From Evidence-Based Practices to a Comprehensive Intervention Model for High-Risk Young Men: The Story of Roca

Molly Baldwin and Yotam Zeira

Executive Session on Community Corrections

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Introduction

Researchers of criminal behavior are taking a more data-driven approach to community corrections.[1] Rather than focusing solely on professional experience or anecdotal successes — key factors that often drive public policy in social services — they are identifying evidence-based practices that rely on empirical research and produce measurable outcomes. The challenge for providers is to bridge the gap between theoretical best practices and practicable intervention models that reduce recidivism rates and keep communities safe. One organization that is finding success in bridging this gap is Massachusetts-based Roca, Inc.

Established in 1988, Roca has worked with high-risk young people in various communities across Massachusetts. Roca has served thousands of young men and women facing multiple challenges, including young parents, immigrants, youth involved in gangs, and other at-risk young people.

Along the way, though, Roca witnessed a troubling reality: Despite its commitment to help youth stay out of harm's way, and the fact that individuals

were attending programming in large numbers and the organization was thriving, the same individuals were in trouble again days, weeks, or months later. As a result, Roca leadership grew less confident that it was doing more good than harm. It started searching for a different path.

Around this time, meta-analysis of practices in the field, conducted by the Crime and Justice Institute (CJI) at Community Resources for Justice and the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) in 2002, identified a set of eight methods proven successful in reducing recidivism. Roca found the move toward evidence-based practices (EBP) refreshing: These practices were based on specific principles that had been proven successful based on data, rather than anecdotes, and the idea that some interventions work significantly better than others was appealing. The challenge, though, was to develop a comprehensive intervention model based on these practices and to transform the organizational culture into one that embraces data and evidence.

Over more than a decade, Roca has undergone tremendous changes. The organization has rigorously examined its practices, collected and analyzed data, changed its interactions with other institutions, and incorporated only those practices that were proven effective. The result of these efforts is Roca's High-Risk Young Men Intervention Model — a four-year, nonmandated

model dedicated to serving 17- to 24-year-old men at the highest risk of future incarceration. The Model was implemented in 2011 and now operates in four sites, serving 21 communities across Massachusetts.

Roca's rigorous data tracking allows the organization to measure its success in reducing recidivism and increasing employment among high-risk young men. Roca's baseline is the existing criminal justice system outcomes pertaining to young adults: In Massachusetts, 76 percent of the 18- to 24-year-olds released from Houses of Corrections are rearraigned within three years (Mosehauer et al., 2016),[2] and nationally, 78 percent of those released from state or federal prison at the ages of 18 to 24 are rearrested within three years (Schiraldi, Western, and Bradner, 2015). Roca's outcomes are dramatically different. Roca retains 84 percent of participants annually, despite the fact that these are high-risk young people who are not ready, willing, or able to participate in programming. After completing the first two years of the program, participants significantly reduce their criminal behaviors: 93 percent are not rearrested, 95 percent are not reincarcerated, and 88 percent of those on probation comply with their conditions. In addition, graduates demonstrate significant employment gains: Although 83 percent of participants come to Roca with no employment history, 84 percent of those enrolled longer than 21 months are placed in a job; 92 percent of them keep the job longer than three months, and 87 percent keep it for six months or more.[3]

This paper focuses on the gap between research- and theory-based practices and a fully functioning intervention model, and how Roca has worked to bridge this gap and achieve the above-mentioned outcomes. Part I reviews the eight evidence-based practices in community corrections as identified by CJI and NIC. Part II explores how Roca learned of these principles and how it worked internally to integrate them and develop its Intervention Model. Part III explains Roca's Intervention Model and revisits the eight evidence-based practices, explaining how each one is implemented in the Model. The conclusion draws some lessons from Roca's work with evidence-based practices and suggests that Roca's Model is an alternative to traditional community corrections.

Part I: Evidence-Based Practices in Community Corrections

A growing body of research from the past two decades examines the most effective practices for supervising individuals in the community. With the common goal of reducing recidivism and promoting public safety, various approaches have been explored. In 2002, CJI partnered with NIC to study the evidence-based practices in community corrections to date (Crime and Justice Institute at Community Resources for Justice, 2009).

Searching for evidence-based practices with definable and measurable outcomes, CJI and NIC reviewed dozens of studies of community corrections, paying special attention to the

credibility and accuracy of these studies. They concluded that there are eight principles in community corrections that have a sound empirical and theoretical basis. They recommended that these eight principles should be the basis of any policy, procedure, and daily practice in organizations that work in the field of community corrections.

The eight principles are described as follows.

Assess Actuarial Risk and Needs (EBP #1). A prerequisite for any effective intervention is to understand an individual's actual needs and the risks he or she might present to the community. Rather than being a singular event, assessment is ongoing: During a case management period, a person's needs and risks may change, and building capacity to observe such changes is part of this principle.

Enhance Intrinsic Motivation (EBP #2). The researchers note that behavior change is an internal process that, by definition, takes a heavy toll on the individual. To encourage this process, steps should be taken to enhance the individual's intrinsic motivation over time. In other words, behavior change that is attached to one's own values and reasons to change will last longer than change that is externally imposed. Interpersonal interactions with service providers play a major role in implementing this principle. To overcome the ambivalence that often accompanies behavioral change, the researchers suggest using the Motivational Interviewing technique.[4]

Targeted Interventions (EBP #3). Applying this principle requires the system to adapt to different risk levels using the *risk principle:* allocating more resources and appropriate treatment to those at higher risk (Andrews and Dowden, 2006; Lowenkamp, Latessa, and Holsinger, 2006). Although low-risk individuals often engage positively in the community and demonstrate progress under their own power, high-risk individuals are likely to reoffend without intervention. The intervention also needs be adapted to the individual's *criminogenic needs;* other factors, such as antisocial behavior, criminal thinking, family support, housing, and employment, also require specific attention. Another important aspect of the Targeted Interventions principle is *responsivity* — designing programs with sensitivity to temperament, learning style, motivation, culture, gender, stages of change, and matching the right program to each individual. *Dosage* is another important aspect: Programs should structure an appropriate part of the individual's routine for a sufficient period in order to be effective. With high-risk individuals, it was found that structuring 40 percent to 70 percent of their time for a period of six to nine months is appropriate. Finally, *treatment* should be applied wisely: Although treatment is often unnecessary with low-risk individuals, those who are high risk may require it (usually cognitive-behavioral), and integrating treatment in programs may be specifically helpful. The combination of these five aspects — *risk principle, need principle, responsivity, dosage,* and *treatment* — enables

community corrections interventions to be targeted appropriately.

Skill Train With Directed Practice (EBP #4). This principle suggests that cognitive-behavioral techniques (CBT) and "social learning" should become a central part of programming in community corrections.[5] Training in CBT methods may bring these proven techniques beyond the boundaries of treatment to the everyday interaction between employees and the individuals they serve. This allows staff to identify criminal thinking and antisocial behavior, redirect it, and promote prosocial attitudes.

Increase Positive Reinforcement (EBP #5). Although many programs set clear boundaries, which are often effective in supporting sustainable behavior change, "carrots" are also an important part of the equation. Interestingly, it was found that rewards and positive feedback do not have to be implemented in programs consistently to be effective — sporadic and even random use of rewards may be effective. Therefore, community corrections should find the opportunities to lead individuals in the right direction via positive reinforcement.

Engage Ongoing Support in Natural Communities (EBP #6). Connecting individuals with prosocial activities in their own community is a successful practice with populations like those in community corrections. The Community Reinforcement Approach (i.e., using individuals' immediate social circles to sustain behavior

change) and activities such as Twelve Step Programs, membership in religious communities, and engaging in restorative justice initiatives are all methods to make one's community part of the behavior change process.

Measure Relevant Processes and Practices (EBP #7). Only those interventions that are consistently tracked and evaluated can truly be proven successful. Ongoing collection of data, rigorous analysis of procedures and outcomes, and regular performance management are key elements of this principle.

Provide Measurement Feedback (EBP #8). Once data collection systems are in place, feedback can and should be delivered regularly. This applies both to the individual being served and to staff. For the person served by community corrections, detailed feedback is a key component of redirection and progress. For staff, feedback is crucial for maintaining a high quality of services; it is also an effective method for developing professional capacity and smart use of resources.

To encourage the implementation of evidence-based practices in community corrections agencies, the CJI and NIC study developed a detailed "integrated approach" around the eight principles. This approach pays attention to the operational side of implementing evidence-based practices within an organization, to intra-organizational steps that the organization's leadership should focus on, and to partnerships and collaborations that organizations should create. On the *operational* side, the researchers

highlight the need for appropriate staff trainings, adapted programming, and monitoring of performance and outcomes. The *leadership* of the organization is encouraged to lead the progress toward evidence-based practices, reinforce it over time (measured in years, not months), realign the organization's mission and vision around these practices, highlight the value of the process, and invest in human resources and infrastructure that would support such transformation. *Collaboration* with other agencies and programs in the community corrections field, implemented through fruitful decision-making processes and structured partnerships, is also key for successful use of evidence-based practices.

Part II: Roca's Progress Toward Evidence-Based Practices

Roca was established in 1988 as a teen pregnancy prevention program. Founded by Molly Baldwin and led by her ever since, the organization has served high-risk young people since its early years. The program served young people at various risk levels and with varying needs across the communities north of Boston. In 1996, Roca opened its current facility in Chelsea, Massachusetts, where it served young parents, street- and gang-involved youth, newly arrived refugees, young immigrants, and high-school students in the surrounding impoverished communities.

Roca's programs included a full-service youth center, street work, home visits, educational and community health services, and (as of 2000)

intensive use of restorative justice practices with a specific focus on Peacemaking Circles.[6] Roca was also known as one of the leaders of the Positive Youth Development movement. By the time of its first Theory of Change process in 2005, Roca had more than 17 years of experience working closely with society's most marginalized youth and young adults.

A Theory of Change process defines the domain in which an organization seeks to promote change, the outcomes that will prove the change has been achieved, and the programs and services that will yield such change. With assistance from David E. K. Hunter, who then served as the Director of Evaluation and Knowledge Development at the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, Roca undertook this analysis to identify its strengths and areas of expertise and to ensure that its day-to-day operations aligned with its mission, as then defined: "to promote justice through creating opportunities for young people to lead happy and healthy lives." Roca focused on defining the organizational and programming outcomes that would prove that Roca's goals were being met.

Tracking efforts and outcomes was on Roca's radar since its early days, but systematic data tracking became part of Roca's routine only after the 2005 Theory of Change process. In 2006, Roca launched its data collection system, based on Social Solution's Efforts to Outcomes (ETO) software, which tracks multiple aspects of the program. ETO continues to serve Roca in growing

levels of sophistication. As data collection can be burdensome, and high volumes of data are often overwhelming, Roca has learned over the years that it is critical to "ask the right questions." Roca's data tracking focuses on the indicators that are most helpful in analyzing participants' progress and outcomes, managing staff performance, and developing the Intervention Model strategically.

Roca's commitment to the young people it serves has led the organization to engage in recurring cycles of learning: research, program redesign, implementation, and evaluation. It has built a culture of being a "learning organization," in which research, daily operations, and data are regularly studied to identify what really works. During these cycles, Roca came across some of its foundational theories and practices, such as the Transtheoretical Model of Behavior Change.[7] Roca has also realized that its relentless outreach to young adults who are not ready, willing, or able to change, combined with intensive use of transformational relationships as further explained below, is a unique intervention (Walker and Guzzo, 2007).

In 2008, Roca started working with CJI on an Implementation and Outcome Evaluation project, with the goal of preparing the organization for future evaluation (Pierce, 2009). Roca explored its capacity to deliver a clear behavioral change model and to track participant outcomes, with specific emphasis on impact evaluation tools and data quality assurance. This work set Roca up for the first replication of its Intervention Model in Springfield, Massachusetts (2010) and for its

second and third Theory of Change processes, which took place in 2009 and 2011.

The second and third Theory of Change processes gave Roca a clear definition of its target population, the key elements of its model, and the different stages of intervention in terms of programming and timeframe. As a result, Roca decided to focus exclusively on very-high-risk young men in a four-year nonmandated model.[8] Roca's Theory of Change, as defined through the processes, is that "young people, when re-engaged through positive and intensive relationships, can gain competencies in life skills, education, and employment that move them toward living out of harm's way and toward economic independence." Although Roca continues to adapt and refine its model, the High-Risk Young Men Intervention Model is now a set, fully functioning, defined model.

Part III: Roca's Intervention Model and the Eight Evidence-Based Practices

Roca's Intervention Model is a behavioral change and skill development intervention that focuses on high-risk young men in a nonmandated program. This section explains the Model's target population, its underlying theories, and its four core components. It then explores how the eight evidence-based practices are implemented in the Model.

A. The Model's Target Population

Roca's Model focuses on 17- to 24-year-old men at the highest risk of future incarceration. Although young adults are overrepresented in the criminal justice system and recidivate at higher rates than the general population (Schiraldi , Western, and Bradner, 2015), not all are high-risk individuals. Roca uses a risk assessment tool to determine whether participants are indeed at the highest risk level and to determine their individual dynamic and static risk factors. Young men are eligible for the program if they are or have been involved in the juvenile or criminal justice system, have little or no employment history, are involved in gangs or street activity, and are using or dealing drugs. In addition, Roca determines how ready participants are to engage in a change process. Participants who are assessed as low or medium risk and are considered "ready to change" are determined ineligible, and they are referred to more traditional youth development programs, education, job training, and placement services.

The result of this approach is that Roca's population is difficult to serve by definition. Roca seeks young men who are not ready, willing, or able to participate in traditional programs (that is, those who walk away from programs, blow out of them, or simply do not show up). From the larger pool of at-risk, justice-involved, and disconnected youth, Roca chooses the ones who are truly high risk. Although most of their peers are likely to "age out" of crime by their mid-20s, this group will likely be incarcerated if they do not benefit from proper intervention.

Roca's decision to work with this population is based on EBP #3, Targeted Interventions, and specifically the *risk principle* that is part of this practice. This principle requires differentiating

between various risk levels, avoiding unnecessary interventions for lower-risk individuals, and paying more attention and devoting greater resources to higher-risk individuals. The principle further mandates that the highest risk individuals receive the most intensive dosage of intervention. As detailed below, Roca's Model consists of two years of intensive services and two additional years of supporting sustained behavior change, a longer and more intensive dosage than most other existing interventions for people in this age group.

B. The Model's Underlying Theories

Roca's cycles of learning and exploration resulted not only in finding promising evidence-based practices but also in identifying important and relevant behavior change theories. Roca looked for theories that, on the one hand, matched the reality of young people's lives as Roca understood it and, on the other hand, provided a larger theoretical framework of how change in behavior occurs that could inform and enrich Roca's Model.

Three theories met this standard:

1. Stages of Change. According to the Transtheoretical Model of Behavior Change (Prochaska and DiClemente, 1984), behavioral change is not an event but rather a series of decisions and actions over time. This model offers a framework of five stages that explain how behavior change happens. In the first stage, *pre-contemplation,* the individual sees no problem with his or her current behavior and has no desire to change. In the second stage, *contemplation,*

the individual has reasons and desire to change but no plan or self-efficacy to do so. In the third stage, *planning,* the individual has strong power to change and a plan to do so; in the fourth stage, *action,* the individual enacts the plan. The fifth stage is *sustaining,* in which the individual is able to maintain the new behavior over time.

A key factor of the theory is the concept of *relapse* — individuals may fail in moving to the next stage of change and will often go back to the first stage of pre-contemplation. The theory has an important teaching point for criminal justice agencies and programs that work with high-risk young people: Relapse is almost inevitable with this population, and it is the program's responsibility to find fruitful ways to address it. As discussed later, Roca's Model has engrained the concept of relapse to allow young people to "fail safely" — to go back to the pre-contemplation stage yet still remain within the boundaries of the Model and receive more opportunities for behavior change.

2. Cognitive-Behavioral Theory. The CBT approach asserts that emotions, thoughts, and actions are interrelated, and that if intervention is intended to yield change in behavior, it needs to pay attention to changing people's distorted thoughts and to the feeling-thinking-acting triangle (Beck, 1993; Burns, 1980; Butler-Bowdon, 2007). Importantly, this theory emphasizes that thoughts and emotions are not facts and that they can be changed to support a desired behavior change. In the past, CBT was applied in several fields (including substance abuse and mental

health) and is of special significance for high-risk people. As further explained in this section, CBT is not only an underlying theory of the Model but also a specific set of skills that participants learn and practice at Roca.

3. Adolescent Brain Development. The past decades have taught us a great deal about young people's brain development and the social context in which they operate, and this has enabled researchers to develop the theoretical thinking on young adults' criminal behaviors (Schiraldi, Western, and Bradner, 2015; Howell et al., 2013). Because young adults' brains continue to mature well into their mid-20s, they tend to be greater risk-takers, more impulsive, and less future-oriented in their decision-making process — factors that increase engagement in crime. Psychological and sociological research highlights young adults' social reality: They have aged out of school and most youth services, are susceptible to pressure by their peers, are rarely fully engaged in the job market, and usually have not yet established families of their own. The fact that young adults are more represented in the justice system than either juveniles or older adults is, therefore, not surprising.

This theory highlights that interventions targeted to this age group must be crafted carefully in order to be effective. Programs that specifically address 17- to 24-year-olds must take into account young people's mood swings, acting out, traumas, impulsive behaviors, and lesser emotional regulation. Programs also must remember that the normal crime curve is for young adults to begin maturing out of criminal behavior in their late teens and early 20s and that services, supports, and opportunities at this stage can often assist with that process.

These three theories are the foundation of Roca's Intervention Model. Each theory is incorporated in the Model and continues to inform Roca's thinking on its work with young people.
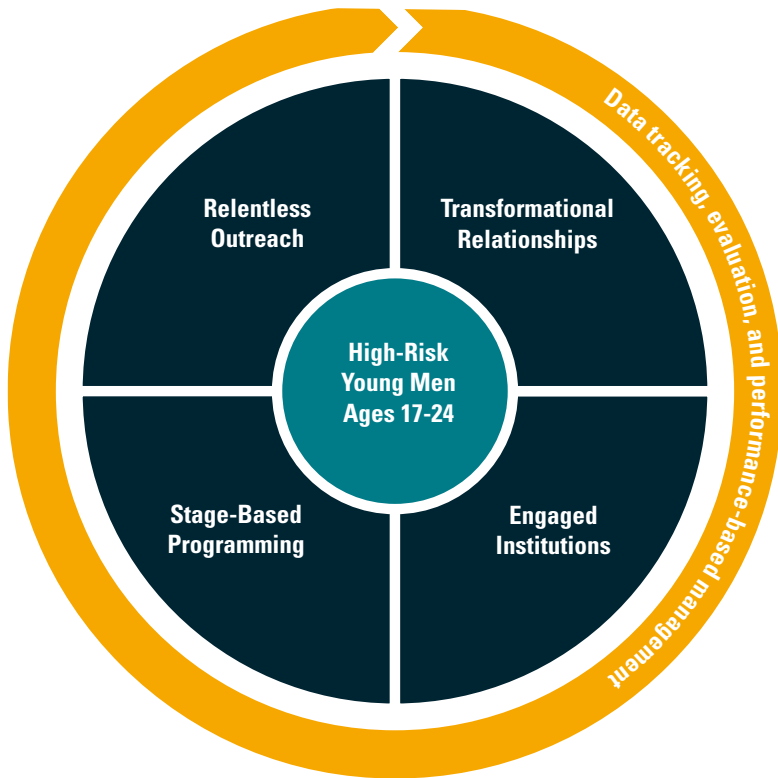
C. Roca's Intervention Model

Roca's Intervention Model is designed to allow participants enough time to undergo meaningful behavior change, which will enable them to stay out of jail and maintain a job. The Model spans four years — the first two years involve intensive interaction between the program and the individual, focusing on gradually engaging the participant in programming and promoting behavior change; the last two years focus on sustaining the positive change in behavior. The Model's ultimate goals are to reduce participants' incarceration rates and increase their ability to retain employment over time. Data tracking and performance management are built into the Model to ensure that it is achieving its goals.

The four key components of Roca's Intervention Model are as follows.

1. Relentless Outreach. Instead of waiting for participants to show up for programming, Roca has developed a "Relentless Outreach" approach. In this approach, participants are assigned to intensive case managers called Youth Workers, whose job is to reach out to each young person

Roca's Intervention Model

Roca's Intervention Model diagram: High-Risk Young Men Ages 17-24 at center, surrounded by four quadrants — Relentless Outreach, Transformational Relationships, Stage-Based Programming, Engaged Institutions — encircled by "Data tracking, evaluation, and performance-based management."

on their caseload. Because the young people at Roca are not ready or willing to change, Youth Workers are trained to be relentless, connecting and reconnecting with young people despite rejections.

In practice, this means that Youth Workers meet participants wherever they are — in the streets, in their homes, at courthouses, at police stations, or behind the wall. Participants often tell their Youth Workers to get lost dozens of times, claim that they do not need services, or just ignore repeated attempts to connect before responding to Youth Workers' efforts. Even after participants begin to engage in the program, they often relapse

and revert to destructive behaviors; in these cases, Youth Workers reach out to participants again and keep following up until their charges re-engage in the program. This relentlessness allows Roca to retain 84 percent of participants in the Intervention Model.

To develop the capacity to deal with this hard work, Youth Workers are trained in-house on a set of practices and skills, including the various aspects of the Intervention Model, safety, Motivational Interviewing, CBT, and trauma-informed care.

2. Transformational Relationships. At Roca, the change process for participants is tightly connected to their relationship with their Youth Worker and other frontline staff. Youth Workers are available 24 hours a day for each of the 25 participants on their caseload. Given the difficult life circumstances of many Roca participants, Youth Workers are often the only adult in their lives who are present when they are in trouble, go to court, enter lockup, or are released from jail.

Because the relationships between participants and staff are intended to promote behavior change, they go beyond friendship or mentoring. Youth Workers are trained to gain participants' trust and establish meaningful relationships with them. Consistency, mutual respect, openness, sense of responsibility, and shared experiences are key parts of the relationship between participants and Roca staff. In addition, Youth Workers are trained to identify where participants are in their change process and push participants through the different stages of the Model.

During the first two years of the Model, Youth Workers are expected to contact each participant at least twice a week. These relentless efforts, even in the face of rejection, impose consistent expectations of participants and lay the foundation for behavior change. Roca tracks participants' willingness to engage in the program through the different phases of the Model; building trust and an increase in engagement are the main goals of the first six months of the Model (Phase 1). In the intensive period of behavior change (six to 24 months from enrollment, Phase 2), the level of engagement continues to be tracked and is considered a main indicator for participants' progress. In the last stage of the model (24 to 48 months from enrollment, Phase 3), Roca gradually decreases the contact standards from twice a week to once a month.

3. Stage-Based Programming. All of Roca's programming is adapted for young people's stages of change so they can receive education, employment, and life skills programming even if they are in the early stages of changing their behavior. This means that even if participants are not yet at a point where they actively choose to change their behavior, and even if they attend programming irregularly, they still learn new skills and move toward the starting line of self-sufficiency. Over time, this approach expands participants' toolbox considerably and keeps them in constant forward progress. The programming is focused on three areas:

Life Skills. The cornerstone of life skills programming at Roca is a CBT curriculum that was developed uniquely for Roca's target population. This curriculum teaches young people how to "think different to act different," develop emotional literacy, and overcome behavioral barriers so they can build skills and live fuller lives.

Roca's CBT curriculum is taught differently from other CBT curricula currently used across correctional agencies and is adapted to community-based settings. It consists of 10 specific skills that can be taught in a classroom, in a car, on the street, or wherever the need arises, in short sessions of 15 to 45 minutes. At Roca, most of the CBT is conducted by Youth Workers, and all frontline staff are trained in CBT to allow further practice and reinforcement of these skills.

Roca teaches additional life skills classes in each of the sites based on participants' needs. They include substance abuse groups, healthy habits classes, and parenting classes.

Education. Helping high-risk young people re-engage with education is challenging, as many of them have experienced minimal success in this area, have less than basic literacy, and have had negative experiences with education systems. Even if they say they want to go to school, they often have difficultly attending regularly, sitting through classes, concentrating, and taking tests. Roca has designed a flexible educational curriculum suited to the skill levels and needs of these young people; the curriculum moves with them through stages of change until they are able to participate consistently. Those who

can attend classes with some support receive classes that build on prior lessons; for those who find it challenging to participate, the curriculum is appropriate to their level and can be taught in nonsequential sessions.

This approach allows for everyone to access education regardless of their educational entry level or where they are in the stages of behavior change. Educational gains serve a dual purpose: They help participants progress toward more advanced employment and education opportunities, and they provide a good indicator that participants are undergoing meaningful behavior change (i.e., taking active steps to advance their lives, moving from the "pre-contemplation" stage toward the "action" stage of change).

Employment. Having a job is a critical developmental milestone for high-risk young people who have little or no prior work experience — a crucial part of desistance from crime. However, these young people often need to develop skills, attitude, motivation, and an ability to get along with coworkers and supervisors. Roca puts particular emphasis on workforce readiness and employment through the following programming:

- **Transitional employment** is a paid, in-house employment opportunity that offers young people a protected space in which to learn how to show up, follow instructions, work as part of a team, and develop basic vocational skills such as cleaning, painting, and maintenance. It also offers young people the time and space to get fired and then rehired, which happens frequently. Typically, it takes a Roca participant 15 to 18 months to complete 60 consecutive days of work, a period in which they are fired and rehired an average of five to seven times. Participants who successfully complete the 60-day requirement are ready for the next part of the employment programming, which is focused on placement in unsubsidized employment.

  To provide these work experiences, Roca obtains contracts from area town and city governments and some private employers for simple and labor-intensive tasks, such as maintenance and cleaning work. Roca's work crews work four weekdays per week (6.5 hours of actual work each day) under the supervision of a Roca staff member and are paid the minimum wage. The fifth weekday is a development day, when participants receive further programming related to hard and soft employment skills.

- **Prevocational training** promotes job readiness and career exploration, offering programming that develops the skills that each participant will need to participate and thrive in the work world. Through prevocational training, Roca delivers industry-recognized employment content in the custodial, culinary, and property maintenance fields. These are growing service industries that are willing to hire individuals with criminal records and provide openings and advancement for participants who are ready for placement. To match market needs, Roca's prevocational

training curricula have been designed with input from employer partners in these fields. As part of prevocational training, participants can complete industry-recognized certifications such as ServSafe (safety in the food industry), CPR, occupational health and safety, and forklift operation.

- **Workforce readiness programming** is designed to ensure that participants are fully equipped with the soft skills, hard skills, and administrative paperwork necessary to succeed in the job market. Prior to working with Roca's Job Developers on job placement, participants must meet Roca's workforce readiness criteria, which include administrative aspects (identification, work-appropriate email address, and resume); completion of eight specialized workshops in areas such as basic financial literacy, job search, interviewing, and conflict management; an assessment of workforce behaviors and demonstrated skills; and at least two industry-recognized prevocational certificates.

- **Job placement and retention** focuses on identifying and developing long-term career goals and establishing successful relationships with employers. Roca's Job Developers prepare participants for employment while working closely with employers to educate them about Roca and the population it serves. The Job Developer identifies employers who offer a range of wages to accommodate the varying levels of work experience among participants. After job

placement, Roca supports job retention and provides advancement services. This work is focused on ensuring that young people are not only working but are continuing to improve their skills and are achieving the goals that will move them toward the ability to earn living wages and achieve economic independence.

4. Work With Engaged Institutions. Because the high-risk young men whom Roca serves are attached to various institutions and agencies that affect their lives, such as police and probation, Roca must work closely with these institutions as well. The organization has developed a strategic method for this type of partnership: It applies the same techniques it uses to serve young men — relentless outreach and transformational relationships — to engage other organizations and systems. In each institution, Roca seeks to identify a person or a group of people who are likely to communicate and act and then initiates recurring contacts with those institutions. The goal of the relationship is not to distract these professionals from their day jobs but rather to encourage them to use their professional and organizational capacities to contribute to the safety and success of young adults.

Roca approaches this task with transparency and openness: The organization is clear about the goal of the contact created, about its own work, and about the help it needs. Once the initial relationship is created, Roca relentlessly engages the institution in its day-to-day work. Roca consults with its partners about effective ways to

use the institution's resources for young people, invites partners to working sessions on current challenges, shares information, provides updates on future plans, and asks for advice on all levels (tactical, operational, and strategic). Roca seeks to develop an honest conversation about what is possible and not possible within the capacity of its individual and organizational partners, with the goal of empowering partners and increasing their success in their own terms.

As part of its Engaged Institutions strategy, Roca collaborates with local police departments, probation departments, municipalities, community-based agencies, foundations, and private businesses. This collaboration results in forums that address common challenges such as gang activity and drug abuse, information sharing, referrals between organizations, and the streamlining of effective intervention. Working closely with other institutions has been an inseparable part of Roca's Model for years — administering trainings, holding Peacemaking Circles, and formally collaborating with partners on the Massachusetts Pay for Success Project and the Safe and Successful Youth Initiative.[9]

Over time, the strategy of Engaged Institutions translates to systemic change: It transforms the way agencies and communities address the needs of high-risk young people, improves safety, and contributes to a long-term reduction in incarceration. Roca's goal is to build sufficient relationships, forums, and means of communication in each community to create a safety net around high-risk young people.

D. The Model and Evidence-Based Practices

The four core components of Roca's Model — Relentless Outreach, Transformational Relationships, Stage-Based Programming, and Engaged Institutions — each apply multiple evidence-based practices. This section revisits the eight practices presented in Part I and explains the move from abstract principles to an operational Intervention Model at Roca.

EBP #1: Assess Actuarial Risk and Needs. As explained previously, risk assessment is a prerequisite for enrollment in Roca. The first 60 days of the four-year model are intended to determine eligibility and assess participants' risk level. Roca's commitment to high-risk young people is meant not only to guarantee better outcomes for this distinct group, but also to protect lower-risk individuals. Engagement with high-risk young people may harm low-risk people, and they are more likely to benefit from more traditional programming and lighter intervention. Low-risk young people are therefore referred to other programs that match their risk factors and more advanced stage of change.

Risk assessments are conducted by Youth Workers in their first interaction with participants. The Youth Workers interview participants, complete an intake form, and review it with their supervisors before making a decision about eligibility. Roca assesses both dynamic and static risk factors: antisocial behaviors, social circle, gang involvement, criminal history, justice system involvement, employment history, educational gains, mental health issues, and family and immigration status.

A needs assessment is also engrained in Roca's Model. In accordance with EBP #1, assessing participants' needs is an ongoing process rather than a single event. In the eligibility period, Youth Workers also determine participants' individual needs, which vary considerably. Some participants have gained specific job skills, others have gained none; some have completed some education, others have dropped out as early as seventh grade. Parenting at an early age, substance abuse, mental health issues, housing instability, destructive relationships, and gang activity all present participants with different needs and create individual intersections of risks and needs. A participant who cannot walk freely in the street due to gang involvement, for instance, may need to take classes at a safe location, such as a public library or in his living room, and be placed in a job in a safe area.

Mapping the needs of each participant is part of a Youth Worker's job. Youth Workers are expected to assess needs in the fields of life skills, education, and employment in great detail, and together with their supervisors, they are expected to periodically review this needs assessment. Because Roca's participants continue to live in the community, their needs are ever-changing — they may become homeless (or find a place to live), get fired (or find a new job), or fight with family and friends (or form healthier relationships). Identifying these changing needs is part of determining participants' stages of change and meeting their current needs throughout the Model's phases.

Finally, Roca's risk/needs assessment is shared with partners that refer participants to Roca and with the criminal justice partners in the Pay for Success project. Each institution that refers participants to Roca through this project (Massachusetts Adult Probation, Parole, Department of Youth Services, Department of Corrections, and three Sheriff's Departments) has Roca's risk criteria and refers participants accordingly.

EBP #2: Enhance Intrinsic Motivation. Roca's transformational relationship concept is deeply rooted in the principle of enhancing participants' intrinsic motivation. The Youth Workers' determination to show up again and again despite young people's lack of engagement and rejection, and their presence with the young people in times of success and during periods of relapse, lays the foundation for a strong internal motivation to change. Youth Workers are not a friend, a social worker, or a therapist. They cannot "correct" the young person and cannot undergo the change process in his place. Youth Workers are intensive case managers who create relationships that encourage change, but the change process will not be meaningful and long-lasting unless the participant finds an internal source for the change process.

In order to enhance intrinsic motivation through their relationships with young men, Roca's Youth Workers are trained according to the principles of Motivational Interviewing, a technique developed specifically to find intrinsic motivation for behavior change. In traditional

counseling or education relationships, the "change talk" is based on explaining to the young person the benefits of changing (and thus often moving him to a defensive position that suggests more intrinsic justifications for *not* changing); Motivational Interviewing is based on raising ambivalence. Through open-ended questions, reflective statements, and other discussion methods, the individual and the counselor explore both sides of the change process, working together to identify the individual's own reasons for changing his behavior. Roca's Youth Workers and other staff use Motivational Interviewing in interactions with young people in all stages — from intake to job placement — helping them find their own motivation and act accordingly.

EBP #3: Targeted Interventions. The five components of this evidence-based practice are the risk principle, the need principle, responsivity, dosage, and treatment. The application of the first two components in Roca's Model was explained previously: Roca focuses only on high-risk individuals and assesses participants' needs on an ongoing basis.[10] The treatment principle — providing high-risk individuals with appropriate treatment — will be explained in the next EBP, which focuses on Roca's CBT curriculum. The remaining two principles, responsivity and dosage, have also been embedded in Roca's Model.

Responsivity is best explained through Roca's relentless outreach approach and the principle of stage-based programming. Roca realizes that high-risk young men are simply not ready to change ("pre-contemplation"); therefore, if a program is committed to serving them, it should meet them where they are behaviorally and cognitively, rather than wait until they advance. Phase 1 of Roca's Model (first six months) is therefore designed to focus mainly on basic engagement: Roca goes out to the streets, finds the young men, and brings them into programming. When the young man is engaged in programming, the Model turns its focus to intensive behavior change (Phase 2, six to 24 months). Programming is different in each stage, and relapses may bring the young man back to the point where his Youth Worker needs to search for him again and determine what keeps him from engaging. Phase 3 (24 to 48 months) responds to the behavior change that was achieved, and the contact with the young man becomes less intensive. This approach is based on Roca's data analysis, which found that staying in the intensive stage for too long does not promote sustained behavior change.

Dosage relates to the finding that the best results for high-risk individuals in community corrections are achieved with six to nine months of structured time (40 percent to 70 percent) per day. Although this is true for people who are ready to change ("contemplation" at least), for those who are not ready ("pre-contemplation"), this period is both delayed and extended. It is delayed because individuals need to move to a "contemplation" stage first; it is extended

because if they experience relapse periods — and they will — these periods will be completely unstructured by definition.

Typically, participants in the peak of their Roca involvement will be on a work crew as part of the Transitional Employment Program, with 6.5 hours of work per day. Together with morning and afternoon "circle ups" (standing in a circle and talking about the day's plans or experiences), the drive to and from work, weekly development days, life skills classes, and education and engagement activities, this will account for 40 percent to 70 percent of their waking hours. During the 24 months of the intensive part of Roca's Model, participants have several months in which they are actively engaged in programming at this intensive level. In this way, the Model achieves a balance between the responsivity and the dosage principles, adapting the level of structured time to stages of change.

EBP #4: Skill Train With Directed Practice. This practice recommends that programming should emphasize CBT and that staff should be trained in a way that brings this theory to the organization's day-to-day practice. Roca took this principle a step further: After reviewing existing CBT curricula across the country, Roca concluded that no existing program could be delivered effectively to high-risk young men in a nonmandated program. Unlike CBT programs that are delivered behind bars or in school settings, Roca needed to bring the principles of CBT to people in the streets — those who do not attend programming regularly and who have

negative learning and treatment experiences and no resources for private counseling. Roca partnered with Massachusetts General Hospital (MGH) and its Community Psychiatry PRIDE Clinic, and with support from the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, collaboratively developed a CBT curriculum for Roca's high-risk population.

The result of Roca's and MGH's two-year curriculum development process is 10 skills that can be taught in classes of 15 to 45 minutes (individually and in small groups) using simple worksheets and methods. The classes cover various skills that, according to research, criminally involved young men often need to acquire. As explained above, all frontline staff at Roca are trained in CBT. The CBT curriculum and "CBT language" have become an inseparable part of Roca's work and of its participants' behavior change process.[11]

EBP #5: Increase Positive Reinforcement. Roca has found that high-risk young men often lack successful experiences and recognition and have never celebrated accomplishments such as a school graduation with their peers, families, and friends. Because positive reinforcement was identified as a practice that encourages behavior change, Roca's Youth Workers provide ongoing feedback to participants throughout the phases of their transformational relationships.

Roca has also created forums and opportunities for celebration when participants move in the right direction. Every three months, Roca holds a quarterly celebration at each site to recognize

accomplishments such as educational gains (e.g., completion of a HiSET test, consistent attendance), job readiness (e.g., progress in the Transitional Employment Program, holding a job), and in the behavior change process in general. Participants are invited to attend with their families and friends; their names are called, and they receive certificates and small gifts to recognize their achievements.

As part of its ongoing use of Peacemaking Circles, Roca occasionally holds appreciation circles in which all circle participants express appreciation to a selected member of the group. This creates an opportunity to celebrate accomplishments and positive behaviors that might otherwise go unnoticed. In addition, the CBT curriculum includes a skill called "Fill Up Your Tank" that teaches participants to identify opportunities for joyful events and accomplishments, enjoy them, and use them as triggers for thinking differently and changing behaviors.

EBP #6: Engage Ongoing Support in Natural Communities. Roca's Intervention Model works with individuals in their home communities and only works at physical sites that are easily accessible by public transportation from the communities served. However, engagement with the community does not only occur through the physical location. The majority of Roca's participants live in the same communities where they grew up and where they have faced harm or harmed others. These are also the communities that often experience the consequences when young men relapse during the change process

because such relapses can sometimes result in harm to the community. Roca's Model engages the community in young men's change process in multiple ways:

- In the outreach and engagement stage, Youth Workers often ask people in the community for help in locating and engaging a young person. If a young person does not return his Youth Worker's calls, the Youth Worker will make an effort to connect with his closest circles — family members, neighbors, friends, and other community organizations that may have encountered the young man. Engagement activities are often open to other community members surrounding the young men, and it is not uncommon to see mothers, younger brothers, and childhood friends coming to a community dinner or a basketball game held at Roca. Throughout the four years of Roca's Model, Youth Workers connect multiple times with the young person's closest circles, a connection that creates a positive reinforcement to promote behavior change.

- As part of Roca's intensive use of Peacemaking Circles, every few months Roca holds a three-day intensive Circle Training for young men and community members, including police, probation officers, lawyers, community-based organizations, and other partners. Circles are a place where people can meet as equals, regardless of their positions, roles, experiences, and stages in life. During the Circle Trainings, community members (including the highest risk young men) learn to see the humanity in

"the other side." By holding recurring Circle Trainings over many years with thousands of community members, Roca has created a space that strengthens the communities in which the young men live, and takes an active and positive role in these communities.

- Finally and most importantly, Roca has developed the Engaged Institutions concept, a comprehensive strategy of working in a community setting with other organizations and systems. The notion that high-risk young men are attached to multiple institutions (police, probation, courts, social and health services, community-based organizations, and businesses) has helped Roca develop a strategy to work with each of these institutions in a thoughtful and constructive way.

EBP #7: Measure Relevant Processes and Practices. Performance-based management is a signature of Roca. As Roca is committed to being a high-performing and adaptive organization that uses real-time data for continuous improvement and evaluating impact, Roca has adopted both an internal and external evaluation strategy.

Internally, Roca tracks participant outcomes through Social Solutions' ETO software, a customizable data-collection system that allows Roca to track and measure each component of its Model. Using ETO, Roca's staff document every effort to contact a young person and every hour spent in programming, and it allows staff to constantly assess the young person's movement through stages of change. Roca's data system also collects intake information (including background and risk factors) and the progress of the transformational relationship between each Youth Worker and young person. Behavior change outcomes, such as the participant's criminal involvement, court compliance, engagement in unhealthy relationships, substance abuse, and employment, are also captured in ETO.

This close tracking allows staff to evaluate each participant's progress during supervision meetings of Youth Workers and management; assess the performance of each site on a weekly, monthly, quarterly, and annual basis; and identify organizational challenges that need special attention. Roca also uses the data to coach staff, develop trainings, refine and ensure fidelity to the Model, and honestly observe Roca's performance and outcomes over time.

Externally, Roca actively seeks program and impact evaluation by independent parties such as Abt Associates, the Crime and Justice Institute, and Root Cause (see, for example, Pierce, 2009; Root Cause, 2015). In preparation for the Massachusetts Pay for Success Project, Roca's Model and outcomes were carefully studied by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts' Executive Office for Administration and Finance, Harvard Kennedy School's Social Impact Bond Technical Assistance Lab, and the funders involved in the project. Roca is subject to the gold standard of program evaluation, a randomized controlled trial (RCT) estimate, conducted by the Urban Institute. Through the RCT, referrals from various criminal justice agencies in Massachusetts are randomly assigned to either Roca or a control

group. The two groups' criminal involvement and employment rates are compared using Massachusetts administrative data. The data collected include employment rates, earning levels, and recidivism information such as arraignments, convictions, sentences, and incarceration length. In addition, Abt Associates studies the administrative data to provide further insights into program quality and dosage. These multiple sets of external evaluations allow for a sophisticated analysis of Roca's Model and outcomes.

EBP #8: Provide Measurement Feedback. Participants' progress through Roca's Model is transparent and invites daily opportunities for feedback. This is most apparent in the Transitional Employment Program, in which each participant is aware of the number of days he has worked so far (toward the goal of completing 60 consecutive days of work), the number of write-ups and the reasons for them, and his performance through the workday, which the crew supervisor will discuss with him after work. When a participant is fired and rehired, the rehire process includes feedback from the Transitional Employment Coordinator. Moving from basic transitional employment to advanced transitional employment, which requires meeting job readiness standards, creates another opportunity for feedback.

Other opportunities for reflection and feedback throughout the Model include the weekly development days, which take a broader look at employment issues and each participant's

performance, the prevocational trainings, and the quarterly celebrations, which point out specific positive accomplishments.

The table provides a synopsis of the evidence-based practices as applied in Roca's Model.

Roca Today: Outcomes, Growth, and Lessons Learned

Roca has served young adults for nearly three decades, but it was able to develop a clear and structured Intervention Model only after close study of community corrections' evidence-based practices. Today, Roca operates its Intervention Model in Roca Boston, which serves high-risk young men from the entire city; in Roca Springfield, which serves several urban communities in western Massachusetts; and at its home site in Chelsea that, together with a storefront in Lynn, serves 11 communities north of Boston. In 2015, a total of 659 high-risk young men were served in Roca's Intervention Model, 84 percent of whom were retained in the Model through the fiscal year.

A central part of Roca's growth is the organization's Pay for Success Project, a long-term partnership with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, intermediary Third Sector Capital Partners, and a host of private investors.[12] Through the project, Massachusetts criminal justice agencies refer high-risk young men to Roca on a monthly basis, and Roca's success in reducing participant incarceration and increasing employment is measured by an external evaluator. The private funders cover 85 percent of Roca's costs and

Applying the Eight Evidence-Based Practices in Roca's Intervention Model

Evidence-Based Practice	Part of Roca's Intervention Model That Applies the Principle	Specific Applications
Assess Actuarial Risk and Needs	• Target population • Stage-based programming	• Serve *exclusively* high-risk young men ages 17 to 24 • Initial risk/needs assessment in the first 60 days, conducted by Youth Workers • Dynamic risk/needs assessment throughout the Model to tailor programming accordingly
Enhance Intrinsic Motivation	• Transformational relationships • Stage-based programming	• Relationship with Youth Workers drives behavior change process • Frontline staff are trained in Motivational Interviewing • Cognitive-Behavioral Theory (CBT) curriculum is used with all participants
Targeted Interventions	• Target population • Relentless outreach • Stage-based programming	• Roca invests resources in the highest risk group • Roca serves young men in pre-contemplation through consistent and relentless outreach • Relapse is inevitable and therefore embedded in the Model • Dosage of intervention gradually increases until it reaches a maximum at the planning and action stages, and decreases in the sustaining stage • Population-specific treatment
Skill Train With Directed Practice	• Transformational relationships • Stage-based programming	• Frontline staff are trained in CBT • Youth Workers teach CBT in classes and on the go • CBT is used in all phases of the Model • Transitional Employment Program creates an opportunity to practice work skills
Increase Positive Reinforcement	• Stage-based programming	• Quarterly celebrations of accomplishments • Appreciation Circles • Learning to handle success through CBT
Engage Ongoing Support in Natural Communities	• Relentless outreach • Stage-based programming • Engaged institutions	• Family, friends, and community-based organizations help Youth Workers find and engage young men • Some engagement activities are open to community members • Circle Trainings bring together community members and build trust • Comprehensive Engaged Institutions strategy • Partnership with other organizations and agencies is seen as a key factor of performance and success • Relationships with every institution that touches the life of high-risk young men, which creates a "safety net" around them
Measure Relevant Processes and Practices	• Evaluation and performance management	• Efforts to Outcomes database tracks efforts, engagement, programming, outcomes, and staff performance • Implement risk/needs assessment and job readiness assessment tools • Data are used for analyzing participants' progress • Actively seek opportunities to evaluate the Model and its outcomes • External evaluation of the model • Randomized controlled trial is applied as part of the Pay for Success project
Provide Measurement Feedback	• Stage-based programming	• Transitional Employment Program provides feedback on job readiness • Transparency about advancing in stages of transitional employment • Quarterly celebrations give public feedback on accomplishments

assume most of the financial risk upfront, and they are repaid by the Commonwealth only if the projected incarceration-reduction outcomes are met. Pay for Success, also known as Social Impact Bonds, is an innovative structure for government, private sector, and nonprofit partnerships.[13] To date, Roca is the largest Pay for Success project in the U.S. and is expected to receive new referrals from the Commonwealth until 2019, with up to 1,036 young men receiving services.

Roca's outcomes demonstrate that reducing recidivism and improving employment retention is possible even for the highest risk young people. Given participants' risk level and the time they need to change, Roca does not expect to see stable improvement in these two factors in the first two years of the program (Phases 1 and 2). In the last two years of the program (Phase 3), Roca expects and indeed sees significant progress. In 2015, 93 percent of participants in Phase 3 were not rearrested and 88 percent of those on probation complied with their conditions. Also in 2015, Phase 3 participants demonstrated substantial employment gains: 84 percent of those enrolled for more than 21 months were placed in a job, 92 percent of whom kept the job for more than three months and 87 percent kept it for six months or more. Roca continues to study the outcomes of its Model internally and with the help of external evaluators.

The implementation of evidence-based practices at Roca has spanned more than a decade, and the program continues to develop. Roca has learned important lessons about evidence-based practices that may be relevant for other community corrections agencies as well:

- **The combination of evidence-based practices matters as much as the specific practices adopted, and requires special attention.** Roca's Model suggests that careful attention should be paid not only to evidence-based practices, but also to the combination of these practices in one program or agency. Some of the eight practices are pulled in contradicting directions, and limited resources often require choosing between practices or finding practical ways to combine them. There are also limitations in terms of staff's capacity to implement multiple practices and streamline trainings, and a need for an overarching model that will make the use of different practices coherent and sustainable.

Roca has engrained the Model's evidence-based practices gradually and in varying levels — some defined the Model's core structure, some were implemented in a specific part of the program, and some evolved over time. For example, measuring processes and outcomes (EBP #7) cut across all parts of the Model from its early stages, while Motivational Interviewing (recommended in EBP #2) gradually became a specific part of the Model (Transformational Relationships). Another example is CBT (EBP #4), which started as an underlying theory of the Model as a whole and later became a

specific curriculum. Roca implemented CBT as part of its life skills programming, which was already both conceptually and practically part of the Model.

- **Clear definition of the target population is critical.** The Targeted Interventions principle (EBP #3) requires programs to make hard decisions about the population they serve. In Roca's case, that meant shutting down programming for low- and medium-risk individuals, and focusing exclusively on high-risk young people. Other programs and agencies may focus on different populations, but Roca's lesson is that without a clear definition of the target population, it is hard to achieve a meaningful impact.

Roca's focus on high-risk individuals leads to better service for its participants; it also places the organization in a unique position in that (1) it allows valid comparisons of "apples to apples" between Roca's recidivism outcomes and criminal justice agencies, (2) it is the basis of Roca's Pay for Success project, and (3) it sets reasonable expectations about what Roca can and cannot do in the communities it serves.

- **Long-term implementation of evidence-based practices requires intentional sustaining efforts.** The day-to-day implementation of some of the eight evidence-based practices is labor-intensive and challenging. For example, assessing risks and needs on an ongoing basis rather than just during intake (EBP #1) requires time and

effort, and investing resources in meaningful community relations (EBP #6) may take from the resources invested in the program itself. The challenge is most apparent in data tracking and analysis (EBP #7), which on the operational level requires the entire team (from frontline staff to senior management) to be committed to and disciplined about data collection. Roca's lesson is that the importance of these aspects requires consistent messaging from the organization's leadership and recurring cycles of training and learning that elevate the importance of the practices that the organization chooses to adopt.

Roca faces these challenges on a daily basis and has developed some tools to overcome them. In order to create a data culture in the organization, the top-down message is that making decisions based on data is a commitment to the young people that Roca serves; if Roca is afforded the privilege of touching the lives of these young men, it must be sure that it is doing good and not causing harm. Data tracking is, therefore, not less important than a deep conversation with a participant. In a similar vein, community relations are not only a matter of good citizenship; they are part of the needs, safety, and success of high-risk individuals. By defining Engaged Institutions as a core part of the Model, Roca creates an opportunity to include this work in the daily routine of both management and Youth Workers. For different organizations, challenges may arise

with other practices, but it is critical to sustain efforts in evidence-based practices over time.

- **Fidelity is critical to replication but should not prevent adaptations.** Roca replicated the Model twice (Springfield in 2010 and Boston in 2014) and is committed to its fidelity across existing and future sites. Fidelity is part of the commitment to evidence-based practices and is critical for program evaluation. Within the boundaries of fidelity to the Model, Roca continues to believe that adaptations and changes toward "what really works" should remain central to the organization's operations. For other programs and community corrections agencies, this means that evidence-based practices that proved successful in other programs may require adaptations, and the program is responsible to balance between models that have been proven to work and the unique needs of the specific community served.

A recent example of this approach is the way Roca implements its education and CBT curriculum at its Boston site. Because some participants face safety risks that do not allow them to travel freely or to be physically present at the Roca building, Roca uses "portable programming" that is delivered in varying locations, including participants' homes. This adaptation continues to implement Roca's Stage-Based Programming, thus maintaining fidelity, but in a new way that is adapted to a specific site.

Roca's Intervention Model suggests a promising and viable path in community corrections. By reaching out to the highest risk young people, tailoring programming to their needs, and creating meaningful partnerships, Roca demonstrates effective outcomes. This success could not have been achieved without Roca's commitment to evidence-based practices. Agencies and organizations that aim to promote public safety and reduce recidivism among young people in community settings should devote special attention to this set of proven practices. Evidence-based practices are the cornerstone of effective interventions and, with appropriate implementation, can result in additional successful programs. Most important, more frequent use of evidence-based practices and data-driven programs can help more young people transform their lives.

Endnotes

1. In this paper, "community corrections" refers to court-ordered programs that supervise individuals who are not in jail or prison (e.g., on probation and parole).

2. This recidivism rate is higher than in any other age group of people released from Houses of Corrections in Massachusetts. The reconviction rate within three years of release for the same cohort is 55 percent and the reincarceration rate is 52 percent; both are also higher than for any other age group. For those released from the Department of Correction (correctional facilities

for those serving sentences of 30 months or more), the reincarceration rate is higher (56 percent) than for Houses of Corrections (Mosehauer et al., 2016). Research conducted by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts' Executive Office for Administration and Finance and Harvard Kennedy School's Social Impact Bond Technical Assistance Lab in preparation for Roca's Pay for Success project found that, among a cohort similar to the high-risk population that Roca serves, 64 percent of 17- to 24-year-old young men in Massachusetts are reincarcerated within five years of release.

3. Roca annually releases its Performance Management and Outcomes Report. The data mentioned in this paragraph and in other parts of the paper are taken from the fiscal year 2015 report, the last one available at the time of writing.

4. Motivational Interviewing is explained in Part II of this paper.

5. The principles of CBT are further explained in Part II of this paper.

6. Peacemaking Circles are a core restorative justice practice that facilitates a unique form of communication between individuals who wish to engage in activities such as conflict resolution, healing, and support. They are intended to establish an intimate, honest, nonhierarchical, and nonjudgmental conversation focused on each participant's individual change process. This goal is achieved by a specific structure: sitting in a circle, talking in turns using a "talking piece," circle "keepers" who lead the process, and rituals that begin and conclude each Circle. Roca learned this method from the Tagish Tlingit people in the Yukon Territories in 1999 and has used it thereafter with participants, staff, families, police, criminal justice agencies, community-based organizations, and other community members. Roca uses Circles internally (as part of participants' behavior change process) and externally as part of the organization's Engaged Institutions strategy (see Part III, Section C) and system change efforts. All Roca sites hold regular Circle Trainings for participants and community members, and Roca estimates that thousands of people have participated in its Peacemaking Circles. For more information, see Boyes-Watson, 2002.

7. See Part III, Section B.

8. Roca's focus on the highest risk group of young people has led the organization to explore the services that high-risk young mothers need. In 2012, Roca launched its High Risk Young Mothers project, which serves 16- to 24-year-old mothers who cannot succeed in traditional home visiting or youth development programs and need to be approached differently. By and large, these young women are out of work and not in school; are involved with intervening public systems (including child welfare services); and are not ready, willing, or able to seek out and show up for services that might benefit them and their children. To date, the program serves 100 high-risk young mothers; the plan is to gradually increase services to 200 mothers each year.

9. Pay for Success is further discussed later in this paper. The Safe and Successful Youth Initiative is a project focused on "proven risk" youth across 11 cities in Massachusetts. For more information, see Petrosino et al., 2014.

10. See Part III, Sections A and C.

11. The CBT curriculum development process and its importance for community corrections agencies will be reviewed in a separate paper in this series.

12. The other Pay for Success project partners include the lenders Goldman Sachs (through its Social Impact Fund), The Kresge Foundation, and Living Cities; the philanthropic grantors Laura and John Arnold Foundation, New Profit Inc., and The Boston Foundation; the evaluators Urban Institute and Abt Associates; and the validator Public Consulting Group. In addition to its role as service provider, Roca is also an investor in the project.

13. For more information, see Gustafsson-Wright, Gardiner, and Putcha, 2015.

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