

Fall 12-1-2018

A Leak in the Pipeline: College in Jail from the Participants' Perspective

Kathy Mora

CUNY John Jay College, KathyMora11@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://academicworks.cuny.edu/jj_etds

 Part of the [Criminology Commons](#), and the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Mora, Kathy, "A Leak in the Pipeline: College in Jail from the Participants' Perspective" (2018). *CUNY Academic Works*.
https://academicworks.cuny.edu/jj_etds/89

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the John Jay College of Criminal Justice at CUNY Academic Works. It has been accepted for inclusion in Student Theses by an authorized administrator of CUNY Academic Works. For more information, please contact AcademicWorks@cuny.edu.

A Leak in the Pipeline: College in Jail from the Participants' Perspective

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Master of Arts in Criminal Justice

John Jay College of Criminal Justice

City University of New York

Kathy Mora

December 2018

A Leak in the Pipeline: College in Jail from the Participants' Perspective

Kathy Mora

This thesis has been presented to and accepted by the Criminal Justice Master's Program, John Jay College of Criminal Justice of the City University of New York in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts in Criminal Justice.

Dr. Jeff Mellow

Thesis Advisor	Signature	Date
----------------	-----------	------

Dr. Cory Rowe

Second Reader	Signature	Date
---------------	-----------	------

Dr. Jeff Mellow

Program Director	Signature	Date
------------------	-----------	------

Abstract

Offering college-level coursework to people in correctional facilities has proven to be a good investment in reducing recidivism and violence, however, how incarcerated students evaluate 'prison to college pipeline' programs, and how they access education after release is less understood. This study is a participant-observation approach with semi-structured surveys of a college class in Rikers Island that aims to answer the question: How do incarcerated students describe their experience with college in jail and their post-release plans to continue their education?

This study uses 25 surveys of persons who participated in a college program in Rikers Island. A significant theme that emerged in this research is the question of whether college in jail can be seen as a pipeline to college post-release. This study shows a path to college post-release is complicated by other factors, including the experience of reentry itself. This study takes a different approach to evaluate the benefits of college courses in jail by using College Way (a current college education program at Rikers Island), surveys of the participants, and my observations coordinating this program for the past three years.

The qualitative research serves as an exploratory study of what challenges emerge when aiming to provide higher education to incarcerated students and why, despite their success in college during jail, none of the students seem able to connect to college post-release. This study will offer an analysis of how incarcerated students describe their experience with college and why few seem able to continue their education post-release.

Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Table of Contents	iv
Introduction	1
Positionality	2
Background of the Problem	3
Literature Review	4
Theoretical Framework	7
Theory of Reasoned Action	7
Strain Theory	11
Methodology	14
The Research Site: The College Way Classroom	15
Data Collection	17
Participants	18
Ethical Issues and Limitations	20
Findings	21
Summary	25
Finding #1: College in Custody increases Motivation to Apply	26
Finding #2: Post-Release Admissions Process Can Change Intention	27

Recommendations	29
Offer Admissions Assistance	29
Conduct “In-Reach” to Incarcerated Students	30
Correct Misinformation	31
Conclusion	32
Appendix A. Survey Questions	33
References	34

Introduction

The benefit of providing higher education to people in jails extends beyond the betterment of the incarcerated students. Educators benefit from teaching in jail by being forced to pare their pedagogy down to the basics. Experiencing jail is an adventure unto itself, but the real surprise for most professors is how incarcerated students are much more engaged in comparison with students in the free world who are distracted by cell phones and their lives outside of class. Even though increasing the education of people in jail has been the only effective means for reducing recidivism (Crayton & Neusteter, 2008), little is known about how incarcerated students experience this access to education, or what strategies could be employed by educators and community programs to strengthen the pipeline between education in custody and post-release.

The College Way is a non-profit, volunteer-run program that provides college exploration for men at Rikers Island Jail in New York City. The program was designed as a model where college professors donate a few hours of their time to teach a sample class that mimics the content and rigor of something that traditional college students may experience. The overarching objective of this model is to create transformational educational experiences, both for students and instructors by simulating a college classroom for incarcerated students, who may lack exposure to college, and for professors looking to broaden their own experiences. The program intends to create scholars out of people in jail who could be capable of succeeding in college if given the right tools. To achieve this, half of the classes each semester are geared toward informing incarcerated students about financial aid, study skills, and other college resources.

After six weeks of bi-weekly classes, the College Way gives each participant a diploma with the direct contact information of the volunteer professors, all of whom teach full-time at colleges throughout the CUNY system. As the coordinator of the program, I encourage students to make contact after release, but very few do, hardly any actually matriculate into college, which has become a compelling justification for this research.

Positionality

When I first learned of the College Way, four years ago, a colleague described it as a tiny operation with much potential. They were looking for a coordinator to help manage the schedule of volunteer professors. Having worked on research projects in correctional facilities, and most recently working as an assistant for the doctoral program at John Jay, serving as the coordinator was a natural fit. Four years later, I am still working with the College Way, which has given me unique access and perspective to the implementation of this program, but also an in-depth understanding of the impact college has on its incarcerated participants.

For the past five years, the College Way has offered incarcerated students exposure to coursework in a range of subjects through semester-long colloquium taught by City University of New York (CUNY) professors. Through my work in the classroom and research collected through student surveys, I was able to analyze how students in jail experienced higher education and from their own perspective, gather data from surveys about their plans for continuing education post-release.

Background of the Problem

College in jail can be an opportunity for incarcerated students to experience a college environment and consider college post-release as a realistic option. Investing in education for people in jail would be wise for correctional officials and educators alike, considering the benefits realized from formerly incarcerated people achieving higher education. Researchers and educators have tried to build “Pipelines,” from jails and prisons to colleges. These are programs that begin in custody and then are supposed to lead incarcerated students directly into college post-release.

Evidence supports the finding that college in correctional settings can foster economic well-being, improve parenting skills, and increase civic engagement (Fine & Torres, 2006). Redirecting someone from crime to prosocial endeavors like education represents significant societal gains across communities and the nation (Crayton & Neusteter, 2008). From a justice reinvestment standpoint, the benefits of giving formerly incarcerated people access to higher education could alleviate much of the harm prison causes, including recidivism and, therefore, reducing the tax burden of mass incarceration. For those returning home from prison who wish to change their lives, college can be a space to hone skills and form new positive identities as students rather than as “ex-offenders” (Sturm, Skolnick, & Wu, 2010).

Many of the brightest students in custody are self-educated and lack experience using educational technology and taking standardized tests. These students express low confidence in themselves or exhibit little or no sense of the connection between their poor educational experiences prior to jail and their current status (Maher, 2004). As a result, it is perhaps no surprise that, in one study, researchers showed that although

90% of students interviewed in prison reported a desire to attend college after their release, less than 40% of them felt they had the opportunity to attend (Hanneken & Dannerbeck, 2007). Bridging the gap between aspiration and opportunity is a goal of many programs and the impetus for this research.

Literature Review

The population currently incarcerated in the United States surpassed 2.2 million in 2013, with the large majority expected to be back in the community after having served their sentence (Glaze & Kaeble, 2014). Right now, an estimated 70 million people in the United States have some sort of criminal record -- almost one in five of all Americans (Glaze & Kaeble, 2014). This bloated rate can be attributed to the “tough on crime” era that reigned in the U.S. for over three decades beginning in the 1980s. Even though the crime rate steadily declined, the prison population rose by more than 350% (Schmitt, Warner, & Gupta, 2010).

The rapid increase in incarcerated people fueled by the “war on drugs,” created an era during which correctional education funding, which was already limited, was cut significantly, excluding people in jails and prison from receiving federal Pell Grant funding, even though people in custody represented less than one-tenth of 1% of Pell Grant funds disbursed (Page, 2004). The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1993, which denied people in custody Pell Grant funding, caused a massive decline of post-secondary education almost overnight (Tewksbury, Erickson & Taylor, 2000).

New York, like most states, piled on legislation barring people incarcerated from accessing the State’s low-income tuition assistance programs (Batiuk, 1997). Only

religious-based or grant-funded college programs continued unabated, typically for non-credit bearing courses or degrees in theology. Despite housing more than ten thousand people, many for years at a time, the course offerings at Rikers Island are surprisingly minimal. Prior to this policy shift, people in jail generally qualified for funding due to their incomes, which was logical given that many people in jail had paid taxes to the federal government that funded such grants prior to their incarceration.

When people return from jail, they are often faced with social stigma as well as legalized discrimination from people and educational institutions (Fletcher, 2001; Petersilia, 2003; Rose, Clear, & Ryder, 2000). They can be denied private loans, federal education funding, and even barred from housing or types of employment. The effects of such stigma on a person's well-being are established in the literature (Freeman, 1987; Grogger, 1992; Nagin & Waldfogel, 1993; Pager, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Travis, Solomon, & Waul, 2001). However, according to Hirschfield and Piquero (2010), the stigma can be mitigated by networking with people who have social capital and are working on their own improvement, like college students.

Positive and constructive interactions, just like those that take place in college classrooms in jail, assist in transforming negative labels and perceptions, especially self-perception (Snyder & Reysen, 2014). Increasing meaningful educational experiences has a powerful positive impact on the individual, including a marked increase in self-confidence, a transformation in the way the self is seen, a feeling of belonging, and the likelihood of becoming gainfully employed and staying out of trouble with the law (Torres & Fine, 2005). Participation in college courses behind bars has also been directly linked to the development of personal agency and a sense of responsibility

(Torres & Fine, 2005). At the same time, there is a gap in the literature about how to connect people leaving jail to these transformative experiences.

In their study of formerly incarcerated college applicants, Rosenthal, NaPier, Warth, & Weissman (2015), discovered that students returning from jail and prison are especially prone to losing the momentum they may need in order to enroll, since they typically need first to secure housing and find employment, save or earn money for application fees and to request transcripts, or find money to travel to the college for multiple appointments. In research on higher education, tasks that have been cited as contributing to high school students losing their drive to attend college is termed, 'summer melt,' and attributed to students having discouraging experiences and being underprepared or under-resourced as high-schoolers.

College applicants with prior felony convictions also mimic this phenomenon of declaring their intent to apply, but not completing the admission process, termed, 'felony application attrition' (Custer, 2013). Felony attrition refers to how, more than the explicit rejection on the basis of a felony conviction, fear and confusion over the role of the felony leads people to take themselves out of the matriculation process. Proving their residency, navigating online applications, and preparing for academic placement tests require freedom and access to the internet, putting students in and returning from jail at a distinct disadvantage, given that New York City jails forbid the internet. Faced with this multitude of pressing requirements and lacking sufficient support or know-how to meet them, formerly incarcerated applicants who pursue college may still falter in their collegiate ambitions (Castleman & Page, 2014).

A study of the special admissions practices at one Midwestern university, Custer (2013a, 2013b) reviewed the themes and attitudes presented in the admissions essays of the applicants. Analysis showed that the admissions process distressed and deterred some applicants, causing some to withdraw or not to complete their applications. Some applicants expressed feelings of embarrassment, fear, anger, being discriminated against, and other negative reactions (2013b, p. 34). "For every one applicant denied admission because of a felony conviction, 15 such applicants do not complete admissions because of application attrition" (vi).

Theoretical Framework

Theory of Reasoned Action

Martin Fishbein and Icek Ajzen developed the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) in 1967 in order to, "study human behavior and develop appropriate interventions" (Brown, 1999). Different than other theories of the time, TRA is based on behavioral intentions, rather than attitudes. Based on TRA, "Attitudes are functions of belief' but differ from intentions. According to the TRA, "A person's intention is a function of two basic determinants, one personal in nature and the other reflecting social influence" (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). The first determinant is based on the individual's rational review of the pros and cons of performing a certain behavior, in the case of this research, applying to college after their release from jail. The second determinant is based on an individual's view of social or environmental pressures to behave or not behave in certain ways, including the expectations of society, the College Way program and other post-release supervision they may have had to deal with.

Fishbein and Ajzen believed that predicting and understanding a person's behavior was possible by measuring a person's intentions and created a model (see Figure 1) for determining intentions: people's attitudes and perceptions of the subjective norms related to engaging in a certain behavior, where attitudes are defined as whether the performance of a particular behavior is perceived as being good or bad by an individual (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). For example, if a person perceives contacting a College Way professor or staff upon release for admissions assistance as good (i.e., positive attitude), he or she is more likely to have the intention to utilize such help. Subjective norms are defined as "specific behavior prescriptions that are attributed to a generalized social agent" (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). For example, if an individual perceives that others are generally supportive of him completing the application to college (i.e., positive subjective norm), he or she will more likely have the intention to seek such help. Thus, according to the TRA both a person's attitude (e.g., seeking admissions help is good) and perception of the subjective norm for a particular behavior (e.g., other people in general support going to college after release) will collectively determine his intention to perform a specific action (e.g., more likely to have the intention to enroll in college). A model of Ajzen and Fishbein's TRA theory (1980) is presented in Figure 1.

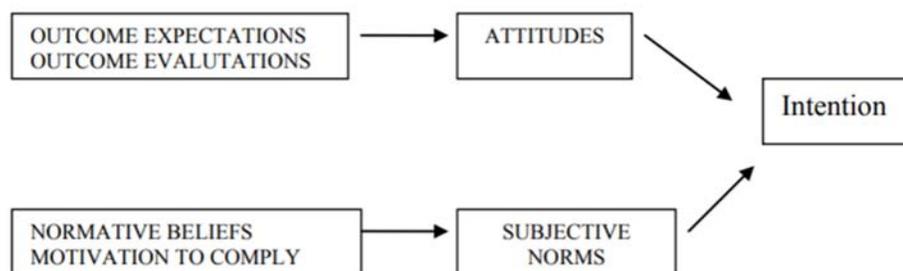


Figure 1. TRA Model proposed by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980).

Although the model is used to assess attitudes and subjective norms to predict behavioral intentions, Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) stated that a more thorough analysis of behavior requires an examination of their specific determinants. For example, the authors posited that an individual's attitude toward a particular behavior is determined by his or her outcome expectations and evaluations (see Figure 1). Outcome expectations are defined as anticipatory beliefs of a certain outcome related to the performance of a specific behavior (e.g., gaining admission to college). Outcome evaluations are defined as the qualitative assessment of the anticipated outcome related to engaging in a specific behavior (e.g., education is good). Therefore, according to the TRA, both outcome expectations (e.g., gaining admission to college) and outcome evaluations (e.g., education is good) collectively determine a person's attitude toward performing a specific behavior (e.g., applying to college is good; see Figure 1). In addition, Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) posited that subjective norms for engaging in specific behaviors are determined by normative beliefs and a person's motivation to comply with those beliefs (see Figure 1). Normative beliefs are defined as thoughts individuals have about whether specific individuals or groups who are deemed important endorse or do not endorse engaging in a specific behavior (e.g., people coming home

from jail do not enroll in college). The motivation to comply with the normative beliefs refers to a person's willingness to adhere to a social prescription for a specific behavior (e.g., I strongly want to do what other people think I should do). Thus, according to the TRA both normative beliefs (e.g., other people coming home from jail do not go to college) and a person's motivation to comply with them (e.g., I strongly want to do what other think I should do) collectively determine a person's perception of the subjective norm (e.g., social pressure in jail discourage education).

Overall, Ajzen & Fishbein's TRA (1980) offers a model that "provides a more comprehensive account of the underlying causes of behavior" (p. 8). The model is hierarchical in nature, specifying successive levels of factors that determine behavioral intentions (see Figure 1). Specifically, attitudes and subjective norms for behaviors are posited to ultimately determine intentions to engage in a particular behavior. The model also specifies the determinants of attitudes (e.g., outcome expectations and evaluations) and subjective norms (e.g., normative beliefs and motivation to comply with those beliefs) to provide a more thorough analysis of the reasons individuals have intentions to engage in particular behaviors. Thus, according to the TRA, attitudes and subjective norms fully mediate the relationship between their determinants (e.g., outcome expectations and evaluations, normative beliefs and motivation to comply) and intentions to engage in particular behaviors (see Figure 1).

Like any theory, there are limitations that Brown (1999) expounded on, including factors such as personality and demographic variables are not taken into consideration. Another criticism was that TRA theory is based on the assumption that human beings are rational and make systematic decisions based on available information.

Unconscious motives are not considered. Furthermore, theoretical implications of TRA suggest that beliefs should not be used to directly predict intentions or behavior without corresponding empirical data (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). For this research, TRA is used only to frame the perceived intention to enroll in college and how prepared participants described being prepared for their postrelease education. This theory demonstrates how the introduction of college to incarcerated students increases their determination to enroll in college post-release, but does not explain how this motivation shifts once the student returns from jail to the community.

Strain Theory

Strain Theory as developed by Merton (1938), centers on the frustration some people feel in attempting to succeed in a competitive socioeconomic environment. Merton contended that an interpersonal state of anomie stemming from a lack of social identity is produced whenever there are discrepancies between the goals that societies create for people and the acceptable means that societies provide for achieving these goals (Ellis & Walsh, 2000). According to Merton, unrealized desires for status and wealth explain most crimes (Ellis & Walsh, 2000).

Merton argues, that American culture places a very strong emphasis on the goal of monetary success, while placing significantly less emphasis upon the legitimate means to achieve such success. People who lack the tools to legitimately achieve the goal of success may engage in illegitimate activities to achieve various socially desired goals. As a result, when society places too much emphasis upon success goals, and the legitimate norms governing prosocial behavior become weakened, a state of anomie emerges. According to Durkheim (1893), Anomie, or a breakdown of social values, is a

condition that is created in modern society as the result of rapid social change, resulting in inadequate social regulation.

In elaborating upon Durkheim's concept of anomie, Merton (1938) recognized that while all persons in society are socialized to believe that they must achieve the same goals at any cost, persons from subordinate social classes have access to fewer resources/abilities to achieve desired goals. As a result, anomic conditions are felt among individuals who lack the resources necessary to meet societal success goals, which can produce "strain" within the individual and produce pressure to achieve the socially desired goals (e.g. income) even though the goals may be achieved via engaging in immoral or illegal criminal activity. In this context, students who are incarcerated may be able to recognize that college after jail is the most certain way they can enter the workforce and join the middle class. At the same time, when asked to produce the necessary fees or paperwork, these students often feel like they are lacking the necessary resources. They often have difficulty proving their address, finding state identification or locating documents like last year tax returns. This sense of exclusion can cause them to become alienated from a process that does not recognize their circumstances.

In sum, the classic works of Durkheim (1893) and Merton (1938) are primarily macro, or structural in nature; however, Merton's extension of Durkheim's work also references micro, or individual level strains, as he suggests that cultural and structural social conditions impact individual behavior (Cullen, 1984). Expectations from family, probation, even the person in jail themselves, may be that the student returns and obtains full time employment prior to investing time and money into their future.

Strain Theory predicts that school failure and downturns in the economy increase the probability of crime and delinquency, because education is a major vehicle for economic success (Ellis & Walsh, 2000), but this theory has not been applied to desistance from crime, and how genuine efforts by talented individuals could be thwarted by unresponsive institutions, like colleges. If the vehicle to success seems to be ill-equipped to receive a recently incarcerated student, that individual may seek out other institutions, like vocational programs or social service systems, that are actively recruiting them.

Institutional Anomie builds on this concept by examining how the “American Dream” overvalues material success while devaluing work, emphasizing how "a strong achievement orientation, a commitment to competitive individualism, and most important, the glorification of material success— have their institutional underpinnings in the economy" (Messner & Rosenfeld, 2001, p. 68). The goal of monetary success overwhelms other goals and becomes the principal measuring rod for achievements (Messner & Rosenfeld, 2001). Ironically, many of these young men will find themselves in jobs or job training in the lower sectors of employment with little room for advancement.

A more micro-level theory of Strain is Agnew's (1992) General Strain theory, which proposes that individuals who fail to achieve valued goals will experience strain. This component of General Strain Theory is consistent with Merton's (1938) classic idea that strain is produced when there is a disjuncture between positively valued aspirations and expectations. However, Agnew (1992; 2001; 2006) further elaborated upon this notion by adding two additional categories; (1) the disjunction between aspirations and

actual achievements, and (2) the disjunction between just or fair outcomes and actual outcomes. Specifically, Agnew (1992) suggested if there are gaps between aspirations and expectations, expectations and actual achievements, and just or fair outcomes, individuals are more likely to experience anger, disappointment, and frustration. For example, individuals may find applying to college is more complex than they anticipated or they have financial difficulties applying, or have less confidence than they thought they would during the process.

Methodology

This research uses secondary data in the form of surveys collected from graduates of the College Way Program. Upon completing six weeks of coursework, participants are asked to voluntarily complete written surveys consisting of six open-ended questions (see Appendix A). The secondary data analysis consisted of a non-experimental design. The non-experimental design was used because it examined the relationship between variables without any direct manipulation of the population or the conditions that were experienced during the original research (McMillian & Schumacher, 2009).

With the qualitative nature of the survey data and low sample size ($n=25$), it did not seem logical to employ statistical methods to analyze the data. Instead, this research uses a descriptive, non-experimental design intended to help "define the existence and delineate characteristics of a particular phenomenon" (Heppner, Wampold, & Kivlingham 2008, 224), the question being explored is how do students incarcerated students describe their experiences with the College Way program, and how can that impact their future decision to apply to college?

The Research Site: The College Way Classroom

Rikers Island has a school run by the Department of Education with classrooms for younger incarcerated students attending high school during the day, and adult students in jail participating in vocational and college programs during the evenings. The school is attached to the adult men's housing unit, preventing the building from having any resemblance to an actual public school. Instead, it is more like a wing of the jail's adult men's housing unit, but with classrooms instead of cells.

Along the hallways, faded murals on brick portray heroes like Muhammed Ali and Martin Luther King in uninspired beiges and browns. Metal detectors are on either side of the one short string of classrooms, with five rooms on each side of the hallway. Class sizes for the College Way range from ten to 25 students and the "smart board" classroom equipment is off limits to the College Way professors, so classes take place with the desks in a large circle. These desks, which are manufactured in prison, are the same that can still be found in public schools, peach and plastic in the shape of a lowercase 'd' that are usually only useful to right-handed people.

During class, the professor sits at a desk in the circle, as do I and the incarcerated students. A correction officer typically lingers nearby, sitting at a desk right outside the open door or lounging across two school desks in the classroom. The College Way has different professors each week, so students typically saunter into the room with a reading tucked under their arm, although it is typical to see students who have not been able to access the reading or even a writing utensil.

During my first semester as coordinator, one of the first decisions that needed to be made was with regard to which housing unit in the jail should be offered College

Way. Adolescent prisoners ages 16 to 17 are housed separately from the 18 to 24-year-olds and forbidden from interacting. The housing unit known as the GRVC house is for people in jail who are under the age of 24 and have not yet been sentenced for a crime. This classroom was where College Way first started and was difficult to manage. In addition to students coming and going, due to court proceedings and sentencing, there was a high degree of anxiety because of the ongoing court appearances. Students would receive bad news or feel like they needed more information about their case, making the coursework compete with the more looming issues of their own fates.

After several six-week semesters, the College Way remained in the same school on Rikers Island, but started recruiting adults, with no age limit, from the EMTC housing unit, where people in jail had certain release dates, low-level charges, and less distraction. Scheduling classes in the evenings also eliminated the competition for programming and allowed participants to maintain their involvement in work training programs or recreation outside of class. The changes to age criteria, unit of recruiting, even the timing was more reactive to Rikers Island staff demands than strategy. Generally, the proposals submitted for classes were met with seemingly supportive nods, but there were always cuts and restrictions. The College Way program is eager to bring free students into the facility to learn in one room together with the incarcerated students, which was very much beyond the comfort zone of the officials in charge. After some reassurance and the provision of background checks and references, one student, a Community College peer advisor, was permitted to attend the final class for the graduation ceremony.

Due to the transitional nature of the jail population, it is challenging to find enough eligible incarcerated students who were guaranteed to remain at the facility for the duration of a six-week semester and are also ready for college work. In order to get the desired 15 incarcerated students, College Way accepted those who have not yet earned their high school diploma as well as some people who may not be returning to New York City after their incarceration.

College Way experiences some students leaving before the end of the six-week semester for different reasons ranging from illness to early release, reducing the class size throughout the semester. While challenging at times, none of the events or logistics have been detrimental to the overall success of the course or experience for the remaining students and very few, if any students, leave the program of their own accord.

In addition to College Way, just two other programs in the jail offer access to college programs, St. John's University, and Manhattan College. St. John's and Manhattan College are both private and thus can offer coursework for credit through grant funding.

Data Collection

Each six-week semester, the participants of the College Way complete a survey. The survey is administered in an effort to improve the quality of the classes and gain a better understanding of how students perceive the class and their future college aspirations. Students were informed that the data may be used for research purposes and that while their identity is confidential, their comments may be used for this research.

Surveys were collected for 25 participants in the College Way, over the course of three semesters and survey included seven open-ended questions (see Appendix A). The questions were designed to gauge the students' interest in the different topics but also their plans for college post-release. These surveys informed the program of which professors to invite back and subjects to focus on, but also what obstacles students thought might impede their success. The survey also asked them if they felt comfortable connecting with staff and faculty after the semester and whether they planned to enroll in college. After each semester, students were also tracked to see whether they accessed college or reached out to any of the professors.

In the chart below, each participant was assigned a number and all identifying information excluded. The chart shows the 53 students who agreed to share their information about college by sharing their Book and Case number which can tell the College Way where the person is currently housed in custody, and what they expressed as their post-release college plans. Only 25 surveys were completed with all the questions answered. Although the surveys captured just a portion of the incarcerated participants who completed the six-week semester.

Participants

There were 50 respondents used for data analysis, 25 of whom completed a survey. All respondents were currently incarcerated at Rikers Island Correctional Facility. Each respondent completed six weeks of the College Way program. Participation in the program and survey were completely voluntary and surveys were anonymous. While participants were made aware that their responses are used to inform research on higher education in jail and improve the quality of the program.

All of the participants demonstrated college-level ability in the courses they attended in prison or jail. In this study, three applicants whose names have been changed but for the purpose of this study will be called, Sam, Kevin, and Chris, shared their perceptions of college after release, both while they were incarcerated and then through follow up with the study. They each reached out as planned for assistance with enrolling. The strain that prevented them from succeeding in matriculating is representative of some of the main themes that emerged from this research.

Respondent's highest grade completed is presented in Table 1. Approximately 20% of the respondents reported completing high school. Twenty-five percent of respondents reported receiving special education services at some point during their K-12 education.

Table 1. Characteristics of Research Participants (N=50)

Predictors	Frequency	Percentage
Race/Ethnicity		
African American	14	28
Latinx	14	28
White	2	4
Other	20	40
Age Less Than 23 Years Old (Mean: 20, Median: 10, and range 18-23)	12	24
Age Older Than 23 Years Old (Mean: 33, Median: 15.75, and Range 24-51)	38	76
Education Level		
Less Than GED	22	44
GED/High School	14	28
Some College	14	28

Expressed Interest in Attending College Post-Release	50	100
Contacted College Way Post-Release	7	14
Enrolled in College Post-Release	0	0
Ineligible for College Way Post-Release	2	4

Ethical Issues and Limitations

The participants for the survey were informed that anonymity, confidentiality, and privacy of the participant will be maintained through the use of identification numbers instead of names. Informed consent were obtained verbally from each participant to insure that they are volunteering to participate in the study. Participants were informed that they may withdraw from the study at any time without consequence. Data were kept in a secure place available only to the researcher. Study participants were informed that there is minimal risk expected from study participation and they will benefit from a new level of understanding of the study issues. Participants were informed that they may ask questions at any time to avoid any confusion, risk, or harm.

With any research into people who are incarcerated or feel as though there is a power differential, some of the reliability of the surveys can be called into question. Participants may be offering responses that are favorable in order to gain support from the staff or even be supportive of staff for whom they have respect. Other threats to validity may be in the way questions were posed. Students were given a short amount of time to articulate major life decisions and may have answered differently in a different setting, like if they were given the survey one-on-one or with more room to reply.

Even given these limitations, students completed the survey after approximately twelve sessions of class and had limited motivation to malingering. They were assured

confidentiality from the professors and encouraged to help improve the program with their uncensored honesty. Nonetheless, correctional settings can have its own impact, regardless of how a program inside the jail is conducted.

Findings

The findings are based on an analysis of 25 student surveys and a database of 50 student participants. Table 1 includes demographic characteristics of students are recorded. While the ethnicity of students in the College Way program was equally divided for Black and Latino students (n=14 respectively), just 4% of the students identified as White and 40% were of a different or mixed ethnicity. These statistics display the changing ethnicity in jail in New York and challenge some notions of who is in our jails. It was no infrequent that a student in the College Way classroom had limited English and the high number of Spanish speaking students could be seen as an opportunity to create relevant curriculum for this population. Mixed ethnicity, people from traditionally underrepresented backgrounds, such as South East Asian, would occasionally enter the class, but were not measured individually.

In terms of their education backgrounds, participants were equally divided in terms of education level, with 28% having achieved a high school diploma or completing their GED and 28% reporting having completed some college. 44% of students in the study had less than a high school education. Some of this has to do with how College Way initially required participants to have at least a high school diploma or GED, but then shifted to include participants who were interested in college but who had not earned a high school diploma or GED (n=22).

Given that the College Way targets people who are interested in attending college, all of the participants expressed some level of interest in attending college post-release (n=50). Of the people interested in college post-release, a small percentage, 4%, were ineligible to attend college through the College Way because they were either being deported (n=1) or had an open warrant in another state that required their extradition (n=1). What was surprising was that for the vast majority of participants who expressed interest in attending college post-release (n=48), only 14% of participants (n=7) made any contact with the College Way program or any subsequent college that the program recorded. Of the participants who did make contact in an effort to enroll, none were successful at applying to and being matriculated into college.

In addition to the data collected on students, roughly half (n=23) also completed a survey with seven open-ended questions about their experiences in the College Way and their educational aspirations for after college. The surveys were administered upon completion of the program and asked students whether participation made them more or less likely to seek out college after their release. Interestingly, every respondent indicated that participation made them more likely to attend college. One student responded, "More likely, I was greatly encourage [sic] with the classes and advices from teachers and College Way instructors. I now want and need to fix my life." This same student made several appointments and attempted to register for classes, but was unsuccessful at enrolling.

Another student writes, "I am going back to college because of this program! I wanted to before but I never had the tools and encouragement I needed to be certain

and take the first step.” This student ended up seeking and taking full time employment rather than continue his education post release.

The second question on the survey asked participants to describe what concerns they had about entering or returning to college. While students cited a variety of concerns, every student responded that they had some type of fear about entering college. The vast majority of students (n=20) cited some type of financial concern, whether it was tuition, debt, or affording school in general. Other concerns included one student who reports, “I am most concerned about having a schedule that interferes with my probation regulations, also time management.”

Several students reported owing money to prior colleges. This typically occurred when a student enrolled in a private, for-profit college that demands any unpaid tuition before releasing transcripts or transferring credits. Over the last fifteen years, youth from minority and disadvantaged backgrounds and those ill-prepared for college increasingly and disproportionately have enrolled in programs at for-profit colleges (Deming, Goldin, & Katz, 2013). These programs target those who do not meet traditional college-entry requirements, and receive most of their funding through federal student financial aid, particularly federal grants and loans. Unfortunately, once a student is arrested or leaves the private college, they often find themselves owing money or ineligible for aid until they pay the balance.

Every participant said that they felt comfortable reaching out to College Way staff, even though just a handful of participants surveyed ever made contact post-release. One response read, “I feel comfortable and I could use there [sic] advice because they all have been through this before.” This student did make contact, but

due to his debt to a prior college, was unable to enroll in college until he produced \$4,000 to retrieve transcripts.

The fourth and fifth questions asked students if they would have preferred more homework or to learn any additional subjects. Here, the answers were mixed with several participants exclaiming, "No homework!"

Other students were interested in more challenging work, one student asked if he wanted more homework stated, "Yes, because it would give more positive things to do while we are in here."

Another student commented, "I wouldn't mind homework but I would love to have been able to attend another semester." A reality not often realized by people in jail who have a short time incarcerated and few educational options offered to them.

In terms of subject matter, students expressed an interest in coursework in nursing, music, art, and introduction to business. Many students echoed an interest in the arts; another student answered, "Anything that has to do with music."

One student requested veterinary classes or culinary classes to help him achieve his professional goals. For many, the courses offered were a good introduction to college, like one student who writes, "I believe this is a great start."

Students were asked whether they would sign up for a second semester in College Way if they had enough time left to their sentence and courses were offered. Although very few students met this criteria, most answered affirmatively. "Yes, to bring up my coursework," one student answered.

Another response offered, "Yes, because I need to improve in my life and surely education is the way."

One student offered, “Yes, to learn more and keep applying to school until I am released.”

Another response from a student states, “Yes because in a correctional facility it is important to cement plans, goals and have encouragement. The Real Test is when we are released so the better prepared, the better off.”

The final question on the survey just asked students if they had other comments or opinions to share. For the most part, students just offered their thanks or praise to the staff. One student wrote, “This was dope,” a colloquialism meaning the program was a positive experience. Another student just offered, “Thank you for this opportunity.”

It was also common for students to wish the staff luck in their own pursuits as with one student, “Thank you and wish you all the best in all of your future goals. God bless.”

Summary

The analysis ultimately pointed to two main findings: Offering college coursework in jail motivates participants to see college as a possibility; and that there is a disconnect that happens between intending to apply to college in jail and actually applying upon release. This phenomenon of incarcerated students citing the benefits of education and insisting that will be part of their post-release plan, but then not following through is a common phenomenon to most jail-based education programs and the predominant response to College Way.

What is interesting about how prepared the incarcerated students were for college is that nearly every student was eligible to enter a community college for little or

no cost, yet none seemed able to use college as a vehicle for reintegrating after release. Assuming the responses offered by students were genuine, they all seemed to state that contacting the program post-release for assistance would be beneficial, yet, few seemed too willing to show up to appointments or return calls once they were in the community.

Finding #1: College in Custody increases Motivation to Apply

For all the participants, the desire to apply to college upon release was increased by attending college classes in jail through the College Way, according to the survey data. Respondents indicated that they would pursue college post-release and that contacting staff of College Way would be a way of gaining assistance with the application. According to the responses from the survey, college classes in jail validated their cognitive ability to do college-level coursework, something the participants had limited exposure to; and demystified the application process. All the participants also described a desire to continue college post-release but, despite their best efforts, none of the students were successful at matriculating into a college. While the single round of surveys were not sufficient in gaging what caused the disconnect between intention to apply and then failure to follow through, analysis points to the strain of reentry and lack of institutional support from the college.

Incarcerated students demonstrate the ability to perform on a college level and a deep interest in higher education. The majority of students expressed a lack of knowledge about how to enroll, and confusion over the actual cost of college. There was also concern about or how to balance their personal and criminal justice obligations with school post-release, given that some of the students would have post-release

obligations like mandated treatment programs.

These findings support that people in custody have a range of educational backgrounds and that while remedial course and college prep are the dominant forms of educational offerings for prisoners, there is a substantial number who benefit from college coursework.

Finding #2: Post-Release Admissions Process Can Change Intention

College in jail can motivate an applicant, but once released, formerly incarcerated students are discouraged by the admissions process. For some, this process is happening before they are released. Some students expressed anxiety over paying for college. One reason the application process can be seen as a source of strain is that before a student is matriculated, almost none of the resources of the college are made available. Scholarship, support services, financial advising are all limited to current students. Aspiring students need support procuring records or paying for past transcripts, but often cannot figure out where to start to gain assistance. Even the students who did reach out to College Way post-release, were still thwarted in the process when they could not produce thousands of dollars or return to campus multiple times for admissions paperwork. Even before the expense of admissions, students released from jail may need to resolve immediate basic needs like housing and transportation. Several College Way students reported that they were being released to homeless shelter systems or were unsure about where they would be living.

To some degree, each of the participants also suffered from misinformation about some aspect of college. Incarcerated students who were attending college for the first time were surprised by the open admissions policy for community colleges. Some

participants were under the impression that having a felony made them ineligible for school admissions or that it would be too expensive if they were ineligible for financial aid. Students who had been to college were typically aware that they would owe money or not qualify for financial aid, but many did not know the process for appealing for aid or how to go about getting their transcripts.

Community colleges in New York do not inquire about criminal offenses and incarcerated students were often under the impression they would need to explain their crime in writing. One student said he thought he would need to pay the entire tuition up front. He questioned how much time he had before he had to deliver the tuition. Another was relieved to learn that the admissions process for community colleges did not question high school performance. Misinformation seemed to stem from policies that were either true in the past or for other institutions or processes, like financial aid. For incarcerated students who expressed their apprehensions, misinformation was easily corrected, but there may be more unasked questions and assumptions that are not addressed in a short semester.

Even when a person states that he believes college would be the best option for a successful future, they are often overwhelmed with the way their personal circumstance have changed, or with the unexpected frustrations of the enrollment process. Even people who are sentenced to just a few months in jail, may have spent three or more years there fighting the case. For these students, they are returning to a community they have been gone from for years and life has often moved on without them. Many of the students would discuss the support they anticipated receiving from family. For some it was housing, financial help, others thought someone could produce

their vital documents or high school transcripts. For many of the participants, their disappointment weighed the application process, but also derailed their motivation or created instability in their housing or ability to meet their basic needs.

Even a motivated person who has already proven himself capable to do college-level work and interested in enrolling, can still fail to matriculate if enough obstacles are in the way.

Recommendations

Colleges must become responsive to the needs of applicants who have been incarcerated and consider how to assist these students throughout the admissions process, not just through recruitment or after admissions. College has the unique potential to create a climate of inclusion for students with criminal justice histories but to do this, they need to figure out how to: a) Provide financial support to formerly incarcerated applicants; b) Identify college-ready applicants who are incarcerated prior to release and support their enrollment; and c) Correct misinformation and create manuals and guides to college entry.

Offer Admissions Assistance

To assist formerly incarcerated students with their application, a full-time staff member position should be dedicated to recruiting and assisting formerly incarcerated students. In the Degrees of Freedom report, the authors indicate “incorporating peer mentorship into campus programs can help formerly incarcerated students transition into the college community with the support of others who have encountered similar challenges” (Mukamal et al., 2015, p. 28). While it is important to create positions of leadership with formerly incarcerated people, it is also crucial not to tokenize their

experience. Having formerly incarcerated people in visible and leadership positions is important, but administrative coordination between the college and local correctional facilities can be assumed by someone with professional experience working in prisons and jails. The ideal combination of staff would include people with direct experience working alongside a coordinator with experience working in corrections.

For colleges where assigning full-time staff members for recruitment and retention is not within budget, a University committee with members from the Office of Undergraduate Admission, Diversity and Community Engagement (DECO), Student Life, the Center for Academic and Student Achievement (CASA) and Career Services Center (CSC) can be tasked with ensuring appropriate programming in each division exists for formerly incarcerated students, collecting and reporting data on the program to leadership and monitoring student success (Mukamal et al., 2015).

Providing financial assistance to students leaving jail in the immediate days following release can be the difference between an eligible and motivated student matriculating or being waylaid by what often amounts to just a few hundred dollars. Nonprofits operating as a conduit between the jail and community college could budget for these expenses and guide students through the admission process eliminating the red tape along the way (One-time cash grant, 30 day MetroCard, suit, shoes).

Conduct "In-Reach" to Incarcerated Students

Once the goal of providing education to incarcerated students has been established, colleges should create and disseminate outreach materials that take into account the lack of internet access in jails. Faculty and advising staff would also benefit

from connecting with programs that already exist in their communities either within correctional institutions or in the community surrounding the college (Fine et al., 2005). Being apprised of what programs exist can prevent the duplication of services or inadvertently competing with community groups. An example from John Jay's campus includes the College Initiative, a non-profit housed on John Jay's campus that is committed to assisting formerly incarcerated students with the enrollment process.

Correct Misinformation

Students with incarceration histories do have access to federal and state aid opportunities, but may not know this. Limitations to accessing federal aid exist for some students with specific convictions, and students may be unaware of their eligibility (US Department of Education). Programs can improve access to college accessibility by providing financial support throughout the admissions process and assisting prospective students in applying for financial aid, counseling to improve students' financial management skills, and direct grants for books, meals, or other costs (Mukamal et al., 2015). Colleges could include some type of financial assistance that is in addition to the school's traditional financial aid programming. The creation of a program for formerly incarcerated students would need to include financial support for these students. Programs should include financial aid counseling with financial aid counselors specifically trained to work with this population of students. Resources that can be targeted toward students include on-campus employment opportunities and matching students with federal work-study opportunities, scholarships, and emergency funds.

Conclusion

Legislative support for education within jails is currently experiencing a sea-change moment. More incarcerated people had access to college coursework at the end 2017 than at any time in the past forty years. As increasing numbers of people re-enter their communities with college coursework under their belt, colleges should seek to broaden their ability to attract and enroll these students. Colleges interested in attracting these students should start these efforts prior to release and work to ensure that a clear pipeline exists for formerly incarcerated students and at every community college in the City University of New York system. By understanding the perspective of a formerly incarcerated applicant, the process can be modified to be more welcoming, accessible, and successful for people who may otherwise fail to enroll.

This research demonstrates that the failure of many incarcerated students to access and achieve higher education is not a reflection of their intellectual abilities or even free will, but a more complex process that seems to create a gap between the desire of incarcerated students to access college, and their success at making that connection. To truly create a jail-to-college pipeline, we must create a process of enrollment that starts with the incarcerated students in jail and then streams them directly into classrooms of the colleges in the free world.

Appendix A. Survey Questions

1. After this semester, are you more likely, equally likely, or less likely to go to college? Why?
2. What are you most worried about in going back/to college?
3. Do you feel comfortable reaching out to the professors, Kathy, or Jake once you are home? Do you plan to?
4. Would have liked professors to teach more than one class per semester? Would you want the professors to assign homework?
5. Are there any subjects you wished we had covered?
6. For those of you who will be here in Spring, do you plan to sign up for another semester? Why or why not?
7. Any other comments?

References

- Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (1980). *Understanding attitudes and predicting social behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Batiuk, M. E., Moke, P., & Rountree, P. W. (1997). Crime and rehabilitation: Correctional education as an agent of change—A research note. *Justice Quarterly*, 14(1), 167-180.
- Boyd, C. (2013). Opened arms, eyes, and minds. In S. Davis & B. Roswell (Eds.), *Turning teaching inside out: A pedagogy of transformation for community-based education* (pp. 79–82). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Boyd, R. D., & Myers, J. G. (1988). Transformative education. *International journal of lifelong education*, 7, 261-284. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0260137880070403>
- Castleman, B. L., & Page, L. C. (2014). A trickle or a torrent? Understanding the extent of summer “melt” among college-intending high school graduates. *Social Science Quarterly*, 95(1), 202-220.
- Crayton, A., & Neusteter, S. (2008). The Current Landscape of Correctional Education. *Conference Papers -- American Society of Criminology*, 1.
- Deming, D. & Goldin, C. & Katz, L. (2013). For-Profit Colleges. *The Future of Children* 23(1), 137-163. Princeton University. Retrieved December 7, 2018, from Project MUSE database.

Fine, M., & Torre, M. E. (2006). Intimate details: Participatory action research in prison. *Action Research*, 4(3), 253-269.

Fletcher, D. (2001). Ex-offenders, the labor market and the new public administration. *Public Administration*, 79, 118-137. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-9299.00284>

Freeman, Richard B. (1987). The Relation of Criminal Activity to Black Youth Employment. *Review of Black Political Economy*, 16, 99–107. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF02900926>

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 24(25), 288-304.

Glaze, L & Kaeble, D (December 192014) *Correctional Populations in the United States*, 2013. States News Service. Academic OneFile, http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A394124143/AONE?u=cuny_johnjay&sid=AO NE&xid=7b04277c.

Grogger, Jeffrey. (1992). Arrests, Persistent Youth Joblessness, and Black/White Employment Differentials. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 74,100–106. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2109547>

Hanneken, D., & Dannerbeck, A. (2007). Practical solutions: Addressing offenders' educational opportunities and challenges. *Corrections Compendium*, 32(2), 1-4.

- Hirschfield, P. J., & Piquero, A. R. (2010). Normalization and Legitimation: Modeling Stigmatizing Attitudes toward Ex-Offenders. *Criminology*, 48, 27-55. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2010.00179.x>
- Johnson, K. and J.T. White. (2002). The Use of Multiple Intelligences in Criminal Justice Education. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 13, 369-386. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10511250200085531>
- Kelley, T.M. (2004). Reviewing Criminal Justice Baccalaureate Curricula: The Importance of Student Input. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 13, 219-237. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10511250400085961>
- Kendall, J. (1999). Axial coding and the grounded theory controversy. *Western journal of nursing research*, 21(6), 743-757.
- Krimmer, J.T. and C. Tartaro. (1999). Career Choices and Characteristics of Criminal Justice Undergraduates. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 10, 277-289. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10511259900084591>
- Lockwood, Nally, Ho, & Knutson. (2012). The Effect of Correctional Education on Postrelease Employment and Recidivism: A 5-Year Follow-Up Study in the State of Indiana. *Crime & Delinquency*, 58, 380-396. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011128712441695>
- Maclaren, K. (2015). The magic happens inside out: A reflection on the transformative power of self-expression and dialogical inquiry in inside-out prison exchange

courses. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, 22, 371-385. doi:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10749039.2015.1075045>

Maher, J. (2004). "You Probably Don't Even Know I Exist": Notes from a College Prison Program. *Journal of Basic Writing*, 23(1), 82-100. Retrieved from

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/43443785>

Morse, J. M., Stern, P. N., Corbin, J., Bowers, B., Charmaz, K., & Clarke, A. E. (2016). *Developing grounded theory: The second generation*. Routledge.

Nagin, Daniel, and Joel Waldfogel. (1993). *The Effect of Conviction on Income through the Life Cycle*. NBER Working Paper no. 4551. Cambridge, Mass.: National Bureau of Economic Research. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3386/w4551>

Pager, D. (2003). The Mark of a Criminal Record. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108, 937-975. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/374403>

Parries, M. J. (2014). *Resident Assistants' Self-Efficacy for Participation in Counseling Activities*. Old Dominion University.

Petersilia, J. (2003). *When prisoners come home: Parole and prisoner reentry*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Pollack, S. (2014). Rattling assumptions and building bridges: Community-engaged education and action in a women's prison. In G. Balfour & E. Comack (Eds.), *Criminalizing women: Gender and (in)justice in neo-liberal times* (2nd ed., pp. 290–302). Halifax, Canada: Fernwood.

- Pompa, L. (2005). Service-learning as crucible: Reflections on immersion, context, power, and transformation. In: *Service-learning in higher education* (pp. 173-192). Palgrave Macmillan US.
- Rose, D.R., Clear, T.R., and J.A. Rydger. (2000). *Drugs, incarceration, and neighborhood life: The impact of reintegrating offenders into the community* (Final Report to the National Institute of Justice). New York: John Jay College.
- Sampson, Robert J., and John H. Laub. (1993). *Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points through Life*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Schmitt, J., Warner, K., & Gupta, S. (2010). *The high budgetary cost of incarceration*. Washington, DC: Center for Economic and Policy Research.
- Snyder, J. S., & Reysen, S. (2014). Effect of Framing of Reentry Program on Perceptions of Ex-Offenders. *World Journal of Social Science Research*, 1, 68.
- Starks, B. C., Harrison, L., & Denhardt, K. (2011). Outside the comfort zone of the classroom. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 22, 203-225. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10511253.2010.517773>
- Sturm, S., Skolnick, K., & Wu, T. (2010). Building pathways of possibility from criminal justice to college: College initiative as a catalyst linking individual and systemic change
- Tewksbury, R., Erickson, D. J., & Taylor, J. M. (2000). Opportunities lost: The consequences of eliminating Pell Grant eligibility for correctional education students. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 31(1-2), 43-56.

Tontodonato, P. (2006). Goals, Expectations, and Satisfaction of Criminal Justice Majors: Implications for Faculty, Students, and Programs. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 17, 162-180. doi:
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10511250500336211>

Torres, M.E. & M. Fine. (2005). Bar None: Extending Affirmative Action to Higher Education in Prison. *Journal of Social Issues*, 61, 569-594. doi:
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00421.x>

Travis, Jeremy, Amy Solomon, and Michelle Waul. (2001). *From Prison to Home: The Dimensions and Consequences of Prisoner Reentry*. Washington D.C.: Urban Institute Press.