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Center on Sentencing and Corrections

Making the Grade

Developing Quality Postsecondary Education Programs in Prison

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From the Director

The benefits of postsecondary education programs for incarcerated students extend far beyond the knowledge men and women gain through their academic endeavors in prison. These programs not only make communities safer by reducing recidivism, they create the potential for individual transformation. They can also make our prisons safer for those who live and work within them, spur community renewal, and change the economic trajectories of entire families. With the launch of the federal Second Chance Pell Pilot Program—which is making Pell grants available to students in a limited number of state and federal prisons for the first time in 20 years—we are on the verge of realizing the academic potential of thousands of students in prison. We are poised to see in action all of the promise that college education holds for these incarcerated men and women, their families, and their communities.

But these results won't come without the commitment of college and corrections partners to offer courses in prison that mirror in every way possible those offered on campuses in the community. Colleges and prisons must develop meaningful, quality postsecondary education programs. The courses offered should award students credits that are transferable to colleges in the community. When people need developmental instruction, those courses must move students into credit-bearing courses as soon as possible, using best practices regarding accelerated learning. Achieving this involves careful planning and delineation of roles and responsibilities, strong communication, and a solid understanding of goals and concerns in facilities and among students, college faculty, and correctional staff. For college faculty teaching in prison and prison administrators carving out space, time, and operational support for students to learn, making college-in-prison work requires ingenuity, flexibility, creativity, and a willingness to push the envelope of what seems possible.

In other words, colleges and corrections partners must bring their A game, including active listening; honest, open, and ongoing communication; and a commitment to analyzing and resolving problems. Systems change through high-quality postsecondary education in prison requires nothing less. To that end, this report provides useful guidance, recommendations, and lessons learned from diverse college-in-prison programs around the nation. It aims to facilitate the robust development, growth, and strengthening of high-quality student success-oriented programs and partnerships with all the well-known positive benefits to individuals, institutions, and communities that flow from doing so.

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About this report

Expanding Access to Postsecondary Education, a project of the Vera Institute of Justice (Vera), aims to facilitate the implementation and scaling up of quality higher education programs in prisons, and to assist with the development of policies, procedures, and practices to increase the participation of incarcerated individuals in these programs. This report is one of a series Vera is publishing on selected topics in postsecondary education. (The first publication was a fact sheet, "Building Effective Partnerships for High-Quality Postsecondary Education in Correctional Facilities," which you can read at **www.vera.org/building-partnerships-fact-sheet**.)

Through publications, webinars, an online resource center, discussions, and more, Vera is providing expert information and technical assistance to support the provision and expansion of postsecondary educational opportunities in prison and post-release—to departments of corrections, institutions of higher education, and to local, state, and federal policymakers. For more information about Vera's Second Chance Pell Pilot Program technical assistance and the Expanding Access to Postsecondary Education Project, contact Margaret diZerega, project director at Vera's Center on Sentencing and Corrections, at mdizerega@vera.org.

Contents

5 Introduction

6 Why postsecondary education for incarcerated people matters

12 Lessons from the field

12 Developing college-corrections partnerships

18 Ensuring quality in postsecondary education programs

28 Supporting education post-release

35 Conclusion

36 Endnotes

Introduction

With its July 2015 announcement of the Second Chance Pell Pilot Program, the U.S. Department of Education ushered in what could be a new era of expanded opportunities for postsecondary education in our nation's prisons.[1] The Pell Grant program, begun in 1972, provides need-based grants to low-income undergraduate students. Until 1994, incarcerated students were eligible to receive these grants, but the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 changed that, revoking eligibility of those held in state and federal prisons and causing a significant decline in the number of postsecondary education programs in prisons, as well as a drop in enrollments among the incarcerated population.[2]

Now, with the launch of the Second Chance Pell Pilot Program making incarcerated students eligible for these grants in a limited number of authorized sites, postsecondary education is likely to become a reality for an increased number of the more than 1.5 million people in prisons nationwide.[3] The express purpose of this effort is to test whether financial aid increases access to high-quality postsecondary education and influences academic and life outcomes. The pilot program, which is limited to students in state and federal prisons, follows a 2014 announcement from the U.S. Department of Education that cleared the way for students in juvenile facilities and local jails to be eligible for Pell funding.[4]

The higher education community's response to the opportunity to teach students in prison has been overwhelming: to date, more than 200 colleges have applied to participate in the pilot.[5] In spring 2016, the Department of Education selected a limited number of postsecondary education institutions, in partnership with correctional facilities, to participate in this initiative. Students' outcomes will be evaluated to determine whether to recommend restoration of Pell Grant eligibility in prisons on a permanent basis.[6]

Selected colleges and state or federal prisons will collaborate on developing plans to offer courses, including working to recruit students and help them complete financial-aid applications. The institutions must offer credit-bearing courses that result in a certificate or degree. Colleges may also provide up to one full year of remedial course work for students in need of academic support. The Department of Education also encourages postsecondary

institutions to develop academic and career guidance plans, as well as plans for providing reentry services to released students, in partnership with state or federal facilities.[7]

Due to the complex nature of operating college programs in prison settings, the success of the Second Chance Pell programs and the students they serve depends on the quality of the partnerships between colleges and corrections agencies. To support the implementation of new partnerships and strengthen existing ones, this report compiles lessons from the field, offering implementation guidance to programs seeking to develop, expand, or enhance postsecondary educational programming in corrections settings.

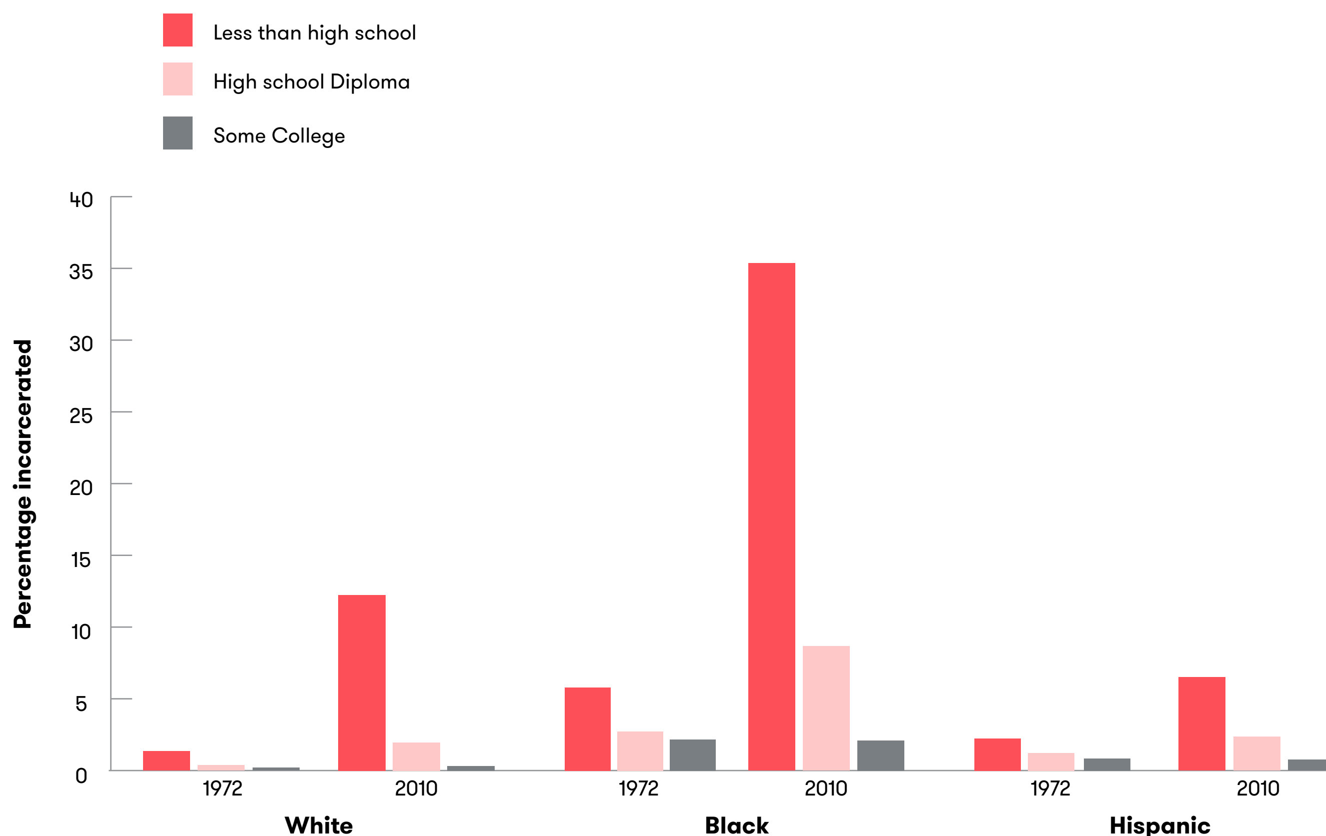
Why postsecondary education for incarcerated people matters

Tough-on-crime policies—including those that stripped or limited prisoners' access to vocational and educational programs—have done little to reduce crime rates or stem the flow of people who return to prison after they are released.[8] In light of this, research about which programs and practices help reduce the risk of reoffending has captured the attention of policymakers and practitioners seeking strategies that safely decrease the number of people who are housed in overburdened jails and prisons and involved with courts and community supervision agencies.[9] This includes a body of emerging research indicating that postsecondary education helps lower people's risk of criminal behavior and improves the outcomes of students, families, and communities more broadly, as well as being cost-effective.

Incarcerated people need educational opportunities

Incarcerated men and women report lower levels of educational attainment than their counterparts in the community. On average, state prisoners have completed only 10.4 years of schooling and those with more education are incarcerated at lower rates.[10] Not completing college, in particular, raises a

Figure 1: Educational attainment of men in prison by race and ethnicity: 1972 and 2010



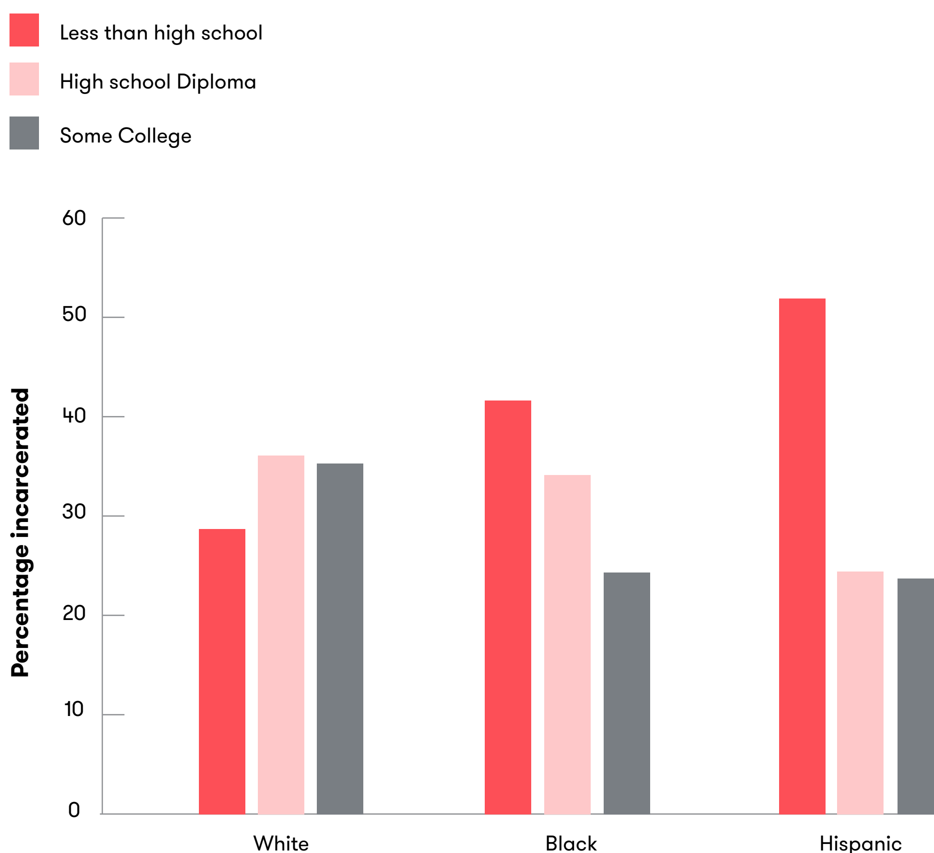
Source: Jeremy Travis, Bruce Western, and Steve Redburn, eds., *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Causes and Consequences* (Washington, DC: National Research Council, The National Academies Press, 2014), 67.

person's risk of incarceration. As Figure 1 shows, from 1972 to 2010 the proportion of people behind bars who lacked college credentials increased significantly.[11]

Although men and women of all races who lack these credentials are more likely to spend time in prison, the impact is most pronounced for black men. As Figure 1 illustrates, a young black man in the United States without a GED or high school diploma now has a one-in-three chance of spending time in prison.[12]

Despite the widespread educational needs among incarcerated people, only 35 percent of state prisons report providing college courses, according to recent data. And these programs serve just 6 percent of the total state prison population nationwide.[13] Access is much more limited than these numbers suggest, because many of these programs are concentrated in a small number of states. Thirteen states enroll 86 percent, or 61,000, of the incarcerated students taking postsecondary education courses.[14] In comparison to states with lower enrollment, these states tend to have larger prison populations; focus programming on short-term vocational and certificate courses; often provide more

Figure 2: Educational attainment of women in prison by race and ethnicity: 2009



Source: Stephanie Ewert and Tara Wildhagen, U.S. Census Bureau, Housing and Household Economic Statistics Division, "Educational Characteristics of Prisoners: Data from the ACS" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Washington, DC, April 1, 2011), 31.

robust academic programming; and are able to use public funds to support programs. High-enrollment states also tend to have more open admissions policies, considering fewer eligibility requirements when admitting students.

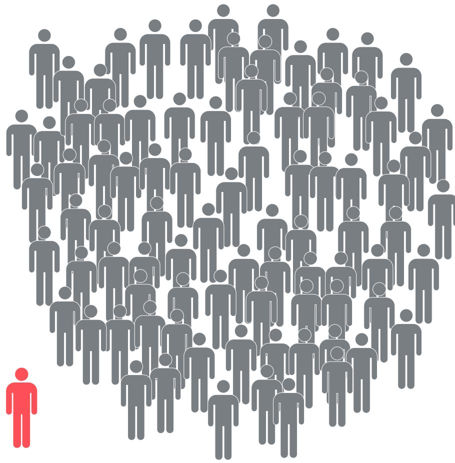
Postsecondary education promotes safer communities

Students who participate in postsecondary education in prison commit fewer crimes and fewer violations of community supervision after they are released. A recent landmark study—the largest ever conducted on correctional education programs in the United States—found that incarcerated people who participate in prison education programs are 43 percent less likely to recidivate than those who do not.[15] This research included postsecondary and

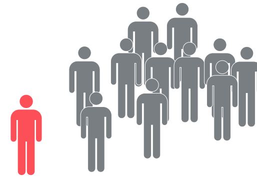
Incarceration rates among U.S. men ages 18-64

Among working-age men, incarceration rates are disproportionately high among blacks and Latinos and for men ages 20-34, especially those who have had less education. Nationwide, 1 in 3 black men ages 20-34 who lack a GED or high school diploma are incarcerated, compared to 1 in 8 white men and 1 in 14 Hispanic men.

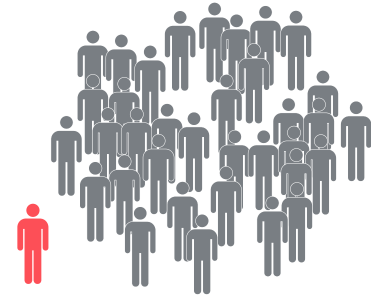
18- to 64-year-olds



White: 1.1% or 1 in 87

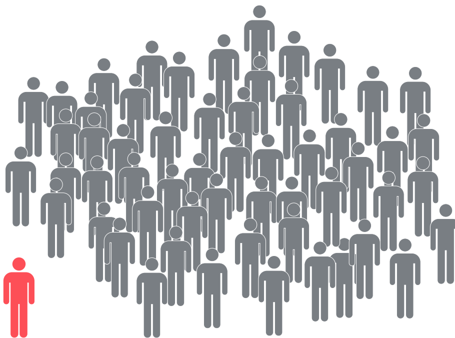


Black: 8% or 1 in 12



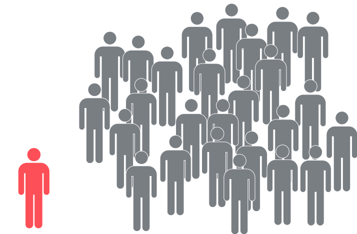
Hispanic: 2.7% or 1 in 36

20- to 34-year-olds



White: 1.8% or 1 in 57

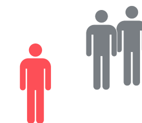
Black: 11.4% or 1 in 9



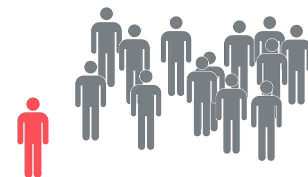
Hispanic: 3.7% or 1 in 27

20- to 34-year-olds without high school diploma or GED

White: 12% or 1 in 8



Black: 37.1% or 1 in 3



Hispanic: 7% or 1 in 14

Source: Original analysis for the Pew Charitable Trusts by Bruce Western and Becky Pettit, 2009. Adapted from Western and Pettit, *Collateral Costs: Incarceration's Effect on Economic Mobility* (Washington, DC: the Pew Charitable Trusts, 2010), 8, https://perma.cc/D2BZ-MG7G. Note: These numbers differ from previous Pew reports, primarily because they pertain to working-age men as opposed to all adults. Some percentages shown are more precise than the ratios (such as 1 in 9), which are rounded to whole figures.

other education programs. Although recidivism is defined in a number of ways, including reoffending, rearrest, reconviction, re-incarceration, or parole violation, the majority of analyzed studies used re-incarceration as its key outcome measure for recidivism.[16] Whatever the definition, this means fewer overall victims and less rule breaking among people under post-release supervision, enabling probation and parole agencies to concentrate resources on their highest-risk supervisees. Recognizing this potential, the National Institute of Justice recently designated postsecondary education as an evidence-based practice.[17]

Unlocking Potential: Pathways From Prison to Postsecondary Education Project

Unlocking Potential: Pathways from Prison to Postsecondary Education (Pathways) is a five-year initiative led by the Vera Institute of Justice. Pathways provides three competitively selected states—Michigan, New Jersey, and North Carolina—with incentive funding and technical assistance to expand access to higher education for people in prison and those recently released. The project, involving 15 colleges and universities in partnership with 14 prisons, community supervision agencies, and local reentry organizations, seeks to demonstrate that access to postsecondary education, combined with supportive reentry services, can increase attainment of educational credentials, reduce recidivism, and increase employability and earnings. In doing so, Pathways builds on and complements the substantial body of empirical evidence showing that increased educational attainment is a critical factor in keeping people out of prison and helping those who were incarcerated contribute to their families and communities. Finally, by validating what works, through independent evaluation of the pilot sites, Vera and its partners hope to spur national replication and long-term public investment. More than 1,000 students have enrolled since the launch in 2012.

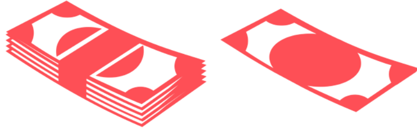
Given that the model encompasses in-prison and post-release components, the project's design encourages participating states to create a continuum of education and reentry support services, with success dependent on robust partnerships among colleges, prison and parole officials, community and business leaders, employers, and community-based service providers. Each state is further supported by a national advisory board made up of leaders in the field of higher education, corrections, reentry, business, and research.[a]

[a] The Pathways project is funded by five leading philanthropies: the Ford Foundation, the Sunshine Lady Foundation, the Open Society Foundations, the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

Postsecondary education benefits individuals, families, and communities

Those who take college courses find it easier to secure employment and establish or strengthen positive relationships with family, friends, and associates when they return home—key factors that research has shown are important in keeping people crime-free. Moreover, with a 13 percent higher chance of obtaining employment post-release and the likelihood of higher annual earnings than those who did not participate in education programs while incarcerated, students are

Return on investment for prison education
As compared to the costs of re-incarceration, the costs of prison education save about $5 for every dollar spent.



Source: Lois M. Davis, Jennifer L. Steele, et al., 2014, 81.

not the only ones who come out ahead.[18] Postsecondary education directly benefits participants' families and can potentially strengthen the viability of those communities to which students return after their release—often economically disadvantaged, under-resourced neighborhoods, many of which suffer from crime, high rates of drug use, low rates of employment, and endemic poverty.[19] Education generates other positive benefits too. Children of incarcerated college students and graduates are more likely to seek postsecondary opportunities themselves, extending the benefits of a college education to another generation.[20]

Postsecondary education in prison improves facility safety

Research shows that long before students return home, in-prison college programs increase the safety and security of entire correctional facilities, affecting even incarcerated individuals who are not participating in the programs and correctional staff.[21] Corrections administrators and staff report that students in college courses are better able to articulate their needs and challenges to prison staff and that their leadership can be a calming influence on other inmates.[22] In addition, the desire to stay in a postsecondary education program—or be eligible for it—creates a powerful incentive to avoid behavior that might warrant a disciplinary infraction or other sanction that could bar participation.[23]

Education is cost-effective

Researchers examining the cost of providing educational programming found that education is not only cost-effective, but may produce savings in the long run. In comparison to the direct costs of re-incarceration, education offers an estimated 400 percent return on investment for taxpayers over three years, or $5 saved for every $1 spent.[24]

The biggest barrier to providing college courses in corrections settings, however, is the cost of doing so. From 2009 to 2012, states reduced funding for prison education programs by an average of 6 percent.[25] Academically oriented programs were hardest hit, with 20 states reducing the number of such course offerings, while vocational programming fared better, expanding by about 1 percent during that period.[26] A recent study found that family and other private sources were the most commonly reported source of funding for students taking college courses in prison.[27]

Lessons from the field

The following lessons from the field draw on research about the impact of postsecondary education and on the experiences of practitioners implementing these programs in corrections settings across the country, including Pathways sites. Lessons are grouped into three main areas:

- developing college-corrections partnerships;
- ensuring quality in postsecondary education programs; and
- supporting education post-release.

The sections below summarize common challenges and strategies for success in each area and highlight examples and case studies from programs across the country.

Developing college-corrections partnerships

Building an effective partnership between colleges and prisons is the most critical aspect of creating and sustaining a successful postsecondary education program in a confinement setting. The quality of this partnership influences many aspects of a prison-based program, from development to operations to measuring outcomes. But developing a positive, sustainable relationship is not always easy. Whether the impetus for a postsecondary program comes from prison or college staff, these partners can take a number of steps to foster strong working relationships.

Develop and formalize commitment to shared goals

Corrections departments and educational institutions are driven by different organizing principles or missions, and this means that colleges and corrections staff may approach postsecondary programs with different goals in mind. For example, corrections staff may be interested in educational programs because they encourage better behavior in prison, as well as reduce the risk of recidivism—for instance, by increasing the likelihood of post-release employment. On the other hand, college staff may emphasize the academic value of a program. Differing goals such as these can result in disagreement about the type of academic program to offer (such as vocational training, associate's degrees, or bachelor's degrees), how to measure outcomes, and which prisoners to prioritize, given limited funding (for example, younger people, those who are close to their release date, or those serving life sentences).

> "Building an effective partnership between colleges and prisons is the most critical aspect of creating and sustaining a successful postsecondary education program in a confinement setting."

Unless would-be partners agree on common goals and expectations, they are more likely to view each other as adversaries than collaborators in the development process. This increases the chance of challenges arising during implementation. Thus, shared goal setting is a crucial element to launching a program. The experience of existing programs suggests that partners who do this early are more likely to identify and bridge what may seem like divergent goals. Academic attainment and recidivism reduction are not mutually exclusive, given that greater academic attainment is associated with decreased rates of recidivism.

As part of their planning effort, partners should develop policies, procedures, and processes that promote and strengthen the postsecondary education program and revise those that may need to be updated. These policies should be reviewed regularly in context of the specific needs of the facility and participating college and corrections agencies. A useful mechanism for hammering out these details is a memorandum of understanding (MOU) or a similar commitment document. Program partners may want to return to this document annually or as needed as the program develops over time.

Partner Goals, Roles, and Responsibilities

With good communication, partners can develop data-collection plans that take into account multiple project goals. Working with Pathways sites in **Michigan**, **New Jersey**, and **North Carolina**, for example, Vera developed data-collection tools that sites use to report academic accomplishments (such as the number of credits accumulated and credentials earned) and corrections outcomes (such as recidivism among released students).

At the development stage of the **New Jersey** Pathways project, the New Jersey Scholarship and Transformative Education in Prisons (NJ-STEP) program and the state Department of Corrections agreed to an MOU detailing the specifics of the program and its operations. The agreement covers the facilities in which NJ-STEP will offer courses, the target population, program components (including case planning, recruitment, enrollment, class sizes, course instruction, training, inter-facility transfer procedures for participating students, tutoring and mentoring, use of technology, and data collection). It also details the program management and fiscal responsibilities of each partner.

Cross-train faculty and facility staff

When it comes to implementation, success of a program depends on more than the faculty running the programs and teaching the classes. Front-line custody and control staff have significant influence on the day-to-day operation of a college program in prison, and therefore its long-term success.[28] It is the corrections officers who escort instructors and students to and from classes, make determinations about materials and resources that can or cannot be brought into a facility, and may be assigned to cover classrooms. Housing-unit staff also play an important role, as they spend time with students when they are not in class and make decisions about whether students have a quiet space to study or access to educational resources outside the classroom.[29]

Without developing sufficient buy-in from facility staff, programs risk pushback from them. Some programs have encountered resentment from corrections staff when incarcerated students are offered something they have never been afforded: the opportunity to attend college for free or at a

discount.[30] Some programs address this by offering college courses to staff as well as incarcerated students or developing scholarship programs for family members of staff (see “Focusing on Credentials” on page 26).[31] Other programs have reported that facility-based education staff—whom educators might expect would be natural allies—can be unreceptive because college programs may lie outside their core responsibilities and represent an additional burden on their limited time and resources.[32]

Participating faculty may also pose challenges to collaboration. Because correctional facilities are responsible first and foremost for the safety of inmates, staff, and visitors, security concerns often supersede the rehabilitative, reentry, or educational goals of college or vocational programs.[33] Instructors may misinterpret corrections staff's adherence to facility rules as lack of support for the project, potentially alienating people who may otherwise support the program and its goals.

Faculty are also unlikely to anticipate the number and extent of security requirements and procedures both before and after walking into the prison classroom, noncompliance with which may lead to confusion, frustration, and increased workloads for facility staff.[34] All course materials, for example, typically must be reviewed by corrections staff in advance of the course start date, and teachers may need to declare items they bring into facilities—such as thumb drives, DVDs, and news clips—each time they arrive. Entering the facility can also be a slow process; security checks and escorts take time, and if instructors arrive during shift changes, longer delays may result. In addition, the complexities of moving prisoners within facilities are likely to be foreign to new instructors. Faculty who arrive late may find that students were not allowed to assemble in the classroom because no instructor was present at the appointed time.[35]

Providing training and orientation sessions can overcome many of these challenges and help establish strong lines of communication among faculty, program administrators, and correctional leadership and staff. Training and consultation should include the following components.

Corrections orientation for instructors

Prospective instructors for any prison-based program will need comprehensive training delivered by college and corrections staff. This training should communicate project goals, identify key partners and contacts, provide a basic facility tour, cover prohibited materials and the processes for securing approval of course materials, and include any required corrections trainings (such as mandatory volunteer trainings and trainings on the federal Prison Rape Elimination Act). Because many programs rely on adjunct or new faculty every semester, these trainings must be given at the beginning of every

Ongoing Planning

After discovering that students were not able to earn credits at the pace the **Michigan** Department of Corrections had anticipated, the DOC instituted monthly planning meetings with its partner, Jackson College. The partners redesigned the program to ensure that Pathways students would leave the facility with 30 Michigan Transfer Agreement college credits. These credits are transferable to any public college or university in the state. (Most enrolled students have 24-36 months of their prison sentence remaining.) They continue to meet monthly to resolve various large and small programmatic issues as they arise.

In **New Jersey**, NJ-STEP monthly planning meetings include staff from STEP and the Department of Corrections. Topics that are typically covered include planning for graduations, resolving issues that arise at the facility and faculty level, negotiating classroom availability within prisons, determining course offerings, and addressing questions about allowable materials, security concerns, and technological capability.

semester. Training of prospective instructors should cover the following key areas:

- procedures for entering facilities, including securing proper identification and communicating with appropriate program or corrections staff about arrival dates and times;
- rules about restricted items and procedures for getting course materials and other outside resources approved;
- rules for interacting with students;
- rules about access to technology and other resources; and
- procedures to follow when requesting help or support from corrections staff.

Program training for facility staff

Corrections staff should be trained on the goals and operations of any prison-based college program. This will offer corrections leadership and college staff an opportunity to build support for the program among facility personnel. Existing programs have benefited by delivering briefing sessions that explain the value of postsecondary education in a corrections context (for example, reduced disciplinary issues and recidivism; increased staff and facility safety), as well as program goals, expectations, and responsibilities. These messages typically come across stronger when delivered by corrections leadership.

Building a cooperative and supportive alliance between instructors and corrections staff

Facility-based educational staff should be consulted during the development and operation of any prison-based postsecondary education program. Many of these staff already coordinate with community-based programs that operate in prisons and have other experience likely to benefit program implementation. Building partnerships with these staff will help to troubleshoot problems and identify work-arounds, share resources, and create pathways from other educational programs within a facility or system—such as high school equivalency or adult basic education courses—to the postsecondary program.[36]

Ensure administrative capacity

Getting a program up and running requires a fair amount of administrative capacity—and a point person on both the corrections and college sides can be critical. These coordinators need to secure space in the facility for classes, select courses, ensure proper clearances for faculty, identify students to participate, offer placement tests, and perform other tasks. But the need for this type of support does not end with the planning stages. Ongoing administrative capacity is necessary to organize faculty trainings, manage scheduling and registration, and address various issues as they arise during the course of the program.

Maintain relationships

Developing a leadership team and holding regular meetings can go far to resolve challenges and support implementation. These meetings promote shared ownership of project successes and difficulties and ensure that all partners' voices are heard in planning discussions and in the process of inevitable troubleshooting. Planning meetings should focus on major tasks associated with implementation, such as admission procedures, instructor recruitment, space allocation within facilities, and graduation planning. In addition to addressing any challenges of implementation, recurring check-in meetings can serve as a forum to evaluate project outcomes and discuss program changes or expansions.

Staffing for Prison Programs

In **New Jersey,** NJ-STEP staff provide administrative support for operation of the program. Participating colleges also have site coordinators that recruit faculty for the program, facilitate security clearances with NJ-STEP and the New Jersey Department of Corrections (NJDOC), and communicate with participating faculty about training and other requirements. During the second year of the program, the NJDOC also saw a need for greater administrative capacity and created a new position to oversee all postsecondary education programming in the state's prisons, with a particular focus on the Pathways project operations.

In Central **New York**, the College-in-Prison Program at Mohawk Correctional Facility has college and corrections point people who coordinate operations. On the college side at Mohawk Valley Community College (MVCC), the director identifies and recruits faculty, manages day-to-day logistics and planning, and manages program finances. On the corrections side, the facility's education director identifies participants and coordinates with the college to manage students and class schedules. MVCC awards the credits and degrees; members from MVCC, Hamilton College, and Colgate University teach the courses. MVCC also houses the New Directions Program, which helps enroll students who are returning to the community after incarceration. New Directions works with the Oneida County Reentry Task Force, local jails, and area prisons to provide information about the college to potential students, and, once they are registered, offers supportive services to students to help them persist and succeed in college.[a]

Also in **New York**, the nonprofit organization Hudson Link for Higher Education in Prison provides college preparatory and degree-granting courses at one women's and four men's facilities, leading to an associate's or bachelor's degree. Six participating colleges—SUNY Sullivan Community College, Mercy College, Nyack College, Vassar College, Sienna College, and Columbia University—partner with one or more facilities. Hudson Link provides adjunct faculty salaries, a prison-based academic coordinator, textbooks, and other supplies; prisons provide classroom space; and the colleges waive tuition and provide course credits, transcripts, degrees, and registration services. Hudson Link also developed a partnership with St. Francis College to help Hudson Link students in the community complete their degrees at no cost once they are released.[b]

In **North Carolina,** staff at the Department of Public Safety had planned to provide support in the early stages of development of the state's Pathways project. But once the program was in full swing, they found that ensuring the quality of the programming and the relationships among all partners required more of a time commitment than the original staff could provide. The Department of Public Safety hired a program coordinator to oversee project operations.

Lee College operates postsecondary education programs in seven state prisons and one private prison in **Texas**. In operation since 1966, the Lee College Huntsville Center has more than 30 full-time employees, including a dean, student services staff, administrative staff, technical support staff, and academic and vocational instructors. The program awarded 400 certificates and 87 associate of arts degrees in the 2013-2014 academic year. Students pay for programming through no-interest loans and a variety of other financial supports.[c]

[a] Morris Pearson, interview by Vera Program Associate John Bae, New York, April 19, 2016.
[b] Sean Pica and Samuel Arroyo, interview by John Bae, New York, April 13, 2016.
[c] Donna Zuniga, "Working Together, We Are Making a Difference," *Second Chance: The Story of the Lee College Offender Education Program*, February 2015; "Lee College Huntsville Center," https://perma.cc/JE3L-K2BP.

Ensuring quality in postsecondary education programs

To ensure that students are better able to gain admission to college programs post-release, transfer credits, and be competitive with other college graduates in the job market, the quality and content of postsecondary education programming in prison should be equivalent in

all material ways to that which is offered in the community. College faculty must view the prison classroom as an important space where students are challenged to think, question, learn, and grow, just as they would in a classroom on any campus. The following are key areas for corrections and postsecondary partners to consider in developing high-quality programming.

Create degree pathways

Those developing or operating programs should plan to offer only courses that award credits transferable to colleges in the communities to which incarcerated students return, developmental courses (ideally accelerated) that directly prepare students for credit-bearing work, or both. Moving students to credit-bearing course work faster minimizes the risk that they will be removed from the program because of transfer to another facility or released prior to earning college credits. It also ensures that scarce program dollars go to transferable credit-bearing course work that students can apply toward a degree or other credential. Critical to sites selected for the Second Chance Pell Pilot, Pell grants are limited to the equivalent of six years of funding per student and can support only one year of developmental course work. Continued use of these grants requires keeping students on track so that they can progress to credit-bearing course work.

Selecting which courses to offer each semester is important to students' progress. When launching a program, administrators can use placement test results to deliver the courses needed by the largest number of students. Once a program is under way, however, course planning may become more complex. New participants may join the program, resulting in a student body with varying credit or developmental needs. If staff are expanding or strengthening existing programs, they should look closely at current course offerings, as they may not be degree-oriented or offer transferable credits. Program administrators should examine existing articulation agreements and map out course plans to build credits that allow students to progressively attain certificates, licenses, associate's degrees, and bachelor's degrees—that is, stackable credentials. (For more on articulation agreements, which govern the transferability of credits between colleges, see "Articulation Agreements" on page 20).

Articulation Agreements

Articulation agreements are formal binding arrangements between two or more higher education institutions (which include two- and four-year schools) that outline transfer policies for specific academic programs and degrees and provide guaranteed pathways for students transferring from one postsecondary institution to another. In addition to providing a smooth lateral transfer of credits between postsecondary institutions when a student must change colleges mid-degree, such agreements can also establish a clear path from two- to four-year institutions and help students avoid taking courses at the two-year institution that do not satisfy their four-year degree requirements.[a] Without such an agreement, students must apply for transfer credit individually and a receiving institution must evaluate courses on an ad hoc basis. This can result in a patchwork of courses accepted for credit or rejected, and the possibility of having to retake courses, a requirement that may delay students' progress toward degree attainment and create additional expenses.

Some statewide articulation agreements exist, allowing students to transfer credits and degrees relatively easily between higher education institutions within the state. The three Pathways states have such agreements.

- **New Jersey**'s statewide articulation agreement was established by the passage in 2007 of Assembly Bill 3968, commonly referred to as the Lampitt Law. This law covers every public institution of higher education in the state and allows for the seamless transfer of academic credits toward a completed associate of arts or associate of science degree from any public institution of higher education in New Jersey to any other such institution in the state.[b] The law also requires colleges to establish policies and procedures for transferring credits when associate's degrees have not been completed.
- **Michigan** has a similar agreement, called the Michigan Transfer Agreement. It allows for the transfer of credits between participating community colleges and baccalaureate institutions and includes private as well as public institutions.[c]
- **North Carolina** has a statewide agreement, known as the North Carolina Comprehensive Articulation Agreement, between University of North Carolina schools and the North Carolina Community College System. This agreement applies to all 58 community colleges and all 16 institutions affiliated with the University of North Carolina.[d]

[a] Norma Montague, "Articulation Agreements: No Credits Left Behind," *Issues in Accounting Education 27*, no. 1 (2012), 282.

[b] New Jersey Assembly Bill No. 3968, https://perma.cc/B5RH-ACQ5.

[c] Michigan Transfer Agreement, https://perma.cc/46C3-L38C.

[d] Comprehensive Articulation Agreement, https://perma.cc/JGB8-2CDD.

Recruit qualified faculty

Prison-based programs should recruit instructors who have credentials and experience equivalent to faculty on campuses in the community. Whether adjunct or full-time, professors must have the experience and knowledge necessary to provide equitable opportunities to students in prison. Ensuring quality of instruction is critical to preparing students for degree completion either pre- or post-release. In addition, colleges should consider evaluating faculty who teach in prison facilities similarly to those who teach on campus. Incarcerated student evaluations, for example, should be collected and filed in the same way all other evaluations are handled.

Ensure access to technology and other academic supports

People developing college programs for incarcerated students should also create a plan to provide academic support to these students outside the classroom, such as access to computers and secure Internet research technology, access to library and other research materials, tutoring, and dedicated times and places for study.

In conjunction with offering formal development courses, programs can assist students who are not yet ready for college-level courses by developing intensive supports such as mentoring, tutoring, study halls, and increased access to library resources. Prison-based programs may also experiment with expanding adult basic-education services to deliver developmental course work, reserving scarce postsecondary resources for credit-bearing courses.

Technology and computer skills

To prepare students for college and job opportunities post-release, program administrators should help ensure that students have opportunities to attain some technological and computer-skill competence. Although many departments of corrections recognize this need, not all facilities or even all states have prison computer labs.[37] This is often due to insufficient financial resources, lack of suitable facilities, and limited staff capacity to purchase, implement, and maintain equipment and software, and monitor advances in technologies.[38] Lack of access to computers can have serious implications for an in-prison college program—for example, in the administration of placement tests, which are increasingly automated and computer-based rather than paper-based.

Some departments of corrections, however, are making strides in improving computer and digital-literacy skills and providing students with access to technology-based learning.[39] Indeed, 39 states have a computer lab in at least one of their prison facilities.[40] Twenty-four states also offer Microsoft Office certification as part of their vocational and career training programs.[41] Some jurisdictions are also experimenting with new forms of technology. The city of Philadelphia, for example, has introduced tablet technology in its jails. Inmates have access to vocational and educational programming through tablet-based programs.[42] The Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction has also made tablets available to incarcerated individuals, using them to provide adult basic education, GED, and postsecondary education courses.[43] Administrators of postsecondary education programs and facilities may be able to learn from neighboring facilities or states that have implemented such interactive technology successfully.

Internet access

College and corrections partners should explore opportunities for providing students access to the Internet. Although college courses increasingly depend on students' use of the Internet and library resources for academic research, many departments of corrections limit or deny Internet access for security reasons, and prison libraries are unlikely to stock the articles and books necessary to support students' course work.[44] Still, some corrections agencies have significantly increased access to educational technology in facilities in recent years, spurred in some cases by the new technological requirements of the GED exam (see "Expanding Access to Technology in Prisons" on page 23).

In practice, most typical security concerns can be addressed by using firewalls and secure servers that limit the range of Internet sites to which students have access. And for facilities ill-equipped to offer full Internet access, local-area networks (LAN) and wide-area networks (WAN) offer

> Program administrators must make plans to address the necessary educational supports, materials, and tools often taken for granted in the free world.

special promise for building academic libraries, by pooling resources for students in a single facility or across a prison system. LAN, available in 26 states' prison systems, allows for controlled intranet access, and/or a storage area network to allow for cross-facility access to expensive articles, education resources, or databases for students.[45] WAN, offered in 11 states' prisons, works similarly, but can link computer networks at multiple facilities across a state or region.[46]

Other curricular and extracurricular supports

Program administrators need to be aware of—and make plans to work around—the significant logistical challenges that a prison setting poses, particularly in delivering necessary educational supports and providing materials and educational tools, many of which are taken for granted in the free world. For example, holding office hours—a ubiquitous practice on college campuses—is highly unlikely in prisons, given the restrictions on movement and schedules. Professors who want to offer office hours to their incarcerated students will likely have to build time into classes for students to privately discuss assignments or other issues.

In other cases, a facility's physical structure can pose difficulties. Although some facilities may have enclosed classrooms, many others use repurposed space with little to no soundproofing or insulation.[47] Students in prison may

Expanding Access to Technology in Prisons

The **New Mexico** Department of Corrections fitted nine facilities with lab space, computers, and a connection to a secure stand-alone computer server that allows students to access educational course work through the Moodle course-management system. Based on a model offered at New Mexico's community college campuses and with the assistance of an on-site facilitator, students take postsecondary courses leading to an associate of arts degree through this closed network system.[a]

In **North Carolina**, Pathways students have controlled access to the Internet and to local-area network (LAN) and wide-area network (WAN) resources. Correctional officers now have the ability to manage Internet-enabled computers remotely, and can report and monitor the websites students visit. The Department of Public Safety also installed security software that blocks access to websites deemed inappropriate. These tools ensure that in-prison education resembles courses taught on campus as much as possible.

The **Tennessee** Higher Education Initiative (THEI) provides course work to students in one men's facility so that they can fulfill the core general education requirements for all public colleges and universities statewide. To help THEI meet its stated goal of providing incarcerated students access to the same technology campus-based students have, the Tennessee Department of Correction secured funding for computer labs equipped with 25 desktop computers, a laser printer, and a smart board and projector.[b] Although students do not have access to the Internet, the labs enhance their digital literacy in preparation for release.

The **Washington** State Board for Community and Technical Colleges is launching a program to provide prisoners access to the learning management system used by all community colleges in the state. Using kiosk Internet and tablet technology in the eight participating prisons, students taking college courses can access the system between classes to submit assignments, communicate with faculty, and download course content, readings, syllabi, and other materials that professors post.[c] The system enhances courses for students and enables instructors to use similar teaching strategies as those they use on campus, making the transition between teaching in prison and on campus smoother.

[a] Leslie Bradley, interview by Ruth Delaney, New York, April 27, 2016.
[b] Julie Doochin, interview by Ruth Delaney, New York, April 6, 2016.
[c] Brian Walsh, interview by Ruth Delaney, New York, January 19, 2016.

have difficulty finding a quiet place to study and often have limited access to tools and resources such as computers, libraries, and tutoring services that are commonly available on college campuses.[48]

Because of restrictions on the types of materials that can be brought into correctional facilities, access to core course materials, such as typical lab supplies for science courses (for example, chemicals, Bunsen burners, and scalpels), may be limited due to security concerns. (See "Bridging Academic and Security Requirements" on page 27.)

Celebrating achievements keeps students invested in their education and brings programs to the attention of outside audiences.

Minimize the effects of inmate transfers or inmate release

College and university faculty and staff unfamiliar with corrections operations may not anticipate the frequency with which incarcerated individuals are transferred between facilities—or the importance of sentence length when setting eligibility requirements for college programs. Collaboration with prison education and security staff on these issues is critical to building an effective college program. Incarcerated students may be moved, often with little or no warning, for a wide range of reasons, including disciplinary infractions, step-downs to lower-security facilities, and parole eligibility dates. In some instances, incarcerated students may elect to leave if a transfer allows them to go to a facility that offers opportunities to meet court-mandated rehabilitative goals or is closer to family.

Yet to award academic credit to students, colleges must provide a set number of contact hours. When students cannot complete a term—because of facility transfers, housing reassignments, or releases—the result may be lost credits, incomplete grades, or forfeiting money paid for courses. It may also mean an end to academic progress if the student is moved to a facility that does not have a postsecondary program or is released to the

supervision of a parole officer who does not prioritize education.

Although corrections administrators are often unable or unwilling to share information before a student is transferred from one facility to another, good communication among prison education staff, custody staff, and college coordinators can help minimize adverse consequences. College programs should work with prison staff to create procedures that put a facility transfer on hold. Such procedures could require notifications to prison education staff and allow for review—absent a significant security rationale—prior to the movement of an enrolled student.

Plan graduations and mark student achievement

Directors of college programs that operate in prisons have learned the value of marking and celebrating student achievement through dean's list ceremonies, graduations, and recognition of other student milestones. These types of events help keep students invested in their education and bring programs to the attention of outside audiences.[49] They also offer important opportunities for students to share their achievements with friends and family, program administrators, and facility staff. They also offer college and corrections program partners an opportunity to share their successes with institutional leaders, such as college presidents and heads of departments of corrections, as well as with funders and other supporters.

Recognizing Students' Achievements

Michigan's Pathways project holds ceremonies after every semester to recognize students who make the dean's list. These ceremonies have involved the Jackson College president, provost, and faculty in full academic regalia, presenting dean's list certificates to students at the two Pathways prisons, just as they do on campus in the community.

New Jersey's Pathways project has awarded more than 20 associate's of arts degrees to students in prison, a number expected to rise to 100 by 2017. To mark these accomplishments, NJ-STEP has held several graduation ceremonies for students completing their degree in prison. Degrees are conferred by the college president and faculty participate in the graduation ceremony in full regalia, and events include a keynote speaker and a student speaker. Students have been able to invite family members, and the ceremony is typically followed by a reception with refreshments and a photographer who takes individual and family pictures.

New York's Bard Prison Initiative held its 12th graduation in January 2015, featuring Cardinal Timothy Dolan, archbishop of New York, as a speaker and honorary degree recipient. Cardinal Dolan, an influential conservative figure in the state, congratulated program administrators, correctional staff, and students in his remarks and praised the program as "a real light in the darkness" in a statement released on his website following the ceremony.[a]

[a] Timothy Dolan, "Bard Prison Initiative," https://perma.cc/DH9F-M3X9.

Focusing on Credentials

As part of the Pathways project, Jackson College in **Michigan** offers accelerated developmental math courses to incarcerated students. These courses are similar to those on the college's main campus, but have been adapted to account for limitations of the prison—most notably, the lack of appropriate technology to use placement-testing software. All new students enroll in a three-week, rapid-review math module designed for those who place into math courses two levels below credit-bearing courses. More advanced students also enroll, but serve as tutors to their classmates. At the close of the rapid-review period, students are placed immediately into 12-week, credit-bearing math courses or the next level of developmental course work—or complete an additional 12 weeks of course work at the same level, depending on the instructor's individualized assessment of a student's progress. Jackson College reports that 80 percent of its incarcerated students move into higher-level courses following the rapid-review module.

In **Missouri**, the Saint Louis University Prison Program provides two program tracks: one for incarcerated people in two Missouri state prisons and another for prison staff.[a] The programs provide transferable credit-bearing courses that lead to an associate's degree. The goals for the two programs are to prepare inmates for life after prison and to enable staff to advance their careers.

In **North Carolina**, students in prison are limited to earning an associate's degree in applied sciences or a career and technical education (CTE)-focused degree. This degree includes course requirements that lead to CTE certificates (with credits that are typically not transferable) as well as core liberal arts courses that are also applicable to academically oriented associate's degrees and to bachelor's degrees. In developing its Pathways project, the Department of Public Safety, Division of Adult Correction, examined its existing postsecondary education program and found that few course offerings were for core liberal arts courses and many were not degree-oriented. Corrections and community college officials designed the state's Pathways program to prioritize those core transferable liberal arts courses while also offering the certificate-oriented courses, preparing students to leave prison with a credential and transferable course credits.

In **New Jersey**, NJ-STEP implemented a registration program called Edvance to track student progress toward degrees and plan future course offerings. Using Edvance, STEP staff can track students by facility and examine individual and group course needs, enabling them to offer courses that serve the greatest number of students. Using this approach, STEP has helped move students progressively toward degree attainment. By the summer of 2016, STEP will have awarded 100 associate's degrees to incarcerated men and women.

Rigorous Applications, Comparable Courses

In **Maryland**, Goucher College's Prison Education Partnership courses are taught by the same faculty and with the same syllabus as those at Goucher's main campus. Students must complete a rigorous application process to gain admission to the program, including proof of GED or high school diploma, attendance at information sessions, interviews, a written application, and a placement exam. Notably, students in prison complete faculty evaluations at the close of each semester, the records of which are included in faculty tenure files along with those completed by students at the main campus.[b]

At one of the women's facilities in **Washington** State, the Freedom Education Project at the University of Puget Sound (FEPPS) offers credit-bearing courses that lead to an associate's of arts and science degree. With a goal of providing education equivalent to that offered in the community, the program draws on faculty from the University of Puget Sound, Tacoma Community College, Evergreen

State College, University of Washington, and Pacific Lutheran University.[c] FEPPS also runs a lecture series open to all women at the prison and coordinated by participating faculty and the student advisory council. It offers some aspects of a campus experience within the prison and has proved to be an effective way to engage new faculty and students in the program.

In **Iowa**, Grinnell College's Liberal Arts in Prison Program offers a yearlong series of courses designed to be equivalent to a first year of college at the main campus. Incarcerated students apply via a demanding application process, receive credit for courses, and are tutored by student volunteers. To ensure comparable course work, faculty from the college's main campus teach all accredited program courses. The program also coordinates special events during the semester, such as orchestra or theater performances at the prison that are open to the public.[d]

Bridging Academic and Security Requirements

In **California**, the Prison University Project (PUP) has developed lab science courses that use materials that can be brought through security into the facility, including materials for dissection. By creatively selecting from common labs offered on community-based campuses, PUP offers science courses that do not compromise student learning goals. Successful dissection lab modules have included sheep brains and cow eyes, which require only a serrated plastic knife.[e]

In **Connecticut**, Wesleyan University's Center for Prison Education serves students at one men's and one women's facility. The center offers a number of academic supports, including study halls supervised by college staff. There, students have access to qualified undergraduate student tutors from the main campus (typically high-performing juniors and seniors recommended by their academic advisers) and to Wesleyan-owned computers with off-line access to manually updated academic journals. To meet the research requirements of advanced course work, students in prison can also request library materials and articles from program staff, who secure the materials at the college library and deliver them to students.[f]

The Boston University Prison Education Project (PEP), founded in **Massachusetts** in 1972, offers courses at two state facilities, one for men and one for women. PEP provides developmental and accredited courses that lead to a bachelor's degree in interdisciplinary studies. To provide additional support, PEP partners with the Petey Greene Program, a nonprofit organization that recruits, trains, and coordinates volunteers who serve in jails and prisons as tutors in adult basic education, high school equivalency, and study skills. BU also offers a scholarship program for employees of the Massachusetts Department of Correction.[g]

In **North Carolina**, students in the Pathways program are typically kept off of potential transfer lists. In **New Jersey**, NJ-STEP and Department of Corrections staff communicate regularly about student transfers and on occasion have been able to move a student to a facility where he could continue course work—or return him to the original facility until the end of a semester.

[a] Julie O'Heir, personal e-mail to Vera Program Analyst Danny Murillo, New York, January 20, 2016.
[b] Amy Roza, interview by Ruth Delaney, New York, January 29, 2016.
[c] Tanya Erzen, interview by Ruth Delaney, New York, April 20, 2016.
[d] Emily Guenther, "Seeking info on prison ed. program," personal e-mail to Danny Murillo, New York, May 12, 2016.
[e] Adam Williamson, interview by Ruth Delaney, New York, March 8, 2016.
[f] Amy Roza, interview by Ruth Delaney, New York, January 29, 2016.
[g] Tara Olivo, personal e-mail to Danny Murillo, New York, January 25, 2016.

College partners do not always appreciate or anticipate the complexities of planning such a function in a corrections setting, so collaborating with corrections partners is extremely important. At the same time, corrections personnel may prioritize security concerns over academic ones, making it important for college partners to ensure that important aspects of graduation are included in the final plan, such as allowing families to attend, ensuring college banners and seals can be displayed within facilities, and that faculty can process in academic regalia. Programs should plan graduation and student achievement ceremonies well in advance, including a review of all relevant academic and prison policies and procedures. It is important that partners discuss their expectations about event procedures and requirements in detail.

Supporting education post-release

Students greatly benefit from academic support as they continue their college education after they are released from prison. Stressors related to transitioning from life in confinement to life in the community complicate the other barriers students are likely to face, such as financial challenges, insufficient academic preparedness, and a lack of social support. Along with wanting to continue their education, these students are also often trying to do the following:[50]

- Find stable housing.
- Meet the requirements of parole or other post-release supervision.
- Find and maintain employment.
- Reunify with family or other loved ones.
- Secure health care.
- Achieve financial stability.

Students' educational attainment may suffer from the constraints of post-release supervision requirements, some of which may last many years and interfere with class enrollment and attendance. Requirements such as mandatory meeting times with parole officers, curfews, and employment requirements can make scheduling class or meeting degree requirements difficult or even impossible. Because failure to meet these conditions can result in a revocation from supervision and a return to prison, compliance with the rules and conditions of release—as opposed to educational attainment—becomes paramount. Failing or withdrawing from courses may cause students

to lose motivation or confidence to continue school in the future, and may have serious financial consequences. Students who begin but are unable to complete a semester forfeit Pell Grant dollars, which are limited to six years per individual. Students may also accumulate debt for incomplete or failed courses.

The staff of programs that work successfully with students after release recognize the overwhelming nature of reentry and its impact on the pursuit of academic goals, as well as college-based barriers to achievement. These programs typically offer supports geared toward reentering students and connect them with other services on college campuses, including peer mentoring, financial counseling, legal support, housing assistance, and job counseling.

Provide supportive prerelease reentry planning

Prior to a student's release, postsecondary program administrators, sometimes in tandem with community-based reentry organizations, can work with an individual to plan for reentry in a number of ways. Some examples include assisting students in filling out federal financial aid forms, registering for selective military service where necessary, and gathering transcripts from current and previous academic institutions. It is also helpful to discuss academic plans and college options in the community students are returning to, especially helping them identify institutions to which their credits will transfer.

Incorporating the Voices of Incarcerated Students

Michigan and **New Jersey** Pathways programs include prison-based student advisory boards that meet with program administrators to discuss project goals and day-to-day operations. In New Jersey, student advisory boards also deliver portions of the faculty training every semester. Program directors note that incorporating students' voices in planning and ongoing quality improvement enhances their educational experience.

In **North Carolina**, the Department of Public Safety conducted focus groups of inmates in multiple facilities across the state to develop its program structure in collaboration and partnership with various community colleges. In one instance, students raised concerns about lost wages due to their participation. Program administrators decided to incorporate incentive payments based on semester grades to help compensate for students' lost income.

Provide post-release admission and academic support

Formerly incarcerated students are likely to face barriers in applying to college once they return home and may need extra supports once they are enrolled in courses. More than 65 percent of colleges now screen for criminal conviction during the application process, a practice that has been shown to discourage

Preparing Students for College in the Community

In 2015, the Education Justice Project of the University of **Illinois** at Urbana-Champaign produced the *Illinois Reentry Guide*. Written and developed by program alumni, the comprehensive guide has three sections. The "Before You Leave" section covers mental preparation for reentry, gathering vital documents, and life basics. "Your First Weeks Out" focuses on securing identification, health and well-being, and employment. "Setting Up Your Life" covers education, finances, finding housing, legal services, recreation and community support, voting and citizenship, and more. The guide includes detailed information about college enrollment and numerous appendices, including directories of service providers and application forms for birth certificates and Social Security cards.[a]

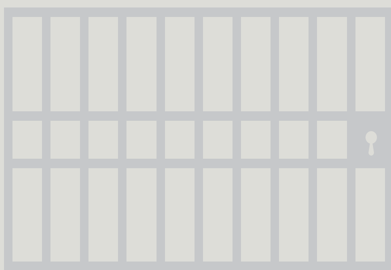
In **New York**, the Prison to College Pipeline, an initiative of John Jay College of Criminal Justice's Prisoner Reentry Institute, provides college programming in six New York State facilities. Students who meet eligibility criteria are interviewed, and those who are selected are admitted into the degree-track program, offered at the Otisville Correctional Facility. Once there, they enroll in credit-bearing courses taught by CUNY faculty. Upon release, students are invited to John Jay College for a campus tour, to meet with professors and peers who were part of the program on the inside, have access to a scholarship fund, and are supported by the College Initiative, a reentry project of the institute.[b]

In **North Carolina**, the Department of Public Safety offers students at some prisons education release—also called day release—to attend classes at a local college campus. Through this program, students can develop relationships with college-based faculty and staff, easing the transition to the community once they are released.

In **Washington**, the State Board of Community and Technical Colleges (SBCTC) offers incarcerated students access to the learning management system used on its campuses (see "Expanding Access to Technology in Prisons" on page 23). Using this platform, the SBCTC is also developing a module on post-release educational opportunities available to students who use the system while in prison. The module includes information on financial aid, college enrollment requirements, campus locations, and academics, and features other tools designed to help students enroll in college post-release.[c]

Supporting Formerly Incarcerated Students

In **California**, the City College of San Francisco's Second Chance Program offers services including supplies, vouchers for textbooks, transfer assistance, and financial and academic counseling for formerly incarcerated students attending the school. Second Chance is funded by the state's Extended Opportunity Programs and Services, which was designed to recruit and retain college students who are academically underprepared or socioeconomically disadvantaged. Police and sheriff departments, correctional agencies, and program alumni refer formerly incarcerated students.[d] Also in California, Project Rebound in San Francisco has provided academic and reentry assistance to students continuing or beginning their education post-release since 1967. Services include matriculation assistance, peer mentoring, financial assistance, transportation, and legal advocacy. The program also acts as a liaison between students and programs and services on college campuses. The program has more than 100 participants and has counted several honors students among its members in recent years.[e]



In **New Jersey**, the Mountainview Communities of NJ-STEP, which operates on all three Rutgers University campuses, assists students throughout the application process. Rutgers University uses a common application, which includes a check box for criminal histories. Students who contact Mountainview before they apply go through a separate application process Mountainview developed in partnership with Rutgers. Mountainview staff work with students to collect letters of support and write statements about their criminal histories, then represent them at felony review hearings with campus safety staff. Once admitted, students are eligible for mentoring and tutoring from Mountainview, whose staff helps connect students with campus-based services such as mental health and substance use treatment, and financial counseling. Mountainview also works closely with parole officers and transitional housing staff regarding students' academic schedules.

In **New York City**, the College Initiative's peer mentor program supports the students in one-on-one and group settings throughout the first two semesters of college in the community. Peer mentors, who are College Initiative students or alumni, take new students on campus tours and hold meetings with them at least once a month. Peer mentors receive cash stipends, as well as formal training on topics such as motivational interviewing and mindfulness. The program also has a formalized evaluation structure to support the mentors' professional development. In addition to giving students academic and mentoring support, the College Initiative provides them with financial assistance (covering the full cost of application fees) and scholarships and connects them with a network of reentry service providers for other needs such as employment, housing, and public benefits.[f]

The College and Community Fellowship (CCF) is a college-focused reentry support organization in New York City for women who are involved in the justice system. CCF conducts prerelease outreach to students in jails and prisons, and, after their release, provides tutoring, mentoring, and crisis intervention, as well as workshops on career development, networking, financial literacy, health awareness, and self-care. The organization reports that just 2 percent of participants return to custody within three years, as compared to New York State's 30 percent three-year recidivism rate for women.[g]

In **North Carolina**, the Department of Public Safety, which oversees the Pathways program, is responsible for post-release supervision. Prerelease reentry planning and supervision for Pathways students after their release emphasize educational attainment. The state's Pathways reentry model also incorporates county-based local reentry councils that help connect students (and everyone leaving prison) with housing, job assistance, transportation, and other services. The local reentry councils provide navigators to assist Pathways students in enrolling in and continuing school. The reentry councils hire navigators, students who have returned home from prison and successfully continued their education in the community.

[a] Education Justice Project, Illinois Reentry Guide: 2015 Edition. (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2015).
[b] Katherine Schaffer, Prisoner Reentry Institute, interview by John Bae, New York, April 11, 2016.
[c] Brian Walsh, interview by Ruth Delaney, New York, January 19, 2016.
[d] Elizabeth Coria, interview by John Bae, New York, April 19, 2016.
[e] Jason Bell, interview by Vera Program Associate Terrell Blount, New York, April 5, 2016.
[f] Carlos Quintana and Jessica Jensen, interview by John Bae, New York, April 14, 2016.
[g] College and Community Fellowship, "Who We Are," www.collegeandcommunity.org/ccf/who-we-are/.

prospective students with criminal histories from applying (see "Guidelines for Admissions Offices on Screening for Criminal History" on page 34).[51] These questions may include requests for information or documentation that can be difficult or impossible to supply. Dedicated college staff or reentry organizations that guide students through the application process can help prevent pre-application attrition, which is otherwise common.[52] These staff can work with admissions offices to determine whether documentation or other requests related to criminal histories are realistic or achievable, assist admissions or public safety personnel in interpreting the information collected, and ensure that students' narratives related to their experiences with the justice system are factored into the process when appropriate.[53]

People developing college prison programs should plan to keep assisting students in the community as they continue their education. This should involve counseling students about enrolling in and transferring credits to postsecondary institutions following release from prison, including assistance in submitting college admissions applications and financial aid forms, and referring students to support services on campus, such as tutoring and mentoring. This support should also include direct referrals to post-release reentry or basic services, such as substance use treatment and other health care, housing, transportation, and transitional jobs.

As they progress toward their degrees, formerly incarcerated students are likely to have questions about academic and career goals that college staff may be ill-equipped to handle. Students with criminal histories often have complex legal and financial questions about the impact of their convictions on professional or occupational licensing eligibility (such as licensing for social work, barbering, and certain occupations in the health care field) or their career path more generally—areas of law that college administrators may be unfamiliar with.[54] These students may have attended college prior to incarceration or while in prison, and may carry credits from numerous colleges that need to be transferred to their degree-granting institution. Seeking assistance in these matters may require students to divulge their criminal histories to college staff, who may not be prepared to assist them. As a result, students can receive incorrect information and may feel stigmatized or alienated by staff who react poorly when learning about their conviction histories.

Engage post-release supervision staff and college staff

Close collaboration between postsecondary program administrators and corrections agencies on reentry planning can support students' educational persistence post-release. Program representatives, whether from the college or the department of corrections, should explain partnership goals to the relevant community-corrections staff, addressing supervision meetings and curfews that interfere with class times, work requirements that undermine educational goals, and other rules that can have a negative impact on academic persistence and success. For example, rules that prohibit formerly incarcerated students from interacting with each other discount research that peer support is vital to adjusting to and successfully navigating the post-release college environment.[55]

Supporting postsecondary education during the reentry period is consistent with research on successful completion of parole or probation and the likelihood that participants will remain crime-free in the future. Research has shown that an overreliance on intensive supervision interventions may get in the way of activities known to reduce recidivism, such as jobs, school, parenting, and religious observances.[56] To support people who want to continue or begin postsecondary education, parole officers or other supervising authorities should engage supervisees in case planning, discussing educational, employment, and other post-release life goals to develop a case plan that balances supervision requirements with an individual's aspirations.[57] Research shows that this approach to case planning and supervision reduces the number of violations, improves compliance with supervision conditions, and better prepares people for success.[58]

Similarly, explaining the partnership goals to the relevant community-based college staff can help identify champions on campus who can mentor post-release students.

Build peer support networks

Understandably, once students are admitted, they will be more successful if they are able to build positive relationships with peers on campus. Feeling feared or unwanted on campus is likely to jeopardize the motivation to continue their education.[59] Developing peer networks on college campuses for formerly incarcerated students can promote their success, affirm their identity, and provide a means to connect with others who have faced similar challenges in returning home and continuing their education. These networks can counteract negativity from other students and faculty while building a strong, supportive community. College staff, students, or a reentry support organization can help to organize these networks, which may be formal or semiformal.

Guidelines for Admissions Offices on Screening for Criminal History

In 2014, three-quarters of college applicants confronted application questions about past criminal involvement. The number of colleges that request such information is increasing, despite a lack of evidence suggesting that campus crimes are committed by people who have a criminal history.[a] Requirements to disclose criminal histories pose significant barriers for students who have been involved in the justice system. One recent study examining the effects of the criminal-history check box in the State University of New York (SUNY) system found that nearly two out of three people who disclosed a felony conviction were denied admission.[b] In addition to documented rejections, researchers have identified a "chilling effect" related to this check box. For every applicant rejected by a SUNY Admissions Review Committee, 15 people did not complete their application after checking the felony conviction box.[c] Many students simply do not submit their applications when they see the question, assuming that the institution is unlikely to offer them admission.

Questions about criminal history discourage college applicants
In one 2015 study, for every applicant with a felony conviction who was rejected by a review committee, 15 people did not complete their application after checking the felony conviction box.

Source: Alan Rosenthal, Emily NaPier, Patricia Warth, and Marsha Weissman, *Boxed Out: Criminal History Screening and College Application Attrition* (New York: Center for Community Alternatives, 2015), 7.

Fortunately, in 2016, the U.S. Department of Education (ED) released recommendations for colleges and universities about this practice. The agency advises that postsecondary institutions should consider whether gathering such information furthers the institution's goals related to creating safe, inclusive, and diverse campus communities. For those institutions that continue to collect information about criminal history, the department recommends delaying the request for such information until after a conditional offer of acceptance has been extended to an applicant. This builds on recommendations made by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission regarding hiring practices for people with criminal histories.

Recommendations by ED also advise colleges and universities that continue to collect this information to narrow the focus of their inquiries to only the information considered necessary. This means asking only about convictions as opposed to arrests; setting a statute of limitations of sorts or specific time parameters for convictions; avoiding the use of ambiguous words; and, for career-oriented programs, limiting requests for information to conviction histories that may create barriers for licenses in the program field. In addition, ED recommends that colleges and universities give students the opportunity to explain the information they submit and that institutions train their admissions officers and counselors on how to respond to prospective students' questions about providing criminal justice information, as well as how to interpret the information they receive.

[a] Seventy-five percent of applications feature these types of questions. See Rosenthal et al, 2015, 7.

[b] This figure includes "felony application attrition," the term typically used to describe the phenomenon in the reduction of numbers between those who start an application and check the felony conviction box "yes" and the number of applicants who have satisfied all the supplemental requirements to complete their application. To learn more about felony application attrition, see Rosenthal et al. (2015), 7.

[c] Rosenthal et al., 2015, 20.

[d] Marsha Weissman, Alan Rosenthal, Patricia Warth, Elaine Wold, and Michael Messina-Yauchzy, *The Use of Criminal History Records in College Admissions Reconsidered* (New York: Center for Community Alternatives, Innovative Solutions for Justice, 2010) 36; Rosenthal et al., 2015, 21-25.

[e] U.S. Department of Education, *Beyond the Box: Increasing Access to Higher Education for Justice-Involved Individuals* (Washington, DC: 2016).

Conclusion

The three years of the Second Chance Pell Pilot Program offer an unprecedented opportunity to overturn the ban on Pell Grant eligibility for students in prison. Securing this outcome depends on the successful implementation of the pilot program and the temporary suspension of the ban at a limited number of sites where the program is under way. With careful planning and well-informed administrative oversight, the Second Chance sites have an excellent chance of success. In addition, colleges and prisons can learn a great deal from these sites' efforts.

If the permanent reinstatement of Pell eligibility is to become a reality for students in state and federal prisons, Second Chance Pell sites must do more than run successful programs. They will need to cultivate champions in diverse fields, including the business community, the academic and higher education communities, and among policymakers, corrections agencies, and community-based reentry organizations, as well as with the general public. Active engagement with local media can do much to build a track record of success in the eyes of potential champions. Holding stakeholder briefings, engaging students on a college's main campus through events and volunteer tutoring opportunities, and inviting potential supporters to graduation ceremonies can also garner support for college-in-prison programs and ensure that a program's positive efforts and accomplishments are brought to the attention of policymakers and other influential community members. In light of the successes of the programs highlighted in this report, the Second Chance Pell sites should have no shortage of positive stories to share as they roll out their programming in prisons throughout the country.

Endnotes

1 Starting in 1972, the federal Pell Grant provided need-based grants to low-income undergraduate students, including students who were incarcerated. With the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, however, federal legislators revoked incarcerated students' eligibility. Twenty years later, the U.S. Department of Education's new Second Chance Pell Pilot Program, announced in July 2015, aims to reopen Pell Grant eligibility to incarcerated students, making college a possibility for thousands of students in prisons across the country. U.S. Department of Education, "Federal Pell Grant Program," https://perma.cc/R8GB-T4JQ; Inside Higher Ed, "Colleges Embrace Pell Grant Expansion for Prisoners," https://perma.cc/SP9U-K4KP.

2 Wendy Erisman and Jeanne Bayer Contardo, *Learning to Reduce Recidivism: A 50-State Analysis of Postsecondary Correctional Educational Policy* (Washington, DC: The Institute for Higher Education Policy), x.

3 E. Ann Carson, *Prisoners in 2014*, (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2015), 1, https://perma.cc/E3BC-VG5Y.

4 See U.S. Department of Education, Office of Postsecondary Education, *Federal Pell Grant Eligibility for Students Who Are Confined in Locations that Are Not Federal or State Penal Institutions* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 2014), https://perma.cc/UD4E-Z5TA.

5 Although an accurate, up-to-date count of prison-based education programs is hard to come by, most surveys identify about 40 programs nationwide. A survey in 2003 cited 44 programs, while a RAND study in 2014 found that 32 states offered postsecondary education or college courses to adult inmates. The more than 200 applications submitted for the Pell Pilot program could represent a significant increase in programming. Lois M. Davis, Jennifer L. Steele, Robert Bozick, Malcolm V. Williams, Susan Turner, Jeremy N. V. Miles, Jessica Saunders, Paul S. Steinberg, *How Effective Is Correctional Education, and Where Do We Go from Here? The Results of a Comprehensive Evaluation* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2014), xviii. https://perma.cc/Q4RQ-DMZW. Erisman and Contardo, 2005, 14; Inside Higher Ed, "Colleges Embrace Pell Grant Expansion for Prisoners."

6 The program also requires that participating institutions provide educational programs that prepare students for high-demand occupations from which they are not legally barred due to conviction-based licensing or other restrictions and to provide academic and financial aid counseling about program completion before or after release. The initiative prioritizes students who will be released within five years of enrollment; it restricts Pell eligibility to those not otherwise ineligible under other provisions of the law and to those who will be released from prison in the future. See U.S. Department of Education, "Notice Inviting Postsecondary Educational Institutions to Participate in Experiments Under the Experimental Sites Initiative; Federal Student Financial Assistance Programs Under Title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965, As Amended," *Federal Register*, August 3, 2015, https://perma.cc/ WTJ7-Q3FH.

7 U.S. Department of Education, Office of Postsecondary Education, 2014.

8 Higher incarceration rates may have contributed to the decrease in crime rates, but most research suggests that this impact was minimal. Jeremy Travis, Bruce Western, and Steve Redburn, eds., *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Causes and Consequences* (Washington, DC: National Research Council, The National Academies Press, 2014), 4. Prison populations increased 705 percent from 1972-2010; see Pew Charitable Trusts, *Prison Count 2010* (Washington, DC: Pew Charitable Trusts, 2010), 1, https://perma.cc/58RV-SMJY.

9 Inside Higher Ed, "New Projects, Laws Help Prison College Programs Gain Steam," (Washington, DC: March 24, 2015), https://perma.cc/U2FT-H5SP.

10 Bruce Western, *From Prison to Work: A Proposal for a National Prisoner Reentry Program*, (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2008), 6.

11 Only 22 percent of those in prison complete any postsecondary-level work before entering prison or during their sentence, as compared to 51 percent of the general population. See Elizabeth Greenberg, Eric Dunleavy, Mark Kutner, and Sheida White, *Literacy Behind Bars: Results from the 2003 National Assessment of Adult Literacy Prison Survey* (Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, 2007), 27-28.

12 On an average day in 2010, one-third of black male high school dropouts in the United States were behind bars. In addition, 1 in 3 black men, 1 in 14 Hispanic men, and 1 in 8 white men without a GED or high school diploma will spend time incarcerated from age 20 to 34. See National Academies of Science (2014), 67; and Bruce Western and Becky Pettit, *Collateral Costs: Incarceration's Effect on Economic Mobility* (Washington, DC: Pew Charitable Trusts, 2010), 8.

13 See Laura E. Gorgol and Brian A. Sponsler, *Unlocking Potential: Results of a National Survey of Postsecondary Education in State Prisons*, (Washington, DC: 2011), 2-3, https://perma.cc/CL7Y-CZHA; James J. Stephan, *Census of State and Federal Correctional Facilities, 2005* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2008), 5, https://perma.cc/M4GS-8PJM.

14 These states are Arizona, Arkansas, California, Idaho, Indiana, Louisiana, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin. In comparison to states with lower enrollment, these states have larger prison populations; focus programming on short-term vocational and certificate courses; often provide more robust academic programming; and are able to use public funds to support

programs. High-enrollment states also tend to have more open admissions policies, considering fewer eligibility requirements when admitting students. Gorgol and Sponsler, 2011, 11.

15 This finding came out of a landmark meta-analysis of correctional education programs, covering 30 years of research—the largest ever completed. See Lois M. Davis, Robert Bozick, Jennifer L. Steele, Jessica Saunders, Jeremy N. V. Miles, *Evaluating the Effectiveness of Correctional Education: A Meta-Analysis of Programs That Provide Education to Incarcerated Adults* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2013), 32, https://perma.cc/AVZ9-JZSG.

16 RAND looked at 50 studies, 34 of which used re-incarceration as the outcome measure. The most frequently used time periods to measure recidivism were one year (n = 13) and three years (n = 10). Davis et al., 2013, 27.

17 The National Institute of Justice has included postsecondary education in its database of evidence-based practices because research clearly demonstrates that it reduces recidivism. However, little is known about why it does so. As noted by researchers of correctional education programs, more investigation is needed to answer questions about dosage, program structure, and the impact programs have on individual students. Further complicating the question of "what works" in reducing recidivism, postsecondary education programs include vocational and career training as well as liberal arts and other academic programs that are often lumped together in studies that measure impact. As researchers continue to examine programs and evaluate outcomes, the reason for postsecondary education's effects will become clearer. See National Institute of Justice, "Postsecondary Correctional Education (PSCE)," https://perma.cc/2FUQ-9SGY; Davis, Steele, et al., 2014, 81-82.

18 Davis, Steele, et al., 2014, xvi, 15.

19 U.S. Census data indicate that the difference in median yearly earnings between people with a high school diploma and those with an associate's degree is $10,313; with a bachelor's degree the difference is $21,893, although there is significant variation in this earnings gap across states. It is estimated that by 2018, nearly two-thirds of all jobs will require applicants to possess some level of postsecondary education. Davis et al., 2013, 41-47; NCHEMS Information Center for Higher Education Policymaking and Analysis, *("Wage and Earnings: Difference in Median Earnings between a High School Diploma and a Bachelors Degree,"* https://perma.cc/ZM4J-MJ2E); Anthony P. Carnevale, Nicole Smith, and Jeff Strohl, *Help Wanted: Projections of Jobs and Education Requirements Through 2018* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce, 2010), 13, https://perma.cc/WG66-29DE. Le'Ann Duran, Martha Plotkin, Phoebe Potter, and Henry Rosen, *Integrated Reentry and Employment Strategies: Reducing Recidivism and Promoting Job Readiness* (New York: The Council of State Governments Justice Center, 2013) 2, https://perma.cc/H4G5-UMW7.

20 Children of incarcerated parents are at a greater risk of incarceration themselves, making the likelihood of reduced justice-system involvement of particular relevance to this group. Correctional Association of New York, *Education from the Inside, Out: The Multiple Benefits of College Programs in Prison* (New York: Correctional Association of New York, 2009), 3, https://perma.cc/678G-979E; James Conway and Edward Jones, *Seven out of Ten? Not Even Close,* (New Britain, CT: Central Connecticut State University, 2015), 10-14.

21 Correctional Association of New York, 2009, 8-9.

22 Michelle Fine, Maria Elena Torre, Kathy Boudin, Iris Bowen, Judith Clark, Donna Hylton, Migdalia Martinez, "Missy," Rosemarie A. Roberts, Pamela Smart, Debora Upegui, *Changing Minds: The Impact of College in a Maximum-Security Prison*, (New York: Graduate Center of the City University of New York, 2001), 21-22, https://perma.cc/5LX2-MQEG; Correctional Association of New York, 2009, 8-9.

23 One study of three states found that students were less likely to engage in interpersonal disputes in prison because staying in college was more important. In this study, facility administrators reflected that students have fewer conduct issues, making facility management easier on the staff and safer for all prisoners. Laura Winterfield, Mark Coggeshall, Michelle Burke-Storer, Vanessa Correa, and Simon Tidd, *The Effects of Postsecondary Correctional Education* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2009), 6-10, https://perma.cc/H4ZJ-7KTG; Fine et al., 2001, 21-22.

24 Davis, Steele, et al., 2014, 81.

25 Davis, Steele, et al., 2014, xviii, 61.

26 Ibid., xix.

27 Ibid., 68.

28 Researchers from the RAND Corporation identified this challenge during Phase I of their evaluation of Vera's Pathways project. Lois M. Davis, Michelle Tolbert, Robert Bozick, *Pathways from Prison to Postsecondary Education Phase I: Implementation Study* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2014), 37.

29 Ibid., 36-39.

30 Erisman and Contardo, 2005, 38-39.

31 Michelle Fine, et al., 2001, 38.

32 Davis, Tolbert, and Bozick, 2014, 38.

33 Diana Brazzell, Anna Crayton, Debbie A. Mukamal, Amy L. Solomon, and Nicole Lindahl, *From the Classroom to the Community: Exploring the Role of Education During Incarceration and Reentry*

(Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2008), 27, https://perma.cc/54WB-GEAN.

34 Erisman and Contardo, 2005, 38; Brazzell et al., 2008, 25-26; Davis, Tolbert, and Bozick, 2014, 39.

35 In most facilities, a callout is a list published daily or on a frequent basis that lists people who have scheduled appointments, programs, events, meetings, or other activities, and is used by correctional departments to manage prisoner movement.

36 Davis, Tolbert, and Bozick, 2014, 45.

37 Davis, Steele, et al., 2014, 41-52.

38 Michelle Tolbert, Jordan Hudson, and Heather Claussen Erwin, *Educational Technology in Corrections 2015* (Washington, DC: US Department of Education, 2015), 1, https://perma.cc/Y3NU-7YN5.

39 Ibid.

40 Incarcerated students have access to desktop computers in 39 states; to laptop computers in 17 states; and to tablet technology in 10 states. See Davis, Steele, et al., 2014, 41-52.

41 Ibid., xix, 60-61.

42 Wylie Wong, "What It Takes to Bring Education Behind Bars," *Biztech*, December 2, 2014, https://perma.cc/FXL5-GHLL.

43 Stephen J. Steurer, "2015 CEA Leadership Forum," Correctional Education Association *News & Notes*, 38, no. 1 (2015), 1-2.

44 Gorgol and Sponsler, 2011, 13.

45 Tolbert, Hudson, et al., 2015, 6.

46 Ibid.

47 Davis, Tolbert, and Bozick, 2014, 36.

48 For example, correctional cultures often prioritize security over other programming, and this can have a significant impact on the academic climate. See Mukamal, Silbert, and Taylor, 2015, 37.

49 Fine et al., 2001, 36.

50 For more on the elements of successful reentry planning, see Joan Petersilia, *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 40-41, 112-123; Demelza Baer, Avinash Bhati, Lisa Brooks, Jennifer Castro, Nancy La Vigne, Kamala Mallik-Kane, Rebecca Naser, Jenny Osborne, Caterina Roman, John Roman, Shelli Rossman, Amy Solomon, Christy Visher, and Laura Winterfield, *Understanding the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry: Research Findings from the Urban Institute's Prisoner Reentry Portfolio* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2006), https://perma.cc/JS5F-VY65; Jeremy Travis, Laurie O. Robinson, and Amy L. Solomon, "Prisoner Reentry: Issues for Practice and Policy," *Criminal Justice* 17, no. 12 (2002); and Jeremy Travis, Bruce Western, and Steve Redburn, eds., 2014, 195-197.

51 Center for Community Alternatives, *The Use of Criminal History Records in College Admissions Reconsidered*, (Brooklyn, NY: 2014), i. https://perma.cc/5ULQ-UJRH; Alan Rosenthal, Emily NaPier, Patricia Warth, and Marsha Weissman, *Boxed Out: Criminal History Screening and College Application Attrition* (New York: Center for Community Alternatives, 2015), 10, https://perma.cc/YLG7-7B5N.

52 Center for Community Alternatives, 2014, v.

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55 Standard parole requirements often include provisions barring parolees from associating with known felons, a stipulation that can be nearly impossible to adhere to, given that many offenders have family members who are felons. Research on peer support for formerly incarcerated students shows that this support improves the likelihood that students will continue in school to complete their degree. See Vera Institute of Justice, *The Potential of Community Corrections to Improve Communities and Reduce Incarceration* (New York: Vera Institute of Justice, 2013), 11; Susan Sturm, Kate Skolnick, and Tina Wu, *Building Pathways of Possibility from Criminal Justice to College: College Initiative as a Catalyst Linking Individual and Systemic Change*, (The Center for Institutional and Social Change at Columbia Law School, 2011), 21-22.

56 Donald A. Andrews, "Enhancing Adherence to Risk-Need-Responsivity: Making Quality a Matter of Policy," *Criminology and Public Policy* 5, no. 3 (2006), 595-602; Peggy B. Burke, *Parole Violations Revisited: A Handbook on Strengthening Parole Practices for Public Safety and Successful Offender Transition* (Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections, 2004), https://perma.cc/Q87G-ZF3T; National Research Council, *Parole, Desistance from Crime, and Community Integration* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2007), https://perma.cc/5DMV-8DWG.

57 Christopher T. Lowenkamp and Edward J. Latessa, "Understanding the Risk Principle: How and Why Correctional Interventions Can Harm Low-Risk Offenders," *Topics in Community Corrections*, Annual Issue (2004), 3-8, https://perma.cc/4B3H-G2J6.

58 Lowenkamp and Latessa, 2004, 3-8.

59 Current and formerly incarcerated students in California, for example, reported that professors' and students' negative perceptions of them affected their self-image and academic motivation. See Mukamal, Silbert, and Taylor, 2015, 26.

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