative behaviors in risky situations
Antisocial personality	Adventurous, pleasure seeking, weak self control, restlessly aggressive	Build problem-solving, self-management, anger mgt & coping skills
Antisocial cognition	Attitudes, values, beliefs & rationalizations supportive of crime, cognitive emotional states of anger, resentment, & defiance	Reduce antisocial cognition, recognize risky thinking & feelings, build up alternative less risky thinking & feelings Adopt a reform and/or anticriminal identity
Antisocial associates	Close association with criminals & relative isolation from prosocial people	Reduce association w/ criminals, enhance association w/ prosocial people

Major Risk and/or Need Factor and Promising Intermediate Targets for Reduced Recidivism

Factor	Risk	Dynamic Need
Family and/or marital	Two key elements are nurturance and/or caring better monitoring and/or supervision	Reduce conflict, build positive relationships, communication, enhance monitoring & supervision
School and/or work	Low levels of performance & satisfaction	Enhance performance, rewards, & satisfaction
Leisure and/or recreation	Low levels of involvement & satisfaction in anti-criminal leisure activities	Enhancement involvement & satisfaction in prosocial activities
Substance Abuse	Abuse of alcohol and/or drugs	Reduce SA, reduce the personal & interpersonal supports for SA behavior, enhance alternatives to SA

Dynamic and Static Factors

- Static Factors are those factors that are related to risk and do not change. Some examples might be number of prior offenses, whether an offender has ever had a drug/alcohol problem.
- Dynamic factors relate to risk and *can change*. Some examples are whether an offender is currently unemployed or currently has a drug/alcohol problem.

According to the American Heart Association, there are a number of risk factors that increase your chances of a first heart attack

- ✓ Family history of heart attacks
- ✓ Gender (males)
- ✓ Age (over 50)
- ✓ Inactive lifestyle
- ✓ Over weight
- ✓ High blood pressure
- ✓ Smoking
- ✓ High Cholesterol level

There are two types of dynamic risk factors

- Acute – Can change quickly
- Stable – Take longer to change

A Large Body of Research Has Indicated....

....that correctional services and interventions can be effective in reducing recidivism for offenders, however, not all programs and interventions are equally effective

- The most effective approaches are based on some principles of effective interventions –
- Two of those principles include:
 - Risk (Who to target)
 - Need (What to target)

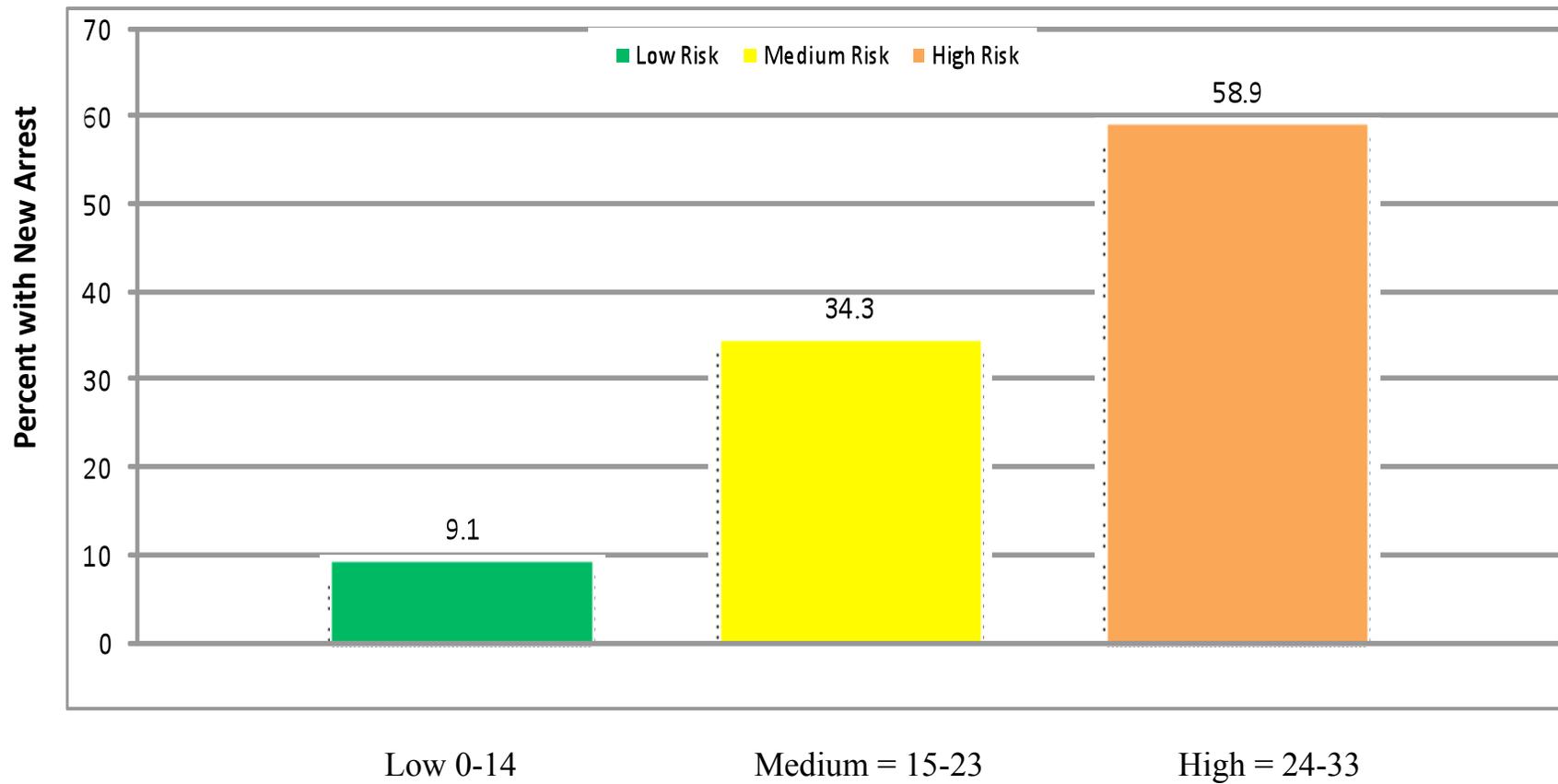
Let's Start with the Risk Principle

Risk refers to risk of reoffending and not the seriousness of the offense

There are Three Elements to the Risk Principle

1. Target those offenders with higher probability of recidivism
2. Provide most intensive treatment to higher risk offenders
3. Intensive treatment for lower risk offenders can increase recidivism

Example of Risk Levels by Recidivism for a Community Supervision Sample



#1: Targeting Higher Risk Offenders

- It is important to understand that even with EBP there will be failures.
- Even if you reduce recidivism rates you will still have high percentage of failures

Example of Targeting Higher Risk Offenders

- If you have 100 High risk offenders about 60% will fail
- If you put them in well designed EBP for sufficient duration you may reduce failure rate to 40%
- If you have 100 low risk offenders about 10% will fail
- If you put them in same program failure rate will be 20%

Targeting Higher Risk Offenders continued:

- In the end, who had the lower recidivism rate?
- Mistake we make is comparing high risk to low risk rather than look for treatment effects

#2: Provide Most Intensive Interventions to Higher Risk Offenders

- Higher risk offenders will require much higher dosage of treatment
 - Rule of thumb: 100 hours for moderate risk
 - 200+ hours for high risk
 - 100 hours for high risk may have little effect
 - Does not include work/school and other activities that are not directly addressing criminogenic risk factors

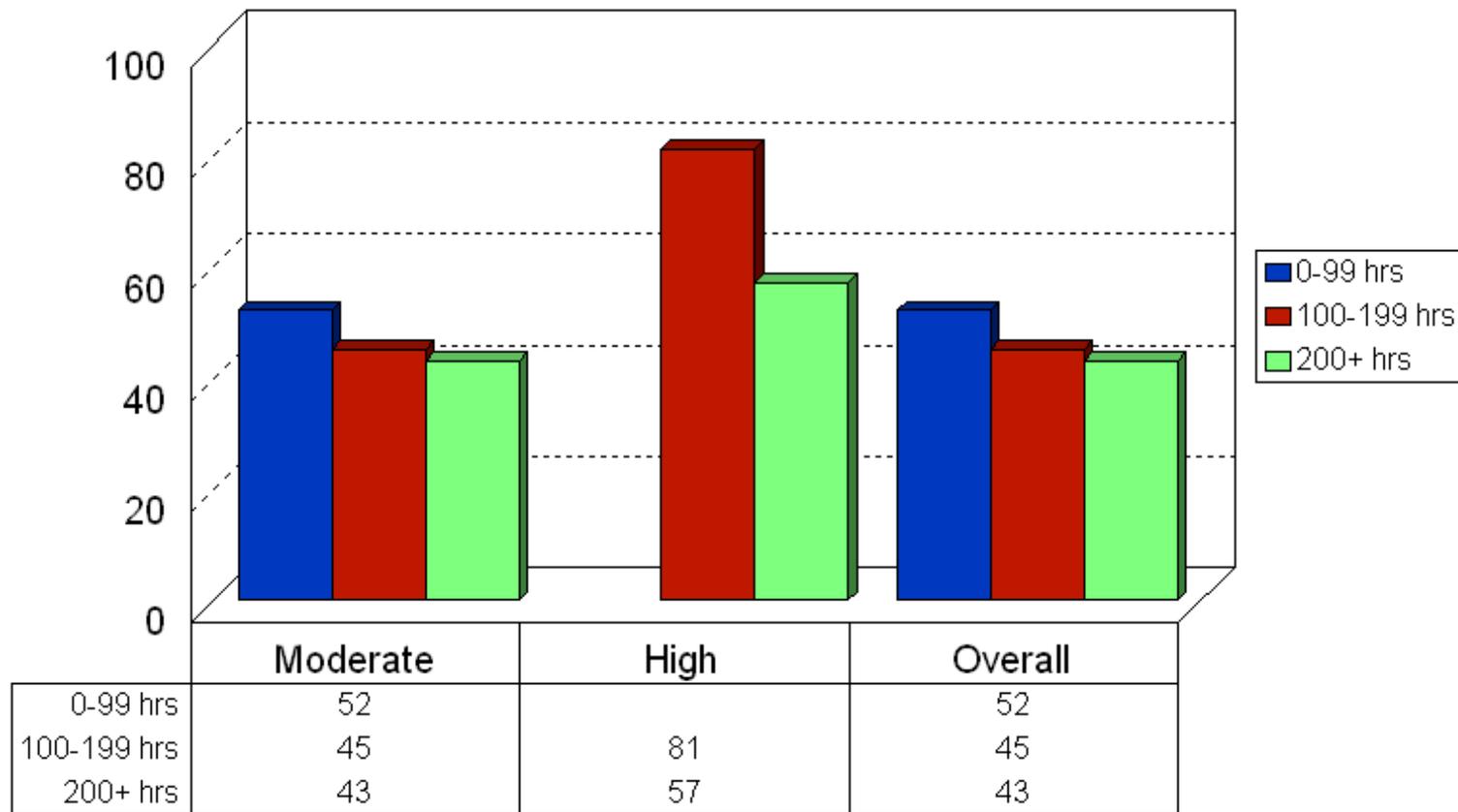
Results from a 2010 Study (Latessa, Sperber, and Makarios) of 689 offenders

- 100-bed secure residential facility for adult male felons
- Average length of stay = 4 months
- Cognitive-behavioral treatment modality
- Average age 33
- 60% single, never married
- 43% less than high school education
- 80% moderate risk or higher
- 88% have probability of substance abuse per SASSI

Methodology

- Sample size = 689 clients
- Excluded sex offenders
- Dosage defined as number of group hours per client
- Multiple measures of recidivism – arrest, conviction, reincarceration
 - All offenders out of program minimum of 12 months

Recidivism Rates by Intensity and Risk Level



Findings

- We saw large decreases in recidivism when dosage levels go from 100 to 200 hours for high risk offenders---81% to 57%.
- The results were not as strong for moderate risk offenders

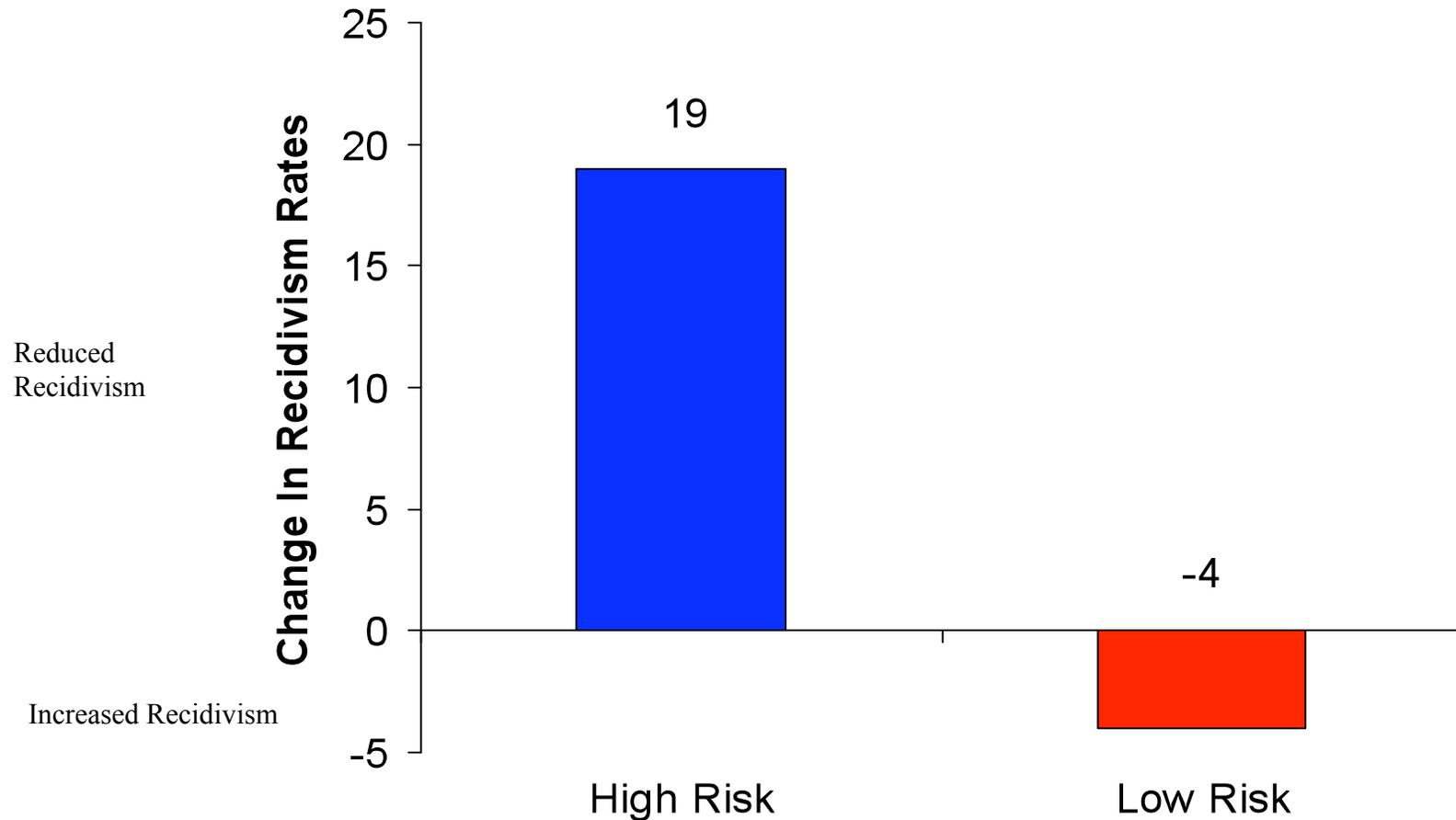
Conclusions

- Supports previous research including the risk principle
- Indicates that we cannot have “one size” fits all programs

#3: Intensive Treatment for Low Risk Offenders will Often Increase Failure Rates

- Low risk offenders often learn anti social behavior from higher risk offenders
- Disrupts prosocial networks

The Risk Principle & Correctional Intervention Results from Meta Analysis



Dowden & Andrews, 1999

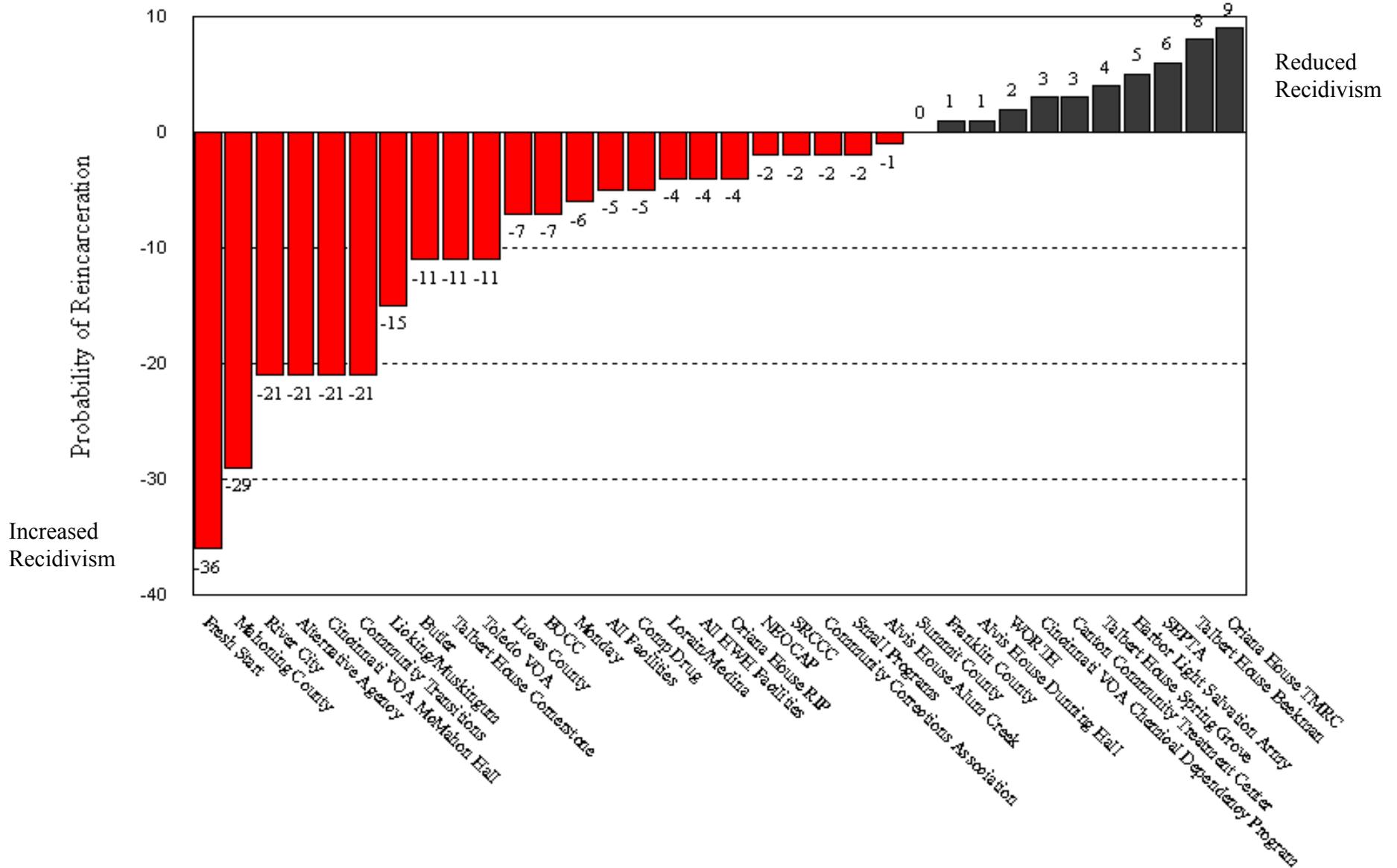
2002 STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITY CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS IN OHIO

- **Largest study of community based correctional treatment facilities ever done up to that time.**
- **Total of 13,221 offenders – 37 Halfway Houses & 15 Community Based Correctional Facilities (CBCFs) were included in the study.**
- **Comparison group on probation or parole supervision**
- **Two-year follow-up conducted on all offenders**
- **Recidivism measures included new arrests & incarceration in a state penal institution**

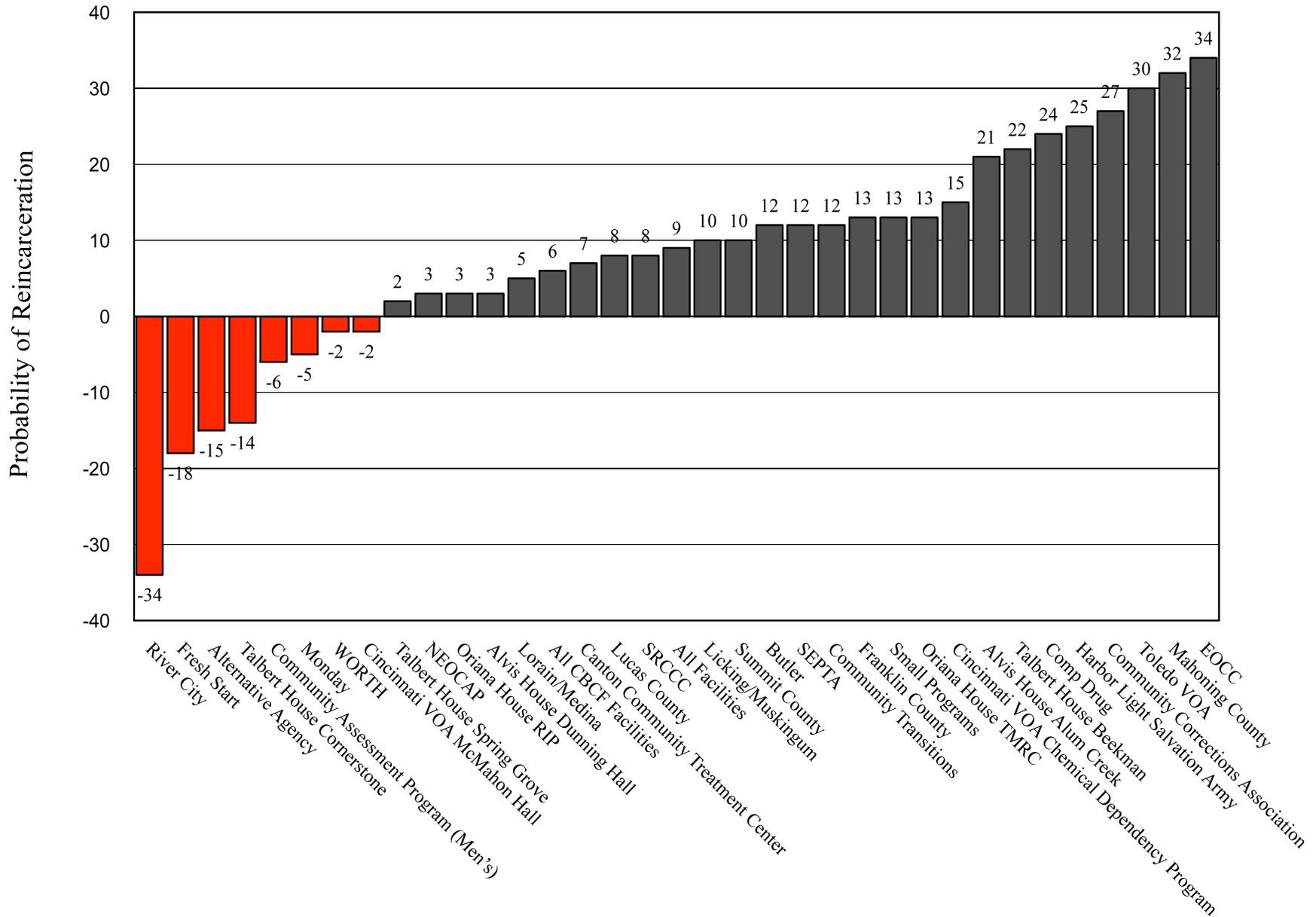
Determination of Risk

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

Treatment Effects for Low Risk Offenders



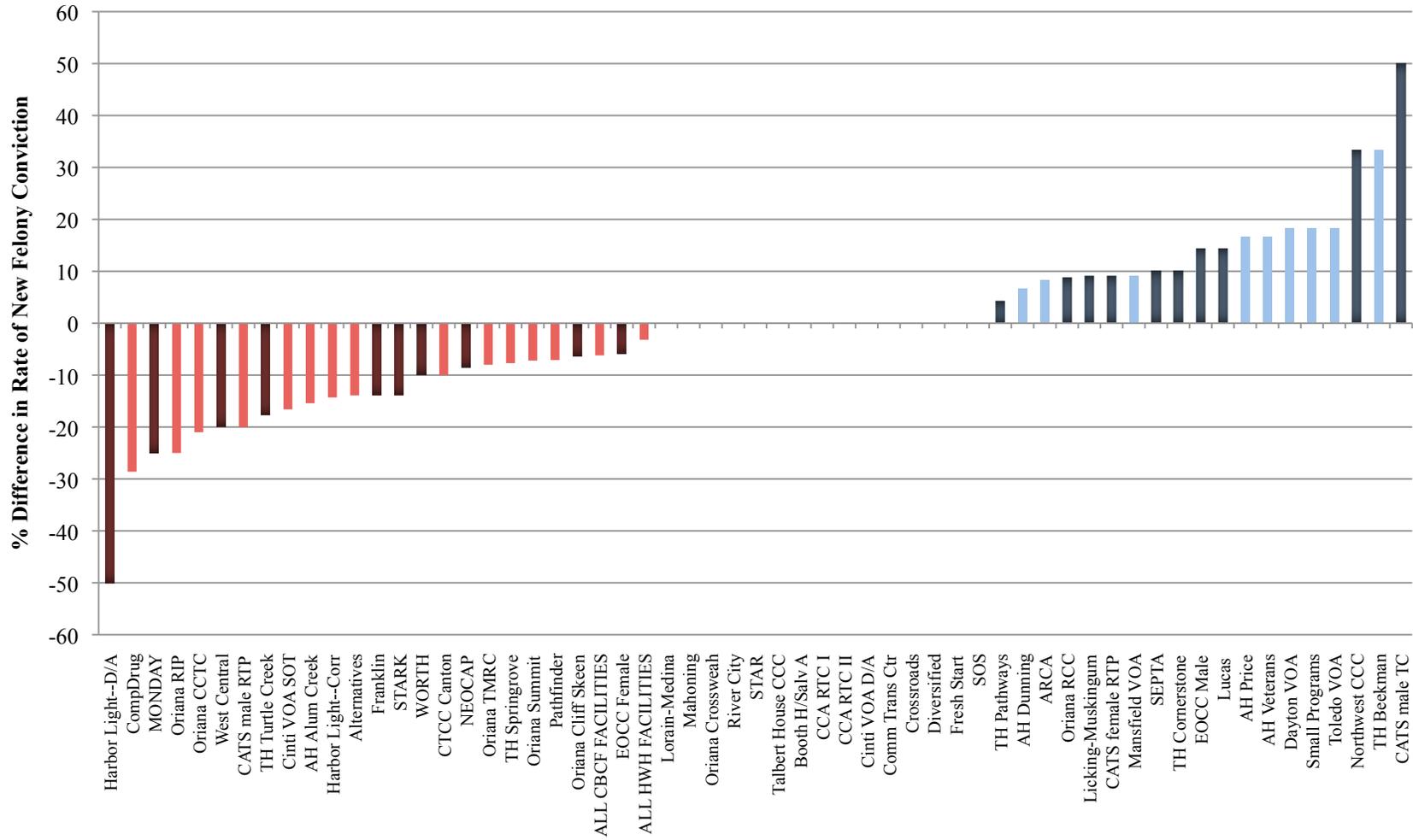
Treatment Effects For High Risk Offenders



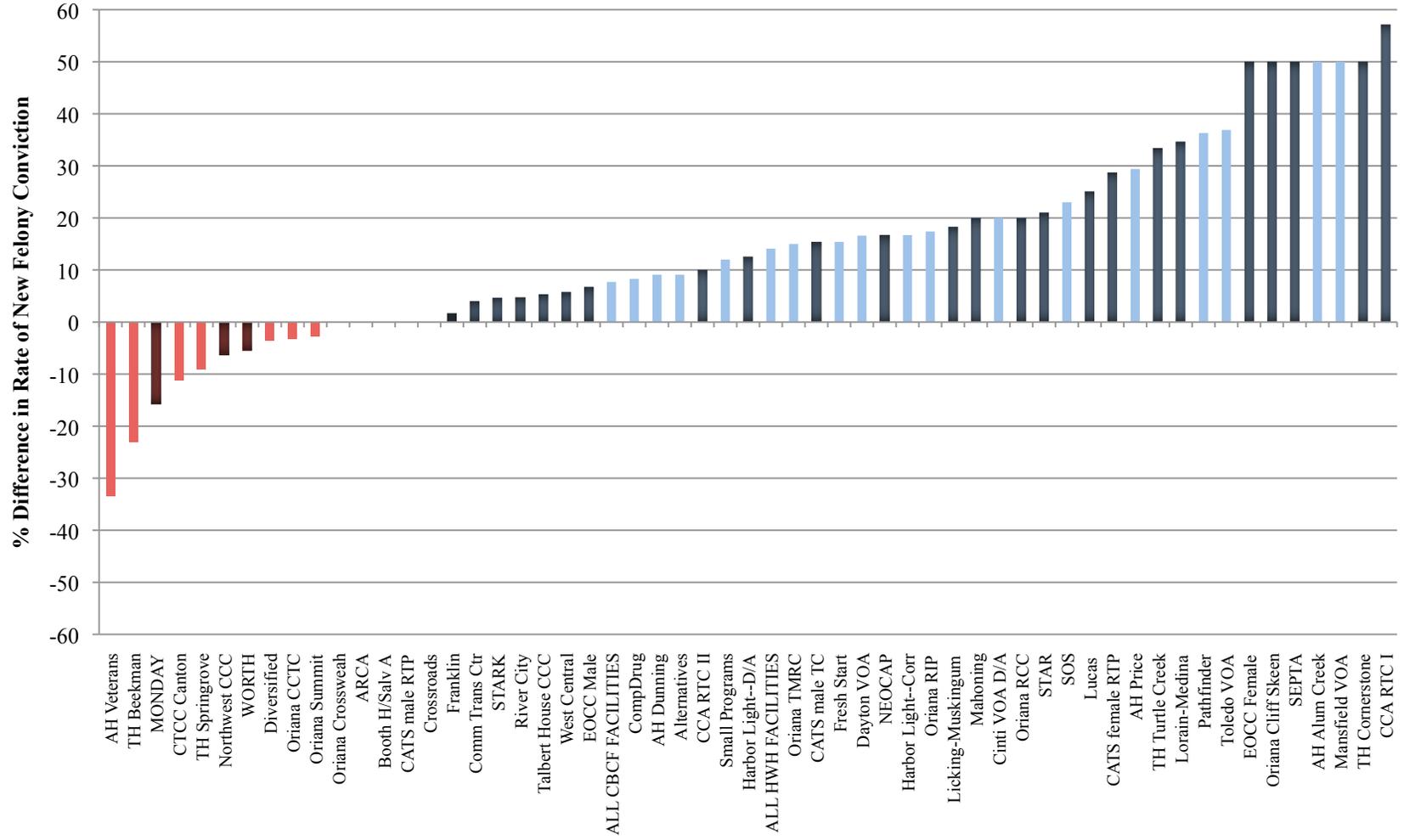
2010 STUDY OF COMMUNITY CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS IN OHIO

- **Over 20,000 offenders – 44 Halfway Houses and 20 Community Based Correctional Facilities (CBCFs) were included in the study.**
- **Two-year follow-up conducted on all offenders**

Treatment Effects for Low Risk



Treatment Effects for High Risk



Average Difference in Recidivism by Risk for Halfway House Offenders

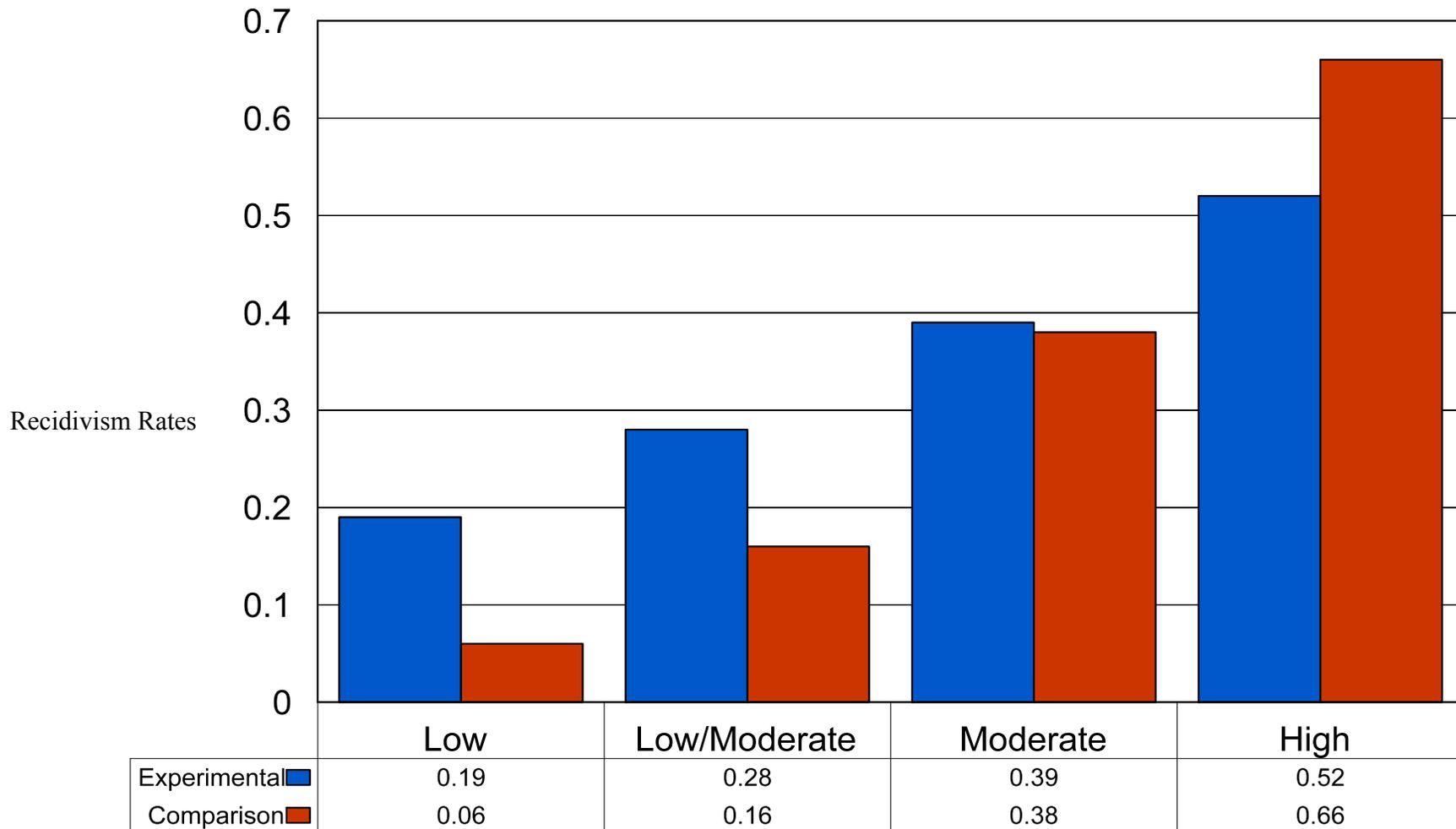
Low risk ↑ recidivism by 3%

Moderate risk ↓ recidivism by 6%

High risk ↓ recidivism by 14%

We have seen the Risk Principle
with Females

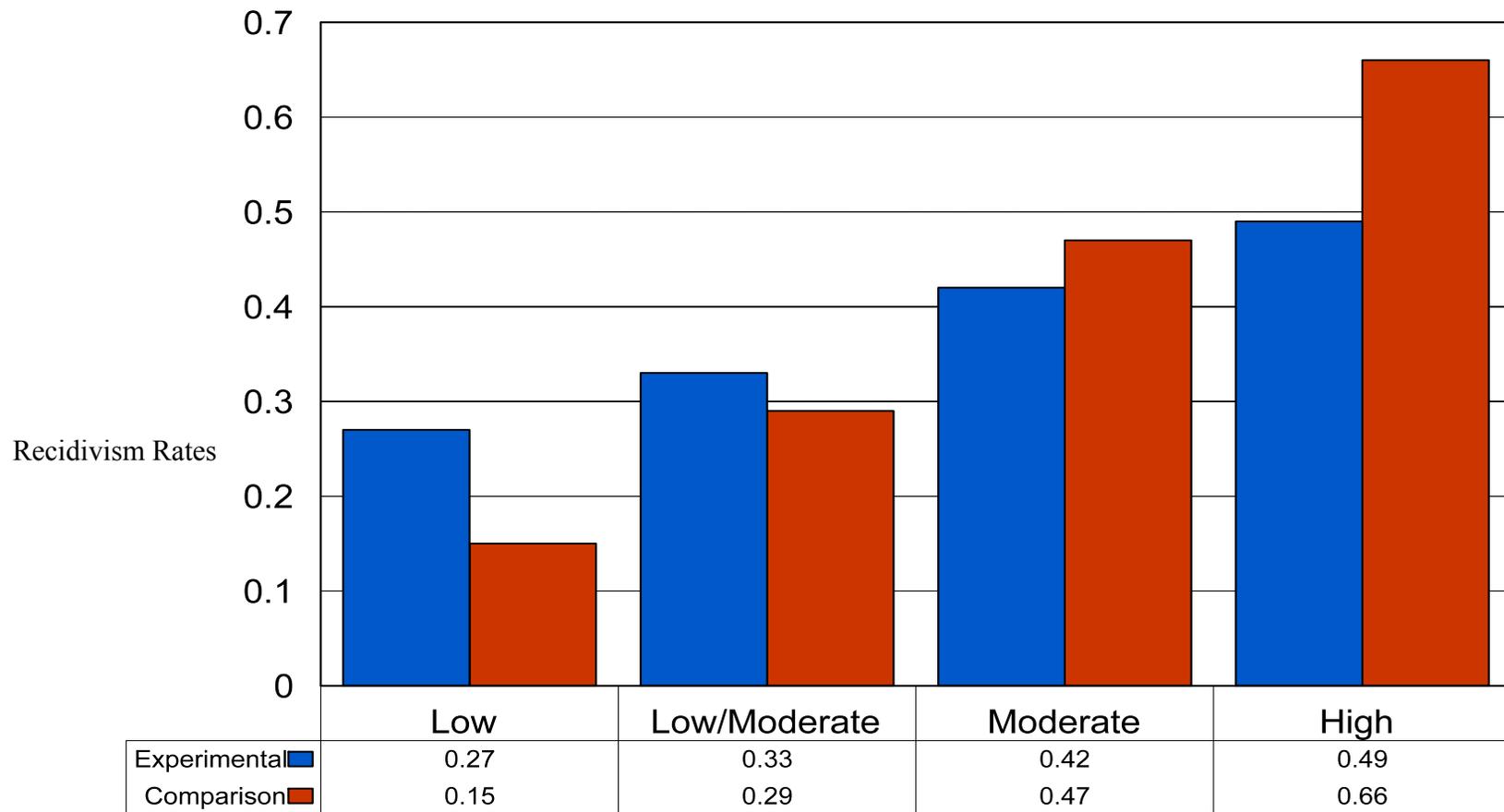
Recidivism Rates by Risk Levels for Females: New Arrest (Felony or Misd).



Ohio ½ and CBCF House Study all treatment cases. N=1,340

We have seen the Risk Principle
with Sex Offenders

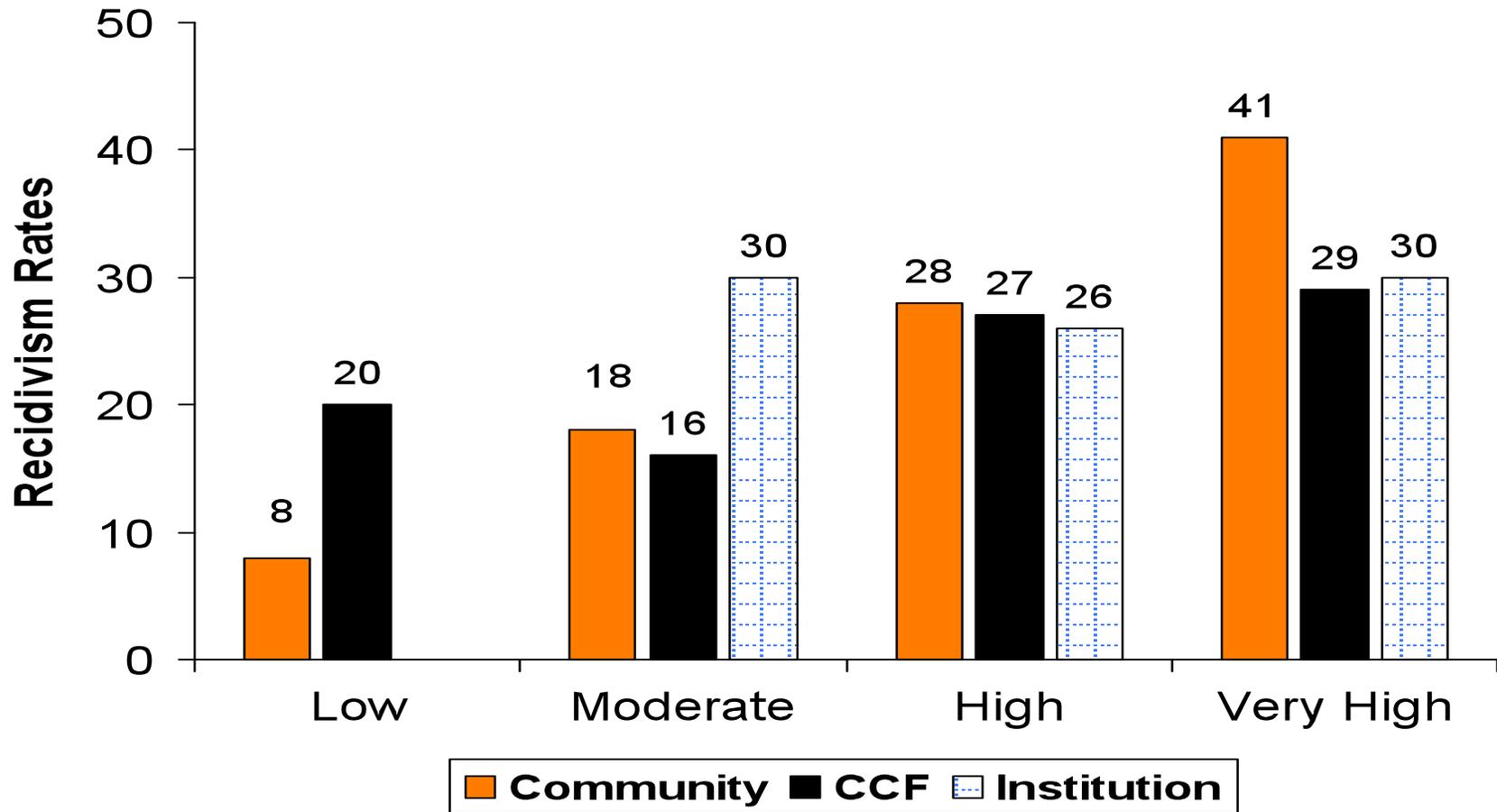
Recidivism Rates by Risk Levels for Sex Offenders: New Arrest (Felony or Misd).



Ohio ½ and CBCF House Study: Successful terminations only. N=390

We have seen the Risk Principle
with Juveniles

Risk Level by New Adjudication: Results from 2005 Ohio Study of over 14,000 Youth



Need Principle

- Target crime producing needs and risk factors

Need Principle

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

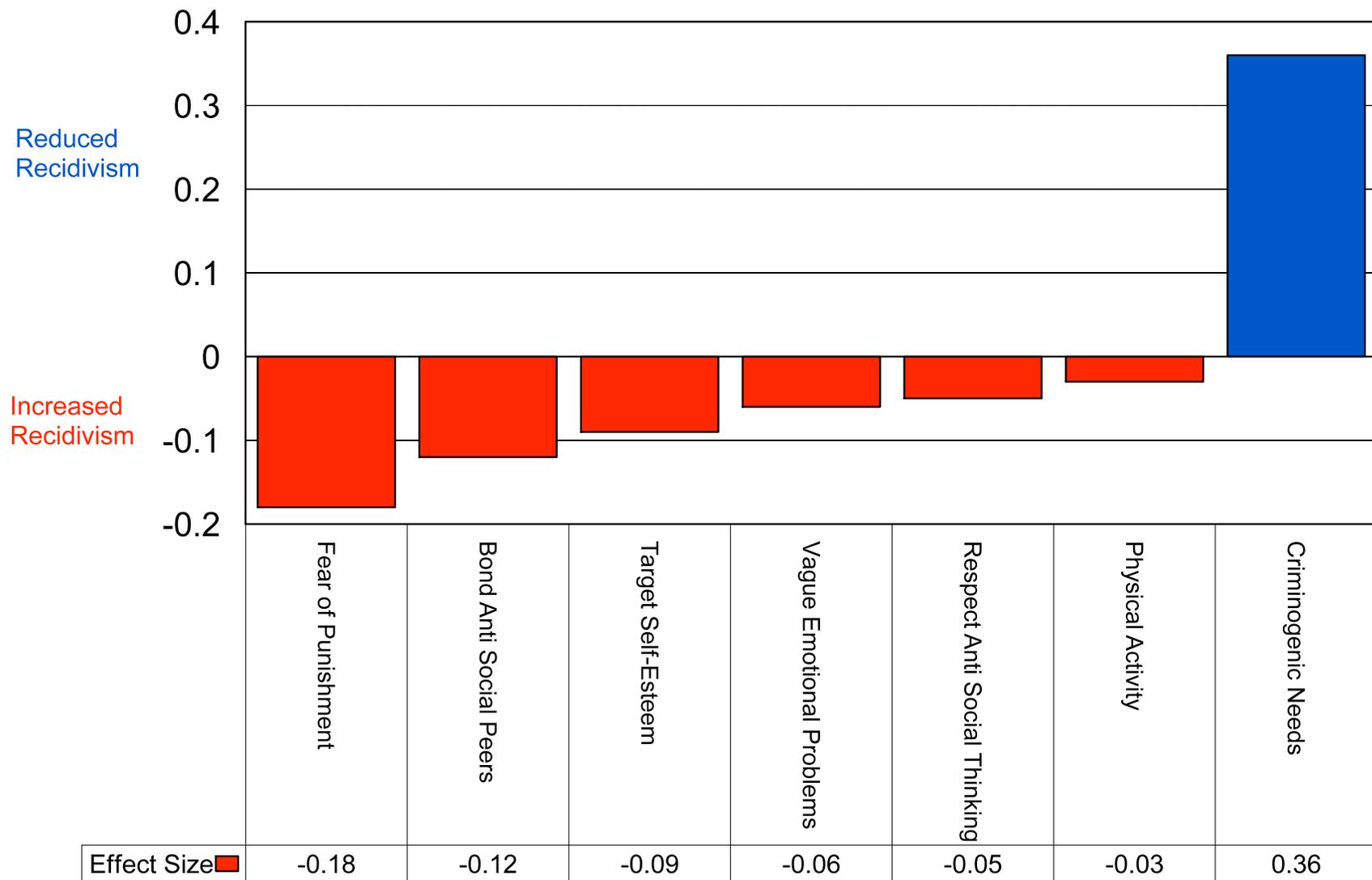
Criminogenic

- Anti social attitudes
- Anti social friends
- Substance abuse
- Lack of empathy
- Impulsive behavior

Non-Criminogenic

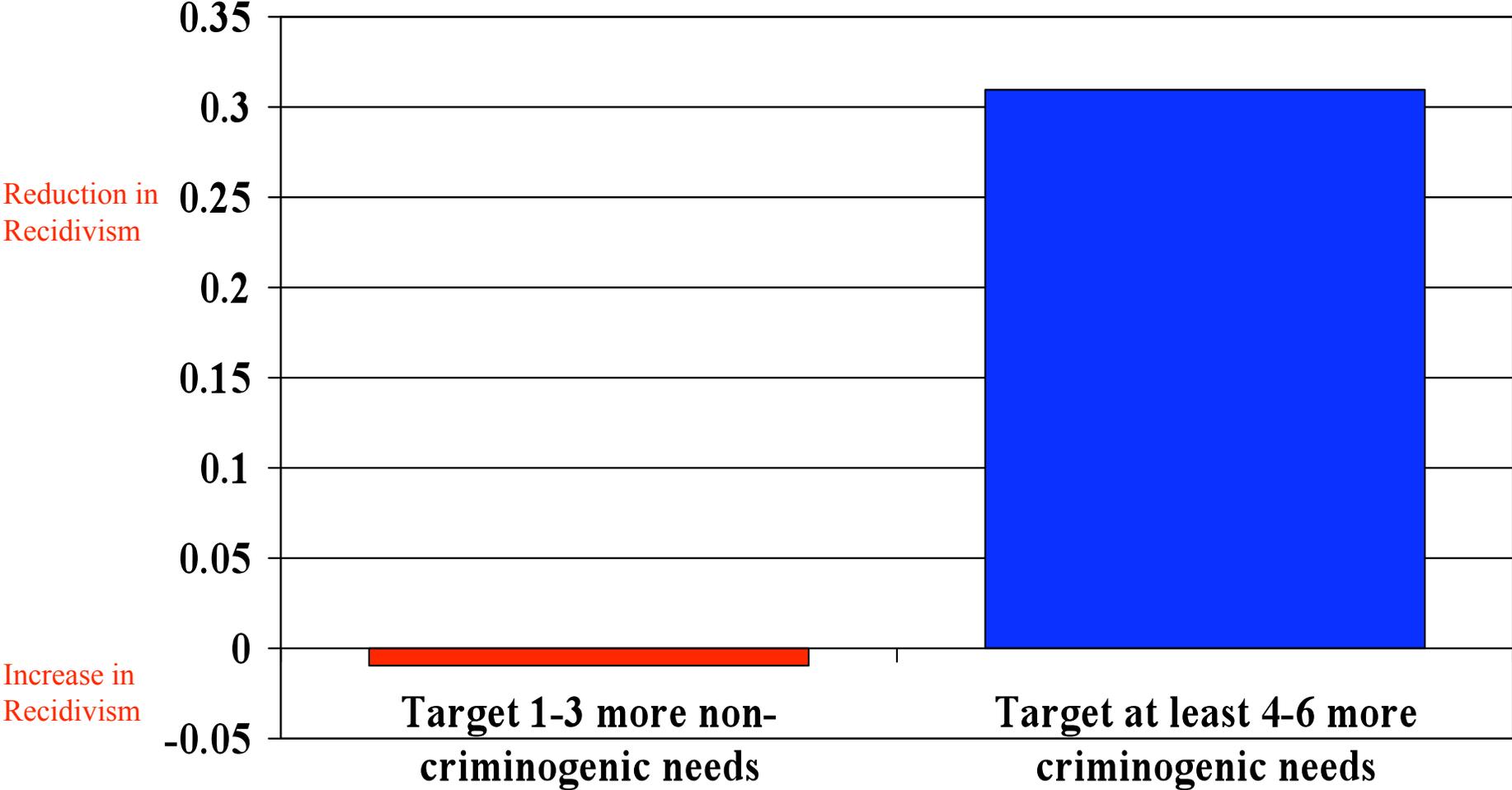
- Anxiety
- Low self esteem
- Creative abilities
- Medical needs
- Physical conditioning

Needs Targeted & Correlation with Effect Size for Youthful Offenders



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

Targeting Criminogenic Need: Results from Meta-Analyses



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

Assessment is the engine that drives effective correctional programs

- Need to meet the risk and need principle
- Reduces bias
- Aids decision making
- Allows you to target dynamic risk factors and measure change

Some Common Problems with Offender Assessment

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

The Christopher Columbus Style of Program Design

WHEN HE SET OUT...

He didn't know where he was going.

WHEN HE GOT THERE...

He didn't know where he was.

WHEN HE GOT BACK...

He didn't know where he had been.

Definitely *NOT* Criminogenic
Needs

Some so called “theories” we have come across

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

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Continued from the homepage

Dance Program Gets Juveniles Moving on the Right Track

By [Meghan Mandeville](#), News Research Reporter



Photo: Sam Forencich

The beats blaring from the high security unit of the Santa Clara County (Calif.) Juvenile Hall have a ring of rehabilitation to them. There, in a small, secure, concrete area young male offenders dance their way toward a new outlook on life.

The Juvie Jazz dance program gives young offenders in two boys units and one girls unit an opportunity to let loose on the dance floor to the music of rappers like **Tupac**, **50 Cent** and **R. Kelly**. At the same time, the juveniles are learning how to follow instructions, work together in a group and build their self-esteem.

"I don't think they are going to be professional dancers, but I want them to see the potential they have to do different things," said program creator and instructor **Ehud Krauss**. "[My goal is] to make them better human beings [and] better kids.

Aside from juvenile offenders in Santa Clara County, Krauss, who owns a dance studio in Palo Alto, Calif., teaches dance to juveniles in San Mateo County, Calif. and autistic and handicapped kids in the area.

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Running teaches inmates value of success

'This is the highlight of our year'



Inmate Jason Upchurch runs the marathon at the Middle Tennessee Correctional Complex.

Story Tools

NASHVILLE, Tennessee (AP) -- Until this week, Jordan Davis had never run 3.1 miles, much less completed a race.

Now he's finished one in a place not usually associated with running free: the Middle Tennessee Correctional Complex. It hosted a 5-kilometer, half-marathon and full marathon Wednesday, open to inmates and outsiders alike.

Jordan and older brother Johnathan finished the 5-kilometer race -- nine laps around a ballfield lined by razor wire -- in 25 minutes, 48 seconds. Jordan is serving 20 years for theft; Johnathan works at a skateboard park.

"I was about to fall out, but I feel really good now. I never thought I could do anything like that," said Jordan Davis, 21.

That feeling of achievement is the whole point of the race, said Winnie Binkley, recreation director for the prison, which organized the "Jaunt in the Joint."

"Most of these guys have been told they can't succeed. They've never had positive reinforcement," Binkley said. "Last year there were three guys who said it was the first time they had ever started something and finished it."

The race was first organized three years ago by inmate Craig Nunn, who was the only runner to complete the entire 26.2 miles. Last year, he wrote a letter inviting the Nashville Striders running club to participate.

This year, 33 Striders provided timing clocks, Gatorade, T-shirts for participants and medals. A similar number of prisoners joined the "freeworlders," as inmates call non-inmates.

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FREE SPIRIT DRUM CIRCLES

Patricia Prince Thomas Drum Circle Facilitator

To; Marta Daniel

Subject; Drum Circles

I am enclosing the latest research and articles on drum circles. I have been researching drum circles for the past year since experiencing one at the Southeastern Conference. I am amazed that something so basic actually boost the immune system and its fun. I am enclosing an e-mail from a friend that works in a New Zealand prison. She introduced the first drum circle in a New Zealand prison and she describes it as WOW. The staff was amazed because most clients continued drumming for two hours without stopping to smoke.

I am uncertain as to how parolees will respond to a drum circle , however I am sure it will be very positive. I realize that substance abuse and cognitive behavioral programs are probably your number one priority. I would like to introduce drum circles to the prison system. It may be cost effective preventing depression therefore saving money on antidepressants. In addition research indicates that it is stress reducing which may prevent Disciplinary Reports.

I am willing to demonstrate a drum circle free of charge to any prison within a 150 mile radius of Athens. I realize that you are very busy and I appreciate your taking the time to read over the materials that I have enclosed.

Sincerely,
Patricia Thomas MA., MAC., LPC.,

Patricia Thomas



Man's sentence: probation, yoga

It's anger management, judge says

By **ANDREW TILGHMAN**
Houston Chronicle

First there was house arrest. Now there's yoga.

A judge ordered a man convicted Wednesday of slapping his wife to take a yoga class as part of his one-year probation.

"It's part of anger management," County Criminal Court at Law Judge Larry Standley said of the ancient Hindu philosophy of exercise and well-being. "For people who are into it, it really calms them down."

"I've thought about taking it myself, but I've got a pretty

bad back," Standley said.

Standley, a former prosecutor, has sometimes imposed yearlong jail sentences for similar misdemeanor domestic assaults. But he said the case of James Lee Cross was unique.

Cross, a 53-year-old car salesman from Tomball, explained that his wife was struggling with a substance abuse problem and that he struck her on New Year's Eve during an argument about her drinking.

"He was trying to get a hold of her because she has

See **YOGA** on Page 26A.

WORKING OUT ANGER

County Criminal Court at Law Judge Larry Standley sentenced James Lee Cross, convicted of slapping his wife, to take a yoga class as part of his one-year probation.



Standley sometimes imposes yearlong jail sentences for similar misdemeanor domestic assaults. But he said Cross' case was unique.

"This is not a regular condition I make on people who beat up their spouse," Standley said. "But he was not your typical serial wife-beater type, based on what was presented to me."

Yoga

Continued from Page 17A.

a problem," Standley said after the court hearing. "I thought this would help him realize that he only has control over himself."

The sentence came as a surprise to Cross, who was told to enroll in a class and report back to Standley on his progress.

"I'm not very familiar with it," Cross said of yoga. "From what I understand, it may help in a couple ways, not only as far as mentally settling, but maybe a little weight loss."

Darla Magee, an instructor at Yoga Body Houston in River Oaks, said she would recommend that Cross take a basic yoga class emphasizing breathing and including a variety of postures — forward bends, back bends and twists.

"Yoga can help us to get rid of

many emotional issues we might have," she said. "It's a spiritual cleanse."

Prosecutor Lincoln Goodwin agreed to a sentence of probation without jail time because Cross had no significant criminal history.

While Wednesday marked the first time Standley has ordered a defendant into a yoga class, he has tried other forms of "alternative sentencing."

He has ordered dozens of people convicted of drunken driving to keep a journal of news clippings about the crime to make them aware of the problem.

Harris County probation officials recently received a \$20,000 grant to study whether Standley's journal orders have had any effect on reducing repeat drunken driving offenses.

Nevertheless, the yoga sentence was unusual even for Standley.

"This is not a regular condition

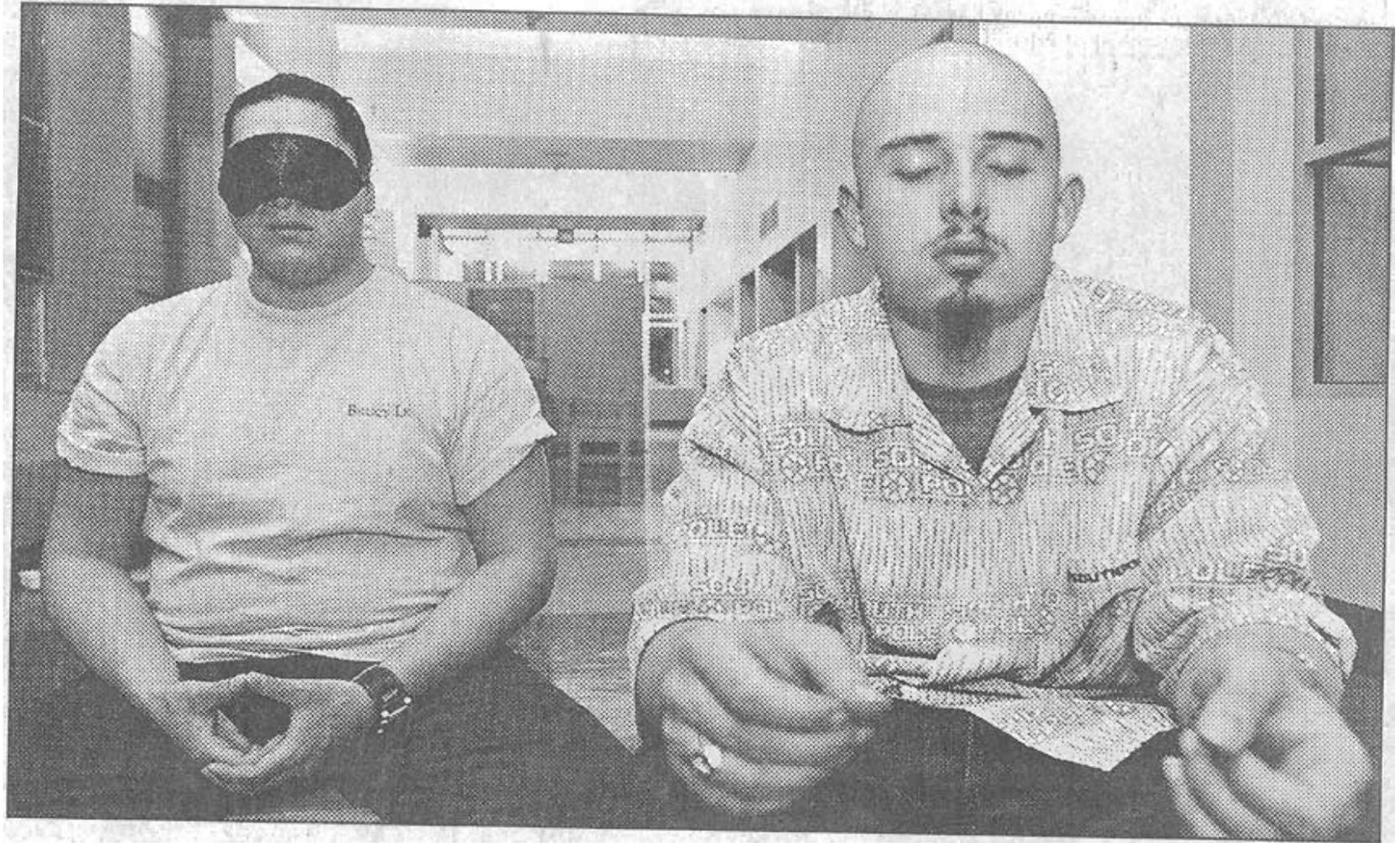
I make on people who beat up their spouse," he said. "But he was not your typical serial wife-beater type, based on what was presented to me."

Cross' wife, Wendy, said she thought yoga would be good for him. "I know there are a lot of benefits to meditation," she said.

John Coon, director of the Yoga Center of Houston, hailed Standley's order as "progressive." But Yannis Avramidis, a Houston yoga instructor, derided the judge's move as a reflection of how faddish yoga has become.

They all agreed, however, that yoga may be an effective calming tool.

"If everyone did yoga, we'd have a lot less violence and trouble in the world. Everyone would just be calmer," Magee said. But Cross, she said, "is going to need more than one yoga class."



Gardening Conquers All

How to cut your jail recidivism rates by half

Lisa Van Cleef, Special to SF Gate

Wednesday, December 18, 2002

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URL: <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/g/archive/2002/12/18/greeng.DTL>



In 1982, Catherine Sneed was lying in a hospital bed, so ill with kidney disease that her San Francisco County Jail co-workers were coming to say their good-byes -- prematurely, it turns out. While in the hospital, Sneed read Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath" and came to the pivotal realization that people feel most hopeful when they have a connection to the land, and that vital connection was missing at the county jail.

Sneed, a high school dropout who put herself through law school, became a jail counselor rather than a lawyer because, she says, she wanted to keep people out of jail rather than put them in. She attributes her recovery to that Steinbeck-inspired epiphany which then led to her determination to start [the Garden Project](#).

Today, the county jail's Garden Project has employed more than 4,300 ex-prisoners and served thousands of incarcerated men and women, teaching them essential job and life skills and providing literacy courses and computer training all while they work the jail's 12-acre organic garden in San Bruno or the project's second garden in Hunters Point.

The garden serves as a setting where the participants not only acquire horticultural skills and an awareness of the role plants play in our lives but also learn the basics required in the working world, such as adhering to a schedule, working with a group and accepting responsibility for specific tasks.

Sneed says her goal is to provide Garden Project apprentices an alternative to the cycle of crime that has more than half the parolees returning to jail within a year. Her program shows them that "getting up every day and going to work, doing the best you can while there and getting a paycheck is easier than dealing drugs, easier than prison," she adds.

And it works. According to San Francisco County Sheriff Mike Hennessy, "The Garden Project is a tremendously effective crime-prevention program. It not only helps individuals rebuild their lives, but recidivism studies we've conducted also show that while 55 percent of our prisoners are rearrested within a year, those who go through the Garden Project have a recidivism rate of 24 percent, and that's after two years.

"The participants of the Garden Project are what we call 'frequent fliers' -- those people who were in and out of jail many times," Hennessy points out. "You don't find too many other programs this successful."

DOGSLEDDING AS RESTORATIVE JUSTICE METHOD –

London Free Press – 07/03/11

The Hollow Water First Nation, who live 200 km northeast of Winnipeg, have used dogsledding as a restorative justice program, which tries to restore relationships between victims and perpetrators in criminal cases. Exercising wilderness skills was seen as a way of rebuilding the perpetrator's self-esteem, explained Marcel HARDESTY, restorative justice program director.

Lessons Learned from the Research

- Who you put in a program is important – pay attention to risk – we can do harm
- What you target is important –remove barriers but remember, focus most of your attention on criminogenic needs