

The Oxford Handbook of Sentencing and Corrections

Joan Petersilia and Kevin R. Reitz

Print publication date: 2012
Print ISBN-13: 9780199730148
Published to Oxford Handbooks Online: Sep-12
DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199730148.001.0001

The Characteristics of Prisoners Returning Home and Effective Reentry Programs and Policies

Christy A. Visher, Jeremy Travis

DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199730148.013.0028

Abstract and Keywords

This article reports that rehabilitation for prisoners is still not dead. It reveals that prisoner reentry programs have been implemented nationwide for the past ten years, and that current knowledge on prisoner reentry is strong enough to determine the principles of effective programs. This article also suggests that future research in this field should focus on interdisciplinary and longitudinal studies of prisoner reintegration that uses multiple outcome measures, in order to be able to understand the complete effects of current social policies.

rehabilitation, prisoner reentry programs, principles of effective programs, prisoner reintegration, multiple outcome measures, social policies

Introduction

In the last decade, “prisoner reentry” has emerged as a critical issue affecting families, communities, state and local governments, and social service providers. Of course, ever since prisons were first built, people incarcerated in prisons have returned home when their sentences were completed. But today, more people than ever before are making this journey home. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, during calendar year 2008 in the United States, state and federal correctional authorities admitted 733,009 prisoners and released only slightly fewer, 698,459 (Sabol and Couture 2009). Thirty years ago, fewer than 200,000 made this journey home. Why has the prisoner reentry population increased? There is a simple explanation: more people are coming home because more people are sent

to prison. Over the past generation, the rate of incarceration in America has more than quadrupled (see Figure 28.1), and the state and federal prison population at mid-year 2008 was 1.6 million people. There is a very simple and immutable “iron law of imprisonment” (Travis 2005): except for those who die in prison, everyone who goes to prison ultimately returns home (Petersilia 2003).

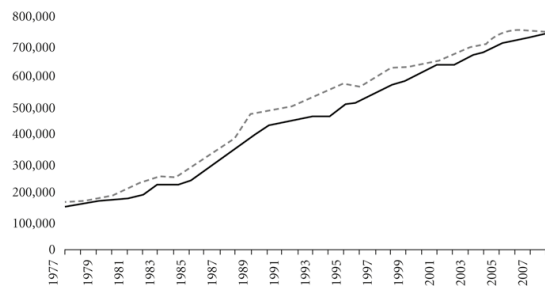


Figure 28.1. Sentenced Prisoners Admitted and Released from Federal and State Prison, 1977-2008.

Source: The Urban Institute, 2010. Based on data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Prisoner Statistics series.

The net effect of these realities is profound: a large number of individuals, 90 percent of them men, are every year removed from their families and communities, held in prisons and jails, and then returned home facing substantial barriers to reintegration. In the United States, a majority of these individuals come from a small number of urban communities. These communities, already struggling with poor schools, poor health care, and weak labor markets, are now shouldering the burden of reintegrating record numbers of former prisoners. Not surprisingly, men and women reentering society from prison have difficulty finding a job, a place to live, reliable transportation, and affordable health care. Many of these exiting prisoners need transitional and supportive services such as job training, substance abuse treatment, and mental health counseling that are unavailable in the disadvantaged communities to which many of them return (Visher and Travis 2003).

Given the magnitude of the prisoner reentry phenomenon, it has become a salient local, state, and federal policy concern for several reasons. First and foremost is the public safety dimension. Nearly two-thirds of released prisoners will be rearrested, and over half will be reincarcerated within three years of release. The recidivism rate has remained virtually unchanged for the last decade or more (Langan and Levin 2002). More parolees are

returning to prison than ever before: one-third of all prison admissions nationwide are parole violators who are being returned to prison for new crimes or technical violations (Blumstein and Beck 2005). Such high recidivism rates translate into thousands of new instances of victimization each year. It is estimated that former prisoners account for 15 to 20 percent of all arrests among adults (Rosenfeld et al. 2005).

The magnitude of the prisoner reentry phenomenon also profoundly affects other aspects of communities, including public health, homelessness, declines in civic participation, and lost connections among families and within communities. Finally, there are fiscal implications. Significant portions of state budgets are now invested in the criminal justice system. Expenditures on corrections alone increased from \$11 billion in 1982 to \$65 billion in 2005 (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics 2005), and these figures do not include the cost of the arrest and sentencing processes, nor do they take into account the cost to victims of crimes committed by released prisoners.

The fiscal and social consequences of former prisoners returning to urban areas in record numbers have resulted in unprecedented political and policy attention in the United States. In 2001, the Council of State Governments passed a resolution focused on prisoner reentry. The resolution described the concern of state government officials about prisoner reentry, their desire to inform state policy making around this issue, and their efforts to ensure that the federal government facilitates reentry initiatives that recognize the uniqueness of each jurisdiction. The resolution established a national Re-Entry Policy Council charged with developing a comprehensive, bipartisan set of recommendations for policy makers to use to improve the likelihood that adults released from prison or jail will avoid crime and become productive members of families and communities. That effort resulted in a comprehensive report that has received national media attention and has inspired legislative activity on both state and federal levels (Re-Entry Policy Council 2005). The Re-Entry Policy Council is continuing to facilitate coordination and information sharing among elected officials and other policy makers to help organizations develop and implement effective public policy and programs concerning prisoner reentry.

The bipartisan attention that prisoner reentry has received in the last several years is also striking. Mayors, county councils, and governors have created special prisoner reentry coordinators in their offices. Federal support for prisoner reentry began in the Clinton administration and has continued under Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama in the form of several

initiatives that provide grants to states for developing and enhancing efforts to ease the transition of prisoners back to the community. Both the Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiative (SVORI) and the Prisoner Reentry Initiative (PRI) have helped to galvanize state correctional agencies and communities into focusing on the prisoner reentry phenomenon. The latest reentry initiative, the Second Chance Act, is a bipartisan congressional effort to send additional federal resources to states to help improve the reintegration of former prisoners into civilian life. Some of the strategies that are incorporated into these reentry initiatives—education, job training, and work release—have been the focus of offender rehabilitation efforts for the better part of the past century. However, attention to the problem of prisoner reentry in this decade has not just focused on the individual offender, but has taken a broader organizational approach in conceptualizing the problem and devising solutions. These new solutions seek to mobilize resources from a variety of social service sectors, to focus on community organizations, and to test new models to support successful reentry.

This chapter presents a snapshot of what we have learned in the last decade about exiting prisoners and summarizes the research on what works to improve the chances of former prisoners being successful. It includes findings from the first multi-site study in the United States undertaken to gather information about the men and women who are released from prison and their experiences as they return to their families and communities. It also presents results from multi-site evaluations of reentry initiatives. In these studies, multiple in-depth interviews with former prisoners during their first year out of prison have yielded rich insight into these individuals, and important policy lessons are beginning to emerge from these studies.

Summary Points

- Men and women returning home from prison face formidable and simultaneous challenges, including finding a job and a place to live, locating health services and substance abuse treatment, arranging transportation, rejoining their families, and developing pro-social relationships.
- Most prisoners in reentry programs receive a low-to-moderate level of services to meet their needs before release from prison, but the services available in the community are rarely adequate to meet the needs of these individuals in the high-risk period after release.

- State responses to prisoner reentry have expanded in the last decade and are embracing promising strategies that create coalitions of community organizations to support returning prisoners.
- Reentry programs that are evidence-based and well-implemented have the potential to reduce recidivism rates, at levels as high as 15 to 20 percent; greater reductions may be possible with targeted, community-based strategies.

Characteristics and Needs of Prisoners Returning Home

As recently as 2000, there were no national data describing the characteristics of former prisoners, what they did in the first few weeks and months after their release from prison, and how they confront the transition from prison to the community. The U.S. justice statistics agency, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, regularly surveys inmates in state prisons and jails, and collects other statistics on state prison admissions and releases. However, those who are released from prison are not necessarily a representative group of those who are currently in prison. For example, on any given day, those who are released are typically serving shorter sentences than those who remain in prison, and they are likely to differ on other characteristics as well.

Other data on former prisoners were from studies of unrepresentative samples (e.g., women with children), or journalistic accounts of the experiences of former prisoners. In the 1960s, a longitudinal study of men released from prison was carried out in Canada (Waller 1964), but the results of that project were based on a time and place that were quite different from the contemporary reentry experiences of U.S. men and women. A study of the experiences of 50 individuals during their first month after release in New York in 1999 was circulated among researchers but was not formally released because the findings were considered controversial at the time (Nelson et al. 1999). Other studies have restricted their samples to those who were not successful after release and were returned to prison (Zamble and Quinsey 1997), probably because of the complexity (and expense) of locating individuals once they left prison.

To fill this knowledge gap and gather data on former prisoners, their return to the community, and their reintegration experiences, in 2001, a team of researchers at the Urban Institute designed a multi-state longitudinal study that interviewed men and women prior to their release and several times in the year after their release (Visher 2007; Visher, La Vigne, and Castro 2003).

The Returning Home project explored experiences of prisoner reentry in four states, including a pilot study in Maryland and full research studies in Illinois, Ohio, and Texas. Returning Home was not intended as an outcome evaluation of a particular programmatic effort or an evaluation of a specific policy. It was a longitudinal study of the multiple and often complex challenges that prisoners face upon release and as they reintegrate into society.

The perspective on the experience of reentry from this project is both distinctive, because it is richer than official data, and representative, because it tells the story of all prisoners returning to free society, rather than just those who avail themselves of social services or who are rearrested. In each state, soon-to-be released prisoners within 30 to 60 days of release and returning to specific communities (Baltimore, MD; Chicago, IL; Cleveland, OH; and Houston, TX) were identified. The goal was to ensure that samples reflected the population of released prisoners returning to the identified communities and would be large enough to support multivariate analyses and tests of significance.

Another important source of available data on the characteristics of prisoners returning home is the recently completed Multi-Site Evaluation of the Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiative (SVORI). SVORI, discussed in detail later in this chapter, was an unprecedented federal initiative to provide states with funds to develop, enhance, or expand programs to facilitate the reentry of adults and juveniles to communities from prisons or juvenile detention facilities. As part of the evaluation of the Initiative, men and women enrolled in SVORI and a comparison group were interviewed prior to release and at 3, 9, and 15 months after release, using a similar methodology and protocol as that used in the Returning Home project (Lattimore and Visher 2009). These interviews gathered detailed information on the self-reported needs of individuals as they left prison and returned to the cities and neighborhoods they had left years earlier.

Understanding the Challenges of Returning Home

Until recently, answering the question “Who is returning home?” produced a wide range of answers. Partly this was the result of a lack of data, as described earlier, but in addition, the experience of reentry was often told through the eyes of service providers or parole officers. Utilizing data from self-reports of prisoners reveals that prisoners’ perspectives of the reentry experience differ in important respects from the assumptions shared by many researchers, practitioners, and policy makers. It is also likely that some commonly held views of prisoners are shaped by the experience of

working with certain sub-populations rather than with all those who return to society. For example, former prisoners who appear at shelters, soup kitchens, or community mental health clinics are likely to have different needs and characteristics than ex-prisoners who do not need shelters, donated food, or mental health treatment.

In addition, former prisoners are not a homogeneous group and they do not have identical experiences in their transition from prison to the community. Although the majority have extensive criminal careers, about one in five are serving their first prison term and one-third of those released are not reincarcerated (Piehl and LoBuglio 2005; Petersilia 2005). One in five has served a sentence of five years or more, although the average prisoner in the United States serves about 28 months (Lynch and Sabol 2001). The average age of men leaving state prison is about 35 years, older than many realize, and those in their thirties will likely have different needs from those in their twenties (Visher et al. 2010; Petersilia 2005).

Nonetheless, numerous social and economic disadvantages characterize the vast majority of individuals who are released from prison, including poor educational attainment and employment histories, poor physical and mental health, and alcohol and other drug misuse. Prior to incarceration, almost half of former prisoners (48 percent) had not completed high school or obtained a GED (Visher et al. 2008; Petersilia 2005). A small group of prisoners are able to obtain a GED while incarcerated, but such opportunities depend on the availability of education programs and inmate eligibility for those programs. Although about two-thirds of prisoners nationwide had worked before incarceration (Petersilia 2005), among Returning Home respondents, only half had ever held a permanent job and 32 percent were unemployed in the six months before incarceration (Visher et al. 2008).

It is well-known that a majority of prisoners have extensive substance use histories. Two-thirds (64 percent) of Returning Home respondents reported frequent (more than weekly) drug use or alcohol intoxication prior to prison (Visher et al. 2010). For example, in the six months before entering prison, 41 percent of Maryland respondents reported daily heroin use, and 57 percent of Texas respondents reported daily cocaine use (Solomon et al. 2006). Given high rates of substance use, it is not surprising that exiting prisoners are also likely to suffer from health problems and mental illness (see Greifinger et al., 2007; Petersilia 2005). The majority of men exiting prison (54 percent) reported having a chronic physical or mental health

condition, with the most commonly reported conditions including depression, asthma, hepatitis, and high blood pressure (Visher and Mallik-Kane 2007).

Family members provide critical support to men and women after their release from prison. Research has found that strengthening the family network and maintaining supportive family contact can improve outcomes after prisoners are released (Sullivan et al. 2002; Shapiro and Schwartz 2001). Most prisoners (88 percent) in the Returning Home study reported that they have at least one close family member, and 45 percent reported that they have four or more close family members (Visher 2007). Moreover, the majority of returning prisoners live with family members and/or intimate partners immediately after release (Visher et al. 2010). Two months after release, 85 percent of Returning Home respondents were living with a family member, typically their mother or sister (50–60 percent) or intimate partner (20–23 percent). However, many of these living arrangements are only temporary. Seven months after release, 35 percent of former prisoners had lived at more than one address, and 52 percent believed that their housing situation was temporary or that they would not be staying in their current neighborhood for long (Visher et al. 2010).

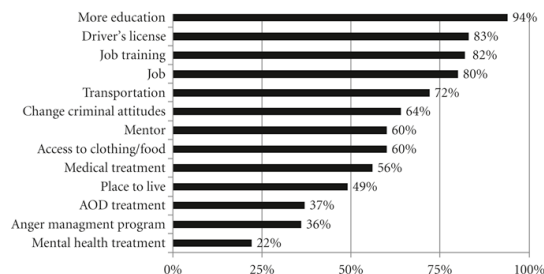


Figure 28.2. Self-Reported Need for Specific Services among Soon-to-be-Released Male Prisoners.

Source: Compiled from data on male respondents (n = 1,697) presented in Lattimore, Visher, and Steffey 2008.

This portrait of former prisoners reveals the formidable challenges in their personal lives as they leave prison and return to the community. Not surprisingly, the self-reported needs of exiting prisoners mirror these challenges. As revealed in interviews as part of the evaluation of the Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiative, the needs of former prisoners ranged from general needs such as more education to specific needs such as photo identification or driver's license (Lattimore, Visher, and Steffey 2008).

In interviews conducted about 30 days before release, respondents were asked to identify the extent to which they needed 28 different types of services in five broad categories: services to help with the transition from prison to the community; health care services (including substance abuse and mental health); employment, education, and skills services; domestic violence-related services; and child-related services (Lattimore, Visher, and Steffey 2008). Among men, the levels of expressed need are highest for education, job training, and employment, followed by the need for a variety of transitional services and health-related services (see Figure 28.2). Almost all soon-to-be-released prisoners report needing more education (94 percent), job training (82 percent), and a job (80 percent); and the need for a driver's license (83 percent) ranked higher than the need for employment. Substantial proportions of exiting prisoners report needing basic transitional services such as housing (49 percent), access to clothing and food (60 percent), and transportation (72 percent). More than half of prisoners report needing medical treatment (56 percent). Treatment for substance use and mental health issues is also a significant need for up to one-third of prisoners who are close to release. Exiting prisoners also recognize a need for services that will help them change their past behavior patterns as they return to the community, such as mentoring (60 percent), services to help change criminal attitudes (64 percent), and anger management classes (36 percent). Finally, men with children report needing a variety of child-related services, including parenting skills (60 percent), help with child support payments (45 percent), and even child care assistance after release (39 percent).

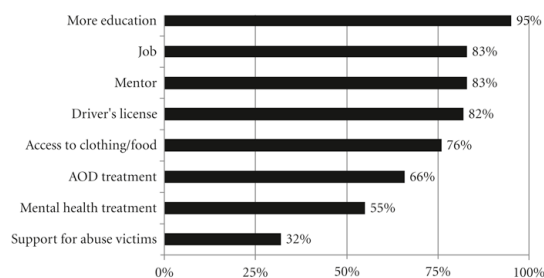


Figure 28.3. Self-Reported Need for Specific Services among Soon-to-be-Released Female Prisoners.

Source: Compiled from data on female respondents (n = 357) presented in Lindquist et al. 2009.

Female prisoners report higher expressed need for services than men (Lattimore and Visher 2009; Lindquist et al. 2009). Women had significantly higher needs than men for 19 of 28 identified services. In comparison with

the men, women most commonly report needing education (95 percent), employment (83 percent), a mentor (83 percent), a driver's license (82 percent), and access to clothing and food (77 percent) (see Figure 28.3). Moreover, women report needing more health services than men, with 55 percent needing mental health treatment and about two-thirds needing substance use treatment. About one-third requested access to support groups for abuse victims. Not surprisingly, need for child-related services among exiting female prisoners is high, with 90 percent of women with children reporting needing some type of child-related service. More mothers than fathers report needing to learn parenting skills (70 percent), but otherwise women and men appear to have similar levels of need for child-related services.

The SVORI evaluation also questioned men and women in the study about their need for a variety of services during the months after their release from prison. The researchers report that women continued to have higher self-reported needs than men, particularly for health and family-related services. Other gender differences decreased over time in other service areas. In the later interviews at 9 and 15 months, men reported higher levels of need for employment and education than the women (Lattimore and Visser 2009; Lindquist et al. 2009). On average, the men reported needing about 40–45 percent of all the service items up to 15 months after release, compared to 54 percent of items just prior to release; women reported needing about 45–50 percent of all the service items after release, compared with 64 percent of items prior to release (Lattimore and Visser 2009). The highest continued needs for both men and women were more education, financial assistance, and health care insurance.

Thus, men and women returning to the community are a population with extremely high needs, which remain high up to 15 months after release from prison. In addition to these recognized needs for assistance and support, former prisoners may experience collateral effects of the prison experience and a criminal record, which both create additional obstacles to a successful transition from prison back to the community. These collateral effects (sometimes called “invisible punishments”) may include exclusions from certain professions (e.g., realtor or health care), access to public benefits (e.g., student loans, public housing, or food stamps), as well as loss of parental rights (Petersilia 2003; Hagan and Dinovitzer 1999; Travis 2002). These realities, in conjunction with conditions imposed upon their release (e.g., employment, in-person reporting, payment of restitution, fees, and

finances), and the need for state-approved identification and transportation, make the first few weeks and months after release especially difficult.

State Responses to the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry

The complexity of the disadvantages and the depths of the needs confronting men and women being released from prison means that the reentry “problem” cannot be addressed with a single generic program or intervention. Reentry experts are encouraging a broader focus on comprehensive reentry strategies, not programs (Lattimore 2007; Travis 2005). Such strategies usually involve multiple levels of government, coordination of efforts across agencies, and involvement of organizations that are traditionally not part of the reentry discussion (e.g., public health department, the business community, local community colleges).

States are beginning to realize that reducing recidivism and improving the chances that former prisoners do not return requires a coordinated, sustained response—at both the state and local levels. In 2003, the National Governors Association launched the Prisoner Reentry State Policy Academy to help state governors and other state policy makers develop and implement prisoner reentry strategies to reduce recidivism rates. Many states have created task forces to identify major barriers for former prisoners in their states, such as housing regulations and employment prohibitions, which can be modified to reduce obstacles to successful reintegration. Other states are establishing State Reentry Policy Councils to develop policies, coordinate programming across state agencies, and make recommendations to redesign the reentry process. These Councils can also work with community-level reentry task forces and organizations to develop a continuum of care that organizes services in the prison and the community.

In addition to the state’s role, local governments can play important roles in developing reentry policies that foster successful reintegration. Many cities have established local reentry task forces or created a position within the mayor’s office to coordinate local reentry efforts. The Re-Entry Policy Council report suggests that cities with high populations of returning prisoners consider co-locating programs in a single location—a “reentry one-stop.” In response to this idea, the Department of Labor’s Prisoner Reentry Initiative is providing funds to local communities to coordinate employment and other reentry services in existing one-stop centers. The “Ban the Box” initiative, in which some U.S. cities have eliminated any requirement that prior felony convictions be disclosed on employment applications for publicly funded

jobs, is an example of a locally driven policy change that could have a significant impact on the lives of former prisoners.

Perhaps most important, the new reentry conversation is spurring significant changes in the operations of the components of the criminal justice system most directly involved in influencing reentry outcomes. Practitioners in the corrections field have embraced the challenge of rethinking their core functions through a reentry lens. Prior to 2000, many correctional professionals explicitly stated that prison administrators could not be held responsible for the behavior of prisoners once they left the prison walls. Now, a number of state corrections systems, led by the Ohio Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation, have expanded their institutional mission statements to include responsibility for successful reentry and reintegration. Others, even without amending their mission statements, are engaged in strategic coalitions with community service providers to improve reentry outcomes.

This coordinated state and local attention to prisoner reentry is leading to new legislative proposals and requests to realign resources. In Michigan, for example, Governor Jennifer Granholm made prisoner reentry a major plank in her first campaign for election, appointed a reform-minded staff to oversee the effort, and launched a coordinated effort with foundation support and local government buy-in to improve reentry services and reduce prison populations. To help states make informed choices, the “justice reinvestment” initiative led by the Re-Entry Policy Council is using technical assistance and state data to help legislators and other policy makers develop data-driven, policy options that will generate savings and increase public safety (<http://justicereinvestment.org/states/>). By reallocating resources and implementing new policies, states may be able to substantially reduce recidivism within existing budgets and create healthier communities with former prisoners who can become productive citizens.

Around the country, there are a number of demonstration projects that are testing a very new reentry model: a community-based approach to reentry. Recognizing that some communities are experiencing very high rates of incarceration and reentry, these projects approach reentry as a community phenomenon. These programs create coalitions of community organizations to interact with every person returning home from prison. They attempt to create a different climate in the neighborhood, one promoting successful reintegration, and they devote community resources to supporting returning prisoners. One example of this approach is the Offender Notification Forum.

As part of its Project Safe Neighborhood (PSN) initiative in designated neighborhoods in Chicago, individuals recently assigned to parole or probation with a history of gun violence and gang participation were requested to attend a forum hosted by the PSN team. In these Offender Notification Forums, the offenders would sit for an hour or more with representatives from state and local law enforcement agencies and community service providers. The first part of the meeting focused on the consequences of gun crimes, both for the individual and for the neighborhood. The second segment featured a talk by a former prisoner who had turned his life around; he stressed the impact of violence on the community, the problems of intra-racial violence, and the seriousness of the PSN initiative. The third segment focused on community services that are available, including job training, education programs, drug treatment, temporary shelter, and counseling. According to a recently published evaluation of the PSN initiative in Chicago, the intervention has been “remarkably effective in reducing neighborhood crime rates” (Meares et al. 2009). There was a 37 percent reduction in homicide rates in the target neighborhood after the program began, compared to the previous three years.

Other community-based reentry efforts are being developed and implemented across the country (Travis 2009). These demonstration efforts represent a new frontier in reentry innovation. They do not focus exclusively on individual-level interventions. Rather, they create a coalition of support for individuals returning from prisons and jails, bring together law enforcement and community leaders, often provide a role for coalitions of formerly incarcerated individuals, communicate clearly about the consequences of illegal behavior, and provide a clear pathway out of a life of antisocial conduct.

The “reentry court” is another new model for coordinating services and realigning government resources. First proposed by National Institute of Justice Director Jeremy Travis in a paper developed for the Executive Session on Sentencing and Corrections (Travis 2000), the concept of a reentry court, in many critical respects, builds on the idea of “drug courts” and other “problem-solving courts.” In addition to resolving the criminal case, these latter courts address the underlying conditions giving rise to a criminal offense, such as addiction or family stress. In problem-solving courts, judges marshal resources and services, create direct personal connections with defendants and their families, apply modest sanctions in response to misconduct or failure to adhere to agreements, and celebrate

the defendant's program completion, or "graduation" (Berman and Feinblatt 2005).

There are important differences, however, between reentry courts and these other innovations. Whereas most problem-solving courts serve as pre-trial diversion interventions, or alternatives to incarceration, reentry courts operate at the back end of the criminal justice system, following an individual's release from prison. Because there is little precedent for judicial involvement at this stage of the process, and the oversight of released prisoners is traditionally the province of an executive branch agency (the parole department), reentry courts are breaking new ground by positing a realignment of governmental responsibilities for successful reentry (Travis 2005; Petersilia 2004). Placement at the back end also allows formerly incarcerated individuals to create personal narratives of redemption and thereby facilitate the restoration of citizenship status (Maruna and LeBel 2003).

Attorney General Janet Reno announced the selection of the first nine pilot reentry courts in February 2000 (U.S. Department of Justice 2000). By December 2007, according to one count, a total of 28 reentry courts had been launched in United States criminal justice systems (Huddleston, Marlowe and Casebolt 2008). Whether this innovation reaches its promise is yet to be determined (Lindquist et al. 2004). In quasi-experimental evaluations, reentry courts have been associated with lower rates of arrest and conviction, although the tighter supervision practices associated with reentry courts have also led to higher rates of parole revocation and return to prison (Hamilton 2010; Farole Jr. 2007). With federal funding now available for demonstration projects under the Second Chance Act, this new model for prisoner reentry should be subjected to rigorous testing to examine its potential as an effective reentry strategy.

Effective Reentry Programs and Policies

Given the explosion of new federal, state, and local policy and practice related to prisoner reentry, it is not surprising that existing research on effective reentry programs and policies has not captured these recent innovations (Petersilia 2004). Moreover, numerous challenges characterize the extant research assessing the effectiveness of programs for formerly incarcerated individuals, whether focused on reentry or general rehabilitation. Foremost among the challenges is the lack of theoretical models that articulate behavior change among former prisoners. Within any particular substantive area, there are also problems of fidelity in that

a particular service approach may manifest itself in different ways under different programs and circumstances. As a result, it is often difficult to generalize research findings from one program to others, and substantial variability exists among the outcome variables examined (e.g., employment, homelessness, substance use). The numerous combinations of program types unique to each study also render comparisons difficult. Finally, there are problems related to the research itself, as rigorous experimental designs—including the use of comparison groups (randomly assigned or otherwise)—are rare in this research literature (National Research Council 2007).

Nonetheless, researchers have developed an impressive body of studies that underscore the modest effectiveness of a variety of interventions. Recent reviews and meta-analyses of evaluations of rehabilitative programming (Aos et al. 2006; Gaes et al. 1999; Lipsey and Cullen 2007; MacKenzie 2006; Petersilia 2004; Seiter and Kadela 2003) indicate that a variety of programs can reduce recidivism by up to 10 percent, depending on program design and implementation integrity, including in-prison and jail drug treatment (i.e., therapeutic communities), especially with a community component; cognitive behavioral therapy, vocational education and training programs; employment training and job assistance; and adult basic education. Approaches with the largest impact on recidivism, possibly 20 percent or greater, are likely to require a combination of intensive supervision in the community with mandatory treatment programs tailored to individual needs (MacKenzie 2006; Aos et al. 2006; Petersilia 2004; Gaes et al. 1999).

MacKenzie (2006) has summarized the “what works” literature in corrections, with specific chapters on various programs (e.g., life skills, cognitive behavioral therapy, education, drug treatment, and intensive supervision) for treatment of individuals under criminal justice supervision in the community. She concluded that human service-oriented programs were much more effective than those based on a control or deterrent philosophy. In particular, there is growing consensus that practices focusing on individual-level change, including cognitive change, education, and drug treatment, are likely to be more effective than other strategies, such as programs that increase opportunities for work, reunite families, and provide housing (see also Andrews and Bonta, 2006).

All of the strategies that MacKenzie identified as effective share several traits: they focus on dynamic criminogenic factors, are skill-oriented, are based on cognitive/behavioral models, and treat multiple offender deficits simultaneously. These conclusions are based on another line of research

that has produced a set of guidelines for effective rehabilitation strategies, including having strong program integrity, identifying criminogenic factors, employing a multi-modal treatment approach, using an actuarial risk classification, and ensuring responsivity between an offender's learning style and mode of program delivery (Andrews and Bonta 2006; Cullen and Gendreau 2000; Gendreau et al. 1996). Applying these principles to practice, programs should be designed that: (1) focus on behavioral outcomes, targeting criminogenic needs and using positive reinforcements; (2) target high-risk offenders; (3) use risk assessment instruments; (4) begin treatment in prison and provide continuity in the community; and (5) provide intensive interventions for at least six months (Solomon et al. 2008).

Evaluations also point to what interventions do not work. The evidence has been very consistent in establishing that contact-driven supervision, surveillance, and enforcement of supervision conditions have a limited ability to change offender behavior or to reduce the likelihood of recidivism (Aos et al. 2006; MacKenzie 2006). Individuals placed on parole supervision after prison are no less likely to be rearrested than individuals released with no supervision (Solomon et al. 2005). Other programs that have no impact on recidivism include boot camps, some types of sex offender treatment, electronic monitoring, and life skills education (MacKenzie 2006).

Adding to this body of literature on rehabilitation and reentry programs for reducing recidivism are the results of recent prisoner reentry demonstration projects, such as the Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiative (SVORI) and the Prisoner Reentry Initiative (PRI). The emerging consensus of the need for integrated, needs-based reentry programming for adult and juvenile offenders to reduce recidivism and promote public safety provided the context for SVORI. In 2003, the U.S. Departments of Justice, Labor, Education, Housing and Urban Development, and Health and Human Services provided more than \$100 million to states to develop, enhance, or expand programs to facilitate the reentry of adult and juvenile offenders to communities from prisons or juvenile detention facilities (Lattimore and Visser 2009). Sixty-nine agencies received federal funds (\$500 thousand to \$2 million over 3 years) to develop 89 programs to improve criminal justice, employment, education, health, and housing outcomes for exiting prisoners. Grantees were to use their SVORI funding to create a three-phase continuum of services that began during the period of incarceration, intensified just before release and during the early months after release, and continued for several years as former inmates took on more productive and independent roles in the community.

Each SVORI program was locally designed along a variety of dimensions, including the types of services offered, the focus on pre-release and post-release components, and the types of individuals to be served. Programs varied in terms of what was being provided, when, and to whom. Thus, the SVORI grants provided an opportunity to evaluate the impact of a diversity of reentry programming efforts across the nation. The multi-site SVORI evaluation conducted by RTI International and the Urban Institute was the largest examination of prisoner reentry programs ever conducted in the United States. The evaluation collected data on subject characteristics and needs, service receipt, and outcomes with a sample of 2,391 adult and juvenile males and adult females from 12 programs in 14 sites. Follow-up interviews were conducted at 3, 9, and 15 months post-release (Lattimore and Visher 2009).

The results of the SVORI evaluation are complex and raise a number of issues for reentry researchers, policy makers, and practitioners. First, in all sites, adults participating in SVORI programs received more services and programming, including programs to prepare for release, meeting with a case manager, and receiving a needs assessment than non-SVORI comparisons. However, similar to other studies of reentry programs, SVORI participants experienced considerable “treatment dilution.” Adult SVORI participants reported levels of service receipt that were far short of 100 percent, were substantially lower than their levels of expressed need, and declined substantially after release (Lattimore et al. 2009). For example, having a reentry plan could be considered a core requirement for successful reintegration and a necessary component of any reentry program. At the first interview, conducted 30 days prior to release, 57 percent of the adult male SVORI program participants reported having developed a reentry plan—in comparison to 24 percent of the non-SVORI respondents. Similarly, 73 percent of adult females in SVORI programs reported having a reentry plan, in comparison to 19 percent of those who were not in a SVORI program (Lattimore, Visher, and Steffey 2010). The discrepancies in service delivery between what was intended and what was actually provided at the program level, and what was needed and what was actually received at the individual level, suggests that programs were not “fully implemented,” insofar as implementation required the provision of intended and needed services. Moreover, service receipt for both SVORI and non-SVORI respondents was highest during incarceration, despite growing knowledge that exiting prisoners are at highest risk for recidivism immediately after release and could benefit from intensive services during that period (Solomon et al. 2008; National Research Council 2007).

Second, despite less than full implementation, modest increases in services among SVORI respondents, compared to “business as usual,” were associated with modest improvements in outcomes (Lattimore, Steffey, and Visher 2009). SVORI respondents did better than non-SVORI comparisons on self-reported criminal behavior, employment, substance use, and housing. For example, at 15 months, 71 percent of SVORI participants were supporting themselves with a job, compared to 60 percent of the comparison respondents. Levels of drug use (using a combined measure of self-report and drug test) were quite high overall, but at 15 months, drug use was slightly lower among SVORI participants (54 percent) than comparison respondents (57 percent).

Finally, recidivism outcomes (based on official measures) were not significantly improved for adult male SVORI participants in the evaluation. Rearrest rates were high for both SVORI participants and comparison respondents: at 12 months after release, half of both groups had been rearrested (49 percent of SVORI, 51 percent of comparisons). And, at 12 months, 25 percent of both groups had been reincarcerated (Lattimore, Steffey, and Visher 2009). The SVORI evaluators acknowledge that the official recidivism results are at odds with improvements in services received and the intermediate outcomes that would be expected to reduce recidivism (Lattimore and Visher 2009). Among the possible explanations is that the low levels of services delivered to the SVORI participants were insufficient, given levels of need.

The SVORI evaluation results suggest that a properly and fully implemented program may generate improvements in intermediate outcomes, but the impacts on recidivism may be minimal. Other reentry experts have expressed similar views that poor implementation may explain why criminal justice interventions often fail to produce positive impacts on recidivism (Andrews 2006; Lowenkamp et al. 2006; Rhine et al. 2006; White 2007; Wilson and Davis 2006). Some of the most common implementation problems include ineffective delivery of services, poor matching of individual needs to program content, and failure to incorporate established principles for effective rehabilitative programming. The timing of service delivery may also be important (National Research Council 2007). Thus, greater reductions in recidivism from prisoner reentry programs may only be achieved through attention to implementation issues.

Conclusion

We should view this emerging body of research very positively. We know far more than we ever did before about the experience of leaving prison—the attitudes of returning prisoners, their needs and expectations, the role of family and communal networks in providing support or posing obstacles to their successful reintegration. Research has documented the particular challenges experienced during the first weeks and months following release, and the unstable, often chaotic, lives of returning prisoners as they move from home to home, sometimes community to community, as they seek stability. These experiences of the individuals who leave our prisons, now well-documented in the Returning Home study, should inform our approaches to the development of interventions designed to improve reentry outcomes.

We also know far more than we did a few decades ago about program effectiveness. Recognizing that the literature is still characterized by methodologically weak evaluations, and many promising interventions have not yet been evaluated, we can now begin to move toward policies supporting evidence-based programming, so that all prison- and community-based programs can be assessed to determine whether they comport to research-based principles of program effectiveness. We expect that this shift toward evidence-based policies will be facilitated and accelerated by the creation of the Reentry Resource Center as envisioned by the Second Chance Act (see <http://www.nationalreentryresourcecenter.org/>).

These improvements in the state of knowledge and the emerging commitment to evidence-based practices set the stage for a new era of accountability in which the entities involved in reentry management—public and private agencies alike—can and should be held to standards of recidivism reduction. According to best estimates of the research community, if we could implement effective programs for all returning prisoners with all the resources needed, we could expect recidivism reductions on the order of 15 to 20 percent. We can also state with confidence that these programs would be cost-effective—they would pay for themselves by reducing future criminal justice and corrections costs. Finally, the emergence of new models of community-based reentry interventions, which mobilize the resources of family, community, and positive networks of formerly incarcerated individuals, in addition to traditional service delivery systems and criminal justice agencies, hold the promise for even greater reductions in new crimes. The organizational challenge in implementing this accountability agenda is daunting, as the public and its elected officials must hold coalitions of

public and private agencies responsible for increasing the odds of successful reentry.

These advances in research knowledge present enormous challenges to the nation. We can now state with considerable confidence that we can intervene in the lives of former prisoners and reduce their failure rates, particularly their rearrest rates. Seen from one perspective, the potential for improvement is modest—perhaps on the order of 20 percent reductions in recidivism in the cohort leaving prison. But this improvement would represent the prevention of hundreds of thousands of crimes each year. More important, progress on this agenda would help restore to full and productive citizenship hundreds of thousands of men and women who return home to live in free society after paying their debt to society for the crimes they have committed. In a powerful sense, this progress would represent a fuller realization of the ideals of justice.

References

Andrews, Donald Arthur. 2006. "Enhancing Adherence to Risk-Need-Responsivity: Making Quality a Matter of Policy." *Criminology and Public Policy* 5 (Sept.): 595-602.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Andrews, Donald Arthur, and Bonta, James. 2006. *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct*. 4th ed. NJ: Lexis/Nexis/Matthew Bender.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Aos, Steve, Marna Miller, and Elizabeth Drake. 2006. *Evidence-Based Adult Corrections Programs: What Works and What Does Not*. Olympia: Washington State Institute for Public Policy.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Berman, Gordon, and John Feinblatt. 2005. *Good Courts: The Case for Problem-Solving Justice*. New York: New Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Blumstein, Alfred, and Allen Beck. 2005. "Reentry as a Transient State Between Liberty and Recommitment." In *Prisoner Reentry and Public Safety in America*, eds. Jeremy Travis and Christy Visher, 50–79. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Cullen, Francis T., and Paul Gendreau. 2000. "Assessing Correctional Rehabilitation: Policy, Practice, and Prospects." In *Criminal Justice 2000: Policies, Processes, and Decisions of the Criminal Justice System*, ed. J. Horney, 109–175. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Farole, D. J., Jr. 2007. "The Harlem Parole Reentry Court: Implementation and Preliminary Impacts." In *Documenting Results: Research on Problem-Solving Justice*, eds. G. Berman, M. Rempel, and R. V. Wolf, 319–328. New York: Center for Court Innovation.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Gaes, Gerald G., Timothy J. Flanagan, Laurence L. Motiuk, and Lynn Stewart. 1999. "Adult Correctional Treatment." *Crime and Justice* 26: 361–426.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Gendreau, Paul, Tracy Little, and Claire Goggin. 1996. "A Meta-Analysis of Adult Offender Recidivism: What Works!" *Criminology* 34: 575–607.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Greifinger, Robert B., Joseph A. Bick, and Joe Goldenson, eds. 2007. *Public Health Behind Bars: From Prisons to Communities*. Dobbs Ferry, NY: Springer-Verlag.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Hagan, J., and R. Dinovitzer. 1999. "Collateral Consequences of Imprisonment for Children, Communities, and Prisoners." In *Prisons*, eds. Joan Petersilia and Michael Tonry, 121–162. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Hamilton, Z. 2010. *Do Reentry Courts Reduce Recidivism? Results from the Harlem Parole Reentry Court*. New York: The Center for Court Innovation.

Available at: http://www.courtinnovation.org/_uploads/documents/Reentry_Evaluation.pdf.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Huddleston, C. W. III, D. B. Marlowe, and R. Casebolt. 2008. *Painting the Current Picture: A National Report Card on Drug Courts and Other Problem-Solving Court Programs in the United States* 2, no. 1. Alexandria, VA:

National Drug Court Institute. Available at: <http://www.ndci.org/publications/publication-resources/painting-current-picture>.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Langan, Patrick A., and David J. Levin. 2002. *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994*. Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (NCJ 193427).

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Lattimore, Pamela K. 2007. "The Challenges of Reentry." *Corrections Today*, 2007. Alexandria, VA: American Correctional Association.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Lattimore, Pamela K., Danielle M. Steffey, and Christy A. Visher. 2009. *Prison Reentry Experiences of Adult Males: Characteristics, Service Receipt, and Outcomes of Participants in the SVORI Multi-Site Evaluation*. Research Triangle Park, NC: RTI International.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Lattimore, Pamela K., and Christy A. Visher. 2009. *Multi-Site Evaluation of SVORI: Summary and Synthesis*. Raleigh, NC: RTI International.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Lattimore, Pamela K., Christy A. Visher, and Danielle M. Steffey. 2008. *Pre-Release Characteristics and Service Receipt among Adult Male Participants in the SVORI Multi-Site Evaluation*. Raleigh, NC: RTI International.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Lattimore, Pamela K., Christy A. Visher, and Danielle M. Steffey. 2010. "Prisoner Reentry in the First Decade of the 21st Century." *Journal of Victims and Offenders* 5: 253-267.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Lindquist, C. H., K. Barrick, P. K. Lattimore, and C. A. Visser. 2009. Prison Reentry Experiences of Adult Females: Characteristics, Service Receipt, and Outcomes of Participants in the SVORI Multi-site Evaluation. Research Triangle Park, NC: RTI International.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Lindquist, C., J. Hardison, and P. Lattimore. 2004. "The Reentry Court Initiative: Court-based Strategies for Managing Released Prisoners." *Justice Research and Policy* 6: 97–118.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Lipsey, Mark W., and Francis T. Cullen. 2007. "The Effectiveness of Correctional Rehabilitation: A Review of Systematic Reviews." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 3: 297–320.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Lowenkamp, Christopher T., Edward J. Latessa, and Paula Smith. 2006. "Does Correctional Program Quality Really Matter? The Impact of Adhering to the Principles of Effective Intervention." *Criminology and Public Policy* 5: 575–594.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Lynch, James P., and William Sabol. 2001. *Prisoner Reentry in Perspective*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2001.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)

- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Mackenzie, Doris L. 2006. *What Works in Corrections: Reducing the Criminal Activities of Offenders and Delinquents*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Maruna, Shadd, and Thomas P. LeBel. 2003. "Welcome Home? Examining the "Reentry Court" Concept from a Strengths-Based Perspective." *Western Criminology Review* 4: 91-107.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Meares, Tracey, Andrew W. Papachristos, and Jeffrey Fagan. 2009. *Homicide and Gun Violence in Chicago: Evaluation and Summary of the Project Safe Neighborhood Program*. Available at: http://www.psnchicago.org/PDFs/2009-PSN-Research-Brief_v2.pdf.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

National Research Council. 2007. *Parole, Desistance from Crime, and Community Integration*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Nelson, Marta, Perry Deess, and Charlotte Allen. 1999. *The First Month Out: Post-Incarceration Experiences in New York City*. New York: Vera Institute of Justice.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Petersilia, Joan. 2003. *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Petersilia, Joan. 2004. "What Works in Prisoner Reentry? Reviewing and Questioning the Evidence." *Federal Probation* 68: 4-8.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Petersilia, Joan. 2005. "From Cell to Society: Who is Returning Home?" In *Prisoner Reentry and Crime in America*, eds. Jeremy Travis and Christy Visher, 15-49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Piehl, Anne, and Stephan LoBuglio. 2005. "Does Supervision Matter?" In *Prisoner Reentry and Crime in America*, eds. Jeremy Travis and Christy Visher, 105-138. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Re-Entry Policy Council. 2005. *Report of the Re-Entry Policy Council: Charting the Safe and Successful Return of Prisoners to the Community*. New York: Council of State Governments.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Rhine, Edward, Tina Mawhorr, and Evalyn C. Parks. 2006. "Implementation: The Bane of Effective Correctional Programs." *Criminology and Public Policy* 5: 347-358.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Rosenfeld, Richard, Joel Wallman, and Robert J. Fornango. 2005. "The Contribution of Ex-Prisoners to Crime Rates." In *Prisoner Reentry and Public Safety in America*, eds. Jeremy Travis and Christy Visher, 80–104. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Sabol, William J., and Heather Couture. 2009. *Prison Inmates at Midyear 2008*. Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Seiter, Richard P., and Karen R. Kadela. 2003. "Prisoner Reentry: What Works, What Does Not, and What Is Promising." *Crime & Delinquency* 49: 360–388.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Solomon, Amy L., Jesse Jannetta, Brian Elderbroom, Laura Winterfield, Jenny Osborne, Peggy Burke, Richard P. Stroker, Edward E. Rhine, and William D. Burrell. 2008. *Putting Public Safety First: 13 Strategies for Successful Supervision and Reentry*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, Justice Policy Center.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Solomon, Amy L., Vera Kachnowski, and Avi Bhati. 2005. *Does Parole Work?: Analyzing the Impact of Postprison Supervision on Rearrest Outcomes*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, Justice Policy Center.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)

- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Solomon, Amy L., Christy Visher, Nancy G. La Vigne, and Jenny Osborne. 2006. *Understanding the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry: Research Findings from the Urban Institute's Prisoner Reentry Portfolio*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, Justice Policy Center.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Shapiro, Carol, and Martin Schwartz. 2001. "Coming Home: Building on Family Connections." *Corrections Management Quarterly* 5: 52-51.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Sullivan, Eileen, Milton Mino, Katherine Nelson, and Jill Pope. 2002. *Families as a Resource in Recovery from Drug Abuse: An Evaluation of La Bodega de la Familia*. New York: Vera Institute of Justice.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Travis, Jeremy. 2000. "But they all come back: Rethinking prisoner reentry." *Sentencing and Corrections Bulletin*, No. 7. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Travis, Jeremy. 2002. "Invisible Punishment: An Instrument of Social Exclusion." In *Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment*, eds. Marc Mauer and Meda Chesney-Lind, 15-36. New York: New Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)

- [Google Preview](#)

Travis, Jeremy. 2005. *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Travis, Jeremy. 2009. "What Works" for Successful Prisoner Reentry. Testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies, March 12, 2009.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Travis, Jeremy, and Christy Visser. 2005. *Prisoner Reentry and Crime in America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2005. *Direct expenditures by criminal justice function, 1982–2006*. Retrieved March 24, 2010 from <http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/glance/tables/exptyptab.cfm>.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

U.S. Department of Justice. 2000. *Attorney General Reno to Announce Reentry Court Initiative; Nine Pilot Sites Chosen from Around the Country (2000 OJP Press Release)*. Retrieved from the Office of Justice Programs web site on April 2, 2010 <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/archives/pressreleases/2000/op0053.htm>.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Visher, Christy. 2007. "Returning Home: Emerging Findings and Policy Lessons about Prisoner Reentry." *Federal Sentencing Reporter* 20: 93-102.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Visher, Christy, Sara Debus, and Jennifer Yahner. 2008. *Employment After Prison: A Longitudinal Study of Releasees in Three States*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Visher, Christy, Nancy LaVigne, and Jennifer Castro. 2003. "Returning Home: Preliminary Findings from a Pilot Study of Soon-to-be-Released Inmates in Maryland". *Justice Research and Policy* 5: 55-74.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Visher, Christy, and Kamala Mallik-Kane. 2007. "Reentry Experiences of Men with Health Problems." In *Public Health Is Public Safety: Improving Public Health through Correctional Health Care*, ed. Robert Greifinger, 432-447. London: Springer-Verlag.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Visher, Christy A., and Jeremy Travis. 2003. "Transitions from Prison to Community: Understanding Individual Pathways." *Annual Review of Sociology* 29: 89-113.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Visher, Christy, Jennifer Yahner, and Nancy G. LaVigne. 2010. "Life after Prison: Tracking the Experiences of Male Prisoners Returning to Chicago,

Cleveland, and Houston.” Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, Justice Policy Center.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Waller, Irwin. 1964. Men Released from Prison. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

White, Thomas F. 2007. “Creating Leadership to Facilitate Implementation of Evidence-Based Practice.” *Journal of Community Corrections* 17: 13–28.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Wilson, James. A., and Robert C. Davis. 2006. “Good Intentions Meet Hard Realities: An Evaluation of the Project Greenlight Reentry Program.” *Criminology and Public Policy* 5: 303–338.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

Zamble, Edward, and Vernon L. Quinsey. 1997. *The Criminal Recidivism Process*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Find This Resource

- [Find it in your Library](#)
- [Worldcat](#)
- [Google Preview](#)

