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A Note from the Editor and CEA

John Dowdell

As you may know, the Correctional Education Board (CEA) Board and the CEA membership approved the transition of the **Journal of Correctional Education** from a quarterly publication to tri-annual publication schedule at the July 2011 annual meeting. The **Journal** will be published in April, August and December beginning with this issue.

The reason for the publication change is two-fold. Moving to three issues per year will enable CEA to reduce publication expenses in a challenging economic environment. Further, the move will also enable the **Journal** to elevate the quality standard of manuscripts being published. We are thankful for the continued support of authors and membership in the transition.

United States Department of Education Update

John Linton

In early April of this year, I had an opportunity within one week to spend time first with a group of State directors of correctional education and then with State directors of adult education. The State directors of correctional education met together in a pre-meeting at the CEA Leadership Forum in Maryland. The adult education State directors were in the District of Columbia for an annual meeting hosted by the Department of Education for administrators of the Workforce Investment Act Title II programs.

I was heartened by words of a number of the correctional education State directors on the status of their programs. A theme seemed to emerge that program reductions may to some degree have “bottomed out.” While not all States were in attendance and those that were did not constitute a random sample of States, it was still encouraging to hear less talk of reductions and more indications that at least in some States, some lost ground may have been regained in terms of instructional resources. The meeting was better attended than in some recent years, and I sensed a bit more optimism.

I was proud to hear our Assistant Secretary for Vocational and Adult Education at the U.S. Department of Education, Dr. Brenda Dann-Messier, address the CEA Leadership Forum attendees. She offered an encouraging and affirming message. This is the second time in three years that she has addressed a national CEA meeting. She has been consistent and sincere in her message of interest and support, sharing with the correctional educators how her own professional work in a community based organization prior to joining the Department of Education gave her a personal connection with the work of correctional educators. I also had the opportunity to hear Dr. Dann-Messier speak with adult education directors that same week, and she shared also with those leaders how important she feels that it is to serve the ex-offender population.

At the adult education directors meeting, Dr. Dann-Messier hosted a panel of federal officials illustrating inter agency work on issues that involve adult education programs. Amy Solomon represented the Department of Justice, one

of four federal agencies in addition to Education on the panel. Ms. Solomon coordinates the workgroup for the federal Reentry Council. Dr. Dann-Messier, Ms. Solomon and the Department of Labor representative spoke of joint efforts with the reentry population and urged the State adult education directors to be engaged with the reentry agenda in their home states.

An important message that came through in these presentations is that the federal agencies are not coming together to assist the Department of Justice with a justice issue -- rather the agencies are working together to address such agency specific objectives as serving the chronically unemployed, meeting national educational goals, attacking homelessness and strengthening families and are doing so by focusing on the process of reentry to communities from correctional settings.

My colleague Zina Watkins, Michelle Tolbert of MPR Associates and I had an opportunity to engage participants at both the CEA Leadership Forum and at the adult education directors' meeting in a workshop session on a "Reentry Education Model" project. This model is intended to guide and organize efforts to provide education and related services over the period of incarceration and reentry. Both the CEA and adult education conference session attendees provided us with a general affirmation of the conceptual model proposed, while also making helpful suggestions about content for a narrative resource that will accompany the final diagram model. We are very eager to broadly disseminating this resource and expect to be able to do so later this year.

While this model was in the development process, ED hosted a cross disciplinary panel to react to preliminary diagram drafts and to help us shape a final model. Particularly enlightening were discussions about the distinction between and potential integration of correctional and educational assessments, especially at intake into corrections. We also concluded that a different developmental process is required for shaping correctional treatment plans and personal education plans. The educational plan development must be more participatory and must be "owned" to a greater degree by the individual.

A formerly incarcerated individual on the expert panel gave strong input on the need to incorporate "stopping off" points in the model. He used his own personal story to illustrate that there is rarely a linear path and that education connections occur at different stages in an individual's journey. So an effective model must accommodate various "on ramps" to learning opportunities. The expert panel also advised that intermediate outcomes including engagement, persistence, educational gain, and attainment of educational credentials should be the measured outcomes in an education reentry model – not long term

criminal justice outcomes such as arrest, conviction or return to incarceration.

One aspect of the model that seems particularly important is providing a unified context for educational services post release and during an institutional stay. Correctional educators can too easily be isolated within institutionally based programs and are challenged to assist learners link with community based services in order to realize a learning continuum – inside and outside. But we are learning how important this is for correctional students. It is indeed fortunate that we have a leader in the Department of Education in the person of Brenda Dann-Messier who recognizes both correctional educators and adult educators in community settings as part of a single system. She is conveying a consistent message to the educational community in institutions and in community based programs that they need to work together in the interest of their students who move through their respective settings.

Rehabilitation Through the Arts: Impact on Participants' Engagement in Educational Programs

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Abstract

Educational achievement has been shown to be negatively correlated with recidivism among those released from prison (Nuttall, Hollmen, and Staley, 2003). The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of a prison art rehabilitation program, Rehabilitation Through the Arts (RTA), on inmate participation in voluntary educational programs. RTA participants were compared to a sample of incarcerated men matched on age, ethnicity, crime, date of entry into prison, time served, and earliest release date. Data analyses revealed that (1) there was a trend towards more RTA participants completing educational degrees beyond the GED while in the custody of the Department of Correctional Services (DOCS) than those in the comparison group, $2(2) = 5.465, p = .065$; (2) RTA participants spent about the same proportion of time engaged in GED programs as the comparisons, but less time after joining RTA, $F(1,56) = 4.110, p = .047$; and (3) RTA participants who entered DOCS with a high school diploma spent proportionally more time engaged in college programs, but only after joining RTA, than the comparisons, $F(1,32) = 5.457, p = .026$. Arts programs may motivate those with long sentences to pursue educational degrees.

Testimonial and case evidence support the claim that participation in prison art rehabilitation programs is therapeutically, socially, and educationally valuable (Tocci, 2007). Scholars and practitioners argue that sustained participation in artistic activities changes participants in important ways. Although writers fall short of claiming that inmates who participate are less likely to recidivate, claims such as the following are typical: "This study provides promising preliminary evidence that powerful developmental changes can evolve when

inmates are motivated to participate in the experiential process of educational drama" (Cogan and Paulson, 1998). The literature in this area suggests that changes are more than superficial and could have lasting impact, but the programs have not been subjected to the rigors of systematic evaluation that would demonstrate their direct effects.

The purely descriptive reports published in peer-reviewed journals do not test claims about a program's value. For example, one case study of long-term inmates enrolled in a dance workshop at an English maximum security prison, relied on observations and informal interviews (Houston, 2009). Based on her impressions, the author argued that physical contact in the context of dance offers participants an understanding of how touch can be a positive force in the lives of those incarcerated.

Most published studies that move beyond the impressionistic are limited by small samples, short-term exposure to the arts, self-report measurement bias, or lack of a comparison group. For example, an assessment of a California music program used in-depth interviews with six ex-offenders who had been students in the program (Brewster, 2010). Participants reported that the program taught them a work ethic, improved their self-confidence, altered how they experienced "doing time," created friendships across racial lines, helped them reconnect to their families, and encouraged them to give back to their communities. All six men had successfully completed parole and were living productive lives.

In another study, six elderly participants in an arts program at a medium security prison in the Philippines were asked to draw doodles that best represented themselves before and after incarceration (de Guzman, 2010). The participants were then interviewed about the meaning of the drawings. The drawings and responses were interpreted as showing that participation in the art program facilitated increases in self-esteem.

Even studies that use larger samples and more sophisticated designs and statistical analyses are limited in their interpretive power by exposure time and/or subjective or indirect outcome measures. In a study evaluating a program designed to reduce HIV risk, 146 males from two juvenile justice facilities were enrolled in a theatrical performance program (Lauby, LaPollo, Herbst, Painter, Batson, Pierre, and Milnamow, 2010). Program participants demonstrated greater knowledge of HIV, improved attitudes toward testing, and more favorable attitude toward persons with AIDS than adolescents in a comparison sample from the same facilities, but the arts intervention lasted only three sessions and the follow up was only at six months.

Other studies have limited explanatory power due to a lack of a comparison group. For example, Blacker, Watson, and Beech (2008) assessed a Cell Block Theatre Program for 62 prisoners using an anger expression inventory. The authors report significant reductions in anger and self-reported violence from pre- to post-tests after drama therapy, but there is no evidence from this study that a sample from the general population of prisoners would not have shown a similar reduction over that time period. Similarly, comparison groups were not employed in the Brewster (2010) and de Guzman (2010) studies discussed above.

Some programs with a longer intervention period are evaluated with measures that are open to charges of bias. Cohen (2009) compared 10 prison inmates who sang in a choir inside the prison, 13 prison inmates who sang with volunteers outside the facility, 10 inmates who were not in a choir, and 25 volunteer singers from the community. Well-being measurements were taken before and after performances. Results indicated that although there were no significant differences between groups in composite well-being scores, a content analysis of participants' weekly written responses indicated that performing choral singing, particularly outside of the correctional facility, raised inmates' perceived well-being. The possibility of self-report bias in this study compromises the persuasiveness of the researcher's conclusions that arts rehabilitation programs are effective rehabilitation tools.

Some researchers acknowledge the potential bias problem in their own studies. The authors of an unpublished evaluation of a drama workshop program called *Blagg* question the reliability of their finding that the program increases young people's awareness of victims' perspectives. Because participation in the program was often required by court order, the responses to pre- and post-workshop measurements could have been influenced by the participants' awareness that what they say might influence the outcome of the order (Centre for Applied Theatre Research, 2003).

Even when the measurements are more impartial, the skeptical researcher, prison administrator, or politician could claim that most evidence for the efficacy of prison arts programs is weak because there is no way to determine that it is the specific enrichment program that actually creates positive change in the participants. It is just as likely, they could argue, that a special kind of inmate --- one predisposed to succeed in prison and post-release --- elects to participate in these kinds of voluntary programs. Because of difficulties establishing random assignment of groups in a prison setting, it has been a challenge to design studies to show a causal connection between inmate

participation in arts programs and measures of rehabilitation. The goal of the study reported here was to avoid these problems in our evaluation of a program, *Rehabilitation through the Arts (RTA)*. We employed a comparison group and a matching procedure designed to overcome self-selection bias. Furthermore, we used an objective outcome measure and participants were exposed to the program for a minimum of two years. Finally, all program participation was voluntary.

The fact that most offenders come into the correctional system undereducated is relevant not only to their having committed the original crime, but to the problem of educating them in prison and the probability of recidivism. Upon entry to prison only 53.9% of New York State offenders have a high school diploma (or higher) and 33% test below an 8th grade reading level (State of New York, Department of Corrections, 2008). Since 1994, all New York State prisoners under the age of 21 are mandated to be enrolled in an academic education program until they attain a General Education Diploma (GED). Despite the fact that GED education is mandated in some states, not all prisoners are prepared to be educated. In one study 348 randomly selected prisoners completed a questionnaire about their needs and interests pertaining to rehabilitation programs (Erez, 1987). The majority indicated that in order for an education program to be successful, they would need to feel like active participants rather than spectators. Eighty-seven percent reported that they were interested in programs that would subsequently help them adapt to the community post-release, but this high percentage was not reflected in the level of participation in voluntary prison rehabilitation programs.

New York State Department of Corrections examined the records of 14,681 New York State prisoners for their program participation (academic education, vocational training, substance abuse treatment, aggression replacement training, and sex offender counseling) between 2004 through 2006 (New York State Department of Corrections, 2007). Although almost three quarters of the prison population was determined to be in need of more than one program, only 67.9% completed the substance abuse program, 60.8% completed the aggression program, 28.1% completed vocational training, and 21% completed academic education. The authors of the report conclude that prisoners fail to take advantage of available programs for which they are eligible because of lack of motivation.

If success in prison academic programs depends on sustaining prisoners' motivation, then it may be strategic to entice them with programs that are less threatening than traditional educational ones that may engender negative

feelings because of prior negative experiences. Arts-based programs could serve that function. The present study examines the impact of *RTA* on inmates' engagement in voluntary educational programs.

RTA was founded in 1996 at Sing Sing Correctional Facility in New York State and is now operating at four additional New York State correctional facilities: Fishkill, Woodbourne, Green Haven, and Bedford Hills (Prison Communities International, n.d.). In addition to developing inmates' reading, writing, and leadership skills, *RTA* claims that participants benefit by being part of a social network. In an environment where prisoners have to learn to work with one another, developing non-violent coping mechanisms, as well as trust and respect for fellow *RTA* members, is a critical survival skill. Through small everyday accomplishments and the success of a large production, *RTA* members have anecdotally reported an increase in their self-esteem and self-confidence. They have also said that opportunities to describe their experiences and express their emotions, through written and oral communication and performances in front of others, helps them learn to understand other people's perspectives --- healthy preparation for their release. These are the kinds of benefits described in theoretical writings about the arts as a rehabilitative force (Gordon, 1981).

Since its inception, over 200 inmates have participated in the *RTA*'s Sing Sing program and currently more than 40 participants are involved in production including: acting, stage and lighting crew, set design, playwrights, and costume design. Some *RTA* performances are original plays written by the participants; others are adaptations of well-known plays including, *West Side Story*, *Macbeth*, *Oedipus Rex*, *The N___ Trial*, *A Few Good Men*, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, *Jitney*, *SLAM*, *12 Angry Men*, *Of Mice and Men*, and *Superior Donuts*. The program is staffed by volunteers and is estimated to cost less than \$1000 per participant per year (personal communication, *RTA* Executive Director, July 2011).

How *RTA*'s Sing Sing program operates and what it has accomplished has been described in the popular media (Fenton, 2010) and in scholarly theater publications (Renner, 2007; Moller, 2003). An earlier study formally assessed the social and psychological effects of *RTA* (Moller, 2011). In 2001, thirty-five *RTA* participants were compared to 30 men from the general prison population. With the cooperation of New York State Department of Corrections, the comparison sample was matched to the *RTA* sample on race, age, education, crime, and length of sentence. A series of standardized psychological tests were administered before and after the production to assess interpersonal

abilities such as trust and empathy, coping methods, self-worth and emotional levels. In addition, positive behavior was assessed, using as a measure the number of disciplinary infractions.

Moller's peer-reviewed study was more experimentally rigorous than some in this field of scholarship. It had an appropriate comparison sample, assessed more than a handful of participants in a program whose members had been participants for a long period. On the other hand, some of its measures (self-reports) are vulnerable to bias, given that the participants had an investment in seeing the program as having made a difference in their lives. Given the importance of education as a predictor of low recidivism (Nuttall et al. (2003), the *RTA* program's claim to being a "springboard to education," needed to be tested. This study examines the impact of *RTA* on educational engagement, measured as time spent enrolled in voluntary educational programs.

Method

Participants

An *RTA* database was formed by collecting names listed in the programs of all *RTA* productions held at Sing Sing Correctional Facility from 1996 through 2007. The participants were categorized into one of two groups: *central* or *peripheral*. The *central* members were defined as those who acted in at least two performances and participated in the program for two or more consecutive years. The *peripheral* members were those who participated in at least two productions, but did not meet the central criteria. Many peripherals were part of the stage crew. Based on this categorization, there were 59 central participants and 57 peripheral participants; 21 *RTA* participants who did not meet either criterion were eliminated from the study. A comparison group of 118 inmates was constructed by NYS DOCS using the procedure described below.

Procedure

The names of all 116 *RTA* participants were sent to the Research Division of the New York State Department of Correctional Services (NYS DOCS) with a request for the following data on each inmate: DOCS entry date, birth date, race, crime category, educational degree at entry into DOCS, first and second math and reading scores, and educational degrees earned in DOCS. The same data were provided for a comparison group, selected to match the *RTA* sample on age, ethnicity, type of crime, date of entry into NYS DOCS, time served, and earliest release date. Our first analysis compared the three groups on all the educational variables.

To examine whether participation in *RTA* was exerting an impact on inmates' engagement in educational programs we examined enrollment in various educational programs *over time*. We developed a matching procedure that enabled us to compare *RTA* participants with comparison group members over comparable time periods. Each of the 116 *RTA* participants was matched with a member of the comparison group on the basis of date of entry into the DOCS system (for the current offense). For each matched pair, we assigned the date the *RTA* participant joined *RTA* as the "*RTA* join date" to his counterpart in the comparison group. To improve the sensitivity of the remaining analyses, we eliminated the peripheral group and their matched comparisons. We also eliminated six members of the central group (and their matched comparisons) who we determined may have been improperly categorized as central members.

Using the *12 screen data* at NYS DOCS we recorded start and end dates for enrollment in the various types of educational programs. For each *RTA* participant we calculated the time spent in GED programs and post-GED (College) programs (including pre-college, college and graduate degree programs) before and after the *RTA* join date. Because of the wide range of lengths of incarceration, we then calculated the time spent in each type of program as a ratio of the total time available. For the time prior to the *RTA* join date, total time available was the amount of time between entry into the DOCS system and the *RTA* join date. For the period after the *RTA* join date, total time available was the time between the *RTA* join date and December 2008, the time at which we stopped collecting logged data. We used these proportions (time spent divided by time available) as our measure of time spent in each type of program. Our second analysis compares central *RTA* participants and comparison group members on time spent in GED programs before and after the *RTA* join date.

To analyze the time spent in post-GED programs (including pre-college, college, and graduate degree programs), we studied the 27 *RTA* participants and 21 members of the comparison group who entered DOCS with a GED or high school diploma (HSD). Because college programs have been available on a somewhat sparse basis across New York State correctional facilities, we asked NYS DOCS to provide logs of inmate movement to determine, for each inmate, whether a college program was available at his facility. We set criteria of one year of college availability during the pre-*RTA* period and one year of college availability during the post-*RTA* period for all men in the analysis. We identified 21 *RTA* participants but only five members of the comparison group who met these criteria. We asked DOCS to provide logged inmate movement data on 18

additional comparison men – those who had originally been matched to our peripheral group and had entered DOCS with a GED/HSD. We re-matched the *RTA* and comparison groups on the basis of DOCS entry date, but found that four of the comparison men did not meet the one-year criterion, and eliminated them and their matched counterparts in the *RTA* group. This left us with 17 *RTA* and 17 comparison group members, all of whom entered NYS DOCS with a GED/HSD, and all of whom had college programs available to them for one year before and one year after their *RTA* join date.

For all inmates we calculated time spent in college (including pre-college, college, and graduate degree programs) before and after the *RTA* join date. As in the previous analysis, we calculated the proportion of time spent enrolled as a function of time available for the pre-*RTA* measure. For the post-*RTA* measure, we made a slight adjustment in what we considered “time available” because of the limited availability of College programs throughout the DOCS system. Thus, for the post-*RTA* measure we calculated proportion of time as a ratio of the time enrolled in college programs divided by the period of time from *RTA* join date to the last day of enrollment for each inmate in any educational program. Our third analysis compares central *RTA* participants and comparison group members on time spent in post-GED programs before and after the *RTA* join date.

Results

Confirming the Matched Samples

We verified the match among the comparison group and the two *RTA* groups on the relevant variables. There were no differences in mean birth year, $F(2,231) = 1.623, p > .10$, year of entry into DOCS, $F(2,231) = 1.628, p > .10$, or time served (jail plus prison), $F(2,231) = 2.031, p > .10$. There was a significant difference among groups on the earliest release date, $F(2,231) = 11.953, p < .001$. A Tukey HSD comparison showed that the comparison group had a later release date than both the central ($p < .001$) and peripheral ($p = .001$) groups.

The majority of the participants in the three samples were African American, followed by Hispanic, Caucasian, and other. There were not enough Caucasians in the central group to permit a valid chi square analysis. The central, peripheral, and comparison groups each had only one member who committed what is categorized as a non-violent crime. The summary data for all of these measures appear in Table 1.

Educational Achievement

NYS DOCS provided data on the men’s educational profiles, including reading

($n=206$) and math ($n=191$) scores for most men and degree attainment upon entry into prison for all participants. Reading but not math scores were somewhat higher for central participants (see Table 2), but the differences were not significant, $F(2,203) = 2.429$, $p=.091$ for reading and $F(2,188) = 1.455$, $p>.10$ for math. The number and percent of *RTA* participants who entered with a high school diploma or GED by group appear in Table 3. Although central participants had a somewhat higher rate of degree attainment at entry, the difference was not significant, $\chi^2(2) = 3.874$, $p>.10$. There was also no difference in the number of inmates who earned any degree (GED or higher) while incarcerated, $\chi^2(2) = 2.052$, $p>.10$.

Beginning in 1994 all inmates without a high school diploma or GED were required to enroll in GED programs. Therefore, to examine *voluntary* participation in educational programs we compared the degree completion rates for the 109 participants who entered DOCS with either a high school diploma or GED. We found that 57.6% of those in the central group earned degrees beyond the GED while incarcerated, compared with 28.6% and 39.6% of those in the peripheral and comparison groups, respectively (see Table 4). This difference fell just short of significance, $\chi^2(2) = 5.465$, $p=.065$.

Engagement in GED Programs

Twenty-six of the 53 central *RTA* participants and 32 of the 53 members of the comparison group entered DOCS without a GED or HSD. We conducted a two-way ANOVA on proportion of time spent in GED programs. There was no main effect of time (pre- vs. post-*RTA* join date), $F(1,56) = 0.756$, $p=.388$, and no main effect of group, $F(1,56) = .001$, $p=.973$. There was a significant time x group interaction, $F(1,56) = 4.110$, $p=.047$, $\eta^2=.07$. The interaction revealed a large increase in proportion of time enrolled in GED programs from the pre- to the post-*RTA* period in the *comparison* group and virtually no change for the *RTA* group. Table 5 presents the mean number of days enrolled in GED programs before and after the *RTA* join date for *RTA* participants and comparisons.

To determine whether the decrease in time spent in GED programs observed in *RTA* participants was because they were diverted from their education pursuits due to their engagement in *RTA* or because they completed their degrees sooner, we created a sample of only those men who had no degree upon entry into DOCS (26 *RTA* Central plus 32 comparisons). We created new matched pairs based on DOCS entry date and *RTA* start date doing the best we could to replicate our earlier match. This produced a sample of 26 *RTA* participants and 26 comparisons. We then determined who obtained a GED

before vs. after their *RTA* start date and who did not earn a GED at all. Before the *RTA* start date, the two groups were virtually equal (see Table 6), suggesting a good match. In the post-*RTA* period, more *RTA* than comparison group participants earned GEDs. This suggests that the two groups' differential increase in proportion of time in GED programs is attributable to *RTA* participants having completed their degrees earlier rather than that they had been diverted from educational programs.

Post-GED Educational Engagement

To examine the impact of *RTA* participation on engagement in post-GED programs we studied the matched sample of 34 men (17 *RTA* and 17 comparison group participants) who entered DOCS with a GED. We conducted a two-way ANOVA on proportion of time spent in college programs, with pre- vs. post-*RTA* join date as the within subjects factor and *RTA* vs. comparison group as the between subjects factor. There was almost a three-fold increase in proportion of time spent in college programs for the *RTA* men after joining *RTA*. For the comparison group there was a slight decrease in proportion of time spent during the comparable period. There was a significant time x group interaction $F(1,32) = 5.457, p=.026, \eta^2=.15$; the main effect of time fell just short of significance $F(1,32) = 3.848, p=.059$, and there was no significant effect of group, $F(1,32) = 2.328, p = .137$. Table 7 presents the mean number of days enrolled in post-GED programs before and after the *RTA* join date for *RTA* participants and comparisons.

Discussion

We found, in the first analysis, a trend towards more men in the central *RTA* group completing educational degrees beyond the GED while incarcerated than those in the peripheral or comparison groups. Although the three groups did not differ in their reading and math competencies or level of education when they entered the prison system, or in their achievement in required degree-granting programs, there was a trend toward more central *RTA* participants completing earned degrees in voluntary educational programs for which they were eligible than their matched peers.

This finding is open to multiple interpretations. It could be that concentrated participation in *RTA* was a catalyst for voluntary participation, persistence, or success in non-mandated prison educational programs. One could reason that men in *RTA* developed confidence and skills as a consequence of participation and this motivated them to attempt other previously more

intimidating avenues of self-development. On the other hand, it could be that those men who chose to participate in *RTA* were, at the outset, more motivated and/or achievement-oriented inmates. Finally, the small difference in early release date may have motivated the men in the central group to engage in programs that would improve their chances of success after release.

The research design of the second and third analyses provides more insight into what underlies the correlational findings discussed above, and rules out some alternative explanations for why *RTA* participants have higher educational achievements in prison than their peers. The analysis of time spent in GED programs demonstrates that *RTA* participants and comparisons spent about the same proportion of time engaged in GED programs, but the former spent more time in GED programs before rather than after joining *RTA*. The decrease after joining *RTA* seen in the *RTA* participants appears to be attributable to degree achievement, not decreased motivation for engaging in educational programs or diversion from educational pursuits. The interpretation of these findings about GED completion is complicated by the fact that GED programs became mandatory throughout the system in 2004, but it also leaves open the possibility that the *RTA* participants were more motivated at the outset. Alternatively, small but non-significant differences in basic skills may have contributed to earlier GED completion among *RTA* participants.

Most important is our finding that, among those who entered NYS DOCS with a GED or HSD, *RTA* participants increased (both proportionally and in number of days) time enrolled in college programs after joining *RTA*, whereas their carefully matched counterparts exhibited no change over a comparable time period. Since these programs are voluntary, this is the best measure of *RTA*'s impact on inmates' *voluntary engagement* with educational programs. *RTA* participants and members of the comparison group spent proportionally comparable time enrolled in college programs prior to the *RTA* join date; after the *RTA* join date there was a large increase for *RTA* participants with virtually no change among comparison inmates over a comparable time period, suggesting that participation in *RTA* motivates inmates to engage in college programs. The use of our matching procedure enabled us to compare *RTA* participants to a comparison group over comparable time periods, and this cast considerable doubt that achievement gains associated with *RTA* are attributable solely to self-selection factors. Even so, randomized assignment of participants to treatment conditions is the *sin a qua non* for invoking causality, and therefore we cannot conclude, unconditionally, that *RTA* participation *caused* the increase in educational achievements. Nonetheless, we believe these data rule out a

familiar alternative explanation that *RTA* recruits exceptional participants or that changes in educational participation over time reflect changes in prison policy and program availability.

Our findings on the effects of participation in *RTA* are consistent with Buell's (2010) narrative account and Moller's (2011) research findings. Moller, too, compared *RTA* participants with matched comparisons and found considerably fewer disciplinary infractions and days in keeplock among *RTA* participants than the controls, despite the fact that *RTA* members scored higher on anger measures. Moller critiques her study's methodology as being limited by its short duration (measuring effects before and after a single production), the research having been conducted by the director of the theater project, and the sample including only those *RTA* participants who volunteered. We avoid those limitations and, more critically, were able to move beyond a strictly correlational to a quasi-experimental design to look at an important measure (time enrolled in educational programs) that is not subject to bias.

Given the demands of the *RTA* program that actors attend writing workshops and memorize scripts, and that all participants understand the narrative content and the emotional implications of the plot lines, it is not surprising that the most profound impact of *RTA* participation is on those with higher levels of educational achievement. An important question remains about the extent to which theater rehabilitation programs can engage inmates to increase their motivation for educational programs, regardless of where they are beginning. While our findings suggest that *RTA* should target those inmates who have already earned a GED or high school diploma, other theater arts programs with fewer literacy demands, might be developed to target inmates with lower educational attainment.

The implications of our findings are of considerable importance. New York State, not uniquely, is facing a "perfect storm:" (1) a growing number of inmates completing mandatory GED programs, (2) a continued reliance on incarceration as a response to law-breaking ---despite a prison population decline of 8% in the last three years (New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision, 2011), (3) a paucity of post-GED educational programs available in prisons, and (4) a state budget that is allocating fewer resources to the Department of Corrections. The need for constructive, low cost, activities for those with long sentences who have completed their GEDs is mounting. Although the vast majority of states provide some kind of postsecondary education, the predominant form is vocational not collegiate (Gorgol and Sponsler, 2011). And yet there is evidence that completion of a post-secondary

educational degree is highly correlated with decreased recidivism (Correctional Association of New York, 2009). RTA is a constructive, cost-effective activity that, as currently structured, has the greatest impact on inmates with the greatest literacy --- those who completed a GED. The program motivates them to take advantage of educational opportunities while they are incarcerated and hopefully to continue their education post-release. Data should be collected to assess the post-prison experience of this cohort.

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Table 1. Comparison of groups on matched variables

Measure	<i>RTA</i> Central (n=59)	<i>RTA</i> Peripheral (n=57)	Comparison (n=118)
Birth year			
Mean	1965.9	1968.3	1965.8
Standard deviation	6.92	8.08	10.04
Ethnicity [number (%)]			
African American	39 (66.1)	37 (64.9)	78 (66.1)
Hispanic	15 (25.4)	13 (22.8)	29 (24.6)
Caucasian	4 (6.8)	5 (8.8)	11 (9.3)
Other	1 (1.7)	2 (3.5)	0 (0)
Type of crime (#)			
Violent	58	56	117
Non-violent	1	1	1
Time served			
Mean # months	175.9	152.0	156.6
Standard deviation	74.00	75.00	65.78
Earliest release year*			
Mean	2011.8	2012.2	2014.7
Standard deviation	4.20	4.39	4.21
Year entered DOCS			
Mean	1993.1	1994.9	1994.6
Standard deviation	6.23	6.27	5.51

P<.001

Table 2. First Reading and Math Scores after Entry into DOCS

Group	Reading Score			Math Score		
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	D
Central	49	8.3	3.37	46	6.7	2.50
Peripheral	49	6.9	3.36	47	5.9	2.15
Comparison	108	7.5	3.23	98	6.3	2.37

Table 3. Number and Percent of Participants who Entered DOCS with a H.S. Diploma (HSD) or GED

Group	No degree		HSD/GED		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Central	26	44.1	33	55.9	59	100
Peripheral	29	50.9	28	49.1	57	100
Comparison	70	59.3	48	40.7	118	100

Table 4. Number and Percent of Participants who Earned a Degree beyond the GED Among those who Entered DOCS with a HSD/GED

Group	No degree		Beyond GED		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Central <i>RTA</i> group	14	42.4	19	57.6	33	100
Peripheral <i>RTA</i> group	20	71.4	8	28.6	28	100
Comparison group	29	60.4	19	39.6	48	100

Table 5. Mean Number of Days in GED Programs before and after RTA Join Date

Group	Pre-RTA		Post-RTA	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<i>RTA</i>	292.1	437.44	112.7	208.17
Comparison	133.0	258.13	282.0	560.31

Table 6. Number of Participants, from a Sample of 52, who Earned a GED in Prison Before and After the RTA Join Date

Group	Pre-RTA	Post-RTA	Total
<i>RTA</i> (n=26)	10	7	17
Comparison (n=26)	9	4	13

Table 7. Mean Number of Days in Post-GED Programs Before and After RTA Join Date

Group	Pre-RTA		Post-RTA	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<i>RTA</i>	320.4	430.17	567.0	646.96
Comparison	239.2	322.81	245.71	569.77

Biographical sketch

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The Missing Link: Service-Learning as an Essential Tool for Correctional Education

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ABSTRACT

This article reports the results of a Participatory Action Research (PAR) study conducted by a university faculty member and two incarcerated college graduates in Indiana. The research team designed and piloted a service-learning program specifically aimed at college-level inmates in a maximum security prison. This qualitative study used phenomenology to integrate prisoners' experience and reality toward the creation of a flexible model of service-learning that can be replicated in college programs in prisons throughout the state. The Participatory Action Research process revealed critical insights about postsecondary education in prison and points to service-learning as the missing link between academic knowledge and its application towards civic development, which is vital for a prisoner's success upon release.

Keywords: service-learning, Participatory Action Research (PAR), prisonization, phenomenology, civic engagement

In the fall of 2009, a university faculty member was conducting a year-long qualitative study of long-term inmates at Wabash Valley Correctional Facility (WVCF) in Carlisle, Indiana. As the research progressed a two-part theme began to emerge (unsolicited) from the long-term prisoners that were interviewed: 1) many inmates expressed a strong desire to become more civically engaged both within and outside of the prison community; and, 2) these same inmates

believe that the opportunity to serve others is *central* to their rehabilitation and preparation for reentry.

Based on this feedback and an extensive background in service-learning, the faculty member selected two prisoners from her long-term inmate study (both of whom earned college degrees while incarcerated) and embarked on a research collaboration with them. The stated goal of the research team was to design a service-learning model specifically for correctional education. This collaboration developed into a participatory action research study that culminated in the creation of the S.L.I.C.E. (Service-Learning in Correctional Education) program.

SLICE is a collaborative teaching and learning strategy designed to promote academic enhancement, civic engagement and personal growth (Pigg & Omstead, 2010).

Piloting the Course

The first SLICE course was piloted in the fall of 2010. The university faculty member served as the primary facilitator for the course and the two inmate-researchers acted as teaching assistants and mentors. After the semester ended, the research team concluded (through the PAR process) that SLICE reached its goal as a transformative experience for the 7 inmates participating in the pilot course. In order to know for certain, however, it was necessary to ask the college students who took the SLICE course.

The research team tested this hypothesis by reconvening the first SLICE cohort in March, 2011. Five of the students from the original class cohort were able to attend. The research team administered a questionnaire to the course participants and conducted a focus group with the 5 men to learn if they could discern or articulate any differences between their SLICE education and their college experience while incarcerated (see appendix for a copy of the questionnaire administered at the focus group session). The responses were revealing and point to the added value that service-learning could bring to higher education in prison. Inmate R.D. stated:

Based on my experience in the SLICE program, I believe that my self-confidence has improved because of the opportunity I was given to validate my own self-worth....My self-awareness and understanding of others have vastly improved due to the seriousness of the curriculum and how it parallels with my rehabilitation efforts (R.D., personal communication, March 2011).

Another SLICE participant stated:

College did not give me the desire or ability to do anything for or with others. College was just about me, what I could learn, and what I could gain for myself in life. Service-learning has taught me not only how to do service with others instead of just 'for' them, it has also shown me ways to do so even given my circumstances.... SLICE also did something that college didn't and probably couldn't. It gave me something to build self-confidence and leadership around (G. G., personal communication, March 2011).

It is worthwhile to note that among the SLICE participants (including 2 members of the research team) the average number of years they have spent in prison thus far is 14.75 years. These men have been part of the prison culture and community for many years, making their appraisal of the role of the SLICE program in prison post-secondary education worth examining further.

Method

Research Design

The researchers used a qualitative research design called *phenomenology* to implement this research project. Phenomenology attempts to objectively study concepts that are usually regarded as subjective in nature such as: judgments, emotions and perceptions. Phenomenology uses systematic reflection to describe and explain the lived experience and conscious awareness of those being studied (focusing on the participant's own interpretation of their reality). Phenomenology not only blends logically with a study on service-learning but it also incorporates the prisoners' experience and reality into the service-learning model--thus creating an educational tool that is both relevant and accessible for prisoners. Through reflection and collaborative discussions, the PAR has revealed issues of depth and consequence to prisoners that would not have been revealed without their participation in the phenomenological design. Through this in-depth qualitative process, themes such as humanity, civic engagement and the importance of meaningful service in the community have all been identified by the two *prisoner partners* as central to the SLICE model and programs. The model that has taken shape would not have developed without the equal commitment, intuitiveness, and participation of all three members of the research team.

The SLICE team spent weeks reviewing service-related articles as well as various research methods before choosing to focus the course content on the quality of the subject matter rather than the quantity. That aspect, in conjunction

with incorporating the participants' service experiences within the prison would enable the cohort to piece together reflections which would demonstrate their natural development without being onerous. The approach was designed to cultivate a relaxed environment which would motivate participants to exercise their critical thinking skills and ultimately increase the value of their service experiences by connecting the course material to their everyday lives.

The recruitment of subjects for the first cohort of the SLICE program was a purposeful, non-random sample of 8 long-term inmates. A conscious choice was made to select prisoners who were already performing some type of service within the prison. The rationale for this decision was that the researchers wanted the cohort for the pilot class to be men who would likely be serving in mentoring roles in the prison and would be inclined to disseminate their experiences to other inmates. All inmates in the first cohort were also either graduated college (while incarcerated) or were currently enrolled in college (six graduates and two currently enrolled). The researchers also wanted inmates in the first cohort to be able to offer thoughtful feedback and critical evaluation of the program for future cohorts. In addition, all inmates selected by the research team selected had to undergo approval from the administration at the prison. There were several inmates that the administration did not approve and thus they were not included in the first cohort. There were 8 inmates who started the first SLICE course. Two inmates did not complete the course (one decided to drop out after 2 weeks and the other inmate was transferred to a different prison). Six prisoners completed the entire 16-week course. The age and racial composition of the original cohort of eight inmates was as follows: two African-Americans and 6 Caucasians, and an age range of 31- 53 years old. The cohort of inmates had served an average of 14.5 years in prison at the time the course began and all were incarcerated for violent offenses.

Participatory Action Research (PAR)

Participatory Action research (PAR) is central to the SLICE project. Participatory Action Research is defined by Kemmis and McTaggart (1988) as "collective, self-reflective enquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own practices" (p.5). PAR consists of a repeating four-stage process that begins with reflection and then moves through planning, action, and then observation. The research collaboration itself was designed to replicate the structure of a course—with the 2 inmate partners from Wabash Valley Correctional Facility simultaneously taking on the roles of planner and future participants.

There have been a few studies conducted involving PAR in prison settings (Fine & Tore, 2006; Sullivan, Hassal, & Rowlands, 2008). However, a more in-depth examination of the prison-related PAR research reveals no published studies where prisoners used PAR to design an actual course. Thus while the PAR methodology is not new, its application in this manner does represent something new for each member of the research team and for prisons in general.

McTaggart (1997) outlines sixteen tenets of Participatory Action Research which mirror the steps the SLICE research team took to design the SLICE model. Several of these sixteen tenets were particularly critical in the research process and by highlighting a few of them the researchers will illustrate the complexity of their collaborative process.

Tenet #2 states, "participatory action research is contingent on authentic participation which involves a continuing spiral of planning, acting (implementing plans) observing (systematically), reflecting and then re-planning" (McTaggart, 1997, p. 79). The SLICE research team found this process to be invaluable to discovering key themes to be included in the SLICE course (including stigma, humanity, community, and service). In addition, it is critical to note the flexibility that the prison administration allowed us to meet, take our time, and really develop a solid model for implementation.

Another of Taggart's PAR principles is that "participatory action research is collaborative: those responsible for action are involved in improving it" (ibid). The prisoners on the research team found this a bit challenging at first--mostly because they were not accustomed to being treated as equals in an intellectual process and therefore, it took months for them to really perceive themselves as *full* partners. McTaggart's PAR tenet #4 states:

Participatory action research establishes self-critical communities of people participating and collaborating in the research processes of planning, acting, observing and reflecting. It aims to build communities of people committed to enlightening themselves about the relationship between circumstance, action, and consequence and to emancipating themselves from the institutional and personal constraints which limit their power to live by their legitimate, freely chosen social values (McTaggart, 1997).

Perhaps this PAR tenet, more than the rest, truly struck a chord with the 2 inmates on the research team. Through reading and reflecting on writings such as *Stigma*, by Goffman, *Changes in criminal thinking and identity in novice and experienced inmates: Prisonization revisited* by Walters, and *Context, creativity and*

critical reflection: Education in correctional institutions, by Behan, the team found its best inspiration for the design of the SLICE model. Most critical, it helped to flesh out for the research team the true niche that service-learning can fill in higher education. Behan's 2007 article, in particular his reference to the need for education to be a transformative experience (p.160) inspired the inmate researchers to critically reflect on their higher education experience while incarcerated. In spite of them both being very strong students academically, they believed that something was "missing" from their educational experience and realized that, for them, it was such transformative experiences mentioned by Behan. As the PAR cycle continued and the planning team moved forward, SLICE began to evolve into the bridge of transformation. For example, a critical reflection by Omstead (2011) notes:

The knowledge gained from post-secondary education in itself is not solely responsible for lowering recidivism, but rather the credit should be given to the transformative nature of the entire process. SLICE focuses on the *transformative aspect* of the post-secondary correctional education experience and cultivates this transformation within the student/participants (Omstead, 2011).

The SLICE team aimed to push inmate participants to seek their own transformation by not only making them aware of their ability to positively impact the community around them, but also by fostering their self-awareness. Through participatory action research, the researchers have come to see service-learning (and the SLICE model) as the missing link between post-secondary education and a transformative experience because of its unique design which guides prisoners through a three-step process:

- 1) Participants recognize the reality of their own prisonization.
- 2) They understand the necessity for de-prisonization through the cultivation of critical thinking skills and self-belief.
- 3) Prisoners appreciate the role of civic engagement as a medium to apply their formal education and critical thinking skills to real world issues and problems while simultaneously enhancing their sense of humanity.

Results from the PAR Process

Through weekly meetings predominant themes, such as humanity, social validity, and civic responsibility, were soon formulated. Each concept is a key

principle in the development of citizenship skills. Yet, the critical question that remained was, "How do you teach such fragile concepts in an institution that is designed to deprive an inmate of their humanity?" This conflict was resolved with one word: believe. By believing in the human potential for change the barriers of prison life switched from the end of the road to detours. With each turn students experience personal growth and develop a sense of self-worth and responsibility to the community that they participate in. However, it will not begin until service-learners believe in themselves and the community that they serve, and in return participate in a community that believes in them.

The normative behaviors, values, and customs which comprise the "convict code" are not conducive to a successful life in a civil society. A bigger problem noted by the inmates on the research team is that after prisoners subscribe to the convict code for an extended period of time, they forget that these beliefs, attitudes and resulting behaviors that are forged within the prison environment should be left at the prison gate upon their release. Omstead notes:

Instead, these inmates take their prison mentality back out onto the streets and when a situation calls for prudence they act recklessly, and when confronted with everyday rudeness they react with violent aggression. Whereas both behaviors are acceptable behind bars, they are not acceptable in society. Ultimately, their failure to readjust to societal expectations will cost them their newfound freedom (Omstead, 2011).

However, Omstead continues, SLICE helps to address the very issue discussed above.

It prompts participants to conduct a thorough self-inventory and then to shift their focus. After concentrating on their psycho-social issues, the participants are then directed to apply their insight into the interpersonal dynamics of their everyday lives. By the end of the course, participants gain a better understanding of themselves, the people around them, and life in general.

Discussion

SLICE encourages the participants to apply their academic knowledge to their everyday lives in a way that traditional education does not. The aim of correctional education should be to enrich the lives of inmates, propel them to new levels of self-growth, and bring prisoners closer to a true understanding of

the meaning of humanity. Simply memorizing facts, becoming familiar with intellectual concepts and learning to write term papers does not rehabilitate a person. Although it is an undeniable fact that the more education a prisoner acquires while incarcerated the less likely he is to recidivate after his release, the definable link between education and rehabilitation remains hazy. So, what is it about the process of correctional education that actually does the correcting?

The correcting comes when prisoners begin examining themselves and their lives through the lens of higher education. When this happens the prisoner's journey through post-secondary education evolves from being simply an educational experience into a transformative learning process. This evolution is key to rehabilitating a "prisonized" mind into one of a responsible, productive citizen. However, general education, vocational programs, and higher education in prison does not appear to intentionally set out to cultivate this process. SLICE attempts to address this issue by making the enrichment of the prisoner students' lives first and foremost as the objective. The creators of the SLICE model discovered that through a cycle of deep introspection coupled with academic discussion it was possible to foster social rehabilitation within its participants--- a key ingredient for successful reintegration back into society upon one's release from prison.

Conclusion

In the United States over 96% of all inmates in state correctional facilities will be released from prison at some point (Bureau of Justice, 2009). This statistic challenges our society to move away from arguing about punishment and turn instead to contemplating how society can best prepare prisoners for the practical realities of life after prison. What exactly needs to be done to help transform "offenders" into engaged citizens? Studies indicate that education is the best answer. Research show that participating in educational opportunities while incarcerated greatly reduces recidivism (Chappell, 2004; Foley & Gao, 2004). "All available evidence demonstrates that education upgrading even in prison, results in increased self-esteem, critical thinking, and self-discipline. These personal gains combine to reduce the likelihood of a released prisoner coming back into conflict with the law" (Collins, 2008, p.78).

The research literature in the 1990s and 2000s clearly outlines the benefits of post-secondary education for inmates, post-release. "A survey of inmates at an Indiana prison, for example, showed that prisoners enrolled in college classes committed 75 percent fewer infractions than the average inmate" (Taylor, 1994 as cited in Erisman & Contardo, 2005, p 10). In addition,

Chappell (2004) examined fifteen studies conducted during the 1990s on recidivism and higher education and found that fourteen of the fifteen studies showed reduced recidivism among released inmates who had participated in post-secondary correctional education.

As of 2004, only 4% of state prisoners in Indiana were enrolled in postsecondary correctional education (Erismann & Contardo, 2005). Even though the number is small the outcomes are impressive—estimates are that prisoners who receive an undergraduate education while incarcerated have a recidivism rate of approximately 12% which represents at least a 50% decrease in recidivism from those in the general offender population (Contardo & Tolbert, 2007). Finally, Batiuk et al. (2005) conducted a study of 1,000 former inmates in Ohio. The study tracked the released prisoners for three years and the data showed that, “while earning a GED or completing a vocational program did reduce recidivism, completing an associate’s degree had a particularly significant impact, reducing the likelihood of re-incarceration by 62 percent” (Batiuk et al., 2005 p. 59).

Postsecondary education in U.S. prisons dates back to the early 1800s (Erismann & Contardo, 2005). Educational programs in correctional facilities grew and expanded until the 1990s when a combination of “get tough on crime” laws and the elimination of Pell Grants for prisoners substantially reduced funding and opportunities for higher education in prisons. Part of the reduction in educational programs has been further spurred on by public sentiment that violent offenders behind bars should not be given such “undeserved” opportunities. Nevertheless, the Indiana Department of Correction website notes, “the State Constitution states that the penal code shall be founded on the principles of reformation, and not of vindictive justice.”

However, due to state budget cuts in 2011, the Indiana Department of Correction severely reduced its correctional education program, completely removing its Baccalaureate program and offering very limited general education, vocational, and Associate degree opportunities (and only in minimum to medium security facilities). All correctional education programs have essentially been removed from maximum security facilities except for a few seats in GED classrooms and a minimal offering of vocational courses. Although the pilot SLICE program was designed around the transformative experience of higher education, its usefulness as a teaching paradigm is not contingent on the availability of postsecondary educational opportunities.

The removal of such a large portion of Indiana’s correctional education programs represents a trend within the U.S. prison system as a whole: the

failure to adequately provide prisoners with transformative educational opportunities. In 2008, only between 35% and 42% of the prison systems in the U.S. offered postsecondary education to inmates (Myer, Fredericks, Borden, & Richardson, 2008) . With only a handful of states taking the extra step to rehabilitate their prisoners, the national average showing that one half to two thirds of those released prisoners are likely to recidivate is not surprising (Mercer, 2009). The numbers speak for themselves. It is clear, that new alternatives to traditional correctional education methods must be examined in or to "correct" the problem of the revolving door cycle.

The SLICE model can fill an important niche in the correctional education setting by providing prisoners with an adaptive teaching strategy which focuses on self-transformation through study, introspection, and community involvement. For inmates, the prison experience severs the sense of community through social isolation and suspends human development with the restraints of "security." Education seems to be the only known bridge spanning the chasm between being dysfunctional to being socially acceptable. The researchers view SLICE as such a bridge. The potential role of service-learning is in helping to transform the prison experience into one wherein critical thinking skills are developed, confidence is built, and social validation is increased. In prisons devoid of any meaningful experience, through SLICE, inmates learn how to trust themselves and the people around them in order to build the bonds of community.

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Biographical sketch

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The Status of Education in Pre-Trial Juvenile Detention

Perie Reiko Koyama

ABSTRACT

While considerable research has been conducted on educational practices and programming for incarcerated youth, significantly less attention has been given to short-term detained youth. The high transience of pre-adjudicated youth, legal protections pending trial, and varying levels of collaboration with correctional personnel have made it challenging to thoroughly examine the educational status of juvenile detention centers. This study presents the first national survey to focus exclusively on programming for detained youth. A sample of 340 administrators from juvenile detention centers in 47 states responded to an online survey. Although 96.2% of facilities were reportedly required by law to provide educational services to resident youth, the quality of programming differed greatly across regions and individual centers. Less than 7% of programs were accredited by the American Correctional Association and only 66.9% reported participating in No Child Left Behind (NCLB) assessments. Nearly three-quarters did not always receive students' academic records and more than 20% did not systematically develop or use individualized education plans (IEPs). Fewer than half of programs offered transitional services for exiting students. Open-ended response data indicated that the rapid mobility of students, highly diverse learning needs, and general lack of resources pose the biggest challenges for providers. Additional findings and recommendations are presented.

Introduction

Although the two terms are often used interchangeably, juvenile detention centers and youth commitment facilities are generally distinct and separate entities. A detention center is distinguished from a training school or other

long-term secure facility in that it holds and serves pre-adjudicated youth, or youth awaiting court disposition. In fact, 72% of children in detention centers have not yet been committed to the custody of correctional agencies (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Centers may also temporarily hold adjudicated youth until they are placed at another facility. In most states, juvenile detention centers function as secure and residential facilities. Of 2,964 U.S. correctional facilities that served youth in 2003, 769 self-identified as detention centers, as opposed to long-term secure facilities, group homes, or other. Detention centers are relatively small compared to long-term secure facilities: 86% of detention centers had fewer than 100 residents. 71% had fewer than 50 residents (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006).

Little is known about educational programs in pre-trial juvenile detention centers. Juvenile detention centers are built and programmed almost entirely around custody and security concerns. The emphasis on security over programming is generally justified by the short-term nature of detention, safety of the youth, and prevention of flight before the scheduled court date (Lawrence & Hemmens, 2008). Limited information is available on best practices for educating youth in the juvenile justice system whether committed or detained. Existing empirically based educational practices do not readily transfer to the unique environment of a secure setting or adequately address the intense needs of court-involved youth (Leone, Krezmien, Mason & Meisel, 2005). The few studies that have investigated juvenile justice education have been conducted in commitment facilities rather than detention centers. Krezmien, Mulcahy, and Leone (2008) maintain, "Detention and commitment facilities generally differ with regard to the types and intensity of services available to incarcerated youth" (449). Detention centers may have unique challenges that commitment facilities do not, such as students' uncertain lengths of stay, more varied academic needs within classrooms, delays in record transferring, and interruptions due to legal meetings, medical appointments, or diagnostic testing. "Understanding differences between characteristics of youth in detention and commitment placements is also essential for allocation of resources for special education and related services to short-term and long-term facilities based upon documented needs" (Krezmien et al., 2008, 446).

Some short-term detention facilities operate their own schooling programs, however most contract with local education agencies/authorities (LEAs) and are held accountable to the same standards as their public school peers. While provisions governing education in juvenile corrections vary from state to state, there are three major pieces of federal legislation that affect educational

services in detention: the No Child Left Behind of 2001 (NCLB), the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act (reauthorized in 1997), and the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Act of 2002. NCLB mandates that all youth in public schools, including juvenile justice facilities, must participate in statewide assessments and that the scores must be reported for accountability purposes (Gagnon, Haydon, & Maccini 2010). Schools are required to make accommodations to statewide assessments for children with learning disabilities and develop alternative assessments only for children with the most severe cognitive disabilities.

Under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, all eligible students who do not yet have a high school diploma are entitled to continuous special education services through their twenty-second birthday. Bolson, Quinn, and Nelson (2004) reiterate, "Federal law is clear: all students with special education needs who are eligible for services must receive these services, even in correctional settings." (6). IDEA further requires that all public schools, including those in juvenile justice facilities, must participate in the Child Find Project to actively and systematically identify students with disabilities.

Finally, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Act contains several references to educational provisions within youth detention and corrections. States receiving formula grants under the Act must develop plans to ensure that juveniles in custody stay in school and juvenile justice facilities must coordinate with schools on instruction (Geib, Chapman, D'Amaddio, & Grigorenko, 2010). While some juvenile programs may share space with adult facilities, law enforcement agencies are bound by federal law to keep juveniles visually and audibly separate from adult offenders. Despite the existing laws, recent studies have found that many correctional schools do not know how federal legislation affects them, often ignore the requirements, or do not comply with them altogether (Gagnon et al., 2010; Gagnon, Van Loan, & Leone, 2009; Gehring, 2005; Mears & Aron, 2003).

Compliance with state and federal regulations is further strained in juvenile detention centers due to limited resources and high youth mobility (Leone et al., 2005). Detention centers are not often well-equipped to provide educational services to youth in their care. One explanation for this may be that agencies charged with adjudicating and detaining juveniles are not educational agencies; their primary responsibilities are to determine the culpability of juvenile offenders and provide secure care services (Eggleston, 1996). Many lack appropriate classroom space, professional expertise in education, and academic records for their residents (Geib et al., 2010). The responsibility for service

delivery is often shared or confused among agencies. As Geib et al. (2010) explain, "In many states the situation is such that juvenile justice agencies say that school districts are responsible for educating detained youth, while the school districts argue that it is the agencies' responsibility to do so" (3).

Literature Review

Court-involved youth across the board face grim prospects for academic success, higher education, and employment. In one mid-Atlantic city, less than 15% of previously incarcerated youth graduate high school (Balfanz, Spiridakis, Neild, Legters, 2003). On average, incarcerated adolescents function in the low-average to below-average range of intelligence and perform between the fifth and ninth grade levels (Foley, 2001). Youth in detention often confront high rates of emotional trauma, unstable home lives, histories of violence, behavioral disorders, and learning disabilities (Leone et al., 2005; Burrell & Warboys, 2000). Despite the low levels of achievement of youth coming into the system, juvenile justice schools usually receive no more than the standard per pupil expenditure and rely heavily on first-year and emergency-certified teachers (Balfanz et al., 2003). Though youth in corrections face extraordinarily high rates of special education needs, they do not always have access to the full range of resources they require, such as occupational therapy or speech therapy (Krezmien, Mulcahy, & Leone, 2008).

Involvement in the court system only exacerbates the achievement gap between juvenile justice youth and their peers. Students who become involved with the juvenile court system are likely to miss multiple days of school (Balfanz et al., 2003). Most must undergo pre-trial evaluations and many sustain several delays in their court hearings before appearing before a judge. Early struggles can dim the prospects for juvenile justice youth upon release from detention or corrections. For currently enrolled students, loss of instructional time, even for two or three weeks, can be academically regressive and permanently damaging. A study of first-year students in the Chicago Public Schools demonstrated that only 63% of students who missed 5-9 days of school in their freshman year graduated in 4 years. Only 21% of students who missed 15-19 days – the median for detention – graduated in 4 years (Allensworth & Easton, 2007). Another study indicated that 43% of youth who participated in correctional remedial education programs did not return to school following their release at all (LeBlanc, Pfannenstiel, & Tashjian, 1991).

For many court-involved youth, education programs in detention may offer the first opportunity to return to school after a long leave of absence. It may

be the first time they can have their academic and social needs professionally assessed. It may also be the last chance for older youth to access or acquire necessary literacy, social, and vocational skills for the future. Continuity is an important function of detention programs. Leone et al. (2005) note, "Schools in detention centers play a vital role in ensuring the continuity of educational services for court-involved youth by transmitting screening and evaluation data to the youths' next community-based or institutional placement" (93). Because the youth are required to attend classes while being detained, educational staff have the chance to build strong relationships with the students without issues of truancy or misbehavior common to the traditional school setting. Furthermore, as Bolson et al. (2004) suggest, "Students may more likely to return to a general education environment on release if they have experienced success in the short-term detention facility school setting" (39).

There is a wide and historical consensus that academic failure is correlated with delinquency, if not causally tied. Balfanz et al. (2003) found that the typical student in corrections has only attended school 58% of the time prior to incarceration, suggesting a strong link between school failure and delinquency. In a meta-analysis of the academic performance-delinquency relationship, researchers found that 35% of low-performing children became delinquent compared to only 20% of high-performing children (Maguin & Lober, 1996). Low-performing children are also 3.1 times more likely to join gangs (Hill, Lui, & Hawkins, 2001). Brunner (1993) finds, "reading failure is most likely a cause, not just a correlate, for the frustration that can and does result in delinquent behavior" (1).

The research does not only indicate that academic failure and delinquency are linked, but that effective schooling may actually *reduce* delinquency. In a study on an arts education program for juvenile offenders in the state of Washington, Ezell and Levy (2003) found decreased rates of recidivism among participants. Of the 24 youth participants contacted in the follow-up period, 16.7% had recidivated compared to 32.9% of an earlier class who had not taken part in the arts program. In Blomberg and Pesta's more extensive study (2001) of 4,794 juvenile inmates from 113 residential facilities in Florida, authors found that low-risk offending youth exposed to "high-quality" educational programs while incarcerated were more likely to return to school upon release. Blomberg and Pesta argued that students that stay in school are less likely to offend than dropouts. Additionally, the study's high-risk offending youth who earned a GED or high-school diploma while incarcerated were less likely to be subsequently arrested than their peers who did not.

The relatively small number of studies that have investigated juvenile justice education have focused on incarcerated youth, not detained youth. This may be because incarcerated youth are committed for a longer period of time (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). However, Krezmien et al. (2008) call for greater attention to the potential differences between committed and detained populations. For example, detained youth generally have less mobility than committed youth because of the short-term nature of their stay and sensitive legal status. This may curtail the flexibility of lesson planning in detention. Detention centers are also smaller on average than long-term care facilities, increasing the likelihood that different ages and abilities will be placed together in the same classroom. These and other distinctive conditions create special challenges for educators assigned to serve short-term detained youth. It is evident that more research is necessary to identify the unique needs of serving youth in detention.

Finally, the wide body of existing research on juvenile justice education has focused specifically on students with disabilities and special education needs (Krezmien et al., 2008; Blomberg, et. al., 2006; Amster & Lazarus, 1984; Leone, 1993; Pasternack, Portillos, & Hoff, 1988; Sutherland & Schwartz-DuPree, 1986). Indeed, some studies have found that 60-70% of youth within juvenile corrections receive special education services, compared to only 12.7% in traditional public schools (Quinn, Rutherford, Leone, Osher, & Poirier, 2005). However, though special education is an important issue in juvenile corrections and detention, it certainly does not apply to all court-involved youth. Therefore, it is critical that future research includes and addresses the needs of students in long-term and short-term confinement who do not have disabilities.

Purpose

Given the extremely limited knowledge base about educational programming for short-term detained youth, the purpose of this study was to broadly describe and assess the state of the current educational environment within today's youth detention centers and programs that serve detained youth. From the literature, five salient programmatic features were selected for analysis. In particular, the study examined administrative structure, accountability mechanisms, curriculum design, professional development, and wraparound services. Through an all-inclusive situational analysis (Macomber, Skiba, Hart & Grigorenko, 2010) the study sought to develop a comprehensive understanding of what is commonly practiced in educational programs in youth detention settings across these specific features. To determine policy recommendations,

current practices were compared to a theory-of-action model and multidisciplinary body of best practices derived from correctional education, general education, and special education literature.

Methods

Instrumentation

The survey was modeled in part from a number of studies compiling national data of juvenile correctional schools (Gagnon, Haydon, & Maccini, 2010; Gagnon, Van Loan, & Leone, 2009, Williams, 2008). While these studies excluded detention centers and targeted long-term secure facilities for adjudicated youth, the study in hand reversed this approach¹ – and also revised the modeled study with questions that are geared toward short-term programs. The survey instrument was created and administered using SurveyMonkey™ a widely-utilized online survey tool. In contrast to previous studies, this survey was administered exclusively electronically. The survey contained 50 multiple choice/short answer questions including demographic items (respondent, student, and school characteristics) and descriptive questions on administrative structure, accountability mechanisms, curriculum design, professional development, and wraparound programming. The descriptive questions used a Likert-type scale to assess the frequency, consistency, and quality of practices and policies. There were also two final open-ended questions: “What are your greatest challenges in educating the youth in your facility?” and “Do you have any suggestions to improve educational services for short-term detained youth?” Participants were not required to answer all of the questions to proceed to subsequent pages or finish the survey. For this reason, each question has its own listed n-value. Questions at the beginning of the survey had the highest n-values, seeing a decrease in responses toward the end of the survey.

Sample Selection and Response Rate

As suggested by Gagnon et al. (2010), the American Correctional Association’s 2007 Directory of Adult and Juvenile Correctional Departments, Institutions, Agencies, and Probation & Parole Authorities was consulted to obtain the most comprehensive list of detention centers possible. Only those facilities who served “detainees,” “undisciplined” or “children in need of supervision” (as opposed to “felons,” “misdemeanants,” and “probation violators”) were included. At least 152 facilities from the directory satisfied this requirement, however the OJJDP’s 2002 Juvenile Residential Facility Census reports that as many as 769 facilities qualify as detention centers nationwide. In light of this information,

each state agency was contacted individually to obtain contact information for facilities in the state. Ultimately, a database of 705 email addresses was compiled.

Of 664 facilities² contacted directly, 340 surveys were returned (response rate = 51.2%) with 257 fully completed. This response rate exceeds that of Gagnon, Van Loan, & Leone (2009) and Gagnon, Haydon, & Maccini (2010), which achieved a 32.3% response rate and 41 participating states. It also surpasses Williams' (2008) response rate of 36.6%. In this study, 47 out of 50 states participated and all four U.S. census regions and sub-divisions were represented. Non-respondents were North Dakota, South Carolina, and Rhode Island. Each of these states had only one state-run juvenile detention center. At the time of study, North Dakota had no comprehensive educational program for detained youth and reportedly kept only 1-2 detained students on campus at any given time. Rhode Island had just one facility combining committed and detained youth.

Data Collection and Analysis

The survey was administered online between November 2010 and March 2011. After identifying appropriate electronic contacts, an introductory letter was sent to each juvenile detention center within a particular state. The initial message emphasized the target population of facilities that serve pre-adjudicated youth and administrators who were familiar with the educational program. A few small facilities providing juvenile detention did not have educational programs and were removed from the list. For example, some stations held youth overnight and did not have provisions for education. After the introductory message was delivered to administrators, second, third, and fourth reminders were sent throughout the spring to encourage participation, as recommended by Heberlein & Baumgartner (1978).

Data analysis for the survey results included basic descriptive statistics including frequency, percent, mean, standard deviation, and sum when appropriate. The online survey tool automatically processed categorical and ratio data. While most survey questions were coded as numeric, certain questions were open-response in an effort to allow for maximum flexibility. For questions regarding the number of students enrolled, median length of stay, and maximum facility capacity, responses given as ranges were entered as the mean of the lower and upper bound (e.g., a response given as "15-25 students" was entered in computations as 20 students). Range of stay responses were partitioned into two variables: minimum stay and maximum stay. To code,

categorize, and analyze the two final open-ended responses, QSR International's NVivo 8 qualitative analysis software program was used to process data. NVivo software facilitates the analysis of qualitative data such as interview transcripts and textual responses by categorizing and organizing data into themes (Macomber et al., 2010). In the process, an initial word frequency search was run on the open-ended questions. Once themes had been identified, subthemes were created and specific text searches were run on the subthemes. The text search indicated the context in which frequently-used words and phrases were used. For example, once "transience" had been identified as a frequent theme under "challenges," a text search was run for "short OR stay OR time OR term OR transience OR length OR range." Representative responses were selected and included in the descriptive analysis.

Results and Discussion

Facility Characteristics

Over half of the respondents ($n=319$)³ came from rural and suburban areas (see **Figure 1**⁴). By and large, detention centers are a public, county-administered operation. A small percentage (8.9%) of facilities ($n=314$) were operated by the city, 59.9% by the county, 22.6% by the state, and only 8.6% were privately operated. This finding aligns with data found in Snyder & Sickmund (2006) regarding the operation of juvenile detention. Almost all (96.9%) of the respondents ($n=318$) were categorized as secure facilities. Secure facilities are characterized by their use of physically restrictive construction and procedures (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). While 97.8% reported holding detained youth, 67.0% of the facilities also housed committed youth and 79.2% also held youth awaiting transfer.

Nearly all facilities in the survey (96.2%) were completely separate from the adult facility. Despite the sight and sound separation provision of the Federal Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, one rural facility stated that there was an area of the shared building where juveniles and adults could see each other. Notwithstanding visual and audible interactions, juveniles are allowed to be housed in the same building as adults. As a facility administrator in Wisconsin explained, "We are a co-located facility and share certain areas such as a sallyport, booking room, etc. The juveniles are kept separate from adults and there is a guarantee of sight and sound separation." An administrator in Arkansas reported, "Same building, but there is no contact what so ever. Even a separate staff." It was not uncommon for respondents to report that resources were not adequate for a separate juvenile facility.

Respondent Characteristics

The average survey respondent was a Caucasian/White male administrator that possessed a bachelor's or Master's degree. Racial diversity was low; 78.7% of the respondents were white. Only 36.7% of respondents were female. Nearly a third of all respondents had served in their position for over a decade and over half for more than 5 years. **Table 1** summarizes the characteristics of respondents on the following page.

Table 1. Respondent (Administrator) Characteristics

Characteristics	No. (%)
Gender (n=335)	
Male	63.3%
Female	36.7%
Race (n=338)	
Caucasian/White	78.7%
Black/African-American	15.7%
Hispanic/Latino(a)	4.4%
Asian	0.9%
Native American/Alaska Native	0.3%
Highest Educational Attainment (n=339)	
Less than a college degree	6.2%
Associate's degree	4.1%
Bachelor's degree	42.2%
Master's or other professional degree	43.1%
Doctoral degree	4.4%
Years Served (n=320)	
Less than a year	8.1%
1-2 years	12.2%
3-5 years	25.6%
5-10 years	25.3%
More than 10 years	28.8%

Although the survey was specifically labeled and targeted for school principals, only 12.1% of respondents (n=340) identified as the principal. More than a third (38.8%) identified themselves as the detention center director, and 21.2% as the superintendent. A sizeable amount (95 respondents or 27.9%) selected "other," which included a range of administrative positions including supervisors, managers, assistant administrators, as well as lead teachers, chief probation

officers, even a social worker and a judge. Less than a third (27.9%) of respondents (n=330) were certified as principals or administrators, and less than a third (27.6%) were certified as either elementary or secondary teachers. Nearly half of the respondents (44.5%) had no educational certifications at all. Only 7.0% were certified as a special education teacher of students with emotional-behavioral disorders or learning disorders and 7.6% as general or cross-categorical special education teachers. 16.7% listed additional certifications in specific academic subjects, reading specialization, criminal justice, social work, psychology, and even a license for drug and alcohol counseling.

Youth Characteristics

Although nearly 80% of the responding administrators were Caucasian, over half of detained youth were comprised of non-Whites. African American youth in particular made up 34.31% of total detained youth and 63.8% of the racial minorities. On average, most juveniles in detention are Caucasian or Black/African-American males between the ages of 13-17, although facilities reported being licensed to serve youth as young as 7 and as old as 21. The number of youth enrolled in programs ranged from 2 to 800 students, with an average of 45 students (n=247, SD= 83.41).⁵ Minimum length of stay ranged from several hours to 30 days and maximum length of stay ranged from 3 days to an unlimited period of time. The median length of stay ranged from 1 to 330 days, with an average of 24.34 days (n=237, SD=37.10). The maximum capacity of facilities ranged from 3 to 450, with an average of 50 (n=240, SD= 55.6). Because this question was open-response, some respondents indicated differences between the maximum capacity of their school program and the maximum capacity of the facility. Some respondents used students as units of measurement while others used beds. A very small percentage responded that there was no stated maximum. Almost every (97.6%) facility (n=251) was reportedly not overcapacity, a finding that differed substantially from Snyder & Sickmund's report (2006) which found that 18% of detention centers were over standard bed capacity in 2002.⁶ **Table 2** summarizes youth characteristics across gender and race below.

Table 2. Youth Characteristics

Characteristics	No. (%)
Gender (n=239)	
Male	79.37%
Female	21.48%
Race (n=223)	
Caucasian/White	46.26%
Black/African-American	34.31%
Hispanic/Latino(a)	16.81%
Asian	1.72%
Native American/Alaska Native	6.29%

Respondents reported that most of their youth residents are enrolled in public school upon entering.⁷ On average, 84.35% of youth are enrolled in public school when they come to the detention center (n=217, SD = 17.18). Slightly less re-enter public school upon release (81.14%, n=200, SD = 18.75). The reasons for this are varied. As one center explains, “52% of enrolled students were returned to their resident school; 43% were sent to other institutions; 5% complete GEDs.” In another facility, 40% of youth re-enter public school, but 60% re-enter “court” or “community” school. Many respondents indicated that their program did not track these data or did not know the figures.

Program Characteristics: Administration

Nearly all (96.2%) of facilities (n=317) were legally required to provide all youth in their facility with educational services. Of the 3.8% that responded “no,” some explained that if students had already received a GED or high school diploma, facilities were not required to provide them with educational services unless he or she had an IEP that extended past their high school completion. One facility from Tennessee reported, “Formal education is not required for children in pre-adjudication centers.” Another detention center in Tennessee is only required to provide educational services after 15 days. A respondent in Mississippi responded, “If a child is expelled from his school system, it is my understanding that he is not required to attend detention school. However we offer everyone here a chance to attend.” A facility in Wisconsin said, “Juveniles that have been expelled from a school district do not have to be accepted in another district. Our school chooses to provide education to all juveniles in

detention regardless of whether they have been expelled from another district.” A respondent from Wyoming explained their policies in this way:

State Dept of Ed requires 3 hours of educational service to all students (special ed., enrolled students, student's seeking GEDs) after 7 days; we are not required to service Post GED students unless there is a history of special ed services through Fed Child Find regulations. We are currently serving Post GED but through a MOU with the county sheriff and the local school district.

The frequency of record sharing differed across facilities. Only a quarter “always” received academic records of students and nearly a third received records less than “most of the time.” (See **Figure 2**). More than half of respondents (n=244) reported that they were required to provide diagnostic testing to incoming students and nearly half of these programs had to provide it within three days. More than a quarter (28.5%) did not have a designated time frame for providing diagnostic testing at all.

In regard to teacher oversight within programs, 62.3% of facilities (n = 244), held the principal responsible for evaluating teachers, 23.8% had a central office staff member, 4.1% had master educator or outside consultant come in, and only 3.3% had other teachers evaluate one another. The remaining facilities (14.8%) reported “other,” which included directors of detention, superintendents, respective State Departments of Education, and administrators from the youth services or juvenile justice agency. Levels of interagency supervision and communication were higher than expected. Almost three-quarters (72.4%) of respondents (n=246) reported that their school/facility is supervised to ensure that the educational program is aligned with the school district or state guidelines. 20.3% said, “To some extent,” 5.7% said “Very little,” and only 1.6% responded “Not at all.” Likewise, only 4.9% of respondents (n=246) reported that barriers to communication between themselves and the school district existed to a “great extent” (see **Figure 3**).

Program Characteristics: Accountability

Only 6.7% of programs (n=313) reported being accredited by the American Correctional Association (ACA), but 73.2% were accredited by their respective state department of education. Almost half (49.6%) of the facilities surveyed in Gagnon (2009) were accredited by the ACA and 81.2% by the state department of education, suggesting more formal and fully-fledged programs in

commitment facilities. A sizeable number (13.4%) were not accredited by any agency. 61.5% of schools (n=312) reported receiving Title I funding, but 21.2% did not know whether they did or did not.

Only 66.9% of schools (n=278) reported participating in NCLB assessments. A facility in Utah said, "Only our long-term post adjudication students are with us long enough to test. Our detention students test with their schools of residence. However, we do coordinate with the local schools to get the tests for students who are in detention during the testing window." Many facilities waited for instructions from home schools before testing. At least 24 of the respondents indicated in writing that they did not know what "NCLB" was, or why their students did not take the assessments. Fewer facilities actively assessed their students for special education eligibility than simply updated or complied with current IEPs (see **Figure 4**). 63.2% of facilities (n=239) participated in screening students for special education needs, 17.2% did not screen, and 19.7% reported "sometimes" screening. However, 79.7% of facilities (n=241) reported developing and using individualized education plans (IEPs), 9.1% did not develop and use IEPs, and 11.2% reported "sometimes" doing so.

Program Characteristics: Curriculum Design

Almost all educational programs offered the core classes of math, English/language arts, science, and social studies.⁸ The most popular electives were art and social skills. Although nearly 20% of programs offered English as a Second Language, only 6.2% offered coursework in a foreign language. Nearly a quarter of programs offered technical skills and vocational training. (See **Figure 5**). Many schools also offered physical education and health, which were not included in the course choices. Several reported offering computer application courses and an urban facility in Kansas even had a keyboarding class. A facility in Tennessee also offered economics, nutrition, and "life skills." A suburban facility in an unreported state had a program for young parents. Other unique courses included library science, credit recovery, test prep, and higher education for post-GED students. A rural facility in California explained that some of its courses were "exploratory," as it is a "small school with limited staff and equipment." They offered horticulture, culinary arts, and a book club.

Many facilities do not provide an independent curriculum but work with students on homework from their resident school. As a facility in suburban Ohio responded, "We do not actually 'offer' courses. Our school receives coursework from the student's home school and facilitates their completion of such." A facility in urban Alabama reported, "We keep students on their home school

studies, if this requires a tutor the school system sends an instructor to help the students." Over three-quarters of the programs reported modeling curriculum from either the school district or the state. 30.3% of respondents (n=241) design and model their curriculum after the LEA (local education agency) and 45.2% use the state's curriculum. 5.8% design their own curriculum, 16.6% reported that their curriculum is individualized for each student and 2.1% had no written policy. For example, a facility in Arkansas allows parents to bring in work or textbooks from the child's school but had no independent curriculum. Some had a mixed approach. As one facility explained, "When we receive work from schools the students do this with assistance of the teacher, otherwise the teacher teaches the above listed courses giving assignments at various levels." **Figure 6** and **Figure 7** describe the level of alignment of math and reading curriculum between detention centers and respective state standards.

Program Characteristics: Professional Development

Feedback about professional development was generally positive. Over half of respondents (n=236) rated their pre-service and on-going professional development as both highly thorough and relevant. 25.0% rated it as "somewhat thorough and relevant." 5.5% indicated that it was "relevant but not thorough," 4.7% reported that it was "thorough but not relevant," 4.2% thought it was "neither thorough nor relevant," and 2.1% of respondents said that pre-service and on-going professional development did not exist at their facility. Opportunities for educators spanned workshops, conferences, embedded development such as collegial circles and continual learning, and specialized training for correctional educators and special education teachers (see Table 3 below).

Table 3. Professional Development Opportunities for Detention Educators

Components	No. (%)
Workshops	90.7%
Conferences	76.3%
Capacity-Building Exercises	22.5%
Collegial Circles	28.8%
Electronic Communities	23.7%
Specialized training and development for correctional educators	39.4%
Specialized training and development for special education	55.9%
On-going evaluation and continual learning	60.2%

87.2% (n=234) responded that professional development was mandatory. 105 facilities use a hour system, with an average of 33.45 (SD=20.71) required hours of professional development. Responses were varied as to where the opportunities were available. An Ohio facility explained, "Local schools train but none in the detention center." Another center allows teachers to take college courses or workshops on an individual basis. One state has training specific to individual facilities. A rural facility described their difficulty accessing professional development training: "All of the above are available through the LEA but we only have 2 full time instructors at the detention center program and have not been able to locate or participate in relevant or continual learning for issues specific to our needs as detention center teachers."

Program Characteristics: Wraparound Services

The most common services offered at detention centers (n=225) were mental health counseling and behavioral and emotional management. Less than half of the respondents offered substance abuse treatment or transitional services. **Figure 8** summarizes service offerings. Of six program objectives listed, approximately three-quarters of respondents (n=233) selected "prevent loss of instructional time," "prepare student for transition into public school," "improve test scores and academic performance," and "help students earn a high school diploma." Less than half (41.6%) selected "conduct a needs assessment" and less than a quarter (21.9%) of respondents selected "help students find a job placement."

Open-Ended Responses: Challenges

Four themes from the open-ended responses about challenges emerged: the transience of youth, different grade levels of students, general lack of resources, and low student engagement. When asked, "*What are your greatest challenges in educating the youth in your facility?*" participants overwhelmingly responded that the short-term stay of the students made it difficult to provide them with meaningful educational programming.⁹ Some responses included:

- "*The greatest challenge of teaching in a youth facility is short time frame for educating each child. The timely receipt of educational records and coordination of academic program hinders the educational process to teach at or specific to the child needs or educational level.*"
- "*The transient nature of our students makes it very difficult for them to make major academic strides. Many students see multiple DJJ [Department of Juvenile Justice] placements in the same school year and many A-1 schools do not honor*

academic achievements made in alternative settings.”

- *“Short term nature of detention proves to be a challenge. Also, those few youth that stay for a longer term (more than 2 months) also pose challenges due to the fact that the program has evolved to serve short term kids.”*

Respondents also noted the challenge of accommodating different grade levels or abilities in one classroom.¹⁰ Some schools had only a few teachers at their disposal to balance students' varying needs and abilities. Others mentioned the difficulty in coordinating multiple requirements from multiple schools or districts. Examples included:

- *“Educating up to 28 kids with a great disparity in ages, learning abilities and educational status, and length of stay, with 2 teachers, and in one classroom.”*
- *“Meeting various curricula and high school completion requirements for many different schools/districts.”*

Lack of resources is a historic and pressing issue for juvenile justice schools, and the survey data indicated no differently. Financial shortages were a common problem reported. Many facilities are not built like schools and several respondents expressed that there were no classrooms at all. Some had to share space with adult facilities and other programs. Access to computers and the Internet is often limited and instructional aides and materials are sparse. Respondents wrote:

- *“We are limited to 1 classroom with 6 computer stations; when the classroom space is needed for other activities ... we can not provide educational services and meet the minimum state guidelines, there is no other location to provide the service in.”*
- *“The physical plant itself.. age of building not designed for a school”*
- *Funding: The Title 1¹¹ monies do not even begin to cover the cost of running this program. Last year we served students from 11 other school districts but did not receive any financial support.*

While some accounts pointed to individual-level challenges such as poor parental involvement and youth behavior, responses of this nature occurred less frequently than expected. Some respondents mentioned that youth in their programs are often upset about court appointments and other bad news when they enter the classroom and are not “ready to learn.” Comments included:

- *"We are max security so we receive all disciplinary transfers from both detention and treatment facilities. Behavior is our biggest issue, Conduct Disorder."*
- *"Gaining trust from the students and getting beyond their anger issues."*
- *"Youth lack of interest."*
- *"Personal/home environment issues and addictions."*

Other challenges described included the very low academic levels of entering students, frequent distractions in the classroom, lack of cooperation from the local school district, and shifting the culture from a "corrections mentality" to a "rehabilitative mentality." While these quotations do not present an exhaustive summary of all the difficulties of running a juvenile detention education program, they attempt to illustrate some common challenges faced on a day-to-day basis. Ultimately, some components of the detention environment such as the transience of youth may be unchangeable. Fortunately, respondents were able to present a number of suggestions for policy change.

Open-Ended Responses: Suggestions

Suggestions from respondents can also be categorized into four emerging themes: interagency communication, computerized learning, needs assessments, and funding (primarily for year-round school and more teachers).¹² Communication and power-sharing between detention centers and the school district is a common source of tension. Interagency dialogue can be improved in three areas: student record-sharing, provision of class materials, and enrollment/credit processing. Many respondents emphasized the need for faster and easier record-sharing. If detention teachers could more quickly access student records and materials, for example, they could better provide tutoring for short-term students to prevent losses in instructional time. Other respondents expressed desire that schools would honor the credits students earned at their facilities and remove barriers to re-enrollment. One respondent recommended a liaison or ombudsman to help with transition. Specific comments included:

- *"Increase collaboration between juvenile education programs and local school systems would improve student services. This would provide continuity of instruction and prevent disruption in educational services because a student has changed venue."*
- *"Enrollment for short term detainees should be maintained at their home campus versus the detention center. The enrollment process is extremely cumbersome."*

Individualized learning was widely acknowledged as important to the success of detained youth. Many respondents believed that online education could help individualize curriculum for different levels of learners, provide remedial learners the opportunity to catch up, and even link students to curriculum from their home schools. For youth that have completed high school, online coursework could provide an opportunity for accessing higher education.

- *“Depending on how long ‘short term’ is: for really short term (less than 10 days) the best solution would be automatic transfer of the school books and assignments to the center. Short-term (10-30) still work from school would be best, but if not possible working on a computer with a program that will allow students to work at their level (generally a grade or 2 or more below where they are).”*
- *“School moving more to on-line syllabus so that work could be easily accessed to keep them current with their current schools curriculum.”*

Respondents stressed that regular evaluation of youth and needs assessments were critical to students’ academic and emotional wellbeing. In practice, assessments may be used to determine special needs, learning styles, and career interests. Through effective assessment, teachers can create personal learning plans for students. Some respondents encouraged developing portfolios for recidivating students. Specific suggestions included:

- *“Providing needs and/or academic assessments to determine appropriate placement levels as delinquent children are often not performing at their current grade level.”*
- *“Better entry diagnostics.”*
- *“More direction, dollars, and coordination into assessment, individual planning and reading and math independent programming and transitioning back to school and or vocational-career, jobs focus.”*

Finally, respondents discussed how additional funding could improve their programming. The shortage of financial resources was reported as a common challenge for many facilities. More funding could help support year-round schooling, a program that several administrators specified as desirable. Additional staff could help differentiate instruction within classrooms. Respondents suggested how more dollars could be spent:

- *“Our facility really needs a summer and/or year-round educational program for*

students. We were able to obtain an outside grant and provide partial summer school one year only. No funding is available through the local district or the state to provide this. Students in the facility would greatly benefit from using their time (even in the summer) on productive, structured learning opportunities.”

- *“Two additional teachers. One to help with teaching youth that are not integrated into the main population because they are considered a security risk. The other teacher needed to assist with getting the youth involved in school upon detainment instead of in 2 or 3 days.”*

Limitations

While the national survey enjoyed a broader range of responses and higher participation rate than previous studies of correctional programs, general limitations of mail surveys still existed. All participation on the national survey was voluntary and optional, creating potential self-selection bias in the sample. Administrators who chose to participate in the survey may have differed from administrators who did not participate in unobservable ways. Although the response rate surpassed the 50% suggested by Weisberg, Krosnick, & Bowen (1989), nearly half (48.8%) did not participate and many did not finish the entire survey. Despite this limitation, all U.S. Census geographic regions were represented; rural, suburban, urban-medium, and urban-large areas were well-represented, and 47 states participated overall. The three states who did not participate had only one detention center, perhaps limiting the insight into the unique conditions of single-state facilities but not overall limiting the national representation of the study. The nature of the survey was necessarily broad in scope, allowing for a detailed picture of many components rather than an in-depth look at one or two components. Given the limited knowledge about education program in detention centers, this approach was selected purposefully and intentionally. Patterns and insights gained from this wide set of data may lead the way for more specific hypotheses and targeted or quantitative studies.

Discussion & Recommendations

In this study of 340 facilities nationwide, survey respondents provided data regarding the status of education in juvenile detention. Although educational provisions are the common element in these programs, the quality of services varied greatly between factors of record-keeping, physical resources, curriculum offerings, and special education policies. Some programs served many students over several months, whereas others served only a few students over several

days. Some facilities were constructed solely for juvenile detention, while others shared spaced with committed youth and even adults. The transient nature of youth residents, inadequate support from local education agencies, and conflicting organizational priorities emerged as common difficulties. Maintaining continuity with students' home schools was challenging on the front and tail end of the detention process. The gathered information presents a broad picture of juvenile detention education as well as specific data points to inform future inquiries.

An unanticipated result was the wide range of administrator titles present in the sample. Only 12.1% of respondents (n=340) identified as the principal. More than a third (38.8%) identified themselves as the detention center director, and 21.2% as the superintendent. A sizeable amount (95 respondents or 27.9%) selected "other," which included a range of administrative positions including supervisors, managers, assistant administrators, as well as lead teachers, chief probation officers, even a social worker and a judge. In correspondence, many respondents indicated that there could be multiple point people for the survey. This suggests that confusion of responsibility is a salient issue in detention education, and that interagency communication between school districts, youth services, and juvenile justice agencies is needed to more clearly and consistently define roles in education. Also unexpected was the number of facilities combining committed and detained populations. While essentially all facilities reported holding detained youth, two-thirds also housed committed youth and roughly 80% also held youth awaiting transfer. Substantively, this can be interpreted to mean that roughly two-thirds of detention centers are also commitment centers, and one-third are separate facilities. This contrasts with Gagnon et al. (2010) and Gagnon et al. (2009), in which 72.0% of facilities surveyed were strictly commitment.

A key finding from the survey data is that the length of the educational program is what sets detention education apart from traditional programs. Problems with youth behavior and distractions in the classroom are not nearly as significant in the eyes of administrators across the country as the challenges of a transient population. Crafting an educational program that offers substantive academic value *and* complies with standards and guidelines of local education agencies is a difficult task to accomplish in the limited time the schools have with the students. Once records have been received and processed, the students have often left. Once teachers have established a rapport with one group, another group has already come in. This would be difficult to reconcile in any educational setting, but it holds especially true for

facilities and agencies entangled with numerous other priorities, strapped for funding and resources, and responsible for a high needs population.

The lack of space and resources coupled with varying educational needs make for a problematic combination. Many facilities reported being understaffed and that teachers had to balance several grade levels, subjects, and lessons in one classroom. Detention programs must find a way to accommodate different learning levels in a systematic manner. One of the strongest suggestions participants offered to address this was to digitize lesson plans so that materials from home schools can be sent quickly and learning customized to different students. Particularly in a facility where material resources are lacking, a curriculum that is computer-based may take up less physical space and require fewer instructional aides. Online learning might also be done more independently and may be linked to webinars or students' home schools.

Survey data indicated that while the majority of facilities updated and complied with current IEPs, fewer facilities actively screened their juvenile residents for eligibility for special education services. However both identifying disabilities and complying with IEPs are legally mandated by the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. Programs in detention centers should work to develop a standardized procedure for identifying and referring eligible juvenile residents for special education services. This could be potentially facilitated by assigning a special education teacher and/or child psychologist to oversee and manage juvenile detention centers in the school district's jurisdiction.

An issue of particular concern was the lack of specialized services and referrals offered, especially transitional programming, substance abuse treatment, and family counseling. Fewer than half of programs offered transitional services or substance abuse treatment for students and less than a third offered family counseling. Research has suggested that a successful educational program will not end once the juvenile is released from custody. Wraparound or case management is a "complex, multifaceted intervention strategy designed to keep delinquent youth at home and out of institutions whenever possible. As the name suggests, this strategy involves 'wrapping' a comprehensive array of individualized services and support networks 'around' young people" (OJJDP, n.d.). Scholars maintained that quality aftercare programs are especially essential in fostering effective reintegration for youth in corrections (Baltodano, Platt, & Roberts, 2005; Altschuler, 1984). Also of great importance is the provision of support services for youth with chemical addictions (Nissen, 2006). Substance abuse or dependence may be as high as

51% of youth served in detention (Teplin, 2001) and the targeted prevention and treatment of this comorbid condition remains a critical factor in promoting academic success for juvenile justice youth.

A quarter of participants believed that training opportunities were only “somewhat relevant and thorough,” supporting an active improvement of professional development programming at all levels. Respondents did not, however, indicate that discrepancies in quality existed between the “thoroughness” and “relevance” of professional development. This suggests that the shortcomings of professional development for detention educators do not necessarily concern a lack of relevance to the correctional environment, as DelliCarpini (2008) suggested, or failure to address “culture shock” as discussed in Wright (2005), but rather the overall rigor of the training itself. This may provide evidence to the contrary that educators in secure settings require separate training for their population or environment. Teacher training is a crucial asset in any successful program, but the content should cultivate a readiness and skill set applicable for serving any student.

A challenge in designing national studies is accounting for state variation in the survey questions. Although only two thirds of respondents reported participating in NCLB assessments, statewide assessments under the No Child Left Behind Act are called by different names in different states. Massachusetts has the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS), Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Maine have the New England Common Assessment Program (NECAP), Minnesota has the Minnesota Comprehensive Assessments (MCA), and many others exist across the country. Respondents may have been uncertain or unaware whether their statewide-administered test was in fact an assessment used for federal NCLB purposes. Although Gagnon et al. (2010) heavily emphasized accountability under NCLB, it is unclear whether this expectation is appropriate for short-term detention programs. As one facility in Delaware explained, “We are trying not to use state wide testing because it does not help us with school improvement or students learning. All students have an individualized learning and transition plan. Pre and post testing gives us our accountability measures.”

This and other results support the recommendation that detention centers need tailored systems of accountability. Educational programs in detention centers cannot be exempt from oversight and accountability, but they must be assessed with systems that recognize their needs and circumstances. In light of this, statewide annual tests may not be the most effective assessments of progress or growth. Detention centers may instead use short-term pre and post

assessments with objective criteria, tied to their own curriculum. States or LEAs may create guidelines specially formulated for short-term programs and systematically measure data aligned with these guidelines. This would help assure that credits students earn while in detention can be easily transferred back to their home schools or other public schools in the state. Survey responses indicate that communication and continuity between detention centers, youth agencies, and school districts need to be improved on a personal and procedural level. Record-transferring should be quicker and more consistent – perhaps by tying it to a timeframe, automating it, and designating specific individuals on either end to oversee the process. All of these steps will help assure that students' work is not lost and their records of attendance and transferring can be continuously monitored.

In sum, a key contextual difference between juvenile detention centers and commitment facilities is the length and certainty of students' stay. In determining the success and impact of a detention center, whose program may last only days or weeks, the use of long-term metrics such as annual test scores, graduation rates, or even recidivism is less relevant and appropriate (Coffey & Gemignani, 1994). Focusing simply on recidivism, a common determinant of program effectiveness, can be problematic because of the widely varied methods, timeframes and capacities to measure recidivism across states and districts (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). It follows that policy-makers should focus not necessarily on long-term empirical outcomes, but rather short-term characteristics of effective programming. We may think of these short-term characteristics as "intermediate outcomes" in a broader theory of action to improve long-term outcomes for court-involved youth. This approach, called a "Theory of Action" model has been utilized in several studies evaluating professional development programs for educators and out-of-school-time programs (Weisburd & Sniad, 2006; Weiss & Klein, 2006).

Modeling from best practices identified in correctional, general, and special education research, the Theory-of-Action (See **Figure 9**³) guiding this study has five program areas: *Curriculum Design, Administration, Accountability, Professional Development, and Wraparound Support*. The framework of the model shows the inputs and challenges entering the educational program. Contextual factors unique to regions, school districts, and student population exert influence throughout the educational process. Each program area has characteristics evident of best practices. In the framework these are depicted as or "intermediate outcomes" of long-term successful outcomes for students exiting the program. The overarching theory is that effective programming will yield

positive results over a period of time such as fewer dropouts, reduced recidivism of program participants, and retention of high-quality teachers.

Conclusion and Future Research

The objective of the national survey was to gain a broad understanding of educational programs serving detained youth in the juvenile justice system. Its methodological approach included a broad qualitative analysis categorized into programmatic features of administration, accountability, curriculum design, professional development, and wraparound services. Through a national online survey of 340 administrators working in juvenile detention education across the country, we have gained insight into the demographics of educators and youth, current policies and services, challenges in the system, and ideas for improvement.

There are numerous opportunities for future research. One possible area for further inquiry concerns the academic and social differences of detained and committed youth. This topic was touched upon briefly in this study, but more extensive research could parse out more specific differences between these populations. Another area for research is the conditions under which counties and states might combine detained and committed youth or place juveniles in adult facilities. There were respondents in the national survey who indicated that they held both detained and committed youth, and/or shared resources with the adult facilities. Are these circumstances of mixing caused by lack of resources, differences in policies, or some other factor? Finally, not all young offenders are kept within the juvenile system. Some youth may be transferred into the criminal justice system automatically. It would be a topic of interest to investigate the ways in which adult programs and facilities educate school-aged youth in detention.

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Biographical sketch

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Figure 1. Location of facility by geographic type (n=319)

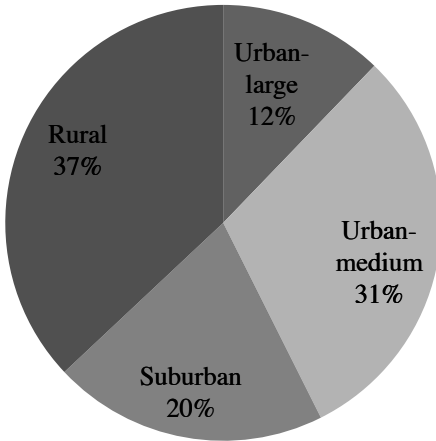


Figure 2. Frequency of Receipt of Academic Records (n=246)

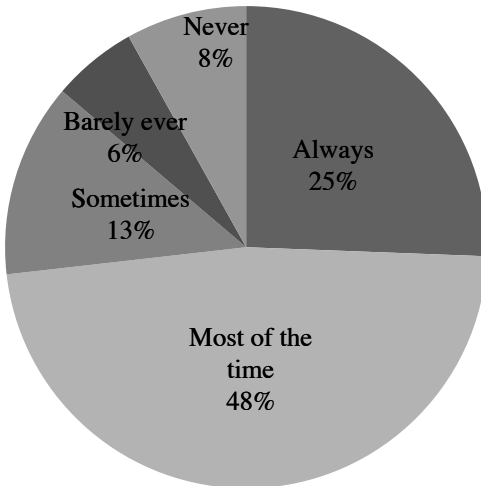


Figure 3. To what extent do barriers exist between your facility and the school district? (n=246)

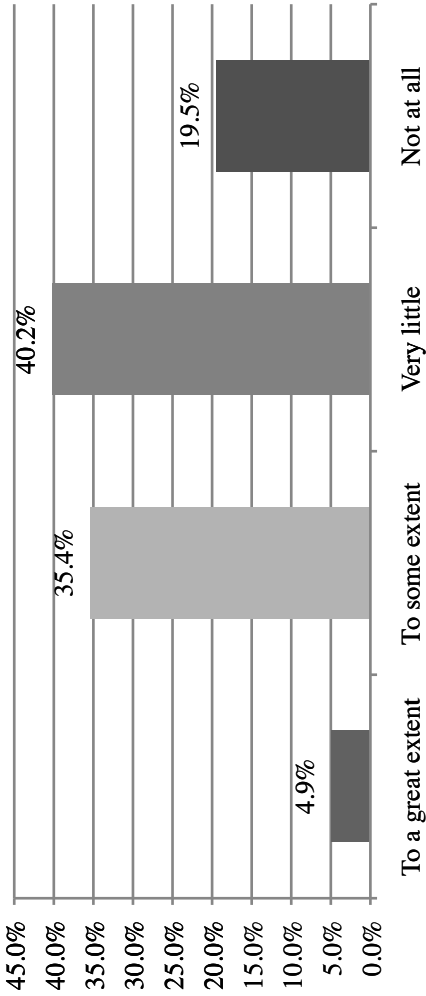


Figure 4. Frequency of screening students for special education needs (n = 239)

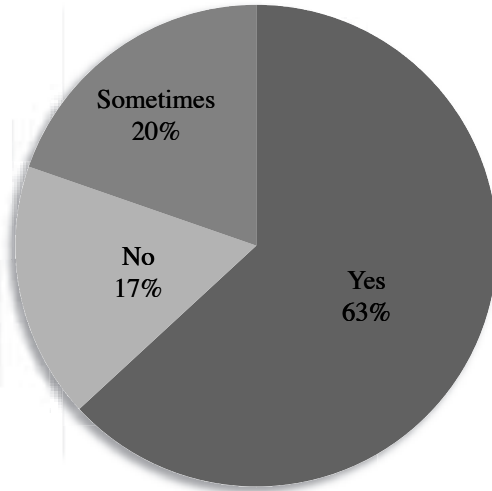


Figure 5. Course offerings n=(243)

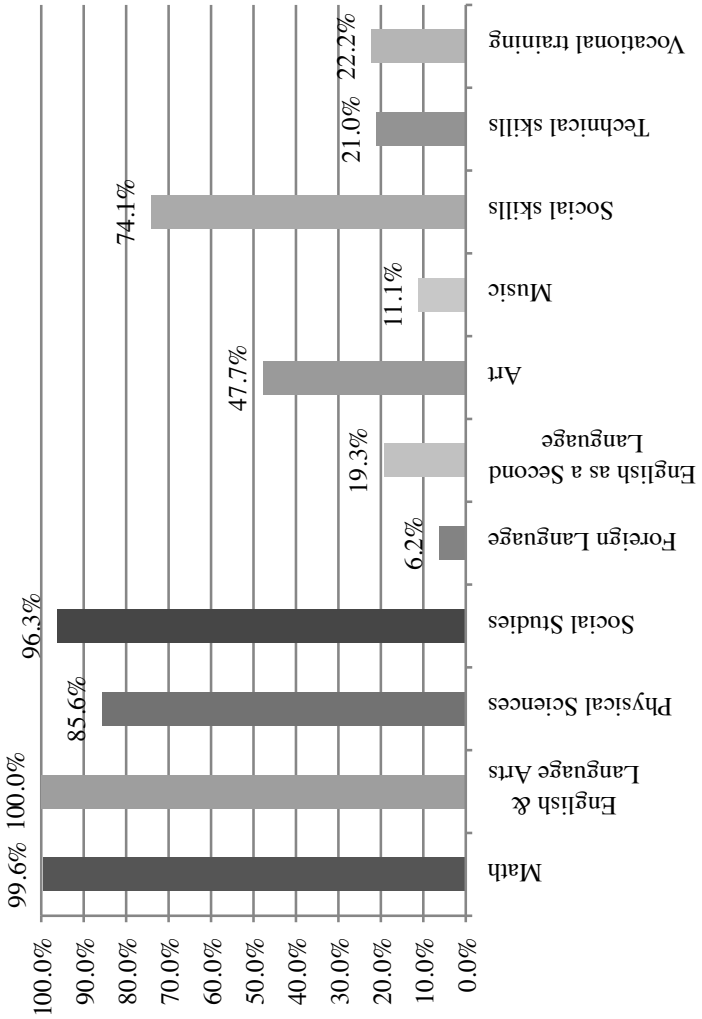


Figure 6. To what extent is the math curriculum aligned with state assessments and standards? (n=237)

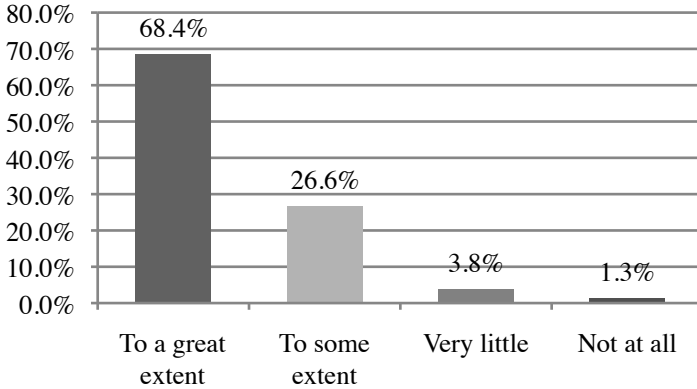


Figure 7. To what extent is the reading curriculum aligned with state assessments and standards? (n=239)

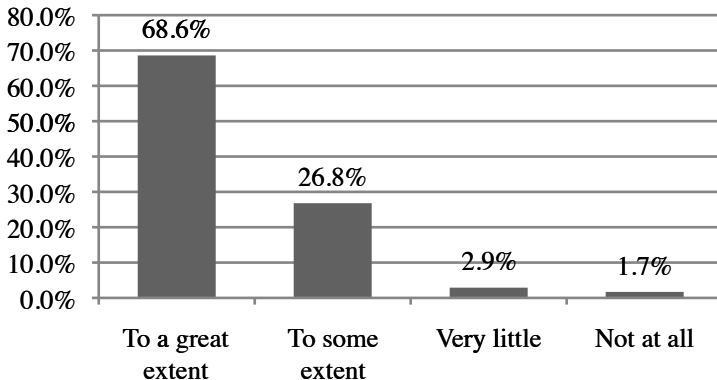
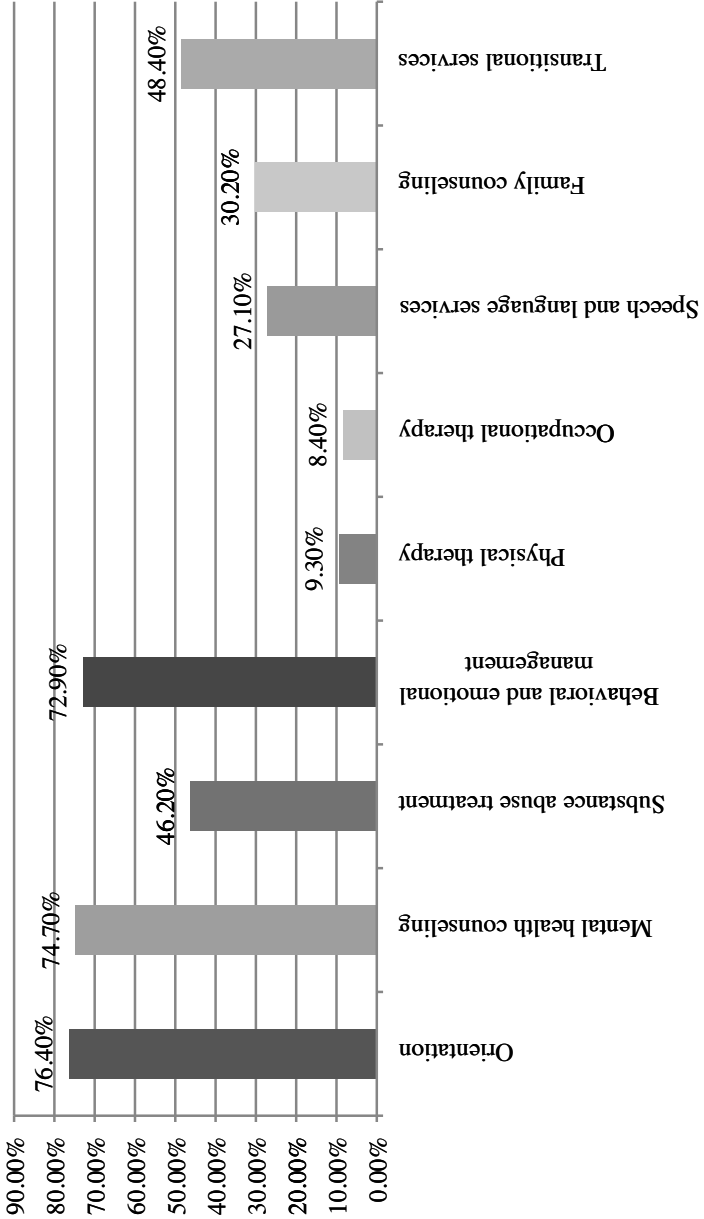


Figure 8. Specialized Services and Referrals Offered (n=225)



An Evaluation of the Effect of Correctional Education Programs on Post-Release Recidivism and Employment: An Empirical Study in Indiana

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Abstract

In order to examine the effect of correctional education on post-release employment and recidivism, the Education Division of the Indiana Department of Correction (IDOC) has established a study group of 1,077 offenders and a comparison group of 1,078 offenders to evaluate the outcome measures (e.g. post-release recidivism). All offenders in the study group attended a variety of correctional education programs while incarcerated in IDOC facilities, while all offenders in the comparison group did not participate in correctional education programs. The results of this study demonstrate that an offender who has not attended correctional education programs during incarceration is approximately 3.7 times more likely to become a recidivist offender after release from IDOC custody when compared with an offender who has participated in a variety of correctional education programs during incarceration. The recidivism rate is 29.7 percent among offenders in the group who attended a variety of correctional education programs. On the contrary, the recidivism rate reached 67.8 percent among offenders in the comparison group who did not attend correctional education programs during incarceration. This study's results imply that correctional education programs may serve as an important mechanism in reducing the recidivism among released offenders, which, in turn, will significantly reduce the incarceration expenses that are associated with recidivist offenders.

Introduction

Correctional education is a crucial part of the correctional system in terms of the prison operation and the educational remedy for prisoner reentry to the community. Since the 1980s, the prison population has dramatically increased and prisoners are likely uneducated and unemployed prior to admission to the prison. Consequently, in recent years, the demand for correctional education has steadily increased but the funding for correctional education has been systematically decreased. In the recent recessionary period, many states have significantly reduced education budgets and/or eliminated education programs in order to resolve budget deficits. Even though the budget for prison education programs is relatively small in the overall budget of the Department of Correction, the public's sentiments and the policy-makers' perceptions of such publicly-perceived "free" education for prison inmates have turned intensely negative. For example, Congress passed a 1994 amendment to exclude prison inmates from receiving federal funding (i.e., the Pell Grant) for post-secondary education programs at correctional facilities. Such "tough on crime" measures do not reduce the overall prison population but aggravate the prison overcrowding problems across the nation.

On the other hand, researchers (Batiuk, et al., 2005; Chappell, 2004; Mercer, 2009; Owens, 2009) find that the recidivism rate among offenders who have participated in post-secondary education programs during incarceration is significantly lower than those offenders who have not. In other words, offenders are likely to be employed after release and less likely to return to the prison if they have a higher education. Additionally, the benefits of correctional education programs, at its core, are frequently measured by the reduction of the recidivism rate among post-release offenders. However, previous studies exclusively focused on the released offenders, without a comparison group, to assess the effect of the correctional education on recidivism. Furthermore, previous studies were largely insufficient in measuring the correlation between correctional education and recidivism due to the lack of post-release employment information among those released offenders. Unlike previous studies, this study has included the offender's employment data, if employed, to adequately evaluate the relationship between correctional education and both post-release employment and recidivism in the study group and the comparison group.

Correctional Education and Impacts

Correctional education has become deeply embedded in American correctional systems due to a flux of uneducated or undereducated inmates. It is a common

phenomenon that uneducated or undereducated inmates are likely to return to prison because they are less likely to find a job upon release. For example, Vacca (2004) finds that a notable number of released offenders are unemployed because they do not have sufficient education and professional skills to meet with job demands in a variety of industry sectors. According to U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (Harlow, 2003), almost 68 percent of prison inmates have not graduated from high school and most individuals in that group are racial minorities. Undoubtedly, correctional education and professional training programs at correctional facilities have become the primary educational resources for those uneducated or undereducated inmates to strengthen their educational competency and job skills.

Across the nation, a variety of correctional education programs have been utilized in correctional facilities to educate incarcerated inmates. Since a disproportionate number of inmates are considered to be functionally illiterate, a significant portion of educational resources at the state level support those correctional education programs such as Adult Basic Education (ABE) or General Equivalency Diploma (GED) programs. For some, post-secondary college programs have been added to enhance the level of education among incarcerated inmates. As the GED or high school diploma has become insufficient to meet the demands of a variety of fast-evolving, technology-based industry sectors, correctional education programs have been focused on the enhancement of employability for offenders through the development of a variety of certificate-based, skill-oriented programs in the post-secondary education curriculum.

For example, the Education Division of the Indiana Department of Correction (IDOC) has collaborated with seven Indiana institutions of Higher Education to establish up-to-date post-secondary job-oriented certificate programs with the objective of increasing the employability of offenders and reducing the recidivism rate. The IDOC Education Division has carefully allocated federal and state grant funding to meet a high demand of educational needs among Indiana inmates. The identified need to shift the focus from "Liberal Studies" or "General Studies" degrees resulted in more degree programs aligned to Indiana's employment needs through 2016. In addition, several job-oriented certificate programs, such as "Coal Miner Training" and "Certified Bookkeeper" were established using federal funding. This shift in job-specific certifications will be accelerated as Indiana seeks to effectively utilize limited funding to education its inmates.

There are numerous studies of the benefits of correctional education programs in terms of reducing recidivism and decreasing the cost of

incarceration (Blackburn, 1981; Burke and Vivian, 2001; Cecil et al., 2000; Fabelo, 2002; Gordon and Weldon, 2003; Hrabowski and Robbi, 2002; Matsuyama and Prell, 2010; Nuttall et al., 2003; Steurer et al, 2001; Taylor, 1992; Vacca, 2004; Ward, 2009). Researchers generally conclude that correctional education has effectively reduced the recidivism rate among released offenders and decreased the over-all cost of incarceration. Specifically, the recidivism rate is significantly decreased if offenders have attained a higher level of education during incarceration.

Even though recidivism has been defined in a variety of measures, the recidivism rate has been commonly used to measure the effectiveness of correction educational programs. However, there is no universal consensus on measuring the success of correction educational programs while employing the recidivism rate as the post-release outcome measure (Batiuk et al., 1997; Fabelo, 2002; Gordon and Weldon, 2003; Jancic, 1998; Nuttall et al., 2003; Stevens and Ward, 1997). The main argument is that recidivism measurement is frequently perceived as arbitrary (Gehring, 2000) or methodologically inadequate (Cecil et al., 2000; Hull et al., 2000; Lewis, 2006). Nevertheless, recidivism is the highly-accepted outcome measure due to mandates from both state and federal funding agencies (Linton, 2007). Even though the success of correctional education may be largely measured by the recidivism rate, it is important to recognize that post-release employment is an important indicator of the success of correctional education. This study has included crucial employment-related information to evaluate the effect of correctional education on post-release recidivism.

Methodology

Data and Data Collection

The Education Division of the Indiana Department of Correction (IDOC), in cooperation with the IDOC Research and Planning Division, has continuously modified and updated a dataset of released offenders in order to assess a variety of post-release measures such as recidivism or employment. With assistance from the IDOC Research and Planning Division, the current dataset for assessing post-release recidivism and employment contains several important factors such as offender demographical characteristics (i.e., gender, race, age, and education), legal characteristics of offenders (e.g., legal reason for return to IDOC, or recidivism status), and employment-related characteristics of offenders (e.g., job classification or income).

It is important to mention that the IDOC Education Division has continuously maintained a collaborative relationship with the Indiana

Department of Workforce Development (DWD) for employment-related data or information among released offenders. Since 2008, the IDOC Education Division has collaborated with the Indiana Department of Workforce (DWD) to systematically document employment-related information among a cohort of 6,561 offenders who were released from IDOC custody in 2005. Such a collaborative effort between the IDOC Education Division and the Indiana Department of Workforce Development (DWD) has generated crucial information for analyzing the effect of an offender's level of education on post-release employment. In 2011, the DWD updated the post-release employment information for all offenders in this study to include the period of the first quarter of 2008 through the second quarter of 2009.

Study Group and Comparison Group

In order to effectively examine the effect of correctional education on post-release employment and recidivism, the IDOC Education Division has established a study group and a comparison group to evaluate outcome measures (e.g., post-release recidivism). The study group contains 1,077 Indiana offenders who received federal funding from the U.S. Department of Education in the period of 2002-2009 and were released from IDOC custody during that time period. It is important to mention that some offenders received the federal funding to attend correctional education programs but did not complete the program requirements due to early release from IDOC.

On the other hand, the comparison group contains 1,078 Indiana offenders selected from a cohort of 6,561 offenders who were released from IDOC in 2005.¹ The criteria of the selection of the comparison group primarily focuses on the size of sample, race of offender, education level of offender, and whether or not the offender had received the federal funding for his/her education at Indiana correctional facilities. No offender in the comparison group had received the federal funding to attend any correctional education program during incarceration. Most importantly, offenders in the comparison group are randomly selected once they have met with the above-mentioned conditions.

Outcome Measures

By evaluating the outcome measures between the study group and the comparison group, the primary focuses of this study are to examine: (1) the effect of correctional education on offender's recidivism, (2) the effect of correctional education on offender's employment, and (3) the interrelationship of offender's education, employment and recidivism. Nonetheless, the

principal dependent measure in this study is to examine the similarity or difference between the study group and the comparison group to further examine the effect of correctional education on post-release recidivism. This study will further examine the post-release employment and recidivism among released offenders with a different level of education.

Findings

Table 1 provides a detailed description of the study group and the comparison group in terms of offender's demographics, education, recidivism, and post-release employment status. Among offenders in the study group (n=1,077), results of this study show that the study group consists of 156 (14.5%) female and 921 (85.5%) male offenders; 688 (63.9%) offenders are Caucasian, 349 (32.4%) offenders are African American, 32 (3.0%) offenders are Hispanic, 3 (0.3%) offenders are Asian or Pacific Islanders, and 5 (0.5%) offenders whose race are unknown; 783 (72.7%) offenders are in the age range of 20-29 years old, 287 (26.6%) offenders are in the age range of 30-39 years old, 4 (0.4%) offenders are in the age range of 40-49 years old, and 3 (0.3%) offenders are 50 years old or older.

In the study group, there are 881 (81.8%) offenders with a high school diploma or GED, 171 (15.9%) offenders with a post-secondary education, and 25 (2.3%) offenders have not completed high school or GED prior to release from IDOC custody. The IDOC Education Division has systematically documented offender's educational endeavors at IDOC correctional facilities. The Education Division has found that, in the period of 2002-2009, 870 (80.8%) offenders in the study group have received the federal funding once, 188 (17.5%) offenders have received the federal funding twice, 17 (1.6%) offenders have received the federal funding three times, and 2 (0.2%) offenders have received the federal funding four times. Meanwhile, 45 offenders who have received the federal funding have not completed the education program at IDOC correctional facilities due to early release.

In the study group, results of this study reveal that 320 (29.7%) offenders are recidivist offenders and 757 (70.3%) offenders are not recidivist offenders. The recidivism rate is 29.7 percent in the study group. Among 320 recidivist offenders in the study group, 129 (40.4%) offenders were returned to IDOC due to parole violation, 98 (30.6%) offenders were returned to IDOC due to probation violation, 83 (25.9%) offenders were returned to IDOC due to committing a new crime, and 10 (3.1%) offenders were returned to IDOC due to a violation of Community Transition Program (CTP). A further examination of

recidivist offenders in the study group reveals that, among 320 recidivist offenders, 125 (39.1%) offenders were returned to IDOC within a year after release, 101 (31.6%) offenders were returned to IDOC within 1-2 years after release, 54 (16.9%) offenders were returned to IDOC within 2-3 years after release, and 40 (12.5%) offenders were returned to IDOC after 3 years or more since release.

Table 1 also illustrates offender's characteristics in the comparison group. Results of this study reveal that the comparison group consists of 167 (15.5%) female and 911 (84.5%) male offenders; 712 (66.0%) offenders are Caucasian and 366 (34.0%) offenders are African American; 184 (17.1%) offenders are in the age range of 20-29 years old, 403 (37.4%) offenders are in the age range of 30-39 years old, 324 (30.1%) offenders are in the age range of 40-49 years old, and 167 (15.5%) offenders are 50 years old or older.

In regard to education in the comparison group, this study reveals that there are 232 (21.5%) offenders with an education below high school and 846 (78.5%) offenders with a high school diploma or GED. It is important to note that all offenders in the comparison group in this study have never received federal funding to attend any correctional education program in IDOC correctional facilities.

This study also reveals that 731 (67.8%) offenders in the comparison group are recidivist offenders and 347 (32.2%) offenders are not recidivist offenders. The recidivism rate is 67.8 percent in the comparison group. A further examination of 731 recidivist offenders in the comparison group reveals that 246 (33.7%) offenders were returned to IDOC due to parole violation, 179 (24.5%) offenders were returned to IDOC due to probation violation, 262 (35.8%) offenders were returned to IDOC due to committing a new crime, and 44 (6.0%) offenders were returned to IDOC due to a violation of Community Transition Program (CTP). Furthermore, among 731 recidivist offenders in the comparison group, 548 (75.0%) offenders have returned to IDOC within a year after release, 182 (24.9%) offenders have returned to IDOC within 1-2 years after release, and 1 (0.1%) offender has returned to IDOC within 2-3 years after release. In other words, all recidivist offenders in the comparison group returned to IDOC custody within 3 years since release in 2005.

Table 2 illustrates the employment status among released offenders in the study period of the first quarter of 2008 through the second quarter of 2009 (i.e., 2008Q1-2009Q2). In regard to employment status among released offenders, this study's results reveal that 303 (28.1%) offenders in the study group and 400 (37.1%) offenders in the comparison group have been employed

at least one quarter in the period of 2008 Q1-2009 Q2 since release from IDOC. However, a further examination of offender's employment sustainability indicates that more than 60 percent of employed offenders in the comparison group, but only about 38 percent in the study group, have been employed no more than 2 quarters out of 6 quarters in this study period (2008Q1-2009Q2). About 47 percent of employed offenders in the study group have been employed at least 4 quarters (1 year) or more, but only 28 percent of employed offenders in the comparison group have extended their employment at least one year or more in this study period.

This study also reveals that 303 employed offenders in the study group and 400 employed offenders in the comparison group have been employed in a variety of job sectors in this study period (2008Q1-2009Q2). According to the Indiana Department of Workforce Development (DWD), 303 offenders in the study group, who have been employed at least one quarter in the study period (2008Q1-2009Q2), would likely find a job in the following job sectors (in order): (1) lodging and food services (23.7%), (2) manufacturing (21.4%), (3) temporary help services agencies (16.6%), (4) wholesale or retail (15.6%), (5) construction (12.5%), (6) other employments (6.9%), (7) repair and maintenance (2.4%), and (8) agriculture, mining, and so on (0.9%). On the other hand, 400 offenders in the comparison group, who have been employed at least one quarter in the study period (2008Q1-2009Q2), would likely find a job in the following job sectors (in order): (1) lodging and food services (24.2%), (2) temporary help services agencies (22.2%), (3) manufacturing (16.3%), (4) wholesale or retail (11.7%), (5) construction (11.3%), (6) other employments (11.0%), (7) repair and maintenance (3.3%), and (8) agriculture, mining, and so on (0.0%).

Even though 37.1 percent (n=400) of offenders in the comparison group but only 28.1 percent (n=303) offenders in the study group have been employed one quarter in the study period of 2008Q1-2009Q2 since release from IDOC custody, results of this study reveal that there are a significantly high number of such employed offenders in the comparison group, when contrasted with offenders in the study group, who have a quarterly income below \$1,000 dollars. For example, in the first quarter of 2008 (see Table 2, Wage2008Q1), there are 12 (15.4%) of 78 employed offenders in the study group with an income under \$1,000; 7 (9.0%) employed offenders with an income between \$1,000 and \$1,999; 17 (21.8%) employed offenders with an income between \$2,000 and \$2,999; 13 (16.7%) employed offenders with an income between \$3,000 and \$3,999; 7 (9.0%) employed offenders with an income between \$4,000 and \$4,999; 10 (12.8%) employed offenders with an income between

\$5,000 and \$5,999; 3 (3.8%) employed offenders had an income between \$6,000 and \$6,999; and 9 (11.5%) employed offenders had an income of \$7,000 or above. On the other hand, in 2008Q1, there are 81 (43.3%) of 187 employed offenders in the comparison group with an income under \$1,000; 33 (17.6%) employed offenders with an income between \$1,000 and \$1,999; 27 (14.4%) employed offenders with an income between \$2,000 and \$2,999; 13 (7.0%) employed offenders with an income between \$3,000 and \$3,999; 8 (4.3%) employed offenders with an income between \$4,000 and \$4,999; 7 (3.7%) employed offenders with an income between \$5,000 and \$5,999; 7 (3.7%) employed offenders with an income between \$6,000 and \$6,999; and 11 (5.9%) employed offenders with an income of \$7,000 or higher. In short, this study has clearly indicated that offenders in the comparison group, who have a lower education, if employed, are likely to be employed in a variety of labor-intensive and minimum-wage jobs and job sustainability may be challenging.

Table 3 illustrates bi-variate analyses of recidivism with offender's education in both the study group and the comparison group. The recidivism rate among all released offenders in the study group is 29.7 percent. However, the recidivism rate among offenders who have an education below high school is 32.0 percent, 29.7 percent among offenders who have a high school diploma or GED, and 29.2 percent among offenders who have a college education. On the contrary, the recidivism rate among all released offenders in the comparison group is 67.8 percent. Furthermore, the recidivism rate is 82.3 percent among offenders who have an education below high school but only 63.8 percent among offenders who have a high school diploma or GED in the comparison group. In other words, results of this study reveal that less-educated offenders are likely to become recidivist offenders after release from IDOC custody.

Table 3 also provides detailed information on post-release employment among released offenders with different level of education in both the study group and the comparison group. Regardless of offender's level of education, results of this study reveal that offenders in both the study group and the comparison group have a high unemployment rate in the study period (2008Q1 – 2009Q2). It is important to mention that the recent national recession officially started in December of 2007 and ended in December of 2008. This study has clearly indicated that released offenders have encountered more challenges in finding a job during the recessionary period. Consequently, the unemployment rate among released offenders is significantly

higher than that of the general population. This study also finds those offenders with a higher level of education are likely to be employed for a longer period of time.

The results of logistic regression analyses, as Table 4 indicates (see, *All Offenders* equation), shows the effect of correctional education programs on post-release recidivism is statistically, but negatively, significant, while controlling of other variables. Specifically, offenders who have participated in the correctional education programs during incarceration at Indiana correctional facilities are less likely to be recidivist offenders than those offenders who have not attended any correctional education program during incarceration after release from IDOC custody. Meanwhile, this study's results also show the effect of offender's education on recidivism is statistically, but negatively, significant. In other words, offenders who have a lower education (those offenders have not completed high school, in particular) are likely to be recidivist offenders after release from IDOC custody than those offenders who have had a higher education (e.g., a college degree or high school diploma). However, this study has found that employment bears no significant impact on post-release recidivism in the recessionary period among those released offenders.

In the study group, as Table 4 indicates (see, *Study Group* equation), results of this study, while controlling of other variables, show the effect of employment on recidivism was statistically, but negatively, significant. In other words, this study's results indicate that offenders are less likely to be recidivist offenders if they have been employed after release from IDOC custody. Meanwhile, results of this study also show an offender's age to be statistically and significantly correlated with recidivism. This study's results indicate that older offenders, rather than younger offenders in the study group, are likely to be recidivist offenders. A further examination reveals that such recidivist "older" offenders are likely to be unemployed since release from IDOC. Nevertheless, this study also reveals that the effect of education on recidivism is not statistically significant, while controlling of other factors. Regardless of an offender's level of education in the study group, the recidivism rate is significantly lower than that in the comparison group. Furthermore, an offender's race and gender bear no effect on recidivism.

In the comparison group, as Table 4 indicates (see, *Comparison Group* equation), results of this study, while controlling of other variables, show recidivism is statistically, but negatively, correlated with an offender's education. Specifically, offenders who have not completed high school are more likely to be recidivist offenders than those offenders who have a high school diploma or

GED. This study also reveals that there is no significant difference in terms of the recidivism rate between employed offenders and unemployed offenders in the comparison group. Furthermore, results of this study showed that an offender's gender, race, and age had no significant effect on recidivism among released offenders in the comparison group.

Discussion

The most important finding in this study demonstrates that offenders are less likely to be recidivist offenders if they have participated in correctional education programs in IDOC facilities during incarceration. The recidivism rate among offenders in the comparison group who have not participated in correctional education programs during incarceration reached 67.8 percent in the study period of 2008Q1-2009Q2. All else being equal, this study shows, as statistics illustrate in *All Offenders* equation in Table 4, an offender who has not attended correctional education programs during incarceration is approximately 3.7 times more likely to become a recidivist offender after release from IDOC custody, while compared with an offender who has participated in correctional education programs during incarceration.² In other words, this study has clearly shown that offenders who have participated in correctional education programs during incarceration to enhance their education and/or professional job skills are less likely to return to IDOC custody after release. Specifically, the correctional education programs, as this study's results indicate, become an important contributing factor in reducing the post-release recidivism among those released offenders in Indiana.

The effect of education has also become a significant contributing factor to post-release recidivism among offenders who have not attended correctional education programs prior to release from IDOC custody. All else being equal, this study shows, as statistics illustrate in the *Comparison Group* equation in Table 4, that an offender who has not completed high school is almost 2.8 times more likely to become a recidivist offender while compared with an offender who has a high school diploma or GED.³ On the other hand, the recidivism rate among offenders who have participated in correctional education programs at IDOC correctional facilities during incarceration is only 29.7 percent in the same study period. This study also clearly indicates that less-educated offenders are likely to become recidivist offenders after release from IDOC custody.

Additionally, this study reveals that a significant number of released offenders in both the study group and the comparison group have had

difficulties in finding a job in this study period (2008Q1 through 2009Q2) which is officially recognized as the recessionary period. Regardless of an offender's education, the unemployment rate among released offenders in the recessionary period is generally expected to be higher than the general population due to a variety of contributing factors such as the scarcity of job opportunity, criminal background, inadequate education, or lack of basic job-related skills. Nevertheless, this study has showed that the employment rate among released offenders in the study group who have participated in correctional education programs at IDOC correctional facilities, has significantly improved from 7.2 percent in Quarter 1 of 2008 to 17.4 percent in Quarter 2 of 2009 in this study period. On the contrary, the employment rate among offenders in the comparison group who have not participated in correctional education programs during incarceration has declined from 17.3 percent in Quarter 1 of 2008 to 13.3 percent in Quarter 2 of 2009 in this study period. This study has revealed that offenders in both the study group and the comparison group are likely to be employed in the labor-intensive and low-wage job sectors such as "temporary help services agencies" or "food services or lodging." Shapiro (2011) finds that 60 percent of newly-created employment in 2010 were low-wage jobs in sectors such as, "temporary help services," "leisure and hospitality," and "retail trade."

One striking finding in this study is that employed offenders in the study group who have participated in correctional education programs during incarceration are likely to have a higher quarterly income than those employed offenders in the comparison group who have not participated in correctional education programs at IDOC facilities prior to release from custody. In other words, educated offenders are likely to have earned a better wage if they are employed after release. Among those less-educated offenders in the comparison group, in particular, results of this study reveal that there is a significantly higher number of "marginally-employed" offenders, who have been employed but whose quarterly income is under \$1,000 (or under \$334 per month). For example, there are 43.3 percent (n=81) of in a total of 187 offenders in the comparison group who have been employed in the first quarter of 2008 but they have a quarterly income under \$1,000. Almost 40 percent of 81 "marginally-employed" offenders have been employed by temporary help services agencies. The recidivism rate among those "marginally-employed" offenders is 65.4 percent. Results of this study clearly indicate that it is extremely difficult for those "marginally-employed" offenders to be financially independent in order to prevent themselves from becoming

involved in criminal activity. A similar pattern has been persistent in every quarter of this study period (2008Q1-2009Q2).

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (U.S. Department of Labor, 2011 & 2010), there are 10.4 million adults in 2009 and 8.9 million adults in 2008 among the so-called "working poor." U.S. Department of Labor (2011) defines the "working poor" as persons who spent at least 27 weeks in the labor force (that is, working or looking for work) but whose incomes still fell below the official poverty level. Furthermore, minorities such as African Americans and Hispanics are almost twice as likely as their Caucasian counterparts to be among the working poor. The labor statistics have also revealed that attaining a higher education will enhance the chance to obtain full-time employment which will directly diminish the proportion of the working poor in the labor force. The U.S. Department of Labor (2011, p. 2) stated, "Of all the people in the labor force for 27 weeks or more in 2009, those with less than a high school diploma had a higher working-poor rate (20.3 percent) than did high school graduates with no college (8.8 percent). Workers with an associate's degree and those with a bachelor's degree or higher had the lowest working-poor rate: 4.7 percent and 2.1 percent, respectively." The "marginally-employed" offenders in this study exhibit similar characteristics to those of the "working poor", having low-wage, temporary jobs with an income below the poverty level. Consequently, the "marginally-employed" offenders are likely to become recidivist offenders after release due to the fact that they lack the financial resources to sustain themselves in the community.

This study also finds that the unemployment rate among released offenders is significantly higher than the general population. Undoubtedly, released offenders, with criminal background, are likely to encounter increased barriers in seeking a job during a recessionary period. Furthermore, those offenders are likely to be released under legally-mandated conditions of probation or parole which required them to seek and maintain gainful employment or be enrolled in a course of study or vocational training. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), there were approximately 2.1 million "marginally attached" workers in the first quarter of 2009 (U.S. Department of Labor, 2009). The U.S. Department of Labor (2009) defines a "marginally attached" worker as "someone who is currently not in the labor force but he/she wants full-time work and has actively looked for a job sometime in the past 12 months." A "marginally-attached" worker is not considered to be either employed or unemployed, so he is not included in the "official" unemployment number that is released by the US government every

month (Kodrzycki, 2000). Such “marginally-attached” offenders present a unique challenge to analyze the effect of correctional education programs on post-release employment because it is extremely difficult to obtain any crucial information about whether or not such “marginally-attached” released offenders are actively looking for work or remain unemployed due to their educational deficiency. A further study on such “marginally-attached” released offenders is needed in the near future.

Conclusion

This study's results indicate that correctional education may serve as an important mechanism in reducing the recidivism rate among released offenders, which, in turn, will significantly reduce incarceration costs that are associated with recidivist offenders. Furthermore, this study finds that the unemployment rate among released offenders in the recessionary period is significantly higher than the unemployment rate among the general population. At this moment of financial crisis in both state and federal agencies, limited resources are available to provide educational programs to offenders in an attempt to enhance their opportunities to find employment upon release. Even though this study has clearly indicated that the effect of correctional education on recidivism is significant, a longitudinal study is needed to accurately assess the effect of correctional education on post-release employment among released offenders.

Footnote

1. In 2008 the Education Division of the Indiana Department of Correction (IDOC) in 2008 collaborated with the IDOC Research & Planning Division to establish a database, which has contained more than 43 percent ($n=6,561$) of 15,184 offenders who were released throughout 2005, to conduct a follow-up study of the cohort of 6,561 released offenders in terms of post-release recidivism or employment.
2. The odds ratio is calculated by taking an antilog of the coefficient presented in the logistic estimates, as indicated in the *All Offenders* equation in Table 4. The odds ratio presents the situation in which an offender is identical in all respects except for the value on the variable of interest (i.e., participation in correctional education programs). In this case, the odds ratio (3.7:1) for an offender, who has not attended any correctional education programs during incarceration, to be a recidivist offender after release relative to an offender, who has participated in the correctional education programs, is taking an antilog of $e^{-1.304}$.

3. The odds ratio is calculated by taking an antilog of the coefficient presented in the logistic estimates, as indicated in the *Comparison Group* equation in Table 4. The odds ratio presents the situation in which an offender is identical in all respects except for the value on the variable of interest (i.e., offender's education). In this case, the odds ratio (2.8:1) for an offender, who has not completed high school, to be a recidivist offender after release relative to an offender, who has a high school diploma or GED, is taking an antilog of $e^{-1.038}$.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of the Study Group and the Comparison Group

Variable	Coding	Study Group (n=1077)	Comparison Group (n=1078)
Offender Gender	Female	156 / 14.5%	167 / 15.5%
	Male	921 / 85.5%	911 / 84.5%
Offender Race	Caucasian	688 / 63.9%	712 / 66.0%
	African American	349 / 32.4%	366 / 34.0%
	Hispanic	32 / 3.0%	0 / 0.0%
	Asian/Pacific Islander	3 / 0.3%	0 / 0.0%
	Unknown	5 / 0.5%	0 / 0.0%
Offender Age	20-29 years old	783 / 72.7%	184 / 17.1%
	30-39 years old	287 / 26.6%	403 / 37.4%
	40-49 years old	4 / 0.4%	324 / 30.1%
	50 years old or above	3 / 0.3%	167 / 15.5%
Offender Education	below high school	25 / 2.3%	232 / 21.5%
	high school or GED	881 / 81.8%	846 / 78.5%
	college education	171 / 15.9%	0 / 0.0%
Legal Reason for return ¹	parole violation	129 / 40.4%	246 / 33.7%
	probation violation	98 / 30.6%	179 / 24.5%
	new commitment	83 / 25.9%	262 / 35.8%
	CTP return/violation	10 / 3.1%	44 / 6.0%
Recidivism Status	non-recidivist offender	757 / 70.3%	347 / 32.2%
	recidivist offender	320 / 29.7%	731 / 67.8%

Note 1: There were 320 recidivist offender in the study group and 731 recidivist offenders in the comparison group.

Table 2. Employment Status among Released Offenders, 2008Q1 through 2009Q2

Variable	Coding	Study Group (n=1077)	Comparison Group (n=1078)
Employment Status1 (2008Q1 thru 2009Q2)	employed	303 / 28.1%	400 / 37.1%
	unemployed	774 / 71.9%	678 / 62.9%
Number of Quarter2 Been Employed	one quarter	51 / 16.8%	131 / 32.8%
	two quarters	64 / 21.1%	110 / 27.5%
	three quarters	46 / 15.2%	47 / 11.8%
	four quarters	89 / 29.4%	48 / 12.0%
	five quarters	27 / 8.9%	27 / 6.8%
	six quarters	26 / 8.6%	37 / 9.2%
Employment Sector3 (NAICS classification)	agriculture/mining/etc.	9 / 0.9%	0 / 0.0%
	construction	120 / 12.5%	118 / 11.3%
	manufacturing	206 / 21.4%	171 / 16.3%
	wholesale or retail	150 / 15.6%	123 / 11.7%
	temporary agencies	160 / 16.6%	232 / 22.2%
	lodging or food service	228 / 23.7%	253 / 24.2%
	repair & maintenance other employments	23 / 2.4% 67 / 6.9%	34 / 3.3% 115 / 11.0%
Wage 2008Q14	under \$1,000	12 / 15.4%	81 / 43.3%
	between \$1,000-\$1,999	7 / 9.0%	33 / 17.6%
	between \$2,000-\$2,999	17 / 21.8%	27 / 14.4%
	between \$3,000-\$3,999	13 / 16.7%	13 / 7.0%
	between \$4,000-\$4,999	7 / 9.0%	8 / 4.3%
	between \$5,000-\$5,999	10 / 12.8%	7 / 3.7%
	between \$6,000-\$6,999	3 / 3.8%	7 / 3.7%
	\$7,000 or above	9 / 11.5%	11 / 5.9%
Wage 2008Q2	under \$1,000	9 / 10.5%	95 / 44.4%
	between \$1,000-\$1,999	13 / 15.1%	26 / 12.1%
	between \$2,000-\$2,999	13 / 15.1%	25 / 11.7%
	between \$3,000-\$3,999	12 / 14.0%	14 / 6.5%
	between \$4,000-\$4,999	11 / 12.8%	13 / 6.1%
	between \$5,000-\$5,999	12 / 14.0%	14 / 6.5%
	between \$6,000-\$6,999	7 / 8.1%	7 / 3.3%
	\$7,000 or above	9 / 10.5%	20 / 9.3%

(Table 2. Continued)

Wage 2008Q3	under \$1,000	44 / 19.8%	72 / 36.9%
	between \$1,000-\$1,999	38 / 17.1%	40 / 20.5%
	between \$2,000-\$2,999	36 / 16.2%	18 / 9.2%
	between \$3,000-\$3,999	24 / 10.8%	11 / 5.6%
	between \$4,000-\$4,999	19 / 8.6%	16 / 8.2%
	between \$5,000-\$5,999	18 / 8.1%	14 / 7.2%
	between \$6,000-\$6,999	14 / 6.3%	6 / 3.1%
	\$7,000 or above	29 / 13.1%	18 / 9.2%
Wage 2008Q4	under \$1,000	48 / 23.2%	58 / 33.9%
	between \$1,000-\$1,999	25 / 12.1%	30 / 17.5%
	between \$2,000-\$2,999	29 / 14.0%	21 / 12.3%
	between \$3,000-\$3,999	23 / 11.1%	19 / 11.1%
	between \$4,000-\$4,999	22 / 10.6%	13 / 7.6%
	between \$5,000-\$5,999	17 / 8.2%	7 / 4.1%
	between \$6,000-\$6,999	12 / 5.8%	8 / 4.7%
	\$7,000 or above	31 / 15.0%	15 / 8.8%
Wage 2009Q1	under \$1,000	41 / 22.4%	48 / 35.8%
	between \$1,000-\$1,999	38 / 20.8%	24 / 17.9%
	between \$2,000-\$2,999	19 / 10.4%	15 / 11.2%
	between \$3,000-\$3,999	26 / 14.2%	16 / 11.9%
	between \$4,000-\$4,999	18 / 9.9%	8 / 6.0%
	between \$5,000-\$5,999	13 / 7.1%	9 / 6.7%
	between \$6,000-\$6,999	9 / 4.9%	1 / 0.7%
	\$7,000 or above	18 / 9.9%	13 / 9.7%
Wage 2009Q2	under \$1,000	36 / 19.3%	58 / 40.6%
	between \$1,000-\$1,999	27 / 14.4%	24 / 16.8%
	between \$2,000-\$2,999	26 / 13.9%	16 / 11.2%
	between \$3,000-\$3,999	25 / 13.4%	10 / 7.0%
	between \$4,000-\$4,999	21 / 11.2%	11 / 7.7%
	between \$5,000-\$5,999	15 / 8.0%	4 / 2.8%
	between \$6,000-\$6,999	16 / 8.6%	6 / 4.2%
	\$7,000 or above	21 / 11.2%	14 / 9.8%

Note 1: An employed offender is an offender employed at least one quarter since release.

Note 2: There are 303 employed offenders in the study group and 400 employed offenders in the comparison group.

Note 3: All employments that offenders had been employed in any given quarter in the study period of 2008Q1-2009Q2. Meanwhile, some offenders had multiple employments in any given quarter.

Note 4: There were a different number of employed offenders in any given quarter in both the study group and the comparison group.

Table 3. Bi-Variate Analysis of Offender's Education with Recidivism and Employment

Variable	Study Group			Comparison Group	
	Below HS (n=25)	High Sch. (n=881)	College (n=171)	Below HS (n=232)	High Sch. (n=846)
Recidivism Status:					
Non-Recidivist Offender	17/68.0%	619/70.3%	121/70.8%	41/17.7%	306/36.2%
Recidivist Offender	8/32.0%	262/29.7%	50/29.2%	191/82.3%	504/63.8%
Employment Status:					
Never been employed	17/68.0%	642/72.9%	115/67.3%	165/71.1%	513/60.6%
Employed 1 quarter	2/8.0%	39/4.4%	10/5.8%	27/11.6%	104/12.3%
Employed 2 quarters	2/8.0%	55/6.2%	7/4.1%	17/7.3%	93/11.0%
Employed 3 quarters	2/8.0%	32/3.6%	12/7.0%	7/3.0%	40/4.7%
Employed 4 quarters	1/4.0%	70/7.9%	18/10.5%	6/2.6%	42/5.0%
Employed 5 quarters	0/0.0%	23/2.6%	4/2.3%	2/0.9%	25/3.0%
Employed 6 quarters	1/4.0%	20/2.3%	5/2.9%	8/3.4%	29/3.4%

Table 4. Logistic Multiple Regression on Recidivism

Variable (n=2155)	All Offenders (n=1077)	Study Group (n=1078)	Comparison Group
Correctional Education Programs	-1.304**	n/a	n/a
Offender Race	.246*	.194	.238
Offender Gender	.072	-.069	.130
Offender Age	.013	.121**	.008
Offender Education	-.526**	-.113	-1.038**
Employment Status	-.161	-.801**	.193
Constant	2.173	-4.094**	1.813**

Notes: "**" at < .01 and "***" at < .001. Offenders who have attended correctional education programs are coded as "1" and offenders who have not participated in any correctional education program during incarceration are coded as "0." In the logistic multiple regression analyses, only African American offenders and Caucasian offenders are included in the present analyses. Offenders are regarded as "employed," if they have been employed at least one quarter in the study period (2008Q1-2009Q2).

Biographical sketch

JOHN NALLY is the Director of Education for the Indiana Department of Correction. Along with being a past President of the Council of State and Federal Directors of Correctional Education, he has served on the Executive Board of the Correctional Education Association and was a member of the Reentry Roundtable on Education at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice. He has a Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degree from Indiana State University and a doctoral degree from Oakland City University.

SUSAN LOCKWOOD is the Director of Juvenile Education for the Indiana Department of Correction and a College of Education Faculty Member of the University of Phoenix, Indianapolis Campus. She is the President of the Council of State and Federal Directors of Correctional Education and actively involved with the Correctional Education Association. She completed her Bachelor's and Master's degrees at Ball State University, and her doctoral degree at Oakland City University.

KATIE KNUTSON is the Director of Research and Evaluation at the Indiana Department of Child Services. Prior to her current position, she served as a Senior Research Analyst for the Indiana Department of Correction. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree and Masters in Public Administration from Ball State University. Her studies explore correctional education programs and their impact on state correctional systems.

TAIPING HO is a full professor in the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana. He has published numerous research articles on a variety of topics including police recruitment, criminal defendants with cognitive disorders, and police use of deadly force. He is an experienced police officer, has worked as a program specialist in correctional institutions, and is a CASA (Court Appointed Special Advocate) volunteer. He completed his doctoral studies at Florida State University.

Update from the Chair of the European Prison Education Association

Anita Wilson

It is with great pleasure that I am able to contribute my first (but sadly also my last!) report from the European Prison Education Association to our colleagues and friends in the CEA.

As always, prison education in Europe continues to cope with many changes in terms of policy, funding, budget cuts, and government priorities and it is a credit to all teachers and professionals who work in the field of prison education that they continue to 'roll with the punches' and are still able to keep their enthusiasm and share it with their students.

EPEA held its 13th International conference in Manchester, England in October 2011 and we were very pleased to welcome colleagues from the USA, Canada, and Australia who made well-received presentations to an audience from all corners of Europe. A highlight – given the strict security arrangements that operate in English prisons – was a performance by young prisoners who were allowed to come out of prison to present a wonderful concert combining art, theatre, music, and creative writing.

It has long been noted by EPEA that there is no coherent document which provides a comprehensive overview of prison education across the various European nation states. This is currently being rectified by a report commissioned by the European Commission and should be available by early summer. Details can be found on the EPEA website www.epea.org

Some significant work is being done through various partnerships and government agencies across Europe around aspects of prison education. Of note is the work on bringing high quality public arts organisations into prisons (Scotland), and effective practice for prison teachers (Romania). Further developments include the setting up of a network on prison education led by the University of Bergen and a new Centre for Education in Criminal Justice Settings, hosted by the Institute of Education, London.

EPEA has also had some significant changes in personnel and advocates. Retirees include our long-term supporters Torfinn Langelid (Norway), Alan Smith

(European Commission), and Peter Bierschwale (Chairman of the German Prison Teachers Association), and we thank them sincerely for all their work. On a happier note we have some fresh faces on the Steering Committee including Lena Axelsson (incoming Chairperson) Astrid Utgard (Secretary) and Per Steinar Sneegen (Treasurer). For those of you who have served on the CEA Boards, you will know the value of committed and enthusiastic people and I am confident that we have a great new team.

I too am leaving the EPEA Steering Committee. I no longer have any direct contact with prisons, teachers, or students and so feel I can no longer be seen as having anything pertinent to say about education in today's criminal justice system. I would like to put on record that CEA has provided me with some wonderful and memorable moments, friendships, and experiences. CEA people have welcomed me into their homes and into their prisons – I am very grateful and would like to wish you all well in your continued endeavours - Dr Anita Wilson