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Abstract | This study details the results of a quantitative evaluation of a new model of probation and parole called Triple-S: Social Supports in Supervision. The pilot project positioned community corrections staff as ‘super controllers’ who incorporate the parents, partners or peers of probationers and parolees into each client’s order to serve in the roles of offender handlers, target guardians and place managers. The findings demonstrated Triple-S had inconsistent effects on reoffending, as reductions were not always significant or sustained; however, some promising results showed a reduction of recidivism frequency and severity. Program fidelity (the slippage between expected versus observed Triple-S sessions) was influential, with greater model adherence resulting in lower rates of reoffending.

Can family and friends improve probation and parole outcomes? A quantitative evaluation of Triple-S: Social Supports in Supervision

Dr Lacey Schaefer, Professor Michael Townsley and Mr Benjamin Hutchins

In traditional community corrections frameworks, agencies use the tactic of ‘fortress supervision’, whereby officers are situated in offices and the offenders must report to these locations. Unfortunately, this set-up fails to help officers understand the criminogenic circumstances that clients are vulnerable to. Additionally, this approach limits the influence that officers can have on their clients, as there is only a small deterrent effect for individuals who recognise that their community corrections supervisor is not routinely supervising their behaviour. As such, it is in the best interests of probation and parole agencies to consider how they can have a more constant presence in the lives of the probationers and parolees they supervise, reminding clients of the benefits of compliance and the consequences of misbehaviour. Community corrections departments should thus seek to extend the invisible arm of control that they have over offenders’ lives beyond the confines of the office itself (Cullen, Eck & Lowenkamp 2002; Schaefer, Cullen & Manchak 2017).



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This normal business of monitoring correctional clients in the community falls short of the goal of reducing recidivism, although probation and parole practices do not usually maximise time towards this goal. Corrections authorities do not actively intervene in their clients' lives; routinely, offenders are being managed but not changed (Burrell 2012; Schaefer & Brewer 2021; Taxman 2011). The status quo within probation and parole is a bureaucratic process that results in momentary behavioural compliance (at best) rather than lasting cognitive and lifestyle change (Cullen, Eck & Lowenkamp 2002; Taxman, Young & Byrne 2004; United Nations 2018).

This is not to say that there are no effective correctional practices at all (see, for example, Cullen & Jonson 2012; MacKenzie 2006). Rather, we suggest that best practices in probation and parole are not routinely implemented, due to a lack of practicable tools, poor program fidelity, or the lack of an overarching framework for intervening in criminal propensity and criminogenic opportunity (Cullen, Jonson & Mears 2017; Gleicher, Manchak & Cullen 2013). These shortcomings are further exacerbated by the infrequency with which officers meet with their clients and by the officers' large case loads and minimal resources. Community corrections agencies must therefore develop ways in which officer–offender meeting time is maximised for behaviour change while also altering the correctional influence that offenders feel subject to in the community.

Literature review

Triple-S: Social Supports in Supervision was developed to address these shortcomings in traditional approaches to community corrections. In this new model, created by Dr Lacey Schaefer, case managers worked with 'PoPPs' (parents/partners/peers of probationers and parolees). The Triple-S project, while innovative, was founded on a large empirical evidence base that documents best practice in crime prevention and community corrections tactics.

Opportunity-reduction supervision

Perhaps due to the current state of 'mass supervision', typical probation and parole frameworks are centred around bureaucratic case processing, generic service brokerage and half-hearted deterrence methods (Burrell 2012; Executive Session on Community Corrections 2017; Schaefer & Brewer 2021). To improve on these approaches, a new model of community correctional supervision has recently been proposed. Theories from environmental criminology have been merged with community corrections practices to create a new orientation to supervision called Environmental Corrections (Schaefer, Cullen & Eck 2016). This model is framed around crime prevention by emphasising opportunity reduction. When given the proper tools, community corrections practitioners can reduce reoffending by:

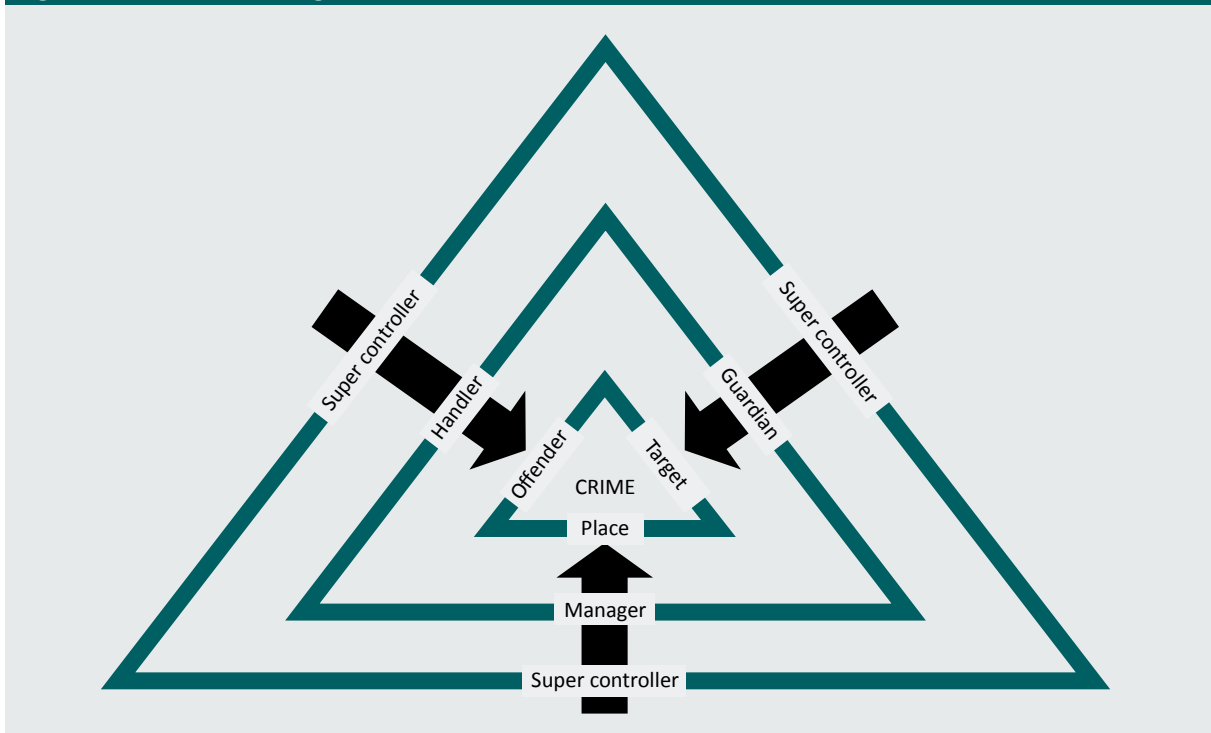
- creating case plans and supervision stipulations that make it more difficult for offenders to access crime opportunities;
- recruiting agents of informal social control to help extend the arm of supervision and encourage desistance; and
- conducting brief interventions during case management meetings to reduce propensity for offending.

The Environmental Corrections model was recently trialled in a Queensland Community Corrections office. Six months following the introduction of this form of opportunity-reduction probation and parole, clients supervised at the trial office had a 28 percent reduction in recidivism compared to a comparable office conducting business as usual (Schaefer & Little 2020). The Environmental Corrections trial focused heavily on opportunity reduction, aiming to develop new routines for probationers and parolees that avoided criminogenic situations, while increasing clients' opportunity avoidance and resistance skills. As a result of this intensive focus, one aspect of the original Environmental Corrections framework was largely absent: the role of agents of informal social control who can act as crime controllers. One of the goals of the Triple-S trial was to rectify this shortcoming, focusing more heavily on integrating offenders' social supports to serve as crime controllers (Schaefer, Moir & Williams 2019; Schaefer, Williams & Ford 2021).

The crime triangles and crime prevention

Drawing on the foundations of routine activity theory (Cohen & Felson 1979), research demonstrates that removing even one element of a crime event means that no crime will occur. That is, the lack of a motivated offender, the lack of a suitable target, or the addition of a capable guardian means that the crime will be prevented. Eck (2003) depicted these elements as a triangle, graphically portraying the elements that facilitate or stymie an offence. Drawing on this foundation, crime prevention scholars have added a second outer layer to the crime triangle (see Figure 1), with each side representing a controller that can influence one of the inner conditions: handlers are people who prevent an offender from committing crime, guardians make targets less vulnerable to victimisation, and managers make places less attractive for crime and can influence the behaviour of offenders and victims who occupy those spaces (Eck 2003; Schaefer 2021).

Figure 1: The crime triangles



Source: Adapted from Sampson, Eck & Dunham (2010)

Crime controllers and community supervision

Until recently, these crime prevention tactics have not been systematically incorporated into probation and parole practices. This is unfortunate, as community corrections officers can use their authority as ‘super controllers’, who are ‘people, organisations and institutions that create the incentives for controllers to prevent or facilitate crime’ (Sampson, Eck & Dunham 2010: 40; see Figure 1). In this way, probation and parole staff do not directly influence crime opportunities; rather, they guide the actions of other crime controllers, thereby influencing the opportunities for relapse that are available to each probationer and parolee.

First, community corrections agents should recruit ‘offender handlers’. Corrections and police officers cannot always monitor offenders, so other parties can be solicited for offender surveillance. Moreover, research shows that offenders with strong family relationships and community ties are more likely to desist from crime (Cullen 1994; Schaefer 2021); thus, probation and parole officers can work with people in their clients’ lives who are prosocial and can help to create case plan conditions, keep offenders out of trouble, and encourage desistance (Pew Center on the States 2008; United Nations 2018). Informal social controls and role models can be actively weaved into an offender’s daily activities to ensure that they are surrounded by positive influences (Cullen, Eck & Lowenkamp 2002). These additional handlers are not eliminating crime opportunities so much as they are encouraging offenders to behave prosocially and to comply with their supervision conditions (Schaefer, Cullen & Eck 2016).

Second, probation and parole staff should train ‘target guardians’. There are several guardianship behaviours that can be used to reduce crime opportunities (Hollis-Peel et al. 2011; Schaefer 2021). Community corrections officers can work with potential victims to teach them guardianship actions and can work with existing target guardians to improve their practices. Since community corrections staff should be skilled in crime prevention, they should be able to teach these skills to others who can likewise disrupt an offender from pursuing a target (Schaefer, Cullen & Eck 2016).

Third, community corrections authorities should educate ‘place managers’. Probation and parole officers have detailed information about high-crime places, including knowledge of the features of these places that promote criminal activity (Schaefer, Cullen & Manchak 2017). By working with the owners of these places (and their representatives), a number of these crime opportunities can be effectively eliminated (Madensen & Eck 2013; Mazerolle & Ransley 2005; Schaefer 2021). In this way, officers can help to shape the environments where probationers and parolees encounter reoffending opportunities by encouraging the owners to better manage the areas they are responsible for (Schaefer, Cullen & Eck 2016).

We acknowledge that terms such as ‘offender handler’ or ‘super controller’ may appear at odds with the desistance paradigm routinely used in corrections practices, which encourages the removal of labels that may provoke an identity transformation supportive of future criminal behaviour. However, given that the Triple-S model and subsequent evaluation were efforts to gauge the utility of crime prevention principles to community corrections practices, we have opted to retain the terms used by environmental criminology theorists. Yet readers should note that these terms were not used by staff with clients or PoPPs and served solely as the theoretical background for the project.

Informal social control

In addition to the environmental criminology and crime prevention literature cited above, criminological research has long recognised the role of informal social control in shaping criminal and conformist behaviour (Cullen 1994). Many studies have demonstrated that interpersonal relationships are central to crime and its prevention, both at the individual level and at the community level (Schaefer 2021). Triple-S was designed to leverage the influence of these informal social controls, speculating that such an approach would be effective through several mechanisms:

- community-supervised offenders may be more inclined to listen to the encouragement and instruction provided by their loved ones;
- members of the offender's immediate social circle are likely to understand the offender's reoffending risks, criminogenic needs, and responsivity considerations better than the supervising officer; and
- an offender's loved ones are better positioned than corrections staff to encourage long-lasting behavioural change.

By recruiting PoPPs, probation and parole officers are working alongside these social supports in the supervision process such that offenders will be exposed to fewer chances to reoffend, will face more consequences if they do misbehave, and will be more engaged with the underlying goals of desistance.

The guiding tenet of Triple-S is that the social networks of probationers and parolees represent an important part of the desistance process (Pew Center on the States 2008; Schaefer, Moir & Williams 2019; Taxman 2011), leading to the hypothesis that the systematic incorporation of clients' family and friends into the supervision process will reduce recidivism. There have been policy recommendations for some time to include the informal social controls of probationers and parolees into the supervision process (Cullen, Eck & Lowenkamp 2002; Taxman, Young & Byrne 2004; United Nations 2018), helping to put the 'community' back into community corrections (Schaefer, Cullen & Manchak 2017). Yet the systematic (as opposed to sporadic) integration of community-supervised offenders' social supports into a probation and parole framework is an innovative practice. As such, the research questions developed for the quantitative evaluation of Triple-S are equally inductive and deductive. The current evaluation of Triple-S remedies the lack of rigorous efforts to integrate probationers and parolees' social networks into community corrections case management, providing practicable information about the utility of this form of opportunity-reduction supervision.

Methodology

The Triple-S pilot project was a collaboration between Griffith University and Queensland Corrective Services that ran from 1 July 2018 to 31 December 2018 at a single Community Corrections office in south-east Queensland (hereafter referred to as the pilot office). Every case manager at the pilot office was trained in Triple-S and was instructed to use the case management model with every client who reported to the pilot office within the trial period. Two weeks prior to the commencement of the pilot, staff participated in a two-hour pre-training workshop to support their participation in the trial. In the week prior to the start of the trial, staff engaged in a full-day training workshop that involved instruction about crime controllers, the principles of effective correctional intervention, and core correctional practices. Staff learned about the case management tools and techniques central to Triple-S. The Triple-S case management model used a structured meeting format that relied on brief interventions as standard practice, outlined in an Intervention Guidebook.

To support the Triple-S trial, the pilot office had information pamphlets to support clients and their PoPPs. Each pamphlet described 10 tips—drawn from the available research evidence—designed to help PoPPs:

- encourage their loved one to comply with the community corrections order;
- facilitate prosocial behavioural change;
- enable successful re-entry following time in custody; and
- use skills that help clients to cope with difficult situations that may arise.

The pamphlets were available for clients and their PoPPs in the waiting room of the pilot office and case managers would distribute these support supplements as appropriate.

Research design

To determine whether the new model of supervision was effective, the treatment group was compared to clients of other offices that operated as usual. Using a quasi-experimental design, the dependent variable was compared pre- and post-implementation of the Triple-S model across the pilot office and six comparison offices that were purposively chosen. Once all data cleaning and filtering processes were completed, the final sample consisted of 5,594 unique supervision orders across 4,946 unique clients. Basic information about the pilot and comparison offices is included in Table 1 below. By selecting these Community Corrections offices to serve as counterfactuals in the quasi-evaluation, the differences between the experimental and comparison groups were minimised. In addition to selecting these comparison sites, further steps were taken to create comparable groups. Using propensity score matching, statistically equivalent groups were created across several risk-related variables between the pilot office and a comparison group. This procedure increases the robustness of the research design, whereby any remaining differences in outcomes between the groups can be more reliably credited to the Triple-S model.

Table 1: Final study sample

Community corrections office	Unique orders (<i>n</i>)	Unique clients (<i>n</i>)	Reason selected
Pilot office	706	626	Pilot site
Comparison office A	1,177	1,050	Same region as pilot site
Comparison office B	293	266	Same region as pilot site
Comparison office C	795	703	Similar case load as pilot site
Comparison office D	1,385	1,214	Same region as pilot site
Comparison office E	671	609	Same region as pilot site
Comparison office F	567	478	Similar geography as pilot site

Broadly, three evaluation procedures were used. First, exploratory analyses were performed with the available datasets (staff-entered data about Triple-S, Queensland Corrective Services administrative data, and outcome data on police-recorded reoffences), which helped to inform the propensity score matching procedures that followed. Second, comparisons were made between reoffending (operationalised as bench charges for new offences) among clients of the pilot office and comparison offices, indicating whether Triple-S was effective in reducing recidivism. These comparisons occurred through longitudinal, survival and segmented regression analyses. Third, post-hoc analyses were performed, detailing whether there were any meaningful differences between subgroups of clients or orders directly subject to the Triple-S pilot.

Findings

Who do probationers and parolees consider to be their social supports?

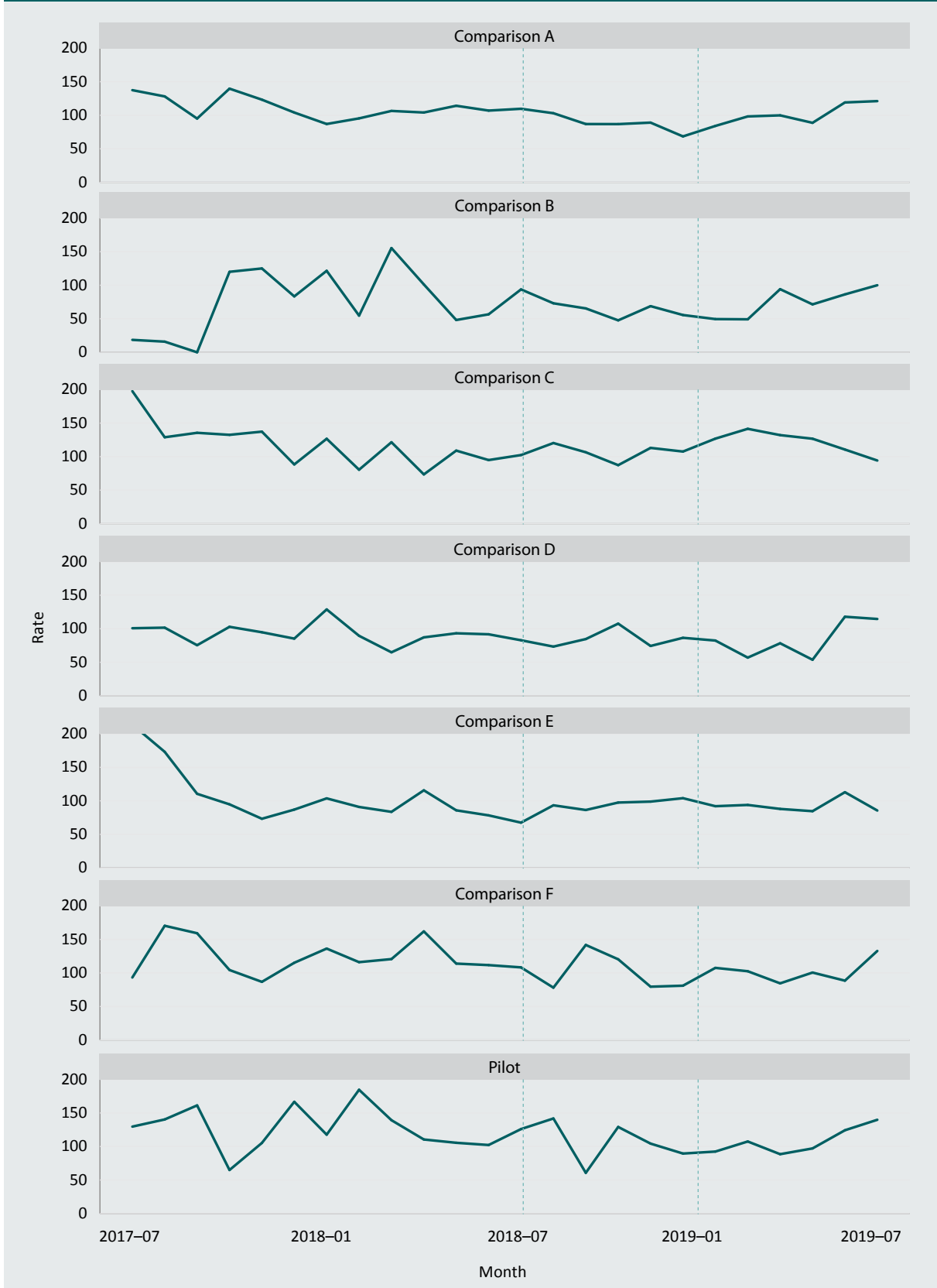
Two sources of information were used to address this investigative query. First, the next of kin information provided by correctional clients at the intake of their order was examined. Across 4,632 entries that could be categorised, the majority of clients listed a parent as their next of kin ($n=2,673$, 58%), followed by a romantic partner ($n=796$, 17%). Second, looking at the staff-entered data from the pilot office, 26 percent of clients had a PoPP involved in at least one session during the trial period. Of the PoPPs involved, one-third were girlfriends (35%) while one-quarter were mothers (27%). Given the relatively young age of correctional populations, it is perhaps unsurprising that parents and partners were listed most frequently. Where the gender of the support person could be identified, the bulk of these social network members were female, consistent with the over-representation of males in forensic populations (80% at the pilot office) and traditional gender dynamics.

One of the unexpected findings from Triple-S was that not all correctional clients had individuals in their lives who could serve as appropriate PoPPs. Some clients were not able to identify members of their social networks who they felt would be supportive of the goals of the supervision order. Many times, clients expressed that they had a PoPP who was simultaneously a positive and negative influence; accordingly, the case manager determined that the individual should not be recruited to serve in a 'crime controller' role for this project. Although there is plentiful research evidence indicating that the social supports of correctional clients serve crime reduction purposes, it is also sensible that these social networks can be absent or criminogenic (Denney, Tewksbury & Jones 2014; Martinez & Abrams 2013; United Nations 2018). If these individuals previously encouraged offending (intentionally or inadvertently), it may not be sensible to expect that these circumstances would easily change. Yet during the design and development of Triple-S the erroneous assumption was made that a client's social supports would be supportive of Community Corrections and prosocial behaviour change.

Did Triple-S reduce recidivism?

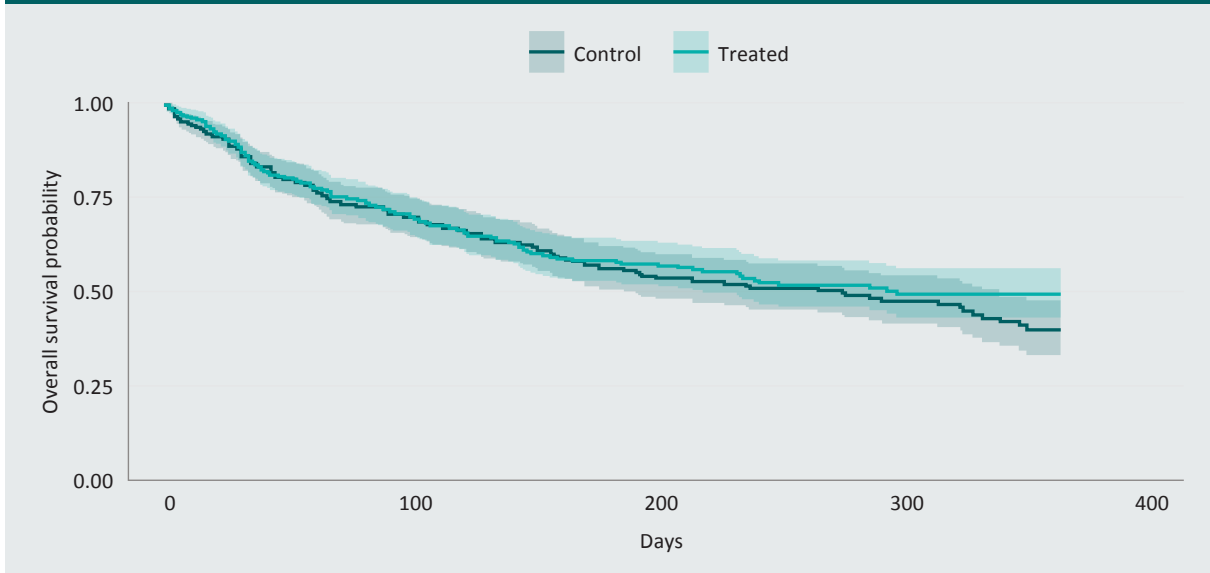
There is some evidence that Triple-S was effective in lowering reoffending. In the first set of analyses, longitudinal plots of reoffending rates were computed by dividing the number of notifications by the number of active orders. As displayed in Figure 2, the pilot office demonstrated a steep decline in reoffences (measured as a new criminal charge recorded by the Queensland Police Service) during the trial period. This reduction was not maintained throughout the trial. Roughly four months into the six-month pilot, there were reports that not all case managers were adhering to the model with all clients; this may be the reason for the increase in reoffending. In looking at the reoffending rate at the pilot office, it is also possible that the PoPPs became 'effective' as crime controllers where notifications increased. This 'effectiveness' may have meant that the PoPPs were enacting crime control strategies that resulted in greater calls for police service or increased police attention. There also appears to have been an increase in recidivism in the month or two before and after the beginning of the trial. This trend may point toward adjustments made in the pilot office before the trial commenced (a phenomenon referred to as an 'anticipatory benefit'; Smith, Clarke & Pease 2002), which may have had the unintentional effect of increasing reoffending at the start of the pilot.

Figure 2: Longitudinal analysis of monthly notification rates



In the second set of analyses, propensity score matching was used to minimise possible confounders before calculating survival curves (time to reoffending) for the treatment and comparison groups. Propensity score matching was performed using each client’s Risk of Reoffending score, gender, ethnicity, order type, item scores for the Social Support domain of the Benchmark Assessment, Benchmark Assessment risk categories, reporting frequency, and next of kin relationship (for additional detail about these data, see Schaefer, Townsley & Hutchins 2022). Figure 3 displays the Kaplan–Meier survival curves (time to reoffending) for all clients who had at least one Triple-S session. (Some clients, contrary to expectations, received no skills training sessions with corrections staff, as discussed below.) This analysis showed that the reoffending rate of treated clients was 11 percent lower than that of clients who did not receive the Triple-S intervention. While this finding suggests that Triple-S had some effect on reoffending and should therefore be interpreted optimistically, readers should also note that these effects were not statistically significant.

Figure 3: Time to reoffending for pilot office clients with at least one Triple-S session



In the third statistical approach, segmented regression analyses were conducted. Time series data were plotted across a 24-month period (12 months pre-pilot, 6 months during the pilot and 6 months after), regressing the number of reoffence notifications against time. Separate coefficients were estimated for different time periods while statistically controlling for case load. For the pilot office, results showed that reoffending was slightly increasing prior to the trial, a trend which reversed during the Triple-S pilot, proceeded by a sharp increase after the trial ended (Figure 4). As reported in Table 2, the regression coefficient for the Triple-S pilot variable was statistically significant at the $p < 0.05$ level, and the line of best fit demonstrated a consistent downward trend throughout the entire trial. The comparison offices did not exhibit comparable reductions in reoffending during the same period, as graphically displayed in Figure 5.

Figure 4: Reoffence notifications for pilot office clients before, during and after the Triple-S trial



Figure 5: Segmented regression model of notification rates (reoffending) over time by office

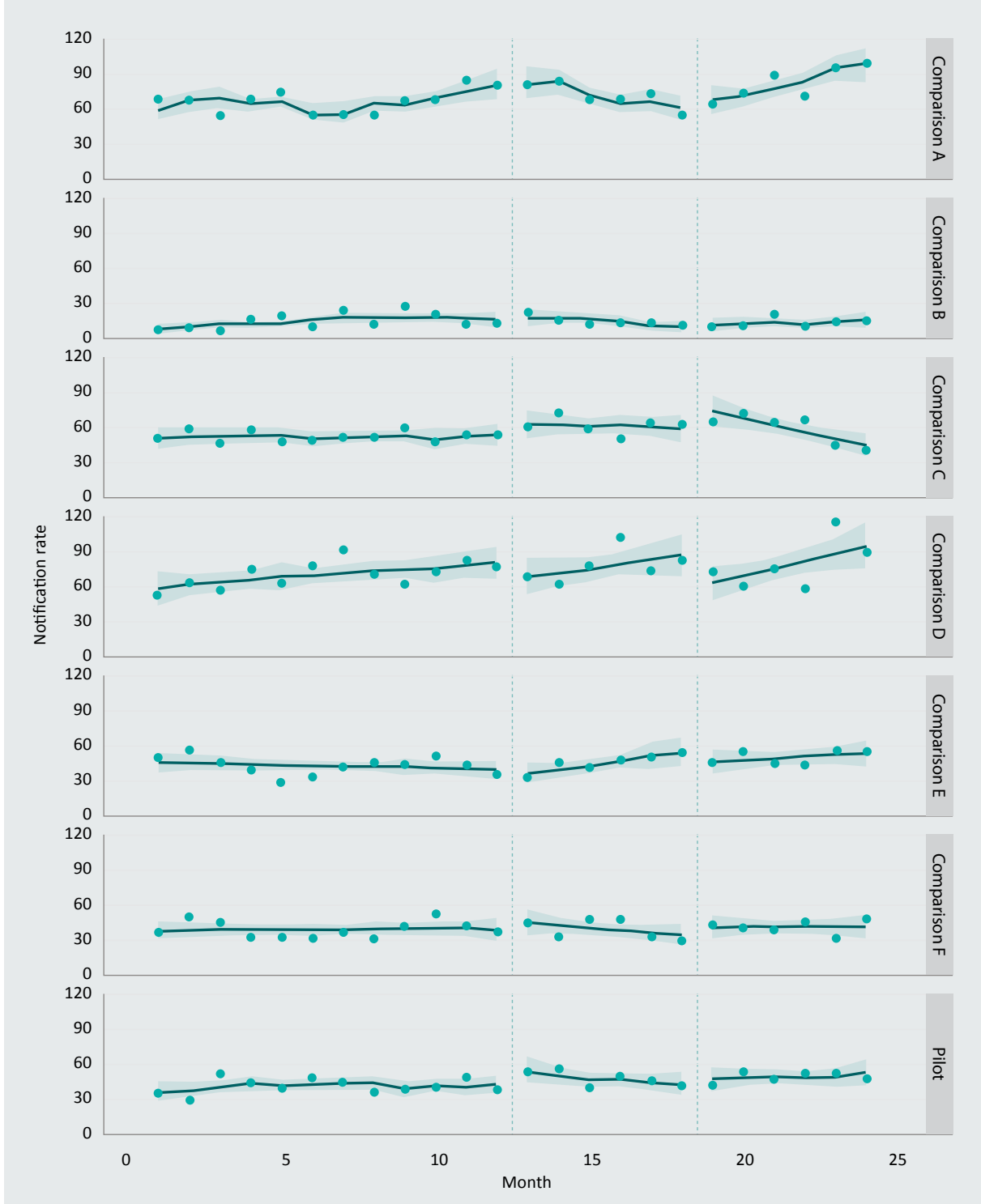


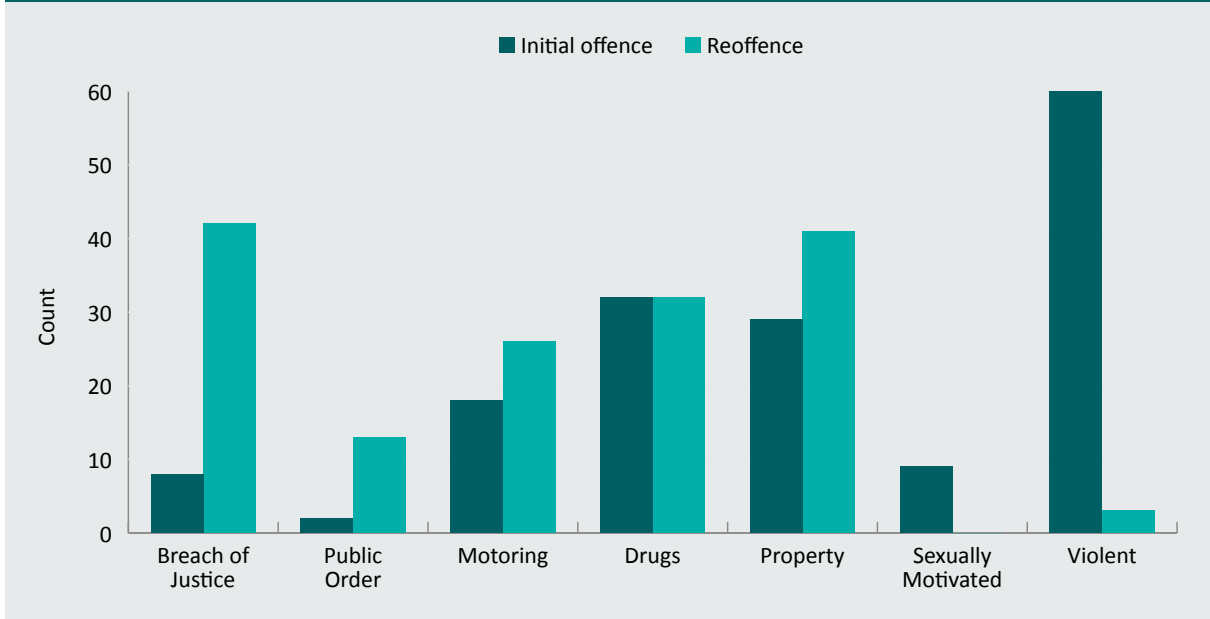
Table 2: Results of segmented regression

	Hazard ratio (standard error)
Intercept	5.49*** (1.54)
Time	0.00 (0.01)
Pilot starts	0.34* (0.17)
Time after pilot starts	-0.08 (0.04)
Pilot finishes	0.10 (0.17)
Time after pilot finishes	0.10 (0.06)
Case load	0.00 (0.00)
<i>n</i>	24
Akaike information criterion	164.73
Bayesian information criterion	174.16
Pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.36

***statistically significant at $p < 0.001$, *statistically significant at $p < 0.05$

Finally, in addition to the question of whether Triple-S reduced reoffending, it is also warranted to query whether the nature of offending was altered as a result of the pilot. Corrections scholars, particularly those operating in a desistance paradigm, argue that a reduction in offending frequency and severity can indicate that a criminal justice intervention is having the intended effect. To explore this possibility, for each Triple-S client who reoffended during the pilot period ($n=157$), we categorised the original offence (for which they were sentenced to the community supervision order) and the reoffence. As observed in Figure 6, in most cases, the reoffences were notably less severe than the original offences. Reoffences were of greater severity 14 percent of the time and of the same severity 19 percent of the time, while the remaining 67 percent of reoffences were less severe than the original offence. Of particular note, 27 percent of the recorded reoffences were justice offences (including a breach of bail conditions or a failure to appear in court), which may represent defiance or noncompliance rather than a continuation of serious criminal behaviour. The visible reduction in severity graphed below was confirmed by a Wilcoxon signed-ranked test ($Z = -7.833$, $p < 0.001$).

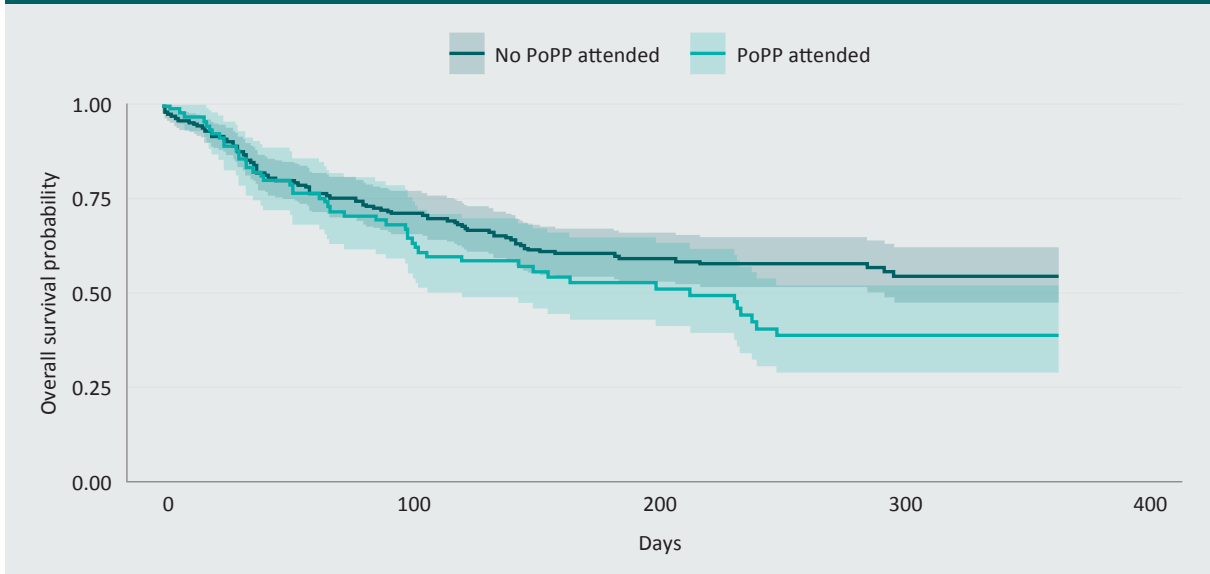
Figure 6: Severity of initial offences and reoffences of pilot office clients



Were the PoPPs effective crime controllers?

Kaplan–Meier curves compared the time to reoffending among pilot office clients whose PoPPs did or did not attend sessions during the trial (Figure 7). The two subgroups demonstrated slightly different rates of reoffending over time, but the difference was not statistically significant. Further analyses were conducted following the hypotheses that the type of PoPP, the gender of the PoPP or the number of PoPPs involved in the Triple-S pilot might influence reoffending outcomes, although none of these hazard ratios were statistically significant. The available evidence for this quantitative evaluation suggests that it was not the involvement of the PoPPs that led to the drop in recidivism observed in the pilot office but not the comparison offices. In a qualitative evaluation of Triple-S, many crime controller strategies were described by PoPPs in the trial (see Schaefer, Moir & Williams 2019; Schaefer, Williams & Ford 2021), although some of these individuals indicated that their close relationship with the probationer or parolee prevented them from intervening. Indeed, some PoPPs explained that they did not feel qualified to intervene, and both PoPPs and clients commented that the efforts may have been criminogenic (Schaefer, Williams & Ford 2021). It may be the case, then, that the PoPPs are not exclusively prosocial or protective.

Figure 7: Kaplan–Meier curves for time to reoffending among Triple-S clients by PoPP attendance



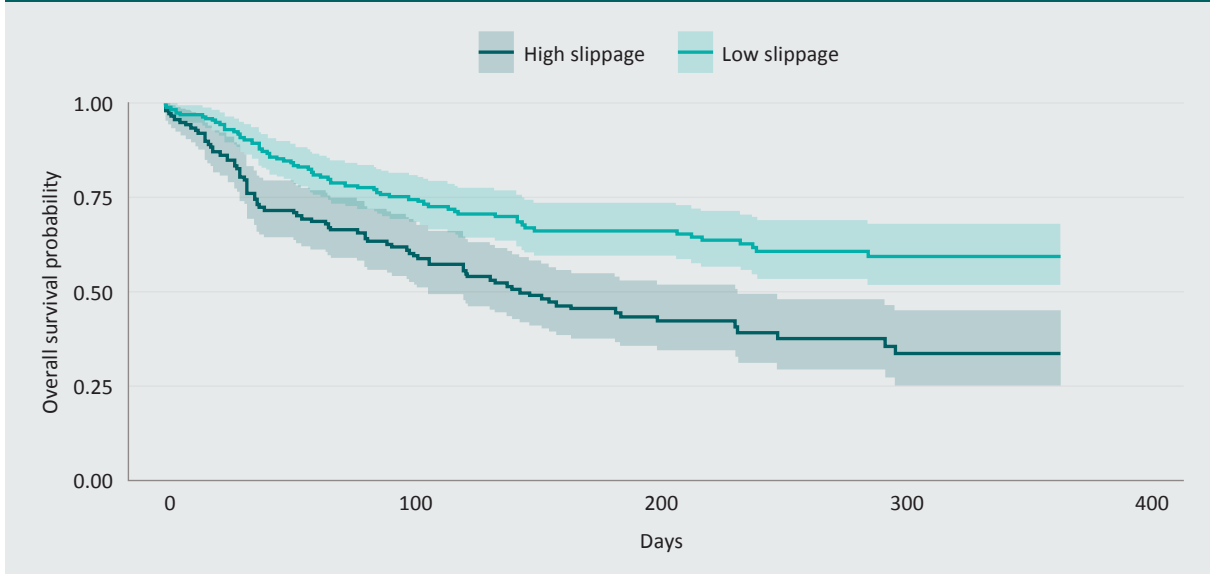
Note: PoPPs=parents/partners or peers of probationers and parolees

Which elements of Triple-S led to the greatest crime prevention effects?

Several post-hoc analyses were conducted to explore whether client demographics, risk factors or Triple-S features made a difference to rates of reoffending. The effectiveness of the Triple-S program did not appear to vary across age or gender subgroups, Benchmark Assessment risk domains or risk levels, Community Corrections order type, or level of service (the intensity of community supervision). There were no statistically significant differences between clients who received different intervention categories. Nor were there significant differences related to whether or not materials were distributed, or staff classification. In general, there were very few variables among the pilot office participants that produced significant differences. The lack of post-hoc differences may be a result of the small sample size or unmeasured confounders. A more optimistic interpretation is that Triple-S is a broadly generalisable program that is equally effective across many types of client and order characteristics.

Importantly, however, there were large differences observed between the expected number of Triple-S sessions (as indicated by each client’s reporting frequency) and the number of Triple-S sessions reported by staff in the online survey following relevant case management meetings. Many clients had fewer Triple-S sessions reported than had been anticipated, which may indicate a problem with project slippage. The differences between expected and observed sessions were computed and categorised using a threshold of three, whereby a difference of three or greater was deemed to be ‘high slippage’. The low-slippage clients ($n=205$) had a 31 percent lower rate of reoffending than the high-slippage clients ($n=136$), a difference which was statistically significant ($p<0.05$; see Figure 8 for associated Kaplan–Meier curves). This result could be a consequence of poor program fidelity, whereby Triple-S was not delivered as designed.

Figure 8: Kaplan–Meier curves for time to reoffending among low-slippage and high-slippage Triple-S clients



In relation to this problem of slippage, unfortunately, approximately midway through the pilot, the lead researcher was advised that a small number of staff (those with high case loads and with lower risk clients, in particular) were self-selecting which clients and contacts to use Triple-S with, sometimes without clear justification for these decisions or endorsement from management. In addition to reducing case loads (through greater crime prevention initiatives, limited net-widening to probation and parole to avoid incarceration, and more human and social service resources), trials such as Triple-S can be improved by limiting project slippage. This is perhaps best achieved through reducing personnel turnover and introducing measures that increase staff buy-in and messaging from upper management.

Conclusions

Although there are some promising signs that Triple-S reduced reoffending frequency and severity, the results are somewhat unclear and inconclusive, in part due to the quasi-experimental research design and the data available from Queensland Corrective Services for analysis. While the results of the various analyses demonstrated inconsistent findings, some of these results provide hopeful evidence that some elements of Triple-S were effective in minimising recidivism. However, additional trials and evaluations will be required to further tease out the effect of various elements of the intervention. Quasi-experimental research methods were used to neutralise some of the confounding effects that may have resulted from the lack of random sampling and random assignment, yet the study was constrained by the nature of the researcher–practitioner partnership (eg not all operational practices could be replaced or augmented in ways that would have strengthened the research design) and the content and structure of the administrative data recorded by the agency.

Among other implications, there are clear suggestions for agencies and researchers on the co-production of applied and experimental projects and subsequent evaluations. Larger sample sizes, longer follow-up periods and more recidivism measures should be included in future studies in order to draw stronger conclusions. More globally, usable data systems, of benefit to criminal justice agencies and researchers alike, are required for monitoring implementation, fidelity and impact (Miller & Miller 2015; Sullivan, Welch & Ilchi 2017). Criminal justice agencies should consider how their data systems can be streamlined so that data entered into their system can be drawn and rapidly evaluated in straightforward ways by practitioners, policymakers and scholars. Additionally, personnel buy-in and messaging from management are critical for project stability and the motivation of frontline staff.

Specific to Triple-S and comparable programs, future studies must continue to unpack the association between social support and supervision outcomes, noting that the relationships are not inherently prosocial or crime preventative. Future projects built upon a theoretical framework similar to that of Triple-S must also provide conceptual clarity around how effectiveness ought to be measured; it is disputable whether a PoPP notifying the police of their loved one's offence constitutes 'success' in the form of improved crime control or 'failure' in the form of a new offence.

Probationers and parolees identify poor social support as a barrier to successful supervision and desistance outcomes, and describe social support as a concrete life need that is frequently neglected by criminal justice treatment programs and social service agencies (Denney, Tewksbury & Jones 2014). Just as with other forms of capital, an individual's social supports are partly structurally determined, and inequities in social capital are a reality for community-supervised offenders that corrections agencies must contend with (United Nations 2018). It is perhaps for this reason that community corrections agencies should consider how they can nurture prosocial community networks for their clients rather than recruiting and training the offender's existing network to serve in new social support or crime control functions. Indeed, qualitative evaluations of Triple-S demonstrated that PoPPs at times felt uncomfortable or unskilled in intervening in their loved one's antisocial conduct; while many of the strategies used by PoPPs were consistent with crime prevention theories (Schaefer, Moir & Williams 2019), other tactics were criminogenic, particularly in relation to excessive pressure and unrealistic expectations for prosociality (Schaefer, Williams & Ford 2021). To this end, it may be that Triple-S was effective in ways not originally envisioned; specifically, rather than recruiting PoPPs as handlers, guardians and managers, the brief interventions completed with clients may have had the effect of helping them to identify and avoid criminogenic settings and social circles.

Criminological and correctional research highlights the importance of social support in (re)offending, including during the re-entry and community supervision experiences being navigated by (ex-) offenders (Bares & Mowen 2020; Cullen 1994; Martinez & Abrams 2013). The social networks of probationers and parolees offer emotional and practical support, both of which are integral to successful desistance (Williams & Schaefer 2021). It is clear that family and friends are important to community-supervised offenders, and it is indisputable that they will be involved in the supervision process in various ways (Schaefer, Moir & Williams 2019). Yet the efforts made in the Triple-S trial to integrate these loved ones in a more systematic way, and to train them as crime controllers, does not appear to have had a sustained recidivism reduction effect. While the 'Social Supports in Supervision' aspect was not as influential as predicted, Triple-S did seem to reduce reoffending at some points in the trial. Accordingly, community corrections agencies may wish to consider how structured case management meetings with brief interventions centred on cognitive skills training can be used to reduce opportunity and propensity with clients rather than via PoPPs. The social supports are perhaps therefore best managed by the clients with the guidance of supervising officers rather than being systematically integrated by probation and parole authorities.

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Dr Lacey Schaefer is a Senior Lecturer at the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice and the Griffith Criminology Institute at Griffith University.

Dr Michael Townsley is a Professor at the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Griffith University.

Mr Benjamin Hutchins is a Research Assistant at the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Griffith University.

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GPO Box 1936
Canberra ACT 2601, Australia

Tel: 02 6268 7166

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