

The District of Oregon Reentry Court:

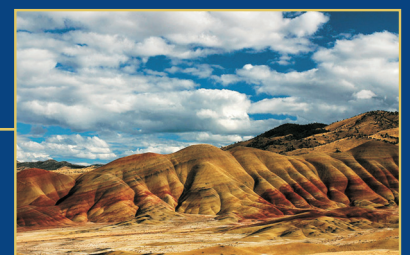
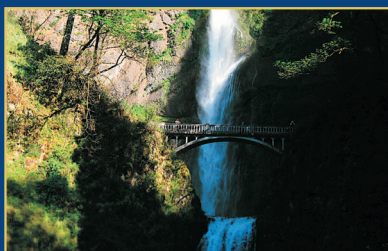
Evaluation, Policy Recommendations, and Replication Strategies



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*The research conducted in this study was completed in advance of Melissa Aubin's 2008-2009 Supreme Court Fellowship term.

Executive Summary

Reentering offenders are typically underserved upon release and ill-equipped to desist from crime. As a result, the likelihood of reoffense is high, with little chance of improvement until meaningful, individualized interventions are made available.

The only controversial aspect of that statement is the historic lack of attention to the problem and institutional biases against dealing with it. Confronted with high incarceration rates, repeat offending related to substance use, and the resulting strain on courts, jails, and prisons, the District of Oregon collaborated with its partners in government and social services. It adopted a model designed to provide meaningful, individualized interventions for offenders, so that they may increase a sense of personal accountability as they reduce barriers to their successful reintegration. The result: less recidivism, safer communities, and productive partnerships.

The Model

The District of Oregon Reentry Court is a court-involved, evidence-based program in which voluntary participants under federal supervision commit to individualized plans emphasizing sobriety, employment, and constructive problem-solving. The program encourages participants to develop a high and sustained level of satisfaction with a productive and prosocial lifestyle and thereby desist from crime and substance abuse. Participants engage in self-assessment monthly, with each other and the reentry court team (composed of a district court judge, assistant U.S. attorney, assistant federal public defender, probation officer, and treatment services personnel), who issue rewards and sanctions matched to each participant's level of progress. The reentry court team encourages participants to access an array of services designed to meet particular reentry needs. Successful participants maintain 12 months of sobriety and receive a reduction in their terms of supervision.

The model was developed in 2006, as a strategy for addressing recidivism among drug-involved offenders. The program underwent a thorough evaluation in 2008. The accompanying study sets forth a description of the model, its basis in evidence, and a manual for its replication and customization.

Components

The components of the District of Oregon Reentry Court demonstrate its “ecological” approach. This approach emphasizes that humans grow and develop in the dynamic and ever-changing context involving interactions with their family, work, school and community. The reentry court provides access to a continuum of services that involve all aspects of the participant’s life, and it comprehensively engages the participant. Distilled from the Recommendations of the Reentry Policy Council and the National Association of Drug Court Professionals Ten Key Components of Drug Courts, the components of the District of Oregon Reentry Court are:

- 1) Transition planning, which should begin at sentencing, continue with a plan for the first day of release, and end after the reentering individual is equipped with the tools to sustain post-release success.
- 2) Multidisciplinary training in evidence-based practices for the reentry court judge.
- 3) The use of an integrated case management and law enforcement perspective for the reentry court probation officer.
- 4) The research-informed use of monitoring, sanctions, and rewards.
- 5) The research-informed use of a continuum of services designed to enhance accountability and reduce barriers to reentry. These services include drug and alcohol treatment, and assistance in obtaining education and sustainable housing and employment. The program also encourages obtaining assistance from family and friends who are willing to contribute to the participant’s reentry success.
- 6) The establishment of quality data collection and evaluation systems to measure the effectiveness of the reentry court program at the individual and community levels.

The value of each component is demonstrated by a review of relevant research studies from the fields of reentry planning, drug treatment, and problem-solving courts. Examples from the District of Oregon’s reentry court practice illustrate each component, and the authors set forth recommendations based on those practices. Demonstrating the District of Oregon’s own commitment to self-assessment and evidence-based practices, it undertook a 2008 quantitative study

of the District of Oregon Reentry Court. The study demonstrated the importance of employment to reentry success, and those findings are included.

Replication

The District of Oregon is also committed to sharing its model with leaders in other districts who are considering similar programs. The problems that affect Oregon’s federal criminal justice operations are problems that affect each federal district in the nation. To that end, a detailed replication guide is included. The guide assists readers in identifying and assembling stakeholders, shaping discussions concerning program design, implementing a program, collecting data, and conducting evaluations. When districts adopt similar programs, track their successes, and share effective practices, public policy improves both locally and nationally. As a result, crime decreases, policy discussions lead with evidence, and societies enjoy the benefits of a safer and well-informed public.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, we acknowledge the courage of the 114 men and women who volunteered to participate in the reentry court after fulfilling lengthy prison sentences. Their struggle to meet the expectations of the reentry court contract while learning new ways to live their lives without alcohol, drugs, or criminal behavior, forms the basis for this study. Their efforts give life to the District of Oregon Reentry Court model.

We also acknowledge the creative spirit of the U.S. District Court of Oregon. The reentry teams worked to resolve institutional barriers and developed working relationships that enhanced the success of the reentry court participants. We appreciate each team member who has given that extra measure of effort and creativity to give those who have paid a debt to society the best opportunity to return to our communities successfully. By putting their work on the record in this study, the team members contribute to the continued refinement of the model.

Portland Team Members

Senior U.S. District Judge James Redden
Assistant U.S. Attorney John Deits
Assistant Federal Defender Ruben Iniquez
Probation Officer Sara Gnewikow
Federal Public Defender Legal Assistant Christine Moore

Eugene Team Members

U.S. District Judge Ann Aiken
Assistant U.S. Attorney Bud Fitzgerald
Assistant Federal Defender Bryan Lessley
Probation Officer Mark Walker
Federal Public Defender Investigator Toni Pisani

Finally, we wish to acknowledge the pioneers who articulated the vision of the reentry court process. The debate between the advocates of rehabilitation and punishment has raged within the criminal justice system for the past half century. Klonoski and Mendelsohn (1970) summarized this debate by stating, “An orientation to punishment is tied to a relatively dim view of man. Men are visualized as possessing a corruptible nature that threatens the stability of society. Rehabilitation is based on the assumption that all men are susceptible to change for the better - that regardless of what has gone before, all persons can eventually be made useful members of society” (pp. 9-10). Our work has benefited from such wise counsel.

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Part I: The District of Oregon Reentry Court Model:

Origin and Principles

A. Introduction

In response to the urgent national need to improve the effectiveness of reentry programs for federal inmates serving time for drug offenses, the United States District Court for the District of Oregon created a specialized reentry court for individuals under federal supervision. The District of Oregon Reentry Court offers individualized treatment and sanction alternatives to drug-involved individuals under federal supervision. The program is designed to improve offender behavior and facilitate rehabilitation, and to protect the health and safety of the community. The District of Oregon Reentry Court program was only the second program of its kind in the federal judicial system when it was initiated. The first federal reentry court was established in 2002 in the Eastern District of New York, Brooklyn.

This document describes the model reentry court program, its basis in evidence, and its evaluation. The study is divided into three main sections. The first section describes the development of the District of Oregon Reentry Court as a means to reduce recidivism among drug-involved offenders. It describes the model and sets forth the six key components on which it is based, including planning, multidisciplinary training, a case-management informed approach in probation services, research-informed uses of sanctions and rewards, availability of a continuum of services, and data collection. The second section discusses each component separately, first providing an overview of the research that underlies the component, then illustrating the component in practice and offering policy recommendations based on the court's own practice. The third section provides guidance for replicating and customizing the model in districts facing the same problem and sharing a commitment to a solution.

Reentry courts serve individuals subject to post-release supervision. They generally employ an enhanced and ongoing judicial role and problem-solving approach geared toward individualized coordination of legal and social services to encourage successful reintegration, reduce recidivism, and ensure public safety (Lindquist, Hardison, & Lattimore, 2003; Maruna, 2003).

The association between drug use and recidivism has been well documented (see, e.g., National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at

Columbia University (1998), pp. 6-7: “52 percent of [federal inmates] with two prior convictions and 71 percent of those with five or more have histories of regular drug use”). Because a high percentage of reentering individuals face drug problems, interventions designed to address addiction are critical to reentry courts (Lindquist, Hardison, & Lattimore, 2003). The reentry court participant undergoes judicial monitoring, intensive treatment, community supervision, and drug testing. To prepare the participant for successful reentry, specialized ancillary services are provided (Huddleston et al., 2005). Reentry courts employ the authority of the court to apply graduated sanctions and positive reinforcement to encourage sobriety and prosocial behavior, and to marshal resources to support the participant’s reintegration (Lindquist, Hardison, & Lattimore, 2003).

A number of state court jurisdictions have recently developed reentry court models. With federal support from the Serious and Violent Offender Initiative (also called the Going Home Program), part of a 2002 United States Department of Justice program, nine state court jurisdictions were tasked with establishing “a seamless system of offender accountability and support services throughout the reentry process” (Lindquist, Hardison, & Lattimore, 2003, pp. 1-2). Drawing upon drug court models, nine state courts (California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Iowa, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, and West Virginia) have established experimental reentry courts. Preliminary reviews of the procedures and implementation of services in state jurisdiction reentry courts are set forth in Lindquist, Hardison, and Lattimore (2003); however, no experimental outcome studies have been published.

During the past six years, a number of federal districts have similarly developed reentry programs. The Eastern District of New York initiated its model in 2002; reentry courts began in both the District of Oregon and Western District of Michigan in 2005; similar models in the District of Massachusetts and Southern District of Mississippi followed in 2006. In 2007, the Southern District of Indiana and the Eastern District of Pennsylvania initiated reentry courts, as did the Eastern District of Utah and the Eastern District of Missouri in 2008 (Judicial Conference, 2008). The federal reentry courts provide a mechanism for enhancing the federal judge’s ability to execute the sentencing role, which, under 18 U.S.C. section 3583(a), explicitly includes the authority to impose a term of supervised release after imprisonment.

B. The History of the District of Oregon Reentry Court

In May 2003, methamphetamine use in Oregon reached unprecedented

levels. Public safety agencies, state courts, child protection agencies, and other social services were on the verge of collapse due to the staggering levels of methamphetamine use. Oregon agencies were treating more individuals for methamphetamine abuse per capita than any other state. Furthermore, the District of Oregon's revocation rate rose above the national average, in large part due to methamphetamine abuse. Over 70 percent of offenders under supervision in the District of Oregon either had a history of drug abuse or were under supervision for a drug-related crime.

In a 2005 report, the U.S. Probation Office of the District of Oregon explained that the primary motivation for developing the District of Oregon Reentry Court was the high incidence of probation revocation and related concerns about recidivism. Over 60 percent of the offenders in the District of Oregon had been sentenced to prison for drug offenses, firearm violations, robbery, and violent offenses. A majority of these offenders had histories of substance abuse. In light of the high correlation between substance abuse and supervision violations, it was not surprising that the District of Oregon has had one of the highest probation revocation rates among jurisdictions with comparable caseloads. These trends resulted in a significant burden on the court, the prosecutors, and the public defenders. Due to limited sentencing alternatives, revocation is often the only available option when an offender violates the conditions of supervision.

In response to this public safety and public health crisis, the District of Oregon initiated an aggressive campaign of research and study to address the challenges of drug abuse among the offenders under its supervision. The District of Oregon's Criminal Law Committee formed an Offender Treatment Committee, which included representatives from the District of Oregon Court, Probation Office, Federal Public Defenders Office, and the U.S. Attorney's Office. The goal of this committee was to gather information about best practices to address the crisis in drug abuse among the offenders in supervision. In addition, the committee sought information on innovative treatment programming and the procurement of increased funding for a range of treatment efforts. Finally, the committee sought to foster meaningful partnerships with a range of treatment agencies, the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and state and county social service agencies.

1. Identifying the Need: A Summit on Criminal Justice Solutions

In January 2004, the Offender Treatment Committee convened a "Summit on Criminal Justice Solutions" at the Federal Bureau of Prison's correctional facility in Sheridan, Oregon. This multidisciplinary conference was designed to

assemble stakeholders and experts, and to foster an exchange of information and ideas about encouraging successful reentry. The experts in this context turned out to be the returning inmates, probation officers, local drug and alcohol treatment providers, and mental health specialists.

The Summit was hosted by Warden Charles Daniels.¹ In his welcome to the conference participants,² he asserted that it was time for all of the stakeholders to seek a common strategy to produce positive outcomes for the inmates in the federal system. He further noted the importance of close relationships between the Bureau of Prisons and the professionals involved in community reentry and explained how the services available through the Bureau of Prisons were designed to prepare inmates for life after prison.

Throughout the daylong series of speeches, testimonials, small group activities, and plenary sessions, participants voiced concerns that the system required reevaluation and repair. As Judge Aiken noted in her address, various agencies, organizations and persons involved in public safety tended to operate in their own “silos,” and durable solutions required a multidisciplinary approach.

A key agenda item was a “Consumer Panel” assembled by District of Oregon Probation Office Supervisor Will Blasher. The panel consisted of former inmates who had successfully reintegrated into communities after release and remained crime free. Several inmates spoke of the overwhelming negative mindset developed by most inmates both before incarceration and during their time in prison. They discussed the criminal mentality of the “macho tough guy” who uses violence or coercion to meet his needs, noting that this is a dominant mindset in the prison “yard.” They further discussed how released offenders maintain these attitudes and habits after release. If an inmate does not change his or her thinking process, the challenges of the community will soon become overwhelming, resulting in increased vulnerability to revocation and rearrest. They argued that little had been done within the prison to change these negative attitudes and behaviors or to influence more positive attitudes prior to release.

1 Charles Daniels has since taken employment at the Bureau of Prisons in Washington, D.C.

2 Attendees included District of Oregon judges and staff, the U.S. Attorney for the District of Oregon, representatives from the federal congressional delegation, U.S. Office of Probation, Oregon Department of Corrections, Federal Public Defender, Office of the Governor, state jurisdiction judges and probation officers, Oregon universities and community colleges, Oregon Department of Human Services, drug and mental health treatment providers, private and nonprofit businesses, and housing agencies.

Other members of the Consumer Panel discussed the crucial role that satisfying employment played in assisting with a successful back to the community. They expressed a common fear of rejection by their employers and co-workers. Particularly, several of the successful ex-inmates emphasized the need for assistance in getting and maintaining a job. They also spoke of the value of a probation officer who could serve not only as a law enforcement official, but also as a mentor, advocate, and ally.

Over and over, the speakers lamented the “catch and release” nature of probation. They identified the ready availability of drugs and the influence of friends and associates who continued their drug-using ways as serious impediments to successful reentry.

Furthermore, too many inmates were being released from prison without the necessary skills to be good parents, spouses, and neighbors. Many inmates were being released without skills that would allow them to be competitive in the labor market. Many were functionally illiterate, had no computer or technology skills, and worse, had little or no positive work experience before or during incarceration.

The attitudes and behaviors that led to incarceration had not been replaced with new prosocial skills and habits. Rather, the prison environment had actually maintained or accentuated the very behaviors that led them to incarceration in the first place, and that would lead to their reincarceration. Returning inmates spoke of the desire to change and were clear about what was needed to give them a better chance at success (see, e.g., Appendix 1, Case Example from the Summit on Criminal Justice Solutions).

One former inmate who had maintained his sobriety for five years and was now a successful counselor in the community, articulated a central message of the Summit. He stated:

What you need to do is change your thinking, you have to want to stay clean and sober. You have to want to stay clean and sober every day. You have to want to be a good parent and partner. You have to want to go to work in what may be a boring job, because that is what it means to be an adult. You have to want to give back to society, pay taxes; you have to be someone who gives a damn about life. If it means you have to work during the day and go to school at night and

be a good family man all at the same time, then you just have to do it. This whole victim mindset that says you are owed something just doesn't work, especially if you are an ex-con. You have got to get up and get your act together. But, we also need help. We can't do all of this on our own. The streets are full of violent, dangerous, drug-crazed people. In some ways we need to be protected from this. The probation system should be able to help us help ourselves.

This message - the importance of equipping offenders for success upon reentry - became the recurring theme of the conference. The Summit forced the leadership of Oregon's public safety and probation professionals to reevaluate the principles that had informed their policies. Summit participants came to realize that the system needed to be reconsidered. The Summit sparked the effort to reorient the system toward an evidence-based model designed to equip offenders for success upon reentry.

2. Putting the Findings of the Summit into Practice: The Development of the District of Oregon Reentry Court

A primary outcome of the Summit was the recognition of the importance of drug and alcohol and mental health treatment for returning inmates. Attention turned to the pivotal role of prerelease planning from the federal prison to the community and the coordination of services for returning inmates. By improving coordination between the Bureau of Prisons and the U.S. Office of Probation, and providing meaningful, coordinated services in the community, the potential to increase the community adjustment success rates of offenders would increase.

The focus on prerelease planning and coordination, enhanced supervision strategies, access to drug and alcohol and mental health treatment, employment and housing options, and service coordination activities produced the Summit's primary recommendation: develop reentry programs for offenders under supervision for drug-related crimes in the District of Oregon. A committee was assembled under the leadership of District of Oregon Public Defender Steven Wax to draft the agreement among the various agencies and to establish ground rules, procedures, and relationships for a reentry court for former inmates under supervision for drug-related crimes.

C. An Overview of the Operation of the District of Oregon Reentry Court³

The United States Federal Court for the District of Oregon established a reentry court for persons on supervised release and probation in the spring of 2005. The first group of reentry court participants started the program in May 2005 in Portland. In Eugene, another group began its participation in July, 2005.

The District of Oregon Reentry Court model was developed with an evidence-based, best-practices orientation. The reentry court team, which conducts monthly hearings with reentry court participants, is comprised of a federal district judge, a single probation officer (referred to as the reentry court probation officer), an assistant U.S. attorney, and an assistant federal public defender. In addition, a drug and alcohol treatment professional and a community services coordinator serve as members of the reentry court team.

The team operates in a nonadversarial manner. Together, the team guides the reentry court participant through an intensive reentry program. Each team member engages a participant in an assessment of his or her reentry progress. The judge, probation officer, and attorney may encourage, challenge, or sanction the participant in ways that depart from their conventional roles within the adversarial system (see Fox & Huddleston, 2003). The program includes court-mandated monitoring and community supervision, coupled with individualized and effective long-term treatment and independent living supports coordinated by the reentry court probation officer. This alternative to traditional release and supervision provides the reentry court participant with the specialized expertise of the courts and treatment services designed to encourage personal satisfaction and successful reintegration.

Participants voluntarily enter the reentry court after knowingly and voluntarily waiving certain due process rights (see Appendix 2, Reentry Court Contract and Supporting Documents).⁴ The program requires participants to

3 As explained in the sections of this study that address program replication, implementation of the model will differ from site to site depending on the strengths of the members of the reentry court team, available services, and the needs of the reentering population. Thus, within the District of Oregon, the implementation of the model in the Portland Division differs slightly from the description of the model that follows, which reflects the model's implementation in the Eugene Division.

4 The reader will notice that the documents in Appendix 2 refer to the District of Oregon Drug Court, rather than the District of Oregon Reentry Court. The District of Oregon Drug Court is the former name for the program; it has been renamed the District of Oregon

enter into, and abide by, the terms of a contract. The participant acknowledges a willingness to comply with the terms of the individualized reentry plan and submit to periodic, random urinalysis and other monitoring.

What the participant receives in exchange for this waiver of rights is a changed relationship with the criminal justice system. Sanctions are immediate and proportional to the offense. The same reentry judge issues the sanction, no matter which judge originally imposed the term of supervised release. The sanction is designed to teach accountability and encourage progress in the participant's reentry plan (see Part II, *infra*). This procedure departs significantly from a traditional contested violation hearing, in which the probation officer accuses the defendant of a violation, the assistant U.S. attorney presents charges, the assistant public defender advocates for the accused, and the judge's ruling might begin another period of incarceration. Where the reentry court participant's offenses fall short of the severity required to terminate him or her from the reentry court, the sanctioning process encourages the participant to reflect on his or her mistake and correct it, without irreversibly interrupting progress toward the eventual goal of reentry success. Alternatively, if a participant's offense warrants termination from reentry court, he or she is transferred to conventional violation proceedings, where the sanctions may be more serious.

The reentry court team reviews each participant's progress on a monthly basis under the direction of the judge and the leadership of the probation officer. In advance of monthly hearings, the reentry court probation officer prepares a detailed report on each participant. This report updates the reentry court team on the challenges, achievements, and struggles of the individual. These include a focus on sobriety and a drug-free life, which is monitored via random urinalysis testing. In addition, the report updates each participant's progress in programs such as mental health therapy and counseling services, vocational training and job placement assistance, housing assistance, education and training, and family counseling.

Monthly reentry court hearings focus on identifying the participant's needs and engaging the participant in problem-solving activities designed to meet those needs while preserving public safety and accountability. The needs assessment process is continuous and constantly changes over the course of a participant's involvement in the reentry court program. The reentry court hearing is an interactive set of discussions, often led by the judge, probation officer, and

Reentry Court, to reflect the participants' post-release status and the focus of the model, viz. encouraging accountability while reducing barriers to successful reentry.

participants, in which each participant's progress is evaluated. Each member of the reentry court team is an active contributor to the monthly hearing. Typically, each participant undertakes a self-assessment after hearing the probation officer's report, and the team engages the participant in problem-solving strategies that target individual barriers to reentry and strategies for long-term success. Other participants contribute to the problem-solving process. Graduates of the program also participate in reentry court hearings, encouraging participants and assisting in development of useful approaches to sobriety and desistance.

The cooperative nature of the reentry court approach provides an opportunity for the participant to change behaviors that led to his or her incarceration and to chart a new life that is clean, sober, and fully integrated into the life of the community. In Part II of this study, reconstructed case examples illustrate the variety of exchanges that take place in monthly reentry court hearings, concerning topics such as sanctions, housing, education, employment, sobriety, and family. Those case examples illustrate the degree of engagement by team members and participants, the team's level of familiarity with each participant's situation, and the types of services that the participants receive.

Any sanctions or rewards recommended by the reentry court team are dispensed during the monthly reentry court hearing, and the team uses the issuance of a reward or sanction to encourage accountability and progress on the participant's individualized reentry plan. Specific examples of the range of sanctions are set forth in Part II. Participants successfully complete the program upon achieving twelve continuous months of sobriety, as evidenced by random urinalysis testing. Graduates are honored with a ceremony involving participants, other graduates, and supportive family and friends, and are eligible for a one-year reduction in the term of supervision.

D. Principles of the District of Oregon Reentry Court

The incorporation of evidence-based practices from state drug court models and comparator programs into the reentry context has allowed the District of Oregon Reentry Court to operate at the cutting edge of program development and evaluation within the federal system. The model is informed by the Ten Key Components of Drug Courts published by the National Association of Drug Court Professionals (NADCP, 1997), research literature on effective drug courts and comparator programs (reviewed in Part II), and findings of the Reentry Policy Council (2005).

The NADCP's Ten Key Components for successful drug courts state:

1. Drug courts integrate alcohol and other drug treatment services with justice system case processing.
2. Using a non-adversarial approach, prosecution and defense counsel promote public safety while protecting participants' due process rights.
3. Eligible participants are identified early and promptly placed in the drug court program.
4. A continuum of alcohol, drug, and other related treatment and rehabilitation services is provided.
5. Abstinence is monitored by frequent alcohol and other drug testing.
6. A coordinated strategy governs drug court responses to participants' compliance.
7. Ongoing judicial interaction with each drug court participant is essential.
8. Monitoring and evaluation measure the achievement of program goals and gauge effectiveness.
9. Continuing interdisciplinary education promotes effective drug court planning, implementation, and effectiveness.
10. Forging partnerships enhances local support for drug court programs.

The Reentry Policy Council (2005) published a set of policy recommendations related to the implementation of reentry courts. The authors emphasized that reentry court programs should focus on both the individual who has been released from prison and his or her community, so that communities increase their capacity to absorb returning residents while protecting public safety. The recommendations advocate beginning the reentry process upon sentencing and admission to prison and continuing it through his or her release and through the successful completion of supervision. The process of managing the transition from sentencing to successful reintegration into family life, school, and employment in a safe, healthy and crime-free manner is the focus of reentry court programs.

Mindful of the findings of the Reentry Policy Council and widely accepted Ten Key Components, the designers of the Oregon model settled on six foundational principles based on those findings. The principles are referred to as the Oregon Key Principles.

1. Transition planning.

Transition planning starts with the pre-sentencing hearing, and continues through the prison experience, release into the community and successful completion of supervision. This principle corresponds to Reentry Policy Council recommendations 8 through 18, which emphasize the longitudinal and comprehensive nature of transition planning. The process begins early, with the development of a plan that, “based upon information obtained from the assessments, explains what programming should be provided during the period of incarceration to ensure that his or her return to the community is safe and successful.” The planning effort attends to the timing and logistics of release into the community and addresses the initial transition period, to ensure that all aspects of the person’s life are accounted for in the supervision plan. Ongoing supervision is provided throughout the months following release, to maximize the potential for positive outcomes for the returning person and safety for the community.

2. Multidisciplinary training in evidence-based practices for the reentry court judge.

This principle corresponds to Key Component 7, which states, “judicial interaction with each drug court participant is essential,” and Key Component 9, which states, “interdisciplinary education promotes effective drug court planning, implementation, and operations.” In addition, it relates to Reentry Policy Council recommendation 3, which states, “change is needed in the cultures of criminal justice and health and human services organizations so that administrators of these entities recognize that their mission includes the safe and successful return of prisoners to the communities from which they came.”

3. The use of an integrated case management and law enforcement perspective for the reentry court probation officer.

This principle corresponds to Key Components 1 and 3, which state: “drug courts integrate alcohol and other drug treatment services with justice system case processing,” and “eligible participants are identified early and promptly placed in the drug court program.” It also corresponds with Reentry Policy Council recommendations 26 and 29, which state: “community supervision resources need to be concentrated on the period immediately following the person’s release from prison, and supervision strategies adjusted as the needs of the person released, the victim, the community, and the family change,” and “ensure that community

corrections officers have a range of options available to them to reinforce positive behavior and to address, swiftly and certainly, failures to comply with conditions of release.”

4. The research-informed use of monitoring, sanctions, and rewards.

This principle corresponds to Key Components 2, 5, 6, and 8 which state: “using a non-adversarial approach, prosecution and defense counsel promote public safety while protecting participant’s due process rights;” “abstinence is monitored by frequent alcohol and other drug testing;” “a coordinated strategy governs drug court responses to participant’s compliance;” and “monitoring and evaluation procedures are utilized to measure the achievement of program goals and gauge effectiveness.”

5. The research-informed use of a continuum of services designed to enhance accountability and reduce barriers to reentry.

This principle corresponds to Key Components 4 and 10, which state: “drug courts provide access to a continuum of alcohol, drug, and other related treatment and rehabilitation services;” and “forging partnerships among drug courts, public agencies, and community-based organizations generates local support and enhances drug court program effectiveness.” In addition, the principle reflects Reentry Policy Council recommendations 30-35, which describe the elements of the effective continuum of services as, “housing, workforce development, substance abuse treatment, mental health care, children and family support, and physical health care systems.”

6. The establishment of quality data collection and evaluation systems to measure the effectiveness of the reentry court program at the individual and community levels.

This principle corresponds to Reentry Policy Council recommendation 6, which states: “employ process and outcome evaluation methods to bring clarity to a program’s mission, goals, and public value, as well as to assess and improve program implementation, efficiency, and effectiveness.” This principle authorizes the evaluators to provide detailed information on how other courts can replicate the District of Oregon Reentry Court Model and customize it to serve local needs.

Part II: The Oregon Key Principles

In this section, each of the six Oregon Key Principles will be addressed from multiple perspectives. First, relevant research literature from behavioral sciences and public safety research related to each Oregon Key Principle will be reviewed. Second, sections entitled “Putting the Findings into Practice” will discuss how the District of Oregon Reentry Court has incorporated the empirical literature into the ongoing programs of the reentry court. Included within these sections are subsections entitled “Illustrating the Practices: Reconstructed Case Studies,” which will provide details of the reentry court from the perspectives of participants, reentry court team members, treatment providers and others. Third, a section entitled “Recommendations Based on Practice” will provide recommendations for program and policy development that emerged from the first three years of the model.

Principle 1: Transition Planning

The District of Oregon Reentry Court emphasizes the pivotal role of prerelease planning from the federal prison to the community and the coordination of services for returning inmates. Previous research has demonstrated that a significant number of offenders violate the conditions of their supervision during the first six months of release into the community (U. S. Probation Office, District of Oregon, 2005). By improving the prerelease and post-release coordination with the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the U.S. Office of Probation, and by providing meaningful, coordinated services in the community, there is great potential to increase the community adjustment success rates of offenders.

Effective prerelease planning and coordination requires (1) the provision of a range of services within the prison environment; and (2) a high level of communication between Bureau of Prisons staff and reentry court team members so that the provision of family support, drug and alcohol and mental health treatment, and assistance with employment and housing are delivered to reentry court participants immediately upon release from prison.

The following sections provide an overview of the research concerning the role of transition planning within the reentry and supervision context and explain how principles distilled from that research operate in the District of Oregon Reentry Court. The final section provides recommendations to reentry court practitioners concerning transition planning at each stage of an offender’s post-conviction experience.

A. Empirical Research on Transition Planning

1. Provision of a range of services to offenders within the prison environment enhances the chances of successful reentry.

The Reentry Policy Council (2005) stresses the importance of programming within the prison setting that will meet an offender's particular reentry needs upon reentry. It suggests development of an individualized plan that sets forth the types of programming that should be provided during the period of incarceration in order to ensure that the inmate's return to the community is safe and successful.

In addition, published research indicates that inmates who participate in treatment programs for substance abuse are less likely to reoffend once released, compared to inmates who do not participate in such programs (Gaes, et al., 1999 in Tonry & Petersilia, eds. 1999). An evaluation of the Delaware Key-Crest Program, which provides an in-prison therapeutic community for drug-involved inmates followed by continuation of treatment in a work-release setting and post-release aftercare, found that the combined programs resulted in a 23 percent reduction in criminal recidivism and a 62 percent reduction in drug use (Gaes et al., 2003; Inciardi et al., 1997). Based on studies for Texas offenders completing pre- and post-release treatment and an examination of correctional costs, Griffith et al. (1999) concluded that adding pre-release treatment and aftercare for inmates with serious drug-related problems - an investment of approximately \$18,000 per qualifying inmate (a 25 percent increase) - resulted in long term cost savings for correctional institutions attributable to decreased recidivism.

Simpson, Wexler, and Inciardi (1999) and Taxman, Byrne, and Young (2002) have conducted research reviews that included the above studies. In their recommendations, they emphasize the need for a direct programmatic and clinical connection between pre-release treatment and post-release treatment in the community setting to guide the participant from stabilization to maintenance. As a result, policymakers have been encouraged to invest in integrating in-prison and aftercare programs and tailoring interventions to individual offenders' needs.

2. Communication between Bureau of Prison staff and reentry court team members concerning the range of services required at the moment of release into the community is critical to reentry success.

The Reentry Policy Council (2005) recommends the ongoing, active collaboration and communication among prison, reentry court personnel, and

community-based providers. Its recommendations include enhancing the expertise on housing options and timely communicating them to the offenders, engaging housing specialists in offenders' discharge triage teams to ensure seamless access to shelter, and educating inmates on subsidized housing eligibility and availability. It further emphasizes the importance of connecting inmates to housing and employment services prior to release.

Research studies indicate that increased involvement by community transition specialists while the inmate is incarcerated enhances reentry outcomes (Gaes, 2003). Inciardi et al. (1997) noted that participants in drug treatment programs provided both in prison and immediately following placement into the community had far lower recidivism rates than those whose programs were provided only in prison. Sullivan et al. (2002) suggest that utilizing family members within a transition and case management context can improve reentry outcomes. Case managers who include family members in the planning and implementation of resources to assist with the reentry process increase the probability that the offender will comply with supervision and establish a durable reintegration.

Prison-based programs that include community college, technical education, and employment skills training enhance the probability that returning inmates will access higher education services when they return to the community (Harlow, 2003). Wilson et al. (2000) report that inmates who participate in prison-based educational and vocational programs have double the likelihood of obtaining post-release employment, compared to nonparticipants.

Where employment assistance is provided, recidivism rates decrease (Gaes, 2003). Longitudinal, controlled research has demonstrated that inmates who participate in prison-based employment programs are more likely to obtain a job after release and less likely to be rearrested (Saylor & Gaes, 1992). According to a study of federal prisoners released in 1987, inmates who worked with a community-based employment counselor and secured post-release employment while still in prison had lower recidivism rates (27.6 percent) than those without employment arrangements (53.9 percent) (Harer, 1994).

Strengthening cooperative relationships among the court, probation officers, and the Federal Bureau of Prisons contributes substantially to creating effective pre-release and post-release programs for inmates. By developing the planning and service implementation strategies while the inmate is incarcerated, the chances of a seamless transition to the community are enhanced.

B. Putting the Findings into Practice: Transition Planning between the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the District of Oregon Reentry Court

The District of Oregon Reentry Court has designed its program to maximize outcomes based on empirical research and key policy documents. In this respect, the following features are consistent with the research findings and policy recommendations provided above.

1. A committed relationship was developed between leadership of FCI Sheridan and leaders of the District of Oregon Reentry Court.

The District of Oregon Reentry Court formalized a relationship with the leadership of the Federal Bureau of Prisons at FCI Sheridan to develop a structured transition planning process. This process included a focus on programmatic and instructional programs provided within the prison, and planning for the eventual placement of inmates into the community. The basis of this relationship was an ongoing process of communication between the staffs of both programs. In addition, staff from both agencies made periodic visits to their counterpart agencies to gain additional insight into the challenges presented by each setting. For example, the District of Oregon Reentry Court probation officer visits FCI Sheridan regularly to recruit potential participants.

2. The District of Oregon Reentry Court probation officer initiates the Individualized Reentry Program Plan for each participant prior to release into the community.

The process of formally planning for the reentry of potential reentry court participants begins during the presentence hearing prior to the defendants' placement into the prison. As the presentence report is drafted, the probation officer proposes a range of potential instructional and treatment programs that inmates might receive during the period of incarceration. Federal Bureau of Prison officials are formally engaged in transition planning activities in support of potential participants. Potential participants visit reentry court prior to release from prison.

3. FCI Sheridan leadership team periodically visit District of Oregon Reentry Court hearings.

The ongoing development of the relationship between the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the District of Oregon Reentry Court is further enhanced during visits to reentry court hearings. During these visits, prison staff observe the reentry court hearings. These observations provide the prison staff with detailed insights into the challenges and opportunities that participants experience during the reentry process. Furthermore, these visits allow the staffs of both agencies to work together to recruit potential participants.

4. Illustrating the Practice: Reconstructed Case Study Concerning Transition Planning

During a visit to observe the Eugene Reentry Court on October 24, 2007, an extended debriefing session took place involving Warden Charles Daniels (WD), Judge Aiken (JA), Probation Officer Mark Walker (POW), and key program staff of the Federal Bureau of Prisons at FCI Sheridan in Sheridan, Oregon. During this debriefing session, the individuals discussed the progress that had occurred since the completion of the Summit. In addition, the collaboration between the reentry court and the Federal Bureau of Prisons at FCI Sheridan was discussed. The following dialogue captures the high level of communication and collaboration that exists between the two agencies.

JA: Warden Daniels, could you please discuss your efforts to prepare inmates for return to the community.

WD: What we are trying to ensure is a seamless process. We have over 500 inmates involved in our drug treatment program. We also have a large educational component. Many of the inmates are earning their GED. What we are working toward is ensuring the best transition to supervision in the community. What is having an impact? We want to prevent recidivism. We are designing a system to give our inmates a fighting chance when they leave the prison. The prison is a highly structured environment. The inmates have most of their decisions made for them.

On the outside there are so many changes. Take for example the family component. Lots of guys really focus on their family when they get ready to leave. If they have a spouse or partner, many of them have waited these many long years to bring their family back together. For the wife there is this big sigh of relief. For the guy he says, "I'm ready. I'm back."

I need some support.” But you know what happens? The pressure begins to build. They are disappointed with their situation. Despite all of the training we give them, they see their old buddies, and they veer off the path. This builds the frustration with their families who want them to follow through on their changes. But you know that many of these guys get into a comfort zone with drugs. Before you know it the frustration builds to the point that a divorce happens. Now this guy is a failure and before you know it he’s back in prison.

POW: One of the things I tell guys when I meet them is to leave the yard behind. Don’t think about the yard. There’s a new era when you get outside. You must have some goals.

Sheridan Chaplain: One of the things we attempt to change is their criminal thinking. This is especially true when they get out and they are back with their buddies. We need to do more than just teach them to not think criminally. We need to teach them to think of the future. To be future oriented in their thinking.

JA: We try to get them to think futuristically during the pre-sentence hearing. We want them to think about the array of people who they will need at different levels of their lives. We want to set up support systems as far in advance as possible. When we set things up we want to do it in such a way that they will actually use them.

WD: One of the things we really try to do is make a difference with employers. Setting up work situations is really key to their success.

PD: The biggest problem is what happens in prison. There is a lack of knowledge of how to handle situations when they get out into the community. We don’t know who is ready and who isn’t. How can we have this process in place so that it is available to a larger group?

WD: We work a lot on these work source issues. We teach them about the new reality they will face when they get out. We have all kinds of skills programs available. One of our biggest problems is still with their thinking errors. Their cognition. What does readiness mean? They all think they are not coming back to us. I call this magical fantasy world. What is needed is very concrete. What has changed in your life since you’ve been inside? What specific plans do you have in place? What are some of the tools you have to return to the community? What programs have you been through? What treatments have you completed?

POW: You make a good point. Everybody says they are ready. Not

everyone is prepared for success. They don't actually know that success or failure is in their hands.

JA: Mark please tell the group how you go about recruiting participants for reentry court.

POW: It's very simple. I tell them about the program. Many have heard about it from other guys. I ask them how they feel about meeting with the Judge once a month.

(All laugh.)

POW: Some are really turned off by meeting with the Judge each month. Others like the idea. They like the idea that people outside are there to help them. I ask them about their goals. I ask them about family, employment, thinking. I also get recommendations from the Public Defender. I talk about the contract. If it looks like they are truly interested, we look at their criminal history. We don't take sex offenders, those with extreme mental illness, extreme violence. We certainly don't cherry pick.

(All laugh.)

WD: It seems like we have made progress, but there is much more to be done.

JA: Thank you all for being here.

C. Recommendations Based on Practice: Transition Planning

(1) Encourage development of strong relationships between reentry court team members and leadership and program personnel in the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

(2) Begin transition during the presentence process by incorporating reentry considerations into the presenting report and encourage the sentencing judge to call the offender's attention to reentry issues.

(3) Formalize the transition planning a minimum of six months prior to release, and include family members and significant others in the offender's life to facilitate the transition to the community.

(4) Ensure that each transition plan addresses individualized services and support across major areas of need.

(5) Ensure that all returning inmates have realistic expectations concerning immediate and ongoing urinalysis monitoring and swift sanctions for violations.

The relationship between the Federal Bureau of Prisons staff and leaders of the District of Oregon Reentry Court team is based on the mutual desire to facilitate the transition of inmates from the prison into the community. The active engagement of staff of both agencies is necessary for planning the services inmates should receive in prison and the services and support inmates will need when transitioning into the community. The joint planning and ongoing collaboration between the two agencies provide a “seamless” transition planning process for reentry court participants.

Principle 2: Multidisciplinary Training in Evidence-based Practices for the Reentry Court Judge

The work of the District of Oregon Reentry Court judge requires (1) ongoing collaboration with the reentry court team to revise and monitor participants’ reentry plans; (2) delivering positive reinforcement and sanctions designed to encourage participants’ progress; and (3) leveraging judicial authority to mobilize formal and informal social controls and minimize participants’ barriers to reentry.

The reentry judge also takes a leadership role in addressing administrative matters related to the operation of the reentry court, and in developing community partnerships that provide increased opportunities for participants and enhance community participation in reducing barriers to reentry.

The judge’s roles are informed by results of reviews and studies of judicially-involved reentry programs. The literature indicates that (1) participants value judicial involvement in reentry or enhanced supervision programs, particularly individualized encouragement; (2) judicial involvement in monitoring appears to increase participants’ sense of accountability; (3) judicial monitoring, sanctions, and rewards should be responsive to participants’ level of risk and need; and (4) a relationship with a single judge during the entire period of program participation may correlate with improved outcomes. Policy leaders in reentry and corrections fields urge increased judicial involvement in the planning and monitoring of offenders. Policy recommendations, based on the reentry court’s implementation of these findings, are consistent with the published research.

The following sections provide an overview of the research concerning the role of the judge in the reentry and supervision context, explain how principles

distilled from that research operate in the District of Oregon Reentry Court, and illustrate the role of the judge in the context of a reentry court hearing. The final section provides recommendations to reentry court practitioners concerning the roles of the reentry court judge, both as a reentry court team member and as a leader in building partnerships designed to facilitate reentry within communities.

A. Empirical Research on the Role of the Judge

1. Reentry court participants value judicial involvement in reentry or enhanced supervision programs, particularly individualized encouragement.

Published research indicates that judicial interventions motivate drug court participants to abstain from drug use, as generally indicated by interview and experimental data. Drug court participants report that they benefit from hearings, particularly when abstinence is rewarded. Experimental data also support the conclusion that tailoring the amount of judicial attention to offender risk levels contributes to better reentry outcomes. Finally, non-experimental findings suggest that relationships with a single judge may contribute to decreased rates of reoffending.

Drug court participants emphasize that the opportunity to interact with the judge in the drug court context was an important part of their experience. Cooper (1997), in a survey of 257 drug court participants from drug courts in 23 states revealed that 70 percent indicated that the opportunity to talk about their progress and problems with a judge was very important, 20 percent deemed it somewhat important, and 10 percent dismissed it as not important.

Participants in two focus group studies addressing nine drug courts emphasized the motivational value of approval from the judge (Farole & Cissner, 2005; Goldkamp, White & Robinson, 2002). Interviews with participants from drug courts in Queens County and Bronx County, New York, revealed that direct interaction with the judge and praise from the judge rated highly as useful drug court components (Porter, 2001). In Queens County, participants rated praise from the judge an average of 4.1 in a 0 to 5 utility scale, and direct interaction with the judge rated 4.5 (Porter, 2000). In Bronx County, participants rated praise from the judge an average of 4.5 in a 0 to 5 utility scale, and direct interaction with the judge rated 4.3 (Porter, 2001). Conversely, in an observational study of a Las Vegas drug court, a clear preponderance of stigmatizing responses from the judge served as a reminder of deviant behavior and was identified as a contributing

factor to higher rates of reoffending (Miethe, Lu, & Reese, 2000).

2. Judicial involvement in monitoring appears to increase participants' sense of accountability.

An observational study indicates that positive or adversarial comments to defendants in drug court affect offenders' drug use behavior as revealed in urinalysis results (Senjo & Leip, 2001). The authors studied the judge's role in actively participating "in a constructive, positive effort to help drug offenders change their behavior" as part of a collaborative team, while retaining the legal prerogative to dispose of offenders' cases. The authors sought to assess empirically a judge's therapeutic impact on first-time, nonviolent felony drug offenders in Broward County, Florida. They posited that positive or adversarial judicial comments could be correlated with offender drug use, hypothesizing that as the ratio of total supportive court-monitoring comments to total court-monitoring comments increases, the ratio of urinalyses[e]s passed to urinalyses[e]s taken will increase. Conversely, the authors noted that a greater ratio of adversarial comments to total comments correlated with a decreased urinalysis pass rate. The ratio of negative urinalyses to supportive comments was moderately strong (.32), positive, and statistically significant at the .01 level. The ratio of "clean" urinalyses to total and adversarial comments was moderate, negative (-.20), and statistically significant at the .05 level. Indifferent comments did not have a significant impact on offender behavior change as measured in urinalysis results. In the authors' view, the results suggest that therapeutic jurisprudence theory, which posits that law and legal procedure promote individual and social well being, provides an explanatory basis for the effectiveness of drug court monitoring.

3. Judicial monitoring, sanctions, and rewards should be responsive to the participant's level of risk and need.

One randomized, controlled study has affirmed the importance of status hearings before a judge for "high risk" drug court participants. Noting that judges alone have authority to administer sanctions and rewards likely to motivate drug court participants, but that many offenders succeed even without judicial supervision, the author sought to identify participant characteristics that predict success when frequency of judicial hearings is high (Marlowe, 2004). Participants were randomly assigned to levels of judicial scrutiny, ranging from bi-weekly to an as-needed basis. Drug court participants who were "high risk" and who either suffered from antisocial personality disorder or were previously unsuccessful in drug treatment demonstrated better outcomes when required to attend frequent status hearings before the judge.

Conversely, “low risk” participants performed better when monitored by case managers and were not required to attend court hearings. The results were replicated in adult drug courts in rural and urban communities. The pattern lends support to the theories of responsivity and the risk principle, i.e., more intensive interventions are warranted for offenders with greater criminal propensities.

A subsequent controlled, experimental study affirmed that serious offenders warrant a greater frequency of drug court status hearings (Marlowe et al., 2006). In this more recent study, high-risk offenders (with a history of drug abuse treatment or antisocial personality disorder) were randomly assigned to two groups. Some followed a biweekly court appearance schedule, and others appeared before the judge every four to six weeks, which was the “regular” schedule for participants in the drug court under study. Low-risk offenders either appeared before the judge on the four to six-week interval, or on an as-needed basis. After six months, results indicated that the high-risk offenders assigned to the bi-weekly court appearance schedule graduated at higher rates, provided fewer positive urinalysis test results and reported significantly less drug and alcohol use than high-risk participants on a schedule that brought them to court every four to six weeks. Low risk participants, however, performed the same despite the frequency of hearings. The authors concluded that risk level can differentially predict outcome depending on intensity of supervision and suggest that efficient allocation of resources includes increasing exposure to the judge for high-risk offenders.

4. A relationship with a single judge during the entire period of program participation may correlate with improved outcomes.

Preliminary research suggests that an offender’s accountability to the same judge over time may improve outcomes (Goldkamp, White, & Robinson, 2001). The authors hypothesized that a participant supervised by one or two judges would demonstrate better outcomes than others supervised by many judges. The history of the court allowed comparison between periods in which as many as 16 drug court judges and referees presided over the same court within 12 months, and other periods in which only one or two drug court judges presided. Pursuing an answer was complicated by the fact that the shift in court staffing coincided with a shift in policy that resulted in more frequent use of automatic terminations, influencing the number of participants with long relationships with the less densely staffed bench. However, when the number of judges was linked to 100-day periods of exposure, encounters with more than one judge over those periods correlated with a greater risk of rearrest for any offense and poorer treatment attendance. Encounters with fewer judges were correlated with a lower likelihood of unfavorable termination

from drug court. These findings suggest that accountability to the same judge may improve outcomes, but further research is required.

5. Leveraging judicial authority encourages offenders to “buy into” their own reentry plan and increases active participation in treatment.

Travis (2000) has urged that judges share the role of case manager in the reentry context during offenders’ supervision period. Based in part on drug court research, Travis argues that leveraging judicial authority during reentry encourages offenders to “buy into” their own reintegration plan and can ensure that appropriate services are accessed. In that capacity, judges would impress upon offenders that reintegration is important work, mobilize the formal and informal systems of support, including agencies, family, and community networks, and cut across organizational boundaries to enhance access to appropriate resources.

B. Putting the Findings into Practice: The Role of the Judge in the District of Oregon Reentry Court

The Oregon Federal Reentry Court has designed its program to improve participants’ successful outcomes based on empirical research. The District of Oregon Reentry Court has implemented its program with a keen eye to the pivotal role of the judge. In this respect, the following practices are consistent with the research findings provided above.

1. The District of Oregon Reentry Court participants develop a strong relationship with the judge through accountability to a single judge.

Each participant accepted into the reentry court is assigned to a single District of Oregon Reentry Court judge. The judge manages all aspects of the participant’s supervision plan. This accountability to a single judge allows for the development of a sustained relationship, which includes interacting regularly with the judge in the reentry court context. Reentry court hearings take place on a monthly basis, which provide the opportunity for frequent contact between the judge and the participant. The public nature of the reentry court process provides multiple opportunities for the judge to provide positive feedback to the participant for negative urinalysis reports. Furthermore, the frequent status hearings also provide the judge with an opportunity to interact and praise the participant for successes in school, work, and family relationships.

2. The District of Oregon Reentry Court encourages the judge’s active involvement in court administration to leverage judicial authority, in order to increase consistency and enhance the benefits of the reentry court program for the participant.

The District of Oregon Reentry Court judge is active in all aspects of the administration and management of the court. This active involvement allows the judge to focus court administration on the various policies and procedures that allow for the implementation of the reentry court program. Important examples of this involvement include working with community agencies, private business, political leaders, and community members to provide access to services and supports that might otherwise be unattainable to the reentry court participants. This leveraging of judicial authority to accomplish important individual goals for participants, and collective goals for the community, is crucial for the overall success of the reentry court process.

3. Illustrating the Practice: Reconstructed Case Study Concerning the Multidisciplinary Training and Support for Judges

The following case example describes the judge’s involvement in the multidisciplinary functions of the reentry court. The reconstructed dialogue illustrates the role of the judge in providing encouragement and the promotion of goal-directed behavior. By interacting with other reentry court team members as she encourages the graduate to pursue meaningful employment and active involvement with family members, the judge demonstrates a consensus approval of the graduate’s new approach to challenges. In addition, the example indicates the judge’s mobilization of local volunteer resources, which were made available during the period of the participant’s experience in reentry court. (The statements of reentry court team members will be noted as RCTM.)

Brief Biography of Participant in Case Study

Mike is a 50-year-old white male, divorced father with two adult children. He has completed a three-year term of Probation for Theft of Government Funds. Mike’s history of drug abuse dates to his late teens, and includes abuse of methamphetamine, prescription drugs, and marijuana. His drug of choice is methamphetamine. He has prior criminal convictions for Possession of Methamphetamine. Mike graduated from college. His Criminal History Category is I.

PO: Today is Mike's last reentry court. Your housing is together. You're doing great volunteer work. You are clean and sober. You will have an out of state trip to see your family. Great job!

Participant: Things are really going well. I am volunteering at the University gift shop. I've had a good month. I have a new job. I'm selling public service announcements for drug and alcohol treatment. I work a 6:30-11:30 session. I go to five meetings a week. I have my first sponsee. I'm still on my treadmill doing daily exercise. I'm working concessions at the local football games.

RCTM(1): You have better energy than last time. You have done lots in terms of your recovery. You ought to do some volunteer work for the local Literary Council.

Judge: You could also do marketing for a local non-profit organization. You'd be a tremendous asset. You've got a great smile on your face.

Participant: I'd like to do some work like that. I had to wait until I finished my visit to my family. I had to deal with the stuff with my family.

Judge: Could you have done that work with your family six months ago?

Participant: I'm trying to order my life. Sometimes I get too far ahead of myself. Someone called me a model citizen. I'm trying to follow every single rule. Still it is my nature to say, "To hell with everything."

Judge: What made the difference? What are your goals? Put a list together.

PO: How is your daughter?

Participant: Doing OK. She's dealing with issues. We're talking more often.

RCTM(1): I've always thought you were positive. You've been several months on that treadmill. You seemed to reach a point where you were kind of bored. What did it? What was the breakthrough?

Participant: I think it was growing into my own skin. I still have periods when I don't feel comfortable with who I am. I know I've stayed on the path. I've always want to start and finish at the same time. Now I'm trying to do it one step at a time. I want to keep with the plan. I'm still doing the things I need to do. When I go to meetings I want people to talk to me. Don't stroke me. Some days

are better than others.

RCTM(1): You seemed confident all along. But then suddenly you found it.

Judge: Have you found a place to do meaningful work?

Participant: Not yet, I want to do something I feel good about.

RCTM(2): Maybe it was your daughter looking at her dad, sober, walking the walk.

RCTM(3): I reviewed your case. You keep doing the things you need to do. You do them despite the way you feel sometimes. You have gone through some “flat spots.” You didn’t feel like doing some of the things you need to do. You did it in faith. I respect your continued work. Keep it up.

Participant: I don’t have to understand the things that work. It doesn’t matter if I do the things the others do. I will stay sober. It is finally working for me.

RCTM (4): You are keeping your mind busy. You are also keeping your body busy. You are keeping both parts of your life occupied. You are integrated. Congratulations!

The District of Oregon Reentry Court implements a multidisciplinary and collaborative approach. Led by the judge, this collaborative relationship requires a high level of trust among all of the members of the reentry court team. The close relationship among the various members of the reentry court team presents the returning inmates with a unique perspective on the criminal justice system. By applying this teamwork approach throughout all of the operations of the reentry court, there is a greater possibility of positive outcomes for the participants in the program.

C. Recommendations based on Practice: The Role of the Judge in Reentry Courts

(1) Encourage accountability to the same judge over time, especially in cases of revocation of supervision.

(2) Encourage a high level of direct interaction between the judge and the reentry court participants.

(3) Encourage frequent status hearings with judge, with high-risk participants seen by the judge at least once every two weeks.

(4) Encourage positive reinforcement from the judge for participants' beneficial actions and decisions, especially during the reentry court hearings.

(5) Encourage a high level of multidisciplinary collaboration among members of the reentry court team and community service agency providers to enhance access to services for participants.

(6) Encourage active involvement of the judge in all aspects of reentry court proceedings to leverage judicial authority and improve outcomes for participants.

The multidisciplinary team process of the District of Oregon reentry court provides the opportunity for active collaboration among the judge, members of the reentry court team, and participants. The skill and background of the judge in managing the reentry court process provide variability in the manner in which the reentry court process is implemented. The successes, challenges, and accomplishments of each participant are the primary focus of the multidisciplinary reentry court team process.

Principle 3: Using an Integrated Case Management and Law Enforcement Perspective for the Reentry Court Probation Officer

A probation officer's interpersonal style that encourages problem-solving and relationship building can assist the reentry court participant in successfully adjusting from the prison to community life. Thus, the District of Oregon Reentry Court probation officer implements an approach that integrates the traditional law enforcement role with the tools of case management, which involve individualized needs assessment and problem-solving.

The probation officers assigned to the reentry court have extensive professional training and experience in both case management and law enforcement functions of the role. The leadership of the U.S. Probation Office plays an active role in the success of the reentry court, and provides a high degree of supervision and support to the probation officers assigned to the reentry court.

The following sections provide an overview of the research concerning the approach of probation officers in the reentry and supervision context, explain how principles drawn from that research operate in the District of Oregon Reentry Court, and illustrate the role of the probation officer in the context of a reentry court session. The final section provides recommendations to reentry court practitioners who are considering an approach that integrates case management strategies with the traditional law enforcement role of the probation officer.

A. Empirical Research on the Role of the Probation Officer

1. Case management approaches hold promise for increasing offender satisfaction and success.

A number of researchers have noted the importance of reentry resources that address the full range of offender needs (Pearson & Davis, 2003). In a study that analyzed interviews with parole officers (Seiter, 2002), respondents indicated that referring participants to agencies based on specific needs, providing assistance with employment, encouraging supportive relationships, and teaching accountability through a system of sanctions and rewards are critical for successful reentry.

A recent quasi-experimental study lends weight to that proposition. In a landmark study, Paparozzi and Gendreau (2005) compared limitations to accessing and implementing various post-release treatment programs that may result when the offender's parole officer employs a predominantly "law enforcement"-oriented role, as opposed to a role that integrates the tools of case management. The authors examined the effect of treatment services, organizational supportiveness and parole officer orientation on parolee recidivism. Although the study did not feature an experimental design or random assignment, results indicate that a parolee experiences better post-release outcomes when assigned to officers who work in supportive environments, provide more treatment services to an offender, and integrate a caseworker approach into their monitoring role. Furthermore, recidivism rates for new convictions and revocations were lower for parolees assigned to parole officers with a balanced professional orientation compared to those assigned to officers with an exclusive surveillance or case management orientation. New conviction rates were 6.3 percent for those officers employing the balanced approach, as compared to 16.2 percent for those supervised under the law enforcement approach and 36 percent for those supervised under the case management approach. Revocation rates were 19 percent, 37.9 percent, and 58.8 percent, respectively.

The authors posited that officers with a balanced approach were more apt to employ a firm supervising role while attending to probationer's needs, resulting in better outcomes, whereas supervising officers who placed undue emphasis on monitoring (recording 34 percent more technical violations than the other groups) and were not oriented toward treatment impeded the delivery of useful treatment services, resulting in lower likelihood that their probationers would be equipped to meet reintegration challenges.

2. Probation officers who articulate offenders' needs to agencies and address barriers presented by miscommunication, conflicting policies, and lack of resources increase positive outcomes for participants.

Graffam et al. (2004) identified readiness to change, achieving stable housing and employment, remaining free of dependency, and addressing basic education and training needs as variables affecting ex-inmate success upon release, and urged that support systems for reintegration provide comprehensive services, respond to individualized needs, and remain available long-term.

A more recent reentry evaluation focusing on resource accessibility emphasizes the utility of staffing reentry programs with an individual who can articulate offenders' needs to agencies and resolve barriers presented by miscommunication, conflicting policies, and lack of clarity regarding services, and who can match resources to needs (Pettus & Severson, 2006).

3. Probation officers who partner with service providers and offenders' social support network enhance offenders' adjustment to the community.

Innovative supervision boards have adopted practices geared toward meeting individual needs based on emerging research. For example, the state of Maryland has undertaken the Proactive Supervision initiative, which redefines the role of the parole officer to that of a change agent charged with coordinating interventions for released offenders. In that capacity, the parole officer departs from a strict focus on crime avoidance by also encouraging probationers to adopt prosocial attitudes and pursue the goal of successful reentry (Taxman, 2002).

Based on post-release supervision research, Steiner (2004) has proposed a collaborative reentry system, which he calls the Treatment Retention Model. Probation officers and treatment providers partner with the offender's individual

support network in order to facilitate the work of treating the substance abuse. Graduated sanctions tailored to the individual's treatment needs are employed, rather than automatic revocation on violation. Steiner suggests that treatment providers adopt a cognitive behavioral aftercare/relapse prevention model, which calls the offender's attention to how treatment and sobriety relate to other areas of the offender's life. The probation officer is encouraged to employ a "problem solver theory" of supervision, which emphasizes avoiding opportunities for relapse and promoting positive decision-making to encourage compliance.

Taxman et al. (2002) also report that successful reentry partnerships are facilitated with collaboration among probation professionals, community advocates who provide guidance in negotiating reintegration difficulties, and a guardian who assists the offender in acquiring and maintaining employment and services.

B. Putting the Findings into Practice: The Role of the Probation Officer in the District of Oregon Reentry Court

1. The District of Oregon Federal Probation Office has created a supportive organizational structure for the District of Oregon Reentry Court.

The District of Oregon Reentry Court has designed the role of the probation officer to be consistent with the outcomes indicated by empirical research. The leadership style and case management approach adopted by the probation office and the probation officers integrate empirical findings that emphasize the importance of (1) a case management approach; and (2) the active assistance in reducing barriers to success in each participant's reentry plan.

The District of Oregon Reentry Court has benefited from leadership of the District of Oregon Office of Probation from the beginning of its planning process. The probation office was one of the original signatories of the Reentry Court Interagency Agreement. In addition, the probation office played a leading role in developing the referral process, creating the ground rules for program implementation, and assisting in developing the various tracking and reporting forms. Furthermore, the probation office published the initial program evaluation for the reentry court.

Throughout the development phase, the probation office provided leadership

to incorporate best practices into the reentry court program. The probation office created a supportive organizational structure for the reentry court program. This supportive organizational structure includes providing clear program goals and objectives to reentry court probation officers and their supervisors. Probation office leadership is actively involved in program development, resource allocation and management, and evaluation of the effectiveness of program services.

Finally, the probation office leaders and supervisor are all members of the reentry court team. They are active participants in all aspects of the court proceedings. They provide insights and recommendations for individual participants along with policy analysis and reform.

2. The probation officers assigned to the District of Oregon Reentry Court employ an approach that balances law enforcement with the tools of case management

The approach of the probation officers includes casework supervision, monitoring, and surveillance. In the balanced “casework supervision” role, the probation officer retains the traditional role of detecting and sanctioning violations, but also refers the participant to community agencies based on specific needs, assists the participant in obtaining and maintaining employment, encourages supportive relationships with family, friends, and prosocial associates, and teaches the participant to be accountable and socially responsible.

The probation officers in the District of Oregon Reentry Court also provide the primary monitoring and surveillance function for participants. They facilitate the signing of the reentry court contract, specify court appearances, urinalysis, and other treatment or conditions. In addition, they monitor all urinalysis results and maintain records from the monthly progress report. A record of all supervision violations and sanctions is a crucial monitoring role performed by the reentry court probation officer. Furthermore, the probation officers typically take a lead role in making specific recommendations regarding sanctions and termination from the reentry court.

This balanced approach to supervision necessitates an active engagement between the participant and the probation officer. This intensive level of supervision means that a participant will receive frequent monitoring and is more likely to participate in a wide range of treatment services. In addition, a close professional relationship is developed between the participant and probation officer. The combination of these factors correlates with fewer relapses, convictions, and

revocations, and consequently greater success and personal satisfaction on the part of the participant (Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005).

3. The probation officers involved in the District of Oregon Reentry Court actively participate in the recruitment, screening, program planning, and evaluation for all participants in the program.

The probation officers in the District of Oregon Reentry Court are actively involved in the recruitment, screening, and program planning for potential participants for the reentry court. Utilizing contacts within the federal corrections system, the probation officers routinely seek candidates for successful reentry court participation. These officers conduct the initial screening for potential participants and offer an orientation to the reentry court model.

Once a participant is accepted into the reentry court, a comprehensive plan is developed that attempts to individualize treatment and support for the participant. A number of services are available including drug and alcohol treatment, mental health counseling, educational and training programs, medical and dental services, housing assistance, public benefits assistance, employment and job seeking skills training, and family assistance. In this respect the reentry court probation officers function very much in the mode of case management.

4. Illustrating the Practice: Reconstructed Case Study concerning the Role of the Probation Officer in the District of Oregon Reentry Court

This reconstructed case study demonstrates the work of the reentry court team, led by the probation officer in assisting the participant to recognize and deal with the broad range of challenges and to consider long-term goals and overall life prospects. In this case, the participant, who lives with his wife and children, has completed mental health treatment, enjoys his work, has suffered a back injury while on the job that called into question the sustainability of his employment in that field. The participant discusses his decisions to decline pain medications and to consider alternative employment that would not exacerbate his back condition. The reentry team addresses a wide range of issues and supports for the participant.

Brief Biography of Participant in Case Study

Zack is a 28-year-old, white male, married father of three children. He has a three-year term of supervised release for a conviction of Manufacture of Counterfeit Currency. Zack's substance abuse history started in his early teens, and includes abuse of marijuana, alcohol, cocaine, crack cocaine, and LSD. His drug of choice is methamphetamine. Prior convictions are for Theft I, Possession of a Controlled Substance, Forgery, and three convictions for Assault IV. Zack completed his GED while incarcerated. His Criminal History Category is VI.

PO: Another great month for Zack. He has been in the program since January of this year. As you may recall, Zack was our first failure. When he came back from the Bureau of Prisons last year, he asked to join the program again. He had to sit and wait for six months before we agreed to readmit him. Since then he has been on a roll. He is working full time. A couple weeks ago he was hurt on the job, a lower back strain, and missed one drug treatment session. Zack saw a doctor who prescribed rest and offered pain medication. Zack declined the pain medication and stuck with the muscle relaxors. Two years ago Zack would have taken the pain meds in a heartbeat. Zack continues to pay on his restitution and is current with all of his paperwork. He and his family are still living in the same house. He is on track to graduate in December of this year. He has completed his mental health treatment. Zack and his wife are doing very well. Zack has been under supervision/or in custody since August of 2003. Outstanding job!

Z. (Participant): Weird, it's been a good month. I hurt my back at work, had to go to the Emergency Room. Then I had to lie around the house for 3 or 4 days. The doctor said I have scoliosis. I'd never had trouble before, just some problems with sleeping at night. It's getting better, but I'm fighting a cold. My daughter has strep throat. Treatment is fine. I forget I'm in treatment and on probation. I think it is a good thing. I'm getting over my past. It all happened, but I don't want to go to my old ways. Work is good. I got stressed out when I hurt my back. I couldn't stand up. That scared me. The manager said I don't have to worry, my job is secure, and it made me feel good. I go to the home group meeting. I like that meeting. Earlier I wasn't going to the right meeting. I would just go and sit there. I like the Saturday and Sunday

meetings. Kids are doing well. Oldest daughter has perfect attendance in school. She got an award for attendance and homework.

This reconstructed case study provides an illustration of the challenges and obstacles that a participant experiences while involved in the reentry court. In addition, the motivation necessary to maintain positive relationships with family members, remain drug free, and maintain employment demonstrates the high level of commitment needed to succeed in the community. Furthermore, the members of the reentry court team are able to express their support for the participant, and offer advice and guidance in a personal, yet professional manner.

C. Recommendations Based on Practice: The Role of the Probation Officer

(1) Integrate the law enforcement and case management roles for the probation officers in reentry court.

(2) Encourage U.S. Office of Probation leadership to play an active role in development and implementation of reentry court.

(3) Ensure that the probation officer is actively involved in transition planning with Federal Bureau of Prisons, and coordinates implementation of Individualized Reentry and Supervision Plan.

(4) Encourage the probation officer to provide proactive interventions to assist each participant in developing prosocial attitudes and actions with goal of successful reentry, as opposed to focusing on crime avoidance.

(5) Ensure that the probation officer supervises and implements all judicially approved sanctions.

(6) Ensure that probation officer serves as a “problem solver” and mentor who coordinates all services and supports for participants.

The District of Oregon Reentry Court has created a dynamic role for the probation officer. Utilizing best practices from the research literature and the skill and experience of the probation office staff, this role provides a balanced

approach to case management and problem-solving activities with a strong law enforcement and public safety orientation. The synthesis of these roles provides a high level of supervision and support for reentry court participants.

Principle 4: The Research-Informed Use of Sanctions, Rewards, and Monitoring

The District of Oregon Reentry Court employs an integrated program of urinalysis monitoring, sanctions, and rewards to teach and reinforce accountability for all participants. All participants face particular challenges involving sobriety. Reentry court team members utilize a random schedule of urinalysis as one of the key building blocks for success. The opportunity to provide rewards for negative urinalysis reports is an important part of the positive reinforcement available to the court. Likewise, the ability to swiftly and consistently apply sanctions teaches accountability for drug and alcohol use.

The District of Oregon Reentry Court approach to the individual tailoring of rewards and sanctions is based on the principle of proportionality. That is, the sanction fits the nature of the violation. Further, participants are able to learn from their mistakes in the public context of the reentry court hearing.

A. Empirical Research on the Role of Monitoring, Sanctions, and Rewards

1. Random urinalysis testing provides reliable detection of drug use.

In civil and criminal contexts, urinalysis results can serve as clear and immediate evidence of an infraction and support the issuance of sanctions. In the employment context, organizational self-studies indicate that use of random urinalyses correlates with a decline in drug abuse. The Navy reported a dramatic decline in abuse since the implementation of its drug testing program (Irving, 1988). Southern Pacific Transportation Company attributed consecutive yearly decreases in railroad accidents resulting from human error due to its testing program (Taggart, 1989). Those results suggest that an individual's knowledge that he or she is subject to random, required testing can influence decisions concerning drug use.

In the corrections context, decreased drug use and demand among prisoners has been attributed to surveillance by random urinalysis testing. Inmate surveys

revealed that implementation of mandatory drug testing in British prisons resulted in alterations in drug use patterns among 52 percent of inmates, with 27 percent abstaining altogether. Over one-third of those who abstained reported that they did so only in response to drug testing and against their desire to continue using (MacPherson, 2004). Brookes & Scott (1997) noted a general downward trend in the amount of positive results from 55 percent to 19 percent over the first seven months after testing. Singleton et al. (2005) observed that mandatory drug testing influenced prisoners' drug use, along with habit, addiction, and availability. Similarly, in Canada, positive urinalysis tests decreased from 30 percent to 12 percent after mandatory testing began (McVie, 2001). Thirty-two percent of inmates from all Canadian federal institutions reported that they believed a mandatory urinalysis program had resulted in a slight decrease in drug use (Robinson & Mirabelli, 1996).

In focus-group interviews, drug court participants reported that accountability for abstinence from drug use, as monitored through random urinalysis screenings, is a motivating factor for drug avoidance. Respondents, drawn from three New York state drug courts, differentiated drug court from other court and probation experiences that lacked heightened monitoring, in which continued drug use went undetected (Farole, & Cissner, 2005). Nelson, Deess, and Allen (1999) note that with very few exceptions, parolees tracked during the thirty days after their release appreciated monitoring and periodic urinalyses because monitoring kept them aware of their choices and motivated to comply.

Because urinalysis is the basic diagnostic tool for detecting drug use, urinalysis testing inheres in supervision procedures that inform judges and other monitors in drug courts. Attempts to isolate and measure the effect of participants' knowledge that they are subject to random urinalysis testing are thus complicated by the inability to study any control group within the drug court setting that is not monitored for drug use.

2. Sanctions for rule violations that are delivered with certainty, consistency, and immediacy are associated with positive outcomes for offenders with drug related offenses.

Psychological research affirms that sanctioning schedules informed by the principles of consistency (i.e., similar punishments for similar infractions), proportionality (punishment commensurate with severity of infraction), and progressiveness (more severe responses for continued violations) can deter

undesired behaviors (Paternoster et al., 1997). In addition, studies evaluating deterrence-based theories generally report that perceived certainty of sanctions exerts a specific deterrent effect (Piquero & Paternoster, 1998). For example, in the corrections context, one study examining issuance of sanctions against drunk drivers in New York concluded that celerity and severity of punishment negatively affect recidivism. When severe punishment was combined with swift imposition, rates of recidivism fell (Yu, 1994). Other reentry researchers emphasize the value of immediate, short-term punishments tailored to the offender's individual risks and needs, based on psychological research outside the drug court context (Gendreau et al., 2002).

Based on these propositions, policy makers have suggested that drug courts foster the perception of fairness in sanctioning processes, emphasizing consistent and infraction-appropriate sanctions as tools to teach accountability and discourage noncompliance (Cissner & Rempel, 2005; Taxman, Soule, & Gelb, 1999; Marlowe & Kirby, 1999).

3. Sanctions that are tailored to the individual based on principles of proportionality and progressiveness are associated with positive outcomes for drug test failures.

The amount of research on the effectiveness of sanctions in the drug court settings is modest, however. One study found that defendants in a group assigned to receive judicial sanctions in response to noncompliance with drug abstinence rules had lower rearrest rates than defendants who underwent regular drug testing without the threat of judicial sanctions (Harrell, Cavanaugh, & Roman, 1998; Harrell & Roman, 2001). The authors note that defendants on the sanctions schedule underwent twice-weekly drug testing, judicial monitoring of drug test results, and graduated sanctions for drug test failures. The program emphasized (1) the clarity of consequences; (2) the consistency in application of sanctions; and (3) immediate penalties.

The sanctions schedule imposed three days in the "jury box" (that is, in-court detention in which the offender observes cautionary criminal proceedings) for the first infraction, three days in jail for the second, seven days in detox for the third, and seven days in jail for subsequent infractions. The standard docket, in contrast, required twice weekly drug tests and judicial monitoring of the results but did not use graduated sanctions for test failures.

After controlling for age, employment, gender, prior criminal history, and

drug use severity, researchers found that those on the graduated sanctions docket were more likely to test drug-free in the month before sentencing than defendants on the standard docket (21 percent compared with 11 percent). Focus group interviews with participants revealed that the jury box sanction had a major effect on their understanding that the process was fair and reinforced the likelihood of receiving a penalty for a drug test failure. This may be attributable to the fact that the judge spoke with defendants after release from the jury box and apprised them that their abstinence was a concern to the judge and would be monitored carefully. As noted above, however, one study has proposed that stigmatizing in-court reactions may decrease the likelihood of negative drug screens, and so further research concerning appropriate frequency and intensity is required (Miethe, Lu, & Reese, 2000).

4. Rewards that are implemented with the principles of consistency, immediacy, and certainty enhance the chance of positive outcomes for offenders.

The value of positive reinforcement of behaviors for enhancing the effectiveness of punishment has been proven to encourage desistance from behaviors such as drug use (Sisson & Azrin, 1998). For example, use of payment vouchers to positively reinforce drug abstinence is highly effective for encouraging desistance (Higgins et al., 1991; Higgins et al., 1994; Silverman et al., 1996). In each case, researchers found that issuance of vouchers upon negative drug screening effectively rewarded abstinence, and allowing the awardee to exchange vouchers for health club memberships, new work clothing, or other items that promote drug-incompatible activities can support healthy, adaptive behavior. Celerity is also significant. Kirby et al. (1998) found that participants who receive immediate rewards of vouchers upon clean screenings consistently demonstrated higher rates of abstinence than those whose rewards were delayed.

In the drug court context, research indicates that tangible rewards that increase with sustained compliance are effective for encouraging sustained drug abstinence. Researchers assigned drug court participants into one of three reward tracks. Those on the “standard” track had the following reward schedule: After three months of compliance with drug court requirements, participants received a hat or candle; after six, reduced community service; after seven, reduced drug testing; after 10, reduced judicial status hearings; and after 11, reduced homework assignments. Those on the “enhanced graduated” track received gift certificates after each sequential month of compliance, beginning at \$5 after the first month and increasing to \$60 after the twelfth. Those in the “enhanced thinning” track

received gift certificates of \$30 after each of the first three months of compliance, \$50 after the fifth, and \$75 after the ninth, and \$125 after one year. After one year, participants on the enhanced tracks showed higher graduation rates than those on the standard track (55 percent and 60 percent for the enhanced tracks, and 26 percent for the standard track). The researchers concluded that rewards are effective for encouraging desistance from drug use, and better responses result when the rewards have tangible value, are administered frequently, and in quantities that compound over time (Cissner & Rempel, 2005).

B. Putting the Findings into Practice: Sanctions, Rewards, and Monitoring in the District of Oregon Reentry Court

1. The District of Oregon Reentry Court participants are subject to clear regulations requiring frequent random drug testing.

The results of drug testing are reported each month on the Reentry Court Progress Report. Failure to pass random urinalysis testing is the most common reason for sanctioning participants. If a participant discloses drug or alcohol use prior to the drug test, it is considered less egregious than a non-disclosed positive result.

2. The District of Oregon Reentry Court has developed policies regarding the certainty, consistency, and immediacy of sanctions.

The issue of sanctions receives much attention in the reentry court contract. The range of possible sanctions was developed to assure that the principles of certainty, consistency, and immediacy were applied fairly to all reentry court participants. They include:

A judicial reprimand in open court;

An order to return to court and observe proceedings;

An order to comply with curfew restrictions or home confinement with electronic monitoring;

An order to complete a term at a community corrections center;

An order to spend up to seven days in jail; or

An order for termination from the program.

Sanctions that require performance by participants must be completed by the next regularly scheduled reentry court hearing. Failure to comply with sanctions may result in increased severity of sanctions or termination from reentry court. Termination from reentry court will result in return to regular supervision status, and may result in a violation hearing.

3. Sanctions are individually tailored based on the principles of progressiveness and proportionality.

Individually tailored sanctions may include, but are not limited to: (1) an order to provide in writing an explanation for the noncompliant behavior, including an explanation about what the participant will do differently when a similar situation arises; (2) an order to write essay about a person the participant admires and how that person would influence the participant's behavior in the future; or (3) an order to perform community service in a setting that will encourage the participant to learn something important from the experience. The range of possible sanctions allows the reentry court team to craft a punishment that is proportional to the offense, and, where necessary, progressive when the same participant commits a subsequent infraction.

In addition, whether the participant voluntarily disclosed the violation, either before its detection or during the initial interview on the issue, is factored into the decision on sanctions.

4. Rewards are used to reinforce appropriate behavior and to celebrate participant successes.

Positive reinforcement has been demonstrated to encourage desistance from behaviors such as drug use (Sisson & Azrin, 1998). The research literature is replete with examples of effective positive reinforcement procedures. The types of rewards dispensed in the District of Oregon Reentry Court range from positive statements from the judge or members of the drug court team to gifts and other tangible items.

The role of the judge in drug court operations has been extensively reviewed in an earlier section of this study. One key finding regarding the therapeutic role

of a judge in drug court proceedings bears repetition, however. Approval from the judge and praise from the judge are directly correlated with decreases in positive urinalysis for drug court participants. While the role of other reentry court team members has not been empirically studied, it is reasonable that positive comments and praise from these highly valued members of the legal community will also produce positive outcomes for reentry court participants.

The primary reward available to successful District of Oregon Reentry Court participants is a one-year reduction in their term of supervision. This year is vested at the time participants complete and graduate from the program. The graduation ceremony is one of the most important and moving experiences for participants, their family and friends, and the reentry court team members. The graduation ceremony provides the opportunity to look back on a participant's struggles and successes and to encourage the continuation of the participant's progress into the future.

5. Illustrating the Practice: Reconstructed Case Study concerning the Role of Sanctions, Rewards, and Monitoring in the District of Oregon Reentry Court

This case study illustrates the difficulties in maintaining sobriety for former offenders. The participant, who has been involved in multiple drug and mental health treatments, has relapsed for the third time in three months. The case demonstrates many of the pitfalls that challenge participants as they seek to remain clean and sober, while working and living in the community. In particular, the issue of avoiding methamphetamine while casually consuming alcohol is highlighted in this case. The use of sanctions for violations of supervision are detailed.

Brief Biography of Participant in Case Study

Val is a 47-year-old, white female, with an adolescent son. She has a five-year term of supervised release for a conviction of Possession of a Controlled Substance with the Intent to Distribute Methamphetamine. Val's substance abuse history began in her late twenties and includes alcohol and methamphetamine abuse. Prior convictions are for Manufacture of a Controlled Substance, Child Neglect, Unauthorized Use of a Motor Vehicle, and Possession of a Stolen Vehicle. Val graduated from high school and has attended community college. Her Criminal History Category is III.

PO: This client used meth this month. She took it from a guy she met at an Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) meeting. It's her third relapse in three months.

RCTM(1): Refresh my memory on her relapses.

PO: The two previous were for alcohol.

RCTM(2): She had been doing well staying away from meth. She seems to think she can drink socially. I suggest she be evaluated immediately.

PO: I spoke with her and she told me a story. She has such vanity. She said she wanted to lose some weight. I called her on this. She also said she was feeling depressed. She wasn't feeling good. She can't talk to her son and his father. I feel bad for her because it does restrict access to her son. She's been in drug and alcohol treatment forever, as an outpatient. She likes AA. She had a previous DUI. She also entered her neighbor's apartment. Something has to change. I recommend we put her in jail.

RCTM(1): What is her living situation?

PO: It's good.

RCTM(2): She may need more support.

PO: Inpatient may be necessary.

Judge: She went nine months without any problems.

RCTM(1): But this is her third relapse in three months.

PO: Yes, June, August and October.

RCTM: Historically meth has been her drug of choice.

Judge: Tragic, she leaves an AA meeting and gets meth.

PO: She does AA by choice; unfortunately she hasn't decided to stop drinking.

Judge: We have the Marshals there. How many days in jail?

PO: We need to be consistent with our sanctions. I suggest four days in jail. Are we all agreed on jail time?

RCTM(3): What about a halfway house?

PO: One problem with halfway is that she is in a good living situation, she loves her job, she has all of these possessions. This is complicated.

RCTM(4): We need to think this through some more.

RCTM(5): What about electronic monitoring?

RCTM(1): How about home restrictions?

Judge: Where does she work?

PO: She's involved in property management. She loves her job. She's got so much to lose. My recommendation is jail, reassessment for mental health, drug and alcohol, home detention for 30 days.

RCTM(6): Will she lose her job if she is gone for 4 days in jail?

PO: No. The problem is that she is a target. She's impulsive, she needs to say no.

RCTM(6): I'm concerned there are people hanging around these support meetings.

Maintaining sobriety is an individual challenge for each participant in reentry court. The case illustrates the twin perspectives of the ongoing struggle to maintain sobriety. In the case, the struggle to remain clean and sober had to start anew. In this case, the participant was taken directly into custody, served four days in jail, and returned to reentry court only after drafting a relapse prevention plan. The reentry court team members work to provide the services and supports the participants need to become successful. The role of monitoring, sanctions, and rewards plays a pivotal part in providing these tools for sobriety and success in the reentry court program.

C. Recommendations Based on Practice: The Role of Sanctions, Rewards, and Monitoring

(1) Establish, as a criterion for successful completion of reentry court, a minimum 12-month period of sobriety, as evidenced by negative random urinalyses.

(2) Require each participant in reentry court to undergo random urinalysis immediately following release from prison and 2-3 times per week for first 90 days.

(3) Adopt specific contract language designed to make participant aware of the certainty, consistency, and immediacy of sanctions following a positive urinalysis.

(4) Adopt policy of individually tailoring sanctions and rewards based on principle of proportionality.

(5) Encourage members of the reentry court team to work with administrative leaders of the court to develop policies to allow for creative use of tangible rewards for successful performance and graduation from reentry court.

The District of Oregon Reentry Court utilizes a program of random urinalysis monitoring, sanctions and rewards to provide accountability for all participants. This focus on accountability is prominently displayed in all aspects of the reentry court process. Through these integrated activities, participants are given the structure, feedback, and support to deal with issues of addiction. In addition, the focus on accountability provides the public with the assurance that participants of the reentry court are being monitored and that violations are swiftly punished.

Principle 5: The Research-Informed Use of a Continuum of Services

The District of Oregon Reentry Court employs an ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), designed to identify and address barriers to reentry occasioned by challenges involving sobriety, family, housing, employment, and education. The ecological approach emphasizes that humans do not grow and develop in isolation, but in the context of family, work, school and community. Each participant faces particular challenges within these arenas, and reentry team members participate in ongoing assessment and engagement to assist the participant in building problem-solving skills that will encourage a durable shift away from criminogenic behaviors.

The District of Oregon Reentry Court's approach to each element in the continuum of services—treatment, family, housing, education, and employment—is discussed in the sections that follow. As in previous sections, each section begins with evidence-based principles distilled from empirical research, then demonstrates how the principles are put into practice in the work of the reentry court. Where the results of a quantitative study of the District of Oregon Reentry Court inform the discussion, those results are included. Each section ends with policy recommendations based on the principles tested in reentry court practice.

The consistency among the conclusions of researchers, the descriptions of District of Oregon Reentry Court practice, and the District of Oregon Reentry Court's own policy recommendations indicate both the court's commitment to employing evidence-based practices, and the extent to which its policy recommendations are informed by the field testing of those practices in the working context of the reentry court.

Drug, Alcohol and Mental Health Treatment

A. Empirical Research on Treatment Services

1. Reentering individuals disproportionately face substance abuse problems; cognitive-behavioral approaches and interaction with mentors in therapeutic programs provide useful avenues for treatment.

Inmates leaving federal prison exhibit higher instances of drug or alcohol addiction and diagnosis of mental illness. The provision of drug or alcohol and mental health treatment is one of the most critical services provided in participants' individualized treatment plans. While the exact nature of drug or alcohol and mental health treatment services varies according to the needs of participants, the provision of these critical services is in accordance with the state of the practice as derived from the research literature.

Seventy percent of inmates report a history of drug or alcohol abuse, but (as of 1997); only nine percent reported participating in formal treatment while in prison (Mumola, 1999). Inmates who participate in treatment programs for substance abuse are less likely to reoffend once released in comparison to inmates who do not participate (Gaes, et al., 1999 in Tonry & Petersilia, eds. 1999). According to a study of recidivism among federal inmates released in 1987, reoffense rates are higher among inmates with a history of alcohol or drug dependency, with heroin abusers incurring the highest rates (69.5 percent) (Harer, 1994). After release, prisoners run a high risk of relapse in the absence of treatment, which is correlated with continued criminal activity (Harrison, 2001). An estimated two-thirds of inmates with a history of heroin abuse, for example, were found to resume drug use and criminal behavior within three of months of release (Wexler, Lipton, & Johnson, 1998).

The occurrence of mental illness is double, or according to some estimates, as high as four times, that of the general population (Travis, Solomon, & Waul, 2001). A 1999 statistical study reports that 7.4 percent of federal inmates reported a mental condition or reported in-patient mental hospitalization or outpatient treatment (Ditton, 1999). Dual diagnoses of mental health and substance are common, and mental illness combined with drug use is a strong predictor of recidivism (Hammett, Roberts, & Kennedy, 2001; Steadman et al., 1998).

Treatment programs that utilize a cognitive-behavioral approach provide

a common modality for both drug treatment and reduction of criminal activity among probationers (Wilson, Bouffard, & MacKenzie, 2005; Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005). Based on social learning theory, the programs assume that criminal behavior is learned and can be avoided through instruction in interpersonal and coping skills. The approaches generally teach self-instruction, self-control, self-reinforcement, and problem-solving as ways to change procriminal cognitions and expectations (Gaes et al., 1999). Most successful outcomes are found for probationers who participated in programs that combined in-prison treatment and post-release aftercare for at least 90 days. An evaluation of the Delaware Key-Crest Program, which provides an in-prison therapeutic community for drug-involved inmates, followed by continuation of treatment in a work-release setting and post-release aftercare, found that the combined programs resulted in a 23 percent reduction in criminal recidivism and a 62 percent reduction in drug use (Gaes et al., 2003; Inciardi et al., 1997).

Another key feature of drug and mental health treatment programs is the context in which the treatment is implemented. Cullen and Gendreau (2000) and Listwan (2006) observed that effective programs typically use behavioral and cognitive approaches, occur in the offenders' natural environment, are multi-modal and intensive enough to be effective, and encompass rewards for prosocial behavior. The authors further noted that overall effectiveness of counseling models typically assist offenders in defining problems that led to criminal behavior, guidance in generating prosocial decision-making goals, and assistance in strategies to implement the goals.

In the reentry context, involvement of peers in the process of counseling and self-assessment can be beneficial. The value of mentoring and sponsorship is well documented in literature discussing therapies for substance abuse. These principles have also been recognized in the post-incarceration aftercare context. Marlowe (2002) has discussed the effectiveness of the use of mentors within treatment communities. Solomon et al. (2001, p.10) reported "substantial discussion about the role that successful ex-prisoners can play in helping newly released prisoners, noting the credibility that ex-offenders have in mentoring other ex-offenders." A recent meta-analysis reviewing evaluations of relapse-prevention models applied within offender treatment suggests that recidivism rates for offenders whose peer group members are able to help a substance abuser identify and avoid high risk situations are lower than those who receive aftercare alone (Dowden et al. 2003).

Finally, results of focus group interviews of drug court participants and

staff reveal that drug court clients understand the court sessions as a prosocial network where victories in maintaining sobriety provide an occasion for praise, and failures provide cautionary tales (Farole & Cissner, 2005). Though participants were aware that this “audience effect” is intentional, they found it a compelling part of the process. A number of interviewees emphasized the importance of the supportive and motivating context that drug court can provide for individuals ready for sobriety.

2. Aftercare and continuing treatment after an offender leaves prison is a critical component of effective interventions.

Longitudinal studies of the effect of post-release participation in therapeutic communities on recidivism rates suggest that without completion of aftercare, the effect of prerelease treatment is short-lived. Three recent, coordinated evaluations are instructive. The research designs answered shared questions using a common time interval of 36 months after release for tracking outcomes. The results consistently supported the conclusion that participation in post-release aftercare treatment, in addition to pre-release treatment, significantly improves post-release outcomes.

Wexler et al. (1999) compared a random selection of individuals who had volunteered for in-prison treatment in the Amity program at the Donovan Correctional facility in San Diego with others who had completed both in-prison treatment and aftercare. In-prison treatment combined participation in a work program with a three-phased treatment that included needs assessment, group therapy, and preparation for reintegration. Post-release aftercare allowed the participants to continue to pursue the treatment goals identified in prison while residing in a staff-supervised facility for up to one year. Controlling for post-release variables including motivation and readiness for treatment, the authors found that, at 36 months after release, 27 percent of treatment community and aftercare participants recidivated (i.e. were arrested for a new offense or parole violation), in comparison to 79 percent for those who completed the in-prison program only. The authors further found that among those who were reincarcerated, there was a positive correlation between the length of treatment and the time elapsed before reincarceration, indicating that the more treatment an offender is exposed to, the more time will pass before he or she recidivates.

Knight, Simpson, and Hiller (1999) addressed similar questions in Texas. Based on a sample of 394 nonviolent offenders incarcerated in Texas, those who completed an in-prison therapeutic community program and aftercare were

reincarcerated at a rate of 25 percent during the three years following release, as compared to 64 percent of aftercare noncompleters and 42 percent of comparison groups. Serious criminal offenders who completed an in-prison therapeutic community program and aftercare were reincarcerated at a rate of 26 percent, in comparison to 66 percent for aftercare noncompleters, and 52 percent of the comparison group. Based on outcome studies for Texas offenders completing pre- and post-release treatment and an examination of correctional costs, Griffith et al. (1999) concluded that adding pre-release treatment and aftercare for inmates with serious drug-related problems, an investment of approximately \$18,000 per qualifying inmate (a 25 percent increase), resulted in long term cost savings for correctional institutions attributable to decreased recidivism.

In Delaware, Martin et al. (1999) also found decreased recidivism among aftercare participants. The authors found that 69 percent of the participant sample who received aftercare (i.e., post-release treatment in some form) in addition to participating in a therapeutic work-release community and in-prison care, were free from rearrest after three years, in comparison to 55 percent for those who completed a therapeutic work release program but did not participate in aftercare, and 29 percent for those who did not participate in either a therapeutic community or aftercare.

Evaluations of two post-release drug desistence programs offered to California parolees in the Preventing Parolee Crime Program (PPCP) further indicate that participation in aftercare programs improves reentry outcomes (Zhang, Roberts, & Callanan, 2006). Parolees who participated in The Parolee Services Network were offered four treatment modalities: (1) short-term detoxification; (2) 180-day residential drug treatment; (3) 90 days of drug-free community-based housing; and (4) outpatient services. Over one-fourth of those who completed the program recidivated within 12 months of release to parole as did 53.7 percent of partial completers, in comparison to 52.8 percent of non-PPCP parolees. Similarly, California PPCP parolees who participated in the Substance Abuse Treatment and Recovery (STAR) program demonstrated lower 12-month recidivism rates. Participants underwent a four-week program designed to help parolees recognize and prevent substance abuse, change antisocial attitudes, and improve self-control, problem-solving, and conflict resolution skills. Whereas 52.8 percent of non-PPCP parolees recidivated within 12 months of release to parole, only 40.4 percent of STAR completers recidivated after the same period.

Simpson, Wexler, and Inciardi (1999) and Taxman, Byrne, and Young (2002) have conducted research reviews that included the above studies. In

their recommendations, they emphasize the need for a direct programmatic and clinical connection between pre-release treatment and post-release treatment in the community setting in order to guide the participant from stabilization to maintenance. As a result, policymakers have been encouraged to invest in integrating in-prison and aftercare programs and tailoring interventions to individual offender needs.

3. An extended period of sobriety and the development of prosocial relationships over time can contribute to the likelihood of more successful outcomes.

The risk of relapse of substance abusers who completed treatment remains problematic through the initial three years of abstinence (Dennis, Foss, & Scott, 2007). Sustained periods of post-treatment abstinence permit the recovering individual to build “recovery capital,” the full complement of resources that can assist the individual to maintain sobriety during periods of vulnerability. Those resources include improved health, housing, employment, desistance from crime, prosocial networks, and life satisfaction. Sustained abstinence, considered in conjunction with “recovery capital,” provides the context for the recovering individual to make all necessary changes associated with long-term recovery, particularly development of relationships with prosocial and drug-free associates.

In the corrections context, two studies of criminality and life circumstances over shorter periods of time affirm the importance of anti-criminal peer associations for desistance from crime. The authors of both found that variations in an individual’s social context are correlated with inhibition or aptitude for criminal activity. Horney et al. (1995) analyzed month-to-month variations of life circumstances among newly convicted offenders during the months leading up to their sentencing. Based on self-reporting concerning participation in school, drinking and drug use, and relationships with wives and others, and participation in or abstinence from criminal activity, the authors found that certain variations in local life circumstances correlated with dramatic changes in rates of offending. Offending decreased when interview subjects started an academic program or stopped using drugs or alcohol but increased when offenders left their spouses or schools or began to use drugs or alcohol. The trends were the same for all offenders, regardless of other factors affecting their propensity to commit crime. The authors posited that “the combined effects of several crime-inhibiting local life circumstances may lead to the accumulation of enough social capital to motivate an individual to work at maintaining social bonds [which] may, in turn, provide

additional social capital and further reduce offending” (Horney et al. 1995, 671). Thus, daily and weekly social realities shaped in part by an offender’s ongoing relationships with “anti-crime others” may contribute to long term desistance from crime.

Bahr et al. (2005) arrived at similar conclusions in the reentry context using a small regional sample of parolees. The authors conducted three interviews with 51 Utah parolees during the first three months after release. The interviewers collected information concerning family and other social relationships, housing, and employment. The authors also solicited subjective assessments of each parolee’s adjustment to life outside of prison, which were coded on a five-point scale, and tracked reincarceration rates during the study period. Family support, stable employment and housing, and the lack of conflicted family relationships correlated with greater reentry success and lower reincarceration rates. The authors attributed their results in part to the presence or absence of stable, conventional relationships during the initial months after release. Maintaining and developing parental bonds, having several close relationships within the family while avoiding conflicted relatives and drug using social networks, correlated with better reentry outcomes.

Based on those findings, reentry programs are beginning to employ “informal social controls” for the duration of the transition period, including positive social contacts in the community to positively influence offender behavior. Noting that the “life course” theory-based literature indicates that peers and community can affect offender behavior more directly than formal social controls, including parole officers and other law enforcement agents, policymakers advise that supervising officers should leverage the informal authority of prosocial peer networks (e.g., Taxman, 2002). Taxman, Byrne and Young (2002) report that the Reentry Partnership Initiative is pioneering the use of informal social controls, such as guardians and advocates available to assist offenders to connect with services, employers, and community groups. For drug-involved offenders, recommended informal social controls include self-help groups, guardians, advocates, and transitional housing staff, to be used in conjunction with formal social controls such as drug testing and graduated sanctions (see also Finn, 1999, describing Safer program staff known as “lifeguards,” who have the exclusive duty to remain in touch with clients for one year after they become employed).

B. Putting the Findings into Practice: The Role of Treatment in the District of Oregon Reentry Court

1. Maintenance of sobriety is a central feature of the reentry experience for participants, and the District of Oregon Reentry Court requires adherence to treatment programs tailored to participants' needs.

The Oregon Federal Reentry Court has designed its program to achieve successful outcomes as indicated by empirical research. Aftercare comprises a central element in most participants' reentry plans, and progress in the treatment program is closely monitored by the reentry court team and openly discussed in reentry court sessions. Participants in the District of Oregon Reentry Court participate in drug and alcohol and mental health treatment as needed through certified community-based providers.

Reentry court participants are involved in both individual and group treatment options. Reentry court participants often develop close relationships with their individual therapists and with other individuals involved in their treatment group. In addition, a representative from the drug and alcohol treatment agency is also a member of the reentry court team. This treatment professional provides important expertise to the reentry court team and advises the team when participants engage in risk-taking behavior or have relapsed. The close cooperation between the probation officer and the various treatment providers is a key element of the District of Oregon Reentry Court model.

2. District of Oregon Reentry Court participants undergo treatment monitoring and regular drug testing, and engage in ongoing needs assessment and substance-abuse-related problem-solving discussions in reentry court sessions.

Prior to each reentry court session, participants are subjected to random urinalysis and verification of participation in treatment programs. The reentry court probation officer confers with treatment providers and the participants about the progress of treatment, their attitude and involvement, and modifications in the treatment approach.

A major feature of the probation officer's monthly report is the participant's

progress in his or her treatment program. The progress report is often the first item discussed with respect to each participant in the monthly sessions, and sobriety is a critical component of a participant's self-assessment as overall progress is discussed. The self-assessment occasions the opportunity for the team and other participants to engage in motivational interviewing and solution-oriented discussions aimed at promoting prosocial and constructive cognitive and behavioral patterns.

3. District of Oregon Reentry Court graduates assist participants with recovery support and share strategies for avoiding triggers to substance use.

Mentoring relationships typically develop between graduates of reentry court and current participants. Participation of graduates within monthly sessions is encouraged, and their participation has been reliably constructive. These mentors speak with the authority of individuals who have successfully committed to sobriety and desistance from crime, and their participation has been a valuable resource for current participants. Further, the opportunity to participate in continued therapeutic discussions and self-assessment during monthly reentry sessions provides graduates with a community that reaffirms their efforts to stay sober and law-abiding.

4. District of Oregon Reentry Court participants must sustain sobriety for twelve months to become eligible for graduation.

A twelve-month period of sobriety is a prerequisite to successful program completion. Occasions of relapse are not unexpected; those occasions afford opportunities to re-engage the relapsed offender in discussions designed to identify precursors to the decision to use substances and avoidance of triggers to drug use. Sustained sobriety over twelve months provides the successful participant with a record of positive decision-making based on adoption of healthy behaviors and patterns of thinking.

5. Illustrating the Practice: Reconstructed Case Study concerning Treatment in the District of Oregon Reentry Court

This case study demonstrates the above principles in practice. The reentry court team addresses the failure of a participant to adhere to her treatment program. Team members and fellow participants engage her in order to prompt self-assessment, offer encouragement, and challenge the relapsing participant to examine what

precipitated her relapse in order to avoid repeating the cycle. Institutional treatment (during a sanction period in a correctional center) was a consequence of her failure to prioritize her sobriety and fully commit to her treatment plan.

Brief Biography of Participant in Case Study

Mia is a 34-year-old, white female, divorced mother of an adult child and an elementary school child. She was originally sentenced to a five-year probation sentence in 1988 for Delivery of a Controlled Substance. Since that time, she has had four subsequent revocation hearings, resulting in termination of probation and incarceration. She is currently completing a 30-month term of reimposed supervision. Mia's substance abuse history dates from her early teens, and includes alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, crack cocaine, LSD, and methamphetamine. Her drug of choice is methamphetamine. Her arrest record includes two convictions for Delivery of a Controlled Substance, and one conviction for Identity Theft. She is a high school drop-out. She has undergone three previous inpatient and outpatient placements for drug abuse. Her Criminal History Category is III.

PO: Today we're going to discuss Mia.

Mia (Participant): In group last night they asked me, "What happened?" It's my mom, the kids, work. I thought it had all worked. I'm ready for "whatever." There's not much more that I can say.

RCTM(1): Tell us your attitude toward recovery.

Participant: I know what to do, but do something different. I don't have a negative attitude.

Participant (1): We're here for you.

RCTM(2): I've seen all of the progress reports. You have not done what you are supposed to do. You have so many unfulfilled obligations. You have the tools to have a productive life. You have never taken the responsibility to learn new tools. I don't know what more there is left to do. You are one month away from graduation and you use.

Participant: In my life I have my mom, work, kids.

RCTM(3): Reentry court is not a cure-all. We're a helping hand. You have to do the work. I wish everyone had this chance to change their lives. You get a whole year of having a team help you. People

in reentry court get that chance. You never fully availed yourself of the help.

RCTM(4): You never let go and let the program work for you. It's hard to watch you self-destruct like this. This is sad for me. Somehow you've got to pick yourself up.

Participant: I just don't know.

RCTM(4): It's just so hard to watch.

Participant(2): Make recovery the most important thing in your life. You've got loving kids. Unless we do our recovery, it's impossible to feel good about ourselves. I'm sorry, but I never heard you say, "My recovery comes first." It's about a level of commitment that you never quite seemed to have.

RCTM(2): I don't want to lecture you. The lesson that you have is to take is that your recovery comes first. You have to show your kids that you take your recovery seriously so that you can be there for them.

Judge: I said be careful, that I'm worried about you. What was going on in your mind?

Participant: I don't know. I don't know.

PO: Fill us in, please.

Participant: I started drinking. I went to a bar. I'm from here, so they all know me. I relapse when I get drunk.

* * * *

RCTM: You don't have the building blocks inside yourself. Whenever something goes wrong you don't have the foundation. Next time I want you to find a way to work on this.

Participant: My husband's in prison. I've been doing this stuff. I just do it my way and look where it gets me.

Graduate(1): When you sit in that jail tonight, decide to get yourself a sponsor. Ask your higher power to show you a way to show your daughter a different story.

Judge: You know your daughter is really smart. She's going to go through a grieving process.

Participant: I told her it was going to happen. Her dad is in prison. Her mom has been in prison.

Graduate(1): You can change your part.

Participant: I don't want to let people down.

Judge: Figure out what you need to be successful. It isn't worth it to go through all of this chaos.

The process of crafting treatment plans, monitoring progress, encouraging the process of crafting treatment plans, monitoring progress, encouraging self-assessment, and teaching problem-solving strategies related to substance use constitutes a central component of the work of the District of Oregon Reentry Court. Aftercare is tailored to individual needs while emphasizing solution-seeking skills designed to encourage long-term success. Participants receive specific guidance from substance-abuse specialists, feedback from reentry court peers facing similar struggles, and ongoing needs assessment from the reentry team. Individualized care in a dynamic and responsive environment is a core component of addressing treatment needs in the reentry court program.

C. Recommendations Based on Practice: Treatment in Reentry Courts

(1) Staff reentry court team with substance-abuse counseling professionals can educate team members concerning the relapse, treatment, and recovery cycle in drug and alcohol treatment.

(2) Ensure availability of aftercare programs, monitor treatment progress as part of participants' reentry plans, and modify treatment plan as necessary in the ongoing process of needs assessment.

(3) Exchange information concerning participants' progress among reentry court team members in advance of periodic reentry court hearings and engage participants in self-assessment during the hearings, in order to assess changing needs, ensure accountability, and occasion opportunity for problem-solving discussions focused on avoiding triggers to substance use.

(4) Encourage development of therapeutic mentoring or sponsorship relationships between current reentry court participants and reentry court graduates, and graduate-participant interaction in monthly reentry court sessions.

(5) Require a twelve-month period of sobriety as a prerequisite to successful program completion.

(6) Encourage reentry court judges to leverage judicial authority to increase coordination of in-prison drug treatment with appropriate aftercare.

Assistance from Family

A. Empirical Research on Assistance from Family

1. Family is a critical component of the reentry process, and facilitating supportive family relationships can lead to better reentry outcomes.

Harer's (1994) study of recidivism among federal prisoners released in 1987 indicated that recidivism rates were lower for inmates who received social furloughs while incarcerated (19.5 percent, compared to 47.8 percent for those without furloughs). Nearly all prisoners return home to their families and communities after completing their term of incarceration, relying on family primarily for housing upon release (McMurray, 1993; Nelson, Dees, & Allen, 1999). Most also expect to rely on families for housing and assistance with financial support and employment (Re-entry Policy Council, 2005).

Incarceration disrupts intimate relationships, particularly when sentences are lengthy (McMurray, 1993). Research on young, nonresidential fathers in Baltimore suggests that disengagement of men upon their return may be common where the partner has developed new relationships or has become self-sufficient (Furstenberg, 1995). Imprisonment of a child's primary caregiver (typically, the mother), will likely have a greater effect on family structure and functioning. Separation of children of incarcerated parents from their siblings due to limited caregiver capacity can exacerbate negative effects of parents' incarceration (Hairston, 1995; Johnston, 1995).

Post-incarceration experiences for reentering offenders can be complicated by nontraditional family configurations (Hairston, 2003). Incarcerated fathers disproportionately fathered children with multiple women (Hairston, 1988). As a result children reside with other caregivers and might be less available as post-release supports (Hagan & Dinovitzer, 1999).

In many cases, however, families can provide support for prisoners upon release, mitigating stress caused by seeking employment, achieving financial stability, and overcoming substance abuse problems (Shapiro & Schwartz, 2001). Research has documented the importance of support from family and friends to recovering alcoholics and participants in outpatient drug treatment (Galanter, 1993). Even in multi-crisis households, in which more than one family member suffers an addiction, non-using or recovering family members can provide valuable support (Egelko et al., 1998). Furthermore, family members who have been hurt in the past or who face their own problems can provide support provided they have their own support resources in place (DeCivita, Dobkin, & Robertson,

2000). Conversely, other research suggests that a lack of family or peer support can contribute to failure in substance abuse treatment (Olsen, 1993).

2. Availability of close family relationships correlates with a lower likelihood of reincarceration.

A number of studies demonstrate that the support of family members following incarceration can ease reintegration into the community, resulting in lower recidivism rates (Hairston, 1995 in Gabel & Johnston, eds. 1995; Hairston, 1988; Visher & Travis, 2003). Bahr et al. (2005) determined that, in addition to stable employment and housing, the number of close relationships in the family network and the quality of parent-child relationships were strong variables associated with not being reincarcerated. The authors interviewed 51 parolees three times over a period of three months after their release and tracked their status for another three months. Of 20 parolees who reported three or fewer close family relationships, six were later reincarcerated, but of 30 who reported four or more close family relationships, only three were reincarcerated. Of the 31 parolees who reported at least one conflicted family relationship, 9 were reincarcerated, whereas parolees who did not report conflicted relationships were not reincarcerated.

Similarly, a study of reentering individuals in New York City affirms the importance of strong family support early in the transition period (Nelson, Deess, & Allen, 1999). The study included 88 randomly selected individuals who were released from state prisons in July, 1999, 56 percent of whom completed the study by participating in interviews concerning their transitions from prison to community. Interviews of the study group indicated that most reentering offenders lived and ate with family members and received financial support from family. Family members provided assistance with job searches, encouraged abstinence from drugs, and supported treatment regimens. Releasees were asked to rate the level of family support as they defined it on a 1-to-5 scale. Those who reported stronger families and families that provided acceptance and support were correlated with higher confidence and greater total individual success, e.g., having a job, making new friends, securing stable housing, and avoiding criminal activity. Those with jobs reported an average response of 4.6 on the family support scale, while those without jobs reported an average response of 3.8, suggesting that the quality of family interaction can positively influence other outcomes. Furthermore, most of the one-third of the sample who found employment in the mainstream labor market within a month of release relied on help from former

employers, family and friends. Few found a job based on their own efforts or through the assistance of an employment program serving former inmates.

3. Family involvement in ex-inmates' reintegration within a family case management context can improve reentry outcomes.

La Bodega de la Familia, a program in Manhattan's Lower East Side, mobilizes the families of substance-abusing ex-inmates as participants in a range of support services. (Sullivan et al., 2002). The program is designed to engage the family in case management, so that the family can assist as a buffer against reentry and addiction challenges. Reentering offenders are assessed in the family context, and family members, in turn, are assessed to determine what positive behaviors, coping skills, resources, and talents the members can use to encourage a successful reintegration. Case managers marshal resources to deal with emotional, legal, or financial barriers to a family member's ability to assist the reentering individual and develop a plan for the entire family to help the offender comply with supervision and establish a durable reintegration. In the event of relapse, the family is the first line of defense, alerting La Bodega case workers for detox and participating in arrangements designed to continue recovery. Program participants showed lower levels of drug use, arrests, and convictions for new crimes than did the comparison group. Reductions in drug use (85 percent reporting drug use within last month, declining to 50 percent after six months) were greater than those in the comparison group, and were attributed to pressure and support from family members and La Bodega case managers, not the result of greater access to drug treatment. Recidivism rates six months after the study period among Bodega participants were 9 percent (arrests leading to conviction) and 11 percent (all arrests), in comparison to 16 percent and 18 percent, respectively for the comparison group.

4. Reentering inmates who assume conventional roles in their families upon release may experience more successful outcomes.

Men who described their marriages as happy experienced more successful transitions than men who characterized their marriage as conflict-ridden (Fishman, 1986; Visher & Travis, 2003). Men who reside upon release with spouses and children were more successful than those who lived alone or with a parent (Curtis & Schulman, 1984). However, for female releasees, the absence of romantic

relationships can be important to desistence from crime, particularly where men play roles in a woman's offending conduct (Leverentz, 2003).

B. Putting the Findings into Practice: The Role of Assistance from Family in the District of Oregon Reentry Court

1. District of Oregon Reentry Court participants undergo assessment and ongoing support designed to leverage constructive family relationships and address barriers posed by problematic family relationships.

Mindful of the importance of supportive and constructive family relationships, the reentry court team encourages participants to explore the role of family in successful reentry. Each participant has a unique family situation. In some cases the support provided is with a spouse who has maintained the relationship during the years of incarceration, and the return to the community has presented severe challenges to the marriage. In other cases, support has been provided to the participant who is experiencing difficulties in providing discipline to children or is struggling to reestablish ties with children and other family members. In still other cases, the participant's offending conduct can be associated with relationships with parents or members of the extended family.

In each case, the reentry court team utilizes the ecological approach and best practices from the literature to provide needed guidance, support, and assistance. This assistance is provided both during the informal meetings that occur between the probation officer and the participant and during the reentry court hearings.

2. The District of Oregon Reentry Court Team encourages family participation in the reentry process where it is conducive to the participant's reentry plan.

The reentry court team appreciates the value of close family as a first line of defense for a participant vulnerable to relapse. Where indications show that a family member or close friend serves as a reliable support, the reentry court probation officer and treatment providers engage the family member or friend as a partner in the participant's treatment and reentry plans.

Further, when the support of family and friends is integrated into a participant's treatment plan, the reentry court team cooperates with the family

member or friend in ongoing monitoring and needs assessment. Close associates can provide crucial information to the reentry court team and encouragement to the participant.

Where appropriate, family members participate in reentry court hearings and are included and acknowledged in graduation ceremonies. In some cases, family members are present at reentry court sessions where a participant is called to account for his or her actions. In other cases, family members attend to better understand the work of the reentry court so that they can relate to the participant's reentry experience. In most cases, family members and close friends attend reentry court graduation ceremonies and receive recognition for their roles in the participant's successful reentry from both team members and the participant.

3. Illustrating the Practice: Reconstructed Case Study concerning Family Assistance in the District of Oregon Reentry Court

The following case example reveals challenges faced by a participant whose sobriety plan required him to ask his substance-using son to move out. The participant describes the incident and the basis for his decision in a dialogue with reentry court team members. He discusses how he approached and dealt with the stressors of evicting his son while maintaining his own sobriety, and he receives feedback from other participants and a reentry court graduate whose experiences allow them to empathize and affirm his decision and coping strategies.

Brief Biography of Participant in Case Study

Jason is a 56-year-old, white male, divorced father with two adult children. He completed a five-year term of supervised release for a conviction of Possession of a Controlled Substance with Intent to Distribute Methamphetamine. Jason's substance abuse started in his late teens, and includes methamphetamine and alcohol. He has prior criminal convictions for Possession of a Controlled Substance, Burglary, Violation of a Restraining Order, and Involuntary Manslaughter. Jason graduated high school. His Criminal History Category is III.

PO: Lot of good things happening this month.

Jason (Participant): I had to do something. I kicked out my son for booze. I got a ticket and it cost me \$70.00. They upped my insurance.

I got a raise at work. I'm going to be the supervisor, will get a salary. But the part with my son that was hard. (He cries.) It was hard. I see my son as a clone. I didn't want him to be an addicted person making bad decisions. He was out of his mind so I kicked him out. He wasn't thinking of the overall picture. I let him come back. He's a good worker. I gave him a letter of what is expected of him. He has to work and live. I put it on the bulletin board. I told him he has to go half way. I put it in writing so there wouldn't be no gray. I told him I'll kick him out if he does it again. The decisions I make are because of what I've learned. I had to do it. I have a good sponsor. I go to meetings with Joe, Bill, and Jerry. I have reentry court. I'm able to open up and change my criminal way of thinking. I am a prosperous person in society.

Judge: This seems to work for you.

RCTM(1): That was a tough thing to do. You made the right decision. Did you consult with anyone?

Participant: I made it on the spot. I've come this far. This is how I felt. Substituting one drug for another. I know what that's all about. Sometimes we are influenced by friends or other people. Leave it alone. I was very upset about it. He appreciates everything I have done for him. He thanks me for it. It was very hard. I made the decision. My recovery is more important. I talked to my sponsor after. He said it was a good thing.

RCTM(2): What you did was like in an airplane. You need to take care of yourself first. Then you can help others.

Judge: You have the tools to help him. You are making the right decisions.

Participant: I told him, I'm not going to throw things away. You were acting stupid. He was mad at me at first. It's all about being honest. I don't want to lie about nothing. People respect honesty. Don't hide things. Make good choices.

Another Reentry Court Participant: I'm so glad you did that.

Participant: You'll only succeed if you're honest. If you let others influence you and you do drugs, BAM! That is criminal thinking. They manipulate people. We got to wake up and smell the roses. Think ahead. We need to talk to our counselor. Ask for help. Open you mouth and ask them.

PO: How about your other son?

Participant: My other son was upset with me. He wanted to know

what would happen to Brett. I told him I don't know, and now I don't care. He's got to learn. I want to be with him. You can only do so much.

Judge: Impressive.

Reentry Court Graduate: That's what you have to have. A roommate relapsed. My sponsor wanted to know why. My roommate was using. I know I have to wake up everyday and say, I'm not using today. Jason, I want to be at your graduation. I've had to make the same decision about my kids. My recovery comes first.

Participant: We're having a good group meeting here. It's a good meeting.

At their best, close family and friend relationships can reduce barriers to reentry, provide a network of support, and encourage sustained sobriety and desistance. Where those relationships are linked to antisocial attitudes or trigger substance use, they present additional barriers to reentry. The District of Oregon Reentry Court assesses and leverages assets that family and friends can offer to successful reentry and encourages problem-solving when such relationships present challenges. Close supervision, combined with ongoing assessment by the participants themselves and in the context of court sessions sets the stage for the continued work of improving close relationships and employing them to the advantage of reentering participants.

C. Recommendations Based on Practice: Encouraging Assistance from Family in Reentry Courts

(1) Early in the reentry process (including the period of in-prison transition), assess the quality and strength of participants' relationships with family and close friends, and the availability of close relatives and friends to serve as ecological supports to participants in specific areas of need (e.g., housing, employment, education, sobriety, transportation) over the period of participation in reentry court. Encourage regularized relationships with close family and friends.

(2) Identify problematic relationships and the relevance, if any, to participants' substance abuse or criminal behaviors, and encourage problem-solving discussions that promote responses consistent with sobriety and desistance from crime.

(3) Track family participation in participants' reentry plans, both in probation officer monitoring and in assessment and problem-solving discussions at reentry court sessions. Employ close relatives and friends as partners in monitoring participants' responses to reentry challenges.

(4) Where beneficial to particular needs of participants, invite family member participation in reentry court sessions and graduation, and, as needed, apprise family members in advance of reentry court sessions of the types of discussions that take place.

(5) Encourage participants to develop prosocial networks of support and recognize the value of such networks for sustained sobriety and desistance.

Assistance in Securing and Maintaining Housing

A. Empirical Research on Assistance in Securing and Maintaining Housing

1. A criminal record and the circumstances of incarceration can present significant barriers to obtaining post-release housing

Stable housing is critical for achieving reentry objectives and avoiding recidivism (Bradley et al., 2001). According to the demographic study of reentry programs sponsored by the federal Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiative, 52 percent of ex-inmates report needing post-release housing (Visher & Lattimore, 2007). Most reentering individuals seek assistance from family for housing, but for many reasons the reentering offender chooses not to approach family or does so and is denied help.

Returning prisoners face barriers to entering the private housing market resulting from incarceration. Residential home prices are cost prohibitive for most reentering offenders (Downs, 2000). Landlord screening to exclude tenants with criminal histories or tenants who lack credible work histories also present a significant barrier (Bradley et al., 2001). Access to public housing may be limited by federal statutes that permit public housing authorities to deny housing to individuals with a record of certain criminal activities. Federal law requires denial of subsidized housing to: (1) individuals subject to a state sex offender lifetime registration requirement; (2) individuals convicted of manufacturing methamphetamine inside a federally subsidized housing; and, (3) those who have been evicted from subsidized housing because of drug-related activity, unless

they have completed a rehabilitation program approved by the Public Housing Authority. Further, federal regulations grant the Public Housing Authority the discretion to bar criminally involved individuals (24 CFR § 982.553).

In some cases, homelessness prior to incarceration may correlate with homelessness upon release. Over ten percent of those entering and exiting prisons are homeless before and after incarceration (Langan & Levin, 2002). Inmates with mental illness are more likely to experience homelessness upon release (Ditton, 1999).

Agency assistance in placing reentering offenders in housing is perceived by discharged inmates as critical. A survey of reentering offenders in Massachusetts revealed that nearly seven of ten who had experienced homelessness after release stated that having a prison counselor available at the moment of release would have been most helpful to them in securing housing, more so even than availability of rent money or transportation to a post-release destination. A majority was concerned about discrimination on the basis of their criminal record and having sufficient funds for a security deposit and rent. These concerns surpassed the number concerned about getting a job (Bradley et al., 2001).

2. Reentering offenders face the risk of homelessness, and the lack of stable housing increases the chances of reincarceration.

Two studies have correlated reincarceration with post-release homelessness. In one, researchers tracked 48,000 inmates released from New York state prisons who relocated to New York City. Approximately 11 percent of the entire sample resided in homeless shelters; of those, 62 percent entered the shelter within a month of their release date. Shelter use after release was correlated with a 17 percent increase in the risk of reincarceration. Shelter use prior to incarceration correlated with a 23 percent increase in the risk of incarceration (Metraux & Culhane, 2004). A second study, which tracked homeless parolees in New York City, found that those who resided in homeless shelters were seven times more likely to flee supervision during the first month after release than parolees with more stable housing arrangements (Nelson, Deess, & Allen, 1999).

Lack of stability in a parolees' housing situation is also associated with reincarceration, according to a recent interview-based study (Bahr et al., 2005). Researchers met with members of a 51-parolee sample three times over a period of three months after their release and tracked their status for another three months. They found that a lack of stability in parolee's housing situation was

associated with reincarceration. Of 39 parolees who were asked whether they planned on moving in the near future, the 10 who responded “yes” were later reincarcerated, and none of those who responded “no” returned to prison. Other researchers have concluded that failure to secure stable housing exacerbates difficulties in overcoming substance abuse and impedes family reintegration (Hammett, Roberts, & Kennedy, 2001). According to a study of North Carolina high-risk parolees, those who reside longer at the same residence after release are less likely to reoffend (McMurray, 1993).

3. Access to stable housing improves post-release outcomes.

Participation in post-release housing assistance programs has been correlated with improved reentry outcomes. Zhang, Roberts, and Callanan (2006) studied all California parolees released to parole between July 1, 2000 and June 30, 2002, who were eligible for the state’s Preventing Parolee Crime Program (PPCP). Parolees in PPCP who participated in a Residential Multi-Service Center were provided a stable residence for up to 6 months (or one year, when approved by a parole agent), math and literacy education, substance abuse recovery services, and assistance with communication and problem-solving and communication skills. They were also required to save money for independent living. Participation and completion were associated with lower recidivism rates: 15.5 percent of those who completed recidivated within 12 months of release to parole as did 39.1 percent of partial completers, in comparison to 52.8 percent of non-PPCP parolees.

Recognizing that an offender’s reintegration success in the initial hours and days after release is critical as to whether the ex-inmate reoffends, policy makers have urged improvements in housing availability for an ex-inmate. Recommendations include enhancing the expertise on housing options and timely communicating them to an offender, including engaging housing specialists in offender’s discharge triage team to ensure seamless access to shelter, educating inmates on subsidized housing eligibility and availability, encouraging use of prison and work-release wages for housing upon release, and establishing prisoner-specific housing services to coordinate affordable living arrangements that will add to the likelihood of successful reintegration outcomes for the resident (Re-entry Policy Council, 2005).

B. Putting the Findings into Practice: The Role of Assistance in Securing and Maintaining Housing

1. District of Oregon Reentry Court participants undergo assessment and ongoing monitoring in a context equipped to advise participants on obtaining safe and drug-free housing options.

The Oregon reentry court model relies on collaborative problem-solving between team members and participants to ensure availability of safe and stable housing arrangements. Participants face typical hurdles that reentering offenders encounter: expensive housing, drug-involved housemates, substandard living arrangements, or long commutes from safe and affordable living arrangements. The team's collaboration with Sponsors, a Eugene nonprofit organization devoted to assisting reentering offenders, has ensured access to structured, safe housing, and where appropriate, residency in recovery houses. In each case, the housing assignment is made after consultation concerning the participant's drug and alcohol recovery, employment status, and other considerations, and residents are matched according to shared goals and commitments.

2. Ongoing monitoring by the District of Oregon Reentry Court team and collaborative problem-solving encourages participants to address problems in housing arrangements and build problem-solving skills oriented toward long-term success.

Participants who reside with family or outside a structured environment are regularly monitored to ensure that the living arrangements are safe, stable, and encourage continued sobriety. Participants engage in self-assessment and problem-solving in order to recognize and deal with housing problems on a case by case basis. The reentry court team has worked with participants to relocate when housemates make drugs readily available, residential family members impede recovery, participants' families are sickened by methamphetamine-contaminated environments, or when living arrangements become so stressful as to impair progress in participants' release plans. On individualized bases, participants engage in the process of seeking out and securing improved housing arrangements, and in the process, their attention is called to the problem-solving work that brings them to an improved result. Stable housing meets participants' immediate needs, and the problem-solving experience enhances the set of transferable skills necessary to address challenges in other life areas during and after participation in reentry court.

3. Illustrating the Practice: Reconstructed Case Studies concerning Assistance with Housing in the District of Oregon Reentry Court

The following brief reconstructed case study reveals the importance of structured housing for participants with few other drug-free residence alternatives. The participant was faced with the option of leaving a community controlled residence without the resources to secure housing on her own. She chose to extend her stay until her confidence in her ability to maintain her sobriety increased and her options for affordable and safe housing improved.

Brief Biography of Participant in Case Study

Lisa is a 30-year-old, white female, divorced mother of two young children. Both of her children are in foster care. She has a three-year term of supervised release for a conviction of Theft of Mail. Lisa's substance abuse history started in her mid-teens and includes alcohol, marijuana, and methamphetamine. Prior convictions are for Possession of a Controlled Substance, Theft II, and Burglary II. She is a high school drop-out. Her Criminal History Category is III.

PO: Are you stressed at all?

Participant: They are really strict. If you are one minute late, they won't let you in. For the orientation David's car broke down. They called me in. Very strict. You pay \$6.00 an hour until you finish. Mom wants us out. It is stressing me out. David's car is one thing after another. He's not making enough to be able to move out. He wants to find another job. But school is great.

Judge: What can we do to help?

Participant: When can I get Section 8?

RCTM(1): What about your restitution plan?

Participant: It's stressful that I don't have a plan.

PO: We need to extend her payment schedule. When she gets out of school, she'll get more money. Now you don't have enough money. We need to work on this.

Participant: We need to move out by next month. I wish he never had that car. But I have a good support system. Monday meetings, I love them. At school I feel so much better.

Judge: Does anyone have any thoughts about her situation? She needs a strategy.

Reentry Court Graduate: Take one step at a time. Use your group.

Do well in school. Things happen. You need to relieve the pressure.
Watch out for the snowball effect.

A second reconstructed case study illustrates the difficulties in securing stable and affordable housing for former offenders. The participant, a student in a professional cosmetology program, is supporting herself as a student and taking educational loans while she and her boyfriend live with her mother. The participant is concerned about how her lack of funds and progress on her restitution plan might affect her eligibility for “Section 8” housing, a type of federal assistance provided by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), and designed to subsidize housing for low-income families and individuals. Under its tenant-based voucher program, a participant leases a rental unit and pays a portion of the rent based on family income. The Public Housing Authority pays the remainder of the rent, subject to a cap determined by HUD. Car expenses add to her stress. Motivational interviewing techniques prompt her to explain her situation and receive feedback from reentry court team members and a graduate.

Brief Biography of Participant in Case Study

Karrie is a 30-year-old, white female, divorced mother with two young children. The fathers of both children are incarcerated, serving lengthy prison sentences in state prison. She has a three-year term of supervised release for a conviction of Conspiracy to Commit Identity Theft. Karrie’s substance abuse history started in her mid-teens, and includes alcohol, marijuana, and methamphetamine. Prior convictions are for Possession of Methamphetamine under state law. Karrie completed her GED through the community college. Her Criminal History Category is I.

Judge: I want to let the court know that Lisa has decided to stay in the controlled residential environment for another couple months. She wants to set herself up for success. This is a great piece of information.

RCTM(2): Good work.

RCTM(3): Good work.

Participant : I’m glad I didn’t give up and quit. I just want to stay a

little while longer.

Judge: This way you'll be a well rested worker.

PO: You are in a respond mode rather than a react mode.

Participant: When I get out I want to be in a place where I feel safe and all of the issues are behind me.

PO: Good work.

Housing needs are specific to reentering offenders, but common challenges include difficulty in accessing safe and affordable housing free from drug-using associates. Typically, housing challenges are related to concerns about family and employment, requiring a comprehensive approach designed to address concurrent needs and challenges. Ongoing assessment by the probation officer and reentry court team and problem-solving in the reentry court sessions encourage participants to develop strategies for long term housing solutions.

C. Recommendations Based on Practice: Encouraging Assistance in Securing and Maintaining Housing in Reentry Courts

(1) Early in the transition process, assess and investigate housing options for the reentering offender, including eligibility for subsidized programs. Identify barriers to securing housing, resolving those that can be addressed.

(2) Where possible, encourage family assistance to meet housing needs so that the participant can enjoy a stable residence while addressing other needs (e.g., sobriety, education, employment).

(3) Monitor each participant's housing situation through probation officer visits and self-assessment in reentry court hearings.

(4) Ensure that housing arrangements do not contravene the participant's efforts to remain sober, desist from crime, and obtain employment. Assess and address any transportation issues presented by the housing arrangements.

(5) Encourage reentry court judges to leverage judicial authority to increase housing options within communities where reentry courts operate.

Assistance in General and Technical Education

A. Empirical Research on Assistance in General and Technical Education

1. Incarcerated populations exhibit lower than average levels of educational attainment but benefit from participation in prerelease educational programs.

Demographic surveys of inmates indicate that less than half of incarcerated individuals have graduated from high school or achieved an equivalent standard such as a GED (General Education Degree) (Harlow, 2003). A number of experimental and nonexperimental studies have found that participation in education programs while incarcerated is associated with reduced recidivism. In studies of released federal inmates, Harer found that federal inmates participating in one or more courses per six months of confinement recidivated at 35.5 percent, compared to 44.1 percent for noncompleters (1994), and within all educational attainment groups except college graduates, greater educational program participation correlated with lower recidivism rates (1995). Steurer et al. (2001) found lower recidivism rates for participants in pre- and post-release educational and vocational programs in Maryland, Minnesota, and Ohio, in comparison to nonparticipants. Holloway and Moke (1986) studied 95 graduates of an associate's degree program who were tracked 12 months after prison release and compared to a randomly selected group of high school graduates (including GED) inside or outside of prison, and to randomly selected inmates with no GED or high school education. Their findings demonstrated that more education led to a higher likelihood of employment after release and lower recidivism rates. Wilson, Gallagher, and Mackenzie (2000) utilized a meta-analysis of 33 experimental and quasi-experimental evaluations of correctional programs and found that participation in vocational and educational programs during incarceration is associated with lower recidivism rates in comparison to nonparticipants. Adams et al. (1994) reported that of 14,000 released Texas inmates studied, those who participated in 200 hours of prerelease educational programs demonstrated lower recidivism rates than nonparticipants, with most substantial reductions occurring among inmates who had the lowest initial educational levels.

Noting the effectiveness of cognitive behavioral treatment models, Listwan et al. (2006) and Zhang, Roberts, and Callanan (2006) recommend that programs targeting education are best implemented in conjunction with behavioral treatment. This approach allows for new knowledge and skills to be integrated with the strategy of developing prosocial alternatives and realizing the consequences of criminal behavior.

2. Increased education after release is correlated with reduced recidivism.

Few studies measuring the effect of participation in post-release programs isolate outcomes for participants in educational training from vocational training. However, those that do indicate a correlation between increased education and lower rates of recidivism. In one study, Hull et al. (2000) analyzed statistical information on a sample of 3000 program completers of various pre-release and post-release academic, vocational, and transitional programs offered by the Virginia Department of Corrections, and released between 1979 and 1994. The sample did not segregate completers of post-release programs from those who completed in-prison programs, however. The researchers concluded that completion of programs “may be positively and directly related to post-release community adjustment.” Of those who completed academic programs, including literacy and GED preparation, 19.1 percent had been reincarcerated at the date of data collection, in comparison to 49.1 percent of those who had no educational involvement. Those who enrolled in academic programs but did not complete them demonstrated a lower reincarceration rate (38.2 percent) in comparison to nonparticipants (49.1 percent).

In Zhang, Roberts, and Callanan’s (2006) study of parolee participation in California post-release programs, completion of the Computerized Literacy Learning Center network program was associated with lower 12-month recidivism rates. The program is a self-paced course designed to improve literacy and math skills by a minimum of two grade levels and assist parolees in finding and maintaining employment. Approximately 53 percent of non-PPCP parolees recidivated within a year of release from parole, in comparison to 26.5 percent of those who completed the program and 46.8 percent who partially completed it.

B. Putting the Findings into Practice: The Role of Assistance in General and Technical Education

1. District of Oregon Reentry Court participants undergo educational assessment, and team members and graduates facilitate access to educational and vocational opportunities.

Reentry court team members actively encourage participants to enroll in both general and technical education programs. In some cases, participants want to attain a GED, and in other cases participants seek completion of vocational training or a four-year degree.

2. District of Oregon Reentry Court sessions provide a context for ongoing assessment and problem-solving concerning barriers to progress in educational and vocational programs.

In many cases, reentry court participants have great anxiety about returning to school. The reentry court staff provides counseling and referral to local advisors to assist participants gain access to school, and graduates serve in a mentoring capacity to participants undergoing remedial studies and navigating bureaucracies of educational institutions. In addition, other sources of support include assistance with completion of admissions materials, scholarship, and grant applications. Furthermore, in many instances, reentry court team members directly discuss and support employment opportunities related to education during the reentry court hearing.

3. Illustrating the Practice: Reconstructed Case Studies concerning Assistance with Educational and Vocational Programs in the District of Oregon Reentry Court

In the following reconstructed case example, the participant discusses his motivation for enrolling in community college and the balancing that the demands of his coursework requires. The value of participation in higher education as a means to create prosocial relationships is mentioned, and a reentry court graduate provides encouragement. The participant's decision to pursue further study coincides with recognition received for accomplishments at work and the desire to create greater stability for himself and his family.

Brief Biography of Participant in Case Study

Bill is a 55-year-old, Asian male, divorced father of one adolescent son. He has a three-year term of supervised release for Conspiracy to Commit Identity Theft. Bill's substance abuse history started in his late teens, and includes cocaine, crack cocaine, heroin, hallucinogenic mushrooms, LSD, and methamphetamine. His drug of choice is methamphetamine. Bill has two prior convictions for Delivery of a Controlled Substance, and a conviction under state law for Identity Theft. Bill is a high school graduate. He has undergone two previous placements for inpatient and outpatient drug treatment. His Criminal History Category is I.

Participant: . . . I'm working steady. The people at work think I have some skills and independence. They kind of gave me a promotion. It is so important that my family has a safe environment, a place to call home. I decided to go to the Community College to take some placement tests. I passed them all. If I take a full load I can get the degree. Classes are Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. I want to go talk to work and see if they will give me 4 days at 10 hours a day. I mentioned it to them and they laughed.

PO: You talked to your boss about this?

Participant: I'm trying to get a clear answer at work. If worse comes to worse, I'll take six credits at school and take my time. I need more balance in my life. I think I could do some activities at school. I'm lacking in entertainment. I'm moving forward.

RCTM(1): How long has it been since you were in school?

Participant: Thirty-five years.

RCTM(1): That's certainly a long time to be away.

PO: Are you talking Thanksgiving or Christmas?

Participant: For Thanksgiving I'm going to a friend's house. I've got opportunities. Going to school will open up more quality relationships. My friend went to school so he kind of encouraged me. My experience in reentry court over the past 8 months has been good. I'm thinking about my options.

Reentry Court Graduate: Take the six credits. When I started school, I took 12 credits. I've got good grades. I'm going to finish up next year.

Participant: I want to get this school done.

Judge: Don't be in too much of a hurry. Fifty-five years old is the new 25.

PO: Good work.

RCTM(3): I started back to school at 46 years old. I tried too hard. It took you 35 years to go back to school. What is the hurry? I enjoyed every minute of it.

As the research, practice descriptions, and case study indicate, education is a significant area of need for many reentering individuals. Because employability is the ultimate goal of reentering participants, the District of Oregon Reentry Court engages participants in the work of determining the most feasible avenues

for using educational and vocational programs to achieve satisfying and stable employment. In many instances, problem-solving to balance educational demands with work, family, and sobriety concerns is a priority in reentry court sessions. Encouragement and advice from reentry court graduates is especially valuable for addressing concerns of returning students, assisting with bureaucratic steps, and dealing with remedial coursework. Approaching the issue of education and vocational training in the context of an ecological model -- within the context of each participant's skills, needs, and resources, and within the larger context of the participant's reentry plan -- allows the District of Oregon Reentry Court to assist the participant to meet immediate needs and develop problem-solving skills oriented toward long-term success.

C. Recommendations Based on Practice: Encouraging Assistance in General and Technical Education in Reentry Courts

(1) At the earliest stage in the transition process (in prison, if possible), assess the participant's educational deficits and employment plans, and encourage strategizing post-release educational opportunities that can address deficits in ways tailored to employment plans.

(2) Reduce barriers to accessing educational and vocational training opportunities by facilitating each participant's access to information concerning available programs, prerequisites, and financial aid.

(3) Monitor each participant's progress in educational and vocational programs and engage in ongoing needs assessment and problem-solving where necessary in reentry court sessions.

(4) Reward educational achievements and encourage reentry court graduates to assist each participant in navigating educational opportunities and facing challenges of undergoing training in the reentry context.

(5) Encourage reentry court judges to leverage judicial authority to develop increased educational and vocational opportunities in communities where reentry courts operate.

Assistance in Securing and Maintaining Employment

A. Empirical Research on Assistance in Securing and Maintaining

Employment

1. Reentering individuals encounter difficulty in seeking stable employment due to a greater likelihood of previous unemployment and weak skills.

Stable employment is critical to successful reentry. Weak job stability is correlated with increased arrest rates (Sampson & Laub, 1993). According to a small-scale study of inmates released to New York City, inmates ranked securing stable employment as “the number one concern” for releasees during their first month out (Nelson, Deess, & Allen, 1999). Similarly, a survey of Missouri parole officers identified keeping offenders in steady employment as the most important aspect of programs for improving successful outcomes (Seiter, 2002).

Inmates face a number of employment barriers. Though nearly all prisons offer some type of vocational or educational programming, including GED, high school and college courses, and English as a second language, only 56.4 percent of inmates in federal prisons received such training, and only 31 percent participated in vocational training. Inmates experience a high rate of unemployment prior to incarceration (ranging from 21 percent to 38 percent, depending on education level). In comparison to nonfelons, prisoners are less educated, more frequently unemployed, and more often dependent on illegal earnings (Harlow, 2003). Those in violation of a supervision condition can become ineligible to receive federal services including Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), food stamps, and access to public housing. 21 U.S.C. § 862a; 42 U.S.C. § 1437d(1) (5).

2. Disruption of employment and social relationships caused by incarceration can impair post-release employability.

Prisoners who spend longer periods of time incarcerated are more likely to lose access to networks and contacts that could assist with job placement, contributing to “a long term reduced prospect of stable employment and adequate earnings over the life course” (Hagan & Dinovitzer, 1999, p. 134). Further, longer periods of confinement may be associated with erosion of technical skills and strengthened ties to antisocial groups, which could result in decreased awareness of job opportunities or inability to pursue them (Solomon et al., 2004). Inmates released to communities already challenged by high unemployment rates experience greater difficulty in locating stable jobs (Lynch & Sabol, 2001). Harer’s (1994) analysis of federal prisoners released in 1987 demonstrated

higher recidivism rates among those released to areas of high unemployment and poverty.

3. Employer reluctance to hire offenders decreases post-release employability.

Research clearly documents employer reluctance to hire workers with criminal records (Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll, 2003; Western & Pettit, 2003). One study documented a 50 percent decrease in employment among white individuals with a criminal record when those individuals applied in competition with identically qualified nonfelons; for black individuals, there was a 65 percent decrease (Pager, 2003). Nevertheless, a survey of potential employers in the Los Angeles area reveals that employers' willingness to hire ex-inmates is linked to perceived characteristics of the offender; thus, individuals with a property crime or drug felony record are more likely to be hired than violent offenders (Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll, 2003).

4. Recidivism decreases when reentering offenders have wage-paying jobs, and where employment provides the opportunity to develop prosocial relationships.

Higher wages are correlated with a decrease in criminal activity (Western & Petit, 2000; Bernstein & Houston, 2000). Researchers have demonstrated a correlation between a decrease in illegal earnings when money earned through legitimate means increases, concluding, "[a]s offenders gain more lawful opportunities and become more embedded in work and family relationships, their illegal earnings quickly diminish" (Uggen & Thompson, 2003, p. 179).

Further, employment allows reentering individuals to develop roles as productive members of their new communities and to demonstrate a rejection of criminogenic behaviors. Employed reentering offenders gain skills and experience from employment that can increase earning levels over time (Solomon et al., 2004). Research that indicates that new contexts and social supports can facilitate a successful transition would imply that the structure and prosocial connections employment offers can be beneficial (Laub & Sampson, 2001; Maruna, 2001). This proposition has been cited to support the theory that ex-inmates who retain the same job for a period of one year after release will demonstrate a dedication that leads to better job opportunities while enhancing chances for long term success by establishing a supportive network and routine (Bushway, 2003). In this context, caseworkers who assist in maintaining the reentering offender's

motivation may provide demonstrable benefits.

5. Participation in programs designed to enhance employable skills is correlated with decreased recidivism rates.

Where assistance is provided, recidivism rates decrease. Longitudinal, controlled research has demonstrated that inmates who participate in prison-based employment programs are more likely to obtain a job after release and less likely to be rearrested. An evaluation of the Post-Release Employment Project during a twelve-year period that was based on data collected from 7,000 federal offenders compared those who participated in training and work programs with others who did not, and used a baseline group of all other inmates. Results demonstrated significant positive effects on post-prison outcome measures for employment and rearrest rates. Upon release, in-prison workers were 24 percent more likely to obtain full-time or day-labor work, and after a year, they were 3.5 percent less likely to be rearrested or revoked (Saylor & Gaes, 1992). Twelve months after release, those who received in-prison vocational training were 14 percent more likely to be employed; in the longer term, between eight and twelve years after release, inmates who received in-prison vocational or apprenticeship training were 33 percent less likely to recidivate, and inmates who worked in prison industries were 23 percent less likely to recidivate. Results of a meta-analysis of prison-based educational and vocational programs suggest that participation doubles an inmate's likelihood of obtaining post-release employment, in comparison to nonparticipants (Wilson et al., 2000). Saylor and Gaes (1999) have published findings suggesting, based on post-release outcomes, that minority groups benefit more from in-prison vocational training.

Finally, interviews of 51 parolees three times over a period of three months after their release revealed that employment is one factor that can influence recidivism (Bahr et al., 2005). Of 26 parolees who were employed shortly after release, only 12 percent were later reincarcerated, whereas 28 percent of 25 who were unemployed later returned to prison. Researchers also found a modest positive association between a parolee's own perceived difficulty in finding employment shortly after release and subsequent reincarceration; 5 of 12 parolees who reported difficulty were later reincarcerated, whereas of 22 who reported that finding a job was "very easy," three returned to prison. According to a study of federal prisoners released in 1987, inmates who secured post-release employment while still in prison had a lower recidivism rates (27.6 percent) than those without employment arrangements (53.9 percent) (Harer, 1994).

Parolee participation in post-release employment programs has been associated with decreased recidivism rates. In Harer's (1994) multivariate analysis of federal inmates released in 1987, he observed that halfway house participants' increased likelihood of finding post-release employment contributed to recidivism reduction. Chicago's Safer Foundation teaches paroled participants basic educational and life skills during incarceration, and provides job placement assistance after release. Obtaining a job itself is not the end, but rather it is a means to provide opportunities for ex-offenders to let go of the criminal life and criminal thinking patterns and participate in the mainstream of society. According to internal records, 99 percent of completing participants had not been convicted of a crime after 180 days (Finn, 1999). Similarly, Texas' project RIO provides classes to inmates in life skills and job readiness, and it also assists in procuring useful documentation, such as social security cards and transcripts, so that inmates are prepared to seek employment at the moment of release. After release, participants receive assessment, placement and follow up services designed to lead ex-inmates through the job application process. Reentering individuals employed with the help of RIO exhibited reduced recidivism rates in comparison with unemployed ex-inmates. Among high-risk participants, RIO participation was correlated with a 9 percent decrease in the risk of rearrest and a 15 percent decrease in the risk of reincarceration (Menon et al., 1992). Also instructive are findings of a controlled randomized impact evaluation of the Illinois Opportunity to Succeed Program, which provides skills assessment, application assistance and referrals, along with substance abuse, housing, family intervention and health services. Authors tracked a sample of post-release felony offenders with a history of substance abuse serving a probation term of one year or longer. The researchers conducted interviews at the second month and twelfth month and found that increased employment levels predicted reductions in drug activity, violent crime, and property crime (Rossman & Roman, 2003).

California parolees who participated in two Preventing Parolee Crime Program (PPCP) post-release employment programs exhibited improved reentry outcomes. Zhang, Roberts, and Callanan (2006) report that those parolees who participated in the Offenders Employment Continuum, a community-based employment program, attended mandatory workshops that focused on employment aptitude, addressed barriers to maintaining long-term employment, and encouraged entry into vocational training. Participation and completion were associated with lower recidivism: 34.3 percent of those who completed recidivated within 12 months of release to parole, as compared to 48.2 percent of partial completers, in comparison to 52.8 percent of non-PPCP parolees. Similarly, recidivism was reduced for California parolees in PPCP who participated in the JobsPlus

program, which involved participating in optional employment workshops that focused on resume writing and interview strategies, and provided job leads for local employers willing to hire ex-inmates: 33.1 percent of those who completed the program recidivated within 12 months of release to parole, in comparison to 40.5 percent of partial completers, and 52.8 percent of non-PPCP parolees.

Access to post-release employment counseling within comprehensive programs is associated with lower recidivism and greater participant satisfaction. An interview-based effectiveness study by Pearson & Davis, (2003) of the John Inman Work and Family Center (WFC) in Denver, Colorado, is instructive. In addition to providing assistance with job skills training and placement for paroled and released offenders, the voluntary program offered assistance with child support obligations and family reintegration, including access to a family law attorney and individual and family counseling. Three hundred fifty individuals served at WFC between August, 1999, and March, 2001, were interviewed at their initial visit and 100 were contacted six months after. After a one-year period, WFC participants returned to prison at lower rates than all Colorado Department of Corrections inmates (28 percent, as compared to 40 percent for all inmates). The researchers reported that the comparison figure for all Colorado inmates is artificially low, however, because it did not account for parole infractions and rules violations, whereas the WFC recidivism rate did. Among those who did not recidivate, 75 percent reported that they were “doing a better job of getting their life together,” half reported that their life was much better than it had been six months before, and 40 percent reported doing a better job of supporting themselves and their children.

6. A recent quantitative evaluation of the District of Oregon Reentry Court indicates a correlation between employment and successful completion of the reentry court program.

A quantitative study (Close, Aubin, & Alltucker, 2008; see also discussion of evaluation at Principle 6, *infra*) was designed to evaluate the effectiveness of the District of Oregon Reentry Court program. This reentry program was evaluated from the inception of service delivery efforts in March, 2005 until December, 2007.

Among the study’s several findings, significant differences in employment status were noted. Individuals under traditional supervision (outside of the reentry court context), the current reentry court participants, and the gradutors were more likely to be employed compared to the terminators. This finding suggests that employment is correlated with success or retention in reentry court and

traditional probation, while failure to become or remain employed is associated with termination from reentry court. The finding is consistent with the published research indicating better outcomes for employed reentering offenders who have the benefit of stable salaries, appreciated services and a sense of accomplishment, prosocial associates, and regularized routines.

B. Putting the Findings into Practice: The Role of Assistance in Securing and Maintaining Employment

1. The District of Oregon Reentry Court team enjoys and leverages a collaborative relationship with state probation authorities to increase employment opportunities for reentering individuals

The District of Oregon Reentry Court is partnering with state probation and parole authorities to increase employment opportunities for former inmates by bringing prospective employers together with reentering individuals at job fairs. Further, the collaboration avoids duplication of efforts by state and federal probation officers in approaching prospective employers of individuals under supervision. Information and resource sharing between jurisdictions has resulted in joint applications for funding, periodic summits, and efforts to increase pre-release employment screening and training.

2. Participants in the District of Oregon Reentry Court undergo assessment and counseling designed to assist in development of interview and job searching skills.

The reentry court team places great emphasis on securing and maintaining stable and dignified employment for all participants in the reentry court program. This support includes assistance with job seeking skills which may include the identification of a potential employment site. Special attention is directed toward placing participants in employment that is matched to their skills, background, and interests. Assistance with activities such as interview skills and strategies and the development of a resume are also provided by reentry court staff.

3. District of Oregon Reentry Court team sessions provide a forum for exchanging job information among participants and solving workplace challenges, and team members work collaboratively with employers to ensure that participants remain in compliance with supervision conditions.

In addition, reentry court staff assist participants with the challenges and difficulties that arise within the social context of the work site. This assistance is designed to teach participants the skills needed to solve problems at the work site. Furthermore, staff may also provide assurances to the employer that resources are available to support the employee.

Other sources of support include facilitating opportunities for retraining to allow participants to gain additional skills and experiences to increase their employment prospects, provision of references for employment, assistance with applications for drivers' licenses, and assistance in addressing logistical barriers in the job commute.

Finally, reentry court staff intervene with employers to ensure that participants are granted leave to attend reentry court sessions, meetings with probation officers, and drug testing appointments.

4. Illustrating the Practice: Reconstructed Case Study concerning Assistance with Employment in the District of Oregon Reentry Court

The following reconstructed case study illustrates the role of reentry court team members in monitoring employment progress, encouraging the participant to address workplace matters, and strategizing for job retention or sustained employability. Employment consumes a disproportionate share of the reentry court team's interactions with participants, underscoring the importance of employment for reentering individuals. In this case study, the participant discusses transitioning from a temporary employee to a permanent employee at a job where he feels comfortable. The discussion indicates evaluation of the current situation and suggests the importance of long-term employment planning, particularly here, where the participant supports dependents. The participant demonstrates an ability to address employment concerns by approaching his employer when another temporary employee had been terminated.

Brief Biography of Participant in Case Study

Zack is same individual discussed in the section that discusses Principle 3, above. He is a 28-year-old, white male, married father of two children. He has a three-year term of supervised release for a conviction of Manufacture of Counterfeit Currency. Zack's substance abuse history started in his early teens, and includes abuse of marijuana, alcohol,

cocaine, crack cocaine, and LSD. His drug of choice is methamphetamine. Prior convictions are for Theft I, Possession of a Controlled Substance, Forgery, and three convictions for Assault IV. Zack completed his GED while incarcerated. His Criminal History Category is VI.

PO: Another solid month for Zack.

Zack (Participant): I'm done with groups. Done with my counselor. Done with my restitution payment. Life is going perfectly good. But I need to make more money. I got both kids in school.

PO: Where are your kids going to school?

Participant: Head Start. She couldn't get in because of my drug habit. My mom thought she wouldn't do well because she couldn't get along with the other kids. I said she will be alright. She enjoys being around other kids. Work is really good.

RCTM(1): Are you still a temp?

Participant: They don't just hire anyone. They want someone to work for 30 or 40 years. It's an easy job. McDonald's is harder. It's technically dangerous, a chemical plant. Eventually when I get hired on, I'll make more money.

RCTM(2): What type of job?

Participant: We make glues. Today we're starting with a new Canadian glue. It's the kind of glue they use in oil drilling. It has to be really strong. It's like a hard cement, clay. I like it. I call it a Homer Simpson job. A lot of sitting around. But you have to be there. You sit in the office all day. The last two weeks have been slow. The jell seal starts once a year. The people who are using it wanted to test it. Fly chemists down from Canada to check it out. It's 66,000 pounds. They play golf while we make the stuff.

Judge: Do you have a timeline for hiring?

Participant: Two to three years. I went to my main boss because they fired a guy from the same temp agency. Wanted to make sure there was no problem. He said I'm in good shape.

RCTM(3): Good move.

In sum, the District of Oregon Reentry Court acknowledges the centrality of stable and sustainable employment for reentering individuals. Participants spend a great deal of time and effort on identifying employable skills, employment searching, interview preparation, and job retention. The reentry court team emphasizes

encouragement and collective problem-solving with respect to those issues. Partnerships with employers and prospective employers are designed to maintain and increase employment opportunities for reentering individuals, and to assist employed participants to comply with drug testing, monitoring, and attendance at reentry court sessions. The ecological model allows the reentry court team to assist participants to address employment challenges in the context of concurrent challenges and successes over the duration of the reentry period. As with the other elements on the continuum of services, employment needs are assessed on an ongoing basis and constructive problem-solving is encouraged.

In sum, the District of Oregon Reentry Court acknowledges the centrality of stable and sustainable employment for reentering individuals. Participants spend a great deal of time and effort on identifying employable skills, employment searching, interview preparation, and job retention. The reentry court team emphasizes encouragement and collective problem-solving with respect to those issues. Partnerships with employers and prospective employers are designed to maintain and increase employment opportunities for reentering individuals, and to assist employed participants to comply with drug testing, monitoring, and attendance at reentry court sessions. The ecological model allows the reentry court team to assist participants to address employment challenges in the context of concurrent challenges and successes over the duration of the reentry period. As with the other elements on the continuum of services, employment needs are assessed on an ongoing basis and constructive problem-solving is encouraged.

C. Recommendations Based on Practice: Assistance in Securing and Maintaining Employment in Reentry Courts

(1) At the earliest possible stage in the reentry planning process (in prison, if possible) identify employable skills, education deficits, and employment prospects.

(2) Engage the participant in counseling and problem-solving designed to match skills with opportunities and continue with long-term employment

planning, and ensure that work associations do not contravene the participant's sobriety and other reentry goals.

(3) Provide opportunities in probation monitoring and reentry court sessions to identify and address logistical barriers to maintaining employment (e.g., transportation, family obligations, legal documentation).

(4) Provide opportunities in probation monitoring and reentry court sessions to identify and problem-solve workplace conflicts, stressors and other barriers to job retention.

(5) Coordinate efforts between reentry court team members to monitor participant and ensure presence of participant at reentry court sessions and drug testing, and communicate to employer about the participant's progress.

(6) Encourage reentry court judges to leverage judicial authority to enhance development of employment opportunities for the reentering individual in communities where reentry courts operate.

In sum, each environment in which the person interacts is dynamic, constantly changing, and has multiple associations among the various environments and personal contexts. To affirm the ecological approach to each reentry court participant's program plan, the reentry court staff provides access to a continuum of services that involve all aspects of the participant's life. In addition, partnerships with public agencies, community-based organizations, and the participant's informal support system are integrated into an individualized treatment plan. This integration of the justice system, community-based treatment agencies, and informal supports is based on best practices in the field of reentry and research on fidelity of drug court models (NADCP, 1997).

The literature on reentry and drug court fidelity consistently identifies several major components that need to be incorporated into the participant's individualized treatment plan. These components include: drug and mental health treatment, assistance from family, housing, employment, and education. These services are developed based on the specific needs of the participant. In addition, services are coordinated and monitored to provide accountability to both the courts and the participant. This intensive, case management orientation of the probation officer and the range of community-based treatment, family support and independent living skills provide the participant with state of the art in post-prison release strategies and methodologies.

The participants in the District of Oregon Reentry Court program receive both formal and informal services as part of their comprehensive treatment plan. For example, participants often receive drug and alcohol, mental health, vocational, and education services from agencies with direct service capabilities in their communities. Furthermore, a broad range of informal services are provided such as interpersonal coaching, counseling, peer support, family assistance, and mentoring from probation officers and other reentry court participants, community members, and friends. This broad range of both formal and informal support allows for better utilization of supports and greater likelihood that participants will achieve success in their reentry to the community.

Principle 6: Data Collection and Program Evaluation

In the following sections, program evaluation and data collection procedures will be discussed in the context of planning for the release of inmates convicted of drug crimes into community settings. First, an overview of the research concerning the role of data collection and evaluation of outcomes in prison reentry programs will be presented. The discussion continues with an explanation of how this research was incorporated into the District of Oregon Reentry Court program evaluation effort. Finally, the limitations of this evaluation effort will be discussed to provide insight into the need for additional research and evaluation efforts in this growing area of corrections reform.

A. Empirical Research on Evaluation of Outcomes in Reentry Contexts

1. Data collection and program evaluation efforts that match treatment and outcome measures improve the quality of evaluation results.

Published research indicates that services for reintegrating offenders must be comprehensively accessible and must address the full range of offender needs (Pearson & Davis, 2003). A number of studies indicate that a desirable range of services that should be available to parolees or probationers include: mental health counseling, educational and training programs, medical and dental services, housing assistance, public benefits assistance, employment, substance abuse counseling, enrollment in a vocational training program, and family assistance (Seiter, 2002). Outcome evaluations based on data collected with respect to particular interventions can provide useful guidance about which services contribute to success upon reentry.

A useful recent example of an outcome study that addressed a single aspect of reentry intervention -- the approach of the probation officer -- is instructive. Papanozzi and Gendreau (2005) discussed the results of prison reentry outcome studies that compared intensive evaluation, which included a balanced approach to law enforcement and case management practices, with traditional supervision, which was focused on law enforcement. The authors noted several key outcomes. Intensive supervision parolees demonstrated higher technical violations than those on traditional parole (18.3 percent as compared to 11.3 percent), but lower rates of new conviction (19.2 percent as compared to 47.5 percent) and revocation (37.5 percent as compared to 58.8 percent). The higher rate of technical violations may be attributable to the imposition of additional release conditions and closer monitoring of parolees, whereas the lower new conviction and revocation rates were likely due to the greater likelihood of intervention before resort to criminal activity, but no evidence supports those conclusions.

Intensive supervision parolees were more likely to obtain treatment services such as substance abuse, mental health, educational, vocational, and public assistance, though traditional parolees received nearly double the number of references for services. Thus, the intensive supervision parolees' lower recidivism rate may result in part from the higher treatment participation rates; the authors did not relate recidivism rates specifically to the level of services obtained. Although multiple variables may be linked to offender success and some questions of causation remain unresolved, Papanozzi and Gendreau's findings suggest that that role of the probation officer is consequential. Further, the study's attempt to measure the effect of one aspect of reentry intervention provides a useful example of the value of intervention-specific data collection.

2. Program evaluation and other outcome studies that utilize a longitudinal perspective increase the validity of evaluation results.

Numerous research studies and program evaluation reports have emphasized the need for careful study of drug-involved, returning inmates over an extended period of time. Three recent coordinated evaluations are instructive. The research designs answered shared questions using a common time interval of 36 months after release for tracking outcomes (Wexler, et al., 1999; Knight, Simpson & Hiller, 1999; Martin et al, 1999). The results of these three longitudinal outcomes studies consistently supported the conclusion that participation in post-release aftercare treatment, which has the feature of intensive treatment activity over an extended period of time, improves post-release outcomes. The authors further

found that among those who were reincarcerated, there was a positive correlation between the length of treatment and the time elapsed before reincarceration, indicating that the more treatment an offender is exposed to, the longer it will be before he or she recidivates. The key factor in all of these studies is that participant outcomes change over time. A participant's long-term commitment to sobriety and desistance is the ultimate goal for prison reentry programs.

B. Putting the Findings into Practice: The Program Evaluation in the District of Oregon Reentry Court

1. Measurement of treatment outcomes is of central importance to reentry court programs, and the District of Oregon Reentry Court developed a set of program measures for each participant prior to release from prison.

Prior to his or her reentry into the community, the District of Oregon Reentry Court team developed detailed program plans for each participant. To affirm the ecological approach to the development of each reentry court participant's program plan, the reentry court staff described which among the continuum of services were accessed by each participant. In addition, detailed descriptions of partnerships with public agencies, community-based organizations, and the participant's informal support system were integrated into the individualized treatment plan. This integration of the justice system, community-based treatment agencies and informal supports was based on best practices in the field of reentry and research on fidelity of drug court models (NADCP, 1997).

The District of Oregon Reentry Court identified several major components incorporated into the participant's individualized treatment plan. These components included: drug and mental health treatment, assistance from family, housing, employment, and education. These services were developed based on the specific needs of the participant. In addition, services were coordinated and monitored to provide accountability to both the courts and the participant. The intensive, case management orientation of the probation officer and the range of community-based treatment, family support and independent living skills provided the participant with state of the art post-prison release strategies and methodologies.

The program plan for the participant in the District of Oregon Reentry Court program described both formal and informal services as part of his or her comprehensive treatment plan. For example, the program plan described formal

programs such as drug and alcohol, mental health, vocational, and education services from agencies with direct service capabilities in the person's home community. Furthermore, a broad range of informal services is provided such as interpersonal coaching, counseling, peer support, family assistance, and mentoring from probation officers and other reentry court participants, community members, and friends. This broad range of both formal and informal support allowed for the delivery of useful services resulting in better utilization of resources and greater likelihood that the participant successfully reintegrate into his or her community. The partnerships that were developed and nurtured through the reentry court program provided the participant with a powerful group of supporters to assist him or her with the varied aspects of life in the community.

The monthly reentry court hearings allowed team members to track all relevant aspects of participants' plans. Certain services are consistent across all reentry court participants' individualized plans. These include a focus on sobriety, which is assessed via random urinalysis testing. In addition, many participants accessed mental health therapy and counseling services, vocational training and job placement assistance, housing assistance, education and training, and family counseling.

2. Evaluation of the District of Oregon Reentry Court

The District of Oregon Reentry Court initiated a comprehensive evaluation of its program and services during the early planning phase of program development activities. The program evaluation was designed to provide both quantitative and qualitative information on the effectiveness of the District of Oregon Reentry Court program from two perspectives: the participant's success in the community and the protection of public safety in the community. Researchers from higher education and the court conducted this program evaluation.

The program evaluation was informed by results of reviews and studies of other drug court and reentry programs. The literature indicates that (1) data collection and program evaluation efforts that match the treatment services and outcomes improve the quality of evaluation results; and (2) program evaluation and other outcome studies that utilize a longitudinal perspective increase the validity of evaluation results.

a. Overview of the Evaluation

All people in the study were under supervision in the District of Oregon. There were 28 people in a comparison group (comprised of individuals under traditional supervision outside the reentry court context), 25 people in the current reentry court group, 31 people in the graduated reentry court group, and 30 people in the terminated reentry court group. A total of 114 people was included in the study.

Probation Officers from Portland and Eugene selected the comparison group participants, as well as identified the current, graduated and terminated reentry court participants. The comparison group compared similarly with the current reentry court, the graduated reentry court, and the terminated reentry court on demographic variables.

The people in the sample were predominantly white males (71.9%), average age of 38 years old, single, convicted on a variety of felony charge(s) including Felon in Possession of a Firearm (16.7%), Drug Crime (27.2%), Bank Robbery (10.5%), Identity Theft (9.6%), Property Crime (3.5%), Violent Crime (0.9%), and a category labeled Other (31.6%). Most had served time in prison (84.5%), and were actively being supervised post-release (55.8%). About a quarter of the sample (24.6%) had a GED as the highest educational level achieved, 22.8% completed some high school, 20.2% received a high school diploma, 14.9% of the participants completed some college, and 3.5% of the sample graduated from college. Summaries of demographics are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Federal Reentry Court Study Demographics

Variable	Comparison n = 28	Current n = 25	Graduators n = 31	Terminators n = 30	Totals N = 114
Sex					
Male	21.1%	10.5%	19.3%	21.1%	71.9%
Female	3.5%	11.4%	7.9%	5.3%	28.1%
Mean Age at Start of Study	33.0 years	35.8 years	38.9 years	40.1 years	
Time in Prison	55.4 months	39.6 months	50.5 months	39.0 months	
Race					
Caucasian	20.4%	19.5%	22.1%	19.5%	81.4%
African American	4.4%	0%	3.5%	4.4%	12.4%
Asian	0%	0.9%	0%	0%	0.9%
American Indian/Alaskan Native	0%	0%	0%	0.9%	0.9%
Other	0%	1.8%	0.9%	0.9%	3.5%
Crime of Conviction					
Felon Possession Firearm					
Drug	26.0%	2.6%	3.5%	7.9%	16.7%
Violence	10.5%	7.0%	6.1%	3.5%	27.2%
Property	0.9%	0%	0%	0%	0.9%
Identity Theft/Fraud	0%	1.8%	1.8%	0%	3.5%
Bank Robbery	0.9%	3.5%	1.8%	3.5%	9.6%
	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%	10.5%
	7.0%	4.4%	11.4%	8.8%	31.6%
Sentence Imposed					
Prison	19.1%	18.2%	22.7%	24.5%	84.5%
TSR	4.5%	0%	0%	0%	4.5%
Probation	0.9%	4.5%	5.5%	0%	10.9%
Employment Status					
Yes	22.5%	14.4%	17.1%	8.1%	62.2%
No	1.8%	6.3%	6.3%	11.7%	26.1%
Marital Status					
Single	10.5%	12.3%	8.8%	10.5%	42.1%
Married	3.5%	4.4%	5.3%	4.4%	17.5%
Divorced	7.9%	3.5%	9.6%	6.1%	27.2%
Separated	1.8%	0.9%	0.9%	2.6%	6.1%
Widow(er)	0%	0.9%	0%	0%	0.9%
Highest Grade Completed					
Some High School					
High School Diploma	5.3%	4.4%	7.0%	6.1%	22.8%
GED	7.9%	5.3%	3.5%	3.5%	20.2%
Some College	1.8%	4.4%	6.1%	12.3%	24.6%
College Graduate	5.3%	3.5%	4.4%	1.8%	14.9%
	9.9%	0.9%	1.8%	0%	3.5%
	2.6%	3.5%	2.6%	1.8%	10.5%
	0.9%	0%	1.8%	0.9%	3.5%

Note: Totals not equal to 100% are due to missing data.

b. Research Design and Data Collection

Data were collected using the Reentry Court Data Collection Instrument, which was developed for this project. The Evaluation team worked with Eugene and Portland Parole and Probation staff to develop a suitable data collection form that was based on the information contained in the participants' court files. Early editions of the instrument were piloted for reliability and validity, and the final data collection tool was established to reflect the eight different domains of information contained in the court files: Demographics, Sentencing, Supervision, Family, Education, Presentence Information, Criminal Convictions, and Chronological List (Reentry Court Activities).

The frequencies of demographic, sentencing, supervision, family, education, presentence information, criminal convictions and reentry court activities were calculated using SPSS (16.0), the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. Differences between the Comparison, Current Reentry Court Participants, Reentry Court Graduates and Reentry Court Terminators were calculated on four outcome variables: (1) Total sanctions; (2) Number of urinalyses; (3) Number of positive urinalyses; and (4) The total number of support services used. Main Effects were examined using one-way ANOVA, and post hoc analyses were performed with a Tukey test. Differences in employment status between Comparison, Current Reentry Court Participants, Reentry Court Graduates and Reentry Court Terminators were calculated with chi-square analyses. The alpha level was .05.

Significant differences were found among the Comparison, Current Reentry Court Participants, Reentry Court Graduates and Reentry Court Terminators on three outcome variables: total sanctions, number of urinalyses, and the number of support services used. The Comparison group had the lowest average of total sanctions (.25) compared with the other groups. Current Reentry Court participants experienced an average of .92 sanctions, Graduates had 1.6 sanctions, and Terminators had the highest number of sanctions 2.9, $F(3, 110) = 14.1; p < .01$.

There were also statistically significant differences found among groups on the total number of urinalyses. The Comparison group had the fewest number of urinalyses, with an average of 6.9. Current Reentry Court participants had an average of 21.7 urinalyses. The Graduated group had the highest number of urinalyses with 22.1, and the Terminators had an average of 18.6 urinalyses, $F(3, 99) = 4.8; p < .05$.

The groups differed on the number of support services utilized. The

Comparison group participated in support services at the lowest level, compared with the other three groups. Participants in the Comparison group used an average of 1.1 services, compared with 2.0 for the Current Reentry Court group, 2.0 for the Graduate group, and 1.9 for the Terminated group, $F(3, 110) = 4.5; p < .01$.

No significant differences were found between the groups on the average number of positive urinalyses. Summaries of these results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Comparisons of Averages Among Groups

Group	Total Sanctions	Number of Urinalyses	Number of Positive Urinalyses	Number of Services Used
Comparison	.25	6.9	1.0	1.1
Current Reentry Court	.92	21.7	2.4	2.0
Graduators	1.6	22.1	3.7	2.0
Terminators	2.9	18.6	3.1	1.9
Between Group ANOVA	$F(3,110) = 14.1; p < .01$	$F(3,99) = 4.8; p < .05$	Ns	$F(3,110) = 4.5; p < .01$

Significant differences in employment status (yes/no) were found. For example, people in the Comparison group, the Current Reentry Court participants, and the Graduators were more likely to be employed compared to the Terminators, $\chi^2 (3, N = 114) = 24.35, p < .01$.

Summaries of the significant results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Comparison of Employment Status Between Groups

Employment	Comparison	Current	Graduators	Terminators	Totals
No	2.7%	7.2%	9.0%	18.9%	37.8%
Yes	22.5%	14.4%	17.1%	8.1%	62.2%
	25.2%	21.6%	26.1%	27.0%	100%

Note: Nonparametric differences were tested using Pearson chi-square: $\chi^2(3, N=114) = 24.35, p < .01$.

3. Interpretation of Program Evaluation Results

The program evaluation of the initial development of the District of Oregon Reentry Court Program provides important information for understanding the complexity of fundamentally restructuring the process of community reentry for federal inmates. It is imperative to note that this program evaluation takes place at the beginning of substantive reform of probation efforts in the District of Oregon. As is the case with any reform effort, the District of Oregon’s policies, procedures, practices and service delivery strategies are constantly refined. This program evaluation will prove valuable only to the extent that it is utilized to reinforce practices that are successful or promising, and in revising, reforming, and adapting to the changes that occur in the face of actual program implementation.

The current program evaluation has several limitations that restrict interpretation and generalizability of findings. These limitations relate to the initial design of the project, the simplicity of the outcome measures utilized in the evaluation, the relatively small size of the sample, the limited duration of program efforts, the characteristics and demographics of the sample population, the constant changes in treatment procedures, the limitations in the availability of community services, and the constant improvement of skill of the professionals implementing the reentry court program.

Based on the quantitative analysis of the data from this project, it appears that the comparison group outperformed the treatment groups on multiple, important dimensions. For example, the comparison group underwent less monitoring and supervision and had fewer drug and mental health services and yet had more employment and fewer sanctions. Taking these results at face value, one could conclude that everything the research literature has indicated is needed for

successful reentry to the community is less effective than simply letting dangerous criminals out of prison and hope that they reform themselves, stay clean and sober, and refrain from criminal association and activities. In addition, it implies that convicted felons, many of whom have significant histories of violent crimes, drug addiction, and limited education and vocational background, are more able to obtain and maintain employment without the support of the court and probation professionals. The empirical literature finds the opposite to be true. The high rates of revocation in Oregon and across the United States would suggest that this is not an accurate view of a complex situation.

This artifact of the study design and the selection and use of a comparison group that is not monitored and supervised with the same level of vigor and scrutiny is clearly problematic. We do not know whether the result of the evaluation is due to sampling error or some other flaw in the selection and measurement of this group. It is crucial to understand what is actually happening to the vast majority of inmates who leave prison and are not provided the intense supervision, case management, and accountability requirement that is provided to the reentry court participants. In fact, we know very little about individuals who are under conventional (non-reentry court) supervision. We know that they do not differ significantly from the individuals who participate in reentry court based on their criminal histories and other relevant demographic characteristics. The fact that they had less contact with the court, the judge and probation officers, had less scrutiny of their actions, and less opportunity to be accountable points out the flaws in the initial design of the study. These individuals are not being monitored as frequently or as intensively as the treatment group participants.

This lack of information about the comparison group is contrasted with the detailed and immediate information available regarding the reentry court participants. These individuals volunteer to participate in activities mandated by the court. In the current project, each participant has an individually designed supervision and treatment program that includes a balance of case management, service delivery, accountability, and frequent contact with the court and other reentry court participants. This rich array of services and human contact with positive role models and treatment professionals provides immediate feedback on the activities and daily patterns of participants. The court is able to effectively supervise these convicted felons and quickly sanction them for misdeeds, as well as provide needed treatment and support to allow them to overcome the physical, emotional, social, and economic challenges they experience in their daily lives.

It is this immediate feedback, utilizing the balanced approach of case management and accountability that so clearly differentiates the treatment group

from the comparison group. This highly efficient means of balancing the need of society to be protected from returning federal inmates through effective monitoring and swift sanctions, coupled with the judicious implementation of empirically based treatment services tailored specifically to each reentry court participant holds the best promise for significant improvement in the provision of supervision procedures for returning federal inmates.

C. Recommendations based on Practice: Data Collection and Program Evaluation

Based on the foregoing, the evaluators propose a number of recommendations to reentry court practitioners for data collection and program evaluation:

(1) Improve outcome measurement systems to more fully match the treatments, services, and support strategies that occur in reentry court programs.

(2) Develop qualitative methods to interview family members, employers, co-workers, reentry court personnel, and significant others in the participants' lives.

(3) Design a program evaluation that has equivalent quantitative and qualitative measures collected and analyzed for both the reentry court participants and a matched comparison group selected from the traditional probation system.

(4) Develop a common set of outcome measures, program procedures, guidelines, rules, and criteria for successful graduation for reentry court programs.

(5) Develop a longitudinal, multistate evaluation project to provide a representative picture of reentry court program outcomes throughout the United States.

(6) Develop strategies for replication, training and technical assistance to promote the growth of the reentry court program model nationwide.

Part III: Replication Strategies

A. Strategies for Systematic Replication of the District of Oregon Reentry Court Model

The Oregon District Court Reentry Court program was developed to plan and facilitate the successful transition of federal inmates from the prison setting to safe and healthy lifestyles in the community. The program was planned to correspond with evidence based treatment and accountability standards. Every aspect of the program planning, development, and implementation represented a commitment to a multidisciplinary approach to public safety, as well as meaningful collaboration among prison officials, the court, human service agencies, private employers, family members, and the community. In addition, the program was designed and implemented with the goal of providing quality services through professional standards and expectations, and rigorous quality control criteria.

The purpose of the systematic replication of the District of Oregon Reentry Court model is to assist federal district courts and the communities they serve in adopting the philosophies, policies, and program strategies of a reentry court program. The Oregon District Reentry Court systematic replication program is designed to provide a starting point for determining whether a reentry court program is a good match for a court organization and community. The systematic replication process will guide the court through preparation and planning for implementing the model and evaluating outcomes.

B. Steps in the Systematic Replication Program

Replication of the District of Oregon Reentry Court program involves the following steps: (1) adoption of the reentry court philosophy within the Federal District Court and U.S. Probation Offices; (2) convening a summit on reentry court solutions; (3) organizing working groups to create a reentry court work plan; (4) implementing the reentry court program; and (5) evaluating the effectiveness of the program.

The Systematic Replication process will address each of these steps based primarily on the experience of the District of Oregon Reentry Court, which has operated for the past three years. During this time, the reentry court has worked with a large group of stakeholders to plan, implement, and evaluate the program. Reentry court personnel and participants have experienced both success and

failure. In addition, the insights and observations of the researchers, participants, and consultants involved in the initial development and evaluation of the reentry court program have informed this process. For a detailed description of the empirical basis for the Oregon District program model see Close, Aubin, and Alltucker (2008).

1. Step 1: Adopt the Reentry Court Program Philosophy

Courts that have already implemented a court-involved case management program, such as a mental health or family court, will be able to plan and implement a reentry court with little difficulty. In such cases, the basic structure of the court, including the multidisciplinary team approach, a human services provider network, integration of social and correction services, policies and procedures, is already in place and will simply need to be modified to fit the drug treatment and accountability features of the reentry court.

Courts that have not attempted such approaches will find the reentry court approach to be more challenging. There are numerous legal, statutory, and regulatory issues to be addressed. For example, the key members of the court, including the judge, probation office, prosecuting attorney, and defense attorney will need to develop a nonadversarial approach to reentry court procedures prior to formal adoption of the program.

In addition, policies and procedures related to urinalysis monitoring, sanctions, rewards, graduation criteria, etc., must be negotiated to ensure that all statutory and other requirements are addressed prior to formal planning and adoption of reentry court programs. Furthermore, if courts have not been actively involved in the community human services provider network, the task of connecting with these agencies is often overwhelming and confusing. Finally, if the balanced approach to law enforcement and case management is not fully discussed and appreciated, the reentry court may fail to attract the level of support from either returning inmates or the community human services system. For example, the reentry court will need to focus on the participant's quality of life and the protection of public safety to be successful.

Members of the District of Oregon Reentry Court team have identified several organizational features that are critical for adoption of a reentry court model. The first feature is quality leadership on the part of the judge and the probation officer. The judge must be equipped to accept the challenges inherent in "doing things in a different manner." In addition, the judge needs to commit

to participation in frequent status hearings, especially for the high-risk program participant. Furthermore, the judge must be skilled in interacting with various members of the reentry court team, the wider network of community service providers, employers, and educators, and must have the skill and experience to effectively provide positive feedback to participants and to sanction their behavior when needed. This broad range of skills and experience allows the judge to address, in practical terms, the participants' progress, and to encourage accountability by issuing sanctions and rewards. The integration of these skills is critical for the successful functioning of the reentry court.

Likewise, the probation office must embrace a balanced approach of law enforcement and case management. The probation officer will take on a proactive supervision role, including field monitoring and random, frequent urinalyses. The ability to propose the progressive utilization of graduated sanctions tailored to each individual's needs and the nature of the violation requires skill and experience. Furthermore, performing the role of problem-solver and mentor for the participants is crucial to teach the positive skills and attitudes needed for successful reentry.

The adoption of a reentry court philosophy can present a number of challenges to the court. Without quality leadership and a commitment to serve the returning inmates and protect public safety, the challenges of the reentry court could consume the court and destabilize the organization. The leaders of the reentry court must be willing to change and commit to guiding the reentry court through a sustained period of growth, uncertainty, and development. Previous experience on the part of the judge and probation officer with a program similar to a reentry court, possibly in state court, would be helpful to leaders, but not a requirement.

Another critical organizational feature for successful reentry court programs is the leaders' willingness and ability to work with the local network of service providers. The reentry court is highly dependent on the availability and quality of a broad range of community services to be successful. The organization must be willing to do whatever is needed to build strong relationships with the range of both public and private agencies and private businesses. For example, each returning participant will need to have a full range of resources, including housing and employment typically provided by private businesses. In addition, government or private non-profit agencies often provide drug and mental health treatment, education, and urinalysis services. Building relationships with a wide range of agencies and businesses may require a change in the court's public

role and relationship with community partners. The reentry court organization must embrace the fact that it is a partner in a larger community system and that partnerships require negotiation, cooperation, and trust among various agencies.

A second critical organizational feature is the willingness and ability of reentry court officials to work for change within the court bureaucracy. Reentry court programs are new. In many cases, the existing court bureaucracy will not have administrative systems in place to implement the types of services, sanctions, rewards, and celebrations that comprise a successful reentry court. In some cases, the court may strongly support the reentry court on a philosophical level but will maintain barriers to its success. For example, the ability to provide tangible rewards for successful completion of reentry court requirements is a key component of the program. Frequently, there is no administrative mechanism to provide the resources to purchase such rewards. These barriers need to be addressed so that the full complement of reentry court services can be implemented within the context of conventional court administrative systems.

Each of the above challenges and organizational features must be addressed prior to the formal decision to begin planning a reentry court program. The next step in the replication process is convening a “Summit on Reentry Solutions.”

2. Step 2: Convene a Summit on Reentry Solutions

The goal of this conference is to identify key strategies, develop work groups, and create partnerships and programs that will enhance the effectiveness of the reentry court’s services and programs. If possible, the Summit should be convened in collaboration with the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Our experience is that the joint sponsorship of the Summit with the Federal Bureau of Prisons at FCI Sheridan, in Sheridan, Oregon, greatly enhanced the credibility and importance of the Summit.

a. Who should attend the Summit?

One of the key goals of the Summit is to build relationships among the various stakeholders involved in the reentry process, and to develop new relationships with community service agencies and private businesses that have historically not participated in the reentry process. A suggested list of potential participants would include:

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- FCI Warden and key prison program directors
 - Representatives of the Federal District Court
 - U.S. Office of Probation
 - U.S. Attorney's Office
 - Federal Public Defender's Office
 - The Governor
 - Representatives of the State Departments of Corrections, Human Services, Education and Higher Education
 - United States Senators
 - United States Representatives
 - Representatives from drug and mental health treatment providers
 - Representatives from children and family support agencies
 - Representatives from state and private higher education institutions
 - Representatives from state and local housing agencies
 - Representatives from private business

b. Proposed Agenda for the Summit

The agenda for the Summit must focus on the issues of drug abuse, recidivism, and community supervision, and on the potential opportunities provided by planning and developing a reentry court program. In addition, the Summit should feature a range of presenters from public safety and human service professionals, former inmates who successfully completed supervision and are living healthy and crime-free lives, and training and technical assistance consultants who have experience in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of reentry court programs. A list of proposed agenda items follows:

Statement of the Problem

- The high incidence of inmates with drug crimes incarcerated by the Bureau of Prisons
- The challenges of community supervision for inmates who have been convicted of drug crimes

Getting Started

- An ecological approach to treating the returning inmate within family,

community, and employment contexts

- Encouraging collaboration among key stakeholders
- Transition planning with the Bureau of Prisons

Planning for a Reentry Court Program

- Developing the Reentry Court Program Plan
- Building relationships with state and local service agencies and private businesses
- Creating planning groups to accomplish goals of the Plan
- Developing the legal and procedural basis for reentry court sanctions and rewards

Implementing the Reentry Court Program

- Recruitment strategies in the Federal Bureau of Prisons
- The Individual Reentry Court Plan
- The first days of life in the community
- Developing the network of services
- Strategies for working with children and families of returning inmates
- Strategies for job development and placement for reentry court participants
- Implementation of supervision strategies
- Coordination and continuity of services and supports
- Tailoring sanctions and rewards on an individual basis

Conducting the Reentry Court Hearings Process: A nonadversarial approach to conducting reentry court hearings

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- The role of the reentry court judge
 - The role of the reentry court probation officer
 - The role of the other members of the reentry court team
 - The role of reentry court participants in the hearings process
 - The role of reentry court graduates in the hearings process
 - Sanctions, rewards, graduation, and post-supervision relationships

Evaluating the effectiveness of the Reentry Court Program

- Data collection systems for maximum accountability
- Evaluation of the effectiveness of the network of community services
- Reentry court participant role in the evaluation process
- Cost-benefit analysis of the reentry court program
- Do reentry courts really work?

The outcome of a successful Summit is a commitment to create the planning groups to begin the process of implementing a reentry court program.

3. Step 3: Create a Planning and Community Development Group to Develop a Reentry Court Work Plan

Following the completion of the Summit, a commitment must arise to create work groups and networks to develop a Reentry Court Program work plan. Development of a reentry court program is a complex process that requires a minimum of three months planning and development to program implementation. The planning effort must focus on the following key areas:

- Creation of a Reentry Court Leadership and Planning Group
- Creation of a Community Development Group

a. Leadership and Planning Group

Courts considering a reentry court program will need to create a leadership and planning group consisting of staff within the court and key representatives of the human service network who can facilitate the development of the many relationships, strategies, and procedures needed to implement the program. The Leadership and Planning Group should include individuals who represent key areas of the court operation and community such as:

- District Court Judge
- Director of the Probation Office
- U.S. Attorney
- Public Defender
- Administrative Officer
- Representative of Drug or Mental Health Treatment agency
- Local Business Representative

The Leadership and Planning Group should be led by the person in the organization who has knowledge of court procedures, the reentry court philosophy, and authority to make decisions. The development of detailed work plans is best accomplished by scheduling regular, structured meetings, with clear timelines and outcomes. The Leadership and Planning Group's main tasks are to assist in:

- Developing relationships with officials in the Federal Bureau of Prisons
- Building credibility among potential participants while they are incarcerated
- Developing program implementation guidelines
- Developing internal administrative procedures and legal agreements
- Developing data collection and progress measurement procedures to assure accountability of program outcomes from the start of the program

b. Community Development Group

It is critically important to build relationships in the community from the start of program planning and development activities. The early development of positive relationships allows the reentry court program to establish credibility within a group of individuals representing a range of public and private partners. A key goal of a Community Development Group is to encourage service providers and businesses support and endorse the program, and to agree to participate in the long-term implementation of the program. Because many agencies and businesses

have not actively participated in reentry court programs, there may be a tendency on the part of many individuals to view returning inmates with skepticism and apprehension.

The Community Development Group can be the court's "eyes, ears, and voice" in the community. In addition, by creating a Community Development Group at the start of the planning process, misunderstandings and other miscommunication among community members can be avoided. Furthermore, the Community Development Group is able to assure the participants that they will have access to the range of services and support they need when they return to the community. Ongoing public education and networking with public and private partners will facilitate the acceptance and understanding of the reentry program in the community.

To achieve these goals, it is important to include the following members in the Community Development Group:

- drug treatment providers
- mental health treatment providers
- local housing officials or landlords
- local employment agency officials or business owners
- local elected officials
- representatives of local communities of faith
- community college officials
- representative of marketing or public relations agency

The main tasks associated with the Community Development Group are to:

- Assist in developing a network of community-based human service providers
- Assist in developing a network of potential employers
- Assist in the development of housing options
- Assist in developing educational and technical training options
- Assist in educating the community on the value of the reentry court program

4. Step 4: Implement the Reentry Court Program

Implementation of a successful reentry program is predicated on the availability of accessible, coordinated, and effective treatment and support services in the community. Treatment services should be equipped to address the connection between pre-release assessment and treatment and post-release services and treatment. Other support services typically include agencies that address housing, work force development, substance abuse treatment, mental health services, children and family supports, educational opportunities, and health care.

Several steps fall within the task of implementation. They include:

- Creation of an Individualized Reentry and Supervision Plan for each participant, which specifies all of the services to be delivered and the accountability procedures to be followed
- Development of a service network
- Service coordination to maximize the effectiveness of services and supports
- Development of an ongoing system of monitoring program outcomes

a. Individualized Reentry and Supervision Plan

The Individualized Reentry and Supervision Plan is a document that specifies the services, supports, accountability measures, and other information needed to guide the treatment and supervision strategies for the participant. The plan is developed by both prison counselors who have managed the transition planning for the inmate and the probation officer who will supervise the individual upon release. The plan is based on the individual's strengths, capabilities, cultural background, and criminal history. The initial version of the plan specifies the following:

- Where and with whom the individual will live
- Significant others in the person's life, including family members, prosocial friends and associates
- Location and nature of employment or vocational training
- Frequency of random urinalysis testing
- Frequency of meeting with probation officer
- Location, type, and frequency of drug and/or mental health treatment
- Location and nature of education or schooling
- Frequency of status hearings and interaction with the reentry court judge

The plan is periodically adjusted based on the successes and challenges the participant experiences in the community. These adjustments occur in the course

of interactions with reentry court team members, the participant, and community service providers.

b. Development of a Service and Support Network

The reentry court program must provide a full range of services, supports, and opportunities for participants immediately upon release from prison. This range of services includes human service and educational agencies, such as drug and mental health treatment, post-secondary and technical education, urinalysis services, children and family counseling, and support from businesses such as affordable housing, and employment. The initial step in this process is to clearly define all of the services potentially required by reentry court participants. It is important to meet with the providers and businesses early in the process to gauge their interest, concerns, and capacity to provide services to reentry court participants.

Of critical importance is the degree to which the agency or business will collaborate with the reentry court team. Whenever possible, it is desirable to identify more than one provider for each of the key services. A range of providers and businesses enhances the long-term quality of the program. In addition, a broad range of agencies and businesses increases the choices available to participants.

With the assistance of the Community Development Group, the following tasks can be accomplished:

- A listing of services and supports provided in the community
- Identification of the current providers and businesses interested in participating in the program
- A brief description of how the services and supports are organized and managed
- A brief assessment of the quality and motivation of each service provider or business

Once the reentry court has settled on a range of agencies and businesses to provide services and supports, it is important to develop formal relationships with each of them.

The development of a service and support network is often a major challenge for a court organization that has not been actively involved in service delivery, or that has not historically viewed service delivery as a primary goal

or mission. The challenge for the reentry court program is to have both formal contracts and informal relationships in place at the inception of the program. It is important to note that the reentry court does not provide the vast majority of the services; rather, it will organize, coordinate, and evaluate the services provided by local community service agencies or businesses. Each human service agency and business should be apprised of the unique nature of the reentry court program and the special characteristics of its participants.

When the program is implemented, many of the service providers and businesses might have little knowledge or experience with inmates returning from federal prisons. Their motivations for participating in the program will vary. In some cases, their involvement may be a result of relationships with members of the Community Development Group. In other cases, the motivation may be strictly financial. It is crucial that strong communication between the reentry court and the providers be developed and maintained to ensure high quality services for the program participants.

As the program develops and matures, some services might not be sufficiently effective or reliable to be maintained in the program. By maintaining a strong relationship with the Community Development Group, good working relationships with a range of providers, and strong relationships with the participants, relationships with service providers of high quality can be achieved.

Some of the factors involved in selecting service providers and businesses include:

- Geographical dispersal, which is crucial in rural areas
- Whether the agency or business has a good reputation among service providers and other businesses
- Whether the agency or business has the present capacity to serve participants adequately
- Whether the agency or business is willing to coordinate its services and supports with the program
- Whether the agency or business is locally controlled or requires approval for changes or adjustment to its services from outside the community
- Whether the agency or business is user-friendly to participants with criminal backgrounds

c. Service Coordination

Service coordination involves assisting the participants in the reentry court program to access services and supports. For example, if the participant was scheduled to attend weekly drug treatment meetings, the focus of service coordination would include both whether the participant was attending the session and the general level of satisfaction with the service. In such cases, the reentry court probation officer would communicate with the treatment provider to assess the participant's engagement in the service and possibly whether the goals and objectives of the treatment are appropriate.

The reentry court coordinates but does not directly deliver treatment and other ancillary services to the participant. This independence from the service delivery system allows the court to remain free from conflicts of interest to maintain the integrity of its mentorship role for the participant. For example, the probation officer advocates for the participant is by bringing various actors in the participant's life together to problem-solve and assist the participant to achieve his or her goals. This facilitative role may include advocating with an employer on behalf of the participant or writing a letter of support for the participant to enter community college or a vocational training program. The key point is that the service coordination function allows the reentry court team to assist the participant by integrating services and supports so that the resources are matched to individual needs.

The Community Development Group assists the reentry court probation officer in the service coordination function. The combination of the two functions allows the reentry court program to access services and supports and to ensure that all activities are working to meet the participant's needs. Furthermore, the service coordination function includes the responsibility to monitor the quality of service and support provided to the participant.

5. Step 5: Evaluate the Effectiveness of the Program

Evaluating the effectiveness of the reentry court program requires collecting data to measure the extent to which program goals and objectives are achieved. Outcome and impact assessments typically require both qualitative and quantitative measurements, which assist the program in determining whether the objectives were achieved. Outcome and impact assessments also assist in explaining the "big picture" of program effectiveness. In the case of the reentry court program, the questions are:

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- Does the program effectively assist participants in living healthy and productive lives while staying drug and crime free?
 - Does the program protect public safety?

Both of these questions address the complex task of facilitating the reentry of inmates from prison settings into the community.

At the individual level, reentry challenges present a complex mixture of factors such as criminal background, motivation to change, substance abuse and addiction, family functioning, work performance, educational background, friendship patterns, health status, etc. While supervision strategies, use of random urinalysis, supported employment and other interventions have been clearly demonstrated in the empirical literature, it is difficult to prove that any one of these interventions is responsible for the overall success of a single individual in a reentry court program. Other factors, such as level of intelligence, drug choice, marital and family harmony, and many other factors may explain the success or failure of inmates released from prison. In light of the limitations of the empirical literature to date, a comprehensive approach to effectiveness evaluation requires that multiple sources of data be collected at multiple time periods on participants by a diverse group of individuals. In addition, a meaningful program evaluation requires that individual participants play a pivotal role in the evaluation of the effectiveness of the program.

At the community level, reentry has an equally complex relationship with the family, neighbors, friends, co-workers, and community members who may come into contact with the returning inmate. An evaluation at the community level will need to take those views into consideration, and the impact of the participant on their lives. Furthermore, overall crime rates, rates of substance abuse and addiction, and estimates of the cost-effectiveness of reentry court activities are also a focus of program evaluation efforts. Finally, the impact of the program on the functioning of the probation office and court must be a major consideration in determining the effectiveness of reentry court programs.

In sum, a potential strategy to evaluate a reentry court program would:

- Assess program effects on the individual participant
- Assess program effects on the family, community, and society
- Assess program effects on the criminal justice system
- Assess program effects from both a qualitative and quantitative perspective

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- Assess program effects from the moment of release from prison to the successful completion of supervision
 - Assess program effects for at least 5 years following successful completion of supervision

Incorporating the program evaluation at the program planning stage is essential to ensure that evaluation and data collection activities produce functional, useful results. The activities involved in planning a treatment or intervention are the same as planning an evaluation strategy.

C. Training and Technical Assistance to Support Systematic Replication Activities

The District of Oregon Reentry Court has assembled a team of trainers, consultants, and consumers who have the expertise to provide training and technical assistance to federal district courts that plan to replicate the District of Oregon Reentry Court model. In light of the complexity of reentry court programs, the provision of training and technical assistance to courts dramatically increases the probability of successful outcomes.

The following training and technical assistance services are currently available:

- Invitations to key stakeholders to observe proceedings at the District of Oregon Reentry Court, or coordination with others who have observed the proceedings;
- Assistance in facilitating the discussions needed to adopt the reentry court philosophy and values;
- Assistance in planning the Summit on Reentry Solutions, including identification of key persons to invite and presentation of multiple topics during the conference;
- Assistance in facilitating meetings of the Leadership and Planning and Community Development Groups, including assistance initiating planning with the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the development of administrative procedures within the court, writing the formal agreements both within the court and in the network of service providers, and with public education activities;
- Training and technical assistance for key members of the reentry court

team, including the judge, probation officer, assistant U.S. attorney, and assistant public defender;

- Assistance in developing reentry court policies and procedures, including the Reentry Court Plan, data collection and program monitoring systems, court reporting, and retaining progress notes;
- Training and technical assistance of key human service agency and private business personnel; and
- Training and technical assistance in developing program evaluation and monitoring processes.

Afterword: The Reentry Court and Social Responsibility

The level of satisfaction among successful reentry court participants is the best indicator of the model's effectiveness and the likelihood that its participants will continue to desist from crime (see Appendix 3, Statement of Reentry Court Participant). As this study indicates, our best research points to the need for individualized assistance in promoting accountability and reducing barriers to successful reentry.

Society's responsibility to those whom it incarcerates is unavoidable. It is also timeless. In closing, the authors repeat Winston Churchill's call to his fellow citizens to acknowledge the debt that former prisoners duly paid by facilitating their earnest attempts to enter communities once again:

The mood and temper of the public in regard to the treatment of crime and criminals is one of the most unfailing tests of the civilization of any country. A calm and dispassionate recognition of the rights of the accused against the State, and even of convicted criminals against the State, a constant heart searching by all charged with the duty of punishment, a desire and eagerness to rehabilitate in the world of industry all those who have paid their dues in the hard coinage of punishment, tireless efforts towards the discovery of curative and regenerating processes, and an unfaltering faith that there is a treasure, if you can only find it, in the heart of every man--these are the symbols which in the treatment of crime and criminals mark and measure the stored-up strength of a nation, and are the sign and proof of the living virtue in it.

-Home Secretary Winston Churchill to the House of Commons, 1910
(cited in Maruna, 2003).

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Appendix 1:

Case Example from the Summit on Criminal Justice Solutions

The following case example is derived from comments made by a member of the Consumer Panel during the 2004 Summit on Criminal Justice Solutions at FCI Sheridan in Sheridan, Oregon.

My name is Angel and I'm an alcoholic. I was born in 1926 and raised in New York. I wasn't exactly born to be a drunk and a criminal, but I did start pretty early.

My dad died when I was nine years old. My mom remarried and it wasn't a really good situation for a kid. When I was nine I started to cook and tend bar. I started drinking when I was 10. I was a grown person at the age of 10. I was a professional criminal before I was old enough to go to high school. I was a drunk, a crook, a thief.

I liked my life. I just couldn't figure out how to use my schooling, training and experience for something good. I knew I was smart. I was just obsessed with doing criminal things. In a way, it was easier than doing it the legal or right way. I was just a crazy kid, living on my wits and staying drunk a lot of the time.

I kept up my criminal life through my teens. I robbed, stole from everyone who didn't lock their things up. One day when I was 17 years old I robbed a store and was busted. I went to court and the judge gave me a break. He told me I was a smart kid and that the service would certainly straighten me out.

Before I knew it I was in the Navy. I couldn't believe how lucky I was. Here were all of these guys from everywhere. There were laborers, cooks, bed makers, I was smarter than all of them. I got a lucky job, I couldn't believe it. I got hired as a cook. I learned to bake, make up the menus, run the kitchen. I was pretty impressive, they promoted me to head Chef. Most importantly I got the keys to all of the pantries and the liquor cabinet. Just like at home, I was selling booze out of the liquor cabinet. I got all of the booze I needed. I was a real popular guy.

By the time I got out of the Navy, I was married, had three kids, real successful kids. But, once I got to Portland, my criminal

mind took over. I looked at everyone and said, "I can beat you." I sold drugs, took drugs, got drunk a lot, I just returned to the lifestyle I knew best. I never thought I was a failure, I just wanted to do whatever was in my face. When I would score a bunch of drugs, I felt like a success. Most of the time that meant stealing, selling drugs, living the criminal lifestyle.

In 1982 I got busted and got 15 years in the federal system. I knew the federal system from being in the military. I also knew I was in for a long time. The Federal Prison in Lompoc isn't a bad place. I could either do the time or continue to waste my life or start my life over and do something positive. Everyone told me how smart I was. I wasn't really very smart. In fact, I might have had intelligence, but I wasn't very smart. Look at me. I'm in prison, I'm wasting my life away with a bunch of other losers.

In federal prison I decided to take them up on drug treatment. I got involved in one of the first Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) programs in the federal system. That was 1984.

In 1991, I was transferred to Sheridan. I was already a changed man. I wanted to continue my path of sobriety. In Sheridan they had a really good drug treatment program. I got 500 hours of drug treatment. I got to go to camp. This was a marvelous experience. I went to meetings. We all talked about how important it is to stay sober. We talked about the meaning in life. Those hours in the meetings gave me the strength and confidence to stay clean, sober and stay that way once I got out.

On July 14, 1994 I got out. I told everyone who would listen that I was "staying out." My mind was changed. I was convinced I had the stuff to be successful. My criminal mind didn't work anymore. I wanted to do something useful. I didn't know what to do once I got out, but I knew it had to be to give back. I thought about talking to youth offenders and telling them my story. Mostly I wanted to do something that would change the way people acted and at the same time help me to stay out of prison.

My luck in life continued when I met Will Blasher. Will is one of those one in a million guys who really give a damn about people. Will would say to me, "you're doing good. You're still egotistical." Will also would give me ideas of the kinds of things to do to make a difference. He would say, "Do some service work. Go talk to the

people in correctional facilities. You have a good story. You have been through what they are going through. Go talk to the young people and tell them what life is like on the inside. Go talk to the kids in the AA meetings. Tell them you are clean and sober.”

I’ve got to say that Will Blasher was a big part of my life after prison. He believed in me and told me this all of the time. I can still hear him say, “You’re doing a good job. Keep up the good work. You’re still egotistical. But you’re staying clean and sober and making a difference.”

One day I screwed up and had to spend eight days in jail. Will was not going to let me get away with screwing up. You know, going to jail for those eight days was a marvelous experience. It was a great experience. The guys running the jail didn’t want me there. I knew I didn’t belong there. I didn’t want to be there. It was good to see that I was really changed and other people knew it.

Now I’m pretty old. My life has just begun. I do a lot of volunteer work all over the community. I volunteer at the Lane County Fair Board, I work with people with Alzheimer’s, I’m an event planner for the March of Dimes.

There are a lot of guys out there who need a little help both in prison and when they got out. I’ve been lucky. It didn’t come a minute too soon.

**Appendix 2: The Reentry Court Contract and
Supporting Documents**

PACTS # _____

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF OREGON
CONTRACT FOR PARTICIPATION IN DRUG COURT**

Name: _____ Today's Date: _____

Offense of Conviction: _____ Date of Conviction: _____

Sentence Expiration Date: _____

Sentence/Special Conditions: _____

INTRODUCTION

You have been invited to participate in the Drug Court Program of the District of Oregon. Participation is entirely voluntary, and there will be no negative consequence if you do not wish to participate. If you successfully complete the Drug Court Program, your term of supervision will be shortened by one year.

THE DRUG COURT PROGRAM BASICS

The Drug Court Program will last *at least* one year. Participants in the Drug Court Program will be under the supervision of a Drug Court Probation Officer (PO), rather than a traditional probation officer. Participants agree to abstain from alcohol and drug use, to participate in a drug and alcohol evaluation, and to engage in any and all treatment recommended. Participants also agree to submit to drug testing as directed by the PO or treatment provider. In addition to the requirements of actively engaging in treatment, you will also be required to comply with the general conditions of supervision.

You will be assigned an attorney from the Federal Public Defenders Office (AFPD) who is assigned to the Drug Court Program. In the Drug Court Program, the Federal Public Defenders Office will be permitted to have access to the treatment provider and treatment records. An Assistant United States Attorney (AUSA) will also be assigned to the Program. Both the AFPD and the AUSA will work with the PO in order to provide additional support and encouragement for your sobriety and success in the Program.

LENGTH OF DRUG COURT PROGRAM

The program will last *at least* one year. Participants who struggle in treatment, but remain dedicated to recovery, may be given extensions in the Program to complete their term of treatment and may still be rewarded with the one-year reduction in supervision.

COURT APPEARANCES

At least once per month, at a time to be determined, you will be required to appear before the Drug Court Judge to evaluate your progress. Every effort will be made to ensure the time of the appearance does not conflict with your employment or treatment programming. The PO, AFPD, and AUSA will be present. Progress reports from your

-
-
- corrections center, such as the Oregon Halfway House;
 - Participant is ordered to spend up to 7 days in jail;
 - Participant is terminated from the Program with or without filing of a formal violation.

If appropriate, sanctions may be ordered more than once during the course of the Program.

If you admit to the violation, you may be able to complete the sanction and remain in the program. When expedited action is appropriate and the parties agree, a sanction or adjustment in treatment can be imposed through a modification and without an appearance before the Court. The PO's report at the next Drug Court appearance will inform the Drug Court Judge whether you properly completed the sanction ordered at the last appearance. Failure to complete ordered sanctions may result in added sanctions, or termination from the Program.

If you wish to contest the sanction allegation, you may do so. The only permissible contested sanction hearing in Drug Court, however, is a claim of actual innocence of the alleged violation. If you wish to have a contested hearing, the AFPD will assist you in contesting the allegations. The Drug Court Judge will ultimately decide whether the allegation is true. It is important to note the PO need not wait until your scheduled Drug Court appearance to address problems in supervision. If you fail to abide by the directions of the PO, the PO will contact you to address the problem. Minor violations may be dealt with by either the PO, or by a team including the PO, the AFPD and the AUSA. If you commit a major violation, a warrant will immediately be issued for your arrest.

TERMINATION FROM THE DRUG COURT PROGRAM

You may be terminated from the Program if you fail to participate in treatment and supervision – including repeated technical violations of general conditions of supervision, failure to make your Drug Court appearances, or a new law violation. If you are terminated from the Drug Court Program, you will return to regular supervision status, and may face a violation hearing.

If the Probation Office chooses to pursue a formal violation charge, it will be the policy of the Probation Office not to allege as a formal violation conduct that occurred during the Drug Court Program and that was previously addressed. After the Participant is outside of the Drug Court Program context, however, the Court presiding over the violation hearing will be advised of all conduct that has taken place during the period of supervision, including successes, failures, and sanctions which occurred during the Drug Court Program.

You may also voluntarily discontinue the program and return to traditional supervision status. If the Program is discontinued voluntarily, you will not face an allegation of violation unless it is determined that serious violations of supervision have occurred.

GRADUATION & ONE YEAR REDUCTION IN SUPERVISION TERM

Upon successful completion of the Drug Court Program, your total term of supervision will be reduced by one year. After completing the Drug Court Program, most Participants have an additional amount of time to spend on traditional supervision. If this is true of you, you will be required to continue to comply with any and all conditions of supervision. If you violate the terms of your supervision, you will be subject to revocation, but any term of supervision imposed following the term of incarceration will be reduced by one year.

AGREEMENT

Participant:

I, _____, have read, or someone has read to me, this Agreement and I understand the basic workings of the Drug Court Program. I voluntarily agree to participate in the Drug Court Program. I understand I can revoke my voluntary participation at any time and return to traditional supervision.

Signature Signature Date

Judge:

I, _____, the Judge in the District of Oregon's Drug Court Program, accept the above named Participant into the Drug Court Program.

Signature Signature Date

Representative of the United States Attorney

The Assistant United States Attorney representing the government in the District of Oregon's Drug Court Program, accepts the above named Participant into the Drug Court Program.

Signature Signature Date

Representative of the Federal Public Defender

The Assistant Federal Public Defender representing the Participant in the District of Oregon's Drug Court Program, accepts the above named Participant into the Drug Court Program.

Signature Signature Date

Representative of the United States Probation Office

The Probation Officer assigned to District of Oregon's Drug Court Program, accepts the above named person into the Drug Court Program.

Signature Signature Date

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
DISTRICT OF OREGON—PROBATION OFFICE**

Eric P. Suing
Chief U.S. Probation Officer
Headquarters
340 U.S. Courthouse
1000 SW Third Ave.
Portland, OR 97204
503/326-8600
Fax: 503/326-8700

DRUG COURT RECOMMENDATION

NAME _____

DOB _____

CONVICTION _____

SENTENCE _____

SPECIAL CONDITIONS _____

SENTENCING JUDGE _____

PROB/TSR COMMENCES _____

PROB/TSR ENDS _____

SUBSTANCE USE HISTORY _____

CRIMINAL HISTORY _____

SUPERVISION HISTORY/ _____

A COPY OF THE PRESENTENCE REPORT WILL BE PROVIDED UPON REQUEST.

DRUG COURT COMMENCES UPON APPROVAL OF THE SENTENCING JUDGE

**U.S. DISTRICT COURT, DISTRICT OF OREGON—PROBATION OFFICE
FEDERAL COURT FOR THE
DISTRICT OF OREGON**

DRUG COURT PROGRESS REPORT

PARTICIPANT

Address:

DATES:

Court:

DOB/Age:

Program Entry:

. . . If Halfway House:

Date Entered:

Date Leaving:

Expected Program Completion:

Date of Conviction:

Released from Custody:

Offense of Conviction:

Prob/SR Commenced:

Sentence:

Prob/SR Expiration:

Comments:

LAST APPEARANCE

Date:

Achievements:

Sanctions:

Sanctions Completed? Yes No

Prior Drug Court Action:

Comments:

CURRENT TREATMENT

Providers:

Counselors:

Treatment Schedule:

Attendance: No Misses Excused Absences Unexcused Absences

Treatment: Dual Diagnosis Medication

Report from Provider: Attached Not Attached

Comments:

DRUG TESTING

Results: No Positives Non-Disclosed Positives Positives Disclosed Before Test

Substance(s):

Comments:

COMPLIANCE WITH OTHER CONDITIONS OF SUPERVISION

Fee Assessment

Restitution

Fine

Total Due:

Monthly Payment:

Comments:

MAKING STRIDES

Stable Housing? Yes No

Employed? Yes * No Employer:

Seeking Work or in School? Yes No Position:

Making Good Overall Choices? Yes No Wage:

Comments:

DRUG COURT TEAM PARTICIPANTS

Judge

USPO

AUSA

AFPD

PREPARED BY:

USPO

Date:

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF OREGON**

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

v.

**DRUG COURT STATUS REPORT—
VIOLATION**

,

Defendant.

You have been found in violation. Accordingly, the Drug Court Team imposes the following sanction(s):

- Judicial reprimand in open court today.
- Attend all Drug Court proceedings (every second and fourth Thursday of each month).
- Return to the U.S. Courthouse on _____
- _____
- Provide a written _____-page explanation for noncompliant behavior, as directed.
- Complete _____ hours of community service as directed.
- Comply with the following curfew restrictions or home confinement:

- Defendant shall reside and satisfactorily participate in a community corrections center to include a prerelease component, if deemed appropriate by the Community Corrections Manager and the U.S. Probation Officer for up to 120 days or until discharged by the Community Corrections Manager and the U.S. Probation Officer.

- Complete _____ days at _____
- Serve _____ days jail, to be released/reviewed on _____
- Other (*See Attached.*)
- Termination from the Drug Court Program
- Changes in current treatment: _____
- _____

All previously-imposed terms and conditions of your probation or supervised release remain in effect, unless expressly noted otherwise.

Your next Drug Court review date is on _____ at 1:30 p.m. at the U.S. Courthouse, 406 East Eighth Avenue, Eugene, Oregon. **Failure to appear at this review, or any other review date, may result in a warrant or other sanction(s).**

Dated this ____ day of _____, 2008.

U.S. District Court Judge

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE DISTRICT OF OREGON

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA) **CR**
) **ORDER TERMINATING**
) **PARTICIPANT FROM**
,) **DRUG COURT**
) **Defendant.**)

On , the defendant was accepted as a participant in the Drug Court Program. Based on the decision of the Drug Court Team, the defendant is terminated from the Drug Court Program.

IT IS ORDERED that the defendant is terminated from the Drug Court Program. The Court further orders this case transferred to The Honorable for further court action.

DATED this ____ day of , 2006.

The Honorable
U.S. District Judge

Appendix 3: Words from a Reentry Court Participant

I was told to write a paper on what I wanted to be when I grow up. At the time all I could think was, I don't even know what the hell grow up means. Growing up seems synonymous with stagnation and boredom. Being common, and then dying. Sounds shitty to me. Of course I know I'm going to die, whether I'm common or not. I just thought that, having no set rules or ties, meant I would have an extraordinary life before my death. Now I evaluate my life and it is very disappointing to me. It is not extraordinary at all. It's shameful actually. My past haunts me. I can't go a full day without thinking of some offense in my past. I decided to give some of it to God. I went to church and sat in the back row. I just listened. The preacher was in the middle of a sermon about the resurrection. He said something that seemed so profound to me. He said, "Hope is making the decision to go on each day, to let the past be the past and not look back." Faith is believing in the end we "receive that which gives us hope." The preacher was talking about resurrection, but I was hearing something else. I was hearing my own explanation of what it means to grow up.

When I was a child I wanted more than anything to grow up. I didn't care for school. I didn't want to be a fireman or a veterinarian. I wanted to be Huckleberry Finn. He had adventures. He didn't follow rules. I took to running the streets and committing petty crimes, some not so petty and did bad things. I didn't get satisfaction from these things. On the contrary, I would feel bad. Sometimes I would mention this to my friends and they would say, "you think too much" or "you're just trippin'." So I pushed myself to care little and think less, but I continued to have an ache inside into my twenties. I tried to destroy it. Be harder. Be tougher. Care less. I couldn't and could not explain why. The ache was turning into more than I could bear, and I was destroying myself.

I found myself turning thirty in a Louisiana jail, awaiting transfer to a federal prison. I wasn't a kid anymore. My life of adventure turned into a life of destruction and aversion to anything good. I felt I might never have the chance to accomplish anything of value. I wondered about values. Did I even have any? I started to see myself differently.

I realized I didn't have anything or anyone. More than anything, I wished at least one person could say I was a good guy. I honestly knew, though, that nobody would. I've never been honest. I've never been dependable. I've never really loved anyone and didn't know if anyone ever loved me. I started feeling nostalgic for things I feared I may never have. I began to reevaluate myself. I started to look at men that used to seem common and simple differently. Honest men. Dependable men. Men you could count on always. I saw strength.

When I was a teenager, Beat Generation authors like Kerouac and Burroughs made me realize I could be a criminal and still be intelligent. I could live on the social margin and still be great. Now I'm realizing I can be honest, solid, and caring, and still be strong. I'm thirty-four years old. I want to be a university graduate. I want to be a writer. I want to be a paramedic. More than anything, I don't want to be the person I was for so long. I don't have a great plan and my goals change frequently. When I heard that preacher talking about hope and faith, I realized I'm growing in a new direction. The ache inside of me is subsiding, too. It's the small things that I concentrate on. Just getting up and pushing on. Let the past be the past and have faith in the end and I'll achieve what I hope for.