



**kwiteit
forensische
zorg**

2020

Effective practices in probation supervision

A systematic literature review

Jacqueline Bosker, Jolein Monnee-van Doornmalen, Renée Henskens, Denise van der Plaats

Date of publication: June 2020

Author(s)

Jacqueline Bosker, Jolein Monnee-van Doornmalen, Renée Henskens, Denise van der Plaat

With the assistance of

Simone Oostendorp and Dorien Korsten

Year of publication

2020

Contact and address

Social Innovation Knowledge Centre, HU University of Applied Sciences

Research Group Working with Mandated Clients

P.O.Box 85397, 3508 AJ Utrecht, the Netherlands

Padualaan 101 – 3584 CS Utrecht, the Netherlands

Telephone secretariat: +31 88 4819222

E-mail: socialeinnovatie@hu.nl

www.socialeinnovatie.hu.nl / www.hu.nl

Colophon

This publication/project has been made possible with financial support from the KFZ Programme. In addition, the KFZ Programme organised the substantive project supervision, focusing on quality, progress monitoring and budget management. The Forensic Psychiatry Expertise Centre is responsible for project management on behalf of the KFZ programme.

© KFZ: The intellectual property belongs to the author(s). The author(s) agree that this publication can be used by all institutions within the forensic care sector, unconditionally and free of charge.



Table of contents

1. Executive summary	4
2. Introduction	5
2.1 Probation supervision	5
2.1.1 Counselling and monitoring in a judicial framework	5
2.1.2 Supervisory styles	6
2.1.3 What characterises probation supervision in the Netherlands?	6
2.2 Background and reason for this research	8
2.3 Objective	9
2.4 Research question	9
2.5 Reader's guide	9
3. Method	10
3.1 What are we looking for?	10
3.2 Search strategy	10
3.3 Selection	11
3.4 Nature and quality of the studies found	14
3.5 Analysis	15
4. Effectiveness of approaches to probation supervision	17
4.1 Combining monitoring and counselling (hybrid working)	17
4.2 RNR principles	19
4.2.1 Risk principle	19
4.2.2 Needs principle	21
4.2.3 Responsivity principle	23
4.3 Core Correctional Practices	24
4.4 After-care	27
4.5 Day Reporting Centre	29
5. Specific activities in probation supervision	30
5.1 Basis of the contact	30
5.1.1 Working systematically	30
5.1.2 Continuity in the contact	31
5.1.3 Working on the relationship, working alliance	32
5.1.4 Motivational Interviewing	35
5.1.5 Effective use of authority	37
5.2 Change in behaviour and circumstances	37
5.2.1 Prosocial modelling	38
5.2.2 Cognitive behavioural techniques	39
5.2.3 Strengthening problem-solving skills	40

5.2.4 Practical assistance	41
5.2.5 Social bonds	42
5.2.6 Sanctions and Rewards	43
5.3 Monitoring	44
5.3.1 Direct sanctioning of violations	44
5.3.2 Electronic monitoring	46
5.4 Collaboration between institutions	48
5.5 Other	50
6. Additional findings for specific clients	52
6.1 Female clients	52
6.2 Young adults	55
6.3 Low and high risk	58
6.5 Violent offenders	63
6.6 Clients with addiction problems	65
6.7 Clients with psychiatric problems	68
7. Conclusion	70
7.1 Effectiveness of practices in probation supervision	71
7.1.1 Practices in probation supervision whose effectiveness is well-substantiated ..	71
7.1.2 Practices in probation supervision whose effectiveness is less well-	
substantiated	72
7.1.3 Practices in probation supervision which have been shown to be ineffective ..	73
7.2 Probation supervision for specific clients	74
7.3 Implementing practices	74
7.4 Recommendations for the probation practice	75
7.5 Recommendations for follow-up research	76
8. Bibliografy	78
9. Appendices	87
Appendix 1. Formats for summarising the articles	87
Appendix 2. Quality assessment articles and reports	89
Appendix 3. Explanation of abbreviations	90
Appendix 4. Guidance Committee	91

1. Executive summary

This systematic literature review describes what is known about the effectiveness of practices in probation supervision. Effectiveness is defined as: contributing to a reduction in recidivism, better functioning of clients in various areas, or prevention of non-compliance and drop-out. Based on a systematic research of Dutch and foreign literature, 141 articles and reports were selected and analysed.

The following practices are sufficiently empirically substantiated to state that they are effective in probation supervision:

- Hybrid working: combining monitoring and support.
- Using the so-called RNR principles as a basis for probation supervision:
 - Intensity of the approach is in line with the risk of recidivism;
 - Focus on dynamic criminogenic needs;
 - A cognitive behavioural approach, and adapting service to the strengths, motivation, possibilities, limitations and situation of the client.
- Continuity in contact between probation officer and client.
- A good relationship / working alliance between probation officer and client.
- Prosocial modelling: showing exemplary behaviour, actively rewarding client's prosocial expressions and behaviours and rejecting procriminal expressions and behaviours.
- Using cognitive behavioural techniques.
- Supporting clients in strengthening their ability to solve problems.
- Supporting clients in establishing and maintaining prosocial bonds and dissolving social contacts that promote delinquent behaviour.

In addition, practices have been found that may be effective, but the substantiation of which is less reliable due to the limited number or limited quality of studies:

- Working systematically.
- Motivational interviewing.
- Practical help in various areas such as housing, finances, work and care.
- Effective use of authority that is characterised as 'firm but fair'.
- A combination of rewarding desirable behaviour and punishing undesirable behaviour, provided that the emphasis is on reward.
- Collaborating effectively with other institutions such as judicial partners, healthcare institutions and various municipal institutions.
- Electronic Monitoring supports compliance with the special conditions and can contribute to counselling objectives.

Finally, some practices have been found to be ineffective:

- Probation supervision that only focuses on monitoring whether clients comply with the special conditions.
- Emphasis on immediate sanctions in case of violation of conditions.
- Day Reporting Centres (DRC): a very intensive form of supervision with a customised day programme of five days a week.

Effective probation supervision consists of a combination of the above (possibly) effective practices, tailored to the individual client. Proper implementation of these practices appears to be an important attention point. Based on the findings, the researchers make a number of recommendations for the probation practice and for possible follow-up research.

2. Introduction

The probation service works with people who are suspected or convicted of committing an offence. The overall goal of the probation service is to reduce the risk of recidivism and to promote rehabilitation of its clients (3RO, 2018). To this end, the probation service works with clients on risk management, behavioural change and improvement of living conditions. This often involves other organisations, such as forensic (addiction) care and various municipal institutions.

In this study, we describe the results of a systematic literature review of the effective elements in probation supervision. This involved searching for practices that have shown to be effective or of which we can conclude, based on research, that they may be effective. The study further provides indications for practices that do not appear to have been effective.

In this chapter, we first describe what probation supervision is and how it is implemented in the Netherlands. We will then describe the background, objective and terms of reference pertaining to the research. We conclude with a reader's guide that explains the structure of the remainder of this report.

2.1 Probation supervision

2.1.1 Counselling and monitoring in a judicial framework

Probation supervision is carried out in a judicial framework. Special conditions may be imposed in the event of suspension of pre-trial detention and different sanctioning modalities. The task of the probation service is to monitor whether a suspect or convict complies with these conditions and to motivate him or her to do so.¹ The probation service further offers guidance in working towards desistance from crime.

Various judicial frameworks exist in which probation supervision can be imposed and implemented (Balfort et al., 2016):

- Suspension of pre-trial detention, in the phase leading up to the court hearing;
- Conditional decision not to prosecute;
- Full or partial suspended sentence;
- Release on parole;
- Penitentiary programme, often combined with electronic monitoring;
- Within the context of TBS²: TBS release on licence, conditional termination of TBS compulsory psychiatric treatment, or TBS with conditions;
- In the non-custodial phase of an ISD measure³;
- Within the context of juvenile detention or a PIJ measure⁴: Education and Training Programme, PIJ release on licence (adult rehabilitation can be assigned as supervisory authority, especially if the juveniles are of age when they leave the young offenders institution (JJI)).

In all cases, special conditions may be attached to the judicial framework. These conditions can be intended to support behavioural change, such as admission to a healthcare institution, outpatient treatment, sheltered accommodation or participation in behavioural training. There are also freedom-restricting conditions, which are mainly aimed at controlling the current risks of (serious) recidivism:

¹ www.reclassering.nl

² TBS = detained under a treatment order. The TBS-order is imposed by court on offenders who have committed a serious violent offense and are considered to be at high risk for re-offending and who have diminished responsibility for the offense because of severe psychopathology

³ ISD = institution for systematic offenders

⁴ PIJ = placement in an institution for juvenile offenders

a restraining order, exclusion order or travel restriction order. The freedom-restricting conditions can be linked to electronic monitoring (EM). 'Other conditions' is a possibility that offers the option for customisation in a specific case, for example, participating in debt assistance, attending training or avoiding child pornography. In addition, there are remedial conditions aimed at repairing the damage caused by the offence, but the probation service does not supervise this (Balfort et al., 2016).

In addition to the probation service, the judiciary is also an important player in the process of imposing, implementing and finalising conditional sanctions. The judiciary sets out the conditions in a judgement and decides on the consequences if clients do not comply with the conditions. Partly as a result of the introduction of the Conditional Sanctions Act in 2012, the number of conditional sanctions and supervisory orders in the Netherlands has increased in recent years (Smit et al., 2018). This Act aims to contribute to the reduction of recidivism by a more personal approach to delinquent behaviour. In addition to increasing the number of conditional sanctions, the Act was also meant to strengthen enforcement by offering more options for immediate arrest and instant enforcement of the custodial sentence in the event of a violation of the imposed conditions. However, an evaluation of the Act shows that these options are used relatively little. It further appears that a recommendation from the probation service to enforce the custodial sentence on account of a client not complying with the conditions is acted on in only one-third of the cases. In other cases, it is decided to continue supervision, possibly with adjustments in the duration of the probationary period or conditions imposed (Smit et al., 2018).

2.1.2 Supervisory styles

Probation supervision takes on varying manifestations, depending on era and country. In as early as 1972, Klockars outlined various probation styles, which have been referred to over the years in publications on probation supervision (see, for example, Skeem & Manchak, 2008). These styles depend on the views of probation officers about the objectives of the probation service. Based on observations, Klockars (1972) described four types of probation officers:

- The probation officer who emphasises compliance with imposed conditions and who primarily focuses on the safety of society (law enforcer);
- The probation officer who is not particularly involved in the work and mainly focuses on performing tasks and observing the rules (time server);
- The probation officer who is mainly focused on helping and guiding offenders in behavioural change, aimed at achieving a better life for the client (therapeutic agent);
- The probation officer who combines the role of monitoring and counselling and who assumes a double role: contributing to the safety of society and supporting the client towards a better life (synthetic officer).

Klockars's research dates back 40 years or so, but we can still see the different styles today. For example, probation supervision with a strong emphasis on monitoring can be seen in the United States (US) (see Chapter 3). In many European countries, probation officers are trained as social workers and are more or even predominantly focused on providing practical and emotional support. Nevertheless, there is a growing consensus that a combination of monitoring and counselling is the most desirable implementation of probation supervision (Skeem & Manchak, 2008; Taxman, 2002).

2.1.3 What characterises probation supervision in the Netherlands?

In the Netherlands, probation service is provided by three organisations: Reclassering Nederland (RN), Stichting Verslavingsreclassering GGZ (SVG) and Leger des Heils Jeugdbescherming & Reclassering (LJ&R)⁵. The practices of these organisations are broadly comparable, although the different organisations, based on their vision and the nature of their clients, decide on their own interpretation and implementation of jointly formulated policies and practices. The main differences

⁵ Dutch Probation Service, the Institute for Social Rehabilitation of Addicted Offenders, and Salvation Army Youth Protection and Probation Service

concern the clients they focus on. The SVG focuses primarily on clients with addiction and psychiatric problems, LJ&R on the homeless with serious, multiple problems and RN focuses on a broad client group, including perpetrators of domestic violence, sex offences and terrorism-related offences. All three probation organisations (3RO) carry out the main tasks of the probation service:

- Advising the judiciary and the Custodial Institutions Agency (DJI) to impose or enforce sanctions;
- Carrying out probation supervision;
- Enforcing community service orders;
- Offering behavioural training, during probation supervision or detention.⁶

In terms of Klockars, the emphasis in the Netherlands is on the synthetic officer. The probation organisations regard supervision as a combination of monitoring and counselling (3RO, 2018). Monitoring refers to checking whether clients comply with the special conditions, identifying whether there is a growing risk of a relapse in delinquent behaviour or a violation of the conditions, and responding adequately and in time by implementing sanctions. Counselling covers a variety of activities (see Chapters 4 and 5 of this report) undertaken to help clients avoid relapsing into delinquent behaviour and to participate in society in a prosocial manner.

There are three levels of supervision of increasing intensity. The principle applies that the intensity corresponds to the risk in terms of the probability of a new crime, the seriousness thereof and/or the risks for the client him/herself. The intensity is a combination of the contact frequency with the client and other activities associated with the supervision. For example, in some forms of supervision, probation officers spend a lot of time arranging counselling or organising care around a client, which in itself can make the supervision intensive. There are no strict standards on contact frequency, but the following serves as a general guideline:

- Supervision level 1: low intensive, 3 times per 90 days;
- Supervision level 2: moderately intensive, 6 times per 90 days;
- Supervision level 3: intensive, 12 times per 90 days.

The client population of the probation service is highly diverse, which means that the probation officer must be able to guide clients with a wide variety of problems and living situations. The fundamentals of the practice are equal for the different clients. However, there are probation officers who specialise in working with certain clients such as young adults, clients who have been given a tbs or PIJ order, sex offenders or perpetrators of terrorism-related offences.

Since 2006, supervision has been separated from the advisory task and the supervisory tasks are carried out by specialist probation officers (Poort & Eppink, 2009). This way, the Ministry of Justice & Security aimed to make the advice more independent of the implementation, thereby preventing probation officers from advising too much in the direction of their own proposal. However, a segregation of tasks may result in a lack of connection between the advisory phase and the supervisory phase (Bosker, 2015). Recently, much emphasis has been placed on strengthening a programme-oriented approach in which continuity of supervision and care combined with personal responsibility of clients are important focus points. This means, among other things, a seamless connection between the different phases in a probation programme and consistency and coherence between the activities in that programme (3RO, 2019). The strict division between advice and supervision is abandoned, sometimes by reuniting these tasks into a single probation officer, but also by ensuring that advisers and supervisors work together better in the work process.

More attention to continuity in the programme also means better coordination with other professionals involved with the client, including the penitentiary system, healthcare providers and professionals and/or volunteers who can provide support in the immediate vicinity of the client. There is also collaboration with the client's social network, based on the knowledge that probation intervention is temporary and that permanent support in their own social environment is important for many clients (3RO, 2019).

⁶ www.reclassering.nl

In terms of content, probation supervision has been influenced since the early 2000s by research into what works in reducing recidivism and the RNR model (see Chapter 4 for an explanation of this). In the Netherlands, this has resulted in the introduction of structured risk assessment⁷ and judicial interventions⁸. However, this research movement also provides insights into the implementation of probation supervision (see also Chapter 3).

In addition, research is relevant for the probation supervision that focuses on the cooperation between the probation officer and the client and the specific dynamics of the mandatory framework. Rooney (1992) described the natural response of people who are restricted in their freedom, also referred to as 'reactance'. Based on research in probation service and youth protection, Trotter (2015) described methodical references for working with mandated clients. In the Netherlands, this work has been made accessible to the probation practice by Menger and Krechtig (2004) in the methodology book for the probation service, 'Delict als Maatstaf' ('Offence as yardstick'). In recent years, the scientific literature has devoted much attention to 'desistance', a term used for the process of reducing delinquent behaviour. This process appears to be influenced by a combination of personal development (growing up), social support and embedding and identity development, and is partly influenced by the social context (Maruna, 2017; McNeill, 2009). Insights from the aforesaid research movements have been bundled and translated into methods and guides for the actions of forensic social professionals in the methodology book 'Werken in Gedwongen Kader' ('Working with mandated clients'; Menger, Krechtig & Bosker, 2016). This book is used by both probation organisations and in higher professional education (Dutch: HBO) for the training of (future) probation officers and is an important guideline for the probation service in the Netherlands.

2.2 Background and reason for this research

The probation service and specific supervision have continuously developed in recent years. Strengthening the methodical conduct of probation officers who carry out supervision is an important spearhead of the three probation organisations. It is a necessary condition to be able to design integral and sustainable pathways for rehabilitation clients and to ensure effective cooperation with the various partners within the judicial, healthcare and social domains.

The manner in which the supervision is carried out must help to prevent any violation of the special conditions and a relapse in delinquent behaviour by rehabilitation clients. Using current scientific findings about effective probation supervision is vital in that respect. It contributes to an evidence-based probation practice in which an optimal connection is made between scientific knowledge, practical insights of probation officers and the wishes and possibilities of clients.

Commissioned by the Quality Forensic Care (KFZ) programme, Buyse (2018) inventoried the need for guides, protocols, instruments and research at the three probation organisations in the Netherlands. It emerged that, among other things, the probation organisations want an up-to-date overview of the effective elements in probation supervision, in order to enhance the quality of the probation service. Subsequently, a request for a systematic literature review into effective methodical conduct in probation supervision was made through the KFZ programme. A systematic literature study is a structured literature review in order to obtain as complete and objective a picture as possible about current knowledge on a certain subject (Booth et al., 2016). In addition to effective elements for the population as a whole, it is also necessary to look for effective elements for specific clients: young adults, clients with a low and high risk of recidivism, female clients and perpetrators of particular crimes (violence, sexual, property).

⁷ Initially, RISC, a risk assessment tool, was developed (Adviesbureau van Montfoort and Reclassering Nederland, 2004). This has now been further developed into RISC with various risk assessment instruments having been added for specific client groups.

⁸ See www.justitieinterventies.nl

2.3 Objective

The objective of this research is to provide a systematic overview of effective elements for probation supervision based on scientific research. With that overview, probation organisations can assess which effective elements are already included in the current probation practice and which elements could still be added to strengthen that practice.

2.4 Research question

The central research question is:

What is known from Dutch and foreign literature about effective methodical approaches by probation officers, focused on risk management, behavioural change and improving the circumstances of rehabilitation clients?

This question is specified in the following sub-questions:

1. Which elements in the methodical conduct of probation officers demonstrably contribute to the effectiveness of probation supervision?
2. What is known about the effectiveness of these elements?
3. Are there specific points for attention in effective probation supervision for clients with different risk levels (low - high), different types of offences (property offences - violent offences - sex offences), differences in gender (male - female) and age (18 to 23 - 24 and older)?

2.5 Reader's guide

In Chapter 3, we explain how the research was carried out and offer a general overview of the results. In Chapters 4 and 5, we describe the empirical findings about practices in probation supervision and the efficacy in terms of their effectiveness. In Chapter 4 we discuss general approaches and implementations of supervision, and in Chapter 5 we discuss specific practices that can be used and combined in supervision. For each practice, we start with a conclusion on its effectiveness. We then describe what the practice entails and, insofar as information has been found about it, its background. Next, an overview is given of the empirical findings about the effectiveness of the relevant practice.

Chapter 6 describes findings about specific clients. Many of the findings for specific clients overlap with the general conclusions on practices for the probation population as a whole. In that case, this will be briefly described in Chapter 6 with a reference to Chapters 4 or 5 in which conclusions about that practice are described. Findings that only concern specific clients are described in more detail in Chapter 6.

In Chapter 7, we provide an overview of practices for probation supervision, divided into effective, possibly effective and ineffective. Based on the findings, we also provide recommendations for practice and follow-up research.

3. Method

3.1 What are we looking for?

In this research, we are looking for effective elements for probation supervision. To this end, we have looked for studies in which conclusions are drawn about the efficacy (or the effectiveness) of practices and methods used in probation supervision. The practices can relate to various aspects of probation service:

- Counselling of clients in changing behaviour or improving circumstances;
- Methods of monitoring;
- Conversation techniques;
- Ways to collaborate with other professionals involved with clients.

Since the findings relate to both supervision as a whole and to elements used in supervision, we will use the term practice in the rest of this report.

We have used a broad definition of effectiveness. We included studies using the following outcome measures:

- Recidivism, which can involve both criminal recidivism and violation of special conditions;
- Studies in which the functioning of clients has been taken as an outcome measure (e.g. motivation for change, positive changes in client behaviour, improvement of client's living conditions);
- Studies in which probation clients report how they experienced probation supervision and what worked for them.

3.2 Search strategy

Searches were carried out in the databases Web of Science, Psycinfo, Academic Search Premier and Sage Premier.⁹ Initially, a specification of search terms was made using the PICOC¹⁰ methodology (Booth et al., 2016). After consultation with information specialists, it was decided to simplify the search string to population (probation (client)) and intervention (supervision). Adding the other components makes the string complex and also causes us to miss relevant titles (when using AND) or returns a huge number of matches that are not about supervision (when using OR). A further selection criterion was that the article should discuss relevant outcome measures (see section 2.3).

The following search terms were used:

Probation* OR Parole* OR Correction* officer* OR Correction* personnel OR Correction* manager OR Correction* institution OR Correction* agenc* OR Supervision* officer* OR Supervision* personnel OR Supervision* manager OR Supervision* institution OR Supervision* agenc* OR Offend* officer* OR Offend* personnel OR Offend* manager OR Offend* institution OR Offend* agenc*

AND

Offend* supervision OR Communit* supervision OR Supervision skill* OR Probation* supervision* OR Parole* supervision* OR Profession* supervision OR correction* supervision* OR correction* communit* OR correction* treatment* OR correction* program* OR correction* process OR ("social work" AND ("criminal justice" OR forensic)) OR After-care OR "case management" OR Monitoring OR Electronic* monitor* OR Managing offend* OR Management offend* OR "Re-entry programme"

⁹ Following consultation with the supervisory committee, no searches were made in WorldCat which is mainly used for finding books. The reason for this is that these are more difficult to obtain, that books often do not describe unique empirical studies but contain chapters based on studies that have already been published in articles, and that chapters in books are often not peer-reviewed.

¹⁰ population, intervention, comparison, outcome, context

Additional criteria were: from the year 2000 onward¹¹, and peer-reviewed. The terms were used to create search strings for the different databases. We searched using descriptor terms that match the relevant database and words in title and abstract.

In the SAGE database, this string returns a very large number of matches (over 100,000). Hence the string was refined with 'from journals' with most results in the first 100. This concerned the following journals: Criminal Justice and Behaviour, Probation Journal, Crime & Delinquency, International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, The Prison Journal, European Journal of Probation, Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology and Criminology & Criminal Justice. The search string was entered on 19/11/2019.

Additional search

In addition to the above, we screened the tables of contents of all volumes from 2000 onwards for relevant titles, namely: *Tijdschrift voor Criminologie*, *Proces*, *Justitiële Verkenningen*¹², Journal of Offender Rehabilitation. In addition, a number of websites were scanned for relevant publications (for example, reports) that are not found via the databases. This concerned the websites of EFP, KFZ, WODC, CEP (Confederation of European Probation), NSCR, COST, Campbell Collaboration, database effective youth interventions (NJI), database effective judicial interventions, Inspectorate of Justice and Security, RSJ, website of the English probation service¹³, russellwebster.com and website of the Canadian probation service^{14, 15}. The researchers involved also added some relevant publications to the selected articles and reports that were already in their possession.

3.3 Selection

Conditions we set for including studies were:

1. Population. The study involves rehabilitation clients or supervision subjects, which may concern both the generic population and specific clients.
2. Intervention. The research concerns probation supervision or parts thereof. It involves practices and methods that are used by a probation officer to carry out supervision. Judicial interventions, as part of supervision, fall outside the scope of this study. After-care following detention is included if this is provided by the probation service but, for example, not forms of counselling for offenders or former detainees carried out by other institutions or professionals, or by volunteers, without the probation service being involved. The research must also provide some information about how supervision is implemented. This also includes what probation officers have to do to collaborate with other organisations or professionals who are involved with a client.
3. Outcome. The research must provide empirically substantiated evidence of the effectiveness of supervision in terms of recidivism, functioning of the client in areas of life or prevention of dropout. This may involve both quantitative and qualitative studies. We did not attach specific requirements to the (statistical) outcome measures or follow-up period.
4. Evidentiary value. The following was included based on the ERBO methodology¹⁶ (KFZ, 2018):
 - Studies that meet criterion A: meta-analysis, systematic review or randomised double-blind study;
 - Studies that meet criterion B: comparative research, including research with control group (not random);
 - Studies that meet criterion C: non-comparative research.

¹¹ The year 2000 was chosen as the lower limit because evidence-based working in the Dutch probation service started to gain momentum during that period. With this lower limit, this study covers a period of 20 years, which was the maximum achievable given the available research time.

¹² Journal of Criminology, Process, Judicial Explorations

¹³ <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprobation/research/academic-insights/>

¹⁴ <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/>

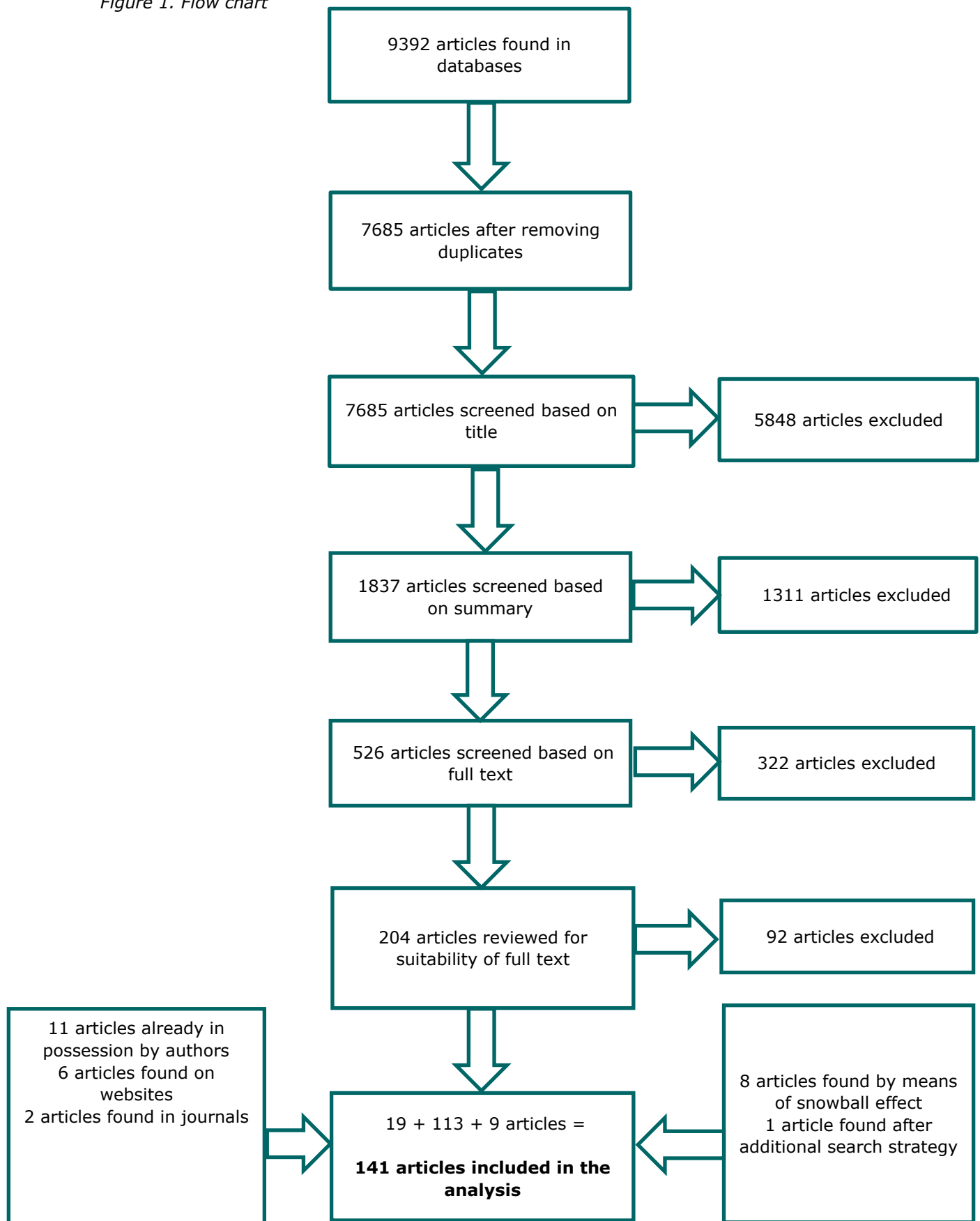
¹⁵ For an explanation of abbreviations, see Appendix 3.

¹⁶ Evidence Medicine Development Guideline

Articles or sources describing authors' opinions and which do not contain empirical research were not included. Literature reviews were only included if it concerned systematic reviews or meta-analyses.

Common reasons for excluding sourced articles were: no empirical study or systematic review, focusing on detention, focusing on treatments/therapies, too general (politics, society), focusing on minors, focusing on risk assessment, focusing on factors related to recidivism, conclusions based only on interviews with probation service staff (such studies were only included if it concerned the evaluation of a collaboration), aspects relating to professionals (for example, professional development). The result of the selection is described in the flow chart below.

Figure 1. Flow chart



3.4 Nature and quality of the studies found

Nearly half of all studies (69) are from the US and a relatively large part of studies are from the United Kingdom (25). In addition, there are studies from: the Netherlands (8); Canada (6); Denmark (4); Australia (2); China (2); Sweden (1); Germany (1); Israel (1); and Ireland (1). The other studies (21) are systematic reviews and meta-analyses, which include various international studies.

The studies found show a wide variety of research methods.

- Systematic review and meta-analysis (21).
- Randomised Control Trials (RCT) (36). These are comparative studies, in which the experimental group and the control group are randomly classified.
- Studies involving a control group that has been compiled in a way that it matches clients participating in the experimental group on a number of important characteristics, such as delinquent behaviour or gender (33).
- Non-comparative (quantitative) study (22).
- Qualitative studies (29) in which clients (18), probation officers (2) or both (9) were interviewed.

Evidentiary value, based on ERBO methodology (see 3.3):

- 57 studies that meet criterion A;
- 33 studies that meet criterion B;
- 51 studies that meet criterion C.

The quality of the studies used varies. Some of the studies are characterised by an RCT design or a quasi-experimental design in which the experimental group and control group are comparable based on a large number of variables. In studies with such designs, it can be assumed with a higher degree of certainty that observed differences in the outcome of supervision can be attributed to the manner in which the supervision was implemented. Some of the studies did not use a control group, thus making a similar assumption less safe. Some of the studies also lacked relevant information. For example, characteristics of the target group or outcome measures were not clearly described, to what extent possible disruptive factors (characteristics of the client or context) were included in the analyses was not clear or whether clients dropped out of supervision and how this affected the results was not described.

Not all studies offered a detailed description of the approach used in supervision. In most studies, the (experimental) practice to which the research related was explained fairly well. The supervision practice for the control group often was not or only briefly explained. In such studies, the actual difference between the experimental group and the control group is insufficiently clear, making it difficult to identify practices that may or may not be effective. Besides, some of the studies involved a general approach combining different practices. This applied for instance to studies about after-care following detention, about intensive probation supervision, and about so-called DRC (see 4.5.). Since the effectiveness of these practices as a whole was evaluated, these studies yielded only limited leads for effective supervisory practices. We have tried to filter these out from the studies, insofar as possible. We have also described the effectiveness of practices as a whole, with indications of elements therein that may or may not be effective based on researchers' conclusions.

The manner in which relevant characteristics of respondents were measured was generally quite good, thanks to the use of existing and validated measuring instruments. One reservation concerns the determination of the risk level. A significant number of studies describe the risk level of clients, mostly in terms of low, medium and high (sometimes only low and high). Not all studies explain how this risk level has been determined and, insofar as it is explained, it appears that different assessment instruments are used per study, thus limiting the comparability between studies.

Another point of attention concerns the representativeness of the studies for the Dutch probation practice. Most of the researches discussed in this study are from abroad. The probation service in some of these countries clearly differs from the Dutch context. This is especially true for probation service in the US, although practices also differ significantly within the US. Caseloads in the US are generally higher than in the Netherlands (some articles state caseloads of 100 to 300 clients per

probation officer). Supervision remains limited to monitoring whether clients comply with the special conditions, much more so than in the Netherlands. Contact frequency is generally lower in the US and many studies have shown that the duration of supervision is shorter than in the Netherlands. If a new practice is introduced in this context, in which contact between the probation officer and the client is more intensive and in which counselling and help are offered in addition to monitoring, then finding a significant improvement in the effect of supervision is within easy reach. However, that does not imply that such practice in the Netherlands would have the same effect, because such practice is already more standard in the Netherlands.

We have limited this systematic literature study to empirical research on practices and methodologies for probation supervision. What we did not include, but what *could* provide relevant input for the implementation of probation supervision, are studies on the development or characteristics of delinquent behaviour, studies on reducing delinquent behaviour that do not discuss the role of probation supervision therein, and studies on behavioural training or the treatment of offenders. Such research could provide clues about practices that may prove effective in supervision and is therefore relevant for the innovation of probation supervision. The scope of this study involved empirical research on practices that have already been tried in probation supervision.

Despite the stated reservations and limitations, this study provides valuable clues about the effectiveness of various practices of probation supervision that are also relevant to the Netherlands.

3.5 Analysis

The analysis was carried out in several steps. First, all titles found were summarised (see format Appendix 1). In doing so, the researchers indicated which practices are described in the articles, regarding which conclusions can be drawn as to their effectiveness.

The summary also included an assessment of the quality of the research. A large number of tools for performing a quality control or risk of bias can be chosen from, but many of them focus on RCT designs with quantified outcome measures and are very extensive. Given the limited time and resources for this study, as we expected to find very few RCT studies on this topic and because we also wanted to include qualitative studies, we opted for a simple risk of bias checklist. As a basis, we used a checklist for randomised and non-randomized studies in healthcare from Downs and Black (1998). This checklist has been developed for assessing the quality of medical interventions. We removed the parts that could not be used in the literature on probation supervision. A checklist developed by Dixon-Woods et al. (2004) was used to assess qualitative studies. The checklist used is included in Appendix 2. The quality check did not lead to a further loss of articles, but is included in the substantiation of the evidence of the effect of certain supervision practices.

The articles were subsequently clustered on the basis of these summaries. Roughly, three main groups can be distinguished that also form the table of contents of this report:

- Articles in which a practice or approach is described that describes probation supervision as a whole (Chapter 4);
- Articles describing the effectiveness of one or more specific practices that may be part of probation supervision (Chapter 5);
- Articles on specific client groups (Chapter 6).

Within these main groups, a further clustering was made in terms of the subjects that form the subsections in Chapters 4 to 6. A large number of articles were easy to classify. In a few cases, it was less clear how to classify an article, and these were ultimately classified based on choice. A considerable number of articles appear several times in the report, for example because they offer an empirical substantiation for the efficiency of multiple practices.

After clustering according to practice, the relevant articles were compared and on that basis, it was analysed which conclusions can be drawn about the effectiveness of a certain practice in probation supervision. The empirical substantiation underpinning this was examined as part of the process. This was then summarised per practice.

In the extensive search strategy for literature on probation supervision, titles were also found relating to specific client groups. For an analysis of effective practices for specific clients (sub-question 3), we clustered and separately analysed the articles that specifically addressed female clients, young adults, clients with a low or high risk, sex offenders, violent offenders, clients with addiction problems and clients with psychiatric issues. Although the last two groups were not part of the assignment, we found sufficient specific articles about both groups to make a separate analysis thereof. Research specifically on probation supervision for property offenders has not been found. Property offenders are part of the client population in the generic probation supervision studies.

4. Effectiveness of approaches to probation supervision

This chapter describes the effectiveness of a number of general approaches to probation supervision as a whole. This concerns efforts aimed at monitoring or counselling or a combination thereof (hybrid working), applying the RNR model, so-called Core Correctional Practices, after-care and Day Reporting Centres (a specific implementation of probation supervision), in that order. We start with a conclusion on the effectiveness of each approach/practice (in a separate text box). We then outline the background and the empirical substantiation of the approach.

4.1 Combining monitoring and counselling (hybrid working)

Supervision that consists of a combination of monitoring risk signals and violation of the special conditions, and guiding clients in building a crime-free life is more effective than focusing on monitoring or counselling alone.

Supervision that only consists of monitoring whether clients comply with the special conditions is not effective.

Background

Hybrid working is based on research into the different working styles of probation officers, first described in a theory on probation supervision by Klockars (1972). The probation service is characterised by two objectives, each of which requires a different approach: protecting society against crime requires a limiting and controlling approach, whereas the rehabilitation of clients requires a guiding approach. Counselling can be implemented in various ways (see Chapters 4 and 5), but generally relates to practices in which clients are supported in building a better, crime-free life.

The hybrid probation officer knows how to combine and coordinate both roles. From the outset of the supervision, these probation officers are clear about the requirements and frameworks of the supervision, but manage to place more emphasis on support, help and counselling in the implementation of the supervision. They are cautious about reporting violations of special conditions and weigh up the safety (of society and the client) against the rehabilitation objective (Skeem & Manchak, 2008).

The hybrid working style is in line with the principle of procedural justice: clients experience the process and practice of the probation officer as fair. Both a probation officer who places an emphasis on monitoring and a hybrid probation officer check whether clients comply with the special conditions and they respond if this is not the case. A probation officer who emphasises monitoring is focused on compliance, whereas a hybrid probation officer enters into a dialogue with the client to hear his side of the story and gives clients the space to search for solutions together. Clients are more likely to experience a hybrid working style as fair and respectful, which means they are less likely to resist (Skeem & Manchak, 2008).

Empirical substantiation

Several studies show that a unilateral focus on monitoring is not effective. Intensive Probation Supervision (IPS) is widely used in the US as an alternative to detention. This form of supervision has several manifestations, but in general, it concerns a combination of a relatively high contact frequency (weekly or fortnightly), frequent testing for substance use, a curfew and immediate intervention in the event of a violation of imposed conditions (Hyatt & Barnes, 2017). Several studies, conducted in different US states, have shown that this type of supervision does not result in less criminal recidivism compared to regular probation supervision (characterised by a lower contact

frequency and fewer checks). In a comparison of 58 IPS programmes in various states in the US, Lowenkamp et al. (2010) found that the programmes that only focus on monitoring increase recidivism. This approach also proves to be ineffective for clients with a high risk of recidivism. An RCT study by Hyatt and Barnes (2017) among 832 male offenders with a high risk of recidivism shows that clients who participate in IPS reoffend as often (within 12 months) as clients in regular supervision.

Several studies show that this practice can result in significantly more arrests and convictions for contravening the special conditions (Grattet et al., 2011). The explanation for this is that intensive supervision in the US mainly implies more intensive monitoring as to whether the client complies with the special conditions. This is performed, for example, by means of more substance checks, more intensive monitoring as to whether the client is following the imposed treatment, intensifying the duty to report and stricter recording as to whether the client complies with this duty. An emphasis on monitoring and immediate intervention in the event of a violation of special conditions mainly results in more clients being imprisoned after all.

Intensive supervision in which there is room for counselling in addition to monitoring *does* prove effective. In a study into intensive supervision in New Jersey (USA) for clients with average and high risks of recidivism, Paparozzi and Gendreau (2005) examined the supervision style of probation officers and distinguished three styles: a focus on monitoring compliance with the special conditions, a focus on help and support, or a combined style. The supervisory style was determined using a questionnaire.¹⁷ A total of 480 clients (240 intensive supervision, 240 regular supervision) participated in the study. The researchers conclude that intensive supervision focusing only on monitoring whether the special conditions are complied with is not effective. The combined style appears to be most effective in terms of recidivism reduction (measured up to 12 months after the start of supervision). Both clients of probation officers who mainly monitor and clients of probation officers who emphasise help and support appear to reoffend significantly more often than clients of probation officers applying a combined style.

Empirical substantiation for the effectiveness of a hybrid working style is also found in studies on an effective working relationship between the probation officer and client. A study by Kennealy et al. (2012) in which questionnaires were completed by 109 clients found that a dual role relationship, characterised by a combination of a strict, just and caring approach, contributes to reducing recidivism, also when controlled for clients' personal characteristics and risk profile. A previous study among 90 clients with psychiatric problems similarly concluded that a dual role relationship is associated with better compliance with rules (Skeem et al., 2007).

Rehabilitation clients appear to have a preference for supervision in which the emphasis is on counselling. In a study among 23 Dutch former inmates who are under the supervision of the probation service, it appeared that probation officers and clients perceived the supervision style differently. In their client files, probation officers mainly describe a guiding style. More intensive monitoring is used if clients do not sufficiently cooperate with the supervision. However, the majority of clients (14 out of 23) experience an emphasis on monitoring in the supervision. Some indicate that the imposed conditions are impediments for resuming their lives, for example if appointments with the probation service are not coordinated with working hours. A minority (9 out of 23 clients) experience the supervision as supportive. These clients describe that probation officers provide practical support and a listening ear, confront when needed and are flexible in dealing with violations of special conditions. This study found that the group that experiences supervision as guiding reoffend less within the first year of supervision than the group that experiences an emphasis on monitoring (Doekhie et al., 2018).

¹⁷ Parole Officer Punishment and Reintegrative Orientation Questionnaire.

4.2 RNR principles

Probation supervision in which the RNR principles are applied is more effective than supervision in which they are not. More specifically, it concerns a combination of the risk principle, the needs principle and the responsiveness principle.

Background

Driven by a then-dominant view in the US and Canada that “nothing works”, a number of (Canadian) researchers began to list what is known from empirical research about practices and interventions that *do* work to limit recidivism. This resulted in, among other things, the so-called Risk Needs Responsivity(RNR) model. The first publications on this model featured just a handful of principles (Andrews et al., 1990), but thanks to the continuously evolving knowledge base on reducing recidivism effectively, the principles have now been refined and expanded to 15 principles (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). This research tradition has had a major influence on the structure of programmatic (group) interventions and treatments of offenders in various countries. Globally, the RNR model is regarded as an important foundation for the probation service, the penitentiary system and forensic psychiatry. It has a solid empirical base and is used as a basis for treatment and behavioural training, as well as for probation supervision. The RNR model describes a large number of principles based on the three principles from which the model takes its name:

- Risk principle (risk): adjusting the intensity of the approach to the level of the risk of recidivism.
- Needs principle (needs): adjusting the content of the approach to the dynamic criminogenic needs that are present.
- Responsivity principle (responsivity): applying a cognitive behavioural approach (general responsivity principle), and gearing the approach per client to his or her strengths, motivation, possibilities and limitations (specific responsivity principle).

Empirical substantiation

In a comparative study of 66 supervision programmes (2006), Lowenkamp, Pealer, Smith and Latessa conclude that clients in supervision where the RNR principles are applied reoffend less than clients in supervision where these principles are not used. Recidivism, measured 2 years after the start of supervision, is higher if programmes do not follow the RNR principles and on average, they are 15% lower if supervision programmes *do* follow these. The main focus therein was on a combination of the risk and needs principles, i.e. supervision in which the intensity was geared to the risk of recidivism and in which clients were offered counselling and interventions that matched the dynamic risk factors relevant to them.

Below, we elaborate on research found on these three principles.

4.2.1 Risk principle

Application of the risk principle in supervision, or in other words, adapting the intensity of the approach to the level of the risk of recidivism, appears to have a small effect on recidivism. The risk principle appears to be mainly effective in combination with other RNR principles.

Background

According to the risk principle, intensive programming must be provided to offenders with a high risk of recidivism, whereas low intensive programming or no programming suffices for clients with a low risk of recidivism. This is based on the assumption of high-quality programming (Andrews & Dowden, 2006; Bonta & Andrews, 2017).

The risk principle has been developed on the basis of empirical findings. There are some theoretical explanations for these findings (Barnes et al., 2012). First, preventing negative influence by other clients. If low-risk clients appear at the probation office less often, they are less likely to come into contact with high-risk clients by whom they could be negatively influenced. A second explanation can be found in Sherman's defiance theory (1993, as cited in Barnes et al., 2012): if clients experience that they are being treated unfairly or disrespectfully, there is a risk that they will resist, e.g. in the form of delinquent behaviour.

Empirical substantiation

Two separate meta-analyses show that the risk principle is effective, but mainly in combination with other principles. In a meta-analysis of 230 studies¹⁸ conducted primarily in the US and Canada, Andrews and Dowden (2006) compared clients' risk of recidivism and the intensity of the programming. The studies involved both supervision programmes and other interventions, such as training or treatment. Only the risk principle appeared to have hardly any effect (effect size 0.03 for clients with a low risk of recidivism and 0.10 for clients with a high risk of recidivism¹⁹). The principle is mainly effective in combination with the needs principle and the responsivity principle. A second meta-analysis on the risk principle was carried out by Lowenkamp, Latessa and Holsinger (2006). They compared 97 programmes, including various supervision programmes²⁰. Some of these consisted primarily of a practice centring on monitoring, while others also offered cognitive behavioural interventions or social services. There turned out to be a small but significant correlation between applying the risk principle and recidivism. The effectiveness of the programmes increases if, in addition to gearing the intensity to the risk of recidivism, a cognitive behavioural approach is applied as well.

Hanley (2006) investigated the effectiveness of the risk principle for probation supervision. In a study among 1,814 clients in various states in the US, it was concluded that clients whose intensity of supervision matched the recidivism risk level (low risk of recidivism – low intensive supervision, high risk of recidivism – high intensive supervision) were rearrested significantly less often than clients without this match. A total of 33% of the high-risk group were arrested again (within 12 months) in intensive programming, compared to 47% in non-intensive programming. Of the low-risk group in intensive programming, 25% reoffended, compared to 19% in low intensive programming (Hanley, 2006).

A study by Brusman et al. (2007) shows that the risk principle is also effective among female offenders. Based on a study among 1,340 female clients, they concluded that women who were

¹⁸ The research article did not state exactly which studies were involved.

¹⁹ Since the risk of recidivism is reported differently in the various studies, high risk in this meta-analysis is defined as having a criminal record.

²⁰ This meta-analysis also omits to report exactly which studies were involved.

diagnosed with a low risk of recidivism and who participated in an intensive approach reoffended more often than women with a low risk of recidivism under less intensive supervision (recidivism 19% versus 6%). Women with a high risk of recidivism, on the other hand, were less likely to reoffend if they participated in an intensive approach compared to high-risk women in a low-intensive approach (recidivism 52% versus 66% respectively). It is not clear in this study which interventions the women followed and how this influenced the differences in recidivism observed.

The risk principle appears to be effective in supervision for clients with addiction problems. Taxman and Thanner (2006) investigated an intensive supervision programme for clients with addiction problems and compared this with less intensive regular supervision for a comparable group of clients. A total of 272 clients were randomly assigned to the experimental group or control group. Based on recidivism figures (new arrests) 1 year after the start of supervision, they conclude, among other things, that high-risk clients reoffend less if placed under the more intensive form of supervision, whereas clients with a low risk of recidivism in fact reoffended more often than the control group when placed under the intensive form of supervision.

Intensity of supervision

Many of the studies focus mainly on the ratio between intensity and risk of recidivism, without specifically describing what the level of intensity of supervision should be for clients with a high or low risk of recidivism. We can find some indications in studies on lowering or increasing the caseload.

In the US, research has been conducted among low-risk offenders into the effect of lowering the contact frequency. Probation clients ($n = 1,558$) were randomly assigned to the experimental group or control group. The clients in the experimental group met their probation officer an average of four times a year, of which face-to-face once every six months. The control group in this study, also low-risk, met the probation service more or less monthly, often also combined with mandatory drug testing. No difference in recidivism was found between the two groups, which shows that it is possible for low-risk clients to reduce the contact frequency to a few meetings per year without this affecting recidivism (Barnes et al., 2012).

Jalbert et al. (2010) investigated the effect of reducing the caseload, and thus intensifying the contact frequency, on recidivism for more than 3,000 clients with a high risk of recidivism in the US. In this study, two types of supervision were compared: intensive supervision with an average contact frequency of 24 face-to-face meetings per year supplemented with telephone contact and home visits, and regular supervision with an average contact frequency of 17 face-to-face meetings per year. Both groups participated in treatment or skills training equally often. The average risk of recidivism of clients under intensive supervision was slightly higher, but they nonetheless reoffended significantly less. This implies that in respect of clients with a relatively high risk of recidivism, a higher contact frequency with their probation officer can contribute to the effectiveness of supervision. In another state in the US, Jalbert and Rhodes (2012) studied the effect of halving the caseload of all clients from an average of 106 to an average of 54 clients per probation officer. They found that fewer caseloads not only increased the contact frequency for counselling meetings, but that these clients were also involved in more interventions such as addiction treatment. The recidivism in the experimental group appeared to be significantly lower than in the control group.

4.2.2 Needs principle

Probation supervision in which the attention is focused on dynamic criminogenic needs is more effective compared to probation supervision in which no attention is paid to dynamic criminogenic needs or in which non-criminogenic needs are more central to the guidance.

In the case of clients with multiple dynamic criminogenic needs, it is important to focus the approach on a combination of the criminogenic needs that are present (Bonta & Andrews, 2017).

Background

The needs principle prescribes that the approach must focus on problems of clients that are related to the delinquent behaviour, the so-called criminogenic needs. Not all problems causing the delinquent behaviour can be changed (e.g. childhood neglect). Interventions must be aimed at problems that can be changed, i.e. dynamic criminogenic needs. People who commit crimes often suffer a variety of problems. Some problems have been found to be generally unrelated to delinquency, for example self-confidence or depression, so-called non-criminogenic needs (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The approach should not primarily focus on such needs, although it may be necessary to pay attention to them, for example to improve receptivity to interventions aimed at criminogenic needs.

Needs associated with delinquent behaviour according to research are antisocial behaviours, antisocial attitudes, antisocial personality characteristics, antisocial relationships, substance use, a problematic family situation, poor functioning at school or work, a lack of (prosocial) leisure activities, financial mismanagement and a problematic living situation (Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Van Horn et al., 2016). Many rehabilitation clients show a combination of dynamic criminogenic needs and it would be insufficient to focus the approach on just one of these. Hence the 'multi-modal' principle has been added to the RNR model: in the case of clients with multiple criminogenic needs, it is important to focus the approach on a combination of the criminogenic needs that are present (Bonta & Andrews, 2017).

Empirical substantiation

In a Canadian study into the practices of probation officers in supervision involving data on 154 clients, the degree to which dynamic criminogenic needs of clients were central was found to vary. Not all criminogenic needs were addressed in the supervision, far from it. In particular, criminal attitude, financial problems and problems with friends were discussed relatively little. Based on recidivism figures (on average over 3 years after the start of supervision), the researchers concluded that clients in respect of whom more time was spent discussing the various criminogenic needs in supervision reoffended less often than clients in respect of whom relatively much attention was paid to compliance with the special conditions in supervision (Bonta et al., 2008).

The following studies show that it is important to work on a combination of criminogenic needs and not to focus the supervision on a single one of them. In a supervision programme for clients with a high risk of recidivism who did not have a place to live after their detention (US), a combined approach was developed in which, in addition to support in the field of housing, attention was also paid to support for other dynamic criminogenic needs. As part of the approach, a customised plan was made for each client combined with collaborations with various institutions such as welfare organisations, healthcare and the police, as a means to flesh out the plan. An evaluation compared 208 clients following the programme with 208 clients under regular supervision. This showed that the experimental group reoffended less in terms of violation of special conditions (40% versus 47%), new convictions (22% versus 36%) and new detention (37% versus 56%) (Lutze et al., 2013).

Some studies describe an approach that focuses on one specific, dynamic criminogenic factor. For example, there are several studies on programmes aimed at training and work for prisoners. These programmes often start with a training programme in detention, followed by additional training, guidance towards subsidised employment and eventually a regular job during probation supervision. Based on a comparison of 18 studies, Bouffard et al. (2000) conclude that the effect of such programmes is limited. In most studies no effects are found, or only a limited yet insignificant effect in favour of the experimental group. In some studies, significant effects are found for older offenders and clients with a high risk of recidivism.

More recently, a new systematic literature study was conducted on the effect of education and training on recidivism, which involved 12 studies on seven different projects in the US (Newton et al., 2018). Varying results were found in this study as well, without any persuasive demonstration of the efficacy of such practices. A small effect was found in some studies, but not in others. Effects also appear to be temporary and disappear as soon as subsidised employment ends. However, this study does show that the effects are greater if the approach is already applied during detention and if the practice is combined with support in other areas such as addiction, housing or cognitive skills. Programmes geared towards training and work appear to be less effective for young adults than for older offenders and less effective for clients with a medium or low risk of recidivism than those with a high risk of recidivism.

4.2.3 Responsivity principle

Probation supervision is most effective when applying a cognitive behavioural approach.

In addition, it is important to adapt the approach as closely as possible to the strengths, motivation, possibilities, limitations and situation of an individual client.

Background

The responsivity principle actually consists of two principles (Bonta & Andrews, 2017):

- General responsivity principle: practices and interventions based on social learning theory and a cognitive behavioural approach are the most effective.
- Specific responsivity principle: practices and interventions must match the strengths, motivation, capabilities and limitations of an individual client.

The general responsivity principle points to the general approach that should be applied. Many of the studies investigating the responsivity principle focus on this general principle. The specific responsivity principle states that interventions and practices must match the individual client as closely as possible. Customisation is key here. Less research is available on this principle. Reference points can mainly be found in studies of specific client groups, such as female clients or clients with psychiatric issues (see Chapter 6).

Empirical substantiation

Substantiation of the general responsivity principle can be found in a study by Bourgon and Gutierrez (2012). Using data from the so-called STICS project (see section 4.3) in which audio recordings of conversations with 143 clients were analysed, the researchers examined the application of cognitive behavioural practices. Only some of the probation officers appeared to use such practices. Clients subjected to these practices during supervision were found to be significantly less likely to reoffend than clients not subjected to these practices (this difference did not appear to be caused by differences in clients' offence history or age).

Clues to the specific responsivity principle are found in, for example, studies on female clients. McIvor et al. (2009) monitored 139 women in Australia after spending time in detention. Roddy et al. (2019)

monitored 402 female clients who were supervised in the US. Both studies conclude, among other things, that the approach in supervision must match the specific needs and situation of women: taking into account the care of children, specific attention for safe housing when women come out of an abusive relationship, and a supportive work style which, in addition to practical support, leaves ample room to provide emotional support.

4.3 Core Correctional Practices

Deployment of the Core Correctional Practices in combination with the RNR principles contributes to the effectiveness of probation supervision. More specifically, this concerns effective use of authority, prosocial modelling and reinforcing, problem solving, the use of sources in society, motivational interviewing, cognitive techniques and quality of interpersonal relationships between the probation officer and the client.

Background

In 1980, Andrews and Kiessling introduced five Core Correctional Practices (CCP), i.e. core activities for professionals working with clients to reduce delinquent behaviour. Dowden and Andrews (2004) describe them as follows:

- Effective use of authority: firm but fair, clarity about the rules but also supporting clients to comply with these rules in a friendly, non-dominant way;
- Prosocial modelling and reinforcing: demonstrating desirable behaviour and rewarding clients if they display such behaviour, disapproving of undesirable behaviour and helping clients to convert this into desired behaviour;
- Problem-solving: teaching clients to solve their problems in a prosocial way;
- Use of sources in society: engaging necessary assistance from agencies (e.g. debt assistance) with or on behalf of the client;
- Quality of interpersonal relationships between the probation officer and client: an open, warm, stimulating and solution-oriented style of communication.

Cognitive techniques and motivational interviewing were added to this in subsequent studies (Bonta et al., 2011; Pearson et al., 2011). The CCPs are mainly based on the social learning theory.

The empirical substantiation for the combined use of the CCP is described below. These are discussed per practice in Chapter 5.

Empirical substantiation

A study from Denmark concluded that the probation officer partly determines the effectiveness of the supervision. This study analysed the data of 19,534 clients and 371 probation officers. Clients were randomly assigned to probation officers in one part of the study. Small but significant differences were found in recidivism (one year after completion of supervision) among clients of different probation officers, on the basis of which the researchers concluded that it matters which probation officer is responsible for the supervision (Andersen & Wildeman, 2015). This study does not provide insight into the question of what determines that difference. Studies on the use of RNR and CCP provide clues for this.

A meta-analysis of 273 studies examined whether CCP is mentioned in different programme descriptions and, if so, whether these programmes lead to a reduction in recidivism. Four out of the five practices appear to show strong associations with reduced recidivism. The mere use of sources in society was in itself not associated with less recidivism. The use of CCP appears to be particularly effective in combination with the RNR principles (Dowden & Andrews, 2004).

Various studies describe initiatives in the United Kingdom, the US and Canada where probation supervision is implemented through a combination of the RNR model with CCP. Slightly different definitions of the CCP are used in the various studies but they generally correspond. In many of these projects, probation officers complete a training course of 3 or 3.5 days focusing on the application of CCP, complemented by follow-up sessions. It is also encouraged to organise peer supervision meetings about the new practice, with probation officers receiving individual feedback from researchers on the basis of audio recordings of conversations with clients. Chadwick et al. (2015) conducted a meta-analysis that involved 10 studies on such an approach.²¹ They found a small but significant effect of this practice on recidivism by clients (effect size expressed in Cohen's d average of 0.22).²² Expressed in recidivism percentages: an average of 36% of clients of trained probation officers reoffend, rising to 50% in the event of untrained probation officers.

In this research, we found 10 studies, 6 of which were included in the meta-analysis of Chadwick et al. (2010). Since a number of more recent studies provide relevant additional results, we summarise these briefly below. The table below provides an overview of these projects and studies.

Table 1: overview of studies into the effectiveness of using RNR and CCP

Project	Country	Study	Scope	Core correctional practices	Result
STICS (Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision)	Canada: British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Prince Edward Island	Bonta et al. 2011	Experimental group: 33 probation officers (pos). Control group of 19 pos. ²³ Analysis of recordings of conversations with 143 clients	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - structuring - relationship - behavioural techniques (prosocial modelling, problem solving) - cognitive techniques 	Experimental group after training showing lower recidivism among clients: 25% versus 47%. Control group showing no difference in recidivism.
STICS (Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision)	Canada: Alberta	Bonta et al. 2019	Experimental group: 15 pos. Control group of 12 pos. Analysis of recordings of conversations with 81 clients	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - structuring - relationship - behavioural techniques (prosocial modelling, problem solving) - cognitive techniques 	No significant differences between the experimental group and control group. Differences were found for the use of cognitive techniques (see 5.2.2).
STARR (Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Rearrest)	US, 10 districts	Robinson et al. 2012	Experimental group 38 pos. Control group of 21 pos. ²⁴ Analysis of recordings of conversations with 462 clients.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - active listening - effective use of authority - prosocial modelling - problem-solving - cognitive techniques 	Fewer dropouts of clients in the experimental group compared to the control group: 26% versus 34%.
STARR (Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Rearrest)	US, 10 districts	Lowenkamp et al. 2014	Experimental group: 26 pos and 595 clients. Control group of 15 pos and 404 clients.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - active listening - effective use of authority - prosocial modelling - problem-solving - cognitive techniques 	No significant difference between dropout and recidivism (after 24 months). High-risk clients reoffend significantly less if STARR combined with MI.
Maryland Proactive	US: Maryland	Taxman, 2008	Experimental group: 274 clients. Control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - motivational interviewing 	Significantly less criminal recidivism in the experimental group

²¹ Six studies from the meta-analysis by Chadwick et al. are also described in this section. They are: Bonta et al., 2011; Pearson et al., 2011; Latessa et al., 2013; Raynor et al., 2014; Taxman, 2008; Lowenkamp et al., 2014.

²² Cohen's d can take any value but usually fluctuates between -2.0 and +2.0; an effect size of 0.22 represents a small effect.

²³ More probation officers had been trained, but 28 did not submit a recording and were not part of the study.

²⁴ Initially, 88 probation officers were recruited for the study, 21 of whom withdrew and 8 probation officers dropped out later on.

Community Supervision			group of 274 comparable clients from other locations.	- cognitive behavioural practices	than in the control group: 30% versus 42%.
Citizenship	United Kingdom: County Durham	Pearson et al., 2011	Experimental group: 3,819 clients. Control group of 2,110 clients.	- motivational interviewing - prosocial modelling - collaboration with local institutions	Significant difference in recidivism 2 years after start of supervision (41% versus 50%). Highest effect for low-risk and medium-risk clients, least for high-risk clients.
Citizenship	United Kingdom: Teesside (North-East England)	Pearson et al., 2016	1,091 clients.	- motivational interviewing - prosocial modelling - collaboration with local institutions	No significant difference between the experimental group and control group. High-risk clients showing significantly lower recidivism in experimental group.
SEED (Skills for Effective Engagement and Development)	United Kingdom, three regions	Sorsby et al., 2017	Experimental group of 581 clients, control group of 350 clients.	- structuring - relationship - prosocial modelling - motivational interviewing - cognitive techniques	Clients in the experimental group show less violation of the conditions and less criminal recidivism during supervision.
Jersey Supervision Skills Study	United Kingdom: Jersey	Raynor et al., 2014	10 pos, 75 clients.	- structuring - communication - use of authority - prosocial modelling - motivational interviewing problem-solving - cognitive techniques	Clients of pos who use a lot of CCP reoffend less than clients of pos using little CCP: 26% versus 58%.
EPICS (Effective Practices in Community Supervision)	US: Ohio	Latessa et al., 2013	Experimental group of 21 pos, control group of 20 pos. Data from 272 clients.	- use of authority - relationship - prosocial modelling - problem-solving - cognitive techniques	No significant difference in recidivism between clients of the experimental group and the control group.

Several studies found that, after the training, the probation officers pay more attention to dynamic criminogenic needs, use CCP more often and also use a broader range of CCP in the supervision (Bonta et al., 2011; Raynor, Ugwu-dike, & Vanstone, 2014; Robinson et al., 2012). The findings from these studies show that the use of a combination of RNR and CCP in probation supervision has a modest but positive effect on reducing recidivism, both in the US and Canada, as well as in the United Kingdom. Although the effects are not significant, they all point in the same direction. It is however striking that the first studies achieved better results. When STICS was repeated in another province, no significant differences were found between the experimental group and control group for the approach as a whole (except for a part thereof) (Bonta, Rugge, Bourgon, & Wanamaker, 2019). Contrary to previous results, repeated effect measurements in the STARR (US) and Citizenship (United Kingdom) projects no longer yielded any significant differences either (Lowenkamp et al., 2014; Pearson et al., 2016). As a possible explanation for these less positive findings, the authors of all three studies indicate that there were implementation issues: no use of additional counselling or post-training feedback to ensure a thorough embedding of the practice (Bonta et al., 2019), or no additional programming after the training, as a result of which it is unclear to what extent probation officers actually put the newly learned skills into practice (Lowenkamp et al., 2014). In addition, the following explanation is given: low numbers, making it more difficult to find statistically significant results (Bonta et al., 2019) and a stronger research design in the repeated study (RCT) which is known to often produce less positive results (Pearson et al., 2016).

A different approach was applied in a small study by Raynor et al. (2014). The CCP is subdivided into relational skills (shaping conversation, verbal and non-verbal communication, effective use of authority) and structuring skills (motivational interviewing, prosocial modelling, stimulating problem-solving ability, cognitive restructuring). Based on an analysis of interview recordings of ten different

probation officers with 75 different clients, the officers are subdivided into two groups: high versus low scoring in the use of skills. Raynor et al. found that high-scoring probation officers use both relational skills and structuring skills, whereas low-scoring probation officers mainly use relational skills. High-scoring probation officers also use both skills more consistently across the various interviews. Clients who are guided by high-scoring probation officers reoffend less than clients who are guided by low-scoring probation officers (26% versus 58%). The authors conclude that the combination of relational and structuring skills is particularly important: relational skills probably form a basis for being able to apply structuring skills (Raynor et al., 2014).

4.4 After-care

The effectiveness of programmes for after-care following detention appears to be limited on average. Studies do show that after-care appears to be most effective if it meets the following characteristics:

- **Proper collaboration between the prison system and the probation service, which starts as early as the final phase of detention.**
- **The approach must focus on the combination of dynamic risk factors that are present.**
- **Continuity in the approach inside and outside.**
- **Sufficient attention to practical assistance in the field of housing, education, work.**
- **Integrated healthcare tailored to the client (medical, psychiatric and addiction care).**

Background

The term after-care is used in literature to describe the supervision of prisoners after they leave the penitentiary institution (PI). In the Netherlands, only a relatively small proportion of prisoners are placed under probation supervision following their detention. For the other prisoners leaving the PI, after-care is a shared responsibility for the case managers in the PI and municipal after-care coordinators. Given the focus of this research, this concerns probation supervision following a detention period.

Empirical substantiation

A recent meta-analysis on after-care concluded that the effectiveness of such programmes is generally limited to male prisoners. This study only included RCT studies. Out of a total of nine studies, 5 concerned an approach in which a specific factor was central (so-called unimodal studies, often aimed at training or work) and four concerned a multimodal approach focused on multiple criminogenic needs. All studies were conducted in the US (Berghuis, 2018).

One of the studies described by Berghuis in which significant effects were found concerns a programme from Minnesota (US). This programme involved intensive collaboration between case managers from the PI and probation officers. Well before the prisoner's release, they together started developing an action plan based on an assessment of dynamic criminogenic needs. Intervention programmes were offered in the PI (for example, drug treatment) and counselling by the probation service was already started when still in the PI to guarantee continuity in the counselling within and outside the PI. Collaborations were set up with the municipal services aimed at housing, training and work after detention. An initial study among 269 clients produced positive results: after an average of 16 months there were 37% fewer arrests, 43% fewer new convictions and 57% fewer detentions for a new crime (Duwe, 2012). In a follow-up study among 689 clients with a longer measurement period of an average of 35 months, the differences were smaller and no further significant improvement was found for the number of new detentions (Duwe, 2014).

In an English study, seven after-care programmes for prisoners serving a short sentence (imprisonment of up to one year) were evaluated. Four projects were carried out by the probation

service, three by the voluntary sector. In the projects led by the probation service, there appeared to be more continuity in the guidance from inside to outside compared to the projects of the voluntary organisations. In the projects led by the probation service, prisoners also showed more change with regard to procriminal attitudes and in problems experienced by the prisoners. No significant differences were found in recidivism between probation service projects and volunteer projects (measured after one year). However, participants who received continued counselling after detention (by the probation service or volunteers) did reoffend significantly less. The following components appeared to be important in the projects (Lewis et al., 2007):

- Identifying criminogenic needs present and adjusting the action plan accordingly;
- Continuity in counselling inside and outside;
- Supporting clients with practical problems, supplemented with interventions aimed at strengthening cognitive skills and emotional support;
- Positive collaboration between the PI, probation service/mentors and municipal institutions;
- Motivational interviewing;
- And in some projects, offering the intervention FOR a Change²⁵.

A systematic literature study (89 studies) on after-care for female offenders with addiction problems draws similar conclusions. After-care is most effective if:

- a joint plan is drawn up when still in detention,
- this plan focuses on multiple criminogenic needs,
- sufficient care is available geared to the client,
- in addition to treatment, practical help is offered aimed at training, work and housing, parenting support and building prosocial networks.

With regard to the care, it is emphasised that proper integration of medical, psychiatric and addiction care is important (Grace, 2017).

James researched after-care for young adult offenders. A systematic study of the literature showed that after-care has a small effect on reducing recidivism and is most effective when properly implemented, consists of individual treatment (i.e. no group interventions), and is supplemented with system-oriented interventions. After-care proved to be most effective for older juveniles with a high risk of recidivism who were convicted of violence-related crimes. Furthermore, the duration of the programme is not as important as the intensity. The study also shows that there is no difference in effect based on when an after-care programme starts (during or after detention). One explanation for this may be that only a few studies were included in which after-care was already provided during detention. Another possible explanation could be that juveniles start associating after-care negatively with their time in detention. Finally, this meta-analysis shows that after-care has a strong short-term effect and fades over time (James et al., 2013).

The Boston Re-entry Initiative (BRI) is an after-care programme for men aged 18 to 32 from Boston (US) with a high risk of recidivism of violent crimes. This often also concerns involvement in gangs. Various agencies work together in this programme to assist in the transition from detention to society. While still in detention, an individual reintegration plan in line with specific individual needs, such as treatment and work, is already worked on, as well as arranging identity documents. Organisations and clients do this together. In addition to a case manager, clients also have access to a mentor. This is often someone from a religious organisation who served time previously. During panel sessions, various agencies discuss the consequences of violating the conditions and recidivism. They have a collective message and remind the prisoner that the institutions work together and share information. The researchers assume that clients have often not experienced this way of collaboration and coordination before. On the day of release, the mentor or family member is always present. Mentors remain involved for an average of 12 to 18 months after release. In the event of probation supervision, this service will collaborate with the mentors. BRI participants were arrested for new crimes or violent crimes significantly less often than a comparable group without BRI. An important comment regarding this study is that the type of care available to the control group remains unclear.

²⁵ For a Change is a cognitive behavioural intervention.

This study nevertheless provides some evidence for the effectiveness of after-care programmes for young violent offenders with a high risk of recidivism. The authors conclude that it is important for after-care that organisations work together. Public safety is the responsibility of an integrated social system rather than of a single organisation (Braga et al., 2009).

4.5 Day Reporting Centre

There are insufficient indications that participation in a Day Reporting Centre, a highly intensive form of supervision with a customised day programme of five days a week, is more effective than regular supervision.

Background

DRCs were introduced to the UK in the late 1960s and also found their way into the US from the 1980s. It is a highly intensive way of implementing supervision in which clients report five days a week for several months as part of a customised day programme which may consist of various components: counselling meetings, school, work, treatment or skills training. This often involves phasing, with levels of intensity decreasing during supervision. DRC is used both as an alternative to detention and in the period thereafter (Boyle et al., 2013; Wong et al., 2019).

Empirical substantiation

A recent meta-analysis combined 9 studies on the effect of DRCs. All studies originated from the US, featured an RCT or quasi-experimental design and were conducted in the period 1996 to 2017. This study showed that, in comparison with regular supervision²⁶, a DRC does not result in significantly less recidivism in terms of new arrests, convictions or detention. This highly intensive form of supervision therefore does not appear to have added value. Possible explanations provided by the authors refer to the intensive supervision, meaning violations of the conditions are observed more often (which count towards the recidivism measurement) and other participants being negatively influenced by other participants. Participation in a DRC can lead to clients expanding their criminal network or being encouraged by others to engage in antisocial behaviour (Wong et al., 2019).

Carr et al. (2016)²⁷ studied a DRC for clients with psychiatric disorders. The average stay in the DRC was 180 days, often followed by regular supervision. The weekly schedule for clients was geared to their clinical and criminogenic needs combined with collaborations with mental health professionals. Based on a comparison between 188 clients who participated in the RCT and a comparable control group, recidivism among the experimental group was significantly lower: 40% fewer new convictions. No significant differences were found for serious recidivism, a second outcome measure.

In a study on the effectiveness of DRC, Kim et al. (2007)²⁴ also looked at the contribution of the various programme components such as education, training or treatment. They conclude that recidivism is mainly predicted by characteristics of the clients (young age, high risk), and not by having followed specific programme components. Only being in employment during the DRC was found to be significantly associated with less recidivism.

²⁶ The study does not describe what regular supervision entails.

²⁷ Not included in the meta-analysis by Wong et al.

5. Specific activities in probation supervision

This chapter explores the effectiveness of the various practices that can be part of probation supervision. We will discuss a number of practices that we have clustered, first, under the basis of the contact (5.1): working systematically, continuity in the contact, the relationship/working alliance, motivational interviewing and effective use of authority, in that order. Subsequently, we discuss a number of practices aimed at changing behaviour or circumstances (5.2): prosocial modelling, cognitive behavioural techniques, strengthening problem-solving ability, strengthening social bonds and sanctions and rewards. Two practices are described under monitoring (5.3): direct sanctioning of violations and electronic monitoring. In 5.4 we describe the findings about effective collaboration between the probation service and other institutions. We conclude with a number of other findings (5.5) that may be effective but for which insufficient empirical research was found to be able to draw conclusions about them.

5.1 Basis of the contact

5.1.1 Working systematically

The importance of working systematically in probation supervision is widely shared in the literature, despite limited direct evidence in terms of its effectiveness. Working systematically means that an action plan is drawn up at the start of the supervision, based on research into the risk, dynamic criminogenic needs and protective factors. The objectives and interventions of the plan are central to the implementation of the supervision. During supervision, its implementation is evaluated on the basis of which the plan may be adjusted, if necessary.

Background

When working systematically, various phases are completed as part of a probation programme: focusing on the problem, mapping out the nature and causes of the problem, making a plan which describes change targets and how these could be achieved, implementing the plan and subsequently evaluating whether the goals have indeed been achieved. Based on the evaluation, the phases will be repeated if necessary (Krechtig & Bosker, 2016). It is important that the various activities in this plan are well-coordinated, do not conflict with each other and form a consistent and coherent whole for the client.

In literature, systematic working is described as an important basis for probation supervision²⁸, enabling the implementation of the principles of the RNR model (see section 4.2). Probation supervision starts with an investigation into the risk, the criminogenic needs and protective factors. This analysis has often already been made in the advisory phase and can be built on further. Based on this, an action plan is developed that includes objectives and interventions aimed at positively influencing the criminogenic needs. This plan is then implemented, evaluated and adjusted if necessary (Bonta et al., 2008; Bonta & Andrews, 2009). In case a client is detained in custody, this process starts as early as detention.²⁹

²⁸ The literature also uses the term ‘case management’ for this.

²⁹ The initial steps (orientation, research and planning) are also completed to prepare advice for the court. This can then be used in supervision.

Empirical substantiation

In a study by Bonta et al. from 2008 (see 4.2.2) discussed previously, the degree to which action plans match the risk assessment and dynamic criminogenic needs appear to vary. The extent to which time was spent during the implementation of the plan to positively influence the criminogenic needs varied as well. It was also found that clients whose supervision spent more time on the criminogenic needs identified in the risk assessment reoffended less.

Working systematically is often not assessed on its own but as part of a broader approach. For example, one of the practices used by various studies into the effectiveness of using RNR principles in combination with CCP (see section 4.3) is to develop an action plan based on a structured risk assessment, and to continue to focus closely on the identified risks and dynamic criminogenic needs during probation supervision. Working systematically is also an important part of various after-care programmes, starting in detention and continuing during the supervision (see section 4.4). Based on these studies, determining the effectiveness of working systematically is not possible. In these studies, working systematically is often given as an important aspect of the effectiveness of the approach as a whole (see, for example, Duwe, 2012; Grace, 2017; Lewis et al., 2007; Taxman, 2008).

5.1.2 Continuity in the contact

Continuity in contact, i.e. limiting changes in probation officers to a minimum during the process contributes to the effectiveness of probation supervision and is associated with a better working alliance and less dropout.

Background

Continuity in contact relates to the probation officer as an invariable constant in the client's programme, i.e. to having as little change in probation officer as possible. This is important for several reasons (Clark-Miller & Stevens, 2011; Krechtig & Menger, 2016):

- Trust is an important part of the working alliance (see section 4.1.3). Building trust takes time.
- The probation officer and client enter into agreements about the framework and the objectives of the probation programme and learn how to deal with these during the process. The client learns what the boundaries are, whereas the probation officer learns what a client's signals are that indicate a possible withdrawal from supervision.

Empirical substantiation

Clark-Miller and Stevens (2011) investigated the correlations between changes in probation officer and successful completion of the probation supervision in Texas (US), based on data from 5,134 clients. The number of probation officers involved with a client was found to be significantly associated with increased dropouts due to violation of the special conditions or a new crime, even when taking into account a number of client characteristics such as the risk of recidivism and the number of interventions. In other words, the more changes in officer, the higher the dropout during supervision.

Sturm et al. (2019) investigated the working alliance on the basis of repeated measurements among 137 probation officers and 201 clients in the Netherlands. One of the findings in this study was that constantly changing probation officers is significantly associated with a deterioration in confidence among clients (as part of the working alliance). Zortman et al. (2016) reach the same conclusion in a study into the effectiveness of an after-care programme in Pennsylvania (USA). Based on a survey of 94 clients and interviews with 82 clients, it was found that continuity of the relationship is very important for clients: they indicate that changes in probation officers have a negative effect on their trust.

In interviews with 20 clients in Scotland, clients cite continuity in contact with the probation officer as one of the most important aspects of the probation service counselling (Barry, 2013).

5.1.3 Working on the relationship, working alliance

Literature uses both the concept of relationship and that of the working alliance. In both cases, developing and maintaining a positive relationship/working alliance with the client is of added value for supervision. There are some indications of a direct effect on recidivism and, more convincingly, there are indications that a positive relationship/working alliance contributes to the client's motivation and willingness to change, his well-being and improvements on criminogenic needs and protective factors.

Background

A positive relationship between the professional and client is important and can influence the outcome of an intervention in both a positive and negative way. Characteristics such as non-directive, unconditional acceptance and empathy are central to this relationship (Menger et al., 2019). A positive relationship between the probation officer and client is considered an essential ingredient in the mandatory framework. The relationship can be a powerful tool for behavioural change and reducing recidivism: when clients start to feel positive about themselves, it can promote bonding, compliance, legitimacy, motivation and empowerment (Lewis, 2014a).

We have come to prefer using the term 'working alliance', both within the voluntary framework and the judicial domain. Within the mandatory framework, the working alliance displays several characteristics:

- Goals and conditions: the mandatory framework, the objectives and tasks of the counselling are sufficiently clear for the client, and there is sufficient agreement about the implementation;
- Trust: the client can express himself freely during contact moments and the professional believes that the client confides in him sufficiently;
- Bond: the client feels respected, supported and stimulated and the professional believes that he is supportive and stimulating.
- Reactance: feelings of resistance to the mandatory contact affecting the client (reactance), a loss of energy or control affecting the professional (counter-reactance) (Menger et al., 2019).

An important difference with the old concept of 'relationship' is that in the working alliance 'the development of a positive relationship' is not an objective in its own right. Central to the theory of the working alliance is that the professional and client purposively work on objectives outside the relationship, and sometimes there is agreement and sometimes there is not. Unconscious processes play a role in both the professional and client that can influence the collaboration. For example, it can be difficult for a client to trust the professional. The professional may feel powerless when he feels that the client is not being entirely honest. To reliably assess the quality of the working alliance therefore requires the perspectives of both professionals and clients (Menger et al., 2019).

Empirical substantiation

Empirical substantiation exists for both the importance of the relationship and for the working alliance. We will describe these one by one below.

The importance of the relationship

Developing a positive relationship is stated as one of the Core Correctional Practices (see section 3.3). In their meta-analysis, Dowden and Andrews (2004) found a significant correlation between the quality of the relationship between the probation officer and the client and reduced recidivism. Later studies on CCP found varying results regarding an independent effect of the relationship on

recidivism, though they unanimously confirmed the importance of the relationship for being able to adequately work on behavioural change (Bonta et al., 2011; Latessa et al., 2013; Raynor et al., 2014).

In a sample of 1,697 serious and violent former prisoners, it was investigated whether a supportive relationship between the probation officer and client led to less recidivism (Chamberlain et al., 2018). Interviews were conducted at three different times and combined with police and judicial records about recidivism. Clients with a supportive relationship (based on trust, support and professionalism) showed less recidivism than clients with a non-supportive relationship. Increased contact between the probation officer and client reduces recidivism. Remarkably, the nature of this contact does not seem to matter: according to the authors, this creates possibilities for alternatives for face-to-face contact, such as e-mail, app, Skype, etcetera.

Lewis (2014b) investigated how the relationship contributes to behavioural change and reducing recidivism among clients. Group interviews with seven male rehabilitation clients and six probation officers show that both parties consider 'being honest and respectful' extremely important. In addition, probation officers indicate that it helps when they express their genuine belief in the client's ability to change. In a follow-up study by the same author (Lewis, 2014a), interviews were held with five clients, 36 probation officers and four employees from different layers of the organisation. Clients indicate that they appreciate it when probation officers give advice and are direct. It is striking that in long supervision programmes, probation officers give less priority to the relationship and believe less in the positive effect of the relationship on behavioural change.

An Irish study on the involvement of the probation service in the desistance process of 73 clients shows that having positive feelings about the probation service helps clients in their efforts to change their lives around (Healy, 2012). Clients indicate that a positive mutual relationship increases their commitment to desistance: it is supportive in difficult times. According to clients, an effective supervisor is understanding, involved and respectful. The supervisor making an 'outward' effort for the client, for example if he stands up for the client in court further contributes to desistance. This can make a big impression on the client and gives him that extra little push in the right direction. Clients who are monitored more than that they are supervised are less positive about their experiences with the probation service.

Based on a survey of 347 clients in the US, Fariello Springer, Applegate, Smith, and Sitren (2009) reach a similar conclusion: the honesty, clarity and competence of the probation officer are valued, but practical help is important as well. A total of 48% of clients feel that their probation officer does not help enough to find the right service elsewhere. Barry (2007) interviewed 40 reoffending clients (20 men and 20 women) about the process of reducing delinquent behaviour. Among other things, the clients mentioned the importance of a listening ear for problems, fears and consequences of their delinquent behaviour and encouragement in the process of stopping to commit crimes.

The importance of the working alliance

In a Dutch study, Menger (2018) investigated whether characteristics of the working alliance are related to the course and outcomes of probation supervision. The characteristics of goals/conditions, trust, bond and reactance were presented in the form of a questionnaire (the 'Working Alliance Monitor') to 267 pairs of supervisors and clients at the start of supervision and 6 to 9 months thereafter. Outcome measures were hiccups in supervision (no-show and intervention by supervisors), dropping out prematurely and new early requests for assistance. From the client's perspective, the working alliance appears to be related to, among other things, previous judicial experiences and substance use: clients who use substances and clients who have negative experiences with previous probation officers or who are in detention rate the working alliance lower. The working alliance among clients shows a moderate to weak relation with the nature of the motivation. If the appreciation for the working alliance increases over time, the motivation for the probation programme increases with it. Trust among clients is related to fewer hiccups in supervision and fewer dropouts. Supervision that includes many goals and restrictions, in combination with

reactance, is also associated with hiccups in supervision. Reactance perceived by supervisors is related to premature dropout. Similarities in the working alliance scores between supervisors and clients within the pairs correlate with fewer hiccups and dropout.

The study by Sturm, De Vogel, Menger and Huibers (2020) examined how the working alliance between probation officers and clients affects recidivism, using the data of 199 clients from the study by Menger (2018) described above. In this study, the working alliance characteristics goals/conditions, trust, bond and reactance are used in two ways: as stable characteristics at the start of supervision and as changing characteristics during the course of supervision. It appears that the stable characteristics of trust and reactance are associated with serious recidivism: among clients with more confidence and less reactance at the start of supervision, serious recidivism is less in the four-year follow-up period. Clients with low levels of trust at the start, but whose trust increased during supervision, show less general and serious recidivism in the four-year follow-up period.

In an English study, Hart and Collins (2014) investigated the influence of the type of crime and the risk of recidivism on the development of the working alliance, as well as the extent to which the working alliance predicts the success of the probation service. A questionnaire about the quality of the working alliance and success factors of the probation service was taken among 48 clients (low-risk, medium-risk and high-risk profiles). Indicators of success included motivation for behavioural change, empathy, loyalty towards the probation officer, and problem-solving ability. The working alliance does not differ on account of the type of risk or type of crime. However, it does to a large extent predict the success (a combination of the aforesaid indicators) of the probation service.

The working alliance is also important for specific target groups. In the US, an intervention has been developed for drug-addicted clients, aimed at strengthening the working alliance (Blasko et al., 2015). Its effectiveness was investigated in an RCT study (227 clients in the experimental group and 253 in the control group). More positive working alliances and less violence were found in the experimental group than in the control group. Better quality of the working alliance was associated with fewer days of drug use and violent behaviour during the follow-up period. Walters (2016) likewise found a correlation between the quality of the working alliance (assessed by the client and by the probation officer) and less drug use, fewer new arrests and fewer new detentions, based on a study among 449 addicted clients in the US. This effect appeared to be stronger among older clients. Walters's research also shows that the working alliance has a mediating effect on the relationship between an intervention and its effect, i.e. enhances the effectiveness of an intervention.

Violations of the special conditions and probationary period are relatively common among clients with serious mental issues. It is important for probation officers to pay attention to the working alliance among these clients. Epperson et al. (2017) examined the perception of clients with severe mental health issues towards the different relational styles of US probation officers. Caring appears to be the basic characteristic on which the other relationship characteristics rest. Caring, defined as 'being kind, respectful and humane', plays an important role in developing and maintaining a relationship, as well as in the outcomes of supervision.

As part of two studies, Morash et al. (2015; 2016) examined the responses of alcohol and/or drug-addicted female clients to probation officers applying a supportive and monitoring relationship style. In the first study, 330 women were interviewed multiple times (Morash et al., 2015). Anxiety and reactance appear to be negatively associated with the clients' belief in being able to stop committing crimes. Probation officers applying a supportive relationship style trigger lower levels of anxiety and reactance. The reverse was seen among probation officers who apply a monitoring relationship style. A probation officer who emphasises monitoring has the strongest negative impact on women with low scores on anxiety/depression, anger/hostility, antisocial attitudes and friends, in other words, the most law-abiding clients. This study shows that a supportive relationship style based on trust is effective.

In the second study by Morash et al. (2016), the relationship style of the probation officer is compared with recidivism. It appears that the relationship style of the probation officer has no direct

effect on recidivism among women (convictions and arrests within 24 months). The relationship style of the probation officer *does* have an indirect effect on recidivism on account of the relation with reactance, i.e. negative statements by the client about supervision. Probation officers with a punitive, less supportive style are more likely to meet with resistance and these clients are more prone to recidivism.

5.1.4 Motivational Interviewing

Motivational Interviewing (MI) is effective in terms of the conditions that have been set: MI can lead to more insight and awareness and promote programme loyalty (i.e. prevent dropout). There is insufficient evidence that MI leads to behavioural change, in the sense of reducing recidivism or improving the situation in different areas of life.

Background

Motivational Interviewing (MI) was developed by Miller & Rollnick (2005). It is a collaborative, person-oriented and targeted counselling style which aims to trigger autonomous motivation for a behavioural change in the client. The methodology arouses someone's personal motives for change, with attention to 'change language'. MI emphasises the relationship between client and professional and the idea that the client has what it takes to make changes in his life. MI instils ambivalence towards change, which can lead to intrinsic motivation to change, so that the client can benefit more from future treatments (Burke et al., 2003).

Three types of results can be achieved with MI:

1. Motivation to participate in a certain treatment programme can be fuelled;
2. Programme loyalty when in treatment can be increased;
3. It can lead to behavioural change.

In order to determine what makes MI effective, a link should be made with general motivation theories, such as the self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci 2000). With the help of MI, the professional enables the client to make a connection with three basic psychological needs that are central to the self-determination theory: connection, autonomy and competence. If during the counselling, a client feels connected with the professional, believes that he or she has a say in the process and that he or she is competent in the things that are asked of him or her, then the chances of motivation, increased programme loyalty and behavioural change are higher compared to when the client does not feel connected, autonomous or competent (Frielink et al., 2014).

Empirical substantiation

As part of a meta-analysis, McMurran (2009) combined 19 studies on MI and a variant, Motivational Enhancement Therapy (MET)³⁰, and compared them with each other. The target group was general and consisted of men and women, juveniles and adults, placed under supervision and in detention, with or without mental disorders, in or out of work, addicted and/or actively offending. MI appears to be promising for promoting programme loyalty among the addict population, but not among perpetrators of domestic violence. If the motivation for treatment is increased, MI can lead to an increased willingness to accept treatment and behavioural change. In terms of behavioural change, the effect of MI is ambiguous. Evidence for the decline in drug use is mixed: results can either be positive or negative. This also applies to reduced recidivism. The results of the effects of MI in drink-

³⁰ Motivational Enhancement Therapy (MET) is short-term therapy of 4 sessions during which the client examines his motivation to change through feedback from the therapist.

driving offences are also mixed. It is not clear whether the effects of MI will last in the longer term. If it does, it could be on account of other influences, such as community support. The author concludes that the unique effects of MI are difficult to investigate, because MI is often combined with other treatment components.

As part of a quasi-experimental study, Raynor et al. (2014) investigated which interview skills probation officers use and whether differences in skills are somehow related to differences in the results of the probation supervision (see 4.3.). Using MI appeared to be associated with less recidivism after 1 year.

A study in the US examined the effectiveness of MI training on the MI skills of probation officers and the client's results (Walters et al., 2010). A total of 380 clients were assigned to probation officers who attended the MI training (experimental group), a waiting list (control group 1) and standard probation supervision (control group 2). A total of 20 probation officers from the experimental group received MI training, while the probation officers from the control groups did not. Questionnaires were completed by both probation officers and clients at the start of the study and after 2 and 6 months. Role-play exercises revealed the extent to which probation officers had mastered the skills. The findings of the study were disappointing: the MI training improved the MI skills of the probation officers in the experimental group, yet after controlling the results against some general client characteristics (ethnicity, age and level of supervision level), the outcomes of the probation officers did not vary by study group, nor did the MI skills predict the client's results. It appears to be difficult to achieve behavioural change through MI. However, MI can mean something in terms of the conditions that have been set: for example, when clients become more aware of the problems, loyalty towards the special conditions or care programmes (alcohol and drug treatment) can increase.

This notion was also found by Harper and Hardy in a study among 65 addicted clients (2000). They argue that MI can, in fact, be of added value when working with mandated clients, where feelings of resistance against the imposed contact can be prominent and where clients may think that any change is to their disadvantage. This study into the effectiveness of an MI programme did not yield 'concrete' results, although after completion of the study, clients assigned to an MI-trained probation officer did show increased problem awareness compared to the control group.

Shaul et al. (2016) investigated the effectiveness of the Dutch 'Step by Step' MI programme, intended for clients who are supervised by the addict rehabilitation probation service. The study examined whether clients who attended the Step by Step programme showed significantly less recidivism and took longer to reoffend than clients merely under supervision. A total of 73 probation officers and 220 clients (all male) participated in the study. Recidivism was measured at the start of supervision and after 12 months of follow-up using interviews and data analysis. Measuring of recidivism was three-fold: self-reporting, police records and a combination thereof. The analysis shows that the share of recidivism and time to reoffend is not significantly different between clients receiving probation counselling and the Step by Step programme and clients under standard probation supervision: there is no evidence that supervision plus Step by Step is more effective than supervision alone. The authors provide three possible explanations for the fact that Step by Step has no effect:

1. Motivation for behavioural change is a necessary but insufficient factor to actually start behavioural change;
2. The fact that probation officers within the addict rehabilitation probation service are already (well-)trained in MI skills led to a smaller contrast between the experimental group and the control group;
3. Since programme integrity in Step by Step has not been measured, it is unknown whether the programme was implemented correctly.

5.1.5 Effective use of authority

There is some support for the efficacy of effective use of authority, but relatively little research has been found on this practice. This concerns aspects such as a clear clarification of the professional's own role and the rules in supervision, consistency in taking action but with space and input for the client and rejecting specific negative behaviour, not the client as a person.

Background

One of the Core Correctional Practices cited by various authors is the effective use of authority. This practice is also referred to as 'firm but fair'. This involves clarifying the rules associated with supervision and the role of the probation service with regard to compliance with the special conditions. If clients violate rules or conditions, they are held to account in a reasonable manner, in which the core of the message is the client's behaviour and not his or her persona (Dowden & Andrews, 2004). Vanstone and Raynor (2012) operationalise the effective use of authority as being strict but fair, proper role clarification, making more positive than negative comments, promoting joint decision-making and not giving clients too much room to avoid difficult questions.

Effective use of authority shares common ground with the concept of procedural and substantive justice. Bender, Cobbina and McGarrell (2016) describe these as follows:

- Procedural justice: the decision-making process on the basis of which a result is realised is experienced as fair;
- Substantive justice: the result (for example the sanction) is experienced as fair.

Empirical substantiation

In the meta-analysis of Dowden & Andrews (2004), using authority effectively emerges as one of the five basic skills for professionals who work with offenders to reduce recidivism and which are significantly associated with less recidivism. In the study on basic skills of probation officers from Jersey (United Kingdom), no significant relationship is found between effective use of authority and recidivism (Raynor et al., 2012). See 4.3. for an explanation of these studies.

Bender et al. (2016) interviewed participants of an after-care programme for high-risk offenders (serious, violent crimes) in the US about their experiences. The key question in all this was whether procedural and substantive justice affects their satisfaction and involvement in the programme. On the basis of in-depth interviews with 25 participants, they concluded, among other things, that it is important for clients that they are well informed about the conditions attached to the programme and that promises are kept. Criticism from the participants of the programme was that it was promised that clients would be helped into work, but this often proved to be an empty promise. Participants also felt insufficiently informed about conditions such as electronic monitoring, frequent home visits, drug testing or mandatory training.

5.2 Change in behaviour and circumstances

5.2.1 Prosocial modelling

Prosocial modelling contributes to the effectiveness of supervision.

It consists of a combination of:

- **Showing exemplary behaviour;**
- **Positive appreciation of prosocial expressions and behaviours;**
- **Disapproval of procriminal expressions and behaviour.**

Background

The probation officer as a prosocial role model is mainly put forward by Trotter (2009; 2015) based on studies among probation officers and youth protectors. This concerns a combination of:

- Modelling (demonstrating) prosocial values and behaviours in interaction with clients, such as keeping agreements, respecting other people's feelings, highlighting the negative consequences of criminal behaviour.
- Reinforcing and thus strengthening prosocial expressions and behaviours of clients. For example, when clients keep agreements, do not commit crimes, actively work on solving their problems, show empathy for victims or disapprove of delinquent behaviour. Reinforcing expresses itself in various ways: through body language, expressing appreciation, rewarding (for example, lowering the contact frequency). One important element therein is that the relationship between the officer's own behaviour and the reward is clear to the client.
- Disapproval of clients' procriminal expressions and behaviour. Probation officers do this clearly, but not aggressively or too critically. They explore why clients behave in a certain way, acknowledge and accept that the client may harbour negative feelings, and suggest a prosocial way to deal with the situation.

The theoretical basis for this practice is the social learning theory. This theory states that people learn through interaction with others. On the one hand by observing how others behave, on the other hand through the positive and negative responses they receive from others to their own behaviour (Trotter, 2015). People learn more from encouragement than they do from discouragement or criticism (see also 5.2.6). Prosocial modelling is culturally coloured. Origin, religion, social class, ethnicity, etc. colour someone's assessment as to whether behaviour is desirable or undesirable. It is therefore important to discuss this with the client and with fellow professionals (Trotter, 2009).

Empirical substantiation

The importance of prosocial modelling is stated and empirically supported in several studies on Core Correctional Practices (see section 4.3). In a meta-analysis of 273 studies, Dowden and Andrews (2004) name modelling and reinforcing as one of the five basic skills for probation officers. The study of essential skills for probation officers in Jersey found a significant relationship between prosocial modelling and reduced recidivism (Raynor et al., 2012). Both Dowden and Andrews, as well as Raynor et al. describe prosocial modelling as a combination of demonstrating desired behaviour, positively reinforcing desired behaviour, disapproving of undesirable behaviour and supporting clients in learning to show desired behaviour. The latter is achieved by encouraging clients to do so, having them practise this and giving feedback.

A review by Trotter (2013) on effective components in face-to-face counselling in supervision, which included eight studies, also identifies prosocial modelling as an effective practice for supervision. In a study based on data collected in the STICS project (see section 4.3), Bourgon and Gutierrez (2012) did not find a significant relationship between discussing procriminal attitudes and recidivism. This might be because this only concerns one aspect of prosocial modelling, whereas it is in fact the positive reinforcement of desired behaviour that appears to be important. In their STICS study, Bonta

et al. (2011) likewise found no significant effect for behavioural techniques such as reinforcing and disapproving of behaviour.

5.2.2 Cognitive behavioural techniques

The use of cognitive behavioural techniques in supervision contributes to its effectiveness. This involves 1) clarifying the relationship between thoughts and behaviour 2) identifying procriminal attitudes, thoughts and behaviours, 3) teaching concrete cognitive and behavioural skills and 4) supporting clients in applying and generalising these in their daily lives.

Background

The importance of cognitive behavioural techniques is in line with the RNR model and, more specifically, with the general responsivity principle. This approach is already widely used in behavioural training, such as cognitive skills training. In their STICS project, Bonta and colleagues also elaborated this aspect for application during face-to-face interviews within the framework of probation supervision. This would concern modifying procriminal attitudes, applying a cognitive behavioural practice, and components of cognitive restructuring (Bonta et al., 2011). The four core elements of this practice are:

1. Clarifying the relationship between thoughts and behaviour for clients;
2. Identifying procriminal attitudes, thoughts and behaviours with clients;
3. Teaching concrete cognitive and behavioural skills;
4. Supporting clients in applying and generalising this in their daily lives (Rugge et al., 2014).

In the study by Raynor and colleagues from Jersey, cognitive restructuring is described as a practice for probation supervision. They operationalise this as follows: identifying antisocial beliefs, demonstrating alternative ways of thinking, encouraging the client to practise alternative ways of thinking and discussing the disadvantages of antisocial beliefs and the benefits of alternative thinking styles (Vanstone & Raynor, 2012) with clients.

Empirical substantiation

The study on STICS (see section 4.3) evaluated several Core Correctional Practices. Only the use of cognitive techniques appeared in itself to be correlated with less recidivism (measured after 2 years): recidivism among clients subjected to cognitive behavioural techniques during supervision was 19% and 37% among clients in the control group (Bonta et al., 2011). This analysis did not check for possible other influences. Bourgon and Gutierrez (2012) did. They performed a specific analysis on the same data, aimed at the use of cognitive intervention techniques, and investigated whether the differences could be attributed to differences in clients' offence history and age. They found a significant correlation with recidivism for the use of cognitive intervention strategies, but not for discussing procriminal attitudes with clients (Bourgon & Gutierrez, 2012). In a replication of this study in another province in Canada, no significant differences were found in general between the experimental and control groups. The only aspect associated with less recidivism was the use of cognitive behavioural techniques. Clients who had been subjected to these techniques reoffended less often than clients who had not been subjected to them (42% versus 54%), although the difference was not significant (Bonta et al., 2019).

In their study on Jersey, Raynor and colleagues found a significant correlation between cognitive restructuring and recidivism in the measurements after 1 year but in the measurement after 2 years, this aspect does not appear to be significant (Raynor et al., 2014). In several other studies on Core Correctional Practices (see section 4.3), the use of cognitive techniques is one of the practices that contribute to a reduction in recidivism, but it has not been investigated whether this in itself has an effect.

Although the results are not straightforward, based on a review of eight studies including some of the ones discussed above, Trotter concludes (2013) that the use of cognitive behavioural techniques appears to be a relevant practice for effective probation supervision.

5.2.3 Strengthening problem-solving skills

Supporting clients in strengthening their ability to solve problems appears to be an effective part in probation supervision.

Background

One of the Core Correctional Practices described by Dowden and Andrews is solving problems. According to Dowden and Andrews (2004), this concerns strengthening clients' problem-solving skills for both practical and emotional problems. Clients are taught to identify problems, then to formulate specific goals and make a plan for how to achieve these goals, and finally they evaluate their implementation with the probation officer. In the study by Raynor and colleagues in Jersey, solving problems is defined in a broader sense: both strengthening clients' problem-solving skills and solving problems for or with clients (Vanstone & Raynor, 2012).

Empirical substantiation

Based on their meta-analysis of 273 studies on different programmes and practices in probation service, Dowden and Andrews (2004) conclude that promoting problem-solving skills contributes significantly to the reduction of recidivism. Trotter (2013) likewise concluded in a review of eight studies on effective practices in probation supervision that there are clear indications for the effectiveness of solving problems. However, he also notes that definitions of concepts vary. Specifically with regard to solving problems, in some of the studies this is defined as (strengthening) clients' skills to solve problems themselves, whereas in other studies it is the probation officers who solve problems for and with clients (described in this report under practical help in section 5.2.4).

A study at the Jersey probation service monitored ten probation officers for an extended period of time. They recorded supervisory interviews with 75 different clients. Using a structured checklist (Vanstone & Raynor, 2012), they mapped out which skills and practices probation officers use and to what extent these contribute to the reduction of recidivism. Solving problems was found to be significantly associated with less recidivism (measured after two years) (Raynor et al., 2014).

The aim of the probation service is to help clients manage and steer their own lives and to solve the problems they encounter. The fact that clients are not necessarily able to do so is shown by a study by Trotman and Taxman (2011). They investigated an intervention programme for addicted rehabilitation clients in the US. Central to this programme was teaching clients to set their own objectives for improving their lives in various areas, to teach them how to achieve these and how to deal with the obstacles they encounter. Part of the approach included a method of sanctions and rewards (see section 5.2.6). Based on observations, the researchers conclude that many clients find it difficult to set (achievable) goals and need help from probation officers, which is at the expense of the clients' ownership of these goals. Probation officers are often focused on longer-term goals, whereas this client group needs to take small steps. For several clients, mere participation in the meetings sometimes proved too ambitious a goal.

5.2.4 Practical assistance

Offering practical assistance in various areas (housing, finances, work, care) in the form of information, advice, arranging access to other institutions or arranging other matters for clients appears to be a relevant practice in probation supervision. There is some substantiation for the relationship between practical help and reduction of recidivism. Furthermore, research shows that clients confirm the importance of practical help. Offering practical help contributes to the commitment of clients to supervision and the motivation to actively participate.

Background

Offering 'help and support' has traditionally been one of the core tasks of probation service, at least in many European countries. Here, probation officers are often trained as social workers. Mapping out problems in different areas of life and offering clients practical and emotional support in improving their lives is at the core of their expertise.

Probation officers support clients with problems relating to housing, finances, education, work or other problems. They do this by advising clients on how they can arrange practical matters themselves, by establishing contact with institutions, possibly arranging matters on their behalf and, if necessary, guiding clients (whether or not by travelling with them) in their contact with the agencies. In other examples, probation organisations establish facilities directly, in collaboration with other organisations or otherwise, because access to regular facilities is limited for their clients. Examples include (temporary) housing facilities, training courses or employment projects.

Empirical substantiation

There are some indications that practical help contributes to reducing recidivism. Bares and Mowen (2019) used data from interviews with 1,697 men who served time previously and looked at how social support by the probation officer correlates with re-detention. They found that a greater degree of support is associated with a reduced risk of re-detention. In the case of discharge after detention, clients appreciate it when probation officers provide them with the appropriate information. This 'businesslike' way of support is valued more than being helpful, trusting, listening or being available. This is in line with a previous finding that, in addition to a positive relationship and emotional support, offering practical help is also important (see 5.1.3).

In the Citizenship programme in the UK (see also section 4.3), specific attention was paid to close collaboration with local organisations so that clients could be helped more effectively with problems relating to work, finances, addiction and mental problems. In an initial evaluation among 5,929 clients, this collaboration was found to significantly contribute to a reduction in recidivism (Pearson et al., 2011). However, in an RCT study on the same project ($n = 1,091$), no significant effect was found (Pearson et al., 2016).

In various studies, clients were asked about their experiences with the process of reducing delinquent behaviour and the role of the probation service therein. One of the themes that reoccur in many of these studies is the importance of practical support and help. This concerns for example help in finding work (Bender et al., 2016; Roddy et al., 2019) or in accessing essential facilities (Hunter et al., 2016). In a project specifically for young adult offenders in the United Kingdom, clients ($n = 11$) cited the importance of practical help with referral to medical treatment or the provision of an allowance for important expenses (Chui et al., 2003). Some studies do not specifically state what help is involved and merely indicate that clients expect or have received help in different areas of life (Kvysgaard, 2000; McCulloch, 2005).

In a study among 20 clients from several probation teams in the United Kingdom, clients state that they received little practical help from their probation officers whereas according to the author, this

is important, for example to make clients more committed to the desistance process (King, 2013). This is confirmed in a study by Sleath and Brown (2019), also from the United Kingdom. Based on interviews with ten clients, 5 probation officers and eight police officers, they conclude that offering practical help is related to the trust that clients have in their probation officer. An Australian study among 139 women who had served time previously also indicated that clients were dissatisfied with the support they received from probation officers in getting their lives back on track. Probation officers who *did* offer practical help were experienced as positive (McIvor et al., 2009). Research among 402 female clients in the US shows that the practical help that is offered, for example in the field of work, must be responsive to other problems at play, such as child-care, psychological problems or addiction problems. Such problems are sometimes more of a priority than looking for work (Roddy et al., 2019).

Several studies show that the support provided by probation officers and appreciated by clients is often a combination of practical help and emotional support (Holmstrom et al., 2017; Hunter et al., 2016; McCulloch, 2005; McIvor et al., 2009; Roddy et al., 2019). Holmstrom et al. (2017) surveyed 284 female offenders with addiction problems in the US about communication with their probation officer. Since many of the women lack a supportive social network, the probation officer serves as a source of support for them in various areas, by informing them about and referring them to necessary help, giving them advice, but also by giving them emotional support and showing appreciation.

5.2.5 Social bonds

There are indications that supporting clients in establishing and maintaining prosocial bonds with family or friends contributes to the effectiveness of probation supervision.

Background

The importance of a supportive social network is emphasised in studies of desistance, the process of reducing delinquent behaviour (Barry 2013, McCulloch 2005). In addition to practical and emotional support, social bonds also provide a form of social control (Bosker et al., 2016). Clients can form supportive social bonds with family or friends, but people at a slightly greater distance, such as neighbours or colleagues, can fulfil that function as well. Studies into the role of social bonds hardly pay any attention to the role of probation officers in this. Some studies do and they are relevant to this literature review.

Empirical substantiation

An evaluation of an intensive after-care programme in the US that consists of a combination of monitoring and counselling reports positive results on the efficacy of social support. Clients were randomly assigned to an experimental group and control group. Clients in the experimental group perform better in different areas of life such as housing, income, education and work. They also appear to have more social support than the clients in the control group. There appears to be a significant correlation between having social support and a lower recidivism rate, even when checked against offence history and age (Duwe, 2012).

One study from Australia focused, among other things, on reducing the possibilities for clients to reoffend (environmental corrections). In addition to objects of change that match the dynamic criminogenic needs, counselling also focused on the prevention of 'criminogenic situations' such as high-risk contacts or locations and the strengthening of a social network for information and social control. Recidivism (measured 6 months after the intervention) appeared to be significantly lower in the experimental group (258 clients) compared to the control group (258 clients) (Schaefer & Little, 2019).

Hepburn and Griffin (2004) examined the effect of social support among 285 male child abuse offenders in the US. Family and friends, as well as contacts at work were included. Having social support turned out to be related to the successful completion of probation supervision. In a study from the US into the effect of social support on recidivism by sex offenders, no direct relationship was found. In this study, social support was defined as instrumental and/or expressive support from the community, social networks and trusted persons (partner, family, friends). Data from 72 clients, collected through interviews, were linked to recidivism figures (violation of the special conditions and new detention). Support from family and friends did not appear to be related to new detention (Kras, 2019).

A number of studies stating the importance of a supportive social network for clients are of a qualitative nature and concern interviews with rehabilitation clients. These mainly provide insight into which rehabilitation activities are valued and experienced by clients as supportive and thus provide a positive supplement to the quantitative studies. For example, a small study from Scotland in which six young adult clients and six probation officers were interviewed describes how these clients appreciated the probation officers working with the client's family as well, often visiting their homes in the process. This way, the probation officers supported the client by mobilising support from others in addressing their problems (McCulloch, 2005). In another Scottish study, 20 clients were interviewed about the process of desistance. Support from the immediate family proved to be an important factor (Barry, 2013). In an English study among 8 young adult offenders, comparable conclusions are drawn on the basis of interviews with clients. Clients experience support from their families as important in breaking free from crime and the circle of friends that goes with it. This can be achieved, among other things, by involving family and the partner in probation supervision. The effects of working with the family on the client's process are not elaborated in these studies (Chui et al., 2003).

5.2.6 Sanctions and Rewards

There are some indications that a combination of rewarding desirable behaviour and sanctioning undesirable behaviour can be effective in probation supervision, provided that the emphasis is on rewarding. However, the empirical substantiation for this is limited because few studies have been found on this practice.

Background

Sanctioning and rewarding behaviour as a way to change client behaviour is used, among other things, in intensive supervision programmes in the US. It is based on the operant learning theory, which states that behaviour is learned through the consequences people experience from their own actions. People will continue behaviour that produces positive results and stop behaviour that produces negative results. As a result, behaviour can be influenced by manipulating the consequences of behaviour, for example, through a deliberate system of sanctions and rewards (Mowen et al., 2018; Wodahl et al., 2011).

There are various ways of implementing this in probation supervision. Good behaviour can be rewarded by complimenting clients, decreasing the number of contacts or checks in supervision, easing conditions, discontinuing electronic monitoring or allowing specific activities or freedoms. Sanctioning undesirable behaviour can take the form of reprimanding clients, issuing warnings, limiting freedoms or intensifying the number of contact times or intensifying monitoring.

Empirical substantiation

Wodahl et al. investigated the effect of sanctions and rewards in an intensive supervision programme in one of the US states. The number of sanctions and rewards in the files of 283 random clients were counted and subsequently correlated with the completion of supervision. The study controlled for various characteristics, including offence history, substance use and previous violations of conditions. Both punishing and rewarding were found to contribute to the completion of supervision, but the effect of rewarding is clearly greater. The ratio between the number of sanctions and rewards appeared to influence the completion of supervision as well. If sanctioning dominates, supervision success is lower than if rewarding has the upper hand. It was calculated that a ratio of 4 to 1 (on average four times more rewards than sanctions) results in the highest success rate for completed supervision (Wodahl et al., 2011).

Mowen and colleagues conducted a similar study in 14 US states among perpetrators of serious violent crimes ($n = 962$). Drug use and recidivism were used as outcome variables, while controlling for a large number of client characteristics. A significant association was found between rewards in the form of compliments and less drug use and less recidivism. Rewarding by reducing the frequency of contact and checks proved to have no effect. Sanctioning, on the other hand, turned out to have the opposite effect. Intensifying the frequency of contact and checks and reprimands by the probation officer were found to be associated with increased drug use and higher recidivism rates (Mowen et al., 2018).

We can only draw conclusions about sanctions and rewards on the above two studies, both from the US. Based on this, we can cautiously conclude that rewarding desirable behaviour in particular can contribute to the effectiveness of supervision. Conflicting results are reported for punishing undesirable behaviour. It is clear, however, that rewarding desirable behaviour must predominate in probation supervision.

5.3 Monitoring

Monitoring refers to checking whether clients comply with the special conditions, identifying whether there is an increasing risk of a relapse in delinquent behaviour or a violation of the conditions and a timely and adequate response in the form of sanctions. In literature, the term 'control' is also used for this. Since the Dutch probation organisations recently started using the term (electronic) monitoring (personal communication 3RO), we will use this term in this report.

5.3.1 Direct sanctioning of violations

There is no convincing evidence for the effectiveness of intensive monitoring of compliance with the special conditions and immediate sanctioning of violations. Results are contradictory and no effects are found, particularly in high-quality studies.

Background

Supervision projects that focus on direct sanctioning of the violation of conditions are often based on theories of deterrence: the use of sanctions as a negative incentive to prevent undesirable behaviour (in this case, recidivism or violation of the special conditions). It is assumed that sanctioning is mainly effective if done quickly (immediately after the violation), consistently (with every violation) and proportionally (Hamilton et al., 2016; Hucklesby, 2009; Lattimore et al., 2016; Shannon et al., 2015). Reference is also made to the rational choice theory. The idea is that offenders weigh up the costs and benefits of criminal behaviour and decide against it if the costs exceed the benefits.

Quick and direct sanctioning of the violation of conditions as an important part of probation supervision is popular in the US. Various forms of intensive probation supervision have been implemented in various states in recent years for offenders with a moderate to high risk of recidivism, in which this practice is central. One of the first projects was the so-called HOPE³¹ project. This approach, developed by a judge, features intensive collaboration between the probation service and the court. The supervision starts with a warning session during which the practice is explained to the client. During the supervision, intensive checks are in place to test whether the client complies with the conditions, including drug testing. In case of violation of the special conditions, the response is immediate (within a week) in the form of a court hearing, followed by a short (several days) custodial sentence. Clients who regularly violate the special conditions are offered drug treatment (a large proportion of clients involved are drug users). A HOPE-like practice has now been implemented in 28 states (Lattimore et al., 2016). Another well-known practice featuring a direct sanctioning of violation of conditions is electronic monitoring (see 5.3.2.).

Empirical substantiation

Several studies from the US have evaluated such an approach, with varying results. A high-quality study is that of Lattimore and colleagues, who investigated a HOPE-based practice of probation supervision in several states (Arkansas, Massachusetts, Oregon and Texas). A total of 1504 clients were randomly divided between HOPE and regular probation supervision (the details of regular probation supervision varied from state to state). The study first evaluated the quality of the implementation of HOPE. This proved to be quite good, although some locations allowed too many low-risk clients to participate. Recidivism was examined next, applying an average follow-up period of 650 days. No significant differences were found between the two groups with regard to new arrests or new convictions after correcting for the risk of recidivism (Lattimore et al., 2016). In the discussion, the authors cite the absence of counselling components as a possible reason. An RCT study conducted in Delaware (US) among 400 clients (200 clients in the experimental group and 200 in the control group, all moderate or high risk) likewise failed to find significant differences with regard to different recidivism measures: violation of conditions, drugs use, completion of probation supervision, arrest for a new offence and detention (O'Connell et al., 2016).

A study from Washington (US) did find positive results. Recidivism in the experimental group ($n = 2,151$) was 20% lower than in the control group ($n = 2,687$), but the experimental group also appeared to participate significantly more often in treatment programmes, which could explain the difference (Hamilton et al., 2016). In a study in Michigan among 758 clients divided into an experimental and a control group, clients in the experimental group were found to be significantly less likely to reoffend than the control group (38% versus 47%) (DeVall et al., 2017). In a study conducted in Kentucky among 607 clients, the main conclusion was that intensive and random screening for drug use and the consistency of following up on violations of conditions increases compliance with the conditions. The experimental group tested positive for drug use less often and there were fewer violations of other conditions (duty to report and arrests for a new crime) (Shannon et al., 2015).

Research has recently been conducted in the Netherlands into the enforcement of special freedom-restricting conditions (restraining order, exclusion order and area ban). Violation of conditions appears to be identified to a limited extent only, unless electronic monitoring is used, but this only concerns 5% of the supervision. Enforcers too appear to react differently to violations. According to the researchers, both the probation service and the Public Prosecution Service appear to be more focused on the longer term, as a result of which it is preferred to continue the supervision than to sanction through enforcement (Fischer et al., 2019).

³¹ Hawaii's Opportunity Probation with Enforcement

5.3.2 Electronic monitoring

There are indications that electronic monitoring (EM) contributes to compliance with the special conditions, thanks to the relative certainty of a follow-up in the event of a violation.

There are also indications that EM can contribute to the reduction of recidivism if used in combination with other interventions. The added value of EM can be: providing structure, keeping clients away from antisocial contacts or situations, contributing to maintaining social bonds (relationships, work, education), promoting emotional stability and giving time for reflection on one's own lifestyle. However, empirical support for these possible effects is limited.

EM on its own is not effective in reducing recidivism.

Background

Electronic monitoring (EM) is applied in the Netherlands as part of a sanction, to supervise a special condition (travel restriction order or exclusion order) or as a permanent part of a sanction modality (Penitentiary Programme). In other countries, too, EM is sometimes imposed as a sanction (Hucklesby, 2008) or as an alternative to detention (Bonta et al., 2000) Østergaard Larsen, 2017; Padgett et al., 2006). There are two forms of EM. In the case of RFID (radio frequency identification), an ankle bracelet checks at set times whether a client is at home. During times that they are allowed to leave the home, for example for work or education, they are not electronically monitored. In the case of GPS monitoring (global positioning system), the client can also be traced outside the home. Imposing freedom-restricting conditions in combination with EM is a way of limiting behaviour and protecting (future) victims (Fischer et al., 2019).

EM is in line with theories of deterrence, i.e. the threat of a swift discovery of a violation of the conditions is thought to deter offenders. In addition, it is assumed that EM contributes to increasing the possibilities for prosocial experiences, promoting self-control and preventing the negative effects of detention (Andersen & Andersen, 2014; Bonta et al., 2000; Østergaard Larsen, 2017; Schwedler & Woessner, 2017). An important objective of EM is to monitor compliance with the conditions. According to Bottoms (as quoted in Hucklesby, 2009), compliance consists of a complex of factors that influence each other:

- Instrumental compliance: on the basis of a consideration of the pros and cons of behavioural alternatives by the client;
- Normative compliance: a desire and willingness to observe certain rules or norms, driven by personal beliefs or by social pressure from others;
- Restriction: the presence of an electronic means that reminds clients of the imposed conditions;
- Habit: compliance becomes a habit that clients have stopped thinking about.

Empirical substantiation

Renzema and Mayo-Wilson (2005) published a systematic literature review on the effectiveness of EM for offenders with a moderate or high risk of recidivism. Out of the 154 potential studies on this topic, only three remained that met the researchers' fairly strict inclusion criteria. The other studies were found to be of insufficient quality. The three studies did not provide evidence for the effectiveness of EM in relation to reducing recidivism. According to the authors, this is not surprising because EM usually lasts relatively short and is not so much geared to the specific problems of offenders who are given EM. A study by Bonta and colleagues based on an evaluation of three Canadian EM projects ($n = 532$) (included by Renzema and Mayo-Wilson in their review), concludes that there is no difference in recidivism between the experimental group and the control group after correction for risk. However, clients with EM do successfully complete supervision relatively often

(Bonta et al., 2000). A US study among 286 former prisoners examined the added value of EM for violent offenders and found no significant effect for recidivism in terms of new detention (Finn & Muirhead-Steves, 2002). More recently, an Israeli study found that offenders who spent the final phase of detention outside the PI with EM ($n = 155$) were less likely to be re-detained than the control group ($n = 160$) who in the final phase remained in detention (15% versus 45%, measured after 4 years). No significant difference was found for new arrests (Shoham et al., 2015). In conclusion, we can say that EM does not seem to have an independent contribution to reducing recidivism, although EM does seem to contribute to compliance with the conditions. A US study among 75,661 offenders under house arrest with probation supervision found that clients with EM violated the conditions associated with the sanction imposed on them less often, even when checked against various variables, including risk and interventions offered during the supervision (Padgett et al., 2006). A study from the United Kingdom provides more insight into the reasons for this on the basis of interviews with 78 clients who were given EM. Clients indicate that most violations are not intentional, but caused by their chaotic lifestyle and their inability to plan well. EM makes clients feel like they are being watched and they are aware of the potential consequences of violations. The threat of detention motivates them to adhere to the conditions, so as not to disrupt the relationship with family or work, among other things. This confirms the deterrence theory. Other aspects that help them to comply with the conditions are positive interaction with the probation officer, a motivation to complete the sentence and support from their own network (Hucklesby, 2009).

Interviews with clients also provide insight into the contribution that EM can have in the process of desistance. Hucklesby concludes from interviews with 78 clients from the United Kingdom (2008) that EM contributes to limiting delinquent behaviour, because clients do not come into situations, or less so, where they (normally) commit crimes: less contact with certain friends, less consumption of alcohol or drugs (for those who mainly use substances outside the home) and fewer high-risk situations. EM can have a positive effect on relationships because people have more time for their partners and children and because their social contacts (outside the home) are reduced. If relationships within the home are already tense, EM can make them worse. For clients who work, EM can be supportive because of the structure it provides, but it can also be restrictive if the mandatory home hours do not match working hours.

A Danish survey among 2,395 clients found that EM, as an alternative to detention, can contribute to job retention for young adult clients but not for older clients (Andersen & Andersen, 2014). EM also supports the completion of secondary school by young adult offenders, compared to young people who have been detained for a period of time (Østergaard Larsen, 2017). In a German RCT study in which detainees in the final phase of their detention were randomly distributed among an intervention group (EM, $n = 45$) and a control group (detention, $n = 49$), a positive effect of EM on clients' emotional stability was found, but not for the measures of social support, self-image, internal control and impulsivity (Schwedler & Woessner, 2017).

Two studies looked at the effect of using GPS monitoring on recidivism of high-risk sex offenders. Both studies were conducted in the US. The clients participated in intensive supervision combined with treatment. Both studies compared an experimental group (with GPS) with a control group (non-GPS). No significant differences were found between the experimental group and control group with regard to the number of violations of conditions. Results with regard to recidivism in terms of a new offence are contradictory. Gies et al. (2016) found significantly fewer arrests and convictions in the experimental group ($n = 258$) compared to the control group ($n = 258$, measured after 1 year). The arrests were partly related to failing to meet the conditions, but the new convictions often concerned a new offence. On the other hand, in a study among 185 sex offenders, Turner et al. (2015) found no significant differences in the number of new offences after 1 year.

5.4 Collaboration between institutions

Research on effective collaboration in probation supervision identified several aspects that promote the effectiveness of the collaboration and thus indirectly support the effectiveness of supervision:

- **Proximity, for example by working from the same building;**
- **A shared vision on practices with and around the client between professionals from different organisations;**
- **Exchanging information between professionals from different organisations;**
- **A clear division of tasks between professionals from different organisations;**
- **Mutual respect and equal collaboration;**
- **Involving more expertise and faster access to necessary services or care;**
- **Continuity of the programme in and after detention/tbs;**
- **Organisational preconditions facilitate collaboration (time/size of caseload, policy, work processes and administration).**

Background

In supervision, the probation service often works together with other institutions such as the municipal services, care providers and the prison system. That fact that institutions work together is evident in research from various countries. How that works exactly is likely to be context-specific. Studies on collaboration often do not cite underlying theories about collaboration, with the exception of Bond and Gittel (2010). They assume Gittel's model of relational coordination, developed on the basis of research in various sectors. This model describes that the implementation, quality and efficiency of collaboration relates to the interdependence of tasks and people. This is influenced by two interacting components:

- **Mutual communication:** relevant aspects are the frequency, timeliness and accuracy of the communication and the extent to which problems that arise as part of the communication are actually resolved.
- **Mutual relationships:** to what extent do shared goals, shared knowledge and mutual respect exist.

Empirical substantiation

A number of studies concern collaboration between the probation service, police, healthcare institutions and municipal institutions in supervision programmes. A systematic literature review by Hadfield et al. (2020) investigates the effectiveness of the 'Integrated Offender Management' supervision programme in the United Kingdom. Collaboration and thereby enhancing the effectiveness of supervision is an important objective of this approach. The 15 studies included showed that there are some indications that the collaboration does indeed result in less recidivism (Sleath & Brown, 2019), but evidence for this is still limited. The following is stated as supportive for the collaboration: working in a shared location, exchange of personnel to ensure more efficient use of each other's expertise (regarding clients with psychiatric problems) and proper information exchange (Hadfield et al., 2020; Sleath & Brown, 2019). Proper information exchange results in better communication with the client because the professionals are more aware of what is going on. This makes the client less able to manipulate professionals during interactions. Impeding factors were found to be a lack of shared understanding or vision, inadequate coordination of information and conflicts of interest (Hadfield et al., 2020). Sleath and Brown (2019) describe a difference in focus between the probation service and the police: the probation service focuses on the client, while the police focus more on society and (potential) victims.

Based on a file appraisal, interviews with 38 clients and 19 probation officers and observations at the probation service in the United Kingdom, Dominey (2019) concludes that the quality of the collaboration between the probation service and agencies depends on a combination of administrative processes, adequate information provision, technology, facilitating organisational cultures and receptive professionals. Since these aspects can be better organised in a single location, collaboration would improve if the professionals were located in the same building. In addition to this being important to professionals, Dominey's study shows that clients also benefit from a proper information exchange. Clients who during this study were asked for their opinion on the collaboration of the probation service with other agencies emphasised that they did not like having to repeat their stories to professionals over and over again. They are most positive if the probation officer is well-informed about the progress of the programme at other agencies (Dominey, 2019). Similar aspects are mentioned in studies by Bond and Gittell (2010) who researched collaboration on after-care in the US and in studies by Wood, Kade and Sidhu (2009), who investigated a collaboration for probation supervision in South-East England. Mutual respect, sharing knowledge and working from a common location supports collaboration.

Studies on post-detention supervision show the importance of proper collaboration between the PI, probation service and municipal institutions by drawing up a joint plan well before the end of detention and initiating its implementation. Continuity in the approach during and after detention, both in activities and in contacts is an important component (see also 4.4. about after-care).

Unstable housing is a major barrier to reintegration. Lutze et al. (2013) examined a surveillance programme for high-risk detainees in the US who did not have stable housing when they returned to society. A total of 208 clients received housing support for 12 months after detention, provided they wanted to cooperate in interventions and work towards independence. In the programme, the probation service worked together with various organisations such as social services and the mental health care service. Compared to the control group ($n = 208$), the time until and the number of new detentions and convictions were significantly lower for the experimental group. However, the study does not clarify to what extent this can be attributed to the additional support for housing. In the United Kingdom (Manchester region), a collaboration between the probation service and rental home agents was set up to address the housing issues of former prisoners. The reason for this was that probation officers had insufficient knowledge of the housing market, which meant that they were unable to properly assist clients with housing problems, causing clients to become less receptive to supervision. By engaging an agent, and thus specific knowledge, it appears that clients have a better chance on the housing market (Allen & Barkley, 2002).

Several studies have evaluated the collaboration between the probation service and forensic psychiatry or addiction care (including in the Netherlands). The success factors for collaboration mentioned in these studies are comparable to previous studies: a shared vision on the approach regarding a client, sufficient connection between objectives in the treatment and the probation programme, proper information transfer, a clear division of tasks, and equal participation between the collaboration partners (Harte et al., 2010; Newstrom et al., 2019; Van Gestel et al., 2006). Exchange of information is important to (among other things) respond more effectively to risky situations, thanks to having more knowledge about the client's judicial past, and so that the treatment and counselling plan can be better tailored to the client. It is further stated that a rapid and abrupt transition from intramural to extra-mural leads to a high risk of recidivism. A gradual, phased and long-term transition from detention to freedom supports resocialisation, which results in less recidivism (Van Gestel et al., 2006).

Two studies describe collaborations that go one step further, creating integrated teams of therapists and probation officers. In London, specialist probation centres have been designed to combine the skills of the probation service with those of local forensic mental health services. In these specific hostels, and in addition to the probation officer, the team consists of a psychologist, an occupational therapist, a forensic psychiatric nurse and a forensic psychiatrist. They offer advice, support or coordination to each other. Blumenthal (2009) concluded that one-fifth of the 94 clients involved in the study were arrested during their stay, which according to the author is a lower percentage than the average for such a group of clients.

Friedmann et al. (2012) investigated a collaboration between probation officers and addiction care therapists. During the programmes, they actively collaborated on counselling and treatment of the client by, for example, planning joint agreements, explicitly communicating about each other's roles and expectations with the client, reaching agreement on arrangements with the client about desirable, undesirable and promotive behaviour and by implementing this, monitoring this and possibly sanctioning this, together. This survey among 476 clients shows that the clients in question did use fewer drugs, but there was no sign of significantly less recidivism or fewer violations of special conditions.

5.5 Other

In several articles, we found indications of practices that may be relevant, but for which the empirical substantiation is currently insufficient, given the number of articles found and the scope of the studies concerned. We will briefly describe them below. The topics below require further research before conclusions can be drawn about their effectiveness.

Mindfulness

In a small study, Barret (2017) investigated the added value of mindfulness sessions as part of probation supervision for young adult men in the US. They attended ten one-hour mindfulness sessions with an emphasis on yoga and meditation exercises. These sessions were in addition to the cognitive behavioural interventions they attended. Participants indicated that the sessions had a positive effect on anxiety and stress. It helped them to better manage emotions such as anger and frustration. Participants were unanimously positive about the added value of the sessions, but suggested a different name that comes across as less soft: 'flexing'.

Home visits

Based on interviews with 30 clients from a US state, Patten et al. (2018) examined the added value of making home visits. In their research, they specifically asked whether home visits can contribute to influencing the social environment and strengthening social support. The clients in the study were former prisoners who spent their post-detention phase with electronic monitoring at home. In the first phase they were visited at home several times a week, with decreasing frequency during the course of the supervision. In addition to home visits by probation officers, they attended behavioural interventions. The home visits appeared to contribute to a positive relationship with the supervisor. They reinforced the feeling in clients that probation officers are not merely inspectors but that they provide support as well. Some clients reported that the home visits also resulted in a better relationship with those around them thanks to the support of the probation officers in using facilities in their own environment.

Automated telephone messages

The effect of automated telephony was investigated in a Danish RCT study. A group of 108 prisoners who were transferred to probation supervision were randomly divided into an experimental group ($n = 52$) and a control group ($n = 56$). Participation was voluntary. Both groups were called daily with automatic questionnaires about stress, symptoms of anxiety and depression and substance use cravings. The experimental group received automatic feedback based on their answers, a summary of which feedback was also sent to their probation officer. The feedback consisted of a comparison of the result on the questions with the previous measurement (are things going better, the same or worse in respect of the relevant parts) and, if things are going worse, advice to talk to someone about this (for example, their probation officer). Both groups answered most telephone calls (71%). Scores on the questions did not differ significantly per group. After 30 days, the researchers found significant improvements in the experimental group with regard to anxiety, depression and alcohol and drug use. No differences were found with regard to the degree of stress and alcohol and drugs cravings (Andersson et al., 2014).

Alcohol meter

The use of the alcohol meter was evaluated in the Netherlands in 2017. This tool is used to check the ban on alcohol consumption as a special condition. Clients permanently wear an ankle bracelet that checks whether they have drunk alcohol by measuring their perspiration. Due to the low intake in the pilot and the lack of a control group, the only available indications regarding the added value of the alcohol meter were based on interviews with 18 participating clients. They stated that the alcohol meter did support their abstinence: 12 of them did not drink during the pilot and nine of them did not drink in the first months after the pilot ended. Clients experience the alcohol meter as a deterrent not to drink. They also prefer this method of monitoring to urine testing. However, there is criticism concerning the comfort of wearing this device (Kruize & De Muijnck, 2018).

6. Additional findings for specific clients

This chapter describes studies on probation supervision for specific client groups. The previous chapters have described a large number of probation supervision practices. The empirical substantiation of these practices partly incorporates studies that relate to specific client groups. These are briefly repeated here with a reference to the relevant section where they are detailed.

Not all practices from Chapters 4 and 5 are discussed here. General research has been conducted for many practices and their effectiveness has been demonstrated for the broad client population of the probation service, without looking at the effectiveness for specific clients. However, that does not mean that they are not effective for the specific client groups described here. If certain practices are not discussed here, we cannot conclude that they are not relevant for specific clients, but this has simply not been investigated.

In this chapter, we describe findings on effective practices of probation supervision for female clients, young adults, clients with a low and high risk of recidivism, sex offenders, violent offenders, clients with addiction problems and clients with psychiatric problems. Some studies reoccur when discussing specific clients because they relate to clients who meet several of the specific characteristics as described in this chapter (for example, female offenders with addiction problems).

6.1 Female clients

The general practices from Chapters 4 and 5 are relevant for female clients. Practices specifically named as effective for women:

- **The risk principle also works for women. This means that the intensity of the approach must match the risk of recidivism.**
- **Practical assistance must focus on the different needs of women, such as addiction care, practical help for work, housing, building prosocial networks and childcare. In addition, this should be flexible in view of needs that have the highest priority.**
- **Organisations must work together and the plan must be drawn up in consultation with the female client.**
- **Women value a supportive relationship style more and also seem to benefit more from it. This also applies for women with a high risk of recidivism. Support needs to match the specific needs of women.**
- **The probation officer can play an important role in affirming the prosocial identity of women. This ensures increased self-confidence among women and it motivates them to keep doing the right thing.**

In 2019, 19% of clients of Reclassering Nederland (RN) and 7.5% of clients of the SVG were female.³² Specific attention for female clients is often still neglected. Still, there are clear differences between men and women that can be important in probation supervision. For example, psychological problems such as anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress disorder are more common among female clients. In addition, they are or have been victims of sexual or physical (domestic) violence (Henderson, Schaeffer, & Brown, 1998, in Chan et al., 2005). The use of drugs is also higher among female clients than among men, which at the same time is often the main driver of criminal behaviour

³² www.reclassering.nl/over-de-reclassering/cijfers-en-feiten; www.svg.nl/over-de-svg/clienten

(Light et al., 2013 in Grace, 2017). The reason for drug use is often more complex compared to men as well. For example, it is often a way for women to deal with the physical and emotional pain of the aforesaid violence or other trauma (Barlett, 2007 in Grace, 2017). The violent situation in which women sometimes find or found themselves makes finding suitable housing for these women extra important (Wilkinson, 2004, in McIvor et al., 2009).

Childcare or regaining custody also plays an important role (Snel, 1992, in Guydish et al., 2011). Maternity also involves specific criminogenic needs in the field of work and education. Due to the role of primary caregiver, school dropouts or interruptions in work history are more frequent among women (Durrance & Ablitt, 2001). This makes it more difficult for these women to find suitable jobs. On the other hand, finding work is not always the first priority for these women, as other issues such as substance abuse, housing and childcare need to be addressed first (Gelsthorpe & Sharpe, 2007, in McIvor et al., 2009). Finally, female clients often lack social support (Chen, 2009, in Holmstrom et al., 2017). This particularly applies in the event of drug and alcohol abuse (Mallik-Kane & Visher, 2008, in Holmstrom et al., 2017).

Within the framework of this systematic literature review, 9 studies were found that (also) specifically focus on female clients, of which one meta-analysis. In addition, 4 studies come from the same longitudinal study. The methodological quality of the studies varies. Furthermore, the conclusions about the efficacy of practices are in most cases only based on a single study for these specific clients. The findings as described should therefore be interpreted with caution. The different studies discuss the following practices: risk principle, planning and continuity in counselling, collaboration between institutions, practical help, working alliance and prosocial modelling.

Practices in probation supervision (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5)

Risk principle

In a meta-analysis of 374 studies, mainly conducted in the US and Canada, Andrews & Dowden (2006) conclude that the risk principle appears to be particularly strong for female and juvenile offenders, and less so for adult male offenders. This is also evident from a study by Brusman Lovins et al. (2007) in which they show that the risk principle also affects female offenders (see also 4.2.1).

Planning and continuity in counselling

A meta-analysis of 89 studies into the effectiveness of interventions for female clients with addiction problems on recovery and prevention of recidivism highlights the importance of long-term after-care. A plan must be drawn up for this during detention, so that the transition to society is properly arranged. This plan must be drawn up in consultation with the client in order to obtain a complete picture of needs upon release. It is desirable that the probation officer is already involved and contributes to the action plan while the client is still in detention. This at the same time ensures that a relationship can be built at an early stage (Grace, 2017).

Collaboration between institutions

The same meta-analysis also highlights the importance of proper coordination and data sharing between the PI and the municipal authority, to ensure that a reintegration plan is in place combined with quick access to treatment. In addition, better integration of medical, psychiatric and addiction care is needed. If interventions target only one or two needs while ignoring others, they are unlikely to be successful (Grace, 2017).

Practical help

Studies aimed at providing practical help are mainly based on the respondents' own experiences. Two different studies among female clients with addiction problems in the US show that probation officers can be an important source of emotional support and practical help by informing them about and referring them to necessary assistance (Holmstrom et al., 2017). An Australian study among women who served time previously indicated that clients were dissatisfied with the support they received from probation officers in getting their lives back on track. Probation officers who did offer practical help were experienced as positive (McIvor et al., 2009). Female clients indicate that it is

important that the assistance provided meets the client's specific needs (Roddy et al., 2019) (see also 5.3.4).

A study into the effectiveness of the Women's Probation Centre, which offers practical help in finding work and education and dealing with (destructive) relationships, shows a significant difference in recidivism between women who completed the programme and women who received an alternative sentence or did not complete the programme. The recidivism rate for women who completed the programme was 3% lower than predicted based on OGRS2 (a risk assessment tool), whereas the recidivism rate for women who were referred but never started was 21 percent higher. An important reservation in this study is that a comparable control group was missing, while it is not clear which of the programme's methods contributed to this (Durrance & Ablitt, 2001).

Working Alliance

Compared to men, female clients are more open about their needs, attach more value to a relationship with the probation officer and develop a bond of trust more often (Bloom, Owen, Covington & Raeder, 2003, in Holmstrom et al., 2017). A supportive relationship style appears to be most effective for female clients with addiction problems. Probation officers who apply this relationship style induce lower levels of anxiety and reactance and increase crime avoidance. The opposite effect can be seen in a relationship style in which monitoring is more central. A monitoring relationship style has the strongest negative impact on the most law-abiding clients (Morash et al., 2015). The relationship style of the probation officer does not appear to have any direct effect on recidivism among women. There is however an indirect effect, as officers with a punitive relationship style face more resistance. These clients are more likely to reoffend compared to clients under officers who show a supportive relationship style (Morash et al., 2016) (see also 5.1.3).

A study from Australia among 139 women who served time previously shows that they are especially positive about their probation officer when they feel valued and supported by officers showing genuine concern. It is important to start building this relationship while the women are still in detention (McIvor et al., 2009). The importance of support by probation officers is also evident from a study into the Women's Probation Centre in England and Wales. Women who participated in this programme indicated that they perceive the open, non-judgemental and supportive environment as positive. This environment offers opportunities for learning and opportunities to change (Durrance & Ablitt, 2001).

Prosocial modelling

Probation officers can play an important role in promoting a prosocial identity. This is shown by a study from the US among 93 female clients with addiction problems. Affirming the prosocial identity increases self-confidence and helps in other important practices related to the success of supervision, such as housing, work and education. This growing self-confidence also helped women deal better with negative emotions such as shame and humiliation. This increases women's sense of agency, enabling them to envisage a positive future for themselves. This motivated the women to keep doing the right thing. On the other hand, female clients who struggled to have their new identity confirmed experienced greater frustration and a sense of hopelessness, causing them to revert to old social networks and to reoffend (Stone et al., 2018).

Other findings

Attention for structural inequality

A meta-analysis of 89 studies into the effectiveness of interventions among female clients with addiction problems on recovery and prevention of recidivism shows that counselling must be sufficiently intensive, last long enough and be flexible in view of the pressure these women are under upon re-entering society. Practical support is necessary in this regard, aimed at education, work and housing, parenting support and building prosocial networks. According to the researchers, more attention must be paid to the broader social and structural problems that women face. They say that some programmes place too much emphasis on women's individual responsibility to change

behaviour and take control of their lives, without paying attention to structural inequalities and other adverse circumstances (Grace, 2017).

6.2 Young adults

The general practices from Chapters 4 and 5 are relevant for young adults. Practices specifically named as effective for young adults:

- **Young adults value a probation officer more positively if he offers a listening ear, is understanding and treats the young adult in an honest, open and respectful manner.**
- **Young adults themselves indicate that they consider it important that practical help focuses on social problems that are urgent at that time (very small studies).**
- **There is some evidence of the importance of collaboration between different organisations and the young adult in preventing recidivism.**
- **Young adults themselves indicate that they consider it important that their network is involved in the supervision (very small studies).**
- **An immediate response to violations appears to have a small positive effect on the number of violations and arrests during supervision. It is unclear what the effect of this will be in the longer term.**
- **Electronic monitoring appears to have a positive effect on young adults in terms of completing school and getting into work.**
- **After-care programmes are most effective when properly implemented, when they consist of individual treatment targeting older youth with a high risk of recidivism and the index crimes are violence-related.**
- **Programmes focused solely on education and work seem less effective for young adults.**
- **An after-care programme that includes multiple practices, such as working alliance, motivational interviewing, practical help, cognitive behavioural techniques and social bonds, does not show any effect on improving aggressive behaviour, cognitive distortions, pro-criminal attitude, prosocial skills and coping.**

Young adults' cognitive development and skills differ from those of adults. The brain is still in full development until the age of 25. This affects a person's identity development, moral development and social development. The transition from adolescence to adulthood is accompanied by several challenges and uncertainties (Zimmerman, 2005, in James et al., 2013). We emphasise that the comparison focuses on adults in a general sense. The question is to what extent this comparison holds in the context of the probation service population. As far as we are aware, no thorough research has yet been conducted into this. Research specifically aimed at young adults in the context of probation supervision is scarce as well. The vast majority of the studies focus on minors, while research focused on adults often do not make specific distinctions based on age.

Within the framework of this systematic literature review, 10 studies were found that (also) specifically focus on young adults. Two of these studies are a meta-analysis and one is an RCT. As far as the meta-analyses are concerned, we note that they focus on a broader target group, but that they mention findings that apply specifically to young adults as well. In addition, a number of studies have a very small sample size. The methodological quality of the studies varies. Furthermore, the empirical substantiation for the various practices is in most cases only based on a single study for these specific clients. The findings as described should therefore be interpreted with caution. The different studies discuss the following practices: relationship, motivational interviewing, practical help, collaboration between institutions, cognitive behavioural techniques, social bonds, direct

sanctioning of violations and electronic monitoring. We subsequently discuss the combined approach of several of these practices and individual treatment.

Practices in probation supervision (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5)

Working Alliance

Research into the experiences of 60 young adult clients with probation service support in Hong Kong shows that clients who perceived the probation officer as an understanding person were less likely to reoffend. An honest, open and respectful attitude towards clients is important (Chui, 2003) (see also 5.1.3).

Motivational interviewing

Research into the 'New Perspectives upon Return' (NPT) intervention that includes motivational interviewing shows no significant progress or difference in aggressive behaviour, cognitive distortions, procriminal attitude, prosocial skills and coping between the NPT group and the control group with regular after-care (James et al., 2016).

Practical help / Needs principle

A meta-analysis of 12 studies into the outcomes of seven programmes for former prisoners aimed at education and work shows that these programmes are particularly effective for adults (over 27). Furthermore, they are especially effective when combined with support in other areas. These programmes are less effective for young adults. However, there is insufficient empirical support to draw firm conclusions. Besides, the studies were conducted between 1970 and 2009, so some of them are dated (Newton et al., 2018) (see also 4.2.2).

In a study into the experiences of eight young persistent offenders with a programme that focuses on providing practical help for individual and social problems, these young people indicate that immediate problems such as drug abuse or the motivation to change should be addressed first, so that other problems such as a lack of education or work can be tackled without distraction (Chui et al., 2003). Six probation officers and six clients from Scotland also indicated that it is important to pay attention to the social problems (McCulloch, 2005). However, these are very small studies and based on experiences only.

Collaboration between institutions

Research into the Boston Re-entry Initiative (BRI) for young adult clients between the ages of 18 and 32 with violent crimes shows that it is important for after-care that agencies work together on this. In BRI, various organisations work together to assist in the transition from detention to society. BRI participants were arrested for new crimes or violent crimes significantly less often than a comparable group without BRI (Braga et al., 2009) (see also 4.4).

Cognitive behavioural techniques

In addition to MI, the NPT intervention referred to previously also focuses on preventing recidivism by changing cognitive distortions and behaviour and improving social skills. Here too, there is no significant progress or difference in aggressive behaviour, cognitive distortions, procriminal attitude, prosocial skills and coping between the NPT group and the control group with regular after-care (James et al., 2016).

Social bonds

NPT also focuses on a combination of reintegration in the neighbourhood, work or school and on the young person's or young adult's network. Probation officers try to build a prosocial network that young people or young adults can fall back on after the intervention period. It appears that there is no significant progress or difference in aggressive behaviour, cognitive distortions, procriminal attitude, prosocial skills and coping between the NPT group and the control group with regular after-care for this intervention (James et al., 2016).

However, young adults themselves do mention the importance of involving the social network in supervision. For example, 8 young adult persistent offenders indicate that the role of family and support received from family and partners can serve as an important motivator for change (Chui et al., 2003). The six clients from Scotland likewise indicate that they consider working together with family members and 'being heard' to be the most meaningful method to address social problems (McCulloch, 2005).

Direct sanctioning of violations

A study in the US of 232 medium and high-risk clients, 108 of whom are members of a criminal gang, looked at quickly anticipating violations of special conditions or new criminal offences. This study shows that participants in this programme commit fewer offences overall and fewer minor and serious offences compared to gang members who did not participate in the programme. By contrast, they do commit a higher percentage of mid-level, drug-related and gang-related offences. There are no significant differences in the rate of offences between gang members with the programme and non-gang members without the programme. Participants in the programme were also arrested less often for new crimes during supervision. However, this evidence is weak and no research has been conducted into recidivism after supervision ended (Paquette Boots et al., 2018).

Electronic monitoring

Two studies have been conducted into electronic monitoring for young adults in Denmark. This shows that electronic monitoring for young adults has a positive effect on benefits dependence. This group depends on benefits less often and for shorter periods of time than young adults with a custodial sentence (Andersen & Andersen, 2014). The second study shows that electronic monitoring as an alternative to detention among young adults is supportive in terms of completing the upper years in secondary education compared to young adults who have been detained for a certain period. However, it is not clear what exactly made the difference. Previous research demonstrates that the structure and the obligation to go to school, in combination with not being allowed to use substances, can be effective (Østergaard Larsen, 2017) (see also 5.3.2).

Other findings

Combined approach

Many programmes consist of a combination of different practices. One such example is NPT. The objective of the programme is to prevent recidivism by changing cognitive distortions and behaviour and improving social skills. The intervention offers intensive individual counselling combined with reintegration in the neighbourhood, work or school and focuses on the young person's or young adult's network. The intervention consists of coordinated case management, motivational interviewing and cognitive behavioural interventions (aimed at impulse control, problem-solving ability and criminogenic thinking patterns). Probation officers have a low caseload of a maximum of 6 to 7 clients and are available 24 hours a day. Their approach is aimed at reaching out and investing in a positive treatment relationship. In addition, they try to build a prosocial network that young people or young adults can fall back on after the intervention period. On the face of it, this programme appears to contain different practices that are generally regarded as effective in bringing about positive behavioural change and reducing recidivism. It is therefore striking that an RCT study did not find any significant progress or difference in aggressive behaviour, cognitive distortions, procriminal attitude, prosocial skills and coping between the NPT group and the control group with regular after-care. The results of this study do not necessarily mean that NPT is not effective. There may also be other important outcomes that have not been included in this study, such as whether the after-care programme contributed to finding a job, education, housing, or starting a meaningful relationship. These are often the most important outcome measures for offenders that can help to get their lives back on track (James et al., 2016).

Individual treatment

A meta-analysis into the effectiveness of after-care projects among juveniles and young adults shows that after-care has a small and positive effect on recidivism. It is most effective when properly implemented, consists of individual treatment targeting older youth with a high risk of recidivism,

and the index crimes are violence-related. On the other hand, after-care had a smaller effect when drug abuse was involved. This group may have specific problems, such as poor treatment loyalty and motivational issues, that need to be addressed first (James et al., 2013).

6.3 Low and high risk

The general practices from Chapters 4 and 5 are relevant for clients showing a high risk of recidivism. Practices specifically named as effective for clients with a high risk of recidivism:

- **Hybrid working: a combination of monitoring and guidance.**
- **Risk principle: an intensive approach.**
- **Needs principle, and specifically also guidance in the field of education and work.**
- **Offering practical assistance.**
- **Making effective use of authority.**

The risk principle is relevant for clients with a low risk of recidivism, in which case a low contact frequency will suffice. In this instance, it is particularly important not to allow clients with a low risk of recidivism to come into contact with clients with a high risk of recidivism.

Many of the studies described in Chapters 4 and 5 relate to the total client population and therefore include clients with a high and low risk of recidivism. Many of the conclusions from those chapters are generally valid, including for low or high-risk clients. Some studies distinguish between low and high-risk clients. This often refers to the risk of recidivism, i.e. the probability of reoffending. Sometimes, high risk refers to perpetrators of serious crimes such as violent offenders and sex offenders. Since we have included separate sections on this, this section is limited to studies concerning clients with a low or high risk of recidivism.

As explained in Chapter 3, it is not always clear in the studies how the risk of recidivism was determined. For studies that do describe this, a great diversity of practices and instruments is used. This limits the comparability of the studies, which means that we can only draw a few general conclusions about practices that are specifically effective for clients with a low or high risk of recidivism. We did not come across any additional findings specifically for clients with a low or high risk of recidivism. All points described below have already been discussed in previous chapters. We therefore limit ourselves to a brief explanation.

Practices in probation supervision (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5)

Hybrid working

Intensive forms of probation supervision have been developed for high-risk clients. The emphasis is on monitoring and immediate action in case of violation of the conditions, particularly in the US. This practice does not appear to be effective (Hyatt & Barnes, 2017; Weinrath et al. 2015). Intensive forms of supervision which, in addition to monitoring, pay sufficient attention to counselling and interventions aimed at strengthening the clients' functioning are found to be effective (see also 4.1)

Risk principle

One practice in probation supervision in which the risk of recidivism plays an explicit role is the risk principle: the intensity of the approach must be geared to the level of the risk, so that clients with a high risk of recidivism are offered the most intensive approach. Research by Barnes et al. (2012) also shows that a very low contact frequency suffices for low-risk clients. In this RCT study, a reduction of the contact frequency to two face-to-face and two telephone contacts per year did not appear to have any effect on recidivism (see also 4.2.1).

Needs principle

It further appears important for clients with a high risk of recidivism to focus the approach on a combination of the criminogenic needs. This was shown, for example, in a study aimed at improving the situation of high-risk clients with housing problems. The combination of interventions aimed at stable housing and other problems for which a plan was tailored and implemented proved to be effective (Lutze et al., 2013). Specifically for clients with a high risk of recidivism, interventions aimed at education and work appear to be effective, while no effects are found for the broad population of rehabilitation clients (Bouffard et al., 2000; Newton et al., 2018) (see also 4.2.2).

Effective use of authority

On the basis of interviews with high-risk clients in an after-care programme, Bender et al. (2016) conclude that it is important to provide proper and correct information about the conditions that clients must comply with and about the conditions and possibilities for assistance that can be offered in a supervision programme (see also 5.1.5).

Practical help

The same study by Bender et al. (2016) also discusses the importance of practical assistance. This concerned help in finding work, but also in strengthening the skills that people need to function adequately in the labour market and society. The fact that they experience receiving actual help and make actual progress turned out to be important for the clients. For example, they criticised the quality of the training courses offered for being qualitatively under par.

Direct sanctioning of violations

The US in particular has developed supervision programmes that combine the immediate sanctioning of violations in the form of a hearing with a focus on a short custodial sentence. This practice has been studied among clients with a high risk of recidivism and was found to be ineffective (O'Connell et al., 2016) (see also 5.3.1).

6.4 Sex offenders

The general practices from Chapters 4 and 5 are relevant for sex offenders. Practices specifically named as effective for sex offenders:

- **Supervision consisting of a combination of monitoring and counselling.**
- **Motivational interviewing within the framework of treatment.**
- **Practical help.**
- **Relationship between probation officer and client, although more research is needed on what characterises an effective relationship/ working alliance in sex offenders.**
- **Collaboration between the probation officer and other professionals.**
- **Use of the social environment by the probation officer: varying results.**
- **Monitoring behaviour and movements, by means of electronic monitoring.**
- **The added value of using the polygraph has not yet been convincingly demonstrated.**

The percentage of sex offenders at the probation service is relatively low. Of the clients who in 2019 were referred to the Dutch probation service for supervision or community service, 2% had been convicted of a sexual offence. That concerns both hands-off (for example, offenders or distributors of child pornography) and hands-on offences (for example, sexual assault or rape). Supervision of sex offenders frequently uses the treatment options offered by forensic psychiatry (Hendriks, 2016). In addition, the probation service has been applying the COSA approach for

several years.³³ COSA stands for Circles for Support and Accountability. To prevent social isolation, a group of volunteers supports sex offenders under the direction of a probation officer. The Dutch Long-Term Supervision, Behaviour Modification and Restriction of Freedom Act came into force in 2018 and is aimed at serious sex offenders with a high risk of recidivism and little prospect of change. This act makes it possible, if necessary, to place clients under supervision for life to protect potential victims.

A total of ten studies were found that specifically focus on supervision for sex offenders. Two out of these ten studies are systematic literature reviews by Dutch researchers that describe different practices. The other studies focus on a specific part of supervision, including four studies on monitoring. No study distinguishes between types of sex offenders. Although the execution of the studies can usually be judged to be of high quality, it is not always clear what effect monitoring or counselling has on the client or his programme. Most of the practices that appear to be effective for the supervision of sex offenders have been described in the previous chapters and are only briefly mentioned in this section. They are hybrid working, the relationship/working alliance, practical help, social bonds, collaboration and electronic monitoring. The polygraph as an aid during supervision has not yet been described in this report and will be worked out in more detail.

Practices in probation supervision (as described in Chapters 4 and 5)

Hybrid working

Based on two systematic literature reviews on the supervision of sex offenders (among others), it is concluded that supervision programmes for sex offenders are most effective if they focus on monitoring, as well as on counselling and treatment (De Kogel & Nagtegaal, 2008; Van der Horst, Schönberger, & De Kogel, 2012). In their systematic literature review, Van der Horst et al. (2012) describe how psychological treatment is important in addition to supervision, in which motivating the sex offender to participate in the treatment should be an important part of supervision. Butters et al. (2016), on the other hand, found no significant differences for recidivism based on a comparison of three types of interventions. They compared intensive supervision ($n = 472$), regular supervision ($n = 11$) and residential treatment ($n = 302$). However, in all three intervention types, both monitoring and treatment appeared to be part of the approach, although the degree to which this was applied differed somewhat. That could explain why no significant differences were found.

Relationship

A positive working relationship between probation officers and the client is an important part of supervision, for example to achieve the objectives of supervision (Van der Horst et al., 2012). According to Bailey and Sample (2017), it is important to pay attention to the various causes of possible social distance between the probation officer and the client when dealing with sex offenders. A total of eight clients and 12 supervisors were interviewed about their experiences with supervision and their perception of the relationship. Attachment problems, cultural background and group identity of sex offenders play a role in this, among other things. In addition, the frequency, duration and intensity of supervision are often higher in the supervision of sex offenders, which makes it important to work on a strong working relationship between the supervisor and client, with little social distance. In this way, transparency about intimate details, such as fantasies and sexuality, is promoted. Realising such openness allows probation officers to make better risk assessments. The actual effect on risk assessment and reduced recidivism is not included in this study. Kras (2019), on the other hand, concludes that a positive relationship can also result in clients withholding information and feeling too comfortable (this study is explained in more detail below, under 'social bonds'). Further research into the specific characteristics of a positive working alliance between probation officers and sex offenders seems desirable.

Practical assistance

Based on their systematic literature study, Van der Horst et al. (2012) describe offering practical assistance as an important part of probation supervision for sex offenders. This concerns help in

³³ www.reclassering.nl/over-de-reclassering/wat-wij-doen/cosa

the field of housing, work and social embedding. Social isolation and unstable living conditions are a risk factor for criminal behaviour among sex offenders. Practical help in these areas reduces the risk of a sex offender becoming isolated (Van der Horst et al., 2012).

Social bonds

According to the study by Van der Horst et al. (2012) and De Kogel and Nagtegaal (2008), social support can have a positive influence on known criminogenic needs for sex offenders such as loneliness, negative social influences and an unstable lifestyle. In addition to social support from the clients' own network, this can also be achieved by means of contacts through work or leisure activities. A point of attention here is negative social influence, which must be prevented. Kras (2019) investigated the influence of social support from family and friends, as well as from probation officers, on recidivism rates among sex offenders in the US. Structured interviews with 72 sex offenders and additional file data show that social support from family is not significantly associated with recidivism. In general, social support alone did not prove to be sufficient to prevent social stigmatisation. It remained difficult for these clients to fully participate in society. Clients who experienced positive support from their probation officers were found to reoffend more often than clients who indicated that they experienced this support less. As an explanation, the researcher describes that the probation officers with whom the clients had a positive relationship were more tolerant of violations, as a result of which clients started to feel too comfortable. It also appeared that despite the positive relationship, clients withheld relevant information from their probation officers (for example, about alcohol consumption).

Collaboration

A solid collaboration between professionals and institutions involved with a sex offender is important. This concerns the use of different disciplines on account of multiple problems, proper information exchange and working towards a common goal (Van der Horst et al., 2012; De Kogel & Nagtegaal, 2008). Newstrom et al. (2019) interviewed probation officers and therapists who work together in supervising sex offenders in the US. Important points of attention for proper collaboration turned out to be frequent contact, sharing sufficient information, pursuing shared goals and sufficient expertise on problems specific to sex offenders. Any action by probation officers that was too harsh or too confrontational appeared to impede the collaboration (see also 5.4).

Electronic monitoring

Monitoring behaviour and movements in the form of electronic monitoring or using the polygraph contributes to the effectiveness of supervision. In a systematic literature review, De Kogel and Nagtegaal (2008) conclude that the use of EM as part of the supervision of sex offenders does not result in more or less recidivism. Van der Horst et al. (2012) conclude that EM can contribute to structuring daytime activities. Turner et al. (2015) compared a group of sex offenders in which GPS was used in supervision ($n = 94$) with a control group without the use of GPS ($n = 91$). There were no significant differences in recidivism between the two groups. The clients in the control group were convicted of a new offence more often (hardly ever a sex offence), but this appeared to be related to a difference in contact frequency and not to whether or not GPS was used (see also 5.3.2).

Other findings

Polygraph

A polygraph is an instrument that registers physiological reactions such as skin resistance in response to questions that should or should not generate stress for a (sex) offender (Van der Horst et al., 2012). This device is commonly referred to as a 'lie detector'. The use of the polygraph is based on three assumptions. First, it is assumed that the registered physiological responses can serve to determine whether or not the sex offender is telling the truth. In addition, it is assumed that the polygraph can provide more insight into the sexual interests of a sex offender and his offence history. After all, if the sex offender believes in the effectiveness of the polygraph, it will prompt him to provide more complete information about his sexual behaviour, previous offences and imminent relapse (Van der Horst et al., 2012). This can produce useful information for assessing risks, relapse prevention, the implementation of the supervision and drawing up the treatment plan (Spruin, Wood, Gannon, & Tyler, 2018). Finally, it is assumed that the sex

offender's belief in the effectiveness of the polygraph also leads to a reduction in recidivism, because he fears that a possible new offence will come to light during an interrogation with the polygraph (Van der Horst et al., 2012).

The reliability of the polygraph is subject to debate. Although therapists who work with the device in practice and a number of researchers report a high degree of accuracy, other researchers state that the effectiveness of the polygraph has not been validated. Therefore, according to them, there is no scientific basis for using the instrument (Van der Horst et al., 2012).

In the United States, where the polygraph is frequently used for the outpatient counselling of sex offenders, research has shown that the polygraph does not reveal more sex offences per se, but does provide insight into more high-risk behaviours (Gannon et al., 2014). In the United Kingdom, use of the polygraph is gaining popularity and the first studies from the UK show that use of the polygraph provides more relevant information for probation officers (Grubin, 2010). However, whether this actually contributes to less recidivism was not investigated in these studies.

In a study by Spruin et al. (2018), 12 probation officers and 15 sex offenders in the United Kingdom were asked about their experiences with the polygraph. About half of the clients say they are more honest and more open about high-risk situations, which they would not have been without the use of the polygraph. Most of them state that they are more aware of the special conditions. Still, the majority of clients respond negatively to the use of the polygraph, because they think it is unnecessary and are sceptical about its reliability. During the same study, 10 probation officers and ten sex offenders who had no experience with the polygraph were interviewed. The clients say they mainly discuss matters with their supervisors that do not concern high-risk behaviour or crimes. The supervisors confirm this and say that with the use of a polygraph, more attention will be paid to risks of relapse and delinquent behaviour. Although sex offenders from both groups say they are always honest with their probation officers, the probation officers believe that using the polygraph will lead to more openness and honesty. The clients, on the other hand, think that using the device will in fact be at the expense of the trust between them and the probation officers and that it will hinder the working relationship.

6.5 Violent offenders

The general practices from Chapters 4 and 5 are relevant to violent offenders.

Practices specifically named as (in)effective for sex offenders:

- **Hybrid working.**
- **A supportive relationship style and increased contact with the client can help reduce recidivism. The nature of the contact has no influence.**
- **Clients consider it important to be well-informed and that promises are kept.**
- **Rewarding in terms of complementing can lead to less drug use and less recidivism. There is no effect for rewarding by reducing the frequency of contact and checks, but if this is intensified as a form of punishment, it does, in fact, have the opposite effect, namely an increase in drug use and recidivism.**
- **Intensive collaboration and coordination between institutions may contribute to reducing recidivism.**

The studies found no indications for the efficacy of motivational interviewing and electronic monitoring of perpetrators of violent crimes. Given the limited number of studies, we cannot conclude that these methods are not effective for these clients. Chapter 5 concludes that both MI and EM can be effective for intermediate goals such as preventing premature dropout and maintaining social bonds.

About 30% of rehabilitation clients who were given a supervision or community service order was convicted of a violent crime.³⁴ This varies from minor assault to armed robbery or murder. Perpetrators of domestic violence also fall within the scope of this target group. Under the Long-Term Supervision, Behaviour Modification and Restriction of Freedom Act (WLT) that entered into force on 1 January 2018, it is possible to keep sex offenders, serious violent offenders and persons detained under a hospital order (TBS) under supervision for as long as necessary and to allow them to return to society under personally defined conditions. This makes it possible to monitor this group for life, if necessary.

Within the framework of this systematic literature review, 8 studies were found that (also) specifically focus on violent offenders. A total of three of these studies focus solely on domestic violence. All studies were conducted in the US. Only one of these studies is a meta-analysis. However, this meta-analysis focuses on a broader target group, but also specifically involves violent offenders. The methodological quality of the studies varies and the number of studies is limited. Furthermore, the various practices are in most cases only based on a single study for these specific clients. The findings as described should therefore be interpreted with caution. The various studies involve the following practices: hybrid working, relationship, motivational interviewing, effective use of authority, sanctions and rewards, electronic monitoring and collaboration between institutions. In addition, we describe a study in which victims are involved in the supervision.

Practices in probation supervision (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5)

Hybrid working

Johnson (2001) investigated a special programme for perpetrators of domestic violence with a high risk of recidivism consisting of a combination of treatment and intensive supervision in which treatment is monitored as well. He compared 25 participants with 32 comparable domestic violence

³⁴ See for example <https://www.reclassering.nl/over-de-reclassering/cijfers-en-feiten>

offenders who were placed under supervision three years prior to implementation of the programme (but who would meet the criteria). In the control group, 78% reoffended within 2 years, 59.4% of which for a violent crime. For the group that followed the special programme, this was 64%, 52% of which for a violent crime.

Relationship

In a sample of 1,697 violent former prisoners, it was investigated whether a supportive relationship between the probation officer and client led to less recidivism. This showed that clients with a supportive relationship (based on trust, support and professionalism) had a lower risk of reoffending than clients with a non-supportive relationship. Increased contact between the probation officer and client reduces recidivism. One striking aspect is that the nature of this contact is irrelevant (Chamberlain et al., 2018) (see also 4.1.1).

Motivational interviewing

A meta-analysis of 19 studies shows that motivational interviewing has no effect on promoting programme loyalty among perpetrators of domestic violence (McMurran, 2009) (see also 5.1.2).

Effective use of authority

On the basis of in-depth interviews with 25 participants in an after-care programme for high-risk offenders who committed serious violent crimes, Bender et al. (2016) concluded, among other things, that it is important for clients to be well-informed about the conditions attached to the programme and that promises are kept (see also 4.1.3).

Sanctions and rewards

Research among 962 perpetrators of serious violent crimes shows a significant association between rewarding in terms of complimenting and less drug use and less recidivism. Rewarding by reducing the frequency of contact and checks proved to have no effect. Sanctioning, on the other hand, turned out to have the opposite effect. Intensifying the frequency of contact and checks as well as reprimands by the probation officer were found to be associated with increased drug use and higher recidivism rates (Mowen et al., 2018) (see also 4.2.5).

Electronic monitoring

Research into the added value of EM for violent offenders showed no significant effect for recidivism in terms of new detentions (Finn & Muirhead-Steves, 2002) (see also 4.3.2).

Collaboration between institutions

Research into the Boston Re-entry Initiative (BRI) shows that it is important for after-care that agencies work together on this. In BRI, various organisations work together to assist in the transition from detention to society. BRI participants were arrested for new crimes or violent crimes significantly less often than a comparable group without BRI (Brage et al., 2009) (see also 4.4).

Other findings

Involving victims

A study by Klein and Crowe (2008) compared the effects of a special supervision programme for male perpetrators of domestic violence with regular supervision. In total, 370 clients participated in the special programme and 182 were given regular supervision. The primary purpose of the special programme was to be able to guarantee the safety of the victim. It therefore consisted of intensive supervision with strict enforcement of the conditions. In addition, clients were required to follow a specific treatment programme aimed at perpetrators of domestic violence. The results showed that victims of domestic violence were more positive about the probation officer, but were less confident that it would prevent future abuse. However, both groups of victims indicated that the suspended

sentence reduces violence (and emotional abuse). Victims whose perpetrators followed the special programme reported violations of restraining orders significantly more often (12.2%) than the control group (4.5%). Probation officers indicated that victims often reported violations to them and that they encouraged them to report it to the police.

6.6 Clients with addiction problems

The general practices from Chapters 4 and 5 are relevant for clients with addiction problems. The following methods are specifically named as (in-)effective for clients with addiction problems. Part of the research was conducted among female clients (see also 6.1.):

- **Supervision consisting of a combination of monitoring and counselling is more effective than supervision aimed at monitoring alone.**
- **The risk principle also works for clients with addiction problems.**
- **Probation officers are valued by female clients with addiction problems as an important source of social support and practical help. Clients in general consider it important that the help meets their needs.**
- **Drawing up a plan in consultation and continuity of counselling during and after detention appear to be important for the recovery and prevention of recidivism among female clients with addiction problems.**
- **Collaboration between probation officers and therapists may contribute to reducing drug abuse.**
- **A better quality of the working alliance contributes to reducing recidivism by enhancing the effectiveness of the interventions used.**
- **There is no evidence to support a direct effect of MI on reducing recidivism, but there are indications of raising programme loyalty and problem awareness.**
- **To strengthen the problem-solving ability, it appears important to set small, achievable goals as opposed to long-term goals.**
- **Prosocial modelling can contribute to increased self-confidence and motivating female clients with addiction problems 'to do the right thing'.**

There is a significant relationship between problematic substance abuse and crime. This applies to both men and women. The dilemma in studies into the relationship between substance abuse and crime is that the use of alcohol and drugs among different demographic groups varies from country to country and that there are major differences between countries in terms of policy and the degree of criminalisation (Lammers et al., 2014). For example, in the US (which many studies focus on) action against the possession of narcotics is much stricter. In the Netherlands, it is estimated that 70% of highly persistent offenders are regular hard drug users (Wartna et al., 2004, in De Kogel & Nagtegaal, 2008) and that 40% of the total population of Dutch prisoners has addiction problems (Van Laar et al., 2007, in De Kogel & Nagtegaal, 2008).

Within the framework of this systematic literature review, 16 studies were found that (also) specifically focus on addicted clients, of which four meta-analysis or systematic reviews. Most studies were conducted in the US. In addition, 4 studies come from the same longitudinal study. The methodological quality of the studies varies. Furthermore, the various practices are in most cases only based on a single study for these specific clients. The findings as described should therefore be interpreted with caution. The various studies discuss the following practices: hybrid working, risk principle, practical help, planning and continuity in counselling, collaboration between institutions, working alliance, motivational interviewing, prosocial modelling and strengthening problem-solving skills.

Practices in probation supervision (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5)

Hybrid working

The combination of monitoring and counselling appears to be important for clients with addiction problems as well. A systematic review of effective practices in supervision, including 54 studies specifically aimed at addicted clients, shows that programmes aimed solely at monitoring drug users and clients' actions are ineffective. The legal deterrent can offer extrinsic motivation which during the supervision can develop into intrinsic motivation. In addition, the legal framework ensures that participants are subjected to an intervention more quickly and also remain within the intervention for longer. Intensive monitoring strengthens treatment loyalty (De Kogel & Nagtegaal, 2008).

Another systematic review of 24 studies into the effectiveness of criminal interventions for clients with addiction problems also shows that there is no significant difference between clients receiving intensive supervision and clients with regular supervision for recidivism, number of arrests, convictions and detention. Furthermore, the difference remains insignificant in the event of additional monitoring during intensive supervision (Perry et al., 2009).

Risk principle

The risk principle appears to be effective in supervision for clients with addiction problems. Taxman and Thanner (2006) conclude that high-risk clients reoffend less if subjected to a more intensive form of supervision, whereas clients with a low risk of recidivism in fact reoffended more often after following the intensive form of supervision. A study from the US among 419 addicted offenders with longer offence histories (versus a control group of 239) concluded that the frequency of contact and duration of treatment is associated with less drug use and less property crime (Longshore et al., 2005) (see also 4.2.1).

Practical help

Two different studies among female clients with addiction problems in the US show that probation officers can be an important source of emotional support and offering practical help by informing them about and referring them to necessary assistance (Holmstrom et al., 2017; Roddy et al., 2019). This is also evident from a study among 8 young persistent offenders (aged 20 to 26). They indicate that immediate problems such as drug abuse or the motivation to change should be addressed first, so that other problems such as lack of education or work can be tackled without distraction (Chui et al., 2003) (see also 5.2.4).

Planning and continuity in counselling

A meta-analysis of 89 studies into the effectiveness of interventions for female clients with addiction problems on recovery and prevention of recidivism highlights the importance of long-term after-care. A plan must be drawn up for this during detention, so that the transition to society is properly arranged. This plan must be drawn up in consultation with the client in order to obtain a complete picture of needs upon release. It is desirable that the officer is already involved and contributes to the action plan while the client is still in detention. This at the same time ensures that a relationship can be built at an early stage (Grace, 2017).

Collaboration between institutions

The same meta-analysis as discussed above also highlights the importance of proper coordination and data sharing between the PI and the municipality. This is to ensure a reintegration plan is in place combined with quick access to treatment. In addition, better integration of medical, psychiatric and addiction care is needed. If interventions target only one or two needs while ignoring others, they are unlikely to be successful (Grace, 2017).

Another study in the US into a collaboration between probation officers and therapists in addiction care involving active collaboration in the clients' counselling and treatment shows that the clients concerned used less drugs, but there was no sign of significantly less recidivism or fewer violations of the special conditions. This study included 476 clients (Friedmann et al., 2012) (see also 3.4.2).

Working Alliance

Research from the US shows that better quality of the working alliance is related to less drug use and violent behaviour and fewer new arrests or detention. The working alliance mainly appears to be effective because it enhances the effectiveness of an intervention (Blasko et al., 2015; Walters, 2016). More specifically, a supportive relationship style appears to be most effective for female clients with addiction problems. The relationship style of the probation worker has no direct effect on recidivism among women, but it does have an indirect effect as officers with a punitive relationship style face higher levels of resistance (Morash et al., 2016) (see also 5.1.3).

Motivational interviewing

A meta-analysis of 19 studies into the outcomes of motivational interviewing appears to be promising in terms of promoting programme loyalty among the addict population (McMurran, 2009). However, a study into the effectiveness of the Dutch Step by Step programme (based on motivational interviewing) does not reveal a significant difference in the share of recidivism and time to reoffend compared to standard probation supervision (Shaul et al., 2016). In addition, the study by Harper and Hardy (2000) into the question of whether motivational interviewing is an effective method for clients with addiction problems did not yield concrete results, but clients who were assigned to a probation officer trained in motivational interviewing did show more problem awareness (consciousness-raising) compared to the control group after completing the study (see also 5.1.4).

Strengthening problem-solving skills

Clients suffering from serious addiction problems appear to struggle to give direction to their lives and to solve the problems they encounter. Based on observations, Trotman and Taxman (2011) conclude that many clients find it difficult to set (achievable) goals and need help from probation officers, which is at the expense of the ownership of these goals. Probation officers are often focused on longer-term goals, whereas this client group needs to take small steps. For several clients, mere participation in the meetings sometimes proved too ambitious a goal (see also 4.2.2).

Prosocial modelling

A study from the US among 93 female clients with addiction problems demonstrates that probation officers can play an important role in promoting prosocial identity. Probation officers affirming the prosocial identity increases self-confidence and helps in other important practices related to the success of supervision, such as help in housing, work and education. This growing self-confidence also helped women deal better with negative emotions such as shame and humiliation. This ensures that women's agency or room for manoeuvre can increase, enabling them to envisage a positive future for themselves. This motivated the women to keep doing the right thing. On the other hand, female clients who struggled to have their new identity confirmed experienced greater frustration and a sense of hopelessness, resulting in them reverting to old social networks and reoffending once more (Stone et al., 2018).

6.7 Clients with psychiatric problems

The general practices from Chapters 4 and 5 are relevant to clients with psychiatric problems. Practices specifically named as effective for clients with psychiatric problems:

- **Working relationship: a respectful, individual approach.**
- **Collaboration between institutions.**
- **Day Reporting Centre.**
- **Varying results have been found for setting up special units in the form of specialist probation officers or units that collaborate with health care.**

In addition to the studies on supervision of clients with addiction problems, we found 8 studies specifically aimed at clients struggling with psychiatric problems. These clients often already have a history of receiving help and assistance and, in addition to the probation service, are usually under the supervision of other agencies as well. Not surprisingly, we found 3 studies aimed at collaboration with other professionals. Further, one study examines the relationship between the probation officer and the client and the remainder of the studies deals with specific forms of supervision. The quality of the studies is reasonably good in general, but it is not always clear what interventions actually entail and what parts of these interventions actually lead to effectiveness. In addition, the interventions cannot always be directly applied to the Dutch situation given the differences in a rehabilitation context (see 3.4).

Since the findings of the relationship between the probation officer and client and the collaboration between the probation service and other agencies have been discussed earlier, they will be discussed only briefly here, while further attention is paid to DRC and specific units for clients with psychiatric problems.

Practices in probation supervision (as found in Chapters 4 and 5)

Working alliance/relationship

In the study by Skeem et al. (2003), clients with psychiatric problems indicate that they consider an individual approach aimed at their needs and abilities important. If the relationship with their probation worker is characterised by respect, it will be more effective compared to unambiguous and authoritarian relationships. The study by Epperson et al. (2017) similarly shows that characteristics such as 'being friendly, respectful and human' play an important role, both in the development and maintenance of a working relationship and in the outcomes of supervision (see also 5.1.3).

Collaboration

As discussed previously, several aspects are important with respect to the collaboration with other agencies, including a common vision about the practice surrounding a client, sufficient connection between objectives in the treatment and the probation programme, proper information transfer, a clear division of tasks and equal participation between the collaboration partners. Studies by Harte et al. (2010) and Van Gestel et al. (2006) demonstrate that these factors also appear to be important for the collaboration of probation officers of clients with psychiatric problems with other agencies. In addition, specific probation centres have been designed and researched, in which the collaboration between agencies involved with clients with psychiatric problems can be even more direct and quicker (see also 5.4).

Day Reporting Centre

Day Reporting Centres (DRC) are another example in which the probation service and mental healthcare work together. Clients are given a weekly schedule tailored to their clinical and criminogenic needs, during which they work on for instance crisis intervention, education in the field

of substance use and the transition from detention to society, on a daily basis (see also 4.5). Although no differences were found for the general population in the effectiveness of a DRC compared to regular supervision, positive results were found for clients with psychiatric problems. In the US, research has been conducted into the effect for clients with psychiatric problems. This shows that participants in a DRC reoffend significantly less (40% less than the control group, under regular supervision) (Carr et al. 2016). However, the specifics of regular supervision remain unclear.

Additional Findings

Special unit

Various studies have shown that a specific approach is sought for clients with psychiatric problems. The study by Wolff et al. (2014) argues for specific caseloads of clients with psychiatric problems. In one of the US states, a small caseload (of 30 clients, instead of 130) and specifically trained probation officers appear to have an effect on reducing the number of arrests and improving the clients' mental health. In addition to the size of the caseload and trained probation officers, basic principles included: a joint (treatment) plan with client, family, agencies and therapists; a reintegration-oriented approach; collaboration with other organisations; a 'firm but fair' approach in client relationship.

Skeem et al. (2003) likewise investigated the difference between a regular and a special unit for clients with psychiatric problems on the basis of focus groups with clients and probation officers, while focusing on dealing with mandatory treatment in addition to supervision. This showed that the special unit focuses more on reintegration, rather than on monitoring. This focus on care and casuistry means that probation officers apply a more suitable approach in their supervision. For example, 80% of the clients of the special unit indicate that they enjoy the 'coordinated care' because the probation officers work closely together with their therapists. The probation officers of the special unit monitor the treatment more often and are, for example, better informed than the probation officer of the regular unit in terms of participation in the treatment and medication intake. In addition, because of their knowledge background and experiences, they are better equipped to perform problem-solving procedures, for example in the field of fulfilling agreements and possibly sanctioning by putting positive and negative pressure on the client.

7. Conclusion

This systematic literature review provides an overview of what is known about the effectiveness of practices and methods used in probation supervision. We explored a large number of studies on different projects and practices for probation supervision, based on an analysis of national and international literature. Practices that were identified were then organised into general approaches and practices for probation supervision as described in Chapter 4 and into specific activities and practices as described in Chapter 5. Subsequently, conclusions about the effectiveness of practices for specific clients were examined (Chapter 6).

In this chapter, we give an overview of the practices and methods we found and their effectiveness (see Figure 2). In Section 7.1 we describe the practices and methods for probation supervision that were found in the literature and that are generally applicable to rehabilitation clients. In doing so we distinguish between:

- Practices and methods whose effectiveness is well-substantiated;
- Practices and methods that may be effective, but for which limited substantiation was found because little research has been done or because the research is of moderate quality;
- Practices and methods which have been shown to be ineffective.

With this, we answer sub-questions 1 and 2.

In Section 7.2 we discuss conclusions about specific clients (sub-question 3). Based on the findings, the importance of proper implementation of evidence-based practices emerges. We elaborate on this in Section 7.3 and list several points for attention. Next, we provide a number of recommendations for probation practice in Section 7.4, as well as for follow-up research in Section 7.5.

Figure 2: overview of the effectiveness of practices in probation supervision

Effectiveness of practices in probation supervision	
WELL-SUBSTANTIATED <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hybrid working: a combination of monitoring and counselling • Combining the use of the risk/needs/responsiveness principles • Continuity in contact • Investing in the relationship/working alliance • Prosocial modelling • Strengthening clients' problem-solving skills • Using cognitive behavioural techniques • Offering support in establishing and maintaining prosocial bonds 	LESS WELL-SUBSTANTIATED <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working systematically • Motivational interviewing • Offering practical assistance • Effective use of authority • Combining the rewarding of desirable behaviour and sanctioning undesirable behaviour • After-care after detention that starts as early as the final phase of detention • Effective collaboration with other institutions • Electronic monitoring (EM)
NOT EFFECTIVE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Probation supervision that consists of monitoring only • Intensive monitoring in combination with immediate sanctioning in the event of violations • Day Reporting Centre 	

7.1 Effectiveness of practices in probation supervision

7.1.1 Practices in probation supervision whose effectiveness is well-substantiated

Based on the available research, we can conclude that probation supervision must be a combination of monitoring the risk signals and violations of the special conditions, as well as guiding and helping clients to build a crime-free existence, also summarised as hybrid working. Indications on how the specific details of these two components can be implemented are found in the other findings of this study, through which we have found multiple reference points on practices to help shape the counselling process.

The so-called RNR principles appear to be an important basis for probation supervision. The studies that address the use of RNR principles in probation supervision often involve a combination of the risk principle, the needs principle and the responsivity principle:

- Risk principle: the intensity of the approach must be adjusted to the level of the risk of recidivism. Application of the risk principle in supervision appears to have a small effect. The risk principle appears to be mainly effective in combination with other RNR principles.
- Needs principle: probation supervision in which the attention is focused on dynamic criminogenic needs is more effective compared to probation supervision in which no attention is paid to dynamic criminogenic needs or in which non-criminogenic needs are more central to the counselling. In the case of clients with multiple dynamic criminogenic needs, it is important to focus the approach on a combination of the criminogenic needs that are present (Bonta & Andrews, 2017).
- The responsivity principle distinguishes between:
 - General responsivity: applying a cognitive behavioural approach appears to contribute to the effectiveness of probation supervision.
 - Specific responsivity: the approach must be geared to the possibilities, limitations, willingness to change and living conditions of the client.

Continuity in contact between the probation officer and client appears to contribute to the effectiveness of supervision. Frequently changing probation officers appears to have a negative effect on the quality of the working alliance.

In addition to the RNR principles, so-called Core Correctional Practices (CCP) have been described: practices that prove effective in one-to-one contacts between clients and probation officers. The studies on this more or less describe the same practices, although they are not always defined the same, which hampers the comparability of these studies. They often involve a combination of effective use of authority, prosocial modelling, strengthening the client's problem-solving ability, use of sources in society, quality of the relationship between the client and the professional, structuring the conversation, motivational interviewing and the use of cognitive techniques. The specific CCPs are described separately in this study and discussed below. It generally appears that probation officers who apply the different CCPs in combination with each other and with the RNR principles are more effective than probation officers who do not or who do so to only a limited extent.

As regards the specific CCPs, strong indications have been found for the efficacy of, in particular, the following:

- Prosocial modelling, a combination of:
 - Showing exemplary behaviour;
 - Positive appreciation of prosocial expressions and behaviours;
 - Disapproval of procriminal expressions and behaviour.
- Using cognitive behavioural techniques. This involves 1) clarifying the relationship between thoughts and behaviour 2) identifying procriminal attitudes, thoughts and behaviours, 3) teaching concrete cognitive and behavioural skills and 4) supporting clients in applying and generalising these in their daily lives.
- Supporting clients in strengthening their ability to solve problems.

The mutual contact between the probation officer and the client is an important basis for probation supervision. This particularly contributes to the client's motivation and willingness to change, his well-being and improvements in criminogenic needs and protective factors. As such, the effect on recidivism is mainly indirect. Only limited indications have been found for a direct correlation with less recidivism. Literature uses both the concept of relationship and that of the working alliance. The term relationship is not unambiguously defined, but often refers to the feelings and attitudes of professionals and clients about each other, which are positively influenced by the enthusiasm, empathy and respect shown by the professionals. The term working alliance has been introduced to indicate that it concerns a collaboration that takes place within a mandatory framework, aimed at achieving common goals and tasks. In addition to bonding, which is emphasised in the concept of relationship, it is also about a joint goal-oriented and task-oriented approach. Moreover, there is a stronger emphasis on the fact that the quality of the working alliance is influenced by both the professional and the client, whereas in the concept of relationship, the emphasis is often on the behaviour of the professionals (Menger et al., 2019). In probation supervision, it makes sense to invest in both the relationship and the working alliance: the importance of both has been demonstrated.

Research on reducing delinquent behaviour shows that having supportive social contacts can contribute to this. This involves supporting clients in establishing and maintaining prosocial bonds with family or friends, as well as prosocial contacts in society through work or leisure activities. Some studies show that the probation officer can be that supporting factor as well (albeit temporarily). In addition, it may also involve dissolving social contacts that promote delinquent behaviour, such as a delinquent circle of friends.

7.1.2 Practices in probation supervision whose effectiveness is less well-substantiated

Based on studies, practices have also been found that may be effective, but the substantiation of which is less robust due to the limited number of studies or the limited quality thereof.

An important basis for probation supervision is working systematically. This means, starting by drawing up an action plan based on an analysis of risks, criminogenic needs and protective factors, and then implementing, evaluating and, if necessary, adjusting this during the supervision. There is hardly any direct evidence for the effectiveness thereof, but this practice is consistently reflected in studies on the RNR principles, Core Correctional Practices and effective after-care.

The use of motivational interviewing in probation supervision mainly appears to have a positive influence on the willingness to undergo treatment or behavioural training, compliance with the special conditions and raising problem awareness. Varying results were found for the efficacy of motivational interviewing for behavioural change and a reduction in recidivism. Just like the relationship/working alliance, motivational interviewing appears to contribute mainly to intermediate goals that can be an important condition for the effective completion of probation supervision.

The importance of practical assistance in various areas (housing, finance, work, care) particularly emerges in studies where clients were interviewed about their experiences in the probation service. This assistance can take various forms. It concerns informing and advising clients, but sometimes also arranging access to facilities and institutions or arranging clients' affairs. The studies that examined the effect of such help on the reduction of recidivism have found some indications of its importance.

There is some empirical support for the efficacy of effective use of authority. This concerns aspects such as a clear clarification of the professional's own role and the rules in supervision, consistency in taking action but with space and input for the client and rejecting specific behaviour, not the client. Dosing is important in this respect. Too much emphasis on authority is ineffective. Use of authority becomes effective in combination with counselling and support (see also hybrid working). Somewhat

in line with this, a combination of rewarding desirable behaviour and sanctioning undesirable behaviour appears to work in probation supervision, provided that the emphasis is on rewarding. However, empirical support for this is limited.

Probation supervision always forms part of a larger network. Probation officers must collaborate with various other institutions such as the judicial partners (police, Public Prosecution Service, prison system), healthcare institutions if clients receive treatment during their supervision, and various municipal institutions that for instance offer practical help to clients. Proper cooperation can promote the timely involvement of the necessary expertise, improved access to institutions and increased continuity in the client's programme. Effective collaboration surrounding a client is not self-evident. The literature on probation supervision yielded several aspects that promote the effectiveness of collaboration and as such indirectly support the effectiveness of supervision: proximity of the professionals involved in the collaboration (for example, by sharing a location), having a shared vision about the plan of action including a clear division of tasks, mutual respect and equal collaboration, and sufficient exchange of information so that all professionals involved with the client remain on the same page. In addition, organisational preconditions appear to be important, such as having sufficient time available to shape the collaboration and sufficient policy, work processes and administrative procedures geared to the collaboration.

Less research has been found on monitoring in probation supervision than on the accompanying tasks. Monitoring emerges in studies on e.g. Electronic Monitoring (EM). These show that EM in itself does not contribute to reducing recidivism, but there are indications that EM contributes to compliance with the special conditions. There are also indications that EM can contribute to the reduction of recidivism if used in combination with other interventions. The added value of EM can be: providing structure, keeping clients away from antisocial contacts or situations, contributing to maintaining social bonds (relationships, work, education), promoting emotional stability and giving time for reflection on one's own lifestyle. However, empirical support for these possible effects is limited.

The effectiveness of programmes for after-care following detention appears to be limited. Studies do show that after-care is most effective if there is a proper collaboration between the prison system and the probation service, starting as early as the final phase of detention; if a tailor-made plan is developed jointly with the client that focuses on a diversity of the dynamic risk factors present; if sufficient attention is paid to practical help in the field of housing, education, work; and if integrated healthcare (medical, psychiatric and addiction care) is offered to clients who need it.

7.1.3 Practices in probation supervision which have been shown to be ineffective.

Probation supervision puts a lot of emphasis on monitoring, particularly in the US, and a lot of research has been done into probation supervision that solely consists of monitoring whether clients comply with the special conditions and where clients receive little or no counselling from probation officers. Research produces convincing evidence that such a practice is not effective. A specific implementation of probation supervision with the emphasis on monitoring are projects that combine intensive monitoring of compliance with the special conditions with immediate sanctioning in the event of violations, for example by entering collaboration agreements on this with the Public Prosecution Service and the judiciary. Such projects are, again, mainly found in the US. Research results on such projects are contradictory and no effects are found, particularly in high-quality studies.

Day Reporting Centres (DRC) are used, particularly in the US, to give shape to probation supervision: a very intensive form of supervision with a tailor-made day programme of five days a week. There are insufficient indications to suggest that participation in a DRC is more effective than regular supervision.

7.2 Probation supervision for specific clients

A lot of research on probation supervision is generic and focuses on the broad client population of the probation service. Some of the studies found focus on specific clients. The third sub-question in this study is whether there are specific points for attention for probation supervision for clients with different risk levels (low – high), different types of offences (property offences, violent offences, sex offences), differences in gender (male – female) and age (18 to 23, and 24 and older). In the literature, we found a number of specific studies on female clients, young adult clients, perpetrators of violent offences (especially domestic violence), perpetrators of sex offences and clients with a low or high risk of recidivism. We also found articles about clients with addiction problems and clients with psychiatric problems. Below, we summarise which specific points for attention were found with regard to these specific clients.

In a general sense, we can conclude that the practices we found for the broad probation population are also relevant for clients with the above characteristics. Several specific clients displayed indications for the importance of hybrid working, the RNR principles, the working alliance/relationship, the importance of practical help, social support and effective cooperation. The study into specific clients also highlighted the importance of a combined, integrated approach. Taking the literature into consideration, we can conclude that a combination of the practices that generally form the basis for probation supervision is also important for specific clients (see overview in 7.1). Developing a different approach to probation supervision for specific clients does not seem to be necessary. It is important, however, to connect with the specific characteristics and situation of clients (see also the responsivity principle).

We did find some additions and details for specific clients in the literature. For female clients, the importance of a proper connection with the specific situation and problems specific to women emerges, such as attention to victimhood, childcare and strengthening a prosocial identity. For young adult clients, individual interventions appear to be more effective than group interventions. For clients with a low risk of recidivism, it is recommended to keep the intensity of supervision as low as possible and to avoid contact with high-risk offenders as much as possible (also in waiting rooms, for example). The study on supervision for sex offenders revealed indications of developing an effective working alliance with a proper balance between distance and proximity. However, research is limited and does not yet provide any concrete indications as to what the correct balance is and whether this varies within the group of sex offenders.

7.3 Implementing practices

Effective probation supervision consists by definition of a combination of the aforesaid (effective) practices. Only minor effects were found in studies that examined the contribution of a specific practice to reducing recidivism. Added value can be realised in probation supervision, especially with a combination of the practices for which sufficient empirical substantiation was found. Probation officers must therefore be able to combine several practices. For each client they determine which practices have priority in view of the criminogenic problems and how these can be tailored to the client's specific needs and possibilities as closely as possible.

An important point of attention is the careful implementation of the practices. Several studies involved in this research found no significant effects of new practices, but researchers also found that new practices were implemented to only a limited extent. Poor implementation of a (potentially effective) practice can be a cause of not being able to demonstrate its effectiveness. During studies in which probation officers were trained and supported in applying RNR principles in combination with CCP, it appeared that the effectiveness in repeat studies was often lower than in the original studies. It was also found in these studies that probation officers made little use of refresher meetings and feedback options, as a result of which practices were (possibly) not used properly or to a limited extent only. Researchers cite this as a possible explanation for not finding significant improvements in probation supervision. Illustrative in this context is the study by Raynor et al. (2014) on Jersey. No new practice was implemented in this study, but the researchers looked at differences in effectiveness between officers who use many and few of the effective skills. Those differences turned

out to be significant. An essential question for probation organisations is therefore not only whether the different practices are sufficiently embedded in training courses or described in manuals, but above all whether and how they are used in practice.

The fact that the quality of implementation influences effectiveness has been known for some time. With regard to programmatic judicial interventions, for example, the conclusion based on research is that insufficient programme integrity, i.e. not carrying out an intervention according to the guidelines, is one of the reasons for limited effectiveness (Lipsey & Cullen, 2007). It is therefore not without reason that adequate management has been included as one of the RNR principles. Bonta and Andrews (2017) state proper selection, training and supervision of personnel as core components therein, as well as a reliable system for monitoring, feedback and adjustment of how work is performed.

Adequate implementation includes various aspects related to the intervention, the professionals, the target group, the organisation and the context.³⁵ Discussing this further would fall outside the scope of this report. We would, however, like to emphasise the importance of the interaction between the professional and the client when it comes to the adequate implementation of effective practices. Dusenbury et al. (2003, as cited in De Beuf, De Vogel & De Ruiter, 2019) have further operationalised the theme of programme integrity on the basis of research in a mental healthcare system. They distinguish five dimensions:

- Programme loyalty: the extent to which a practice is implemented as described in a protocol or manual;
- Quality of the implementation: the degree to which the professionals who implement a practice have the necessary knowledge and skills;
- Intensity: how often, how long and how intensively a certain practice is used in the target group;
- Differentiation: identifying the specific characteristics of a practice that contribute to its effectiveness;
- Responsivity: the degree to which the practice matches the specific target group in which it is deployed, the degree to which the target group is involved in the practice and the degree to which the target group supports it.

Proper programme integrity therefore relates not only to the professional who implements a practice in accordance with the instructions as much as possible, but also to the coordination with and involvement of the client.

7.4 Recommendations for the probation practice

The overview of effective and ineffective practices for probation supervision shows what knowledge and skills can be expected from probation officers. It offers a fairly complete overview that can serve as a basis for professional development and manuals. Many of the practices described are already available to the Dutch probation practice and are already part of the training programme offered to probation officers (see e.g. Menger, Krechtig, & Bosker, 2016). Some practices may need to be worked out further in order to be applied in Dutch practice (for example, the use of cognitive techniques in supervision). To identify these, it may be an idea to compare the overview from this study to the training and manuals available to the probation service to determine which practices they are. Based on the available literature and in collaboration with probation officers, these could then be worked out further into methodical guides.

The fact that certain practices are integrated into manuals and in training programmes offered by the probation service does not mean that they are implemented correctly. It is relevant to the probation service to investigate to what extent the practices for which efficacy has been sufficiently demonstrated are in fact applied and applied correctly. The dimensions of programme integrity described above can be helpful in this respect. Where necessary, extra efforts can be made to improve the implementation and application of specific practices.

³⁵ <https://kfz.nl/leren-implementeren/kfz-quickscan>

At this point in time, strengthening the consistency and continuity in client programmes is an important spearhead for the probation organisations and within the criminal justice chain (3RO, 2018). As part of these efforts, specific attention is paid to improving collaboration between the probation service and the prison system and with municipal institutions.³⁶ This study offers various reference points for its implementation, specifically in the sections on collaboration, after-care, continuity in contact, practical help and working systematically. Yet findings about the RNR principles and Core Correctional Practices also offer relevant reference points for the selection and counselling of (former) prisoners. The findings in this study can be included in the further implementation of policy and practices with regard to integrated programmes.

The overview of effective and ineffective practices of probation supervision is also useful for training future probation officers at professional education institutions. Universities of Applied Sciences increasingly offer specific education for professionals working within a judicial framework (such as probation officers) in the form of a minor³⁷, master³⁸ or a forensic emphasis in education (Bosker et al., 2018). The programmes that offer such education could use this study to investigate the extent to which certain practices are lacking in the curriculum or require more attention, given their importance for effective professional intervention within a mandated framework.

7.5 Recommendations for follow-up research

Based on the literature review, we identify a number of subjects on which further research is desirable.

Probation officers have a dual task: on the one hand, it concerns the safety of society and the prevention of new delinquent behaviour and, on the other, the reintegration and support of clients towards a better life. To prevent new delinquent behaviour, practices and interventions are used aimed at decreasing criminogenic needs and strengthening protective factors. In addition, anticipating short-term risks requires a restriction of freedom of movement, the monitoring thereof and the identification of increasing risk, particularly among clients who commit violent crimes. Apart from research on electronic monitoring, we found surprisingly little research on the restriction of behaviour and the identification of increasing risk. Early detection is a practice for timely identifying, with clients, signs of a possible relapse in undesirable behaviour and to subsequently sanction these clients, again in a timely manner. This practice has mainly been developed and researched in intramural forensic settings (Fluttert, 2016). It is recommended to investigate, also for outpatient probation supervision, how probation officers can identify early signs of high-risk behaviour with clients and how they can adequately sanction this.

There are some dynamic criminogenic needs for which we found surprisingly little research; first, strengthening the social network. There is a lot of research that finds that strengthening prosocial contacts and limiting antisocial contacts are important for the process of desistance (see, for example, Bonta & Andrews, 2017; McNeill, 2009). However, relatively little research has been conducted into how probation officers can support clients in this and whether interventions aimed at strengthening the social network are effective. A second factor is adequate support for clients with financial problems. An exploratory study into debt problems among probation clients in the Netherlands was published only recently (Van Beek et al., 2020), but more research is needed on interventions in this area.

A third theme on which relatively little information has been found concerns responsivity, and then specific responsivity in particular. Chapter 6 lists a number of points for attention regarding specific clients, but this is by no means exhaustive. For many of the practices, it has not been investigated

³⁶https://vng.nl/files/vng/nieuws_attachments/2019/bestuurlijk_akkoord_re-integratie_ex-justitiabelen_definitief_met_handtekeningen_1_juli_2019.pdf

³⁷ For example, the minors Working within a Mandated Framework, Judicial Services, Aggression and Domestic Violence

³⁸ For example, the Master Forensic Social Professional.

whether and how they work for specific clients. It also appears that hardly any research has been conducted into some specific clients groups. It is striking that we did not find any studies on the effectiveness of supervision for clients with a mild mental impairment, whereas it is now clear that they represent an above-average component of the delinquent population (Kaal, 2019). It is important to do more research into whether the practices described for probation supervision and which have been shown to be effective in general are also effective for specific clients. Timely recognition of a (mild) mental impairment is important in that respect. In addition, studies of characteristics of and interventions for specific populations may offer additional leads relevant for probation supervision.

We have found a number of studies on practices that could be of interest to the probation service, but for which the empirical basis was as yet too limited to identify these as (potentially) effective. We have included them in the study under the heading 'other' (Section 5.5). There is not yet enough research to draw conclusions about its efficacy but given the findings, there appears to be potential. These could, for example, be developed and investigated as innovations in probation practice. They are:

- The use of digital resources as a supplement to interviews that probation officers have with clients. This is a subject that is already widely experimented with in the Dutch probation service.³⁹ Research will have to demonstrate which resources are sufficiently effective to become a structural part of probation supervision.
- Interventions aimed at meditation and relaxation that can be used as part of an intervention plan. Positive results are found for the use of mindfulness in detention (Groot, 2019), but little research has yet been conducted into the use and effectiveness of this in probation supervision.
- The alcohol meter as a means to regulate and monitor alcohol consumption.
- The added value of visiting clients in their private surroundings in addition to or partially replacing face-to-face contact at the office.

Finally, further research into the working alliance among sex offenders seems important. On the one hand, research among these clients shows the importance of a proper working alliance. However, some studies indicate that the right balance between distance and closeness is of additional importance for these clients. Further research is needed to make this more concrete.

³⁹ See for example www.reclassering.nl/actueel/verhalen/een-nieuwe-vorm-van-gesprekstraining-de-virtuele-trainingsacteur

8. Bibliografy

- 3RO. (2019). *Reclasseren in 2020. Een 3RO-begrippenkader bij de visie* (internal document). 3RO, project sturen en verantwoorden.
- 3RO. (2018). *3RO visie op reclasseren in 2020* (internal document). Reclassering Nederland, Stichting Verslavingsreclassering GGZ, Leger des Heils Jeugdzorg & Reclassering.
- Adviesbureau van Montfoort and Reclassering Nederland. (2004). *RISc version 1.0. Recidive Inschattings Schalen, handleiding*. Reclassing Nederland.
- Allen, C., & Barkley, D. (2002). Housing for offenders. The role of 'understanding relationships' in supporting people. *Probation Journal*, 49(4), 267-276.
- Andersen, L.H., & Andersen, S. H. (2014). Effect of electronic monitoring on social welfare dependence. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 13(3), 349-379.
- Andersen, L.H., & Wildeman, C. (2015). Measuring the effect of probation and parole officers on labor market outcomes and recidivism. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 31(4), 629-652.
- Andersson, C., Vasiljevic, Z., Höglund, P., Öjehagen, A., & Berglund, M. (2014). Daily automated telephone assessment and intervention improved 1-month outcome in paroled offenders. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 64(8), 735-752.
- Andrews, D.A., Bonta, J., & Hoge, R.D. (1990). Classification for effective rehabilitation. Rediscovering psychology. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 17(1), 19-52.
- Andrews, D.A., & Dowden, C. (2006). Risk principle of case classification in correctional treatment. A meta-analytic investigation. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 50, 88-99.
- Bailey, D.J.S., & Sample, L.L. (2017). Sex offender supervision in context. The need for qualitative examinations of social distance in sex offender-supervision officer relationships. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 28(2), 176-204.
- Balfoort, A., Andreas, A., Van Vliet, J., & Van Egdom, S. (2016). Juridische kaders en extramurale sanctiemodaliteiten. In A. Menger, L. Krechtig & J. Bosker (Red.), *Werken in gedwongen kader. Methodiek voor het forensisch sociaal werk, third revision edition*. (pp. 47-57). SWP.
- Bares, K.J., & Mowen, T.J. (2019). Examining the parole officer as a mechanism of social support during reentry from prison. *Crime & Delinquency*, First published online 21 Oct 2019, 1-19.
- Barnes, G.C., Hyatt, J.M., Ahlman, L.C., & Ken, D.T.L. (2012). The effects of low-intensity supervision for lower-risk probationers. Updated results from a randomized controlled trial. *Journal of Crime & Justice*, 35(2), 200-220.
- Barrett, C.J. (2017). Mindfulness and rehabilitation. Teaching yoga and meditation to young men in an alternative to incarceration program. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 61(15), 1719-1738.
- Barry, M. (2013). Desistance by design. Offenders' reflections on criminal justice theory, policy and practice. *European Journal of Probation*, 5(2), 47-65.
- Barry, M. (2007). Listening and learning. The reciprocal relationship between worker and client. *Probation Journal*, 54(4), 407-422.
- Bender, K.A., Cobbina, J.E., & McGarrell, E.F. (2016). Reentry programming for high-risk offenders. Insights from participants. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 60(13), 1479-1508.
- Berghuis, M. (2018). Reentry programs for adult male offender recidivism and reintegration. A systematic review and meta-analysis. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 62(14), 4655-4676.
- Blasko, B.L., Friedmann, P.D., Rhodes, A. G., & Taxman, F. S. (2015). The parolee-parole officer relationship as a mediator of criminal justice outcomes. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 42(7), 722-740.
- Blumenthal, S., Craissati, J., & Minchin, L. (2009). The development of a specialist hostel for the community management of personality disordered offenders. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 19(1), 43-53.
- Bond, B.J., & Gittell, J.H. (2010). Cross-agency coordination of offender reentry. Testing collaboration outcomes. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38(2), 118-129.

- Bonta, J., & Andrews, D.A. (2017). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (sixth edition). LexisNexis.
- Bonta, J., Bourgon, G., Rugge, T., Scott, T., Yessine, A. K., Gutierrez, L., & Li, J. (2011). An experimental demonstration of training probation officers in evidence-based community supervision. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 38(11), 1127-1148.
- Bonta, J., Rugge, T., Bourgon, G., & Wanamaker, K.A. (2019). A conceptual replication of the strategic training initiative in community supervision (STICS). *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 15(3), 397-419.
- Bonta, J., Rugge, T., Scott, T., Bourgon, G., & Yessine, A.K. (2008). Exploring the black box of community supervision. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 47(3), 248-270.
- Bonta, J., Wallace-Capretta, S., & Rooney, J. (2000). Can electronic monitoring make a difference? an evaluation of three Canadian programs. *Crime & Delinquency*, 46(1), 61-75.
- Booth, A., Sutton, A., & Papioannou, D. (2016). *Systematic approaches to a successful literature review (second edition)*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Bosker, J. (2015). *Linking theory and practice in probation. Structured decision support for case management plans*. Doctoral thesis Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen. Jacqueline Bosker.
- Bosker, J., Donker, A., Menger, A., & Van der Laan, P. (2016). Theorieën over afbouw en stoppen met delinquent gedrag. In A. Menger, L. Krechtig & J. Bosker (Red.), *Werken in gedwongen kader. Methodiek voor het forensisch sociaal werk, third revision edition*. (pp. 77-96). SWP.
- Bosker, J., Hanrath, J., Marks, M., De Boois, M., & Van Egdome, S. (2018). Onderwijs voor de forensisch sociale professional. In J. Bosker, V. de Vogel & L. Bitter (Red.). *Professionele ankers. Liber Amicorum Anneke Menger*. Lectorate: Working with Mandated Clients , HU University of Applied Sciences.
- Bouffard, J.A., Mackenzie, D.L., & Hickman, L.J. (2000). Effectiveness of vocational education and employment programs for adult offenders. A methodology-based analysis of the literature. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 31(1), 1-41.
- Bourgon, G., & Gutierrez, L. (2012). The general responsivity principle in community supervision. The importance of probation officers using cognitive intervention techniques and its influence on recidivism. *Journal of Crime & Justice*, 35(2), 149-166.
- Boyle, D.J., Ragusa-Salerno, L.M., Lanterman, J.L., & Fleisch, M.A. (2013). An evaluation of day reporting centers for parolees. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 12(1), 119-143.
- Braga, A.A., Piehl, A.M., & Hureau, D. (2009). Controlling violent offenders released to the community. An evaluation of the boston reentry initiative. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 46(4), 411-436.
- Brusman Lovins, L., Lowenkamp, C.T., Latessa, E.J., & Smith, P. (2007). Application of the risk principle to female offenders. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 23(4), 383-398.
- Burke, B.L., Arkowitz, H., & Menchola, M. (2003). The efficacy of motivational interviewing. A meta-analysis of controlled clinical trials. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 71(5), 843-861.
- Buttars, A., Huss, M.T., & Brack, C. (2016). An analysis of an intensive supervision program for sex offenders using propensity scores. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 55(1), 51-68.
- Buyse, W. (2018). *Inventarisatie van behoeften aan handreikingen, protocollen, instrumenten en onderzoek van de drie reclasseringsorganisaties*. KFZ.
- Carr, W.A., Baker, A.N., & Cassidy, J.J. (2016). Reducing criminal recidivism with an enhanced day reporting center for probationers with mental illness. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 55(2), 95-112.
- Chadwick, N., DeWolf, A., & Serin, R. (2015). Effectively training community supervision officers. A meta-analytic review of the impact on offender outcome. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 42(10), 977-989.
- Chamberlain, A.W., Gricius, M., Wallace, D.M., Borjas, D., & Ware, V.M. (2018). Parolee-parole officer rapport. does it impact recidivism? *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 62(11), 3581-3602.
- Chan, M., Gudyish, J., Prem, R., Jessup, M.A., Cervantes, A., & Bostrom, A. (2005). Evaluation of probation case management (PCM) for drug-involved women offenders. *Crime & Delinquency*, 51(4), 447-469.

- Chui, W.H. (2003). Experiences of probation supervision in Hong Kong. Listening to the young adult probationers. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 31(6), 567-577.
- Chui, W.H., Tupman, B., & Farlow, C. (2003). Listening to young adult offenders. Views on the effect of a police-probation initiative on reducing crime. *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 42(3), 263-281.
- Clark-Miller, J., & Stevens, K.D. (2011). Effective supervision strategies. do frequent changes of supervision officers affect probationer outcomes? *Federal Probation*, 75(3), 11-18.
- De Beuf, T.L.F., De Vogel, V., & De Ruiter, C. (2020). Adherence to structured risk assessment guidelines. Development and preliminary evaluation of an adherence scale for the START:AV. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Research and Practice*. Published online: 27 Apr 2020.
- De Kogel, C.H., & Nagtegaal, M.H. (2008). *Toezichtprogramma's voor delinquenten en forensisch psychiatrische patiënten. Effectiviteit en veronderstelde werkzame mechanismen*. WODC.
- Deci, E.L., & Ryan, R.M. (2000). The "what" and "why" of goal pursuits. Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry*, 11(4), 227-268.
- DeVall, K.E., Lanier, C., Hartmann, D.J., Hupp Williamson, S., & Askew, L.N. (2017). Intensive supervision programs and recidivism. How Michigan successfully targets high-risk offenders. *The Prison Journal*, 97(5), 585-608.
- Dixon-Woods, M., Shaw, R.L., Agarwal, S., & Smith, J.A. (2004). The problem of appraising qualitative research. *BMJ Quality & Safety*, 13(3), 223-225.
- Doekhie, J., Van Ginneken, E., Dirkzwager, A., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2018). Managing risk or supporting desistance? A longitudinal study on the nature and perceptions of parole supervision in the Netherlands. *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology*, 4(4), 491-515.
- Dominey, J. (2019). Probation supervision as a network of relationships. Aiming to be thick, not thin. *Probation Journal*, 66(3), 283-302.
- Dowden, C., & Andrews, D.A. (2004). The importance of staff practice in delivering effective correctional treatment. A meta-analytic review of core correctional practice. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 48(2), 203-214.
- Downs, S.M., & Black, N. (1998). The feasibility of creating a checklist for the assessment of the methodological quality both of randomised and not-randomised studies of health care interventions. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 52(6), 388-384.
- Durrance, P., & Ablitt, F. (2001). "Creative solutions" to women's offending. An evaluation of the women's probation centre. *Probation Journal*, 48(4), 247-259.
- Duwe, G. (2012). Evaluating the Minnesota comprehensive offender reentry plan. Results from a randomized experiment. *Justice Quarterly*, 29(3), 347-385.
- Duwe, G. (2014). A randomized experiment of a prisoner reentry program. Updated results from an evaluation of the Minnesota comprehensive offender reentry plan (MCORP). *Criminal Justice Studies*, 27(2), 172-190.
- Epperson, M.W., Thompson, J.G., Lurigio, A.J., & Kim, S. (2017). Unpacking the relationship between probationers with serious mental illnesses and probation officers. A mixed-methods examination. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 56(3), 188-216.
- Fariello Springer, N., Applegate, B.K., Smith, H.P., & Sitren, A.H. (2009). Exploring the determinants of probationers' perceptions of their supervising officers. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 48(3), 210-227.
- Finn, M.A., & Muirhead-Steves, S. (2002). The effectiveness of electronic monitoring with violent male parolees. *Justice Quarterly*, 19(2), 293.
- Fischer, T., Clever, I., & Struijk, S. (2019). *Handhaving en veiligheid bij strafrechtelijke contact-, locatie- en gebiedsverboden ter bescherming van slachtoffers*. WODC.
- Fluttert, F. (2016). Risicobeheersing en zelfmanagement via kwetsbare patronen van gedragsontregeling. In A. Menger, L. Krechtig & J. Bosker (Red.), *Werken in gedwongen kader. Methodiek voor het forensisch sociaal werk, third revision edition*. (pp. 339-352). SWP.
- Friedmann, P.D., Green, T.C., Taxman, F.S., Harrington, M., Rhodes, A.G., Katz, E., O'Connell, D., Martin, S.S., Frisman, L.K., Litt, M., Burdon, W., Clarke, J.G., & Fletcher, B.W. (2012). Collaborative behavioral management among parolees. Drug use, crime and re-arrest in the step'n out randomized trial. *Addiction*, 107(6), 1099-1108.

- Frielink, N., Embregts, P., & Schuengel, C. (2014). Motiverende gespreksvoering bij mensen met een lichte verstandelijke beperking. *Orthopedagogiek: Onderzoek en Praktijk*, 53(2), 36-48.
- Gannon, T.A., Wood, J.L., Pina, A., Tyler, N., Barnoux, M.F.L., & Vasquez, E.A. (2014). An evaluation of mandatory polygraph testing for sexual offenders in the united kingdom. *Sexual Abuse*, 26(2), 178-203.
- Gies, S., Gainey, R., & Healy, E. (2016). Monitoring high-risk sex offenders with GPS. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 29(1), 1-20.
- Grace, S. (2017). Effective interventions for drug using women offenders. A narrative literature review. *Journal of Substance Use*, 22(6), 664-671.
- Grattet, R., Lin, J., & Petersilia, J. (2011). Supervision regimes, risk, and official reactions to parolee deviance. *Criminology*, 49(2), 371-399.
- Groot, I.F. (2019). *Meta-analyse naar de effectiviteit van mindfulness-training op het verbeteren van zelfregulatie bij delinquenten*. Master's thesis Forensic Remedial Education. University of Amsterdam.
- Grubin, D. (2010). A trial of voluntary polygraphy testing in ten English probation areas. *Sexual Abuse*, 22(3), 266-278.
- Guydish, J., Chan, M., Bostrom, A., Jessup, M.A., Davis, T.B., & Marsh, C. (2011). A randomized trial of probation case management for drug-involved women offenders. *Crime & Delinquency*, 57(2), 167-198.
- Hadfield, E., Sleath, E., Brown, S., & Holdsworth, E. (2020). A systematic review into the effectiveness of integrated offender management. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, Published online 16 March 2020, 1-19.
- Hamilton, Z., Campbell, C.M., Wormer, J., Kigerl, A., & Posey, B. (2016). Impact of swift and certain sanctions. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 15(4), 1009-1072.
- Hanley, D. (2006). Appropriate services. Examining the case classification principle. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 42(4), 1-22.
- Harper, R., & Hardy, S. (2000). An evaluation of motivational interviewing as a method of intervention with clients in a probation setting. *British Journal of Social Work*, 30, 393-400.
- Hart, J., & Collins, K. (2014). A 'back to basic' approach to offender supervision. Does working alliance contribute towards success of probation? *European Journal of Probation*, 6(2), 112-125.
- Harte, J.M., Van Kalmthout, W.D., & Knüppe, J.J.M.C. (2010). *Forensisch psychiatrisch toezicht. evaluatie van de testfase van een vernieuwde vorm van toezicht op tbs-gestelden*. WODC.
- Healy, D. (2012). Advise, assist and befriend. Can probation supervision support desistance? *Social Policy & Administration*, 46(4), 377-394.
- Hendriks, J. (2016). Zedendelinquenten. In A. Menger, L. Krechtig & J. Bosker (Red.), *Werken in gedwongen kader. Methodiek voor het forensisch sociaal werk (third revision edition)* (pp. 155-162). SWP.
- Hepburn, J.R., & Griffin, M.L. (2004). The effect of social bonds on successful adjustment to probation. An event history analysis. *Criminal Justice Review*, 29(1), 46-75.
- Holmstrom, A.J., Adams, E.A., Morash, M., Smith, S.W., & Cobbina, J.E. (2017). Supportive messages female offenders receive from probation and parole officers about substance avoidance. Message perceptions and effects. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 44(11), 1496-1517.
- Hucklesby, A. (2009). Understanding offenders' compliance. A case study of electronically monitored curfew orders. *Journal of Law and Society*, 36(2), 248-271.
- Hucklesby, A. (2008). Vehicles of desistance? The impact of electronically monitored curfew orders. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 8(1), 51-71.
- Hunter, B.A., Lanza, A.S., Lawlor, M., Dyson, W., & Gordon, D.M. (2016). A strengths-based approach to prisoner reentry. The fresh start prisoner reentry program. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 60(11), 1298-1314.
- Hyatt, J.M., & Barnes, G.C. (2017). An experimental evaluation of the impact of intensive supervision on the recidivism of high-risk probationers. *Crime & Delinquency*, 63(1), 3-38.
- Jalbert, S.K., & Rhodes, W. (2012). Reduced caseloads improve probation outcomes. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 35(2), 221-238.

- Jalbert, S.K., Rhodes, W., Flygare, C., & Kane, M. (2010). Testing probation outcomes in an evidence-based practice setting. Reduced caseload size and intensive supervision effectiveness. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 49(4), 233-253.
- James, C., Asscher, J.J., Stams, G.J.J.M., & Van der Laan, P.H. (2016). The effectiveness of aftercare for juvenile and young adult offenders. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 60(10), 1159-1184.
- James, C., Stams, G. J. J. M., Asscher, J.J., De Roo, A.K., & Van der Laan, P.H. (2013). Aftercare programs for reducing recidivism among juvenile and young adult offenders. A meta-analytic review. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 33(2), 263-274.
- Johnson, R.R. (2001). Intensive probation for domestic violence offenders. *Federal Probation*, 65(3), 36-39.
- Kennealy, P.J., Skeem, J.L., Manchak, S.M., & Eno Loudon, J. (2012). Firm, fair, and caring officer-offender relationships protect against supervision failure. *Law and Human Behavior*, 36(6), 496-505.
- Kaal, H.L. (2019). Het belang van het herkennen van een LVB in de strafrechtsketen. *Tijdschrift voor Psychiatrie*, 61(11), 809 - 813.
- KFZ (2018). *Masterprotocol kwaliteit forensische zorg*. Kwaliteit Forensische Zorg.
- Kim, D., Spohn, C., & Foxall, M. (2007). An evaluation of the DRC in the context of Douglas county, Nebraska. A developmental perspective. *The Prison Journal*, 87(4), 434-456.
- King, S. (2013). Assisted desistance and experiences of probation supervision. *Probation Journal*, 60(2), 136-151.
- Klein, A.R., & Crowe, A. (2008). Findings from an outcome examination of Rhode island's specialized domestic violence probation supervision program. Do specialized supervision programs of batterers reduce reabuse? *Violence Against Women*, 14(2), 226-246.
- Klockars, C.B. (1972). A theory of probation supervision. *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 63(4), 550-557.
- Kras, K.R. (2019). Can social support overcome the individual and structural challenges of being a sex offender? Assessing the social support-recidivism link. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 63(1), 32-54.
- Krechtig, L., & Bosker, J. (2016). Regie op de casus: De regulatieve cyclus. In A. Menger, L. Krechtig & J. Bosker (Red.), *Werken in gedwongen kader. Methodiek voor het forensisch sociaal werk (third revision edition)* (pp. 259-263). SWP.
- Krechtig, L., & Menger, A. (2016). Het belang van regie. In A. Menger, L. Krechtig & J. Bosker (Red.), *Werken in gedwongen kader. Methodiek voor het forensisch sociaal werk (third revision edition)* (pp. 251-257). SWP.
- Kruize, A. & De Muijnck, J. (2018). *Evaluatie pilot alcoholmeter 2017*. WODC / Breuer & Intraval Onderzoek en Advies.
- Kyvsgaard, B. (2000). Supervision of offenders. Can an old-fashioned service system be of any service in the case of present-day offenders? *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention*, 1(1), 73-86.
- Lammers, S.M.M., Soe-Agnie, S.E., De Haan, H.A., Bakkum, G.A.M., Pomp, E.R., & Nijman, H.J.M. (2014). Middelengebruik en criminaliteit. Een overzicht. *Tijdschrift voor Psychiatrie*, 56(1), 32-39.
- Latessa, E.J., Smith, P., Schweitzer, M., & Labrecque, R.M. (2013). *Evaluation of the effective practices in community supervision model (EPICS) in Ohio*. University of Cincinnati.
- Lattimore, P. K., MacKenzie, D. L., Zajac, G., Dawes, D., Arsenault, E., & Tueller, S. (2016). Outcome findings from the HOPE demonstration field experiment. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 15(4), 1103-1141.
- Lewis, S. (2014a). Exploring positive working relationships in light of the aims probation, using a collaborative approach. *Probation Journal*, 61(4), 334-345.
- Lewis, S. (2014b). Learning from success and failure. deconstructing the working relationship within probation practice and exploring its impact on probationers, using a collaborative approach. *Probation Journal*, 61(2), 161-175.

- Lewis, S., Maguire, M., Raynor, P., Vanstone, M., & Vennard, J. (2007). What works in resettlement? Findings from seven pathfinders for short-term prisoners in England and Wales. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 7(1), 33-53.
- Lipsey, M.W. & Cullen, E.T. (2007). The effectiveness of correctional rehabilitation. A review of systematic reviews. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 3, 297-320
- Longshore, D., Turner, S., & Fain, T. (2005). Effects of case management on parolee misconduct. The Bay Area Services Network. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 32(2), 205-222.
- Lowenkamp, C.T., Holsinger, A., Robinson, C.R., & Alexander, M. (2014). Diminishing of durable treatment effects of STARR? A research note on 24-month re-arrest rates. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 37(2), 275-283.
- Lowenkamp, C.T., Flores, A.W., Holsinger, A.M., Makarios, M.D., & Latessa, E.J. (2010). Intensive supervision programs. Does program philosophy and the principles of effective intervention matter? *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38(4), 368-375.
- Lowenkamp, C.T., Latessa, E.J., & Holsinger, A.M. (2006). The risk principle in action. What have we learned from 13,676 offenders and 97 correctional programs? *Crime & Delinquency*, 52(1), 77-93.
- Lowenkamp, C.T., Pealer, J., Smith, P., & Latessa, E.J. (2006). Adhering to the risk and need principles: Does it matter for supervision-based programs? *Federal Probation*, 70(3), 3-8.
- Lutze, F.E., Rosky, J.W., & Hamilton, Z.K. (2013). Homelessness and reentry. A multisite outcome evaluation of Washington State's reentry housing program for high risk offenders. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 41(4), 471-491.
- Maruna, S. (2017). Desistance as a social movement. *Irish Probation Journal*, 14, 5-20.
- McCulloch, T. (2005). Probation, social context and desistance. Retracing the relationship. *Probation Journal*, 52(1), 8-22.
- McIvor, G., Trotter, C., & Sheehan, R. (2009). Women, resettlement and desistance. *Probation Journal*, 56(4), 347-361.
- McMurran, M. (2009). Motivational interviewing with offenders. A systematic review. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 14(1), 83-100.
- McNeill, F. (2009). *Towards effective practice in offender supervision* (report 01/09). The Scottish Centre for Crime & Justice Research.
- Menger, A. (2018). *De werkalliantie in het gedwongen kader. Onderzocht bij het reclasseringstoezicht* (Doctoral thesis Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam). Eburon.
- Menger, A., & Krechtig, L. (2004). *Het delict als maatstaf. Methodiek voor werken in gedwongen kader*. Stichting Reclassering Nederland.
- Menger, A., Krechtig, L., & Bosker, J. (2016). *Werken in gedwongen kader. Methodiek voor het forensisch sociaal werk* (third revision edition). SWP.
- Menger, A., Van der Heijden, K., Keuning, B., Van Mil, J., Nibbeling, I., Pot, C., & Erinkveld, S. (2019). *Praktische wijsheid in het reclasseringswerk. De werkalliantie in gedwongen kader geïllustreerd in gespreksfragmenten*. HU University of Applied Sciences, Social Innovation Knowledge Centre.
- Miller, W.R., & Rollnick, S. (2005). *Motiverende gespreksvoering. Een methode om mensen voor te bereiden op verandering*. Ekklesia.
- Ministerie van Veiligheid & Justitie. (2017). *Koers en kansen. Whitepaper over de toekomst van de sanctie-uitvoering*. Ministry of Security & Justice.
- Morash, M., Kashy, D.A., Smith, S.W., & Cobbina, J.E. (2016). The connection of probation/parole officer actions to women offenders' recidivism. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 43(4), 506-524.
- Morash, M., Kashy, D.A., Smith, S.W., & Cobbina, J.E. (2015). The effects of probation or parole agent relationship style and women offenders' criminogenic needs on offenders' responses to supervision interactions. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 42(4), 412-434.
- Mowen, T.J., Wodahl, E., Brent, J.J., & Garland, B. (2018). The role of sanctions and incentives in promoting successful reentry. Evidence from the SVORI data. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 45(8), 1288-1307.
- Newstrom, N.P., Miner, M., Hoefer, C., Hanson, R.K., & Robinson, B.E. (2019). Sex offender supervision. Communication, training, and mutual respect are necessary for effective collaboration between probation officers and therapists. *Sexual Abuse*, 31(5), 607-631.

- Newton, D., Day, A., Giles, M., Wodak, J., Graffam, J., & Baldry, E. (2018). The impact of vocational education and training programs on recidivism. A systematic review of current experimental evidence. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 62(1), 187-207.
- O'Connell, D.J., Brent, J.J., & Visher, C.A. (2016). Decide your time. A randomized trial of a drug testing and graduated sanctions program for probationers. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 15(4), 1073-1102.
- Østergaard Larsen, B. (2017). Educational outcomes after serving with electronic monitoring. Results from a natural experiment. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 33(1), 157-178.
- Padgett, K.G., Bales, W.D., & Blomberg, T.G. (2006). Under surveillance. an empirical test of the effectiveness and consequences of electronic monitoring. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 5(1), 61-92.
- Paparozi, M.A., & Gendreau, P. (2005). An intensive supervision program that worked. Service delivery, professional orientation, and organizational supportiveness. *The Prison Journal*, 85(4), 445-466.
- Paquete Boots, D., Wareham, J., Stevens-Martin, K., & Barbieri, N. (2018). A preliminary evaluation of the supervision with immediate enforcement probation program for adult gang-affiliated offenders in Texas. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 45(7), 1047-1070.
- Patten, R., La Rue, E., Caudill, J. W., Thomas, M. O., & Messer, S. (2018). Come and knock on our door. Offenders' perspectives on home visits through ecological theory. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 62(3), 717-738.
- Pearson, D.A.S., McDougall, C., Kanaan, M., Bowles, R.A., & Torgerson, D.J. (2011). Reducing criminal recidivism. Evaluation of citizenship, an evidence-based probation supervision process. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 7(1), 73-102.
- Pearson, D.A.S., McDougall, C., Kanaan, M., Torgerson, D.J., & Bowles, R.A. (2016). Evaluation of the citizenship evidence-based probation supervision program using a stepped wedge cluster randomized controlled trial. *Crime & Delinquency*, 62(7), 899-924.
- Perry, A.E., Darwin, Z., Godfrey, C., McDougall, C., Lunn, J., Glanville, J., & Coulton, S. (2009). The effectiveness of interventions for drug-using offenders in the courts, secure establishments and the community. A systematic review. *Substance use & Misuse*, 44(3), 374-400.
- Poort, R., & Eppink, K. (2009). *Een literatuuronderzoek naar de effectiviteit van de reclassering. Onderzoek verricht ten behoeve van de adviescommissie onderzoeksprogrammering reclassering*. Boom Juridische Uitgevers.
- Raynor, P., Ugwu-dike, P., & Vanstone, M. (2014). The impact of skills in probation work. A reconviction study. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 14(2), 235-249.
- Raynor, P., Ugwu-dike, P., Vanstone, M., & Machon, B. (2012). *The Jersey supervision skills study. Outcomes and reconvictions*. Jersey Probation and Aftercare Service.
- Renzema, M., & Mayo-Wilson, E. (2005). Can electronic monitoring reduce crime for moderate to high-risk offenders? *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 1, 215-237.
- Robinson, C.R., Lowenkamp, C.T., Holsinger A.M. , VanBenschoten, S., Alexander, M. & Oleson, J. C. (2012). A random study of Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest (STARR). Using core correctional practices in probation interactions. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 35(2), 167-188.
- Roddy, A.L., Morash, M., Adams, E.A., Holmstrom, A.J., Smith, S.W., & Cobbina, J.E. (2019). The nature and effects of messages that women receive from probation and parole agents in conversations about employment. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 46(4), 550-567.
- Rooney, R.H. (1992). *Strategies for work with involuntary clients*. Columbia University Press.
- Rugge, T., & Bonta, J. (2014). Training community corrections officers in cognitive-behavioral intervention strategies. In R.C. Tafrate, & D. Mitchell (Eds.), *Forensic CBT. A handbook for clinical practice* (pp. 122-135). Wiley Blackwell.
- Ryan, R.M., & Deci, E.L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 68-78.
- Schaefer, L., & Little, S. (2019). A quasi-experimental evaluation of the 'environmental corrections' model of probation and parole. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, published online <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-019-09373-2>

- Schwedler, A., & Woessner, G. (2017). Identifying the rehabilitative potential of electronically monitored release preparation. A randomized controlled study in Germany. *International Journal of Offender Therapy & Comparative Criminology*, 61(8), 839-856.
- Shannon, L.M., Hulbig, S.K., Birdwhistell, S., Newell, J., & Neal, C. (2015). Implementation of an enhanced probation program. Evaluating process and preliminary outcomes. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 49, 50-62.
- Shaul, L., Koeter, M. W.J., & Schippers, G.M. (2016). Brief motivation enhancing intervention to prevent criminal recidivism in substance-abusing offenders under supervision. A randomized trial. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 22(9), 903-914.
- Shoham, E., Yehosha-Stern, S., & Efodi, R. (2015). Recidivism among licensed-released prisoners who participated in the EM program in Israel. *International Journal of Offender Therapy & Comparative Criminology*, 59(9), 913-929.
- Skeem, J.L., Encandela, J., & Eno Loudon, J. (2003). Perspectives on probation and mandated mental health treatment in specialized and traditional probation departments. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law*, 21(4), 429-458.
- Skeem, J., Eno Loudon, J., Polaschek, D., & Camp, J. (2007). Assessing relationship quality in mandated community treatment. Blending care with control. *Psychological Assessment*, 19(4), 397-410.
- Skeem, J., & Manchak, S. (2008). Back to the future. From Klockars' model of effective supervision to evidence-based practice in probation. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 47(3), 220-247.
- Sleath, E., & Brown, S. (2019). Staff and offender perspectives of integrated offender management and the impact of its introduction on arrests and risk of reoffending in one police force region. *Policing & Society*, 29(5), 511-529.
- Smit, W., Kuin, M., Meijer, S. & Homburg, G. (2018). *Evaluatie Wvs & Wvm*. WODC / Regioplan.
- Sorsby, A., Shapland, J., & Robinson, G. (2017). Using compliance with probation supervision as an interim outcome measure in evaluating a probation initiative. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 17(1), 40-61.
- Spruin, E., Wood, J.L., Gannon, T.A., & Tyler, N. (2018). Sexual offenders' experiences of polygraph testing. A thematic study in three probation trusts. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 24(1), 12-24.
- Stone, R., Morash, M., Goodson, M., Smith, S., & Cobbina, J. (2018). Women on parole, identity processes, and primary desistance. *Feminist Criminology*, 13(4), 382-403.
- Sturm, A., De Vogel, V., Menger, A., & Huibers, M.J.H. (2020). Changes in offender-rated working alliance in probation supervision as predictors of recidivism. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, accepted for publication
- Sturm, A., Menger, A., De Vogel, V., & Huibers, M.J.H. (2019). Predictors of change of working alliance over the course of probation supervision. A prospective cohort study. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, First published online 3 Oct 2019, 030662419878554.
- Taxman, F.S. (2002). Supervision. Exploring the dimensions of effectiveness. *Federal Probation*, 66(2), 14-27.
- Taxman, F.S. (2008). No illusions. Offender and organizational change in Maryland's proactive community supervision efforts. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 7(2), 275-302.
- Taxman, F.S., & Thanner, M. (2006). Risk, need, and responsivity (RNR). It all depends. *Crime & Delinquency*, 52(1), 28-51.
- Trotman, A.J., & Taxman, F.S. (2011). Implementation of a contingency management-based intervention in a community supervision setting. Clinical issues and recommendations. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 50(5), 235-251.
- Trotter, C. (2013). Reducing recidivism through probation supervision. What we know and don't know from four decades of research. *Federal Probation*, 77(2), 43-48.
- Trotter, C. (2015). *Working with involuntary clients. A guide to practice (3rd edition)*. Routledge.
- Trotter, C. (2009). Pro-social modelling. *European Journal of Probation*, 1(2), 142-152.
- Turner, S., Chamberlain, A.W., Jannetta, J., & Hess, J. (2015). Does GPS improve recidivism among high risk sex offenders? Outcomes for California's GPS pilot for high risk sex offender parolees. *Victims & Offenders*, 10(1), 1-28.

- Van Beek, G., De Vogel, V., & Van de Mheen, D. (2020). Financiën: een risicofactor voor delictgedrag? Een onderzoek naar de complexiteit van financiële problematiek bij reclasseringscliënten. *Proces*, 99(2), 136-156.
- Van der Horst, R.P, Schönberger, H.J.M., & De Kogel, C.H. (2012). *Toezicht op zedendelinquenten: Effectiviteit en veronderstelde werkzame mechanismen van vormen van toezicht*. WODC.
- Van Gestel, B., Van der Knaap, L.M, & Hendriks, A. (2006). *Toezicht buiten de muren. Een systematische review van extramuraal toezicht op TBS-gestelden en vergelijkbare groepen in het buitenland*. WODC.
- Van Horn, J.E., Bogaerts, S., Eisenberg, M. J., Van der Put, C.E., Dekker, J.M., Van den Hanenberg, F.J.A.C., & Bouman, Y.H.A. (2016). *Kernset K-factoren voor het ambulante forensische veld. Een multi-method onderzoek naar risico- en beschermende factoren in relatie tot algemene recidive, geweldsrecidive en seksuele recidive*. KFZ.
- Vanstone, M., & Raynor, P. (2012). *Observing interview skills. A manual for users of the Jersey supervision interview checklist*. Jersey Probation Service.
- Walters (2016). Working alliance between substance abusing offenders and their parole officers and counselors. Its impact on outcome and role as a mediator. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 39(3), 421- 437.
- Walters, S.T., Vader, A.M., Nguyen, N.D., Harris, T.R., & Eells, J. (2010). A randomized trial of motivational interviewing as a probation supervision strategy. *Alcoholism-Clinical and Experimental Research*, 34(6), 230A.
- Weinrath, M., Doerksen, M., & Watts, J. (2015). The impact of an intensive supervision program on high-risk offenders. Manitoba's COHROU program. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 57(2), 253-288.
- Wodahl, E.J., Garland, B., Culhane, S.E., & McCarty, W.P. (2011). Utilizing behavioral interventions to improve supervision outcomes in community-based corrections. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 38(4), 386-405.
- Wolff, N., Epperson, M., Shi, J., Huening, J., Schumann, B.E., & Robinson Sullivan, I. (2014). Mental health specialized probation caseloads. Are they effective? *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 37(5), 464-472.
- Wong, J.S., Bouchard, J., Lee, C., & Gushue, K. (2019). Examining the effects of day reporting centers on recidivism. A meta-analysis. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 58(3), 240-260.
- Wood, J., Kade, C., & Sidhu, M. (2009). What works for offenders and staff. Comparing two multi-agency approaches to offender resettlement. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 15(7), 661-678.
- Zortman, J.S., Powers, T., Hiester, M., Klunk, F.R., & Antonio, M.E. (2016). Evaluating reentry programming in Pennsylvania's board of probation & parole. An assessment of offenders' perceptions and recidivism outcomes. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 55(6), 419-442.

9. Appendices

Appendix 1. Formats for summarising the articles

Summary of article/empirical study report

Reviewer/date	
Title	
Author	
Year	
Magazine, volume, issue, pages/publisher, location	
Research question	
Country	
scope	
Respondent group, number and dropout, characteristics, method of recruitment and selection	
Method of research/analysis	
Applied outcome measure	
Type of intervention	
Description of intervention, duration, intensity	
Theoretical basis (brief summary)	
Results: describe in the event of qualitative and quantitative research and note down outcome measures	
quantitative or qualitative study (see appendix 2)	
qali1	
qali2	
qali3	
qali4	
qali5	
qali6	
qali7	
qali8	
qali9	
qali10	
qali11	
qali12	
qali13	
qali14	
qali15	
qali32	
qali17	
qali18	
qali19	
Reviewer's final assessment of quality of study	
Conclusion of author(s)	
(Assumed) operative mechanism	
Reviewer's comments	

Summary of systematic review

Reviewer/date	
Title	
Author	
Year	
Magazine, volume, issue, pages/publisher, location	
Research question	
Studies included: quantity, selection criteria, period of execution	
Results: describe in the event of qualitative and quantitative research and note down outcome measures	
Conclusion of author(s)	
Reviewer's comments	
(Assumed) operative elements	

Appendix 2. Quality assessment articles and reports

Quantitative studies (Downs & Black, 1998). Answer: yes/moderately/no/n/a/?

1. Is the hypothesis/purpose of the study clearly described?
2. Have the main outcome measures been clearly described in the introduction or method section?
3. Have the characteristics of the target group (probation officers or clients) been clearly described?
4. Have the interventions been clearly described?
5. Has the distribution of potentially confounding variables (principal confounders) in all research groups been clearly described?
6. Are the main findings in the study clearly described?
7. Does the study provide information about the distribution in the data (random variability) for the main outcome measures? (distribution, standard deviation, confidence interval)
8. Have the characteristics of respondents (officers or clients) who dropped out during the study and who were therefore not included in the subsequent measurement described?
9. Were the clients/respondents who actually participated in the study representative of the entire population from which they were recruited?
10. Were clients randomly assigned to intervention groups (experimental group and control group)?
11. Has dropout been taken into account in the results?
12. (added by author) Were the important variables measured with sufficient quality?

Qualitative Studies (Dixon-Woods et al., 2004):

13. Are the research questions clear?
14. Are the research questions suitable for qualitative research?
15. Has the following been clearly described:
 - Recruitment
 - Data collection
 - Analysis
16. Do the following aspects link up well with the research question:
 - Recruitment
 - Data collection
 - Analysis
17. Are the conclusions supported by sufficient evidence?
18. Have the data, interpretations and conclusions been clearly integrated (does it link up)?
19. Does the study provide a useful contribution?

Appendix 3. Explanation of abbreviations

BRI	Boston Re-entry Initiative
CCP	Core Correctional Practices
CEP	Confederation of European Probation
COST	European Cooperation in Science and Technology
DRC	Day Reporting Centres
3RO	3 probation service organisations
EFP	forensic psychiatry expertise centre
EM	Electronic Monitoring
EPICS	Effective Practices in Community Supervision
et al.	et alia / and others
ERBO	evidence-based guideline development
GGZ	mental healthcare
GPS	Global Positioning System
HBO	University of Applied Sciences
HOPE	Hawaii's Opportunity Probation with Enforcement
ISD	institution for systematic offenders
IPS	Intensive Probation Supervision
JJI	young offenders institutions
KFZ	quality forensic care
LJ&R	Salvation Army youth protection & probation service
MET	Motivational Enhancement Therapy
MI	Motivational Interviewing
NJI	Netherlands youth institute
NPT	new perspectives upon return
NSCR	Netherlands study centre for crime and law enforcement
OGRS2	Offender Group Reconviction Scale
OM	public prosecution office
PI	Penitentiary Institution
PICOC	Population, Intervention, Comparison, Outcome, Context
PIJ	placement in an institution for juveniles
RCT	Randomized Control Trial
RFID	Radio Frequency Identification
RISc	recidivism assessment scales
RN	Dutch probation service
RNR	Risk, Needs, Responsivity
RSJ	Council for the administration of criminal justice and protection of juveniles
RW	probation officers
SEED	Skills for Effective Engagement and Development
STARR	Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest
STICS	Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision
SVG	the institute for social rehabilitation of addicted offenders
TBS	detained under a treatment order
t/m	up to and including
US	United States
WLT	Long-Term Supervision Act
WODC	Research and Documentation Centre

Appendix 4. Guidance Committee

Ada Andreas, strategic adviser Reclassering Nederland.

Marjolein Maas, policy adviser Stichting Verslavingsreclassering GGZ.

Eva Möller, product manager supervision, Reclassering Nederland

Wim Veldhof, policy officer Leger des Heils Jeugdbescherming & Reclassering

Vivienne de Vogel, Professor Working with Mandated Clients, Social Innovation Knowledge Centre,
HU University of Applied Sciences

