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# Coming Home to Harlem

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## A Randomized Controlled Trial of the Harlem Parole Reentry Court

By Lama Hassoun Ayoub and Tia Pooler

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# Table of Contents

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<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Executive Summary</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Chapter 1.</b>	
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
The Harlem Parole Reentry Court	1
Study Genesis	3
Organization of the Report	4
<b>Chapter 2.</b>	
<b>Research Design and Methods</b>	<b>6</b>
Randomized Trial Design and Implementation	6
Parolees: Interview Design and Implementation	8
Reentry Court Judges: Interview Design and Implementation	12
Analytic Plan	12
<b>Chapter 3.</b>	
<b>The Impact of the Reentry Court on Recidivism</b>	<b>15</b>
Profile of Parolees	15
Reentry Court Service Provision	18
Reentry Court Impact on Recidivism	19
General Predictors of Recidivism	21
Differential Impacts among Subgroups	22
<b>Chapter 4.</b>	
<b>The Impact of the Reentry Court on Psychosocial Outcomes</b>	<b>25</b>
Education, Employment, and Housing	25
Family and Peers	27
Housing	30
Violent Victimization	31
Substance Use	32

Criminal Activity	33
Ongoing Needs	33
<b>Chapter 5.</b>	
<b>The Role of Supervision Experiences and Parolee Perceptions</b>	<b>35</b>
Supervision and Compliance	35
Procedural Justice and Perceptions of Fairness	38
Substance Abuse Treatment	41
Criminal Thinking	42
Community Involvement & Service Utilization	43
Recidivism and Supervision Experiences	44
<b>Chapter 6.</b>	
<b>Perceptions of Reentry Court Judges</b>	<b>45</b>
Profile of Judges	45
General Impressions of the Reentry Court	46
The Role of the Judge	47
Influences on the Reentry Court	49
Perceptions of Success	50
<b>Chapter 7.</b>	
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>53</b>
Discussion of Major Findings	53
Major Implications	54
Study Strengths and Limitations	55
Future Research Priorities	56
<b>Appendices</b>	
Appendix A.	
Study Implementation Flow Diagram	58
Appendix B.	
Baseline Differences between Treatment and Control Samples	59

Appendix C.	
Parolee Interview Instrument	61
Appendix D.	
Interview Data: Baseline Differences between Participants	87
Appendix E.	
Summary Measures and Scales	89
Appendix F.	
Kaplan-Meier Survival Curves for Recidivism Outcomes	92
Appendix G.	
Recidivism Outcomes based on Risk Level	94
Appendix H.	
Parolee Age and Recidivism	95
Appendix I.	
Reentry Court Judges – Interview Guide	96

# Executive Summary

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Reentry courts are specialized courts that seek to reduce the recidivism of ex-offenders and thereby improve public safety. In light of the increase in the incarceration rate over the last 30 years, and the subsequent increase in the number of individuals released from prison annually, dozens of reentry courts have been established across the country aiming to assist ex-offenders with successful reintegration into society.

Utilizing a randomized controlled trial design, the current study examines the impact of the Harlem Parole Reentry Court. This court was established in 2001 by the New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision (DOCCS, previously the “Division of Parole”) and the Center for Court Innovation. Additional partners include the New York City Mayor’s Office of Criminal Justice and the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services.

Located at 121<sup>st</sup> Street in Manhattan, the Harlem Parole Reentry Court engages parolees for 6-9 months and has several core elements: (1) pre-release engagement, assessment and reentry planning; (2) active judicial oversight; (3) coordination of support services; (4) graduated and parsimonious sanctions; and (5) positive incentives for success. Two previous evaluations documented the program model and early impacts.<sup>1</sup> The current evaluation utilized a rigorous randomized controlled trial design to evaluate the program following the implementation of several evidence-based enhancements, including a comprehensive risk-needs assessment with the COMPAS tool; cognitive-behavioral therapy for medium- and high-risk parolees; and greater deployment of incentives and graduated sanctions in an effort to avoid early resort to final parole revocations.

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<sup>1</sup> See Farole, D.J. 2003. *The Harlem Parole Reentry Court Evaluation: Implementation and Preliminary Impacts*. New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation; and Hamilton, Z. 2010. *Do Reentry Courts Reduce Recidivism? Results from the Harlem Parole Reentry Court*. New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation.

## Methods

The evaluation had four major components:

1. A randomized controlled trial involving random assignment to either the reentry court or traditional parole among parolees returning from state prison to the Harlem community in upper Manhattan;
2. An official records recidivism analysis for all randomly assigned parolees, including data on re-arrest, re-conviction, and revocation/re-incarceration outcomes;
3. One-year follow up interviews with a subsample of those parolees, including a wider range of outcomes as well as data on parolee attitudes and experiences on parole; and
4. Qualitative interviews with judges who have served at the Harlem Parole Reentry Court.

Randomly assigned parolees were released between June 2010 and February 2013. A total of 504 parolees were part of the study: 213 reentry court (treatment) and 291 traditional parole (control).

The study population was predominantly male, black and Hispanic, and averaged about 30 years of age. The reentry court and control groups were similar in terms of criminal history and instant case characteristics, indicating successful implementation of the randomized controlled trial. In both study groups, about one-third of the parolees were in each risk category of low, medium, and high-risk.

## Impact of the Reentry Court

### Recidivism Outcomes

In general, at 18-months post release, all reported recidivism rates trended lower for reentry court participants than the control group, and many of those differences were statistically significant.

- **Rearrest:** The parolee population has high exposure to arrest, with 51% of reentry court parolees and 56% of control group parolees rearrested within 18 months of release.
- **Reconviction:** Reentry court parolees were significantly less likely than the control group to be reconvicted within 18 months (29% v. 37%). This difference represents a 22% relative reduction. Felony reconvictions demonstrated a 60% reduction (4% v. 10%).
- **Revocation:** Both groups had rates of revocation that are historically lower than those reported by DOCCS, a clear indication of recent efforts to reduce revocations in general in New York State. However, the reentry court demonstrated a 45% relative reduction in revocations when compared to the control group (12% v. 22%).

## Additional Outcomes

The subsample that participated in research interviews was generally representative of the larger study sample, with nearly identical statistics on demographics, criminal history, and average recidivism outcomes. Through interviews, a number of other outcomes could be examined.

- **Employment and Education:** Reentry court participants were significantly more likely than the control group to report current school enrollment or employment (75% v. 45%). Reentry court participants also reported employment for more months since their release, with an average of nearly eight months employment (over a 12- to 18-month timeframe) compared to only four months for in the control group.
- **Quality of Employment:** Reentry court participants reported more than double the control group’s average work hours. Reentry court participants were also more likely to report that their current job offered health insurance (31% v. 14%) and paid days off (39% v. 16%).
- **Income:** Reentry court participants were significantly more likely to report income from a job or support from family members than the control group. The reentry court participants’ annual income, calculated by combining all sources, was significantly higher than the control group at \$15,396 per year compared to \$12,477.
- **Substance Use:** Reentry court parolees were less likely to report using drugs, with 65% indicating that they were not using drugs at all at the time of the interview. Only 39% of the control group stated that they were not using drugs, a difference that approaches statistical significance.
- **Family Relationships:** Generally, reentry court participants had better scores on three separate multi-item measures of family support, encompassing family conflict, emotional support, and instrumental (e.g., financial) support. Reentry court parolees also had a significantly higher score on the overall quality of family relationships—which combines results on all three constituent scales—when compared to the control group.
- **Criminal Activity:** While not statistically significant, only 33% of reentry court participants reported any criminal activity since release compared to 44% of the control group.
- **Other Outcomes:** Data was also collected on housing, ongoing needs, mental health, victimization, and criminogenic peers. While the results generally trended in favor the reentry court participants, most did not reach statistical significance.

## Supervision Experiences and Parolee Perceptions

- **Supervision:** Reentry court participants reported a significantly greater average number of in-person meetings with their parole officer (26.7) in the past year, compared to the control group (20.2). Reentry court parolees also reported significantly more in person meetings with their case managers (15.2 v. 4.5 meetings).
- **Compliance with Supervision Conditions:** Reentry court participants were significantly less likely to report violating their supervision conditions than the control group (26% v. 48%), a finding that is consistent with the revocation results presented earlier. Similarly, when asked about the number of times they had violated their conditions since their release, the control group averaged nearly six instances of violating their conditions, whereas the reentry court group averaged close to one instance.
- **Incentives and Sanctions:** The reentry court participants were significantly more likely than the control group to report having received at least one incentive (“reward”) since their release (96% v. 77%). The reentry court participants also reported a significantly lower likelihood of receiving a sanction than the control group (30% v. 63%).
- **Procedural Justice:** When asked about their most recent experience in court, and their attitudes towards the judge and their parole officer, the differences between the reentry court and the control group were statistically significant on every dimension. On several five-point multi-item scales, the reentry court participants scored significantly higher on procedural justice in court (4.10 v. 2.76), attitudes towards the judge (4.01 v. 2.94), and attitudes towards the parole officer (3.97 v. 3.66).
- **Criminal Thinking:** The reentry court group generally scored better on the criminal thinking scale than the control group, with statistically lower responses on feelings of entitlement, the need for power and control, personal irresponsibility, and justification of actions by external circumstance.
- **Readiness for Change:** When asked a series of questions about their readiness to change their lives and refrain from a life that involved criminal activity (combined into a multi-item scale), the reentry court participants scored significantly higher than the control group.
- **Explaining Recidivism Reductions:** Perceptions of procedural fairness, attitudes toward the judge, number of case manager and probation officer meetings, sanctions, and housing status may play a role in reducing revocations. Besides these factors, rearrest and reconviction may also be reduced through the use of group counseling (for mental health treatment).

## **The Perspectives of Reentry Court Judges**

The four reentry court judges who were interviewed expressed generally positive impressions of the reentry court, its possible effects on participants, and its importance. The judges also reflected on the characteristics of effective reentry court judges, citing an ability to connect with participants through ongoing status hearings; identification with the community; a willingness to implement a holistic approach to parole; and respect for all persons who come before the judge. The judges also underlined the importance of a collaborative approach to decision-making amongst all reentry court team members, grounded in a willingness of team members to extend beyond traditional organizational cultures and practices of their home agency. The judges also expressed that elements of the reentry court approach, especially in regards to procedural justice, should be utilized throughout the criminal justice system. Finally, all of the judges independently observed that their time presiding in the reentry court was of great personal value.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

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The increase in the United States rate of incarceration has been well documented and has become a priority for policymakers, practitioners, and service providers. As of the end of 2013, nearly 6.9 million people were under the supervision of adult correctional systems in the United States. The incarceration rate is also reflected in the large number of individuals released from prison annually. An estimated 4.7 million persons were on probation or parole at the end of 2013, representing 70% of the correctional population.<sup>2</sup>

Once released from prison, ex-offenders face major challenges in reintegrating into their communities, including barriers in employment, housing, and services, which impact their ability to lead law-abiding lives. Of those released from prison nationally in 2005, 68% were arrested on a new crime within three years and 77% were arrested within 5 years. Over half (55.1%) of ex-offenders had returned to prison on a new conviction or a violation within 5 years of release.<sup>3</sup>

In light of the challenges associated with reintegration into society after prison, and the large number of individuals on community supervision, dozens of reentry courts have been established throughout the country.<sup>4</sup> Reentry courts are specialized courts that work to reduce the recidivism of ex-offenders and thereby improve public safety. Reentry courts are considered to be a type of problem-solving court and have built off of elements of the drug court model.<sup>5</sup> Regarding specific policies and practices, reentry courts are diverse in their makeup; they have different target populations (e.g. parolees or probationers); a variety of eligibility criteria (e.g. some exclude violent offenders; some focus on drug offenders); and

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<sup>2</sup> Glaze L.E. and D. Kaeble. 2014. *Correctional Population in the United States, 2013*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

<sup>3</sup> Durose M.R., A.D. Cooper, H.N. Snyder. 2014. *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 30 States in 2005: Patterns from 2005 to 2010*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

<sup>4</sup> Wolf, R. 2011. *Reentry Courts: Looking Ahead*. New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation.

<sup>5</sup> For more information about the drug court model, see Cissner A. and M. Rempel. 2005. *The State of Drug Court Research Moving Beyond 'Do They Work?'*. New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation; or visit <http://www.courtinnovation.org/research/browse/all?topic=39&author=All>

provide different services (e.g. some provide pre-release services and some do not).<sup>6</sup> They also exist in different contexts with varying levels of policymaker, court system, and political support.

## The Harlem Parole Reentry Court

Prisoner reentry is a particularly important issue in Upper Manhattan, encompassing the four community districts that cover East, Central, and West Harlem, as well as Washington Heights and Inwood (see map in Figure 1.1). In 2012 alone, over 400 individuals were released on parole to Upper Manhattan, the majority of whom reside in East and Central Harlem.

Parolees returning to one of the poorest neighborhoods in New York City, plagued by crime and unemployment, face additional challenges and bleak prospects. In East Harlem, 41.2% of the population lives below the poverty level, compared to 17.7% for all of Manhattan.<sup>7</sup> According to the U.S. Census Bureau, as the unemployment rate nationally began to drop, the unemployment rates in Upper Manhattan remained high. In East Harlem, 12% of the population is unemployed, while in nearby Washington Heights, the unemployment rate is above 15%.<sup>8</sup> And, although overall crime rates have declined in New York City, Upper Manhattan neighborhoods are still increasingly impacted by crime and violence. For example, between 2009 and 2010, shootings increased by 72% in East Harlem and 33% in Central Harlem, compared to a 35% increase in the rest of Manhattan.

Figure 1.1 Map of Upper Manhattan



The Harlem Parole Reentry Court serves parolees returning to Upper Manhattan and helps them with the transition from life in prison to life in the community. The reentry court was established by the Center for Court Innovation in 2001 through a partnership with the New

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<sup>6</sup> Lindquist, C.H., J. Hardison Walters, M. Rempel and S.M. Carey. 2013. The National Institute of Justice's Evaluation of Second Chance Act Adult Reentry Courts: Program Characteristics and Preliminary Themes from Year 1. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

<sup>7</sup> 2009-2013 American Community Survey 5-year Estimates

<sup>8</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, 2010-2012 American Community Survey 3-year Estimates.

York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision (DOCCS, formerly, the Division of Parole) and the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS). It operates out of the Harlem Community Justice Center, a multi-jurisdictional community court operated by the Center for Court Innovation and the New York State Unified Court System.

The work of the Harlem Parole Reentry Court is accomplished through a collaborative team effort involving an administrative law judge, case managers, parole officers, and social service providers. The Harlem Parole Reentry Court engages clients for 6-9 months after release and has the following core elements:

- **Pre-release engagement, assessment and reentry planning:** Case managers conduct pre-release intakes with individuals in prison; clients receive a risk/needs assessment upon their release and first report to the reentry court; individualized reentry plans are also developed by case managers in consultation with the parolee and parole officers;
- **Active judicial oversight:** Clients participate in formal court appearances and build a relationship with the reentry court judge. The judge is also involved in decision-making processes around reward, sanctions, violations, and arrests;
- **Coordination of support services:** Parolees are connected to a wide range of social services, including drug treatment, employment and vocational services, housing assistance, and health care and mental health treatment. Where appropriate, these services may also be offered to family members as well to help increase stability in the home;
- **Graduated and parsimonious sanctions:** parole officers and the judge use predetermined sanctions for violations in lieu of revocations;
- **Incentives for success:** Clients receive incentives (“rewards”) for achieving milestones such as obtaining employment, program completion, or early discharge. Clients also participate in a graduation ceremony upon completion of the program.

Further detail on the reentry court and its service provision can be found in two previous evaluation reports.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See Farole, D.J. 2003. *The Harlem Parole Reentry Court Evaluation: Implementation and Preliminary Impacts*. New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation; and Hamilton, Z. 2010. *Do Reentry Courts Reduce Recidivism? Results from the Harlem Parole Reentry Court*. New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation.

## Study Genesis

A 2010 quasi-experimental evaluation of the Harlem Parole Reentry Court produced significant findings that resulted in important program modifications. Using a quasi-experimental design, the study compared reentry court participants with similar parolees under traditional parole supervision and tracked their recidivism outcomes over three years.<sup>10</sup>

Based on a final matched sample of 317 reentry court participants and 637 comparison participants, the findings indicated a generally positive impact of the reentry court. Specifically, reentry court parolees were less likely to be rearrested and they were less likely to be reconvicted at one, two, or three years post release. Analyses also indicated that program completion was also associated with lower odds of rearrest and revocation. However, reentry court parolees were more likely to be revoked and returned to prison than the comparison group (56% compared to 36% at 3 years).

In response to these findings, the reentry court made important changes to their approach and strategies. First, they introduced the COMPAS, a validated and reliable tool for assessing the risks and needs of individuals returning from prison.<sup>11</sup> Along with the new instrument, the reentry court trained staff and ensured a more deliberate use of the risk/needs profiles of participants in their case planning and management. The court also introduced new and effective evidence-based practices.<sup>12</sup> Cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT) has been provided to high-risk parolees since 2010 through the Thinking for a Change program.<sup>13</sup> Case managers

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<sup>10</sup> Hamilton, Z. 2010. *Do Reentry Courts Reduce Recidivism? Results from the Harlem Parole Reentry Court*. New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation.

<sup>11</sup> For more information about COMPAS, see: <http://www.northpointeinc.com/products/compas-re-entry>. For independent validation studies of the COMPAS, see Blomberg, T., W. Bales, K. Mann, R. Meldrum, J. Nedelc. 2010. *Validation of the COMPAS Risk Assessment Classification Instrument*. Tallahassee, FL: Report prepared for the Broward County Sheriff's Office Department of Community Control by the Center for Criminology and Criminal Justice, College of Criminal Justice and Criminology, Florida State University; Farabee, D., S. Zhang, R.E.L. Roberts, J. Yang. 2010. *COMPAS Validation Study: Final Report*. Report submitted to the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation; Fass, T.L., K. Heilbrun, D. Dematteo, and R. Fretz. 2008. "The LSI-R and the COMPAS: Validation Data on Two Risk-Needs Tools." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 35:1095-1108; Lansing, S. 2012. *New York State COMPAS-Probation Risk and Need Assessment Study: Examining the Recidivism Scale's Effectiveness and Predictive Accuracy*. Albany, NY: Criminal Justice Research Report, New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services, Office of Justice Research and Performance.

<sup>12</sup> For the purposes of this report, programs and interventions with at least two strong evaluation designs that have shown positive impacts are considered evidence-based. Programs with research supporting their effectiveness that do not reach this threshold are considered promising.

<sup>13</sup> Thinking for a Change is considered to be evidence-based. Studies showing its effectiveness include: Lowenkamp, C.T., D. Hubbard, M.D. Makarios, and E.J. Latessa. 2009. A Quasi-Experimental Evaluation of Thinking for a Change: A "Real-World" Application. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 36(2):137-146; and Golden, L. S. 2003. Evaluation of the efficacy of a cognitive behavioral program for offenders on probation: Thinking for a Change

and staff were also trained in motivational interviewing, an evidence-based method of counseling clients to assist in lifestyle changes.<sup>14</sup> Other changes included more consistent use of the graduated sanctions, more deliberate use of positive reinforcement, and increased engagement with parole officers and bureaus to ensure ongoing support and buy-in to the philosophy of the reentry court.

## Organization of the Report

The next chapter describes the research design and methodology, including the randomized controlled trial, parolee interviews, and judge interviews. Chapter 3 describes the impact of the Harlem Parole Reentry Court on recidivism, and provides descriptive statistics on the study population, reentry court service provision, and the general predictors of recidivism for parolees. Chapter 4 describes the impact of the reentry court on additional outcomes, including education and employment, victimization, substance use and criminal activity. Chapter 5 provides information on the role of supervision experiences and parolee perceptions, including procedural justice and criminal thinking. Chapter 6 describes the findings from interviews with the reentry court judges. Chapter 7 summarizes major findings and key implications, describes study limitations, and provides suggestions for future research.

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(Doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center at Dallas, 2002). Dissertation Abstracts International, 63(10), 4902.

<sup>14</sup> Motivational Interviewing is considered to be evidence-based. Studies showing its effectiveness include: Miller, W. R., C.E. Yahne, J.S. Tonigan. 2003. Motivational interviewing in drug abuse services: A randomized trial. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 71(4): 754-763. Kemp R, G. Kirov, B Everitt, P. Hayward, and A. David.1998. Randomised controlled trial of compliance therapy. 18-month follow-up. *The British Journal of Psychiatry*. 172:413–419.

## Chapter 2

# Research Design and Methods

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This chapter describes the research design and methods of the study. It begins with the design and methodology of the randomized controlled trial, including a discussion of randomization protocols. It then describes the interviews with the randomly assigned participants, including instrument development, participant recruitment, and implementation of data collection. The chapter also includes discussion of scale construction and the analytic plan. In addition, the chapter discusses the methods for the interviews with administrative law judges. All methods were approved by the Center for Court Innovation Institutional Review Board.

## Randomized Controlled Trial Design and Implementation

Eligibility for the randomized controlled trial was determined based upon the criteria for entry into the reentry court. Study-eligible parolees were released to Upper Manhattan beginning in 2010 and were required to be on parole and residing in the borough of New York. The reentry court excludes three categories of parolees: (1) those diagnosed with Axis I mental health disorders; (2) sex offenders; (3) parolees who had been convicted of arson. These exclusions exist because DOCCS requires special conditions for those parolees and because the reentry court could not address their needs. The exclusions also applied for the randomized trial design; hence, parolees from these three categories were excluded from the control group.

Between 2010 and 2012, the research team received community preparation lists from DOCCS and risk lists from DCJS on a quarterly basis for randomization. The community preparation lists consisted of individuals who will be released from prison and on to parole in Upper Manhattan in the next three months. The risk lists consisted of risk score information on the soon-to-be-released parolees. The risk scores utilized on the risk lists, and in this study, are the DCJS recidivism and violent felony risk scores. These scores, described in further detail in Chapter 2, are based on a series of static measures: age, gender, and criminal and corrections history.<sup>15</sup> The risk scores reflect the probability of re-arrest within two years of release.

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<sup>15</sup> Division of Criminal Justice Services. 2011. 2009 Profile: County Reentry Task Force Participants. Albany, NY: State of New York.

The lists were combined and then sent to the Senior Parole Officer at the Reentry Court who conducted the initial review and exclusion process. The SPO would review the full list and remove parolees who met the exclusion criteria as well as those who are part of New York State's Shock Incarceration program.<sup>16</sup> If the information was available, she also removed individuals who would be deported.

The revised lists would then be returned to the research team who would conduct the randomization process. Parolees were then randomly assigned to either Harlem reentry court or the control group using a random number generator in the SPSS statistical package. Two lists would be generated: one of the treatment group and the other of the control group. The lists were then sent to DOCCS for parolee placement upon release and assignment to parole officers. Parolees in the treatment group were assigned to the parole officers at the reentry court and were required to report to the Reentry Court in Harlem upon release. Parolees on traditional parole were assigned to other parole officers and were required to report to the parole offices in midtown Manhattan upon release.

After random assignment, and usually after the parolee release date, a secondary review was conducted by the research team. Specifically, researchers removed parolees who did not ultimately reside in the catchment area (Upper Manhattan) upon release. They also removed parolees who would be deported. This process occurred after randomization because the information needed for the exclusions was often not available to the research team at the time of group assignment. It is important to note that the information required for these exclusions was readily available for the treatment group, but not for the control group. Every effort was made to remove participants who met the same exclusion criteria from the control group lists; however, the process for the secondary review of the control group lists was less accurate.

The first parolees assigned to either group were released in June 2010; the last parolees were released in February 2013. Appendix A presents a flowchart of study assignment (including the interview component, discussed later). In total, 291 parolees were assigned to the control group and 213 parolees were assigned to the treatment group (N=504). In 2010, random assignment occurred on a 1:1 basis; however, the ratio of parolees assigned to reentry court or traditional parole varied depending on the capacity and staffing of the program. Since parole officers at the reentry court have smaller caseloads than their counterparts at traditional

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<sup>16</sup> Selection for the Shock program occurs during prison and involves voluntary enrollment by the offender. Shock offenders are released early and assigned to an intensive form of parole, referred to as "AfterShock." For more information about New York State's Shock Incarceration Program, see Clark C., D.W. Aziz, and D.L. MacKenzie. 1994. Shock Incarceration in New York: Focus on Treatment. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

parole, random assignment ratios were adjusted to accommodate PO and staffing changes (for example, if a PO or case manager left or retired, the reentry court capacity was reduced, rather than increasing the caseloads of the other staff). In 2011, more parolees were assigned to traditional parole at a 2:1 ratio. In 2012 and 2013, the ratio returned to 1:1. Table 2.1 provides a breakdown of the group assignment by parolee release year.

**Table 2.1. Group Assignment by Release Year**

Release Year	Reentry Court	Control Group	Total
<b>N</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>291</b>	<b>504</b>
2010	17.8%	17.2%	17.5%
2011	32.9%	48.1%	41.7%
2012	43.2%	30.6%	35.9%
2013	6.1%	4.1%	5.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Baseline comparisons between those assigned to the reentry court and those assigned to the control group generally suggest that the randomization was successful and that the two groups are nearly identical (Appendix B). The samples differed on only four baseline characteristics (of 51 total parameters) at the  $p < .05$  level. The first two items with differences are related to the crime associated with the instant parole case.<sup>17</sup> Specifically, the reentry court parolees were more likely to be arrested and convicted on a violent felony than the control group (which had higher rates of drug offenses). The reentry court parolees were also more likely to have been born in the United States, an unfortunate difference that is likely related to the secondary exclusion process described above. Because of limited information, some parolees who were subject to deportation in the control group may have not been removed, resulting in a lower percentage of parolees born in the United States (90% in the control group; 97% in the treatment group). The fourth item with significant differences between the two groups was release year, a difference that was expected given the changes in random assignment ratios from year to year. However, given the number of parameters considered, one would naturally expect an average of three or four differences to arise at the  $p < .05$  level, and having only two differences that are unaccounted for (arrest and conviction) is well within the range of credible, naturally occurring outcomes, assuming that the randomization process was well-implemented. Preliminary logistic regression models, not presented here, examining the

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<sup>17</sup> The term “instant case,” used throughout this report, refers to the case that resulted in the release on parole and into this evaluation.

impact of these four variables on recidivism outcomes indicate that two of these variables, arrest charge and place of birth, may play a role in rearrest (but not in any other recidivism outcomes). Since at least 90% of both the treatment and control samples were born in the United States, differences on the place of birth parameter in particular are unlikely to substantially influence the resulting impact findings.

## **Parolees: Interview Design and Implementation**

The interview component of the study was initiated in late 2011 and the interview protocols and instrument were approved by DOCCS and the Center for Court Innovation Institutional Review Board (IRB).<sup>18</sup> The original study design did not include interviews with assigned parolees and randomization had been underway for over one year once the interview component was added. For this reason, baseline interviews were not conducted, only one year follow-up interviews.

Interviews with parolees assigned to both the treatment and control groups were aimed to obtain information in two general categories: (1) the role of experiences since release, including supervision and compliance, procedural justice and perceptions and fairness, treatment and service provision, criminal thinking, and community involvement; and (2) the impact of the reentry court on outcomes other than recidivism, such as education, employment, housing, victimization, family relationships, substance use, undetected criminal activity and client needs.

The interview instrument was developed through a collaborative process and through consultation with researchers who have worked on other reentry or drug court evaluations. Interview questions fell into several categories and were drawn from a variety of sources, including validated instruments. Table 2.2 outlines the sections of the interview and their sources. In order to comply with the DOCCS, a series of questions was left out of the instrument used for incarcerated participants. Those modifications are also listed in Table 2.2. The full interview instrument is available in Appendix C.

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<sup>18</sup> The DOCCS and IRB approval processes took 6-9 months.

**Table 2.2 Interview Instrument Sources and Modifications**

Instrument Section	Source	Incarcerated Interviews <sup>1</sup>
Interview Introduction—Interviewer only	CCI	
Demographics	CCI/MADCE	
Education	CCI/LSIR/MADCE	Modified
Employment	SVORI	Modified
Income	MADCE	Removed
Health Insurance	MADCE	
Parole and Court Supervision (frequency & requirements)	SVORI/CCI	
Procedural Justice/Perceptions of Fairness in court	MADCE	
Attitudes towards Judge	MADCE	
Attitudes towards Parole Officer	SVORI/CCI	
Threat of Punishment & Certainty of Response	MADCE	
Criminal Behavior	MADCE	
Criminal History	CCI	
Substance Use	TCU Drug Screen	
Substance Abuse Treatment	MADCE/CCI	
Current mental health (past 7 days)	BSI—18	Removed
Victimization	MADCE	Removed
Criminal Thinking	TCU—Criminal Thinking	
Readiness for Change	SVORI	
Housing Status	SVORI	
Family Information (marital status/parents/children)	MADCE/CCI	Modified
Family Relationships	MADCE	
Family Emotional Support	MADCE	
Family Conflict	MADCE	
Family Instrumental Support	MADCE	
Family Crime and Drug Use	COMPAS/CCI	
Criminogenic Peers	SVORI/COMPAS	
Community Involvement	SVORI	
Service Utilization	SVORI/MADCE/CCI	
Coordination of Services (pre-release to post-release)	CCI	
Perceived Service Needs	SVORI/CCI	
Incarceration—Incarcerated Participants only	MADCE	
Interview Status & Perceptions—Interviewer only	CCI/MADCE	

CCI = Center for Court Innovation research team; MADCE = Multi-site Adult Drug Court Evaluation instrument; SVORI = Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiative instrument. Other instruments are described in further detail below.

For more information about MADCE, see Rossman S.B., M. Rempel, J.K. Roman, J.M. Zweig, C.H. Lindquist, M. Green, P.M. Downey, J. Yahner, A.S. Bhati, and D.J. Farole. 2011. *The Multi-Site Adult Drug Court Evaluation: The Impact of Drug Courts*. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute. For more information about SVORI, see Lattimore, P. K., and D. M. Steffey. 2009. *The Multisite Evaluation of SVORI: Methodology and Analytic Approach*. Research Triangle Park, N.C.: RTI International.

<sup>1</sup>Questions were removed or modified for incarcerated participants as required by DOCCS.

The first interviews occurred in June 2012. Interviews occurred at approximately one-year post release. No parolees were interviewed prior to the one year cutoff, and a grace period of up to 18 months was allowed in order to ensure sufficient recruitment and interview scheduling time. Parolees who had been released more than 18 months prior to the initiation of recruitment, such as those released in 2010, were automatically ineligible for interviews (N=54).

Parolees assigned to both the treatment and control groups were recruited and offered \$25 to participate in a one-hour interview. Recruitment occurred through three primary means:

1. Direct mailing to addresses in parole file (N=335);
2. Phone calls to phone numbers in parole file (N=331); and
3. Direct contact at parole offices or through a flyer shared by the parole officer (N=94).

Attempts were made to reach all those individuals who had been randomly assigned (N=504). However, challenges existed with each recruitment strategy. Direct mailings were not utilized for individuals who were incarcerated; living in shelters, transitional housing, or group homes with confidentiality concerns; or who had no address on file. Phone calls were not utilized for individuals who were incarcerated or who had no phone number on file. Direct contact at parole offices or through parole officers were limited to individuals who were reporting on a regular basis (weekly or biweekly). Individuals on parole who had advanced and were reporting less frequently (quarterly or monthly) were difficult to contact.

There were different subsets of potential interview participants that were particularly difficult to reach.<sup>19</sup> First, a subset of participants had been discharged from parole, and their contact information was outdated or unavailable. Discharged participants, considered to have completed parole successfully, also no longer reported to the parole office. Another subset of participants was absconders, and their parole officers could not reach them. Absconders also had non-functioning or outdated phone numbers and addresses. Two parolees were unable to participate because of major health issues and hospitalization; another three did not participate because they were primarily Spanish-speaking and the interview was not offered in any other languages. Thirteen participants scheduled interviews or expressed interest but were repeat no-shows. Finally, 70 participants were contacted successfully but refused to participate.

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<sup>19</sup> The N for each subset of participants is not reported due to inaccuracy of the data used for interviews and the transient nature of information provided by DOCCS (i.e. a parolee may be reporting one week, and then become an absconder or be rearrested the next week).

In total, 102 participants were interviewed for this evaluation, reflecting 20% of the full randomized sample. While the response rate is low, the challenges associated with recruiting this study population cannot be underestimated. Their lack of availability, due primarily to absconding, incarceration, discharge, or incorrect contact information, proved to be a major barrier to recruitment. As mentioned previously, interviews were conducted at 12 months post-release, with an 18-month cutoff. Parolees who had been released in 2010, about 18% of the study population, were mostly ineligible for the study, since their release had been nearly 2 years prior to initiation of interviews.

Comparison of baseline differences between the interviewed sample and the full sample indicate that those interviewed may be considered generally representative of the full randomized sample (Appendix D), although a few significant differences were detected. Specifically, the interviewed participants (in both the treatment and control groups) are slightly older, at an average of 32 years old, than those not interviewed, at an average of 30 years old. They are also more likely to be born in the United States, a bias that is expected given that a second-language option for interviews was not offered. Interviewed participants also had slightly lower risk scores upon release, an average of 4.7 compared to 5.5 for the non-interviewed parolees.

Baseline comparisons were also conducted for the interviewed sample, comparing the treatment and control groups (Appendix D). No statistically significant differences were found, indicating that attrition bias processes were relatively evenly distributed between treatment and control group participants.

## **Interviews with Incarcerated Participants**

Incarcerated participants required a different recruitment and interview process. There were two types of incarcerated participants: (1) those incarcerated in local New York City jails; and (2) those incarcerated in New York State prisons, usually in facilities that were 3-8 hours away from New York City.

The incarcerated participants in category 1 were not able to be recruited for a variety of reasons. First, approval to conduct interviews through the New York City Department of Correction (DOC) was never obtained and proved to be a long and fruitless process. Second, the nature of incarceration in local jails is transient; participants may be there from as little as 1 day to 1 year, making the length of stay difficult to predict and heavily influenced by the local arrest, prosecutorial discretion, associated parole violations (i.e. being violated for the arrest regardless of whether or not a conviction occurs), court system and other criminal justice factors. Contacting individuals through mail or phone at local facilities is unreliable and would have resulted in confidentiality concerns. Individuals incarcerated in local jail who

are reconvicted would be transferred to New York State prisons, although this process may take many months or several years.

The participants in category 2, those in New York State prisons, were recruited for the interviews through a process that involved DOCCS and travel to upstate prisons. DOCCS was provided lists of incarcerated participants (once one-year post-release had been reached) and conducted preliminary outreach through prison staff. The eligible inmates were asked whether or not they would be interested in participating in an interview; an affirmative response initiated a process that involved scheduling an interview with the prison and ensuring that the participant would be made available for the interview. A subset of incarcerated participants was excluded because DOCCS or prison staff restricted access to them because of recent violent behavior in the facility or solitary confinement. Two participants became unavailable for these reasons after they had expressed initial interest and the interview set up process had been initiated. One incarcerated participant was unable to complete the interview because of a language barrier.

In total, 11 incarcerated participants completed the interview (1 from the treatment group and 10 from the control group). Although a larger proportion of the incarcerated participants had been assigned to the control group, no statistically significant differences were detected between interviewed incarcerated participants and interviewed non-incarcerated participants (tables not presented). For this reason, all interview analyses presented in this report do not exclude the incarcerated participants.

## **Reentry Court Judges: Interview Design and Implementation**

The goal of the interviews with reentry court judges was to understand their perspectives and also provide context for the recidivism and interview findings. Importantly, reentry court judges are administrative law judges (ALJs); they are employees of the New York State DOCCS and are typically responsible for parole violation and revocation hearings. They are part of the executive branch of government, not the judicial branch of government.

The judge interview instrument was developed by researchers and guided by existing reentry court stakeholder interviews and judicial focus groups for projects involving the Center for Court Innovation. Questions were informed by emergent findings and themes in existing literature on the unique judicial role in problem-solving courts. Specifically, questions touched on elements that make presiding in the reentry court different from sitting in traditional courts, such as the judicial problem-solving orientation, direct defendant interaction, ongoing supervision, integration of social services, and the use of a team-based

non-adversarial approach.<sup>20</sup> The final instrument consisted of 23 main questions, most with various sub-questions and prompts. These fell within the general domains of background/experience, the judicial role (reentry and conventional courts), influences on reentry court, and impact and lessons learned.

Researchers then reached out to the administrative law judges who had presided in the Harlem Parole Reentry Court at some point in time since its inception in 2001. Four out of five judges agreed to take part in the study between January and March 2014; three did so in-person and one by phone. (The one judge who did not participate had retired many years ago and was difficult to reach for an interview.) The interviews were semi-structured, using the instrument as a guide but also adapting to topics introduced or expanded by the interviewee. The participants gave clear oral consent that their responses would be utilized in this evaluation, but that their identities would not be disclosed and any quotes would remain anonymous. Researchers took detailed notes during each interview which were later transcribed for analysis.

## Analytic Plan

Official records on all parolees randomly assigned to the treatment and control groups were obtained from the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS). Program data was obtained from the reentry court through available databases and hard copy files.

## Outcome Measures

**Primary Outcomes:** The primary outcomes were three measures of recidivism, specifically, rearrest, reconviction, and parole revocation. Rearrests and reconvictions are also provided by type (felony, drug, violent felony). The measure for revocation includes both technical violations and new convictions. Technical violation revocations are returns to prison based on violations of parole conditions. Multiple measures of recidivism allow for a more comprehensive view of parolee success and failure; reliance on only one measure may not provide sufficient information. For example, many arrests do not result in conviction, such as when charges are dismissed, and some convictions do not result in a return to prison. All three measures of recidivism were examined at 12 and 18 months post-release. Longer time periods were not available for the entire study sample. However, days to re-arrest, reconviction, and revocation were also analyzed as part of a survival analysis that was able to incorporate longer than 18-month tracking periods for at least some study participants.

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<sup>20</sup> Farole Jr., D.J., N. Puffett, M. Rempel and F. Byrne. 2004. Can Innovation be Institutionalized? Problem-Solving in Mainstream Courts. New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation.

**Secondary Outcomes:** Secondary outcomes were collected for those parolees who participated in the interview component of the study. Based on the intended impact of the reentry court, these outcome measures are: employment and education, housing status, substance use, criminal activity, family and peer relationships, and ongoing needs. Employment and education are presented as multiple dichotomous measures, with a summary dichotomous variable measuring whether participants are currently employed or in school. Mental health was measured using a validated and reliable instrument, the Brief Symptom Inventory 18, which produces four scores: depression score, anxiety score, somatization score, and a global severity index (a compilation of the first three). Similarly, substance use was measured using the TCU Drug Screen, which produces two scores, a drug score and a severity measure. Criminal activity since release was measured through a series of yes/no questions and has been collapsed into a single dichotomous measure of any criminal activity. Housing status and ongoing needs are also presented as dichotomous.

## Independent Variables

The primary independent variable was the randomized condition: whether the parolee has been assigned to the treatment group or the control group. DCJS data also included full criminal history, as well as demographic and instant case characteristics, such as arrest charge/severity, conviction charge/severity, release year, and whether or not the parolee had been re-released on the same case. DCJS risk score and DCJS violent felony risk score (VFO risk) were also provided and used as the primary measure of risk in this evaluation. The DCJS risk score is based on a series of static measures: age, gender, and criminal and corrections history.<sup>21</sup> The risk score reflects the probability of re-arrest within two years of release. DCJS also breaks down the risk score into low (scores of 1-3), medium (4-6) and high (7-10) risk. Although DCJS discontinued the use of the DCJS risk score in July 2013—after the end of the randomization portion of this study—and replaced it with the COMPAS, a more dynamic risk assessment tool, DCJS risk score has since been shown to be a better predictor of risk for rearrest than the COMPAS.<sup>22</sup>

A series of participant perceptions and experiences measures were created from interview data (for the sub-sample who completed the interviews). Summary measures were developed based on the interview questions; a Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ) was used to measure reliability, with a cutoff of  $\alpha \geq 0.65$  (slightly lower than the standard value used in the literature of 0.70). Using an iterative process, items were added or removed to maximize the alpha for each

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<sup>21</sup> Division of Criminal Justice Services. 2011. 2009 Profile: County Reentry Task Force Participants. Albany, NY: State of New York.

<sup>22</sup> Herrschaft, B.A. 2014. Evaluating the reliability and validity of the Correctional Offender Management Profiling for Alternative Sanctions (COMPAS) tool. Dissertation, Newark, NJ: Rutgers University.

measure. Appendix E presents the final items included in each of the summary variables, as well as the mean score and standard deviation for each item. Summary measures whose alpha did not reach the threshold of 0.65 presented in Appendix E were ultimately abandoned; dichotomous measures are presented in the results instead. Criminal thinking was measured using the validated TCU Criminal Thinking instrument, which produces scores for six categories: entitlement, justification, power orientation, cold heartedness, criminal rationalization, and personal irresponsibility.

The remaining interview responses are presented as dichotomous measures, involving yes/no responses, or are collapsed into unscaled summary measures indicating any affirmative response. These include measures of community involvement (e.g. yes/no to participating in local groups), service utilization (e.g. yes/no to receiving a service), and supervision compliance (e.g. yes/no to violating conditions).

## **Analyses**

Logistic regression models were used to determine the predictors of recidivism for the full sample, regardless of group. Given the relative success of the randomization protocol, bivariate analyses (t-tests and chi square tests) were performed to determine statistically significant differences in the primary recidivism outcomes between the treatment and control groups. Differential impacts in subgroups of risk, age, and reentry court graduation were examined using bivariate analyses as well.

Kaplan-Meier survival analysis was conducted to compare the length of time until a recidivist event between the treatment and control groups. A log rank test was run to determine statistically significant differences in the survival curves.

With the aim of developing multivariate regression models utilizing interview data, bivariate regression was utilized to determine which independent variables may be predictors of recidivism. Efforts to develop a multivariate model, including the use of backward stepwise regression, were fruitless due in part to low sample size in the interviewed sample, and only significant findings from bivariate regressions are presented in Chapter 3.

## Chapter 3

# The Impact of the Reentry Court on Recidivism

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This chapter begins with a profile of parolees in the study sample and then describes the services received by those who were assigned to the reentry court. General predictors of recidivism for the full sample are described, followed by results for the impact of the reentry court on recidivism. Finally, this chapter discusses differential impacts among subgroups of the study population—particularly as defined by their risk level.

## Profile of Parolees

A total of 504 parolees were randomly assigned to either the Harlem Parole Reentry Court or traditional parole. Of those, 213 were assigned to the reentry court and 291 were assigned to the treatment group. As described in further detail in Chapter 2, the two groups were similar in their baseline characteristics; hence, this profile describes characteristics of the entire sample, regardless of group. A full comparison of baseline characteristics is available in Appendix B.

The parolees in this study are about 30 years old on average, and predominantly male (97.2%). They are mostly black (69%) or Hispanic (30%), classifications that are mutually exclusive in DOCCS and DCJS data. The vast majority of parolees in this study were born in the United States (93%), a predictable consequence of excluding those who were likely to be deported.

**Table 3.1 Demographic Profile of Parolees**

	<b>Full Study Sample</b>
<b>N</b>	<b>504</b>
Average Age	30.2
Female	3%
<b>Race/Ethnicity</b>	
White	1%
Black/African-American	69%
Hispanic/Latino	30%
Born in the United States	93%

As depicted in Table 3.2, the parolees have extensive criminal histories. They have an average of 12 prior arrests, 7 prior drug arrests, and 6 prior felony arrests. The majority have been arrested on drug charges (84%), felony charges (91%), violent felonies (67%) or drug felonies (73%) at least once. They also have an average of 8 prior convictions, including 3 prior drug convictions and 3 prior felony convictions. Given this arrest and conviction history, most have been previously sentenced to custody, with an average of 4 prior custodial sentences, including about 2 in prison.

**Table 3.2 Criminal Profile of Parolees**

	Full Study Sample
N	504
<b>Criminal History</b>	
<b>Prior Arrests</b>	
# prior arrests	12.0
Any prior arrest	95%
# drug arrests	5.6
Any drug arrest	84%
# felony arrests	6.2
Any felony arrest	91%
# violent felony arrests	1.8
Any violent felony arrest	67%
# drug felony arrests	3.1
Any drug felony arrest	73%
<b>Prior Convictions</b>	
# prior convictions	8
Any prior conviction	91%
# drug convictions	3.2
Any drug conviction	69%
# felony convictions	2.5
Any felony conviction	79%
# violent felony convictions	0.5
Any violent felony conviction	36%
# drug felony convictions	1.3
Any drug felony conviction	57%
<b>Prior Incarceration</b>	
# prior custodial sentences	4.4
Any custodial sentence	80%
# prior prison sentences	1.5
Any prior prison sentence	62%
<b>Prior Warrants and Revocations</b>	
# prior parole revocation	0.5
Any prior revocation	27%

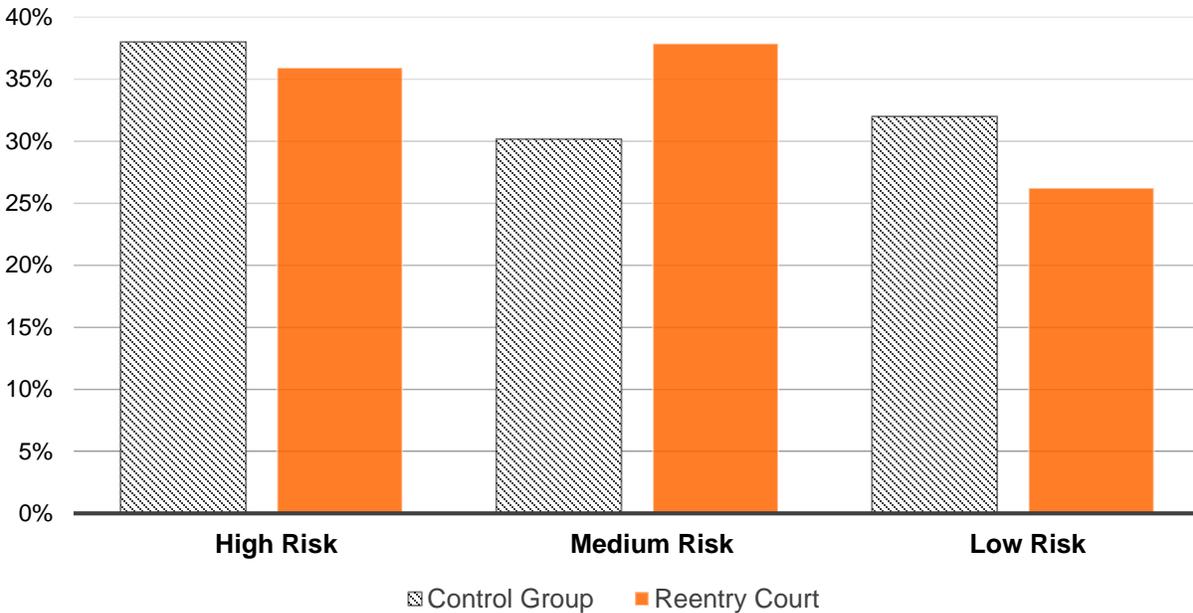
**Table 3.3 Instant Case Profile**

N	Full Study Sample
<b>Instant Case</b>	
<b>Risk at Release</b>	
DCJS Risk Score	5.3
DCJS VFO Risk Score	4.9
Re-released on current case	22%
<b>Arrest</b>	
Violent Felony Offense	36%
Weapons-related	28%
Firearm-related	18%
Drug-related	52%
DWI	1%
Property-related	25%
Assault	7%
Charge Severity: Felony	98%
<b>Conviction</b>	
Violent Felony Offense	39%
Weapons-related	26%
Firearm-related	17%
Drug-related	46%
DWI	28%
Property-related	15%
Assault	6%

Table 3.3 (above) provides a profile of the parolees’ instant cases, the ones that led to the parole term they were serving at the time of randomization. Although they were arrested on a variety of charges, the most common arrest and conviction charges were violent felony (36% and 39% respectively), followed by weapons related charges (28% and 26% respectively). About 22% of the parolees’ parole term was a re-release on the instant case—meaning that they had previously been released on parole, then revoked, and then released again at the point when entering the study.

The study parolees are distributed across low, medium, and high-risk categories, but are best characterized as medium-risk on average. The average recidivism risk score was 5.3 (on a 10-point scale) and the violent felony recidivism risk score was a 4.9 (also on a 10-point scale). About one-third of the study sample was low-risk, another third was medium-risk, and the final third was high-risk. Figure 3.1 provides a breakdown of risk score by randomized group.

Figure 3.1 DCJS Risk Score by Group



## Reentry Court Service Provision

Generally, all individuals on parole are referred to some services to assist them in achieving their goals as part of their individualized parole management plans. However, because of the involvement of case managers and judicial oversight, reentry court parolees are likely receiving more services and are provided with additional supports. This section describes the reentry court and the services received by the reentry court parolees in this study. Data on referrals and services received by the control group were not obtained from DOCCS.

Reentry court staff conduct a risk/needs assessment with parolees in the program and tailor their services and referrals based on that assessment.<sup>23</sup> As shown in Figure 3.2, the vast majority of parolees at the reentry court received substance abuse services (77%) and over half also received services through an employment program or on-site employment specialist (55%). Of those receiving employment services, 12% participated in Harlem Justice Corps, a New York City program implemented by the Harlem Community Justice Center that targets young men returning home from prison.<sup>24</sup> About 8% of the reentry court parolees received

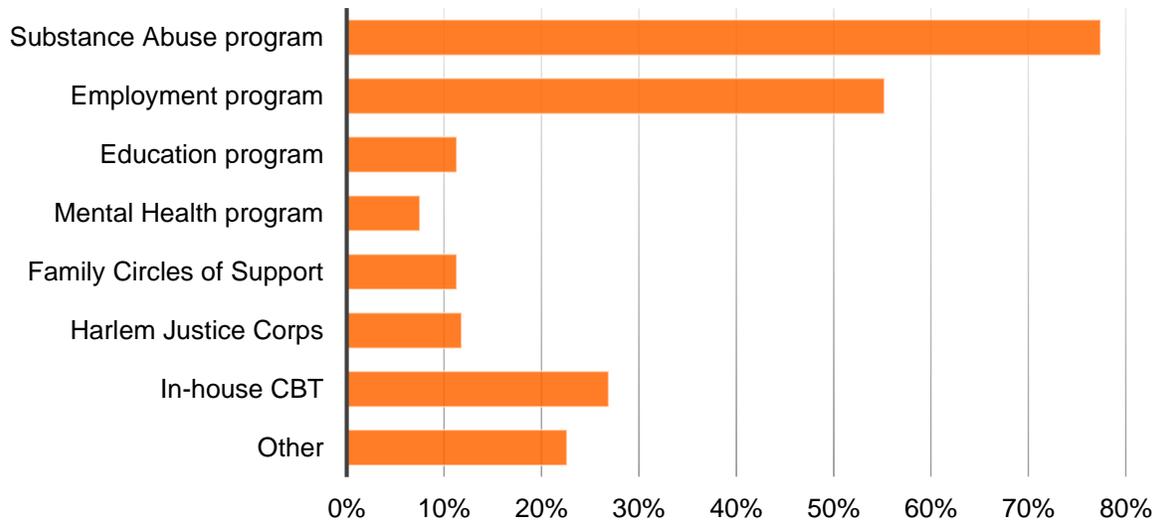
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<sup>23</sup> The results of the COMPAS risk assessment utilized by the Harlem Parole Reentry Court may not be identical to the DCJS risk score utilized in this study. That is, parolees designated at a certain risk level by DCJS may ultimately be at a different risk level when evaluated by the COMPAS assessment, a lengthy dynamic instrument. The services provided by the reentry court are in response to COMPAS risk and not DCJS risk.

<sup>24</sup> To learn more about New York City's Justice Corps program, see <http://www.nycjusticecorps.org/>.

services through a mental health program.

**Figure 3.2 Reentry Court Service Provision**



The reentry court provided cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) on-site through its case managers, and also provided referrals to offsite CBT providers. Considering that CBT is only utilized with medium and high-risk parolees, 27% of parolees received CBT onsite and about 6% were referred to another provider for the treatment. A variety of other programs were provided to parolees, including anger management, parenting classes, and financial or life skills management. About 23% of parolees received those other services.

## Reentry Court Impact on Recidivism

The primary outcomes of this evaluation are three recidivism outcomes: rearrest, reconviction, and revocation. These outcomes were examined at 12 months and 18 months post-release on parole and across several categories of arrest and conviction, including violent felony and drug charge.

Table 3.4 provides a detailed breakdown of recidivism findings. The parolee population has high exposure to arrest, with 51% of reentry court parolees and 56% of control group parolees rearrested within 18 months of release. No statistically significant differences were found between the two groups for rearrest. (See also the non-significant effect of group on arrest in the multivariate regression shown below in Table 3.6.)

However, reentry court parolees were significantly less likely to be reconvicted and revoked within 18 months of release, when compared to the control group. Only 29% of reentry court

parolees were reconvicted within 18 months of release, compared to 37% of control group parolees, representing a 22% reduction in reconvictions. The largest difference was seen in felony reconvictions, with a 60% reduction in reconviction at 18 months post-release. The revocation rate was also much lower for the reentry court group (12%) compared to the control group (22%), representing a 45% reduction.

**Table 3.4 Recidivism Outcomes by Group**

Outcome Measure	Reentry Court	Control Group
N	213	291
<b>Re-Arrests<sup>1</sup></b>		
12 months (any)	41%	44%
18 months (any)	51%	56%
<b>Felony re-arrest</b>		
by 12 months	20%	20%
by 18 months	26%	29%
<b>Violent felony re-arrest</b>		
by 12 months	6%	4%
by 18 months	9%	7%
<b>Drug re-arrest</b>		
by 12 months	24%	22%
by 18 months	30%	29%
<b>Drug felony re-arrest</b>		
by 12 months	10%	11%
by 18 months	15%	16%
<b>Reconviction</b>		
12 months (any)	19%	24%
18 months (any)	29%*	37%
<b>Felony Reconviction</b>		
by 12 months	2%*	6%
by 18 months	4%**	10%
<b>Violent Felony Reconviction</b>		
by 12 months	0%	0%
by 18 months	1%	1%
<b>Revocation</b>		
12 months (any)	8%*	15%
18 months (any)	12%**	22%

\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

Kaplan-Meier survival analyses were also conducted comparing the reentry court and control group and the length of time until a recidivist event (rearrest, reconviction, or revocation). In general, the parolees in this study averaged about 554 days after their release until their first rearrest, with a range of rearrest only 1 day after release to over four years after release for the first rearrest. They had an average of 723 days until reconviction and 443 days until revocation.

Table 3.5 presents the median survival time until a recidivist event. The mean survival time, often described as the area under the curve, is heavily influenced by censoring and is not reported here.<sup>25</sup> The median of survival is the time at which half of the study group has experienced the event. Kaplan-Meier curves, presented in Appendix F, provide a descriptive comparison of the survival time of the two treatment groups. The standard method for comparing Kaplan-Meier curves, the log-rank test, was used to determine statistically significant differences between the two groups. While the results did not reach statistical significance, the reentry court group has higher median survival time (i.e., remains arrest-free for a longer period) in every measure of recidivism.

**Table 3.5 Kaplan-Meier Survival Analysis**

	Reentry Court	Control Group
<b>N</b>	213	291
<b>Recidivist Event</b>	<b>Median # of Days</b>	
1. Rearrest	514	472
2. Reconviction	1014	872
3. Revocation	421	352

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

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<sup>25</sup> Censoring is the inclusion of individuals who did not have the recidivist event and whose calculated time is simply the length of time of the study. For this reason, median survival times are more representative of the survival analysis. See Kaplan E.L. and P. Meier. 1985. Nonparametric estimation from incomplete observations. JASA 53:457-481.

## General Predictors of Recidivism

Predictors of recidivism were determined by examining the full sample of parolees in the study. Logistic regression results are presented in Table 3.6. Rearrest was more likely for younger parolees, those whose instant parole case had been due to a drug arrest or property arrest, and those who have a history of prior revocations and prior arrests. A history of prior arrests was also significantly correlated with reconviction within 18 months of release; age and arrest type (property) were also marginally related. Being younger, having a prior arrest and prior revocation, and having had a property arrest all predicted a greater likelihood of revocation. The results are also consistent with the recidivism findings by group presented in Table 3.4 above.

**Table 3.6**  
**Logistic Regression Predicting 18-month Recidivism Outcomes**

Dependent Variable	Rearrest	Reconviction	Revocation
N	440	440	440
Nagelkerke R squared	0.193	0.115	0.158
Covariates	Coefficient	Coefficient	Coefficient
Group	.252	-.299	-.504*
Born in the USA	1.136*	.635	1.246
Age	-.059***	-.025+	-.052**
Prior Arrests	.037**	.038**	.033*
Prior Revocations	.985**	.429	.676*
Instant Case Arrest: Drug	1.186***	.520	.194
Instant Case Arrest: VFO	.481	-.020	-.230
Instant Case Arrest: Property	.793*	.612+	.812*
Release Number	-.039	-.057	.129
Release Year	-.023	.102	-.174
Re-released	-.286	.161	.379

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

## Differential Impacts among Subgroups

### Parolee Risk Level

Analyses were conducted to determine whether the impact of the reentry court varied by risk level. The DCJS risk score, described in detail previously, was collapsed according to DCJS' own categories: low (scores of 1-3), medium (4-6) and high (7-10) risk. Risk scores were compared to general recidivism for the full sample, regardless of group, in order to ensure that the scores were, in fact, predictive of recidivism. In general, re-arrest was more likely as the risk level ascribed by the DCJS instrument went from low or medium to high (see Appendix G).

Comparison of the outcomes of the reentry court and the control group by risk level is presented in Table 3.7. The medium-risk reentry court parolees were significantly less likely to be reconvicted and revoked within 18 months compared to the medium-risk control group parolees ( $p < .05$ ). In addition, even for findings that did not reach statistical significance, it was generally the case that reentry court parolees exhibited less recidivism than control parolees within both the low-risk and medium-risk categories. Low-risk reentry court parolees experienced a 26% reduction in rearrest, a 14% reduction in reconviction, and a 43% reduction in revocations compared to control group parolees. Medium-risk reentry court parolees had a 19% reduction in rearrest, a 54% reduction in reconviction, and a 57% reduction in revocations. However, major differences did not exist in rearrest and reconviction between the high-risk parolees in the two groups; with respect to revocations; high-risk reentry court parolees experienced a 35% reduction in revocations.

**Table 3.7 Recidivism Outcomes by Group and Risk Level**

Outcome Measure	Reentry Court	Control Group
N	213	291
<b>Re-Arrested by 18 months</b>		
Low-risk	28%	38%
Medium-risk	47%	58%
High-risk	72%	70%
<b>Re-Convicted by 18 months</b>		
Low-risk	19%	22%
Medium-risk	19%**	42%
High-risk	47%	48%
<b>Revoked by 18 months</b>		
Low-risk	4%	7%
Medium-risk	10%*	23%
High-risk	20%	31%

\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

### The Import of Reentry Court Completion

Of the 213 parolees assigned to reentry court, 111 were documented as having completed the program. Successful completion does not include those who were discharged early from parole for reasons of merit or reaching their maximum parole term (max out), or those who were transferred to other bureaus due to home relocation. Another 75 parolees are counted as dropouts, since they did not complete the program and exited for negative reasons.

Statistically significant differences were found on every measure of recidivism, as seen in Table 3.8. Reentry court completers were less likely to have been rearrested, reconvicted, or revoked by 18-months post release than dropouts.

**Table 3.8 Comparison of Reentry Court Completers & Dropouts**

Outcome Measure	Completers	Dropouts
N	111	75
Rearrest at 18 months	40%***	68%
Reconviction at 18 months	21%***	41%
Revocation at 18 months	5%***	25%

\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

While the impact of the reentry court has been discussed in the overall recidivism findings, these results indicated that completing the program plays an important role in reducing recidivism. In other words, program completion—and thus receiving a greater dosage of the reentry court intervention—serves as a signal of particularly positive outcomes. However, for strict and overall evaluation purposes, the only relevant comparison remains that between all reentry court parolees (combining graduates and dropouts) and the randomly assigned control group.

### **Parolee Age**

As described earlier, age is considered a significant predictor of recidivism. Typically, younger parolees are more likely to recidivate compared to older parolees and the 18-24 year-old age group is considered to be at particular risk of recidivism. The average age of parolees is 30 years old and the tables related to age distribution results are presented in Appendix H. There were no statistically significant differences in the impact of the reentry court as compared to the control groups by age.

## Chapter 4

# The Impact of the Reentry Court on Additional Outcomes

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This chapter explores the impact of the Harlem Parole Reentry Court on measures of success other than recidivism. Additional psychosocial measures include employment and/or education; housing stability; supportive family and peer relationships; substance use; unreported criminal activity; and ongoing service needs. The Harlem Parole Reentry Court aims to impact these outcomes through the coordinated effort of its case managers, parole officers, and judges. These outcomes may also be referred to as intermediate outcomes; that is, outcomes that indicate that change is occurring in a desired way. The literature shows that intermediate outcomes may influence recidivism outcomes.<sup>26</sup>

Data on these outcomes was collected through interviews with parolees, described in detail in Chapter 2. The interviews were conducted with 102 parolees, drawn from the total sample of randomly assigned parolees in this study. Half of the interviewed parolees had been assigned to the reentry court (N=51) and the other half had been assigned to the control group (N=51). Initial statistical analyses, described in Chapter 2, indicate that the interviewed sample is broadly representative of the larger study sample, with nearly identical statistics on demographics, criminal history, and recidivism outcomes. Notably, about 11% of the interviewed participants were incarcerated in New York State prisons at the time of interview. In addition, some of the participants had been discharged from parole by the time of the interview. The interview instrument is available in Appendix C. Results for some questions are not reported here, due to a lack of meaningful or significant findings. The excluded results include those for mental health, where all of the interview participants generally scored very low—as would be expected since those diagnosed with serious mental health issues were intentionally excluded from the reentry court and, thus, from the study (see Chapter 2 for more information on exclusions).

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<sup>26</sup> See Tripodi, S.J., J.S. Kim, and K.A. Bender. 2010. Is employment associated with reduced recidivism?: The complex relationship between employment and crime. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 54: 706-720; Berg, M.T. and B.M. Huebner. 2011. Reentry and the Ties that Bind: An Examination of Social Ties, Employment, and Recidivism. *Justice Quarterly* 28(2): 382-410; and Uggen, C. 2000. Work as a Turning Point in the Life Course of Criminals: A Duration Model of Age, Employment, and Recidivism. *American Sociological Review* 67:529-546.

## Education and Employment

Participants were asked a series of questions regarding their education and employment histories, as well as their current status, summarized in Table 4.1. The two groups had similar responses when it came to their histories: about 4% indicated never having had a job in their lives and an average of 67% reported having been suspended or expelled when they were in school. Participants were instructed to consider “under the table” or “off the books” jobs as employment (such as dishwashing in a restaurant), but not to consider criminal activity such as selling drugs.

The reentry court and control groups differed significantly in their current status of employment and education. At time of follow-up, the reentry court participants were more likely to report having a high school diploma or GED (84%) compared to the control group (63%). More reentry court participants reported being currently in school (28%) compared to the control group (22%), although this latter result was not statistically significant.

Reentry court participants were also significantly more likely to report being currently employed (68%) compared to the control group (34%). They were also employed for more months since their release, with an average of nearly 8 months employment (in a 12- to 18-month timeframe) compared to only 4 months of employment in the control group.

**Table 4.1 Education and Employment of Interviewed Participants**

	Reentry Court	Control Group
N	51	51
<b>History: Education And Employment</b>		
Ever been suspended or expelled	73%	64%
Never had a job	4%	4%
<b>Current Education And Employment</b>		
Months employed in the past year	7.6***	3.9
Currently has a high school diploma or GED	84%*	63%
<b>Currently in school</b>	28%	22%
<b>Currently employed</b>	68%***	34%
Average hours/week at current job	26.9***	12.9
Current job provides health insurance	31%*	14%
Current job provides paid days off	39%**	16%
<b>Currently in school or employed</b>	<b>75%**</b>	<b>45%</b>
<b>Current Sources Of Income</b>		
Job <sup>1</sup>	62%**	46%
Support from family	56%*	44%
Support from friends	18%	18%
Disability	6%	8%
Government program	32%	36%
Illegal activities	0%	0%
Other type of support	6%	15%
Annual Income (from all sources)	\$15,396.00*	\$12,476.92

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

<sup>1</sup> The percentages for “job” as a current source of income may differ from those of “currently employed.” There are several reasons for this: (1) the current source of income question asks specifically about the amount of money earned and some participants refused to answer, even if they had previously answered that they were employed; (2) the current source of income question asks about income last month, so participants who had a job last month, but not this month, would respond differently to the two questions.

A few of the employment questions were aimed at gauging quality of employment, with the reentry court group demonstrating significantly improved outcomes on these measures. They had a higher average number of work hours per week, more than double the control group’s work hours. They were also more likely to report that their current job offered health insurance (31%) and paid days off (39%) than control group participants (14% and 16% respectively).

Overall, 75% of reentry court and 45% of control group participants reported being currently in school or employed, a statistically significant difference (p<.01).

Another series of questions asked all participants about their current sources of income. The reentry court participants were more likely to report income from a job or support from their family members; those two sources of income were the majority in both study groups. About one-third of the participants reported income from a government program and none reported income from illegal activities. The reentry court participants' annual income, calculated through combining all sources, was significantly higher than the control group at \$15,396 per year compared to \$12,477 ( $p < .05$ ). As a comparison, the median household income in the U.S. in 2013 was about \$52,000; in the New York City metropolitan area, the median household income was about \$65,000 in 2013.

## Family and Peers

Many of the interview questions were aimed at understanding participant family relationships and support. The first series of questions reported in Table 4.2 concern family history. Notably, nearly half of the reentry court and 35% of the control group indicated that they were raised by a single mother. About one quarter of both groups reported that they were raised by both parents.

The most salient questions to reentry court outcomes concern current relationship status and levels of support from or conflict with family members. Regarding relationship status, 55% of the reentry court and 45% of the control group reported being married or in a steady intimate relationship (not a statistically significant difference).

Participants were also asked a series of 15 questions, with responses on a five-point Likert scale, divided across three summary measures: family emotional support, family conflict, and family financial/instrumental support. An index measuring quality of family relationships, combining the three measures, was also created. The items used in the summary measures are presented in Appendix E. Generally, reentry court participants had better scores on all three measures of family support. The overall index measuring quality of family relationships demonstrated statistically significant differences between the two groups ( $p < .01$ ). Reentry court parolees had a higher score on quality of family relationships when compared to the control group.<sup>27</sup>

Another series of questions were asked about peers, defined as friends and people that the participants hang out with (see Table 4.3). None of the differences were statistically

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<sup>27</sup> Additional questions were asked about family crime and drug use, such as whether their close family members and spouse/partner used drugs regularly or whether they had ever been incarcerated. The results are not presented here due to a high percentage of missing responses.

significant. Most participants indicated that their peers were not gang members; in a separate question, not presented in the table, they were asked about their own gang involvement. The vast majority in both groups indicated that they had never been gang members. They also reported that their peers were mostly employed and not taking drugs. Participants in both the reentry court and control group indicated that only few of their friends had ever been arrested or incarcerated.<sup>28</sup>

**Table 4.2 Family Status of Interviewed Participants**

	Reentry Court	Control Group
N	51	51
<b>Family Status</b>		
<b>Who Raised You?</b>		
Both parents	26%	26%
Mother only	47%	35%
Father only	4%	2%
Foster parents	0%	2%
Grandparents	18%	26%
Other arrangements	6%	10%
<b>Children (under 18)</b>		
Has any children under 18	37%*	59%
Average number of children	1.5	1.6
<b>Current Marital Status</b>		
Never married	65%	75%
Married	16%	12%
Separated	8%	14%
Divorced	10%	0%
Widowed	2%	0%
Currently in intimate relationship (if not married)	48%	42%
<b>Married or steady intimate relationship</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>45%</b>
Currently live with spouse or partner	57%	63%
Average length of relationship (years)	3.6	4.2
<b>Family Support</b>		
Family Emotional Support (7-item index)	4.18+	3.93
Family Conflict (3-item index)	2.47+	2.76
Family Financial/Instrumental Support (5-item index)	4.00	3.92
<b>Quality of Family Relationships (12-item index)</b>	<b>3.92**</b>	<b>3.62</b>

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

<sup>28</sup> It is important to note that this is the section that had the greatest percentage of missing responses. About 10% of responses were missing, primarily due to participant refusal to respond, and the control group participants were more likely than the reentry court participants to refuse to answer these questions.

**Table 4.3 Criminogenic Peers of Interviewed Participants**

	Reentry Court	Control Group
N	51	51
<b>Friends And Peers</b>		
<b>How many are employed?</b>		
None	2%	4%
Few	33%	41%
Half	8%	14%
Most	56%	41%
<b>How many can you hang out with and know you won't get in trouble?</b>		
None	2%	6%
Few	31%	27%
Half	8%	6%
Most	58%	60%
<b>How many have been arrested?</b>		
None	26%	17%
Few	48%	40%
Half	11%	17%
Most	15%	26%
<b>How many have served time?</b>		
None	36%	17%
Few	42%	57%
Half	9%	13%
Most	13%	13%
<b>How many are taking illegal drugs regularly?</b>		
None	47%	35%
Few	42%	44%
Half	2%	9%
Most	9%	13%
<b>How many are gang members?</b>		
None	81%	83%
Few	15%	13%
Half	4%	2%
Most	0%	2%

+p<.10, \*p<.05, \*\*p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

## Housing

Participants were asked questions about their current housing situation, housing stability, and homelessness (see Table 4.4). Generally, there were not meaningful differences between the two groups. The reentry court participants reported a slightly lower average number of housing moves since their release (1.87 moves) than the control group (2.7 moves). On the other hand, 60% of control group participants reported that their current housing is better than their previous housing compared to 56% of the reentry court group. These differences

were not statistically significant. Finally, about 17% of the overall sample reported having trouble finding a place to live after release. The most common reasons cited for this trouble by the reentry court group were their inability to get public housing and that they had no money for housing deposit. The control group reported that their primary reasons for trouble in housing were that they were unable to stay with friends, get a lease, or to stay in a long term shelter or supportive housing.

**Table 4.4 Housing Status of Interviewed Participants**

	Reentry Court	Control Group
N	51	51
<b>Housing</b>		
<b>Current housing status</b>	*	
Public housing	26%	28%
Private housing	55%	62%
Residential treatment	6%	3%
Transitional housing (e.g. halfway house)	4%	0%
Shelter, abandoned building/apartment, homeless	2%	8%
No set place <sup>1</sup>	2%	0%
Other <sup>2</sup>	4%	0%
Number of times moved since release	1.8	2.7
Homeless at any time since release	16%	22%
Current housing is better than previous housing	56%	60%
<b>Had trouble finding a place to live</b>	18%	16%
If yes, reasons for trouble finding a place to live		
Unable to get public housing	67%	20%
Unable to stay with friends	44%	40%
Unable to get a lease on private housing	33%	40%
Unable to stay in long term shelter or supportive housing	11%	40%
No money for housing deposit	67%	20%
Other reason	55%+	20%

<sup>1</sup> No set place refers to individuals who reported that they stayed at multiple locations, but were not homeless (for example at different friends' or relatives' homes for weeks at a time).

<sup>2</sup> Other refers to individuals who reported a housing status that did not fit into the previous categories (for example,

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

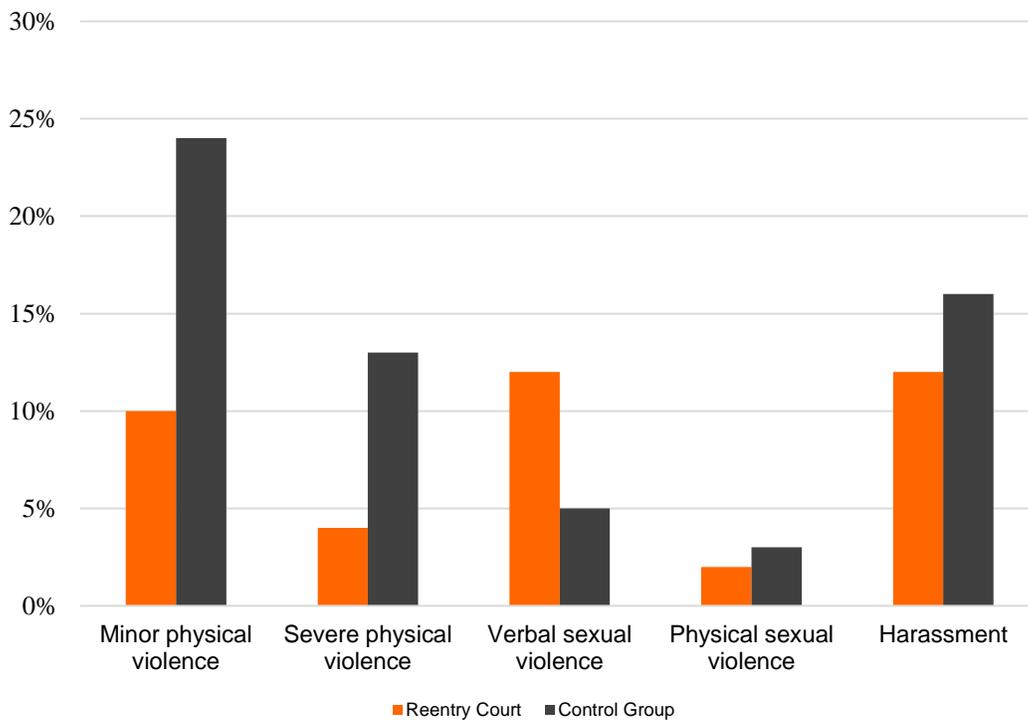
## Violent Victimization

Interview participants were asked five questions about their experiences with victimization since their release (see Figure 4.1). Specifically, they were asked whether or not they had experienced physical violence, sexual violence, and harassment. Physical violence was separated into two categories: minor physical violence, which includes push, slap, hit or grab

you, and severe physical violence, which includes beat you up, choke you, strangle you, or attack you with a weapon. Sexual violence was also divided into two categories: verbal coercion and physical coercion. Figure 4.1 depicts the responses across all five categories of violent victimization.

The control group reported higher rates of minor physical (24%) and severe physical (13%) violence than the reentry court group (10% and 4% respectively). The reentry court group reported more verbal sexual violence (12%) than the control group (5%). The control group also reported a slightly higher rate of harassment (16%) than the reentry court group (12%). These differences were not statistically significant.

**Figure 4.1. Victimization of Interviewed Participants**



## Substance Use

One of the goals of the reentry court is to reduce substance use by parolees in order to ensure successful reintegration into their community. Substance use was collected in the interview utilizing the TCU Drug Screen (TCUDS-II), a validated instrument intended to identify heavy drug users (see Table 4.5).<sup>29</sup>

Reentry court parolees were less likely to report using drugs, with 65% indicating that they were not using drugs at all at the time of the interview. Only 39% of the control group stated that they were not using drugs at all, a difference that approaches statistical significance ( $p < .10$ ). The reentry court participants also had a lower overall score on the TCUDS-II and only 8% were determined to have a severe drug problem, compared to 31% of the control group. Only 2% indicated that they considered their drug problem serious compared to 8% of the control group.

## Criminal Activity

Participants were asked a series of questions about their participation in criminal activities since their release, whether or not their parole officer knew about it. These questions were simple dichotomous measures and details about any affirmative responses were not requested (see Table 4.6). In both groups, the most common reported criminal activity was possession of drugs or drug paraphernalia. Specifically, 22% of reentry court participants and 36% of the control group responded that they had committed that crime since their release. Overall, the reentry court group reported less criminal activity than the control group; however, the differences are not statistically significant.

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<sup>29</sup> Knight, K., D.D. Simpson, and M.L. Hiller. 2002. Screening and Referral for Substance Abuse Treatment in the Criminal Justice System. Fort Worth, TX: Institute for Behavioral Sciences, Texas Christian University.

**Table 4.5 Substance Use by Interviewed Participants**

	Reentry Court	Control Group
N	51	51
TCUDS-II Score (range 0-9)	1.38	2.37
TCUDS-II Severe Drug Problem	8%	31%
<b>Primary Drug</b>	<b>+</b>	
Not Using	65%	39%
Alcohol	16%	28%
Marijuana	14%	22%
Crack	0%	4%
Cocaine	4%	2%
Heroin	0%	4%
Other <sup>1</sup>	2%	2%
<b>Frequency of Use, Average/month</b>		
Alcohol	0.95**	4.00
Marijuana	0.98*	6.00
Crack	0.05	0.60
Cocaine	0.02	0.80
Heroin	0.01	1.00
Other <sup>1</sup>	0.00	0.01
Avg. # of times injects drugs with needle per month	0	1
Drug problem is considerably/extremely serious	2%*	10%
# times before now in drug tx program (excl. AA, NA, CA)	1.3	1.8
Getting drug treatment now is considerably/extremely important	10%	15%

<sup>1</sup> Other includes: amphetamines, hallucinogens, prescription medications, street methadone, designer drugs, and others.

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

**Table 4.6 Reported Criminal Activity of Interviewed Participants**

	Reentry Court	Control Group
N	51	51
<b>Since release, have you...</b>		
Engaged in any violence against another person	10%	4%
Carried gun, knife, other weapon	0%+	6%
Possessed drugs, drug paraphernalia	22%	36%
Engaged in illegal drug sales	6%	10%
Driven while intoxicated or under the influence	0%+	6%
Committed property crimes	2%	2%
Engaged in other illegal activities	6%	8%
<b>Any criminal behavior during past year</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>44%</b>

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

## Ongoing Needs

Interview participants were asked what their top three service needs were at the time of the interview. The top two choices were both in the category of employment: (1) employment services such as vocational or job readiness training; and (2) one-on-one employment services, such as resume assistance, job searches, and assistance with applications.

While no statistically significant differences exist between the two groups, there were some notable differences. Reentry court parolees were less likely to select educational programs and drug or alcohol treatment as one of their top three needs compared to the control group. They were also more likely to select one-on-one employment services than control group participants. The full list of perceived service needs is available in Table 4.7.

**Table 4.7 Perceived Service Needs of Interviewed Participants**

	Reentry Court	Control Group
N	51	51
<b>What are the top 3 services not getting/not getting enough of:</b>		
Educational programs	31%	42%
Employment services (voc. training, job readiness, certification)	63%	68%
Other employment services (1-on-1)	51%	36%
Drug or alcohol treatment	4%	12%
Mental health treatment for mental or emotional problems	8%	2%
Medical treatment for physical health problems or conditions	14%	12%
Assistance accessing public assistance	10%	12%
Assistance with transportation	18%	14%
Assistance with finding a transitional home or group home	4%	2%
Assistance with finding or keeping your own place to live	43%	44%
Assistance in obtaining documents necessary for employment	10%	6%
Training on how to change attitudes related to criminal behavior	6%	8%
Assistance finding child care	2%	2%
Assistance making child support payments	4%	4%

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

## Chapter 5

# The Role of Supervision Experiences and Parolee Perceptions

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This chapter examines the supervision experiences of the interviewed participants and the role those experiences play in their outcomes. The interviews included questions about supervision and compliance, procedural justice and perceptions of fairness, substance abuse treatment, criminal thinking, community involvement, and access to services. As fully described in Chapter 2, interviews (instrument in Appendix C) were conducted with 102 parolees, drawn from the total sample of randomly assigned parolees. Half of the interviewed parolees had been assigned to the reentry court (N=51) and the other half had been assigned to the control group (N=51).

## Supervision and Compliance

Participants were asked about the number of in-person meetings that they had with their parole officers (PO) since their release, as well as the number of other types of communication with their PO such phone calls or emails. The same questions were asked about case managers. Parolees who had been assigned to the reentry court responded about their reentry court case managers; those assigned to the control group were asked to consider any case manager they had from service organizations (such as drug treatment or employment assistance organizations).

As depicted in Table 5.1, the reentry court participants reported a significantly greater average number of in-person meetings with their parole officer (26.7) in the past year, compared to the control group (20.2). Reentry court parolees also reported significantly more in person meetings with their case managers (15.2 v. 4.5 meetings).

When asked about their information and expectations upon release, the vast majority of parolees stated that they clearly understood their supervision responsibilities. Most indicated that someone from the criminal justice system had explained the kind of behavior that will lead to their re-incarceration and that someone was willing to answer their questions about supervision.

## Supervision Compliance

A series of questions aimed to collect self-reported data on compliance with supervision.

While the responses could not be validated by another dataset, they provide important insight into compliance by parolees in both study groups. Given the successful implementation of this randomized control trial, there is no indication that under-reporting of violations or over-reporting of successes would vary by study group. The results are presented in Table 5.2.

**Table 5.1 Supervision of Interviewed Participants**

	Reentry Court	Control Group
<b>N</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Parole Officer Communication</b>		
Avg. # of in-person meetings	26.7*	20.2
Avg. # of other communication	10.1	7.2
<b>Case Manager Communication</b>		
Avg. # of in-person meetings	15.2***	4.5
Avg. # of other communication	8.1*	1.0
<b>Information and Expectations</b>		
	% Agree/Strongly Agree	
Clearly understood supervision responsibilities	96%	92%
Someone made sure I clearly understood what kind of behavior might cause me to be put back in	90%+	86%
Someone was willing to answer my questions	82%	75%
Someone asked me to repeat what I had to do in my own words to make sure I understood	41%	35%
Someone went over with me what I had to do more than once	51%	49%

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

Participants were asked whether they had ever failed to meet their supervision conditions since their release, whether or not their parole officer knew about the violation. Examples of failing to meet conditions included failing drug tests, skipping appointments, violating their curfew, or violating travel restrictions; it is possible that parolees may violate these conditions without their parole officer knowing about it. When asked, 26% of reentry court and 48% of control group participants responded in the affirmative, that they had violated their supervision conditions, a statistically significant difference (p<.01). Similarly, when asked about the number of times they had violated their conditions since their release, the control group averaged nearly 6 instances of violating their conditions; the reentry court group averaged close to one instance.

The responses followed the same pattern when participants were asked about formal violations of supervision and failing to meet a drug test. The reentry court parolees reported significantly fewer formal violations and fewer failed drug tests compared to the control

group, a finding that is consistent with the statistically significant differences in revocation rates, reported earlier in Chapter 3.

## **Rewards and Sanctions**

The reentry court utilizes a schedule of graduated sanctions and rewards and the decision-making about the issuance of rewards and sanctions may involve multiple players, including the parole officer, judge, and case manager. Examples of rewards include praise, gift cards, or travel or curfew flexibility and they can be attained when a parolee accomplishes certain milestones in the reentry court, such as obtaining a job, spending a certain amount of time drug-free or with no positive drug tests, or completing a program. Examples of sanctions include increased treatment or drug testing, jail time, or community service.

Sanctions and rewards may also be related to a parolee's required meetings with their parole officer. However, whether on regular parole or the reentry court, parolees will meet less with their parole officer if they are meeting the conditions of their parole and will meet more with their PO if they are violating their conditions. For this reason, as shown in Table 5.2, about the same proportions of parolees responded that they had received fewer required meetings with their POs as a reward, in both the reentry court and control groups (49% and 54% respectively).

In nearly every other measure of rewards, the reentry court group was significantly more likely to report having received a reward since their release, with 96% of reentry court participants receiving any reward compared to 77% of control group participants.

The reentry court participants also reported a significantly lower likelihood of receiving a sanction than the control group (30% v. 63%).

## **Threat of Punishment**

Interview participants were asked a series of questions about whether or not their PO would know if they had violated their supervision conditions, and if so, how they would react.

These questions were asked on a 4-point scale: very unlikely, somewhat unlikely, somewhat likely, and very likely. Their overall score on perceived detection of violations was 2.5 in both study groups, indicating similar perspectives that POs were only somewhat likely to know when violations of supervision occurred.

Regarding how their POs would react when they learned of a violation of supervision, the most likely reactions were increasing drug testing or treatment requirements and increasing

frequency of reporting, as well as jail time, a formal violation, or revocation. There was no difference between the two groups.

**Table 5.2 Compliance, Rewards/Sanctions, and Threat of Punishment**

	Reentry Court	Control Group
N	51	51
<b>Compliance with Supervision Conditions</b>		
Ever failed to meet conditions	26%**	48%
Avg. # of times failed to meet conditions	0.8*	5.6
Any formal violations of supervision	10%***	44%
Avg. # of formal violations	0.1**	0.9
Any drug tests	100%	94%
Avg. # of positive drug tests	0.3	0.8
<b>Rewards and Incentives</b>		
Praised by parole officer	86%***	51%
Praised by a judge	84%***	8%
Fewer required meetings with PO or fewer required drug tests	49%	54%
More travel and curfew flexibility	55%+	36%
Tokens, vouchers or small gifts	59%***	8%
Other rewards or incentives	38%***	8%
<b>Received any reward or incentive</b>	<b>96%**</b>	<b>77%</b>
<b>Sanctions</b>		
More drug testing or treatment	16%	26%
More required meetings with PO	16%+	29%
Required community service	4%	2%
Some jail time	8%+	22%
Technical violation	4%**	26%
Revocation of parole	6%	20%
<b>Received any sanction</b>	<b>30%**</b>	<b>63%</b>
<b>Threat of Punishment<sup>1</sup></b>		
Perceived PO detection likelihood	2.5	2.5
Would you receive:		
Increased drug testing/tx requirements	2.6	2.6
Increased # times to meet with PO	2.5	2.6
Writing assignment, sit in jury box to observe	0.5	0.2
Community service	0.5	0.3
Electronic monitoring, house arrest, or community control	0.3	0.2
Some jail time	2.1	2.0
Violation	2.3	2.4
Revoked and end up incarcerated	2.0	2.3
<b>Certainty of Response<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>1.6</b>

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

<sup>1</sup> These questions were asked on a 4-point scale: Very unlikely (0), somewhat unlikely (1), somewhat likely (2), very likely (3).

<sup>2</sup> Certainty of response is an average of the perceived likelihood of receiving each of 8 sanctions - the range is 1 (somewhat unlikely) to 3 (very likely). The Cronbach's alpha is 0.531.

## Procedural Justice and Perceptions of Fairness

Procedural justice is best described as the role of fair and respectful criminal justice procedures and treatment of clients in shaping their assessment of legal authorities and their reactions to case outcomes.<sup>30</sup> Research indicates that criminal defendants are more likely to leave court with a positive impression, regardless of the outcome of their case, if they perceive the court process as fair and respectful.<sup>31</sup> Perceptions of fairness have also been connected to the increased likelihood that litigants will comply with court orders.<sup>32</sup>

The participants interviewed for this study were asked a series of questions about their most recent experience in court, with a judge, and with their parole officer. Table 5.3 provides their responses. (Appendix E provides additional information about the summary measures in the table.)

The differences between the reentry court and the control group were statistically significant on every measure ( $p < .05$ ). On a 5-point scale, the reentry court participants scored 4.10 on procedural justice in court, 4.01 on their attitudes towards the judge, and 3.97 on their attitudes towards their parole officer. The control group participants scored lower on average measure: 2.76 on procedural justice, 2.94 on attitudes toward the judge and 3.66 on attitudes towards their parole officer.

Apart from the summary measures, the largest percentage point differences between the reentry court and control group participants were for the following questions:

- You had the opportunity to express your views in court (59-points higher for reentry court participants);
- You felt disadvantaged in court because of your age, income, sex, race, or other reason (59-points lower for reentry court participants); and
- The judge could be trusted to treat you fairly (60-points higher for reentry court participants).

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<sup>30</sup> Tyler, T.R. 2006. Restorative Justice and Procedural Justice: Dealing with Rule Breaking. *Journal of Social Issues*. 62: 307-326.

<sup>31</sup> Frazer, S. 2006. The Impact of the Community Court Model on Defendant Perceptions of Fairness: A Case Study at the Red Hook Community Justice Center. New York, NY: The Center for Court Innovation; Tyler, T.R. 2006. *Why People Obey the Law*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

<sup>32</sup> Tyler, T.R. 2003. Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and the Effective Rule of Law. *Crime and Justice* 30: 283-357.

**Table 5.3 Procedural Justice and Perceptions Fairness**

	Reentry Court	Control Group
N	51	51
% Agree or Strongly Agree		
<b>PERCEPTIONS OF FAIRNESS</b>		
<b>Procedural Justice</b>		
Opportunity to express views in court	94%***	35%
Everyone participating in court had fair chance to bring out facts in court	96%***	40%
Enough control over way things were run in court	82%***	13%
Too intimidated or scared to say what you really felt in court	8%***	33%
Pushed around in court by people with more power	6%***	63%
People in court spoke on behalf	90%***	58%
Court took account of what you said in deciding what should be done	96%***	45%
Pushed into things you did not agree with in court	6%***	63%
People who committed same offense were treated the same way	46%*	18%
Disadvantaged because of age, income, sex, race, other	4%***	63%
Treated unfairly by court	8%***	60%
Understood what was going on in court	96%	88%
Treated with respect in court	96%***	40%
<b>Perceptions of Procedural Fairness</b>	<b>4.10***</b>	<b>2.76</b>
<b>Attitude Towards Judge</b>		
Judge knowledgeable about case	84%	78%
Judge knows you by name	88%***	60%
Judge helps you succeed	68%***	24%
Judge emphasizes importance of getting services you need	94%***	41%
Judge intimidating or unapproachable	0%***	50%
Judge remembers your situations and needs from hearing to hearing	83%***	33%
Judge gives you chance to tell your side of story	94%***	44%
Judge trusted to treat you fairly	90%***	28%
Judge treats you with respect	98%***	51%
<b>Attitude towards Judge</b>	<b>4.01***</b>	<b>2.94</b>
<b>Attitude Towards Parole Officer</b>		
PO gives correct information	94%*	80%
PO calls back or talks right away when you have a problem	80%	61%
PO treats you with respect	96%	88%
PO acts in professional way	88%	88%
PO doesn't listen to you	10%	14%
PO knowledgeable about your case	90%**	78%
PO helps you to succeed	75%**	55%
PO gives chance to tell your side of story	84%	80%
PO can be trusted to treat you fairly	82%*	67%
PO assists you in getting the services you need	84%	73%
<b>Attitude towards Parole Officer</b>	<b>3.97*</b>	<b>3.66</b>

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

## Substance Abuse Treatment

Participants were asked about the different kinds of substance abuse treatments they may have received since their release from prison. The most commonly reported treatment, over 60% for both study groups, was outpatient group counseling. As shown in Table 5.4, the reentry court participants reported an average of 6.6 months of outpatient group counseling and the control group reported 5.7 months; the difference is not statistically significant. They averaged about 3 sessions per week during the duration of their treatment.

Outpatient individual counseling was the second most common treatment reported by study participants. In both study groups, participants reported an average of 6 months of outpatient individual counseling, with about 1-2 sessions per week.

While the control group participants reported slightly higher rates of utilizing self-help groups (such as AA or NA) and slightly lower rates of residential drug/alcohol treatment than the reentry court group, the differences are not statistically significant and may simply be due to chance.

**Table 5.4 Substance Abuse Treatment for Interviewed Participants**

	Rentry Court	Control
<b>N</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Substance Abuse Treatment</b>		
ER or Hospital Stay for drug/alcohol tx	0%	2%
Avg. # times to ER or Hospital stay for drug/alcohol tx	0	2
Residential drug/alcohol treatment program	33%	28%
Avg. # months in total at residential treatment	5.8	4.8
Medicinal interventions (methadone, naltrexone, buprenorphine)	0%	2%
Avg. # months in total in medicinal interventions	0	2
Outpatient group counseling for substance abuse tx	67%	63%
Avg. # months outpatient group counseling	6.6	5.7
Avg. # times/week outpatient group counseling	2.7	3.3
Outpatient individual counseling for substance abuse tx	49%	45%
Avg. # months outpatient individual counseling	6.6	6.0
Avg. # times/week outpatient individual counseling	1.3	1.4
Self-help groups (AA, NA)	18%	26%
Alternative approaches (acupuncture, meditation, biofeedback)	8%	4%

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

## Criminal Thinking

The TCU Criminal Thinking Scales have been well documented as a valid and reliable source of measurement in the field.<sup>33</sup> The CTS was scored according to the TCU form directions, where each scale score is an average of the item scores multiplied by 10, and the total CTS score is the average of the six scale scores. The 36 questions in the instrument are collapsed into the following six scales, defined as:

- **Entitlement:** a sense of privilege and the feeling that the world owes them special attention;
- **Justification:** a tendency to minimize the seriousness of antisocial behavior and to justify these actions by external circumstances;
- **Power Orientation:** the need for power and to control others
- **Cold-Heartedness:** antisocial attitudes and inability to sympathize with others
- **Criminal Rationalization:** the belief that their criminal acts are no different from those committed by authority figures
- **Personal Irresponsibility:** unwillingness to accept responsibility for behavior and a tendency to blame others

The results of this sample's criminal thinking are presented in Table 5.5. Generally, when comparing to the TCU's CTS score profiles, this study sample falls between the 33<sup>rd</sup> and 67<sup>th</sup> percentiles, suggesting about average scores. When comparing the two groups, the reentry court participants scored significantly lower than the control group on 4 scales. The reentry court group also scored higher than the control group on 2 scales, cold heartedness and criminal rationalization, but these latter differences were not statistically significant.

In addition to criminal thinking, a few questions were asked that were intended to gauge readiness for change. These questions resulted in an overall scale on readiness for change. The reentry court participants had a higher score than the control group on this measure, a statistically significant difference that signals a greater readiness for change and a shift away from a life of crime.

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<sup>33</sup> See Knight, K., B.R. Garner, J.T. Morey, and P.M. Flynn. 2006. *Crime & Delinquency* 52: 159-177; and Taxman, F.S., A.G. Rhodes, and L. Dumenci. 2011. Construct and Predictive Validity of Criminal Thinking Scales. *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 38:174-187.

**Table 5.5 Criminal Thinking and Readiness for Change**

Sample	Reentry Court	Control Group
N	51	51
<b>Criminal Thinking (Tcu)</b>		
Entitlement	18.8*	21.5
Justification	19.9+	21.6
Power Orientation	24.0*	26.5
Cold Heartedness	24.5	23.2
Criminal Rationalization	35	36.3
Personal Irresponsibility	24.1*	26.5
<b>Readiness For Change</b>	<b>39.2*</b>	<b>36.7</b>

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

## Community Involvement and Service Utilization

Participants were asked a series of questions about the services they have used since their release. These included educational programs, employment services, counseling, medical assistance, training, and other forms of assistance. As shown in Table 5.6, the two study groups did not differ significantly in service utilization. The most commonly used service was employment services, followed closely by assistance with accessing public/government programs. Participants were also asked about their involvement in their community; that is, whether they voluntarily participate in any local organizations, volunteer work, religious or political groups. About 73% of reentry court participants and 69% of control group participants responded in the affirmative to at least one of the forms of community involvement (differences not significant).

**Table 5.6 Community Involvement and Service Utilization**

	Reentry Court	Control Group
N	51	51
<b>Community Involvement</b>		
Attended church, mosque, synagogue, religious service	55%	53%
Participated in any community volunteer work	35%	31%
Voted in any political election	10%	12%
Taken part in any local organizations	33%	30%
<b>Any Community Involvement</b>	<b>73%</b>	<b>69%</b>
<b>Service Utilization</b>		
GED or educational program	20%	26%
Employment services (vocat, job readiness, certif)	67%	57%
Other employment services (1-on-1)	55%	57%
<i>If yes, find a job as a result of services</i>	35%	29%
Mental health tx for mental or emotional problems	8%	16%
<i>If yes, individual counseling</i>	100%	88%
<i>If yes, mths in past year for individual counseling</i>	9	5.7
<i>If yes, group counseling</i>	50%	25%
<i>If yes, mths in past year for group counseling</i>	7.5	3.5
Medical tx for physical health problems or conditions	36%	35%
Assistance accessing public programs	63%	63%
Assistance with transportation	53%	47%
Assistance with finding transitional home or group home	11%	21%
Assistance with finding or keeping own place to live	12%	8%
Assistance obtaining documents necessary for employment	41%	32%
Training on how to change attitudes related to criminal behavior	35%	37%
Anger management programs	47%	57%
Life skills training or financial management programs	31%	28%

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

## Recidivism and Supervision Experiences

The interview responses described above provide a trove of information about the experiences of individuals on parole. While some areas did present significant differences between the reentry and control group, it was necessary to develop logistic regression models to determine whether those differences impact recidivism. Due to the small sample size, multivariate logistic regression models were difficult to develop and final models were not meaningful. For this reason, only bivariate regressions of significant covariates are presented in Table 5.7, which should be considered with caution.

Several important measures of supervision experiences emerged as potentially playing a role in recidivism. For rearrest, statistically significant predictors include rewards and sanctions, housing status, community involvement, and group counseling (for mental health treatment). For reconviction, only group counseling and the TCU-Criminal Rationalization scale emerged as possible predictors. For revocation within 18 months of release, sanctions, housing status, compliance with supervision (as measured by reported violations), attitudes towards the judge, perceptions of procedural fairness, and number of case manager and PO meetings may be predictors of recidivism. While a larger sample size would be required for a more definitive analysis of important predictors of recidivism, these findings highlight some of the key factors of the supervision experience that may play a role in parolee success.

**Table 5.7 Bivariate Regression Predicting 18-Month Recidivism**

Dependent Variable	Rearrest	Reconviction	Revocation
<b>Number of Cases</b>	102	102	102
<b>Yes</b>	60 (62%)	51 (50%)	19 (19%)
	<b>Coefficient</b>	<b>Coefficient</b>	<b>Coefficient</b>
Group	-.176+		-.277**
Rewards <sup>1</sup>	-2.333*		
Sanctions <sup>1</sup>	1.321*		2.003**
Housing Status	.187+		.290**
Community involvement	.046+		
Group counseling	-.383+	-.202*	
TCU CT—Criminal Rationalization		-.189+	
Compliance with supervision			.245**
Attitudes towards judge			-.192+
Perceptions of procedural fairness			-.203*
# case manager meetings			-.222*
# PO meetings			-.236*

+p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

<sup>1</sup> Compliance with supervision was controlled for during this analysis.

## Chapter 6

# Perceptions of Reentry Court Judges

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This chapter reports the results from interviews conducted with the Harlem Parole Reentry Court judges, which serve to highlight recurring themes by exploring judicial perceptions of the court.

The judges that serve on the reentry court are administrative law judges (ALJs). They are employees of New York State DOCCS and are typically responsible for parole violation and revocation hearings. They are independent from parole, but part of the executive branch of government, not the judicial branch. In the reentry court, these judges provide active oversight, participating in a collaborative decision-making process around rewards and sanctions for the parolees. The reentry court sessions are considered non-adversarial, which can be a stark contrast from the violation and revocation hearings that ALJs typically oversee. During their terms, the judges continued to hold violation and revocation hearings on days which they did not serve on the reentry court; in some instances, they may have overseen violation hearings for reentry court participants.

As described in the Chapter 2, semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with four of the recent and former administrative law judges presiding at the Harlem Parole Reentry Court. This chapter discusses the specific content of the interview responses and emergent themes common among the interviewees. The interview guide is available in Appendix I.

## Profile of Reentry Court Judges

The participating reentry court judges each bring their own unique background and judicial experience. During the interviews, each judge discussed the beginnings of their reentry work, touching on personal characteristics they believe allowed them to work effectively with the reentry court population, such as a deep understanding of the parole process. Similarly, they considered that certain personal traits—for example having strong links to a shared local community—enabled the parolees to identify with them.

Time spent presiding at the reentry court for these judges has spanned many years, and a typical week involved sitting at the reentry court for one day and writing the related decisions and attending reentry team meetings on another day of the week. Simultaneously,

they may have sat in another parole court, such as presiding over violation hearings, for the remaining days of the week. For each judge starting out, even with decades of experience with parole-related hearings, this reentry model was a new concept; it was an evolving program, and their role came with both lessons already learned and the power to shape future directions. For one judge in particular, the time sitting at the Harlem Parole Reentry Court “*were probably the most rewarding years*” of this judge’s judicial career.

Each judge received some form of training, either directly from the existing administrative law judge, and/or by attending a three-day organized training session. Although they believed that it was impossible to prepare fully for this unique judicial responsibility, the interviewees remembered learning some key lessons up front; for example the importance of asking questions, and the importance of letting go of any preconceived ideas about the population they would be serving.

## General Impressions of the Reentry Court

The first section of interview questions, asked the participating judges to describe the reentry court process and relay their overall impressions. They were prompted to discuss whether their initial attitude or expectations changed over time and explore what makes the reentry court work unique. All four judges maintained generally positive impressions of the reentry court and what it was striving to achieve, focusing on the constructive elements of the model that made it different from other established parts of the criminal justice system and traditional parole. They discussed the focus on the participant, importance of teamwork in order to create a supportive environment, and use of tailored case management required for that individual to succeed. In the reentry court, the judges agreed that a key element is transparency; explaining to the parolee why he is there, why he needs to meet his conditions of parole, and what will happen if he does not comply. As one interviewee stated: “*the program is for them—the parolees—to get what they need to be successful and not reoffend.*”

Conversely, a lack of transparency was seen to have detrimental effects on a parolee’s likelihood to succeed. One judge lamented that in traditional parole there are sometimes conditions that do not “make sense.” If a parolee violates one of those conditions, it can lead to re-incarceration. According to this judge, the reentry court was created to prevent these outcomes by mandating programs, giving out sanctions, granting rewards, and involving the parolee’s family as appropriate.

*Supervision [in the Reentry Court] is tailored to the individual— not just rules to have rules. That’s why graduated sanctions and rewards are very important.*

*A mere violation of a rule should not lead to re-incarceration... No one is one hundred percent all of the time.*

Another common difference identified between reentry court and traditional court was time. For example, compared to briefly seeing a parolee for the first time at a parole revocation hearing at Rikers (New York City jail), the reentry court judge will spend time with participants over six to nine months, getting to know them as a person. According to the judges, this time provides an opportunity to paint the bigger picture of what an individual needs to be successful, and vitally, allows the judge to implement strategies and see the parolee develop and grow.

*Usually there is no relationship between the judge and the participant... [in traditional parole hearings] the interaction is momentary. [Reentry court] is different, it is a real exchange, more face-time and involvement in their life—you feel like you are accomplishing something.*

## **The Role of the Judge**

When solicited to talk about the unique role of the judge in a reentry court setting, the interview participants logically drew on their personal experience, each having worked both with the Harlem program and with parolees in conventional court settings. Their responses to prompts were therefore contextualized in the perceived contrasts between the two settings, and three major themes came to the fore.

### **Decision-making**

Unlike the traditional court model, the presiding judge is not the final decision-maker in the Harlem Parole Reentry Court. Instead, it is the parole officer who ultimately makes decisions regarding the parolee’s supervision plan, rewards, sanctions, and responses to violations, with the oversight of the reentry judge. As one judge described it during the interview, their task is to guide the path of the parolee and make suggestions for case management to the reentry staff and parole officers. In fact, one interviewee mentioned that during the initial training sessions, this became important subject matter in preparing for the right mindset for reentry court work:

*You had to understand that it's no longer 'I'm the judge and I decide everything'.*

Another judge mentioned that in a traditional court, if an impasse occurs, it is the judge who decides what to do. By contrast, in the reentry court model, the judge may have to deal with various and sometimes competing agendas—a model that works best if the reentry team is close and can function ‘like a family’. If not, this power dynamic can sometimes create negative tensions. This is discussed later in the chapter when exploring the perceived influences of Parole on the court.

## **Teamwork**

All four interviewees described the role of the reentry court judge as fundamentally being part of a team working together to address parolees’ needs while holding them accountable. For the most part, the judges believed that these players came together effectively, and that the resulting dynamic was a strength of the program. For example, the reentry court case managers could sometimes take time pressure off of the parole officers, who often have heavy caseloads. It was expressed that the collaboration between judges with case managers and parole officers brings together a wealth of different perspectives and expertise that is vital to helping individuals succeed.

*The Reentry team is collaborative and caring – they are synergistic.*

One interviewee described the reentry court judge as “*more of a tool—a resource—there to help guide the parolee.*” Another believed that working in a diverse team enabled those involved to see how the entire process works. They claimed that this is not only enlightening, but also lends credibility to the process for the parolee. Furthermore, it was cited that some reentry court staff members provide valuable insight based on their own criminal-justice involvement; they offer useful, practical advice that the judges would not be able to impart on their own.

## **Procedural Justice**

Finally, the participating judges described specific characteristics and behaviors they believed were vital to their own legitimacy and therefore the success of the program participants. Repeatedly touching on ideas of procedural justice (for example, the use of clapping to reward small successes), it was clear that the reentry judges viewed their role as far from purely technical or administrative.

*It's important to be personable – come down from the bench, shake hands, make eye contact, take good notes, and employ other ideas of procedural justice. The judge has to show young people that the reentry court is different from the justice system they distrust... we have to gain their trust, change their perceptions and thought process.*

*The parolees are usually shocked when I shake their hands.*

Here, procedural justice is about transparent and meaningful interactions. As one judge expressed, procedural justice implies that their role is necessarily responsive; although some automatic deference to a judge's authority may generally be present, they have to get the balance right. According to the judges, they need to be kind and understanding when appropriate, but must be strict when necessary, for example if it becomes likely a participant will fail the program. In turn, the parolee will feel part of a legitimate process, even if the outcome is not a positive one:

*Even if the judge puts someone in jail, the parolee respects that.*

One judge expressed an opinion that the very existence of a judge on the bench in the reentry court model leads to increased parolee compliance by encouraging perceptions not only of gravity but also of fairness; presiding in a kind, helpful, and knowledgeable way lends to judicial authority. As described in Chapter 6, this perspective is in fact supported by interviews with parolees. Reentry court participants reported higher levels of perceived procedural fairness and more positive attitudes towards the judge compared to the control group.

## **Influences on the Reentry Court**

The participating judges were asked to consider how the reentry court may have been shaped by the culture of existing agencies, partner organizations, or the surrounding community:

*The message [the parolee] comes in with is 'jail isn't going to help me or change anything. I will still have the same problems'.*

*They are used to a very far- removed judicial system. [At Harlem Parole Reentry Court], suddenly the judge is asking them 'is there anything we can do to help you now?'*

Common influences on the work of the reentry court discussed among the judges were parole, the community, and local service providers. Each of these is explored in more depth below.

## **Parole**

The judges dedicated much time talking about their experience working closely with parole officers and how this influenced their work. Although teamwork was highlighted as a strength by each judge, the different actors were perceived to bring their own organizational cultures and individual personalities to the table, which sometimes created conflict. More than one interviewee expressed the opinion that the judge should have more say as the final decision-maker, stating that there were instances when they felt parole officers did not confer with them when making supervision decisions about the parolees. Another interviewee voiced that, at times, the judge may even feel like a figurehead, and that this potential shortcoming of the reentry court should be introduced during the judicial training period.

*I would let them know up front [so that] they would not feel tested or confined by the apparent divisions.*

In other comments, however, the judges expressed comfort not being the final decision-maker, as long as the parole officers showed buy-in to the philosophy of the reentry court. In this regard, the judges expressed that weekly team meetings played an important role.

*Everyone [at the meeting] had their own programs and we discussed what to bring to the table and what [the parolee] needed in order to benefit most... One person could meet one need, or another could, or we would realize we needed a new resource. There was a lot of relay and stepping outside the box.*

## **Community**

The influence of the local community was clear across the interviews. The judges believed that collectively, the Harlem community wants to see the reentry court working. Community members were seen as familiar with the work of the reentry court, with some community representatives attending the graduations, and offering not just support but also knowledge of available services.

Another interviewee discussed the influences of gentrification in East Harlem on the community and the reentry court. The Harlem Parole Reentry Court was set up in this location to address the large population of parolees being released from prison and returning

to the area. Over recent years however, the judge noted a decline in local organizations that would potentially help this population, as well as fewer churches. The consensus was that more services should be made available in the community for those who need them.

## **Service Providers**

Among interviewees, there was a shared sentiment that a wide variety of programs are necessary to meet the reentry court population's diverse needs. The judges also considered it important that services are provided in the community, close to where the parolees live. The judges also expressed the importance of services that could have practical and long-term positive effects. For example, one judge pointed out that it is not enough to help an individual become employed in a job they see as 'dead-end'; instead, people need to gain education and skills that will lead them to successful employment in the longer term.

*You need to bring in the resources for change.*

*Employment and housing are key elements and if they can find these, then they have less time to be involved in the criminal activities and have more self esteem—this means they are less inclined to slip.*

Over the course of the interviews, more than one judge expressed concerns with the quality of some service providers in the Harlem area. In particular, the judges expressed that residential facilities connected to the reentry court should meet basic quality standards, such as remaining bedbug-free. In general, housing in East Harlem was often deemed to be of substandard quality, and lacking in flexibility and availability.

*These guys come out of jail and into barely better accommodation than the jail... This is not a place to start their transition back into society.*

Another issue which emerged involved the appropriateness of services in matching parolees' needs. It was sometimes the case that a parolee in need of accommodation would get placed through a drug program, even though they may not have a drug use problem. One judge worried that facilities focused on drug treatment may prove to be too inflexible for certain parolees, presenting an environment in which they are more likely to break the rules. Other judges highlighted the lack of resources dedicated to mental health issues or programs tailored to violent offenders, again, explaining that there tends to be too much focus on substance abuse.

Findings from the parolee interview analysis in this evaluation revealed that 77% of the sample of reentry court parolees received substance abuse services, and only about 8% received services through a mental health program. These numbers may accurately reflect the assessed needs, but may also reinforce the judges' perceived imbalance of program focus.

As one judge summed it up: *“everything really depends on the facilities that you have to service the parolees.”* In other words, the judges conveyed that the diversity of the reentry court participants' needs must be acknowledged and addressed in order to assist them in a comprehensive and sustainable way.

## Perceptions of Success

The judges were asked to discuss the perceived impact of the Harlem Parole Reentry Court. Responses reflected the opinion that “success” comes in various forms, not just completing parole.

*With a team of people forming relationships this enhances the chances that something will click with one of them – they all want them to succeed. This is new concept for most of these guys... society expects them to fail and this becomes self-fulfilling prophecy.*

The judges expressed that, in their view, every time the program addresses an individual barrier, this brings the parolees closer to success, for example finding accommodation or reconnecting with their families. As one judge pointed out, this makes the reentry court unique: it is likely that a parolee not only successfully completes parole, but also comes out with a GED or prepared to go to college. In fact, data from the parolee interview component of this study showed that, one year post-release, those participating in the reentry court were significantly more likely to have a high school diploma or GED and more likely to be currently employed, compared to the control group.

### A ‘Good’ Judge

Interviewees agreed that the quality of the reentry court judge is vital to the program's success. When prompted to describe what it means to be a ‘good judge’, one participant suggested being interested in individuals and establishing relationships with them. The ability to tailor the interaction and supervision to the individual's case, helped to ensure compliance.

*I am sure to take very good notes and monitor that everything is completed... for follow-up, I will remind the case manager about issues previously mentioned, such as DV or child support issues, and ask 'did you ever follow up on that?'*

Another judge highlighted the importance of understanding what people experience when they are incarcerated, in order to inform a plan to help them and encourage them when they are released.

*The reentry judge is like a surrogate parent...not really chastising but saying 'this will help you' and serving as a personal cheerleader. A lot of people never complete anything in life and we make a big deal out of it and accentuate the positive: 'you might be doing the wrong thing, but I don't think you are a lesser human being' and 'someone cares about you'.*

One judge set it out in clear terms, stating that the judge's success is the participant's success, and this is ultimately the program's success. Below is a selection of key characteristics for good reentry court judges, offered by the study interviewees:

- Open personality;
- Encouragement of procedural justice practices;
- Respect for the population served;
- Willing to accept a holistic approach;
- Having a desire to be involved and to make a connection with each parolee; and
- Having an ability to identify with the community from which the parolees come.

## **Beyond the Harlem Parole Reentry Court**

Finally, the participating judges were asked about lessons learned and how these might be applied to future reentry court programs, possibly in other jurisdictions and locations. A common response highlighted the importance of local knowledge, not just for the purposes of informing programming and linking with service providers, but also for obtaining grant funding and maintaining local political will. Again, they felt that fundamentally, an effective reentry court is community-based with the ability to bring all of the community actors around one table.

Unprompted, all judges interviewed touched on the idea of expansion. Whether they were a part of the reentry court during its early development or more recently, the idea that the court was still considered a "pilot program" proved particularly problematic. They hoped to

expand the model to reach more parolees beyond East and Central Harlem. Moreover, the judges expressed a belief that the reentry court should provide a model for other courts in the state and beyond. As one judge suggested, even traditional courts should strive to employ some reentry court model elements, such as judges making an effort to get to know the parolees and taking a more collaborative approach.

*What is good in a little community for say 100 people, 10 years later, I hope it has branched out.*

# Conclusion

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This report examined the impact of the Harlem Parole Reentry Court on recidivism and other important parolee outcomes. The study involved a randomized controlled trial design, with random assignment of parolees to either the reentry court or traditional parole; and one-year follow up interviews with a subsample of those parolees. Qualitative interviews were also conducted with judges who have presided at the reentry court.

This chapter reviews the major study findings, provides key implications for practice and policy, highlights study strengths and limitations, and provides recommendations for future research.

## Discussion of Major Findings

The findings of this evaluation, summarized below, clearly indicate that the reentry court model, as implemented at the Harlem Parole Reentry Court, is promising and has had an impact in reducing recidivism and thereby improving public safety. The reentry court has helped parolees succeed in important areas other than recidivism, such as employment and education, leading to positive outcomes for the individuals, their families, and the community.

### Recidivism Outcomes

Overall, the reentry court was successful in achieving its goals of reducing recidivism. In general, at 18-months post release, all reported recidivism rates trended lower for reentry court participants than control group participants, and many of those were statistically significant differences. Of particular interest, as compared to the control group's recidivism, the reentry court reduced the reconviction rate by 22%, reduced the felony reconviction rate by 60%, and reduced the revocation (and, thus, the re-incarceration) rate by 45%.

### Additional Outcomes

The parolees who participated in the interviews were generally representative of the larger study sample, with nearly identical statistics on demographics, criminal history, and overall recidivism outcomes.

Among those interviewed, reentry court participants had significantly better outcomes than the control group in the following areas: employment rates at follow-up; average number of months worked since release; average number of hours working per week; likelihood of having employment-based health insurance; likelihood of having paid days off; average income from all sources; quality of family relationships; and select dimensions of criminal thinking. Possible positive effects (approaching but not reaching statistical significance) were also evident in regards to drug use and self-reported criminal activity at follow-up. The interviews also collected information on housing, ongoing needs, mental health, victimization, and criminogenic peers. The results did not include any statistically significant differences on these latter measures.

### **Supervision Experiences and Parolee Perceptions**

Based on research interviews, as compared to the control group, reentry court participants reported significantly more in-person meetings with their parole officer in the past year, significantly more in person meetings with their case managers, and a significantly lower likelihood of violating supervision conditions, a finding that is consistent with the revocation results presented earlier. Incentivizing compliance, reentry court participants were also significantly more likely to report having received a positive incentive (“reward”) since their release and were significantly less likely to report having received a sanction.

Regarding parolee attitudes, when asked about their most recent experience in court and their attitudes towards the judge and their parole officer, the differences between the reentry court and the control group were significant on every measure of procedural justice. When asked a series of questions about their readiness to change their lives and refrain from a life that involved criminal activity, the reentry court participants also scored significantly higher than the control group.

### **The Perspectives of Reentry Court Judges**

Reentry court judges had generally positive impressions of the reentry court, its possible effects on participants, and its importance. They believed that their time serving on the reentry court was of great personal value and that they made an impact in the lives of parolees. They also believed that the reentry court model should be expanded, and that elements of the approach, especially in regards to procedural justice, should be utilized throughout the criminal justice system.

## Major Implications

The Harlem Parole Reentry Court builds off several promising theories of offender rehabilitation. In particular, adherence to the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) model has been shown to be successful in reducing recidivism. The RNR model implies matching the level and type of services to the offenders' risk of re-offense as well as assessing criminogenic needs and utilizing rehabilitative programming and cognitive social learning to influence behavior and ensure responsivity to treatment.<sup>34</sup> In compliance, the reentry court utilizes the COMPAS risk-need assessment tool; and then targets programming respectively to high, medium, and low-risk parolees based on RNR principles (varying intervention by risk level and needs). As noted previously, the reentry court utilizes cognitive-behavioral therapy for medium and high-risk parolees, while not requiring this programming for the low-risk group.

In addition to RNR, the reentry court also builds off of existing literature on the role of procedural justice and perceptions of fairness in compliance and subsequent law-abiding behavior. Moreover, the findings in this study, along with the existing literature on procedural justice, point to an interesting aspect of the reentry court that may play a key role in encouraging supervision compliance by parolees. Of final interest, the particularly large impact of the reentry court in reducing parole revocation rates may be seen as reflecting the court's deliberate effort to use graduated intermediate sanctions in lieu of quick resort to revocation and re-incarceration.

The reentry court model presented here is a strong candidate for replication in other jurisdictions. The results, in tandem with the two earlier evaluations of the Harlem Parole Reentry as well as recent multisite research on reentry courts across the country, suggest that strong partnerships with community supervision agencies, law enforcement, and local community based organizations are essential to successful implementation<sup>35</sup>. As described in the interviews with the reentry court judges, team members who are fully invested and committed to the philosophy and approach of the reentry court are instrumental; and collaboration amongst team members on rewards, sanctions, and decision-making is an essential component of a well-functioning reentry court.

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<sup>34</sup> Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. 2006. *The psychology of criminal conduct* (4th ed.). Newark, NJ: LexisNexis.

<sup>35</sup> Farole, *op. cit.*; Hamilton, *op. cit.*; Lindquist, et. al, *op. cit.*; and Lindquist, C.H., L. Hassoun Ayoub, D. Dawes, P. M. Harrison, A. M. Malsch, J.L. Hardison Walters, M. Rempel and S. M. Carey. 2014. *The National Institute of Justice's Evaluation of Second Chance Act Adult Reentry Courts: Staff and Client Perspectives on Reentry Courts from Year 2*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

Serving a true reentry population that presents with significant risks and needs and is returning from a meaningful custodial, may also be important. The majority of parolees in this study had served at least one year in prison for a felony; many had served for much longer periods of time for violent felonies and other charges. Once released from prison, these individuals faced significant barriers in reintegration, employment, housing, and family reunification. The reentry court aimed to address these needs and overcome the barriers, with generally successful results.

## Study Strengths and Limitations

This research study has several strengths and limitations. It adds to the growing literature on reentry courts by providing a rigorous evaluation of a well-established reentry court built off of strong partnerships with the state parole agency (DOCCS). Overall, as a successfully implemented randomized controlled trial, the study reaches the highest standards of research rigor, and impact findings have high internal validity.

The interview component of the study had some strengths and some limitations. The interviews themselves were comprehensive and the data collected was valuable. However, inability to reach many parolees, due to the reasons described in Chapter 2, may have impacted interview findings by creating a selection bias. Parolees who absconded or were incarcerated were more difficult to reach, potentially contributing to this type of bias. Initial statistical analyses conducted comparing the interviewed participants with the larger study sample indicate that there are no statistically significant differences between the two groups and thus the interviewed participants may be considered generally representative of the study sample. The small number of incarcerated participants interviewed did not allow for separate analyses on those individuals; however, the incarcerated participants did not differ substantially from the larger interviewed sample. Thus, while the reduced sample size for direct interviews poses an inescapable threat to validity, those statistical analyses that could be conducted on observable characteristics suggests, promisingly, that such biases were limited nonetheless.

Another important limitation of the interview data is that all of it is self-reported. Official DOCCS data on employment, education, mental health and other measures could not be obtained and may have been more reliable than self-reported data. However, there is no reason to believe that the two study groups (treatment and control) would differ in their reporting on these topics; in fact, in many areas, such as mental health, service utilization, community involvement, and even criminal activity, the two groups were similar. If any under reporting or distortion did occur, it likely was not systematic or at a similar rate for

both groups. In conducting research on populations under the supervision of the corrections or criminal justice systems, interviews remain an important method of obtaining information that is not readily accessible elsewhere.

Finally, the small sample size for the interviews proved to be an inherent and sizable limitation in developing multivariate regression models and determining predictors of recidivism from the interview responses.

## **Future Research Priorities**

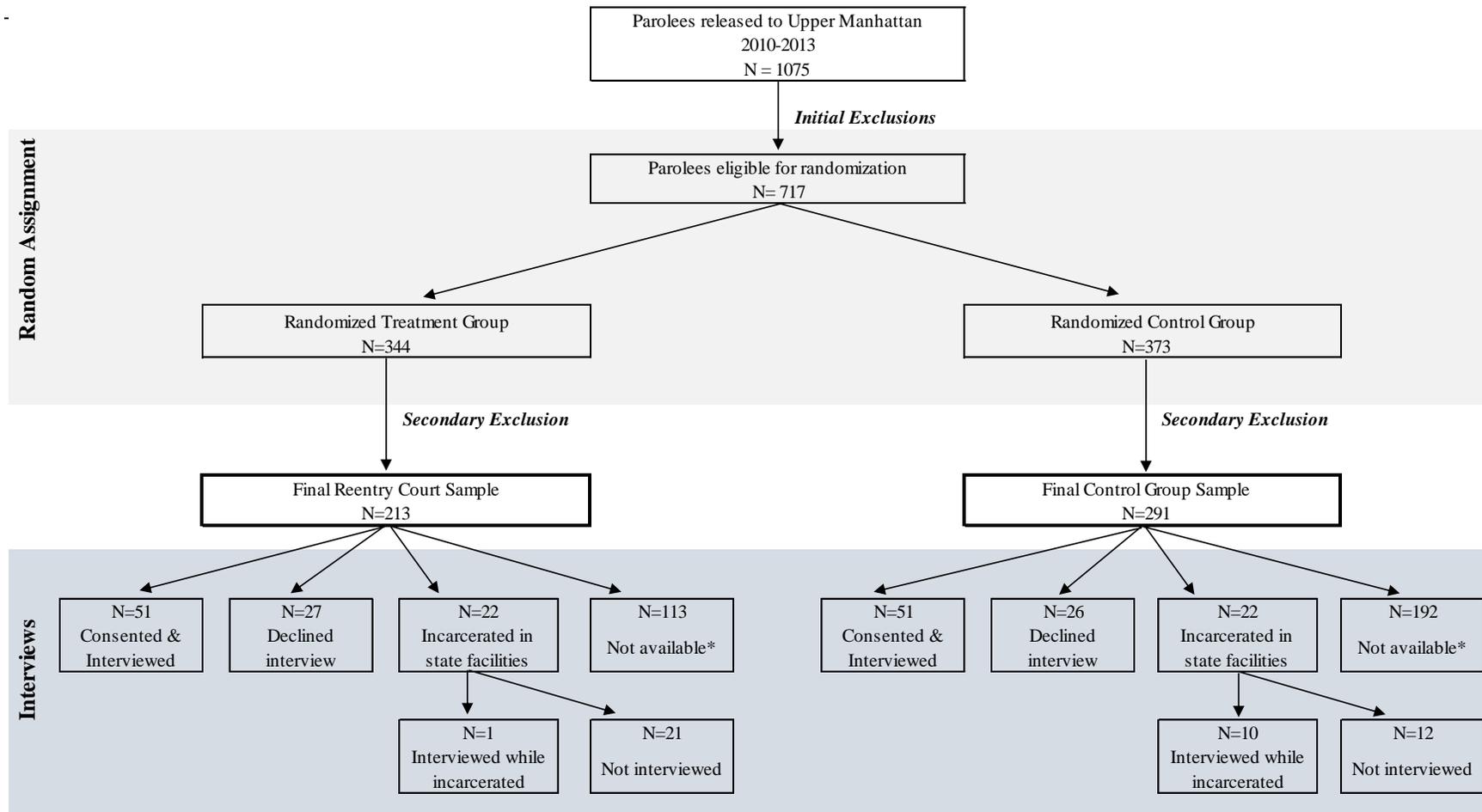
There are numerous opportunities for continued research on reentry courts and in the reentry field generally. An expansion of this study with a larger interview sample may prove valuable to determining the aspects of the supervision experience that strongly influence recidivism outcomes. An examination of this same study population after several years have passed would provide insight into whether the reentry court experience continues to impact their lives and whether the reductions in recidivism and improvements in education, employment, income and quality of employment, substance use, and family relationships are sustained over time.

Generally, this study also points to several other interesting areas in the field of reentry that merit further examination. Family reunification has long been considered an important part of successful reentry and further examination of the role of family and family members is necessary. Persons returning home from prison have complex relationships with family members and children that may be influenced by factors such as their location during incarceration (distance from home), their original crime or history of criminal activity, their families' socioeconomic status, the ages of their children, and so on. As discussed, reentry court participants scored higher than the control group on the family relationship measures.

High-risk parolees emerged as a particularly challenging group of individuals where reductions in rearrest and reconviction were difficult to achieve. Reentry court staff members have highlighted the need for further intensive support, program referrals, and close monitoring and assistance of high-risk parolees, in line with RNR theory. For example, while most high-risk parolees are assigned to cognitive-behavioral therapy, they often fail to attend (or fail to attend on a regular basis), or may be rearrested or violated before completing treatment. Ensuring that high-risk parolees complete a long-term therapy is difficult, highlighting a need for short-term intensive, yet effective, interventions. As programs and efforts around the country increasingly target high-risk participants, further research is needed to determine how to achieve success with this population.

The role of procedural justice and perceptions of fairness in reducing recidivism among individuals under community supervision also merits further investigation. The reentry court model is built off of the premise that individuals are more likely to comply with parole if they feel that they are treated with respect and fairness. It may also be worthwhile to examine efforts to incorporate elements of procedural justice into traditional community supervision contexts.

# Appendix A. Study Implementation Flow Diagram



\*Not available = no contact information, absconded, incarcerated in local jail, discharged/maxed out, died, or moved to another state.

## Appendix B. Baseline Differences between Treatment and Control Samples

	Reentry Court	Control Group
<b>N</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>291</b>
<b>Demographics</b>		
Age	29.4	30.8
Female	2%	3%
<b>Race/Ethnicity</b>		
Black/African-American	69%	61%
Hispanic/Latino	30%	35%
White	1%	4%
Born in the United States	97%**	90%
<b>CRIMINAL HISTORY</b>		
<b>Prior Arrests</b>		
# prior arrests	11.3	12.6
<i>Any prior arrest</i>	96%	95%
# drug arrests	5.3	5.9
<i>Any drug arrest</i>	83%	86%
# felony arrests	6.0	6.4
<i>Any felony arrest</i>	89%	92%
# violent felony arrests	1.9	1.7
<i>Any violent felony arrest</i>	68%	67%
# drug felony arrests	3.1	3.2
<i>Any drug felony arrest</i>	70%	76%
<b>Prior Convictions</b>		
# prior convictions	7.4	8.4
<i>Any prior conviction</i>	91%	91%
# drug convictions	2.9	3.3
<i>Any drug conviction</i>	66%	72%
# felony convictions	2.5	2.5
<i>Any felony conviction</i>	79%	79%
# violent felony convictions	0.5	0.5
<i>Any violent felony conviction</i>	38%	35%
# drug felony convictions	1.3	1.3
<i>Any drug felony conviction</i>	54%	59%

\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

	Reentry Court	Control Group
<b>Number of Cases</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>291</b>
<b>CRIMINAL HISTORY (cont'd)</b>		
Prior Incarceration		
# prior custodial sentences	4	4.7
Any custodial sentence	79%	81%
# prior prison sentences	1.4	1.5
Any prior prison sentence	58%	65%
<b>Prior Warrants and Revocations</b>		
# prior parole revocation	0.5	0.5
Any prior revocation	28%	27%
<b>Instant Case</b>		
Risk at Release		
DCJS Risk Score	5.3	5.3
DCJS VFO Risk Score	5.2	4.8
Re-release	21%	24%
<b>Arrest Year</b>		
	*	
1980s	1%	0%
1990s	3%	8%
2000-2004	9%	15%
2005-2009	65%	60%
2010-2012	22%	17%
<b>Arrest</b>		
Violent Felony Offense	43%**	30%
Weapons-related	34%**	23%
Drug-related	44%**	57%
DWI	1%	0%
Property-related	26%	25%
Assault	9%+	6%
Arrest Charge Severity: Felony	98%	99%

\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

# Appendix C. Interview Instrument

## A. To Be Completed by Interviewer (prior to interview):

- 1) Interviewer Initials: \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) Date of Interview: \_\_\_/\_\_\_/\_\_\_
- 3) Participant First Name: \_\_\_\_\_
- 4) Participant Last Name: \_\_\_\_\_
- 5) NYSID # of participant (if applicable): \_\_\_\_\_
- 6) Unique ID #: \_\_\_\_\_
- 7) Did the interview take place at a correctional facility?  
 Yes  
 No
- 8) Was the participant assigned to Harlem Reentry Court?  
 Yes  
 No

## B. Demographic Information

- 1) Do you go by any other names?  
 Yes  
 No
- 2) [*If yes*] What other names do you use? \_\_\_\_\_  
Probe: Do you prefer that I call you by that name?
- 3) How do you identify?  
 Male  
 Female  
 Transgender
- 4) What is your date of birth? \_\_\_/\_\_\_/\_\_\_
- 5) This would make you {calculated age}, is that correct?  
 Yes  
 No

6) Which of the following best describes you? (Select all that apply)

- Black or African American
- Hispanic, Latino or Spanish
- White or Caucasian
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian or East Indian
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

7) Were you born in the United States?

- Yes
- No

8) Have you ever served in the Armed Forces including the Guard or Reserves?

- Yes
- No

### **C. Education**

1) Have you graduated from high school or obtained a GED?

- Yes
- No

2) Were you ever suspended or expelled from school?

- Yes
- No

3) Are you currently in school? (*By school, we mean high school classes, a GED course, college courses, vocational/technical training, or any other type of schooling that where you receive a certificate or diploma*)

- Yes
- No

## D. Employment

*Note to interviewer: The word "job" includes all legal formal jobs that have a pay stub, self-employment AND also casual pay jobs that are paid 'under the table' or 'off the books'. Jobs in prison industries or illegal activities such as drug sales do not count.*

- 1) Have you ever held a job?  
 Yes  
 No
- 2) *[If yes]* During the past year, how many months have you held a job? \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) Do you currently have a job?  
 Yes  
 No
- 4) *[If yes]* On average, how many hours per week do you usually work for your current job? \_\_\_\_\_
- 5) *[If yes]* Does your current job provide health insurance coverage?  
 Yes  
 No
- 6) *[If yes]* Are you entitled to any fully paid leave, such as sick leave or vacation leave, from your current employer?  
 Yes  
 No

## E. Income

- 1) How do you currently support yourself? Please tell us all the ways you support yourself. (Select all that apply)  
 A Job  
 Support from your family  
 Support from your friends  
 Disability  
 A government program, such as food stamps or social security  
 Income through illegal activities  
 Some other type of support
- 2) *(If P currently supports self with a job)* What was your total monthly income from your job(s) last month? Would you say...?  
 Less than \$100  
 \$100 to \$299  
 \$300 to \$499  
 \$500 to \$999  
 \$1,000 to \$1,999

- \$2,000 to \$2,999
- \$3,000 to \$3,999
- \$4,000 to \$4,999
- \$5,000 to \$10,000
- Over \$10,000

3) (*If P currently supports self with support from family*) How much money did your family provide for you last month?

- Less than \$100
- \$100 to \$299
- \$300 to \$499
- \$500 to \$999
- \$1,000 to \$1,999
- \$2,000 to \$2,999
- \$3,000 to \$3,999
- \$4,000 to \$4,999
- \$5,000 to \$10,000
- Over \$10,000

4) (*If P currently supports self with support from friends*) How much money did your friends provide for you last month?

- Less than \$100
- \$100 to \$299
- \$300 to \$499
- \$500 to \$999
- \$1,000 to \$1,999
- \$2,000 to \$2,999
- \$3,000 to \$3,999
- \$4,000 to \$4,999
- \$5,000 to \$10,000
- Over \$10,000

5) (*If P currently supports self with disability*) How much money did you receive from disability last month?

- Less than \$100
- \$100 to \$299
- \$300 to \$499
- \$500 to \$999
- \$1,000 to \$1,999
- \$2,000 to \$2,999
- \$3,000 to \$3,999

- \$4,000 to \$4,999
- \$5,000 to \$10,000
- Over \$10,000

6) (*If P currently supports self with money from a government program*) How much money did you receive from a government program last month?

- Less than \$100
- \$100 to \$299
- \$300 to \$499
- \$500 to \$999
- \$1,000 to \$1,999
- \$2,000 to \$2,999
- \$3,000 to \$3,999
- \$4,000 to \$4,999
- \$5,000 to \$10,000
- Over \$10,000

7) (*If P currently supports self with illegal income*) How much money did you make from illegal activities last month?

- Less than \$100
- \$100 to \$299
- \$300 to \$499
- \$500 to \$999
- \$1,000 to \$1,999
- \$2,000 to \$2,999
- \$3,000 to \$3,999
- \$4,000 to \$4,999
- \$5,000 to \$10,000
- Over \$10,000

8) (*If P currently supports self with money from other sources*) How much money did you receive from other sources last month?

- Less than \$100
- \$100 to \$299
- \$300 to \$499
- \$500 to \$999
- \$1,000 to \$1,999
- \$2,000 to \$2,999
- \$3,000 to \$3,999
- \$4,000 to \$4,999
- \$5,000 to \$10,000
- Over \$10,000

- 9) What kinds of health insurance or health care coverage do you have? Select all that apply.
- Private health insurance plan
  - Medicare/Medicaid
  - Other government insurance program
  - No insurance

#### **F. Supervision**

- 1) During the past year, were you on parole?
  - Yes
  - No
- 2) [If yes] During the past year, about how many times did you communicate with your parole officer through in-person meetings? \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) [If yes] During the past year, about how many times did you communicate with your parole officer over the phone or through text or email? \_\_\_\_\_
- 4) During the past year, about how many times did you communicate with a case manager through in-person meetings? \_\_\_\_\_
- 5) During the past year, about how many times did you communicate with a case manager over the phone or through text or email? \_\_\_\_\_
- 6) During the past year, have you appeared in court?
  - Yes
  - No
- 7) Were you required to appear in court immediately after your release from incarceration?
  - Yes
  - No
- 8) Were you routinely required to appear in court for monitoring or status hearings to assist with your reintegration into society?
  - Yes
  - No
- 9) During the past year, about how many times did you appear in court for regularly scheduled monitoring or status hearings? \_\_\_\_\_

## G. Perceptions of Fairness

### 1) Cognitions/Perceptions of Procedural Justice

*I'm going to ask some questions about how the [reentry] court has treated your case overall. As you answer these questions, please think about your most recent experience in the [reentry] court. Please tell me if you strongly disagree, disagree, agree, or strongly agree with the following statements about your experience in court. I want to remind you that this information will not be shared with anyone, other than researchers, and will never be used against you.*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
You felt you had the opportunity to express your views in the court.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Everyone participating in the court session had a fair chance to bring out the facts in court.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You felt you had enough control over the way things were run in the court.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You felt too intimidated or scared to say what you really felt in the court.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You felt pushed around in the court case by the people with more power than you.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
People in the court spoke on your behalf.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The court took account of what you said in deciding what should be done.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
During the court, you felt pushed into things you did not agree with.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You felt that people who committed the same offense were treated the same way.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You were disadvantaged because of your age, income, sex, race, or some other reason.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You were treated unfairly by the court.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You understood what was going on in the court.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You feel that you were treated with respect in the court.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

2) Attitude towards judge

*I'm going to ask some questions about how the [reentry court] judge has treated your case. As you answer these questions, please think about your most recent experience in a court [reentry court] with a judge. Please tell me if you strongly disagree, disagree, agree, or strongly agree with the following statements about your experience with the judge. I want to remind you that this information will not be shared with anyone, other than researchers, and will never be used against you.*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
The judge was knowledgeable about your case.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The judge knew you by name.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The judge helped you to succeed.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The judge emphasized the importance of getting the services that you need.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The judge was intimidating or unapproachable.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The judge remembered your situations and needs from hearing to hearing.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The judge gave you a chance to tell your side of the story.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The judge could be trusted to treat you fairly.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The judge treated you with respect.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

3) Attitude towards parole officer

*I'm going to ask some questions about how your parole officer has treated your case. Please tell me if you strongly disagree, disagree, agree, or strongly agree with the following statements about your experience with your parole officer. I want to remind you that this information will not be shared with anyone, other than researchers, and will never be used against you.*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
Your parole officer seems trustworthy.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Your parole officer gives you correct information.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Your parole officer calls you back or talks to you right away when you have a problem.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Your parole officer treats you with respect.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Your parole officer acts in a professional way.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Your parole officer doesn't listen to you.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Your parole officer is knowledgeable about your case.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Your parole officer helps you to succeed.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Your parole officer gives you a chance to tell your side of the story.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Your parole officer can be trusted to treat you fairly.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Your parole officer assists you in getting the services you need	<input type="checkbox"/>				

### H. Compliance with Supervision Conditions

- 1) During the past year, did you use drugs while on parole, fail to keep appointments, or otherwise fail to meet your supervision conditions in any way, regardless of whether your parole officer knew about it?
  - Yes
  - No
- 2) *[If yes]* How many times did you fail to meet your supervision conditions, whether or not your parole officer knew about it? \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) How many violations of supervision did you receive? \_\_\_\_\_
- 4) At any point during the past year, did you have a drug test, not including alcohol breathalyzers?
  - Yes
  - No
- 5) *[If yes]* During the past year, about how many times did you test positive? \_\_\_\_\_
- 6) During the past year, did you receive the following rewards or incentives for positive behavior?

	Yes	No
Praise by your parole officer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Praise by a judge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fewer required drug tests or contacts with your parole officer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
More special privileges, like travel or curfew flexibility	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Token, vouchers, or small gifts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Some other reward or incentive	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7) During the past year, did you receive any of the following sanctions?

	Yes	No
More drug testing or treatment requirements	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Meeting with your parole officer more than before	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Community service	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Electronic monitoring, house arrest, or community control	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Some jail time	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A technical violation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A revocation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8) Information and Expectations

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
I clearly understood all of my supervision responsibilities.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Someone from the criminal justice system made sure I clearly understood what kind of behavior might cause me to be put back in jail or prison.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Someone from the criminal justice system was willing to answer any questions I had about my responsibilities.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Someone from the criminal justice system asked me to repeat what I had to do in my own words to make sure I understood it all.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Someone from the criminal justice system went over with me what I had to do more than one time	<input type="checkbox"/>				

## I. Threat of Punishment

The next group of questions is about how you see different kinds of punishment as part of your parole. Remember, no one except researchers will know what you say and your parole officer won't see your answers, so please try to answer as honestly as possible.

- 1) Now I'd like you to think about what you think would happen to you if you used drugs while on parole, failed to keep appointments, or otherwise failed to meet your supervision conditions. If you were to do any of these things, how likely do you think it is that your parole officer would find out?
  - Very likely
  - Somewhat likely
  - Somewhat unlikely
  - Very unlikely
  
- 2) If your parole officer did think that you used drugs while on parole, failed to keep appointments, or otherwise failed to meet your supervision conditions, how likely do you think it is that:

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Somewhat unlikely	Very unlikely
You would receive increased drug testing or treatment requirements	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your parole officer would increase the number of times you have to meet with him/her?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
You would receive a writing assignment, or be made to sit in the jury box to observe court proceedings?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
You would receive community service?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
You would be given electronic monitoring, or be placed on house arrest or community control?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
You would get some jail time?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
You would be violated (given a violation)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
You would get revoked and end up in jail or prison?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## **J. Criminal Behavior/Activity**

*The next few questions are about illegal activities that you may have done in the last year. I want to remind you that no one except researchers will know what you say and your answers will never be used against you. Your parole officer will not know what you answer. As you answer these questions, please think about things that have happened in the last year. Do not think about anything in you are planning in the future, or anything you did before the last year.*

*Most of the questions I will ask only require a Yes or No answer; if you answer Yes to any of these questions do not give me any details about it. We are not interested in knowing exactly what you did, but only whether you did certain kinds of activity.*

- 1) At any point during the past year, have you engaged in any violence against another person, regardless of whether or not you were caught? By violence, we mean things like physical or sexual assault, rape, robbery, manslaughter, attempted murder, murder, vehicular manslaughter, or vehicular homicide, whether you knew the person or not?  
 Yes  
 No
- 2) At any point during the past year, have you carried a gun, knife, or other weapon, regardless of whether or not you were caught?  
 Yes  
 No
- 3) At any point during the past year, have you possessed either drugs or drug paraphernalia, regardless of whether or not you were caught?  
 Yes  
 No
- 4) At any point during the past year, have you engaged in any illegal drug sales, regardless of whether or not you were caught?  
 Yes  
 No
- 5) At any point during the past year, have you driven while intoxicated or under the influence, regardless of whether or not you were caught?  
 Yes  
 No
- 6) At any point during the past year, have you committed any property crimes, regardless of whether or not you were caught? Property crimes include burglary, larceny, auto theft, bad checks, fraud, forgery, or grand theft.  
 Yes  
 No
- 7) At any point during the past year, have you engaged in any illegal activities that did not fall into any of the categories I just mentioned?  
 Yes

No

**K. Criminal History**

- 1) How old were you the first time you were arrested? \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) At any point during the past year, were you arrested for any reason?
  - Yes
  - No

**L. Substance Use and Abuse**

*I'm going to ask some questions about your use of alcohol and drugs. I want to remind you that this information will not be shared with anyone, and will never be used against you. As you answer these questions, please think about things that have happened in the last year and not anything in the future.*

- 1) During the last year, which of the following has been your primary drug?
  - Was not using drugs
  - Alcohol
  - Marijuana
  - Crack
  - Cocaine
  - Heroin
  - Amphetamines (e.g., such as monster, crank, Methamphetamine, or Ice)
  - Hallucinogens (e.g. LSD or acid, mushrooms, Mescaline, Peyote, Green, PCP, or Angel Dust)
  - Prescription medications, without a prescription or in larger amounts than prescribed
  - Street Methadone
  - Designer Drugs (e.g. Molly, Spice, bath salts, DMT)
  - Polydrug: \_\_\_\_\_
  - Other: \_\_\_\_\_

2) How often did you use each type of drug during the last year?

	Never	Only a few times	1-3 times a month	1-5 times a week	About every day
Alcohol	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Marijuana	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Crack	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Cocaine	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Heroin	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Amphetamines	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Hallucinogens	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Prescriptions Medications	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Street Methadone	<input type="checkbox"/>				

3) During the last year

	Yes	No
Did you use larger amounts of drugs or use them for a longer time than you planned or intended?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did you try to cut down on your drug use but were unable to do it?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did you spend a lot of time getting drugs, using them, or recovering from their use?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did you get so high or sick from drugs that it kept you from doing work, going to school, or caring for children?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did you get so high or sick from drugs that it caused an accident or put you or others in danger?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did you spend less time at work, school, or with friends so that you could use drugs?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did your drug use cause emotional or psychological problems?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did your drug use cause problems with family, friends, work or police?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did your drug use cause physical health or medical problems?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did you increase the amount of a drug you were taking so that you could get the same effects as before?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did you ever keep taking a drug to avoid withdrawal symptoms or keep from getting sick?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did you get sick or have withdrawal symptoms when you quit or missed taking a drug?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4) During the last year, how often did you inject drugs with a needle?

- Never
- Only a few times
- 1-3 times per month
- 1-5 times per week
- Daily

5) How serious do you think your drug problems are?

- Not at all
- Slightly
- Moderately
- Considerably
- Extremely

- 6) How many times before now have you ever been in a drug treatment program? Do not include AA/NA/CA meetings.
- Never
  - 1 time
  - 2 times
  - 3 times
  - 4 or more times
- 7) How important is it for you to get drug treatment now?
- Not at all
  - Slightly
  - Moderately
  - Considerably
  - Extremely

*Current Substance Abuse Treatment*

- 8) During the past year, did you go to the emergency room for drug or alcohol treatment? By this we mean times you went to the ER for emergency services, not times you may have gone into the hospital for detox, outpatient treatment or groups.
- Yes
  - No
- 9) *[If yes]* How many times did you go to the emergency room for drug or alcohol treatment? \_\_\_\_\_
- 10) During the past year, did you have a hospital stay for detox to stabilize your mood and behavior? Detox may be a program lasting between 2 and 14 days.
- Yes
  - No
- 11) *[If yes]* How many times did you have a hospital stay for detox to stabilize your mood and behavior? \_\_\_\_\_
- 12) During the past year, did you participate in a residential drug or alcohol treatment program? This is a place where a person lives away from home and services are intended to last at least a couple weeks but may last for several weeks or months.
- Yes
  - No
- 13) *[If yes]* How many months in total did you participate in a residential drug or alcohol treatment program? \_\_\_\_\_
- 14) During the past year, did you have medicinal interventions to treat alcohol and drug abuse such as methadone maintenance, Naltrexone, or Buprenorphine?
- Yes

- No
- 15) [If yes] How many months in total did you have medicinal interventions to treat alcohol and drug abuse? \_\_\_\_\_
- 16) During the past year, did you have outpatient group counseling for substance abuse treatment? This does not include self-help groups such as AA or NA.
- Yes
- No
- 17) [If yes] How many months did you have outpatient group counseling for substance abuse treatment? \_\_\_\_\_
- 18) [If yes] How many times per week did you have outpatient group counseling for substance abuse treatment? \_\_\_\_\_
- 19) During the past year, did you have any outpatient individual counseling for substance abuse treatment?
- Yes
- No
- 20) [If yes] How many months did you have outpatient individual counseling for substance abuse treatment? \_\_\_\_\_
- 21) [If yes] How many times per week did you have outpatient individual counseling for substance abuse treatment? \_\_\_\_\_
- 22) During the past year, did you participate in any self-help groups such as alcoholics anonymous or narcotics anonymous, often known as AA or NA?
- Yes
- No
- 23) During the past year, did you participate in any alternative approaches to alcohol and drug treatment, such as acupuncture, meditation, or biofeedback?
- Yes
- No

**M. Mental Health**

*1) Here I have a list of problems people sometimes have. As I read each one to you, I want you to tell me **HOW MUCH THAT PROBLEM HAS DISTRESSED OR BOTHERED YOU DURING THE PAST 7 DAYS INCLUDING TODAY.** These are the answers I want you to use. [Hand card and read answers.] Do you have any questions?*

DURING THE PAST 7 DAYS, how much were you distressed or bothered by:

	Not at all (0)	A little bit (1)	Moderately (2)	Quite a bit (3)	Extremely (4)	Refused (R)
* Nervousness or shakiness inside	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Faintness or dizziness	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Pains in your heart or chest	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Thoughts of ending your life	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Suddenly scared for no reason	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Feeling lonely	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Feeling blue	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Feeling no interest in things	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Feeling fearful	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Nausea or upset stomach	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Trouble getting your breath	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Numbness or tingling in parts of your body	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Feeling hopeless about the future	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Feeling weak in parts of your body	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Feeling tense or keyed up	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Spells of terror or panic	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Feeling so restless you couldn't sit still	<input type="checkbox"/>					
* Feelings of worthlessness	<input type="checkbox"/>					

**N. Victimization**

*Now let's talk about things that have happened to you in the past year.*

- 1) During the past year, did someone push, slap, or grab you; twist your arm, pull your hair; restrain or shove you; or throw something at you that could hurt you?
  - Yes
  - No
- 2) During the past year, did someone push or hit you with something that could hurt, slam you against a hard surface, beat you up, kick you, choke you, strangle burn or scald you on purpose, or use a knife or gun against you?
  - Yes
  - No
- 3) During the past year, did someone verbally insist that you have sex, including oral, anal or vaginal sex when you didn't want to, or insist that you have sex without a condom?
  - Yes
  - No
- 4) During the past year, did someone physically force you, by hitting, holding you down, drugging you or using a weapon, to have oral sex, anal sex, or vaginal sex?
  - Yes
  - No
- 5) During the past year, did someone make harassing phone calls to you, keep you from spending time or talking with your friends, stop you from going someplace you wanted to go, insult you, swear at you, humiliate you, put you down, or make you feel worthless?
  - Yes
  - No

### O. Criminal Thinking

1) Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
You get upset when you hear about someone who has lost everything in a natural disaster	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You were [are] locked up because you had a run of bad luck.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The real reason you were [are] locked up is because of your race.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
When people tell you what to do, you become aggressive.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Anything can be fixed in court if you have the right connections.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Seeing someone cry makes you sad.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You rationalize your actions with statements, like, "Everyone else is doing it, why shouldn't I?"					
Bankers, lawyers, and politicians get away with breaking the law every day.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You have paid your dues in life and are justified in taking what you want.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
When not in control of a situation, you feel the need to exert power over others.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
When being asked about the motives for engaging in crime, you point out how hard your life has been.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You are sometimes so moved by an experience that you feel emotions you cannot describe.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You argue with others over relatively trivial matters.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
If someone disrespects you then you have to straighten them out, even if you have to get physical.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You like to be in control.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You find yourself blaming the victims of some of your crimes.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You feel people are important to you.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The country's justice system was designed to treat everyone equally.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Police do worse things than do the "criminals" they lock up.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You think you have pay back people who mess with you.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nothing you do here is going to make a difference in the way you are treated.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You feel you are above the law.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
It is okay to commit crime in order to pay for the things you need.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Society owes you a better life.					
Breaking the law is no big deal as long as you do not physically harm someone.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You find yourself blaming society and external circumstances for the problems in your life.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You worry when a friend is having problems.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The only way to protect yourself is to be ready to fight.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You are not to blame for everything you have done.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

It is unfair that you have been [are] locked-up when bankers, lawyers, and politicians get away with their crimes.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Laws are just a way to keep poor people down.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Your good behavior should allow you to be irresponsible sometimes.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
It is okay to commit crime in order to live the life you deserve.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Prosecutors often tell witnesses to lie in court.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You justify the crime you commit by telling yourself that if you had not done it, someone else would have.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You may be a criminal, but your environment made you that way.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

### Readiness for Change

2) Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree
You are tired of the problems caused by the crimes you have committed.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You want to get your life straightened out.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You think you will need help in staying straight.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You will give up friends and hangouts that get you into trouble.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You think it is urgent that you find help immediately to not commit crimes.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You think you will be able to stop committing crimes.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

### P. Housing Status

1) Where are you currently living?

- In public housing building unit or Section 8 unit
- In a house or apartment that is not public housing
- In a residential treatment facility
- In transitional housing, a halfway house, a group home, or a hotel/motel
- In a shelter, an abandoned building or vacant unit, or on the street/homeless
- Incarcerated
- I have no set place

- In some other place or situation (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) During the past year, how many different places have you lived?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 3) Were you homeless at any point during the past year? By homeless, we mean living in shelters, in an abandoned or vacant unit, or on the street.
- Yes  
 No
- 4) During the past year, did you have any trouble finding a place to live?
- Yes  
 No
- 5) [*If yes*] Why did you have trouble finding a place to live? (Select all that apply.)
- You were unable to get public housing or a section 8 voucher  
 You were unable to stay with friends or family  
 You were unable to get a lease on a house or apartment that is not public housing  
 You were unable to obtain a bed in a long term shelter or supportive housing  
 You had no money for a housing deposit  
 Some other reason
- 6) Is the place you are currently living better, worse, or about the same as the last place you lived?
- About the same  
 Better  
 Worse

### **Q. Family Relationships**

- 1) Are you currently ..?
- Married  
 Separated  
 Divorced  
 Widowed  
 Never married
- 2) [*If not married*] Are you currently involved in a steady intimate relationship?
- Yes  
 No
- 3) [*If married or intimate relationship*] Do you currently live with that person?
- Yes  
 No
- 4) [*If married or intimate relationship*] How long have you been in this relationship?  
*Amount of time* \_\_\_\_\_ *in*
- Weeks

Months

Years

5) How many children under the age of 18 do you have?

None

1

2

3

4

5 or more

*[If participant has children]*

6) How many of your children under the age of 18 are living with you?

None of them

1

2

3

4

5 or more

7) *[If children not living with or incarcerated]* During the past year, how often have you had in-person visits with your children under the age of 18?

Daily

A few times a week

Weekly

Two or three times a month

Once a month

Less than once a month

Never

8) Are you currently required by a court to pay child support for any of your children?

Yes

No

9) *[If yes]* During the past year, have you paid any child support?

Yes

No

*The following statements describe how you may feel about your relationships with your family in the past 30 days. For these questions, when I say "family", I mean traditional family members, but also all kinds of domestic arrangements (such as your girlfriend or partner) as well as non-biological relations who provide you with support.*

10) Family Emotional Support

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
You feel close to your family.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You want your family to be involved in your life.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You consider yourself a source of emotional support for your family.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You have someone in your family to talk with about your interests or your problems.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You have someone in your family to turn to for suggestions about how to deal with a personal problem.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You have someone in your family who understands your problems.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You have someone in your family to love you and make you feel wanted.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

### 11) Family Conflict

You fight a lot with your family members.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You often feel like you disappoint your family.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You are criticized a lot by your family.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

### 12) Family Instrumental Support

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
You have someone in your family who would provide help or advice on finding a place to live.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You have someone in your family who would provide help or advice on finding a job.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You have someone in your family who would provide support for dealing with a substance abuse problem.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You have someone in your family who would provide transportation to work or other appointments, if needed.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
You have someone in your family who would provide you with financial support.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

## R. Family Crime and Drug Use

1) Who is the main person (or people) who raised you?

- Both parents
- Mother only

- Father only
  - Foster parents
  - Grandparent(s)
  - Other person(s) \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) Have any of the people who raised you ever been arrested, that you know of?
    - Yes
    - No
  - 3) Have any other family members ever been arrested, that you know of?
    - Yes
    - No
  - 4) [*If married or intimate partner*] Has your current spouse or intimate partner ever been arrested, that you know of?
    - Yes
    - No
  - 5) Has anyone in your family ever served time in a correctional facility, such as jail, prison, or juvenile correctional facility, that you know of?
    - Yes
    - No
  - 6) Have any of the people who raised you ever had a drug or alcohol problems that you know of?
    - Yes
    - No
  - 7) Have any other family members ever had a drug or alcohol problem that you know of?
    - Yes
    - No
  - 8) [*If married or intimate partner*] Has your current spouse or intimate partner ever have a drug or alcohol problem that you know of?
    - Yes
    - No

### **S. Criminogenic Peers**

*For the next questions, please think about the people you currently spend time with, other than family members. (Note to interviewer: remind participant as needed that we are referring to the individuals they currently spend time with outside family)*

- 1) How many of those people are employed? *By employed, we mean all legal formal jobs that have a pay stub, self-employment AND also casual pay jobs that are paid 'under the table' or 'off the books'. Jobs in prison industries or illegal activities such as drug sales do not count.*
  - None

- Few
  - Half
  - Most
- 2) How many of them can you hang out with and know that you won't get in trouble?
- None
  - Few
  - Half
  - Most
- 3) How many of them have ever been arrested?
- None
  - Few
  - Half
  - Most
- 4) How many of them have ever served time in a correctional facility, such as a jail, prison or juvenile correctional facility?
- None
  - Few
  - Half
  - Most
- 5) How many of them are taking illegal drugs regularly (more than a couple times a month)?
- None
  - Few
  - Half
  - Most
- 6) How many of them are gang members?
- None
  - Few
  - Half
  - Most
- 7) Have you ever been a gang member?
- Yes
  - No

**T. Community Involvement**

- 1) During the past year, have you attended a church, mosque, synagogue or any other type of religious service?
- Yes
  - No
- 2) During the past year, have you participated in any community volunteer work?

- Yes
- No
- 3) During the past year, have you voted in any political election, such as a general election, primary election, or special referendum?
  - Yes
  - No
- 4) During the past year, have you taken part in any local organizations like clubs, sports team, ethnic or racial pride groups, political organizations, or other community groups?
  - Yes
  - No

**U. Service Utilization**

- 1) During the past year, did you participate in a GED or educational program?
  - Yes
  - No
- 2) During the past year, did you participate in any employment services, such as vocational training, job readiness programs, or certification programs?
  - Yes
  - No
- 3) During the past year, did you receive any other employment services, such as someone working with you one-on-one to help you get a job?
  - Yes
  - No
- 4) *[If YES]* Did you find a job as a result of the employment services you received?
  - Yes
  - No
- 5) During the past year, have you received mental health treatment for mental or emotional problems?
  - Yes
  - No
- 6) *[If yes]* During the past year, have you received any individual counseling for mental or emotional problems?
  - Yes
  - No
- 7) *[If yes]* How many months in the past year did you attend individual counseling?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 8) *[If yes to #5]* During the past year, have you received any group counseling for mental or emotional problems?
  - Yes
  - No

- 9) [If yes] How many months in the past year did you attend group counseling? \_\_\_\_\_
- 10) During the past year, have you received any medical treatment for any physical health problems or conditions you have had?
- Yes
  - No
- 11) During the past year, have you received assistance accessing public programs, such as disability benefits, welfare, Medicare, or Medicaid?
- Yes
  - No
- 12) During the past year, have you received assistance with transportation?
- Yes
  - No
- 13) During the past year, have you received assistance with finding a transitional home or group home?
- Yes
  - No
- 14) During the past year, have you received assistance with finding or keeping your own place to live, such as assistance with housing deposits?
- Yes
  - No
- 15) During the past year, have you received assistance obtaining documents necessary for employment, such as your driver's license, birth certificate, social security card, or photo identification card?
- Yes
  - No
- 16) During the past year, have you received training on how to change your attitudes related to criminal behavior?
- Yes
  - No
- 17) During the past year, have you participated in anger management programs?
- Yes
  - No
- 18) During the past year, have you participated in any life skills training or financial management programs?
- Yes
  - No

*Coordination of Services*

- 19) Before you were released from incarceration, did you meet with your parole or probation officer?
- Yes
  - No
  - Not on supervision
- 20) Before you were released from incarceration, did you meet with any other staff from outside of the prison to help plan for your release?
- Yes
  - No
- 21) Is a staff member following up to make sure you actually get the services that you were referred to, or to monitor your progress in the programs or services that you are receiving?
- Yes
  - No

#### **V. Perceived Service Needs**

- 1) Now I'd like to ask about areas of your life that you may need help with. From the list provided here, what are the top 3 services that you are not getting, or not getting enough of?
- Educational programs, such as GED courses
  - Employment services such as vocational training, job readiness programs, or certification programs
  - Other employment services, such as someone working with you one-on-one to help you find and get a job
  - Drug or alcohol treatment
  - Mental health treatment for mental or emotional problems
  - Medical treatment for any physical health problems or conditions
  - Assistance accessing public assistance such as disability benefits, welfare, Medicare or Medicaid
  - Assistance with transportation
  - Assistance with finding a transitional home or group home
  - Assistance with finding or keeping your own place to live
  - Assistance in obtaining documents necessary for employment, such as a driver's license, birth certificate, social security card, or photo identification card
  - Training on how to change your attitudes related to criminal behavior
  - Assistance finding child care
  - Assistance making child support payments

#### **W. Additional Questions for Incarcerated Participants**

- 1) Do you know the date of when your current imprisonment began? \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_
- 2) What is the reason for your current incarceration? (select all that apply)
  - A new arrest
  - A new conviction on a new arrest
  - A new arrest & a parole hold
  - Awaiting a hearing on a parole violation
  - A parole violation

END

---

**X. Interview Status (after completion of interview)**

- 1) Status of the interview
  - Complete
  - Partially complete, other session scheduled for \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_
  - Partially complete, did not continue
- 2) [*If not completed*] If the participant did not complete the interview, please indicate why:
  - Participant does not speak sufficient English
  - Participant refused to complete
  - Interview was interrupted and privacy could not be secured
  - Other reason: \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) Estimate the participant's level of understanding of the interview questions
  - No difficulty understanding questions
  - Just a little difficulty understanding questions
  - A fair amount of difficulty understanding questions
  - A lot of difficulty understanding questions
- 4) How much trouble did the participant have remembering past events?
  - No trouble
  - Just a little trouble
  - A fair amount of trouble
  - A lot of trouble
- 5) Estimate the participant's level of truthfulness/misrepresentation
  - Very truthful
  - Fairly truthful
  - Not very truthful
  - Openly lying

## Appendix D. Interview Data: Baseline Differences between Participants

### Differences between Interviewed and Not Interviewed Participants

	Interviewed	Not Interviewed
N	102	402
<b>Demographics</b>		
Age	32.4*	29.7
Female	3%	3%
Race/Ethnicity		
Black/African-American	69%	64%
Hispanic/Latino	29%	34%
White	3%	2%
Born in the USA	99%**	91%
<b>Criminal History</b>		
DCJS Risk Score	4.7*	5.5
DCJS VFO Risk Score	4.4*	5.1
# prior arrests	13.1	11.7
# prior convictions	8.8	7.8
# prior revocations	0.6	0.5
<b>Instant Case Arrest</b>		
Violent Felony Offense	36%	35%
Weapons-related	23%	29%
Firearm-related	13%	19%
Drug-related	48%	53%
DWI	3%**	0%
Property-related	30%	24%
Assault	10%	7%

\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

**Interviewed Participants Only:  
Comparison of Baseline Characteristics  
between Randomized Groups**

	Reentry Court	Control Group
<b>N</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Demographics</b>		
Age	32.9	32.0
Female	2%	4%
<b>Race/Ethnicity</b>		
Black/African-American	68%	71%
Hispanic/Latino	31%	26%
White	2%	4%
Born in the USA	98%	100%
<b>Criminal History</b>		
DCJS Risk Score	4.3	5.1
DCJS VFO Risk Score	4.2	4.6
# prior arrests	12.1	14.1
# prior convictions	8.2	9.5
# prior revocations	0.8	0.6
<b>Arrest</b>		
Violent Felony Offense	41%	31%
Weapons-related	20%	26%
Firearm-related	12%	14%
Drug-related	41%	55%
DWI	4%	2%
Property-related	38%	24%
Assault	8%	12%

\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

## Appendix E. Summary Measures and Scales

<b>PROCEDURAL JUSTICE AND ATTITUDES</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>S.D.</b>
<b>Perceptions of Procedural Justice (<math>\alpha=0.914</math>)</b>		
Opportunity to express views in court	3.538	1.387
Everyone participating in court had fair chance to bring out facts in court	3.563	1.291
Enough control over way things were run in court	2.925	1.339
Too intimidated or scared to say what you really felt in court (reverse coded)	3.638	1.128
Pushed around in court by people with more power (reverse coded)	3.338	1.302
People in court spoke on your behalf	3.688	1.186
Court took account of what you said in deciding what should be done	3.575	1.230
Pushed into things you did not agree with in court (reverse coded)	3.325	1.240
People who committed same offense were treated the same way	2.800	1.195
Disadvantaged because of age, income, sex, race, other (reverse coded)	3.375	1.286
Treated unfairly by court (reverse coded)	3.425	1.240
Understood what was going on in court	4.150	.748
Treated with respect in court	3.575	1.145
<b>Attitude towards Judge (<math>\alpha=0.926</math>)</b>		
Judge knowledgeable about case	3.921	.935
Judge knew you by name	3.776	1.066
Judge helped you succeed	3.171	1.279
Judge emphasized importance of getting services you need	3.671	1.112
Judge was intimidating or unapproachable (reverse coded)	3.763	1.142
Judge remembered your situations and needs from hearing to hearing	3.447	1.171
Judge gave you chance to tell your side of story	3.618	1.211
Judge can be trusted to treat you fairly	3.500	1.160
Judge treated you with respect	3.895	.960
<b>Attitude towards Parole Officer (<math>\alpha=0.926</math>)</b>		
PO seems trustworthy	3.763	.977
PO gives correct information	3.959	.865
PO calls back or talks right away when you have a problem	3.619	1.094
PO treats you with respect	4.021	.777
PO acts in professional way	3.948	.846
PO doesn't listen to you (reverse coded)	3.856	.854
PO knowledgeable about your case	3.928	.845
PO helps you to succeed	3.515	1.110
PO gives chance to tell your side of story	3.825	.936
PO can be trusted to treat you fairly	3.670	1.018
PO assists you in getting the services you need	3.773	1.016

## Summary Measures (continued)

<b>SUPERVISION AND COMPLIANCE</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>S.D.</b>
<b>Rewards (<math>\alpha=0.666</math>)</b>		
Praised by parole officer	70%	.460
Praised by judge	47%	.502
Fewer required drug tests or contacts with supervision officer	53%	.502
More special privileges, travel, curfew flexibility	47%	.502
Tokens, vouchers, small gifts	35%	.480
Other reward/incentive	24%	.428
<b>Sanctions (<math>\alpha=0.663</math>)</b>		
More drug testing or treatment requirements	21%	.406
Meet PO more than before	23%	.420
Jail time	15%	.356
Technical violation	15%	.356
Revocation of parole	13%	.335
<b>Knowledge about Parole (<math>\alpha=0.723</math>)</b>		
I clearly understood supervision responsibilities	4.200	.725
Someone from criminal justice system made sure I clearly understood what kind of behavior might cause me to be put back in	4.040	.898
Someone from criminal justice system was willing to answer my questions about responsibilities	3.770	1.062
Someone from criminal justice system asked me to repeat what I had to do in my own words to make sure I understood	2.840	1.277
Someone from criminal justice system went over with me what I had to do more than once	3.050	1.290
<b>Certainty of Punishment (<math>\alpha=0.531</math>)</b>		
If you violated conditions, would you receive: <sup>1</sup>		
Increased drug testing/treatment requirements	2.60	.807
Increased # times to meet with PO	2.53	.851
Writing assignment, sit in jury box to observe	.34	.770
Community service	.35	.714
Electronic monitoring, house arrest, or community control	.27	.675
Some jail time	2.04	1.145
Violation	2.32	.941
Revoked and end up incarcerated	2.14	1.043

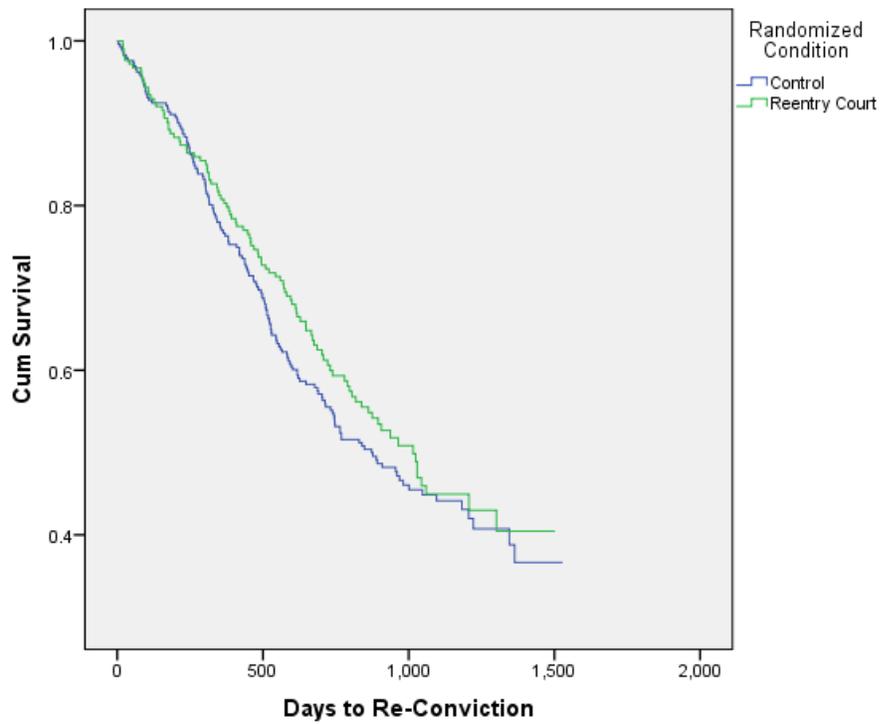
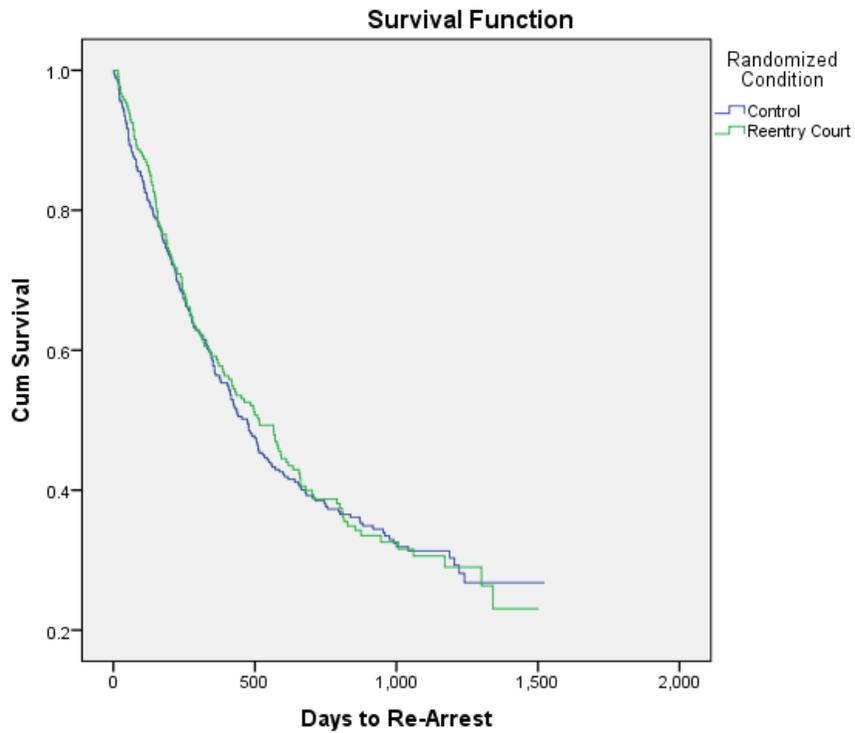
<sup>1</sup>These questions were asked on a 4-point scale - Very unlikely (0), somewhat unlikely (1), somewhat likely (2), very likely (3).

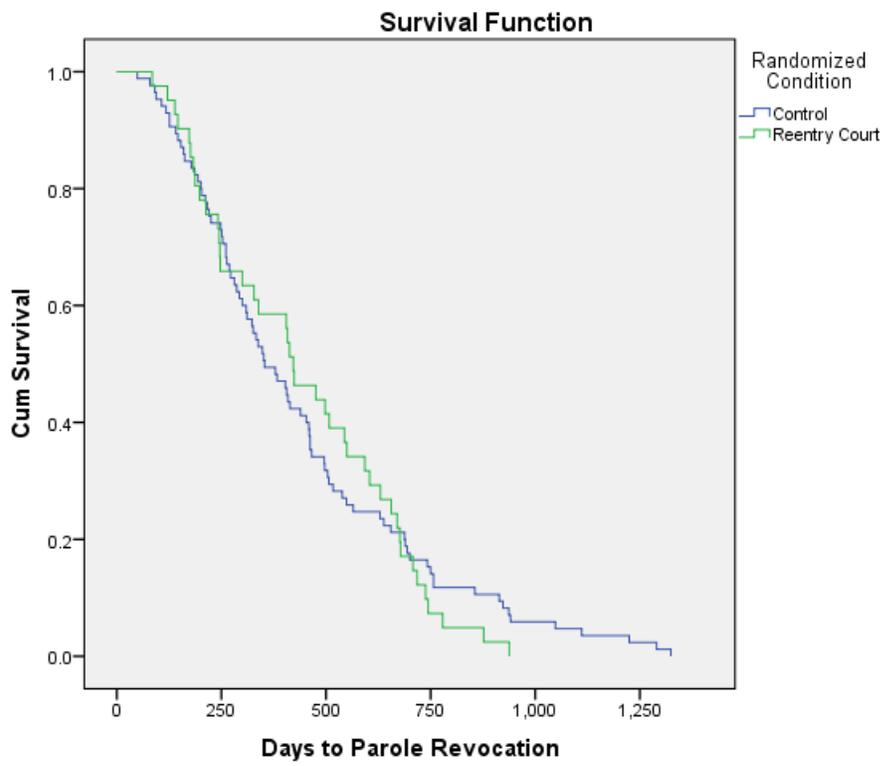
## Summary Measures (continued)

<b>Victimization (<math>\alpha=0.666</math>)</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>S.D.</b>
Push, slap or grab you (minor physical violence)	15%	0.359
Beat you up, choke, strangle, or weapon (severe physical violence)	8%	0.273
Verbally force you to have sex	9%	0.288
Physically force you to have sex	2%	0.141
Harassment	13%	0.338
<b>Physical victimization only - 2 measures (<math>\alpha=0.528</math>)</b>	24%	0.532
<b>Sexual victimization only - 2 measures (<math>\alpha=0.528</math>)</b>	11%	0.373
<b>Readiness for Change (<math>\alpha=0.518</math>)</b>		
You are tired of the problems caused by the crimes you committed	2.17	.981
You want to get your life straightened out.	1.66	.652
You think you will need help in staying straight.	2.72	1.226
You will give up friends and hangouts that get you into trouble.	1.91	.789
You think it is urgent that you find help immediately to not commit crimes.	3.07	1.160
You think you will be able to stop committing crimes.	1.67	.568
<b>Family Emotional Support-Past 30 Days (<math>\alpha=0.886</math>)</b>		
You feel close to your family	4.10	0.851
You want your family to be involved in your life	4.18	0.861
You consider yourself a sources of emotional support for your family	3.96	0.957
You have someone in your family to talk with about your interests or your problems	4.01	0.909
You have someone in your family to turn to for suggestions about how to deal with a personal problem	4.06	0.890
You have someone in your family who understands your problems	3.94	1.048
You have someone in your family to love you and make you feel wanted	4.20	0.756
<b>Family Conflict-Past 30 Days (<math>\alpha=0.656</math>)</b>		
You fight a lot with your family members	3.68	0.948
You often feel like you disappoint your family	3.05	1.187
You are criticized a lot by your family	3.39	1.172
<b>Family Instrumental Support-Past 30 Days (<math>\alpha=0.792</math>)</b>		
<i>You have someone in your family who would provide help or advice:</i>		
Finding place to live	2.00	0.754
Finding a job	2.05	0.826
Dealing with substance abuse problem	2.18	0.940
Provide transportation to work, other appts if needed	2.13	0.886
Provide you with financial support	2.11	0.869
<b>Quality of Family Relationships<sup>1</sup>(<math>\alpha=0.709</math>)</b>		

<sup>1</sup>This index is the mean of 12 items drawn from the three previous scales: family emotional support, family instrumental support, and lack of family conflict. The first three items were removed from family instrumental support to improve the index. The family conflict scale was reverse coded to reflect a lack of family conflict. Each measure is a categorical variable ranging from 1-5, with 5 being strongly agree.

# Appendix F. Kaplan-Meier Survival Curves for Recidivism Outcomes





## Appendix G. Recidivism Outcomes based on Risk Level

### Recidivism Outcomes based on Risk Level

Outcome Measure	High-Risk	Med/Low-Risk
N	181	323
% of total	35.9%	64.1%
<b>1. Rearrest</b>		
12 months (any)	57%***	35%
18 months (any)	71%***	45%
<b>2. Reconviction</b>		
12 months (any)	31%***	17%
18 months (any)	48%***	26%
<b>3. Revocation</b>		
12 months (any)	19%***	8%
18 months (any)	27%***	13%

\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

## Appendix H. Parolee Age and Recidivism

### Age Distribution of Parolees

	Reentry Court	Control Group	Total
N	213	291	504
Age Group			
under 18 <sup>1</sup>	8%	4%	6%
18-25	36%	35%	35%
26-35	26%	31%	29%
36-45	22%	20%	20%
over 45	8%	11%	10%

<sup>1</sup>The criminal age in New York State is 16 years old.

There were no statistically significant differences between the groups by age and the distribution of age groups appears similar, as shown in the table above. When examining recidivism outcomes by age and group, reentry court parolees over the age of 45 were less likely than their control group counterparts to be rearrested, reconvicted, and revoked by 18 months post-release. Reentry court parolees between 36 and 45 were also more likely to be revoked than control group parolees in the same age group. Generally, the reentry court group demonstrated lower recidivism rates than the control group in every age group, although most were not statistically significant.

## Recidivism Outcomes by Age and Group

Outcome Measure	Reentry Court	Control Group
<b>N</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>291</b>
<b>Rearrested by 18 months</b>		
25 and under	55%	56%
26-35	57%	62%
36-45	41%	49%
over 45	25%*	58%
<b>Reconvicted by 18 months</b>		
25 and under	26%	31%
26-35	34%	42%
36-45	33%	40%
over 45	19%*	39%
<b>Revoked by 18 months</b>		
25 and under	15%	21%
26-35	13%	20%
36-45	11%*	30%
over 45	0%*	15%

\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

# Appendix I. Reentry Court Judges—Interview Guide

## Background and Experience

- 1) Personal Information
  - a. Name and title. If retired, last title upon retirement.
  - b. How long have you worked/did you work in a judicial capacity?
  - c. When were you involved with the reentry court? For how long? How many days/week?
  - d. Did you work solely in the reentry court or do you also work in other courts?
- 2) Can you describe what the Harlem Reentry Court was like when you were serving on it?
  - a. What were hearings generally like?
  - b. How was your relationship with the participants?
  - c. How was your relationship with the POs, case managers, and other team staff?
  - d. How was the interaction with community based organizations, and other community members?
  - e. What was your role as the judge?
- 3) Did you receive any training on reentry courts before you started at the Harlem Reentry Court?
  - a. If yes, was the training helpful?
  - b. If no, what do you think would have been helpful to know before you started?
- 4) Thinking about your time on the reentry court, what are your general impressions of the reentry court?
  - a. Do you think your attitude about the reentry court changed over the time that you worked there? (If yes, what were your impressions of it when you started?)
  - b. What do you find makes the reentry court work unique?
  - c. Can you describe how it was different from your other experiences as a judge?

***(Prompts and findings from previous problem-solving court research: Proactive, problem-solving orientation of the judge; Interaction with the participant; Ongoing judicial supervision; Integration of social services; A team-based, non-adversarial approach)***

## Judicial Role: Reentry and Conventional Courts

- 5) What do you think the role of the judge in the Reentry court should be? How is it different from a conventional court?
- 6) If the role of the judge in a reentry court differs from the role in a conventional court-how do you maintain that unique embodiment of formal authority, while interacting with

participants and staff in a collaborative way?

- 7) How do you feel about the role of the judge in the reentry court as a team member and not a final decision maker, the way it is in conventional courts?
  - a. Do you think this helps or hampers progress?
  - b. How does this impact your practice as a judge?
  - c. What are your thoughts on the power of informal authority, or the power of using the bench in a different way from conventional court?
- 8) Do you think that reentry court principles and practices can be applied in conventional courts?
  - a. Which reentry court/problem-solving principles and practices are more easily applied in conventional courts and which are less easily applied?
- 9) After your experience in the reentry court, do/did you bring any new practices or perspectives with you when/if you sat in a conventional court?
  - a. For example, if you sit (have sat) on violation hearings at Riker's, do you think your experience with the reentry court has impacted your practices there?
- 10) What barriers might judges face when attempting these practices in conventional courts? How might those barriers be overcome? (*Prompts: Resources; Judicial philosophy and experience*)

### **Influences on Reentry Court**

- 11) Thinking about the facilities from which the reentry population comes, what are the main ways that your work is shaped by the culture of those facilities?
- 12) What are the main ways that the reentry court has been shaped by the culture (policies/practices) of DOCCS and parole?
  - a. Do you think that the reentry court has, in turn, influenced the culture of DOCCS or POs in any way?
- 13) What are the main ways that the reentry court was influenced by the broader community context in Harlem, such as social and economic conditions, attitudes toward reentering prisoners, or availability of services?
- 14) In your experience, have any partner organizations/agencies resisted certain policies or principles that the reentry court is trying to implement?
  - a. What about treatment providers?
- 15) Did/do you have concerns with the quality of providers, or availability of resources to meet all the needs your participants seem to have?
- 16) Do ideas of procedural justice/fairness influence your work in the reentry court? (*For example, making eye contact, explaining decisions, treating participants with respect and allowing them to express themselves*).

### **Impact and Lessons Learned**

- 17) What impact do you see the reentry court is having on participants?
- 18) What do you think are the outcomes of the reentry court as a whole?
- 19) What are the key lessons you have learned during your reentry court work so far? If another jurisdiction was interested in implementing a similar program, what advice would you give them?
- 20) In thinking specifically of your experience with the Harlem Reentry Court, is there anything you think should or could have been done better?
- 21) What do you feel makes a successful reentry court? (What currently works? What's missing?) (*Prompt: what are the **essential** elements for a successful reentry program? Surveillance? Motivation?*)
- 22) Are there any important principles from conventional courts (or violation hearings) that you think should be brought to reentry court?
- 23) What important qualities do you see in reentry judges in general? What would you say is the most important trait of a 'good' reentry court judge?