Issues in Brief

Why Planning for Release Matters

Marta Nelson Senior Planner
Jennifer Trone Senior Writer

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STATE SENTENCING AND CORRECTIONS PROGRAM

More than half a million people will leave America's prisons and jails this year, beginning a difficult transition that many will fail. Sixty-two percent of them are expected to be arrested at least once within the next three years, and 41 percent to wind up back in jail or prison.[1]

Supporting people during the critical period just after release, when they face many challenges at once, is one strategy to interrupt the cycle. Equally important are efforts to prepare inmates for the challenges ahead: finding a job, re-establishing family ties and support, resisting the pull of drugs and alcohol, addressing physical and mental health problems, and avoiding old habits linked with previous criminal behavior.

In Texas, the departments of corrections and labor operate a vocational development program open to all prisoners. Corrections officials in Montgomery County, Maryland, run a transitional facility where inmates can live during the last six months of their sentence and plan their return home. These two programs alone suggest the range of approaches government can take to help people become ready for life on the outside. And research is beginning to demonstrate their value: inmates involved in both programs have been less likely to be reincarcerated than people who did not receive services before release.[2]

While there is much to discover about the effects of pre-release programs, enterprising officials in a handful of states across the country continue to experiment, convinced that common-sense services such as job training and development, help securing personal identification, referrals to community health services, and family-focused counseling enable inmates to take better advantage of whatever support and supervision they receive in the community or, in the absence of such services, navigate better on their own.

This paper briefly describes their efforts—strategies that could be modified to work in other jurisdictions. It ends with specific suggestions for planning pre-release services, including considerations of cost.

The Challenges of Coming Home

Meeting the requirements of community supervision

For many inmates, supervision does not end when they leave custody. After release, eighty percent of former prisoners are either on parole or under the

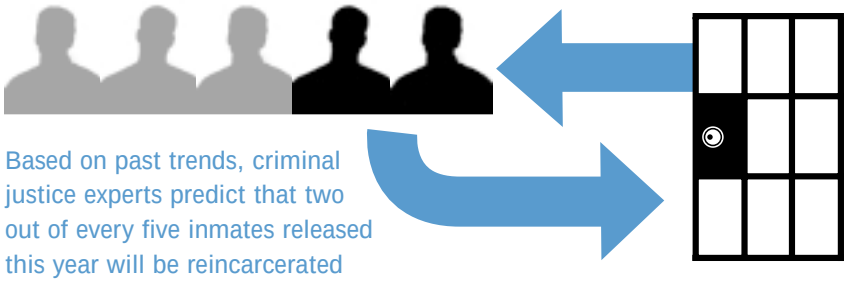
watchful eye of some criminal justice officer.[3] Probation caseloads in cities across the county are also very high. To remain at liberty, these former inmates have to fulfill the conditions and requirements their supervisors impose. Over the last two decades, and particularly since 1990, the number of people sent back to prison for violating the terms of their parole rose dramatically, and by 1998 they accounted for more than a third of all new admissions to state prison.[4]

When supervision works well it provides some of the ballast people need during their first months in the community, but many newly released inmates find it hard to meet the broadly defined conditions of probation and parole. Accustomed to being told exactly what to do and how to do it, they often expect their supervision officers to forge a path for them—get them a job, find the right drug treatment program. Disappointed when their unrealistic expectations are not met, some people never form trusting relationships with those who supervise them. As for the officers, they begin the process with no information about how the people they have to supervise respond to authority figures and what they want to do with their lives.

The pre-release center in Montgomery County, Maryland, addresses these problems by involving parole and probation officers in the process of helping inmates prepare to reenter the community. Officers meet regularly with the inmates they will supervise and with center staff to refine release plans.

Because the center is located in the community where these officers work, they can more easily participate in release planning. Alternatively, videoconferences could unite parole officers with inmates living in far away prisons. Regardless of distance, forging these relationships takes time. In Montgomery County these are intensive supervision cases, and officers assigned to them monitor fewer people.

The Revolving Door



Based on past trends, criminal justice experts predict that two out of every five inmates released this year will be reincarcerated within three years.

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics

Without changing any roles or responsibilities, officials in the South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole, and Pardon Services have improved the relationship between newly released inmates and supervision officers. A simple handbook explains the rules and requirements of supervision and what former inmates can expect from these officers.

Finding a job The vast majority of inmates leave jails and prisons without a job in hand and little direction on how to get one. What happens to them in today's labor market, however, is less clear. Research has yet to reveal the precise effects of incarceration on future employment, although several studies show that former inmates have more difficulty than other people finding and keeping a job.[5] While neither the federal government nor most states track the number of inmates employed after release, the few available statistics continue to reveal high rates of joblessness among this group. In New York, for example, sixty percent of former prisoners were unemployed last year, down just slightly from 65 percent six years ago.[6]

Helping inmates acquire marketable skills and work experience is one of the best ways to prepare them for the job search ahead. Unfortunately, few prisons are set up to meet this need. State officials are slowly changing this situation in Texas. Through Project RIO (Re-Integration of Offenders), inmates can receive vocational training and related work experience matching their capabilities and interests.[7] About half of the state's 140,000 prisoners choose to participate in RIO. One of its hallmarks is training people for jobs that pay good salaries on the outside. Through RIO, inmates are learning how to retrofit old computers and create digital maps using computer-assisted drafting techniques. Inmates can even move within the state's prison system to get a specific type of vocational training.

Even people with solid skills often need help finding employers willing to hire former inmates. Some employers never think to draw on this pool of available labor; more are leery of hiring ex-offenders; and few know about the tax credits, bonding, and other incentives government provides to raise the employment rate among this group. To increase their awareness and quell their fears, some jails and prisons invite employers to meet with inmates who will be released soon.

At least once a year, each prison in Ohio holds a job fair open to any inmate who will be released within thirty days: corrections officials believe employers are more likely to offer jobs to inmates who can begin work soon and that these inmates are more likely to accept jobs and show up. Employers who cannot travel to the prisons can interview inmates through the use of videoconferences.

The move from cell block to neighborhood block is one of the most difficult transitions people attempt.

While some fairs, like those in Ohio, provide opportunities for inmates to apply for jobs, more of them, including those run by the Federal Bureau of Prisons, are designed to introduce inmates to companies willing to hire ex-offenders. And although big job fairs reach many employers and inmates, they have disadvantages: after many encounters, employers and inmates may come away without strong impressions of one another.

Some correctional facilities take an individualized approach to connecting inmates with employers. Under a contract with the Illinois Department of Correction, the Safer Foundation—a nonprofit organization that provides employment services to ex-offenders in Chicago—runs two work-release facilities designed to help inmates find and maintain jobs in the community. The Montgomery County Pre-Release Center also has staff who function as job developers.

The most common barrier to legal employment is lack of identification. Most people leave prison without a driver's license, passport, or other photo ID; social security card or birth certificate. Just days after leaving prison, an Atlanta resident found a job only to lose it because he could not prove his identity and citizenship.[8] Without any of these papers, getting a state-issued photo ID is difficult if not impossible: in many states people need a birth certificate and a bill or paycheck in their name, both products of a stable life and the result of having identification. Without even a birth certificate, former inmates are also cut off from public assistance and publicly funded health care.

In Texas, Project RIO helps inmates apply for these documents, holds them when they arrive, and forwards them to its job placement and counseling offices when inmates are released. The system gets people the identification they need and provides strong incentive for them to visit the RIO office in their community. Encouraged by several state legislators and cabinet members, corrections and motor vehicles officials in Maryland developed a memorandum of understanding that allows inmates to trade in prison identification cards for state-issued nondriver's licenses.

Reconnecting with family Most people coming out of prison and jail live at least initially with members of their family.[9] While families are usually happy about their relative's release, they often have other, conflicting emotions. They may feel angry about harm the person caused in the past, betrayed, and disappointed. And most newly released inmates are unable to respond appropriately. Under stress, those with a history of violent behavior may lash out physically or emotionally. Parents who have been incarcerated have the added

That two out of every five inmates released this year will find themselves back behind bars within three years is startling and sobering, particularly since the United States now incarcerates more than two million people. Whatever one might say about the wisdom and justice of reaching this benchmark, an undeniable result is that legislators and other government leaders are under increasingly heavy pressure to re-examine rising corrections costs. Given widespread tax cuts, and with health care and education at the top of voters' agendas, they feel more responsibility to balance public safety concerns with other demands on the budget.

In one Midwestern state last year, more than half the inmates leaving prison returned shortly after release. Leaders in that state are focused on the problem, and they are not alone. In surveying experiences across the states, we have learned that officials are beginning to reckon with the problem of reincarceration by looking closely at the obstacles people face when they return to the community. We decided to produce *Why Planning for Release Matters* to help them move forward. Based on the work of Vera Senior Planner Marta Nelson, it is the second in a series of briefing papers. Examples of pre-release services in several states across the country suggest the value of addressing supervision, employment, health, and family concerns before people leave prison and jail: inmates will reenter the community better prepared and less likely to make the mistakes that would land them back in confinement. Despite their need and desire for help, most inmates today receive little attention and few services as their release date approaches. This paper suggests specific ways government leaders can change that and reduce reincarceration.

Nicholas R. Turner
Director, State Sentencing and Corrections Program

By 1998 parole violators accounted for more than a third of all new admissions to state prison.

problems of reconnecting emotionally with their children, re-establishing custody or gaining visitation rights, and providing financial support.

The architects of the Montgomery County Pre-Release Center believe families need to prepare for this complex situation before inmates return home. To facilitate the process, the center requires every inmate to have a sponsor—a parent, grandparent, spouse or partner, even a child—who agrees to attend six weekly educational sessions. The center also provides family therapy for inmates and their sponsors who want counseling.

There are many benefits of having family support in the weeks and months after release. In particular, it can influence whether people violate probation or parole.[10] Post-release supervision affects not only former inmates but also everyone they live with. Officers visit their homes at odd hours and without warning, and frequently call home to check on people. Families who are prepared for the invasiveness of supervision and understand the consequences of breaking even a simple rule like curfew are more likely to cooperate and encourage their relatives to follow the rules.

An even better way to get families invested in a successful parole or probation experience is to support them. La Bodega de la Familia, a Vera project, assists families whose newly released relatives are engaged in drug treatment, but the center's concept could be applied more broadly.[11] To identify and help these families, La Bodega works closely with local parole and probation officers.

Before any New York State prisoner can be released, a parole officer has to inspect and approve the person's future residence. Staff of La Bodega routinely accompany certain parole officers on home visits, using this entry as an opportunity to tell families who live in the center's neighborhood about the center's services, including 24-hour emergency support and intensive family counseling.

When people seem in danger of violating parole, staff of La Bodega work with their families and supervision officers to help them get back on course. Success depends on keeping the officers informed. Otherwise, they will make what seems like the only safe move: to reincarcerate the person.

Staying drug-free and healthy Three out of four inmates have a history of using drugs or alcohol, and most of them will not receive formal treatment in custody.[12] Even those lucky enough to participate in good clinical programs need coaching before release. While some programs are designed to begin treatment in custody and continue care and supervision in the community, they are unusual.

The Montgomery County Pre-Release Center runs a two-week relapse prevention course that provides techniques for living clean in a drug-filled world and suggests how to find and make the most of outpatient treatment programs. And for those residents who never received treatment in custody, the center also runs a course on the principles of addiction and recovery as a launching pad for more extensive treatment in the community.

Such preparation is useless, however, if people cannot pay for treatment after release. While some parole departments cover the cost of drug treatment, most people just out of jail and prison depend on Medicaid. It can take Medicaid agencies up to 45 days to approve an application. Unless local programs agree to treat people with pending applications, they will be without care precisely when they have had no practice resisting the urge to use drugs. To remedy this problem, the New York City Human Resources Administration and the Department of Correction have begun helping inmates in the city's residential substance abuse program apply for Medicaid and other public assistance at least 45 days before they are released from jail—so that they are covered the day they go home.

About 14 percent of state prisoners are identified as mentally ill.[13] In some jails, these problems are even more common. Nearly a third of the inmates in the 2,200-bed county jail system in Hamden County, Massachusetts, and a quarter of people confined in New York City jails receive mental health services.[14] Officials in Los Angeles say about 11 percent of their jail population are treated for psychiatric disorders.[15]

Without immediate access to psychiatric care in the community, mentally ill people are unable to function normally. To ensure continuity, corrections officials in Hamden County partner with an agency that has an extensive network of community clinics. A full-time discharge facilitator ensures that inmates leave jail with appointments at these clinics and prescriptions for medication to sustain them in the meantime.

Officials in King County, Washington, take a slightly different approach. Every day the county jail sends the department of community and human services a list of new jail admissions. When a mental health care recipient is detained, the department notifies the person's health care provider and, whenever possible, the case manager. Mental health providers are required to track these cases and to continue treating people in custody and after release.

Beginning the process of deinstitutionalization Underlying the challenges already discussed is the struggle to unlearn passive behavior patterns that work well in prison and jail

but are a liability at home and on the job, and to acquire better decision-making skills. Many people end up incarcerated because they have poor judgment. They need to learn how to wait before acting, consider several alternatives, and choose wisely among them—responses that are especially important and difficult to employ under pressure.

Cognitive-behavioral treatment can help inmates acquire better reasoning skills and thereby change their behavior, and these treatments are becoming increasingly common in correctional facilities.[16] Cognitive-behaviorial therapy can have benefits at any stage of incarceration, but when offered close to release, gives inmates an opportunity to practice what they have learned while the lessons are fresh.

Prisoners in Oregon and Idaho participate in the Pathfinders Program, 180 hours of intensive cognitive therapy that in Oregon significantly reduced reincarceration rates.[17] Delaware inmates participate in a life skills program based on Moral Reconation Therapy (MRT) that, according to one study, also decreases the chances that someone will wind up back in prison.[18] While these programs can be effective, they are expensive to operate. The psychologist who developed MRT, for example, recommends employing one counselor for every twenty inmates treated, and these counselors have to be formally trained.

To limit costs, corrections officials in these and other states restrict participation to certain inmates. In Oregon, Pathfinders is reserved for 1,500 high-risk offenders each year, a group that includes violent criminals and people convicted of sex crimes. Other inmates in Oregon receive shorter, less expensive cognitive-behavioral treatments. Officials in Idaho use Pathfinders only in the state's boot camp program. In Delaware, just 300 inmates receive MRT therapy a year, and the Montgomery County Pre-Release Center provides MRT to only a third of its population. The National Institute of Corrections recently developed a free curriculum called Thinking for a Change, but its effects have not been evaluated.

Therapeutic programs are not the only way to help inmates develop sound judgment and problem-solving skills. Work-release facilities and halfway houses give inmates a chance to gradually reacquaint themselves with the outside world and its pressures, and practice responding to difficult situations—a complicated commute to work, a prickly employer, an urge to buy something the person cannot afford. And for inmates who do not qualify for places in nonsecure facilities, even just the structured process of planning for release provides opportunities to hone their reasoning skills.

Designing a Program

There are many ways to help inmates prepare for the challenges that await them in the community—from narrowly-focused programs to comprehensive ones, from the very deep to the rela

Many interventions have the potential to reduce recidivism while being worthy pursuits on their own.

tively shallow, from programs that take place inside prisons and jails to special pre-release facilities. Each approach has benefits and will help some inmates more than others. What is the right solution for a particular jurisdiction? How should officials proceed?

People interested in improving or developing pre-release services first need to define what exactly they want to achieve. Many interventions have the potential to reduce recidivism while being worthy pursuits on their own. And these intermediate goals—such as providing job development services, guaranteeing that all physically and mentally ill inmates have medical insurance when they are released, and reuniting families before release—can be documented objectively and easily. Moreover, as the previous section illustrates, any one of them, and the many other interventions that smooth the transition process, can be approached in different ways.

Choosing which inmates to serve Part of defining a goal involves deciding who to serve. Some goals, such as linking mentally ill inmates with treatment in the community, clearly define who to enroll. Other goals, such as providing basic information about transition apply equally well with different types of inmates or everyone who will be released.

The cost of providing something for everyone need not be overwhelming: for $1.6 million dollars a year, the department of correction in Ohio provides a three-week class beginning about a month before release to each of the 20,000 inmates who leave its facilities annually.

Officials with more ambitious goals may have to concentrate resources on certain inmates. While Texas spends $3.3 million a year to assess half its 140,000 inmates and direct them to appropriate job training and experience, and $4.7 million to offer them job development services after release, there are ways to provide employment services on a smaller scale. The majority of inmates in any system fall into the hard-to-employ category, but some can and will find jobs without formal assistance. Screening out these inmates limits costs. Surveying current parolees about employment—whether they are working, how they found their jobs, barriers to employment—would yield a screening tool to identify inmates likely to benefit most from job training or development.

Another tactic is to limit services to people more likely to reoffend.[19] One can marry this approach with any goal. Corrections officials typically have access to information needed to identify this high-risk group—crime of conviction, criminal history, time served, age, and employment history—and could develop a screening tool. In many jurisdictions, high-risk offenders include people serving time for violent crimes or with a history of such convictions. Serving them involves taking some political risk but makes sense from a public safety perspective.

The Montgomery County Pre-Release Center takes a different approach to screening potential participants. Staff try to weed out inmates who are unable or unwilling to see the difficulties ahead—people who will be hard to help and might disrupt efforts to assist others. To identify them, staff administer two standardized questionnaires and pass on the test results to a psychologist for review, a process specified in the statute creating the center.[20]

Deciding how to deliver services Setting up any program involves tackling innumerable questions about how to deliver services, most of which are beyond the scope of this brief paper. Two key decisions, however, merit attention because they have considerable influence on the shape of any program.

The first choice is whether to standardize pre-release services across facilities. Corrections officials in New York recently developed a comprehensive program about reintegration that will operate identically in all the state's prisons following a pilot phase. Project RIO in Texas is also standardized across facilities. A strong reason for standardization is to accommodate inmates who move among facilities. In Ohio, however, staff of community-based agencies who conduct most of the three-week pre-release courses have developed slightly different curriculums within the state's broad guidelines—useful innovations at no cost to consistency because inmates are unlikely to be transferred during the last month of their sentence.

The second key decision involves whether or not to deliver services from a dedicated space or facility. Dedicated spaces are beneficial because they separate inmates preparing for release from the general population. As a result, they offer an opportunity to create a physical environment and organizational culture that facilitates transition. And when these spaces are situated in the community they offer places from which inmates can begin establishing links with employers, health care providers, other service agencies, and their families.

In 1996, the Maryland Department of Corrections created a secure transitional facility for state inmates returning to Baltimore. Prisoners move to the Metropolitan Transition Center within 18 months of their scheduled release date. Like the Montgomery County Pre-Release Center, it provides a range of services designed to aid transition: vocational education, employment readiness training, classes on domestic relations, sessions where victims talk to inmates about the impact of crime on their lives, and most recently the new cognitive-behavioral therapy program Thinking for a Change.

Creating and running a separate, secure facility does not have to be expensive. According to corrections officials in Maryland, the state pays slightly less to house an inmate in the Metropolitan Transition Center than in a state prison. The center is less costly to run because it provides only minimum security—it is staffed by fewer corrections officers—and because the city location makes it possible for the center to purchase food services, for example, from local companies instead of staffing this service internally, which is more expensive.

By contrast, it costs more to house an inmate in the Montgomery County Pre-Release Center than in a state prison or in the county jail.[21] The center's annual operating budget is $3.9 million or $26,000 per bed. The center is expensive to run because it has a large staff of county employees who offer individualized services—an approach that seems to pay off after release.[22] Center participants have lower recidivism rates and rely less on government to support them and their families.

Many custody-based programs for inmates with special needs—such as addiction, mental illness or HIV/AIDS—already have dedicated spaces. The best way to deliver pre-release services to these inmates may be within existing programs. New York City's Substance Abuse Intervention Division (SAID), which provides drug treatment in dedicated jail units, also helps inmates connect with treatment in the community and find housing before release.

Collaborating with other agencies No matter what type of program officials aim to create, they are more likely to reach their goals by collaborating with other government agencies. Departments of parole and probation, health, alcoholism and substance abuse, labor, and social services have a stake in improving what happens to people after release—these individuals are many of their clients—but generally do not have access to them before release. Getting these agencies involved in the custody side of programming will improve outcomes by creating a system that provides continuous care, reduces overlapping work, and if costs are shared, lowers the investment any one agency must make in pre-release services.

Many of the programs discussed in this brief are the result of interagency collaboration and investment by agencies other than corrections. The New York City Human Resources Administration provides staff who help jail inmates apply for Medicaid benefits, and the agency pays for corrections officers to maintain security. The Texas Workforce Commission funds employment assessment specialists in every prison and job development offices in communities throughout the state. The Maryland motor vehicles administration accepts prison identification cards from people seeking a state-issued photo ID. A written agreement between the Montgomery County Department of Correction and the Maryland Department of Parole and Probation outlines the responsibilities of supervision officers who participate in the county pre-release center.

Linking custody-based programs with services in the community Protecting the investment, large or small, in pre-release programming requires developing some form of community follow-up. Research suggests that prison programming focused on life issues, such as employment, drug abuse, and family relations, is most effective if the work continues in the community after release.[23]

There are many ways to create links between custody-based programs and services in the community. The Montgomery County Pre-Release Center is staffed by several community coordinators who place offenders with service agencies before release. The Metropolitan Transition Center in Baltimore plans to partner with three community development corporations that will take a case management approach to helping

For more information about programs described in this Issue Brief

Delaware Life Skills Program
Janey Webber, Counselor and Case Manager
Delaware Department of Corrections
302-429-7725

Hamden County Sheriff's Department Forensic Mental Health Services
Dr. Katrin Rouse, Program Director
413-547-8000

Idaho Department of Corrections
Bill Farmer, Education Program Manager
208-962-3278

King County Department of Community and Human Services
Patrick Vanzo, Crisis and Engagement Services Section Chief
Mental Health, Chemical Abuse and Dependency Services Division
206-296-0615

Maryland Division of Correction
Jack Kavanagh, Assistant Commissioner
410-585-3303

Montgomery County Pre-Release Center
Sue Wiant, Director
301-468-4200

New York City Human Resources Administration
Paul Dynia, Deputy Director, Substance Abuse Policy Unit
212-374-7321

New York State Department of Correctional Services
Loyce Duke, Director of Transitional Services
518-457-5652

Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction
Darrel L. Wilt, Coordinator, Offender Job Linkage Program
614-752-1008
Susan Renick, Pre-Release Director
614-877-2306 ext. 326

Oregon Department of Corrections
Shannon Delateur, Administrator for Workforce Development
503-378-6482

Project RIO
Burt Ellison, Program Director
512-463-0834

Safer Foundation
B. Diane Williams, President and CEO
312-922-8803

South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole and Pardon Services
Joan Meachum, Deputy Director for Field Services
803-734-9281

inmates get the services they need after release. In Ohio inmates learn about organizations that can help them after release because these agencies run the state's mandatory pre-release course. Officials at the Illinois Department of Correction took that approach one step further by hiring a local nonprofit agency to run two community corrections centers in Chicago.

Footnotes

[1] Allen J. Beck, "State and Federal Prisoners Returning to the Community: Findings from the Bureau of Justice Statistics" (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, April 13, 2000). This brief document, which is available online at www.opj.gov/bjs/pub/pdf/stprc.pdf, describes inmates who will be released within the next 12 months. (Hereafter, referred to as "Prisoners Returning to the Community.")

[2] Prisoners who receive vocational training from Texas's Project RIO (Re-Integration of Offenders) have reincarceration rates 15 percent lower than similar inmates who did not participate in RIO. Peter Finn, "Texas' Project RIO," (Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, 1998), 14. Graduates of the Montgomery County Pre-Release Center are half as likely as other inmates to be reincarcerated. Erika Christine Hughes, "The Montgomery County Department of Correction and Rehabilitation Pre-Release Services Program: The Monitoring and Impact Assessment of a Community Corrections Program," (paper submitted to the faculty of the sociology graduate school of the University of Maryland, 1996), 74-75.

[3] "Prisoners Returning to the Community."

[4] ibid. Between 1990 and 1998, the number of parole violators among new prison inmates rose 54 percent.

[5] Harold Watts and Demetra Smith Nightingale, "Adding It Up: The Economic Impact of Incarceration on Individuals, Families, and Communities," in *The Unintended Consequences of Incarceration* (New York: Vera Institute of Justice, 1996), 90-93.

[6] Robyn Meredith, "Road from Prison to Jobs Gets Smoother," *New York Times,* April 3, 2000, National Section.

[7] All inmates are eligible for RIO except those under administrative segregation, who are not allowed to move freely within the facility.

[8] Rhonda Cook, "State Prison-to-Work Program Falls Short," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, June 1, 2000.

[9] Harvey L. McMurray, "High Risk Parolees in Transition from Institution to Community Life," *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 19 (1/2) (1993): 152.

[10] Carol Shapiro, *Integrating Family-Focused Interventions into the Criminal Justice System* (New York: Vera Institute of Justice, December 1999).

[11] ibid.

[12] Only 22 percent of state prison inmates who were using drugs at the time of their offense will receive clinical treatment before release. Source: "Prisoners Returning to the Community." The proportion of prison inmates in formal substance abuse treatment programs is expected to rise over the next few years as more state correctional agencies take advantage of federal funds to provide residential treatment in prisons. Formal treatment is even less common among people sentenced to jail: only seven percent of convicted offenders who report using drugs at the time of their offense participate in clinical programs during confinement. Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Drug Use, Testing & Treatment in Jail*s (Washington, DC: BJS, May 2000), Table 7. The data is based on a 1996 survey of local jail inmates.

[13] "Prisoners Returning to the Community."

[14] Conversation with Dr. Katrin Rouse, program director, forensic mental health services, Hamden County Sheriff's Department.

[15] Conversation with David Meyer, chief deputy director of the Los Angeles County Department of Mental Health.

[16] Gerald G. Gaes et al., "Adult Correctional Treatment," *Crime and Justice* 26 (1999): 374.

[17] Pathfinders participants in Oregon were less likely to be reincarcerated compared with similar inmates who did not go through the program. The expected difference between the two groups grew over time. At six months after release there was a 19 percent difference, followed by 22 percent at one year, 24 percent at 18 months, and 43 percent after two years. "Pathfinders: Post Release Revocations Compared to Other Inmates, Results to Date (June 1996)," (Salem, Oregon: Department of Correction Research Unit, September 6, 1996). Findings from a study of Pathfinders in Idaho are not yet available.

[18] A year later, 22 percent of life skills participants had returned to prison and jail, compared with 38 percent of the untreated inmates. The one life skills class that had a higher return rate than the untreated group also completed therapy farther in advance of their release dates compared with the other classes, a finding that underscores the benefits of providing treatment close to release. Source: M.L. Miller, "Evaluation of the Life Skills Program," (Wilmington, Delaware: Department of Correction, Division of Correctional Education, 1997), 22.

[19] D.A. Andrews et al., "Does Correctional Treatment Work? A Clinically Relevant and Psychologically Informed Meta-Analysis," *Criminology* 28, no. 3 (1990): 374. (Hereafter, referred to as "Does Correctional Treatment Work?")

[20] Center staff use the MCM1 III (Million Clinical Multiaxial Inventory) and the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale.

[21] Most inmates who participate in the center come from the county jail, but about ten percent are Montgomery County residents who transfer to the center from state prison.

[22] For every fifty inmates, the center has a unit manager, community coordinator, work-release coordinator, two counselors, and three to four guards—only one of which is on duty at any one time. This ratio does not include administrative and other support staff.

[23] Steven Martin, Clifford Butin, Christine Saum, and James Inciardi, "Three-Year Outcomes of Therapeutic Community Treatment for Drug-Involved Offenders in Delaware: From Prison to Work Release to Aftercare," *The Prison Journal* (September 1999): 316-17. See also: "Does Correctional Treatment Work?" 386.

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