Prisoner Reentry and Community Policing: Strategies for Enhancing Public Safety

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INTRODUCTION

Prisoner reentry—the process of leaving prison and returning to society—has generated tremendous attention among policymakers, public officials, corrections agencies, service providers, and the general public in recent years (see Sidebar 8 on the National Reentry Initiatives at the end of this report). To veterans of the corrections and law enforcement communities, “prisoner reentry” may appear to be simply a new name for something that has been occurring since the first prisoners were incarcerated in this country more than three centuries ago. Indeed, roughly 95 percent of people incarcerated in state and federal prisons are eventually released. Yet prisoner reentry today presents new and greater challenges for a number of reasons. First, prisoners are being incarcerated and released at historic volumes: approximately 656,000 people were released from state and federal prisons in 2003 alone, a four-fold increase over the past 2 decades (Figure 1). These returning prisoners are increasingly concentrated in communities that are often crime-ridden and lacking in services and support systems.

Further, despite the fact that correctional spending has increased from approximately $9 billion to $60 billion during the past 20 years, prisoners are less prepared for reentry than in the past, with a smaller share of prisoners receiving educational programming and substance abuse treatment. Their limited program involvement is particularly problematic given that the majority of prisoners have serious histories of alcohol and drug addiction, and many lack the

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1 Hughes and Wilson (2005).
2 For an overview of the challenges of prisoner reentry, see Travis, Solomon, and Waul (2001).
3 Harrison and Beck (2005).
4 La Vigne and Kachnowski (2003); La Vigne and Mamalian (2003); La Vigne and Thomson (2003); Lynch and Sabol (2001).
5 Bauer (2002).
8 Harlow (2003).
training and life skills to find and keep a job after their release. This depiction of prisoner reentry in the United States has clear implications for the individual challenges prisoners face in leading productive, law-abiding lives on the outside, yet these challenges also pose a distinct threat to public safety. Prisoners who are not prepared to stay sober, find a job, secure housing, and avoid trouble will more than likely reoffend. In fact, more than two-thirds of released prisoners are rearrested for a new crime within 3 years of release. Communities are thus confronted with a dual challenge: to provide former prisoners with the services and environment necessary to navigate the transition from prison to the community, and to protect the public from potential harm.

For many reasons, the expertise of police has not been fully brought to bear on these reentry challenges. In an effort to examine these issues from a community policing perspective, the Urban Institute, in partnership with the U.S. Department of Justice Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (the COPS Office), invited practitioners, policymakers, academics, and service providers to participate in a Reentry Roundtable to discuss ways in which the role of police could expand beyond actions traditionally taken in this arena (see Sidebar 1 on the Reentry Roundtable). The discussions and papers generated from the Roundtable, along with a scan of police reentry practices in the field and a review of additional literature on the topic, form the content of this report.

This report explores the links between prisoner reentry and community policing in the context of enhancing public safety. Its goal is to encourage new thinking and generate innovative responses to reentry that harness the knowledge and expertise of police. The first section describes the local context of reentry, its effect on communities, and its impact on community safety and public perceptions of crime. In the next section, the role of police in reentry is examined. This part of the report describes the basic concepts of community policing and police problem solving, outlines the benefits of applying community policing strategies to prisoner reentry, and explores the many opportunities for police involvement in reentry. We then turn to specific examples from the field of how these new police roles in prisoner reentry have been put into practice across the country. These examples are followed by a discussion of the potential organizational and community-level challenges to expanding law enforcement’s role in reentry and suggested strategies for overcoming these obstacles. The report concludes with a discussion of opportunities for advancing police reentry initiatives from both a practical and a policy perspective.
**SIDEBAR 1. May 2004 Roundtable Meeting Participants and Presenters**

| Jeremy Travis (Cochair), The Urban Institute* | Gary Johnson, Texas Department of Criminal Justice |
| Jim Bueermann (Cochair), Redlands Police Department | Jean Johnson, Public Agenda |
| Alfred Blumstein, Carnegie Mellon University | Robert Johnson, Anoka County Attorney |
| Patrick Bradley, Massachusetts Executive Office of Public Safety | Paul Joyce, Boston Police Department |
| Edward Davis III, Lowell Police Department | George Kelling, Rutgers University |
| Walter Dickey, University of Wisconsin School of Law | Gary Kempker, Missouri Department of Corrections |
| John Fitzgerald, Hampden County Jail and House of Correction | David Kennedy, John Jay College of Criminal Justice |
| Ellen Halbert, Travis County Office of the District Attorney | Nancy La Vigne, The Urban Institute |
| Susan Herman, National Center for Victims of Crime | Edmund McGarrell, Michigan State University |
| Gary Hinzman, Iowa Department of Correctional Services | Alan Mobley, University of California—Irvine |
| Martin Horn, New York Department of Correction and Probation | Brenda Palms-Barber, North Lawndale Employment Network |
| Michael Jacobson, John Jay College of Criminal Justice | Carl Peed, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services |
| * Jeremy Travis has since become president of John Jay College of Criminal Justice | Charles See, Lutheran Metropolitan Ministry Association |
| | Michael Smith, University of Wisconsin School of Law |
| | Faye Taxman, University of Maryland |
| | Reverend Steven Tucker, New Commandment Baptist Church |

**Discussion papers commissioned for the Reentry Roundtable**

- *Promoting Public Safety: A Problem-Oriented Approach to Prisoner Reentry,* by Walter J. Dickey and Cecelia M. Klingele, University of Wisconsin School of Law
- *The Roles of the Police in the Offender Reentry Process,* by Edmund F. McGarrell, Carol Rapp Zimmerman, Natalie K. Hipple, and Nicholas Corsaro, Michigan State University, School of Criminal Justice
- *Turning ‘Weeds’ into ‘Seeds,’* by Alan Mobley, University of California, Irvine
- *Brick Walls Facing Reentering Offenders,* by Faye S. Taxman, Virginia Commonwealth University

**Presentations produced for the Reentry Roundtable**

- *Prisoner Reentry: A National Overview,* by Nancy La Vigne, The Urban Institute
- *Reentry and Recidivism: Defining the Public Safety Challenge,* by Jeremy Travis, The Urban Institute
- *Placing Reentry in the Context of Sentencing Policy,* by Michael Smith, University of Wisconsin School of Law
- *Reentry and Safety from a Community Perspective,* panel presentation led by George Kelling, Rutgers University, Newark
- *The Revolving Door: Exploring Public Attitudes Toward Prisoner Reentry,* by Jean Johnson and John Immerwahr, Public Agenda, New York

WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF PRISONER REENTRY ON PUBLIC SAFETY?
The large and increasing numbers of prisoners returning to communities, coupled with high rates of reoffending, suggest that the police and the public alike have a vested interest in developing strategies to improve reentry outcomes for released prisoners. This section explores in more detail the links between reentry and public safety, looking at who reoffends and where. Understanding these aspects of reentry and public safety—especially as they are experienced at the community level—is important for crafting effective responses to the problem.

Reoffending Rates and Contribution to Crime in the Community

As noted earlier, roughly two-thirds of released prisoners are rearrested within 3 years of release; nearly half of all releasees return to prison within that same period, either for a new crime or for a technical violation of the conditions of their release. While individual recidivism rates are undoubtedly high, there has been little attention to the amount of new crime for which returning prisoners are responsible. The one study on the topic (Rosenfeld, Wallman, and Fornango 2005) estimates that recent prison releases account for about one-fifth of all adult arrests by police. This statistic understates former inmates’ contributions to overall crime levels in that it does not include those reentering the community from jails (see Sidebar 2 on Jail Reentry) or prisoners who have been in the community for more than 3 years. Thus, while we cannot assert the exact proportion of crime for which returning prisoners are responsible, it is well documented that the majority of released prisoners will reoffend and contribute to a substantial share of crime.
SIDEBAR 2. JAIL REENTRY

To date, reentry polices and programs have primarily targeted people released from state and federal prison. However, jail reentry has at least as much of an impact on public safety, if not more. Although the nation’s jail capacity is lower than its prison capacity—there are approximately 691,000 jail beds, compared to 1.4 million prison beds—admissions and releases from jails far exceed those from prisons.1 According to the forthcoming Bureau of Justice Statistics 2004 Survey of Large Jails, 20 percent of jail inmates serve at least 1 month, and only 4 percent serve more than 6 months. As a result, the jail population is continuously turning over, resulting in approximately 12 million admissions and releases per year.2

The short sentences served in jail and the proximity of jails to inmates’ home communities have important implications—both positive and negative—for the role of local jails in addressing the challenges of prisoner reentry, highlighted below:

• **Mental illness.** Sixteen percent of both jail inmates and state prisoners report a mental condition or overnight stay in a mental hospital. However, only 41 percent of mentally ill jail inmates receive mental health services compared to 61 percent of mentally ill state prisoners.3

• **Substance abuse and dependence.** More than two-thirds (68 percent) of jail inmates are dependent on or abuse drugs or alcohol, but only 18 percent receive treatment or participate in other substance abuse programs after entering jail. Sixty-nine percent of jail inmates are regular drug users, and 29 percent of convicted jail inmates report drug use at the time of their offense.4

• **Limited employability.** Fifty-seven percent of jail inmates were working full time the month prior to their arrest. Thirty percent of all jail inmates reported personal earnings totaling less than $300 per month.5

• **Extensive criminal histories.** Three-fourths of jail inmates have served a prior probation or incarceration sentence, and nearly a quarter (24 percent) have served three or more prior sentences to incarceration. More than half of all jail inmates have a current criminal justice status at the time of arrest.6

**Individual Risks of Reoffending**

Despite the high proportion of all crime committed by released prisoners, not all released prisoners are at equal risk of reoffending. Recent research on prisoner reentry indicates that those who reoffend are more likely to be unemployed, to use drugs or abuse alcohol, and to have extensive criminal histories (see Sidebar 3 for a profile of returning prisoners). Those who reoffend also tend to be younger and have more negative attitudes toward police and the legal system than released prisoners who do not recidivate. Timing also plays a role in identifying risks of reoffending: Released prisoners are at greatest risk of reoffending during the early months of their release, with nearly one-third (29.9 percent) of them rearrested during their first 6 months of freedom. These risk factors are based on both national and site-specific studies but may vary to some degree at the local level. Thus, it is important for law enforcement—in partnership with community corrections—to conduct local analyses of the characteristics and risks of returning prisoners to help inform the design and implementation of reentry efforts.

**The Community-Level Impact of Reentry**

Information on the reoffense rates and risk factors of returning prisoners may be helpful when designing interventions, but these statistics reveal little about how threats to public safety are experienced at the community level. Most prisoners return to communities within major counties and cities; within these metropolitan areas, released prisoners are further concentrated in a handful of neighborhoods. For example, in Illinois, 51 percent of prisoners released from state correctional institutions in 2001 returned to Chicago, and 34 percent of those resided in just six of Chicago’s 77 neighborhoods (Figure 2). As discussed later in this report, these geographic concentrations of returning prisoners provide opportunities for place-based strategic reentry efforts, including enhanced services and supervision in a given area.
Figure 2. Prisoner Releases by Chicago Communities, 2001

Source: Illinois Dept. of Corrections

Total releases to Chicago in 2001 = 15,488; 2,354 or 15% are not shown on map because of incomplete addresses

Source: La Vigne et al. (2003); see also La Vigne (2004).
Note: The concentrations of returning prisoners in the South Lawndale community depicted in the map reflect 1,158 prisoners who were “released” to the county jail located there. Also note that no communities had a range of 701 to 1,253 returning prisoners.
Citizen Perceptions of Safety

Another important consideration when examining the impact of prisoner reentry on communities is residents’ perceptions of the crime risks returning prisoners pose and the fear of victimization that may result from those perceptions. The prospect of new crimes committed by returning prisoners can elevate fear of victimization among residents and perceptions that the neighborhood is unsafe. Even drug crimes may not be perceived as victimless in that the behaviors associated with active drug markets can devastate neighborhoods. While residents may believe that prisoners have the capacity to become productive, law-abiding citizens (after all, returning prisoners are also their neighbors and sometimes their family members), they also recognize that if former prisoners are not successful in turning their lives around, residents may be further victimized. Even if these perceptions are inaccurate, police have an interest in engaging in reentry efforts to reduce fear of crime among the general population.

This section has described the safety risks—both real and perceived—that returning prisoners pose to communities. Despite the fact that not all released prisoners reoffend, many do. Moreover, returning offenders’ new crimes may affect not only community safety but also community perceptions of police performance, as both police and the public increasingly use crime rates as a yardstick of police success. For these reasons, along with others discussed below, police have a strong incentive to engage in prisoner reentry efforts. In the next section we continue the discussion about why police should be involved in reentry efforts and describe the types of reentry-related activities in which police can engage to secure public safety in their communities.
What is the Impact of Prisoner Reentry on Public Safety?

SIDEBAR 3. PROFILE OF RETURNING PRISONERS

Demographics. The majority of returning prisoners are male (88%). Just over half are white (55%), followed by African American (44%) and Hispanic (21%). The median age at the time of release is 34.¹

Substance Use and Health Concerns. More than two-thirds of prison inmates have a history of substance abuse.² More than one-third has served sentences for drug-related offenses.³ Compared to the general population, prisoners have higher rates of chronic medical problems and infectious diseases, including asthma, hypertension, HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis C, and tuberculosis. Mental health disorders are also more prevalent than in the general population. Although most inmates have access to health care while incarcerated, upon release, their access to treatment services and medication is often limited.⁴

Family Relationships. Family relationships are among the most important sources of tangible and emotional support to returning prisoners. For example, 88 percent of former prisoners in Chicago lived with a family member during the first year after their release.⁵ Despite this support, some aspects of family—such as child support obligations—can compound reintegration difficulties. One study of the Massachusetts prison and parole population found that nearly 25 percent of prisoners owed an average of $17,000 in child support arrearages upon release.⁶

Housing. Twelve percent of state prisoners reported that they did not have housing at the time of their arrest, and the likelihood of homelessness increases for those with mental health and substance abuse problems.⁷ Women with minor children find securing housing particularly challenging given their limited economic resources.⁸

Employability. While more than two-thirds of prisoners were employed prior their incarceration,⁹ unemployment rates are high among released prisoners. Institutional job readiness and work release programs are helpful, but access to them is limited.¹⁰ In addition to skill deficits and gaps in work history, the employment prospects of former prisoners are restricted by employers’ reluctance to hire former prisoners and availability of accessible jobs in proximity to their homes.¹¹

7. Ditton (1999); Langan and Levin
WHY SHOULD POLICE HAVE A ROLE IN PRISONER REENTRY?
The primary mission of law enforcement is to maintain peace and order and provide for a safe environment. Thus, the most compelling argument for police involvement in prisoner reentry is that a significant share of former prisoners presents a threat to that mission by committing new crimes in the community. As such, police have a natural role in reentry because making contact with former prisoners is part of their everyday business. In fact, arrest frequencies for returning prisoners are 30 to 45 times higher than for the general population. Police agencies stand to benefit from their involvement in reentry because successful efforts to reduce reoffending among released prisoners can, by definition, prevent future crimes and help improve community relations with police.

Moreover, reentry initiatives fit well within the community policing and problem-solving model, which typically focuses on solving the underlying cause of a crime problem through partnerships with local businesses, residents, government agencies, and other community stakeholders. During the last several years, police have begun to reach out to these entities to create partnerships to reduce crime, and police have realized important benefits to public safety. Among them are (1) enhancing partner agencies’ capacities to protect the public by harnessing the powers of their respective line staff in complementary ways; (2) improving interactions among partner agency staff by reducing mistrust, correcting misinformation, and encouraging creativity and flexibility in solving community problems; (3) improving the delivery of services to targeted neighborhoods by extending partnerships to social service agencies and community organizations; and (4) increasing support for collaboration among policymakers and the general public. Furthermore, these partnerships allow criminal justice agencies to present a unified front focused on public safety, reassuring the public that the separate components of the criminal justice system are coordinated and working toward common goals. Prior research has found that such proactive crime-prevention partnerships can yield long-term crime-reduction benefits. It stands to reason that applying these same types of partnerships to the issue of prisoner reentry can also have a positive impact on community safety.

Police involvement in reentry can also help diminish the public’s fear of victimization by former prisoners. Returning prisoners’ new crimes can have a negative impact on police-community relations: Society often views a returning prisoner’s crime as one that could have been prevented (see Sidebar 4 for more information on recidivism among

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18 Rosenfeld, William, and Fornango (2005).
19 Research by Tom Tyler and colleagues suggests that as citizens increase their perceptions of police, they may be more willing to report crimes and engage in community crime-prevention activities (Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Tyler 2004; Tyler and Hou 2002).
21 Kelling and Coles (1996).

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Why Should Police Have a Role in Prisoner Reentry?

In 2002, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) released a landmark study on patterns of recidivism among former prisoners. The study followed a cohort of individuals released from prison in 1994 for 3 years, tracking multiple measures of recidivism. More than two-thirds of this sample was rearrested within 3 years of release and 51 percent returned to prison during that same period. Of those returned to prison, half were reincarcerated for new crimes and the other half for technical violations of conditions of post-release supervision. The time to rearrest was also an important predictor of recidivism: Almost half of all new arrests occur within 6 months of release.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Within 3 years</th>
<th>Rearrested 67.5%</th>
<th>Reconvicted 46.9%</th>
<th>Returned to Prison 51.8%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>272,111 prisoners</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rearrest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6 months</th>
<th>1 year</th>
<th>2 year</th>
<th>3 year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29.9%</td>
<td>44.1%</td>
<td>59.2%</td>
<td>67.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arrest frequencies for returning prisoners are 30 to 45 times higher than for the general population, averaging approximately 15,611 arrests per 100,000 released prisoners. The criminal histories of former prisoners examined by BJS reveal that the total number of arrest charges for crimes committed by the sample prior to incarceration totaled an estimated 4.1 million. It is estimated that the sample accumulated an additional 800,000 post-release arrests during a period of 3 years, an average of four crimes each. Combining pre- and post-release arrests increases the average number of arrest charges attributable to an individual releasee from 4 to 17.9. The implication for police is clear: effective reentry strategies can substantially contribute to public safety.

1. The study cohort represents two-thirds of all individuals released from state prisons in 15 states in 1994, based on a weighted sample of 33,796 of the 272,111 prisoners released in the study’s 15 states in 1994. These states are Arizona, California, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, and Virginia. Four measures of recidivism were used: rearrest, reconviction, resentence to prison, and return to prison with or without a new sentence. The 2002 study is a replication of a similar study conducted by BJS in 1983 (Beck and Shipley 1989). See Langan and Levin (2002, 11) for a detailed methodology of the study and a comparison of the findings between studies.

2. Rosenfeld et al. (2005).

Police involvement in reentry can serve to educate the public about what the true risks of reentry are and what they are doing to respond to those risks (e.g., targeted surveillance and linking ex-offenders to services, jobs, and the faith community).

**Police Contributions to Reentry Efforts**

Just as police can benefit from involvement in reentry, those engaged in reentry efforts also have much to gain from police participation. Many reentry partnerships focus on assisting returning prisoners to access services, obtain housing, and find employment; police involvement sends the message that these initiatives are by no means “soft on crime” because, in addition to the support they provide, reentry programs also carry with them the distinct threat of rearrest. Police involvement in reentry also supports community corrections efforts by serving as additional eyes and ears on the street, enhancing both the surveillance and assistance functions of community supervision. Finally, police can support restorative justice reentry efforts by serving as intermediaries between victims and offenders.

Clearly, police have an important role in prisoner reentry initiatives, and that role can take many forms. The following section begins by describing the community policing framework and how it can be applied to the issue of prisoner reentry, after which a series of examples of the different ways that police have become involved in prisoner reentry are presented. These examples extend beyond traditional law enforcement practices to include innovative and proactive crime-prevention strategies, problem solving, community engagement, and partnerships, all of which build on the community policing framework.
Community Policing and Reentry

Community policing addresses crime and social disorder using traditional aspects of law enforcement, such as surveillance, investigation, and apprehension, but expands that role to include prevention, problem solving, community engagement, and strategic partnerships.\(^2^3\) Whereas a traditional policing approach to reentry would include repeated arrests of the same offender, the community policing approach would be to analyze and understand the reasons behind the repeat offending and develop partnerships with relevant agencies and community stakeholders to address those underlying problems to prevent future reoffending. The community policing model also includes neighborhood residents as integral partners in identifying, responding to, and preventing crime.\(^2^4\) Central to that process is the use of problem solving to develop a better understanding of the context of the crime problem to be addressed.

The sequential steps of problem solving are represented by the SARA model, whereby community police officers \textit{Scan} the environment for information on recurring problems and their consequences, \textit{Analyze} the events and conditions that contribute to the problem, develop a range of \textit{Responses} designed to have an impact on the problem, and \textit{Assess} the extent to which these responses have affected the size and scope of the problem (see Sidebar 5 for an example of the SARA model applied to prisoner reentry). Traditionally, problem-solving efforts focus on a specific type of crime, crimes occurring in a specific place, or crimes committed by a specific group of people. Community police officers can apply the SARA model to reentry-related problems in a particular neighborhood, identifying the specific risk factors of returning prisoners as well as the challenges they face as they return to the community. The assessment component of SARA is particularly important because if police are able to quantify a significant decrease in crime resulting from a reentry partnership, they are much more likely to generate ongoing support for the initiative.\(^2^6\)


\(^{24}\) Kelling and Coles (1996).

\(^{25}\) See Eck and Spelman (1987) for a more thorough discussion on the SARA model.

\(^{26}\) For more information on conducting evaluations of policy initiatives, see the forthcoming COPS Law Enforcement Guide to Managing Local Evaluation at \url{www.cops.usdoj.gov}. 
SIDEBAR 5. PROBLEM SOLVING: A REENTRY EXAMPLE

The most prominent policing method for analyzing problems, crafting responses, and assessing results is the SARA model (Scanning, Analysis, Response and Assessment). The following example illustrates how SARA can be used to deconstruct reentry into solvable problems so that responses are practical, feasible, and assessable.1

Scanning

• Many individuals returning to the community from prison or jail are persistent, high-rate offenders. An estimated two-thirds of state prisoners will be rearrested for a new crime within 3 years of release.

Analysis

• What is the scale and geographic distribution of the reentry population in your community?
• What proportion of new crime is attributable to returning prisoners?
• What is the actual rate and pattern of reoffending of these individuals? Is there variation in the type of crimes being committed? Is there a specific area in the community or period after release that is particularly criminogenic?
• What are the risk factors associated with recidivism (e.g., unemployment, substance abuse)?
• What services are currently available in the community to reduce risk factors and increase protective factors? Are there any gaps in service? What are they?
• What leverage does the community have to enforce compliance and pro-social behavior (e.g., revocation of probation/parole, fines, etc.)?
• Who does prisoner reentry affect? What community partners and key stakeholders should be involved in responding to the challenges of reentry?

Response

As a primary stakeholder in reducing recidivism among released prisoners, the police can respond by:
• Partnering with probation and parole to enhance supervision
• Facilitating sessions that notify returning prisoners of the expectations and support of the community
• Gathering and sharing intelligence on behavior indicating trouble reintegrating with community (e.g., hanging out with the old gang, violating curfew restrictions)
• Building upon existing partnerships (and engaging new partners) to strengthen the collaborative action of reentry initiatives
• Connecting ex-offenders to services and community resources
• Communicating with the residents to overcome barriers caused by prior harms.

Assess

• Has the response been implemented as planned?
• Has recidivism among released individuals decreased?
• Has citizen fear of crime diminished?

1. Adapted from the SARA model example developed by the POP Center. See http://www.popcenter.org/about-SARA.htm.
Applying Community Policing to Reentry: Exploring Specific Roles

Police involvement in reentry efforts can take many forms. Their expertise in problem solving and their existing community partnerships have direct applications to facilitating successful reintegration. The following categories describe the different ways that police have applied their authority, knowledge, and role in the community to improve reentry outcomes for released prisoners. These categories are by no means mutually exclusive; indeed, as illustrated in the descriptions of policing reentry projects that appear later in this report, in many cases police have multiple roles in reentry efforts.

Increasing Surveillance

Police and corrections officers work with the same individuals at different times, giving them great collective insight into the personalities, peers, and family dynamics of returning prisoners. This information can provide an important window into the individual circumstances of former prisoners that might either enhance or threaten their ability to reintegrate successfully. In fact, joint supervision of parolees by teams of police and parole officers is perhaps the most common way that police currently contribute to prisoner reentry efforts. Team supervision usually takes the form of police accompaniment on parole home visits, parole ride-alongs on police patrols, and parole involvement in policing activities, such as attending community meetings and staffing neighborhood substations.27

27 McGarrell et al. (2004).

Given that they are armed and equipped with sophisticated communication devices, police generally take the lead with officer-safety issues (e.g., tactical decisions about how to approach a dwelling for a home visit or officer safety issues in dangerous neighborhoods), while parole officers usually take the lead when interviewing parolees suspected of new criminal activity or who have been struggling to comply with the conditions of supervision (Parent and Snyder 1999).
Another means of enhanced surveillance is to use knowledge about the criminal and substance abuse histories of returning prisoners, continually monitoring their associations with gangs and their activities in the community.\(^{28}\) Such information enables law enforcement to focus their interventions strategically, targeting those who are at highest risk of reoffending rather than spreading scarce resources across the vast number of former prisoners within a community. Police are particularly well positioned to apply such assessment tools to those released from prison “unconditionally”—without any formal post-release correctional supervision or requirements. Almost 20 percent of all prisoners are released to the community unconditionally, meaning that they are not supervised by a parole or probation officer, are not required to abide by any special conditions of supervision, and may not be eligible for the supportive services that often accompany a conditional release.\(^{29}\) To the extent that post-release surveillance occurs at all for those released from prison unconditionally, that surveillance role falls primarily on the shoulders of the police.

**Encouraging Compliance**

For most returning prisoners, compliance with special conditions of release—such as curfews, random drug testing, participation in treatment programs, and maintaining regular contacts with supervising agencies—is mandated. For police, reentry programs centered on increasing compliance and deterring crime typically build upon the activities of post-release supervision agencies. Research suggests that direct discussions with reentering prisoners about the range of sanctions for unlawful behavior as well as incentives for staying clean and drug free increase the odds of compliance (see Sidebar 6 on Project Safe Neighborhoods).\(^{30}\) This message may take the form of a contract or binding agreement, which enables the ex-prisoner and agency partners to walk through their obligations and the consequences for not abiding by the conditions of release.\(^{31}\)
SIDEBAR 6. PROJECT SAFE NEIGHBORHOODS: A PLATFORM FOR POLICE REENTRY PARTNERSHIPS

Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN) is the President's initiative to combat gun violence through partnerships among federal and state law enforcement agencies, prosecutors, community groups, and others. PSN also incorporates the following elements: strategic planning; training, community outreach, and accountability.¹ By substantially increasing federal firearms prosecutions, analyzing crime data to target law enforcement efforts effectively, launching a variety of media campaigns, and engaging community groups, PSN has contributed to some of the lowest violent crime rates in 30 years.²

The relationships built through PSN’s partnerships are a valuable resource for antirecidivism and prisoner reentry initiatives.³ One successful strategy known as “pulling levers,” used in Boston, Indianapolis, Winston-Salem, and elsewhere, targets high-risk offenders under active community supervision.⁴ There, the message is bluntly communicated to ex-offenders that gun violence will no longer be tolerated, and that the law will be strictly enforced. It is explained to the ex-offender that various “levers” — such as proactive targeted law enforcement, harsher penalties, enhanced community supervision, and revocation of probation and parole — will be used to ensure compliance with conditions of release. Once the law enforcement message is communicated, ex-offenders are provided with community resources from faith-based and community groups that will support their efforts to conform their behavior to the law.

1. Information on the Project Safe Neighborhoods grant program can be found on the World Wide Web at http://www.projectsafroneighborhoods.gov/.
Engaging the Community

As active agents in the community, police have the capacity to engage the public in activities that provide both formal and informal support and assistance in reentry efforts.\(^{32}\) The community is uniquely positioned to assist returning prisoners because it comprises their families, neighbors, and former and prospective employers, all of whom have the potential to exert “social control,” encouraging former prisoners to engage in prosocial behaviors and refrain from breaking the law.\(^ {33}\)

The police can encourage the community to engage in problem-solving partnerships by offering an opportunity for active participation in—and ownership of—the reentry effort. When police serve as a conduit for the involvement of community partners, both the community and the reentry program planners benefit. While the police may not be directly involved in implementing many of the initiatives resulting from the reentry partnership, they have an essential role to play in convening a diverse group of stakeholders, leading and directing the problem-solving initiative, and encouraging partners to identify resources, services, and mentors in the community.

Another important role for the police is to educate the public about the topic of prisoner reentry and ways that state and local criminal justice agencies are addressing it. For many citizens, the issue of prisoners and their return to society may be met with fear; media coverage of released prisoners committing heinous crimes makes up the extent of many people’s knowledge of criminal offenders. Yet public opinion polls have shown that people are surprised by the paucity of treatment available to prisoners as well as the barriers to jobs, housing, and other stable institutions in the community.\(^ {34}\) In fact, those polled on the topic support providing job training, work opportunities, treatment, and education to the ex-prisoner population.\(^ {35}\) Further, police can educate the community about strategies in place to both support and supervise returning prisoners, enhancing the public’s confidence that the issue is being addressed in a comprehensive way.

\(^{32}\) Bazemore (2004).
\(^{33}\) Sullivan et al. (2002).
\(^{35}\) Ibid.
Restorative justice models are another way to bring members of the community (including former prisoners and victims) together with police and corrections officials to develop ways for returning prisoners to succeed on the outside. A restorative model designed to address prisoner reentry would focus on (1) holding returning prisoners accountable for their past and future actions (e.g., acknowledging harm caused, making amends to the victim and the community, and developing a plan for leading a crime-free life); (2) protecting victims and the community at large from future victimization; and (3) helping returning prisoners to develop competencies—work experiences, life skills, anger management—so that they can become productive members of society. Police have a role in this process through their links to community resources, such as jobs and services that could increase a returning prisoner’s competency, as well as through the more traditional police role of preventing future victimization.

**Focusing on Places, Situations, and Contexts**

In recent years, as more law enforcement agencies have come to embrace community policing, many have realigned their patrol allocations from large police districts to smaller patrol areas, such as police service areas that are defined by neighborhood rather than by census tract, voting district, or other arbitrary geographic boundaries. These smaller, neighborhood-based assignments, many of which center around police substations, create an opportunity to develop sustained and positive relationships with the community. They are also useful for supporting public safety efforts focused on the characteristics of places and targets that generate crime. Such place-based approaches are often used in the context of problem-oriented policing (POP). The vast majority of POP projects are defined not just by crime type but also by place, requiring an analysis of the characteristics of places that provide the opportunity for crime. Place-based prevention has its roots in situational crime prevention and opportunity theories of crime, both of which purport that most potential offenders are not highly motivated to commit crime but do so when they are presented with opportunities to offend easily, with little risk of detection. In turn, increasing the perceived effort and risk associated with committing crime and reducing the anticipated benefits of the crime will deter criminal behavior. These types of crime-prevention measures have succeeded in reducing crimes of all types, with minimal displacement, across a variety of settings.

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36 McWhinnie and Brown (1999).
37 Karp (2002); Taxman (2004).
38 Scott (2000).
39 For more information on situational crime prevention, see Clarke (1997).
40 Displacement is typically defined as the shifting of crime to other places, times, tactics, or targets in response to a crime-prevention initiative or police intervention (Clarke 1997; Felson and Clarke 1998).
Applying situational crime prevention to prisoner reentry requires focusing not just on the individual risk factors of returning prisoners but also on the risk factors associated with the people, property, and places returning prisoners encounter upon their release.\(^\text{42}\) By way of illustration, consider two released prisoners with similar criminal backgrounds and risk factors. One returns to a crime-ridden, gang-infested area with few public resources while the other returns to a relatively safe neighborhood that is rich in assets to assist in his return. These two individuals are likely to have very different prospects for successful reentry. This example perhaps states the obvious, but prisoner reentry initiatives often overlook the role of place. And yet community policing is well equipped to employ a place-based focus, because police can work in partnership with supervision agencies to identify the types of places and situations that are likely to increase a returning prisoner’s criminal opportunities and how those opportunities might be reduced.\(^\text{43}\)

### Exchanging Information and Intelligence

Partnerships formed through the community policing framework can promote information sharing that can help police suppress criminal activity and preemptively intercede in situations that could result in violence. Perhaps the most common exchange of information across agencies engaged in prisoner reentry is between community corrections and law enforcement agencies. Information exchange among police and parole officers can create new opportunities to intervene proactively and to mobilize resources in response to circumstances or behaviors that threaten stability or compliance with the conditions of supervision. Further, sharing information can advance efforts to enforce accountability by ensuring that appropriate sanctions are meted out quickly and consistently in response to noncompliant behavior.

Similarly, information sharing between prisons and police can provide police with important information about a prisoner’s experiences. Relevant information can include the following:

1. Classification records, which may provide information about a prisoner’s behavior and social service needs.\(^\text{44}\)
2. Gang-related rivalries, which may prompt violence when prisoners return to the community.\(^\text{45}\)
3. Information about suicide attempts while in prison, which can inform effective prevention strategies for police responding to a suicide call.\(^\text{46}\)
4. Information about prisoners’ release dates and times—particularly for those released without supervision—to increase awareness of potential risks and opportunities for intervention.
5. Notification of the release of sex offenders, which can help police work with the public to protect themselves against potentially dangerous sex offenders residing in their community.\(^47\)

6. Information about mental health status, which may be relevant for understanding subsequent crimes of disorder (e.g., when appropriate, police may direct the individual to a health provider rather than the county jail).

Police are also uniquely positioned to share community-level information that can benefit and inform reentry strategies and educate residents. Cognizant of the risks that reside in places, associates, and local situations, police officers with knowledge of the community’s dynamics are essential when crafting release plans for returning prisoners. Previous interactions with returning prisoners also provide police officers with background knowledge of an individual’s temperament, peer and family relationships, and skills and weaknesses, all of which can be used in creating and implementing an effective strategy for reintegration. Moreover, police can exchange information with community residents, providing them with accurate information about the local concentration of returning prisoners, plausible risks and assets, and ways in which they can protect themselves and their neighborhoods from further victimization.

**Connecting to Social Services**

Police officers have several opportunities to link ex-offenders to social services. Many police organizations already have an existing role in community enrichment programs (e.g., athletic leagues and youth mentoring) designed for at-risk youth, and thus have built useful bridges to the social service community. In addition to direct links to specific community-based organizations, police are well positioned to broker new connections to resources, potential employers, and mentors in the community.\(^48\) In fact, some law enforcement agencies have already made great strides in this arena by developing service referral protocols for police to follow when interacting with special populations who are involved in crime or disorderly behavior, such as those with mental illness or the homeless.\(^49\) For example, prior research has found that the first few hours after release are critical for returning prisoners, presenting both risks and opportunities.\(^50\) Police can take a role in connecting prisoners to social services during that important time.\(^51\) Finally, as discussed below, police can partner with service, faith, and safety organizations to provide a wide range of services that can help connect returning prisoners to positive support in the community.
Assisting Victims of Crime

The police role in reentry may also draw on their historical emphasis on helping the victims of crime. One way that police can continue their alliance with victims in the context of reentry is to encourage both individual victims and victims’ organizations to participate in the reentry process. To date, victims have had little voice in prisoners’ release to the community and often are not privy to information about parole proceedings and terms of an offender’s release.52 Many people assume that victim participation in these processes would inevitably result in negative outcomes for prisoners.53 Yet victims share the same goal as other partners in a reentry effort: to prevent future victimization by released prisoners. Toward this end, victims can contribute important, offender-specific information to standard reentry plans. Some victims know their offenders well (e.g., victims of domestic violence and sexual assault by friends or acquaintances) and because the communities in which victims reside and to which prisoners return are often the same, victims may have helpful insights about how to manage the risks associated with a prisoner’s return.

However, for victim involvement in reentry to be meaningful, the victim must know how to gain access to and participate in the criminal justice system. Police are typically the first to respond when an individual has been victimized and are tasked with addressing victims’ needs to feel safe, to express their emotions, and to know what happens next.54 Their involvement at the front end of the system makes police ideally suited to continue their relationships with victims through to prisoner reentry and to use the same approaches to assist victims in participating in the parole and reentry processes. Finally, the involvement of the victim and police in the reentry process is invaluable in those situations in which an order of protection is required prior to a prisoner’s return to the community.
EXAMPLES FROM THE FIELD
In an effort to provide concrete examples of how police are contributing to prisoner reentry efforts, we conducted a "scan of practice" on the topic. The examples that follow illustrate how police agencies have examined the characteristics and challenges of prisoner reentry in their communities and developed tailored approaches for improving reentry outcomes and increasing public safety.

These relatively new practices were identified in several ways. At the beginning of the project, COPS disseminated an announcement (Call for Reentry Sites) to all its grantees to solicit examples from law enforcement agencies engaged in reentry work. We also solicited nominations from Reentry Roundtable participants and organizations that work in the area of policing, such as the Police Executive Research Forum, the Police Foundation, the Institute for Law and Justice, the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, the Regional Community Policing Institutes, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and the National Sheriffs' Association. Reports and publications from agencies such as the National Institute of Corrections, the American Correctional Association, and the National Institute of Justice were also reviewed. Additional key sources of information included the Report of the Re-Entry Policy Council,\textsuperscript{55} Outside the Walls: A National Snapshot of Community-Based Prisoner Reentry Programs,\textsuperscript{56} and program summaries of initiatives funded through grant programs such as the Serious Violent Offender Reentry Initiative and Project Safe Neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{57}

These search strategies revealed a breadth of police reentry initiatives currently in practice. Programs vary both on the extent of police involvement and the type of role that police play. For example, in many programs, the principal function of police centers on contributing to “notification” meetings and encouraging released prisoners to comply with the law and their conditions of release. In others, the police role includes activities such as coordinating services for released prisoners or sharing intelligence with partner agencies. Notwithstanding the range of strategies, there is a high level of consistency in the way most law enforcement agencies approach reentry, with information sharing, communication of a deterrence message, and enhanced surveillance central to the police role in most cases.
Additionally, we identified several police initiatives targeting probationers or parolees in efforts that had a broader focus than prisoner reentry. For example, many police agencies are involved in community prosecution partnerships that target habitual offenders yet do not take advantage of the prisoner release process as a prime opportunity to work with this population. While these types of partnerships are well positioned to add reentry components, they are not included in the examples that appear below.

In the body of this report, we have highlighted strategies in which law enforcement plays a lead or key role in reentry. Although this narrow scope may exclude many reentry programs that include law enforcement, the limited focus demonstrates how police may proactively—and centrally—engage in reentry initiatives directed toward reducing crime and disorder in their communities.

Each of the summaries provided below details the background and goals of the initiative, highlighting the police role. Few, if any, of these initiatives have been formally evaluated. Accordingly, these examples do not necessarily represent best practices or model programs. Rather, they illustrate examples from across the country of police practice in the area of prisoner reentry.

Baltimore Police Department (Maryland)
Boston Police Department/Suffolk County Sheriff’s Office (Massachusetts)
Burlington Police Department (Vermont)
Hampden County Sheriff’s Office /Springfield Police Department (Massachusetts)
Indianapolis Police Department (Indiana)
Knoxville Police Department (Tennessee)
Lancashire Constabulary (United Kingdom)
New Haven Police Department (Connecticut)
Oakland Police Department (California)
Ogden City Police Department (Utah)
Racine Police Department (Wisconsin)
Redlands Police Department (California)
Redmond Police Department (Washington)
Savannah-Chatham Police Department (Georgia)
Winston-Salem Police Department (North Carolina)

58 For each program highlighted below, telephone calls were made to agency contacts to clarify the nature of the program and level of police involvement. Summaries of each project were also shared with the law enforcement agencies to confirm their accuracy and that the key elements of the programs were appropriately highlighted.
Baltimore Police Department (Maryland)
Maryland Reentry Partnership Initiative

The Maryland Reentry Partnership Initiative is a collaboration of diverse public and private partners working to reduce recidivism, increase offender accountability, and harness community resources to meet the needs of recently released prisoners. The partnership works to create a continuum of services for participants who are returning to neighborhoods in Baltimore with disproportionately high crime levels. The primary role for police is to deter reoffending through exit orientation meetings, termed “notification sessions.”

Key Program Elements

» **Reentry Planning.** Twelve to 18 months before release, participants undergo a needs assessment to determine appropriate programs to support successful reentry (e.g., educational/vocational training, treatment programs, etc.). Individual structured service plans are developed for each participant by the case management staff within the Division of Correction. An additional assessment is conducted approximately 75 days before release. This information is used to create an after-care case plan, which is shared with the Division of Probation and Parole and the assigned community-based case manager (CM) and appointed advocate. From the first day of release, the CM and the advocate work closely together to support and monitor the participant’s progress throughout the post-release transition—reporting monthly for the first year of release, then every 2 months for the remaining supervision period.

» **Encouraging Compliance.** Participants are required to attend an exit orientation before release, during which they are notified about the consequences of reoffending as well as the community resources that are available to them to assist in the reentry process.

» **Connecting to Services.** The CM or advocate may link participants to substance abuse treatment programs, mental health counseling, and vocational and educational training, and secure them identification, health services, and other urgent social services. Transitional housing (for up to 3 months) is also available for roughly one-third of the program participants.
Increasing Surveillance. A variety of corrections officials and community-based networks supervise participants upon release with the goal of fostering positive social influences while deterring them from committing new crimes. All program participants must report to a “Community Conference” within 72 hours of release. Convened in a nonthreatening venue within the community (e.g., at a recreation center), the conference is designed to provide former offenders and community stakeholders (residents, relatives, and program partners) an opportunity to demonstrate their commitment to each other in achieving successful reentry transitions. In addition, the conference provides a mechanism for regular compliance checks coupled with positive reinforcement.

Partners include the Baltimore Police Department; the Enterprise Foundation; the Maryland Department of Corrections; the Mayor’s Office on Criminal Justice, Division of Parole and Probation; and the community development corporation.

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Boston Reentry Initiative

The Boston Reentry Initiative (BRI) is a comprehensive reentry program supported by local, state, and federal partners aimed at reducing recidivism among serious and violent offenders. High-risk classification ("high-impact player") is based on risk assessment protocols and intelligence-driven nominations by the Boston police based on likelihood to recidivate, history of gang involvement, and the neighborhood to which the prisoner is returning. While participation in BRI is voluntary, prosecutors often recommend it as a condition of release.

The program offers returning prisoners comprehensive reentry planning and support and emphasizes individual accountability and the negative consequences of continued criminal involvement. While intensive post-release surveillance and increased accountability mechanisms are integral to the program, the initiative’s central focus is to provide individuals with the social support and resources needed to promote their successful reentry. The primary role for police includes intelligence sharing, enhancing a deterrence message, and providing advisory and assessment support throughout all stages of the reentry initiative.

Key Program Elements

» Reentry Panel. Within 45 days of entering the Suffolk County House of Correction, program participants begin working on a “transition accountability plan” and attend one of the Initiative’s monthly community panel sessions. During the panels, representatives from law enforcement and criminal justice agencies, social service providers, and faith-based organizations form a semicircle and sit across from the 10 to 20 inmate participants. Each member of the panel addresses the inmates from the unique perspective of his or her organization. Social service and faith-based organizations talk about the resources and support that they can provide to assist inmates with transition, both while they are in prison and post-release. Prosecutors, probation, and parole discuss the consequences that await inmates if they are caught committing crimes upon their return to their neighborhoods. Collectively, the panel conveys a unified message that the inmates have the power to choose their own destiny. Also, the panel serves to remind the inmates that they are not doing
their time anonymously and that information on their criminal histories, current incarceration, and planned release dates are shared among law enforcement agencies and with some community agencies.

» **Reentry Case Management.** Following the panel, inmates are assigned caseworkers and faith-based mentors from the community, who begin meeting and working with them immediately in the prison setting. Enrollments in education, substance abuse, and other institutional programs are coordinated as part of their transitional accountability plans. On the day of release, the institution arranges for either a family member or a mentor to meet them at the door. The returning prisoners are encouraged to continue to work with their caseworkers, mentors, and social service providers during the reentry period. For those inmates who leave the prison on conditional supervision, the supervising agency is asked to incorporate participation in the BRI as part of their stipulations of release.

» **Day Reporting Center.** Participants receive supervision and support services through a local Day Reporting Center. Each Day Reporting Center also has the capacity to house juveniles as a short-term sanction for those who fail to comply with the terms of their release.

*Partners include the Boston Police Department, the Suffolk County House of Correction, U.S. Probation Officer, the Massachusetts Department of Probation, the Massachusetts Parole Board, the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services, Suffolk County District Attorney’s Office, United States Attorney’s Office, various faith-based and community organizations, The Massachusetts Behavioral Health Partnership, Boston Public Health Commission, Boston Centers for Youth and Families, the Boston Private Industry Council, and Boston public schools.*

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Burlington Police Department (Vermont)
Offender Reentry Project

For many communities, crime—especially that of a violent nature—engenders feelings of vulnerability, anger, and mistrust, which in turn may impede the acceptance of a former prisoner back into a community. The Burlington Offender Reentry Project offers a holistic approach aimed to bridge the barriers created by criminal offending by offering a supportive environment for successful reentry. Following a community justice framework, community stakeholders (including victims, police, and other community representatives) actively engage in reentry planning and monitoring of serious and violent offenders who were incarcerated for at least 1 year. The goal of the Offender Reentry Project is to allow both offenders and the community an opportunity to make amends for prior harms. It also allows former prisoners to demonstrate their achievements and ability to successfully reenter the community through active involvement in offender reentry planning that ensures victim safety and fosters opportunities for positive victim/offender interactions. While the Reentry Project is not directly involved in offender sentencing or institutional programming decisions, a reentry panel does make recommendations to these entities such as community placement, treatment programs, restitution, reentry planning, and conditions/stipulations of release that support victim safety. The involvement of police in this partnership provides valuable knowledge about ex-offenders in the community (e.g., criminal history, drug activity, and peer and gang associations). In addition, activities throughout all phases of reentry afford police an opportunity to interact with former prisoners in a positive way and to play a supportive role in helping them achieve successful reintegration outcomes.

Key Program Elements

» **Reentry Planning**. Within 30 days of incarceration a correctional services specialist within the Department of Corrections works with offenders to develop an Offender Responsibility Plan. The Responsibility Plan is based on a needs assessment (e.g., substance abuse, mental health, life skills) and outlines a strategy for successful reintegration. Within 60 days of release, the reentry panel, in collaboration with the Department of Corrections, meets to review the Offender Responsibility Plans and Reentry Plans, which detail the components of the offender’s community placement, including housing and vocational and treatment services. The panel reviews each plan to ensure that the elements support victim and community safety, reflecting restorative justice.
elements and victim input. Approximately 1 month prior to the offender’s release date, the reentry panel makes a final recommendation for a reentry plan. Notably, the panel may decline to accept an offender into the program if it disagrees with the Department of Corrections’ plan.

» **Encouraging Compliance.** The panel meets regularly to monitor individual progress both before and after release. Mechanisms for monitoring include reviewing correctional department reports and videoconferencing with offenders. When released, the individual regularly meets with the reentry panel for a predetermined period of time.

» **Enhanced Supervision.** Although there is no direct enhanced supervision component of the program, police are informed of release plans and release dates of program participants. This reduces the anonymity of former prisoners in the community and supports monitoring and supervision activities.

» **Coordinating Services.** The reentry panel provides participants with access to resource information and referrals to service providers or assistance programs, as needed.

*Partners include the Burlington Police Department, the Vermont Department of Corrections, the Burlington Housing Authority, Spectrum Youth and Family Services, the Vocational Rehabilitation Division, Vermont Associations of Business Industry and Rehabilitation, Howard Community Services, and Burlington Community Justice Center.*

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The After Incarceration Support Systems Program (AISS) is a multiagency collaboration designed to meet the reentry needs of both jail and state prison inmates returning to Hampden County. All jail inmates are encouraged to participate in the structured AISS program within 90 days of their release date. Individuals in the custody of the Massachusetts Department of Corrections who were either sentenced from or returning to Hampden County are also provided opportunities to participate. The goal of AISS is to prepare individuals for successful reentry via prerelease planning and social service support followed by continued support and enhanced post-release supervision. The primary role for police centers upon eligibility decisions, intelligence sharing, and enhanced supervision. The police provide information and intelligence about high-risk releasees (e.g., propensity for violence, gang affiliations, drug activity) that is shared with partners via one-page summary briefs. Notification of releases are also provided to all applicable local police agencies and are accessible to all patrol units via in-car technology systems. Accessible up-to-date information on high-risk offenders supports supervision and monitoring activities and increases the likelihood of detecting individuals who are demonstrating problems or challenges with reentry transitions.

**Key Program Elements**

- **Release Planning.** There are two phases of release planning. Release Planning I (RPI) informs eligible participants of the services provided through the program. Interested candidates are asked to respond to a self-assessment questionnaire to inform Phase II activities, which begin within approximately 1 week of Phase I. In Release Planning II (RPII), the release planning coordinator works with each program participant to develop individualized release plans. These plans are based on the participant’s self-assessment and recommendations from correctional staff who are familiar with the individual’s unique needs such as case managers, and mental health, vocation, and education staff. Based on these activities, the release planning coordinator compiles a comprehensive release plan. Participants then complete an individualized release plan and meet with the education reintegration counselor and a community staff member from AISS.
Examples from the Field

» **Connecting to Services.** AISS provides participants with unlimited access to information and resources available to support reentry needs such as residential programs, employment training, substance use programs (e.g., AA/NA). An electronic directory allows participants to identify services that are close to the area where they will be living upon release.

» **Encouraging Compliance.** Upon release, high-risk AISS participants meet with police, probation/parole, and the Hampden County Sheriff’s chief of security to review reentry plans, stipulations of community supervision, and consequences of future offending. These sessions may take place either at police headquarters or at the Hampden County House of Corrections. The Public Safety Committee meets monthly to review each participant’s progress and provides recommendations for appropriate sanctions if the participant reoffends.

» **Enhanced Surveillance.** The Springfield Police Department has developed the information-sharing technology to make one-page summary briefs available to their officers in the patrol cars. In addition, the sheriff’s officers hold joint meetings with the Massachusetts Department of Corrections officials and police departments in neighboring areas to share information about the recent releasees, including their name, photo, and criminal history. In addition, the district attorney’s office maintains a central file on each participant, which includes a copy of the reentry plan, probation/parole status, and other relevant information (i.e., criminal history and vital statistics).

*Partners include the Hampden County Sheriff’s Department, Springfield Police Department, the Massachusetts Department of Corrections, District Attorney’s Office, U.S. Attorney’s Office, and District and Superior Probation.*

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Indianapolis Police Department (Indiana)
Indianapolis Violence Reduction Partnership

The Indianapolis Violence Reduction Partnership (IVRP) is a multitiered effort involving increased monitoring of persistent and violent offenders in high-crime neighborhoods; improved information sharing among agencies; rapid processing of new crimes or offenses; and enhanced social service programs for youth and young adults in the targeted communities. The primary role for police is to coordinate information and intelligence exchange among the IVRP partners. The police also lead the notification sessions for the IVRP reentry effort, which provides the collaborative with an opportunity to demonstrate to returning prisoners the strength of the partnership and the consequences of reoffending. Police activities that support the deterrence message include various specialized enforcement tactics.

Key Program Elements

» **Increasing Surveillance.** A working group of representatives from law enforcement organizations, the U.S. Attorney’s Office, the Aggravated Assault Unit, the Gang Unit, and the Narcotics Unit meets weekly to discuss the status of all program participants and the status of the neighborhoods under heightened supervision (e.g., any new crimes committed or nuisance/abatement calls).

» **Encouraging Compliance.** Once released, program participants are required to attend a notification session, led by the deputy police chief of the neighborhood in which they reside, to reinforce the consequences of noncompliance. Additional statements by homicide detectives and community leaders support the initiative’s “zero tolerance” message on future offending. In response to homicides and/or increases of violence in the targeted areas, multiagency teams initiate geographically based responses, including frequent directed patrol. Additionally, the fugitive response team combs the neighborhood for offenders with outstanding warrants, and parole and probation officers increase the frequency of their visits with clients in the neighborhood. Juvenile curfews are also stringently enforced to decrease future crime in the area.

» **Exchanging Information.** Participants in the Violence Impact Program Enhanced Response (VIPER) program (referred to as “VIPER offenders”) are tracked for outstanding warrants, parole or probation violations, arrests, and supervision status. The Indianapolis Police Department manages the database, accessible to all partners via a secured web site. If
a VIPER offender reoffends or commits a technical violation, information is shared among local, state, and federal agencies to assess the most expedient and successful avenue of prosecution of the offender. In addition, law enforcement partners coordinate efforts to dismantle drug and illegal arms markets.

» Connecting to Services. Officials in the Police Action League work with at-risk youth in the community to connect them to positive social environments through mentorship and community programs, job opportunities, and faith-based programs. In conjunction with the community education and support programs, prior offenders will be contacted for brief meetings to inform them of the reinforced law enforcement presence in the community, the expectations for their behavior, and how to receive social support if needed.

Partners include the Indianapolis Police Department; the Federal Bureau of Investigation; United States Marshal’s Office; Marion County Prosecutor’s Office; Marion County Justice Agency; Department of Corrections; Marion County Probation; Crime Stoppers; Hudson Institute Crime Control Policy Center; Marion Superior Court; Indiana State Police; Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms; Indiana University; U.S. Probation Office; Marion County Sheriff’s Department; U.S. Attorney’s Office; Drug Enforcement Administration; Indiana Department of Education; and various community and faith-based organizations.

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Knoxville Police Department (Tennessee)
Knoxville Public Safety Collaborative\textsuperscript{62}

The Knoxville Public Safety Collaborative (KPSC) partnership was formed to respond to community concerns about crime committed by repeat offenders released from prison. Building on preexisting partnerships between corrections and probation/parole, the Knoxville Police Department joined the collaborative to develop a strategic response geared to improve the reentry success of high-risk individuals returning to the community. The KPSC offers a multidisciplinary case management approach that begins prior to release and continues with intensive post-release supervision. Release planning ensures that individuals receive appropriate services to support positive reentry including mental health, alcohol, and drug treatment, medical provisions (e.g., prescriptions), vocational or educational services, and housing.

The Board of Probation and Parole issues an identification card to all released individuals; it must be carried at all times and produced when interacting with program staff, including parole officers and law enforcement. The identification cards ensure that information obtained via the various partner sources is accurately and efficiently shared among all partners. For example, if the police stop an individual or are conducting a compliance check, the interaction is logged into the Knoxville Police Department database and shared with the parole officer. This systematic tracking improves supervision and monitoring activities. The primary role for police is to use this identification card system and other intelligence to support the timely and accurate dissemination of information among partner agencies—particularly police officers, corrections officials, and treatment providers.

Key Program Elements

» **Reentry Planning.** Before release, comprehensive, individualized case plans are developed to identify needs and services for successful reentry transitions.

» **Encouraging Compliance.** After release, representatives from the collaborative perform joint site visits and frequently share information to ensure the careful monitoring of participants’ progress.

» **Exchanging Information.** The police enhance supervision by providing up-to-date information to all partners. At the end of each shift, officers enter information into the database about any contacts with persons of interest. This information

\textsuperscript{62} The Knoxville Public Safety Collaborative was a finalist for the Innovations in Government Award in 2003.
is transmitted to the supervising corrections officer of the program participant and can be accessed electronically at any time. To assist in supervision activities, the police map residential addresses of the individuals under supervision and share this information with the Board of Probation and Parole.

Partners include the Knoxville Police Department, the Knox County Sheriff’s Office, the Tennessee Department of Corrections, Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole, Child and Family Tennessee, Knox County Drug Court, Knoxville County Probation, U.S. Probation Office, the University of Tennessee School of Social Work, the Metropolitan Drug Commission, and various state and city agencies, social service providers, and community and faith-based organizations.

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Lancashire Constabulary (United Kingdom)

Tower Project

The Tower Project was developed in response to a growing problem of increasing rates of burglary, auto crime, and street robberies in the Western Division of Lancashire, England. Using the tools of problem-solving analysis, the Lancashire Constabulary learned that almost 50 percent of persistent adult offenders test positive for drug use and that a small group of these persistent drug users accounted for a large proportion of crime. These findings led to the development of a targeted reentry initiative that combined intensive supervision with directed drug treatment to reduce recidivism. The goal of the program is to encourage desistance from crime by addressing risk factors of persistent drug use.

The police are responsible for hosting and implementing the project. In addition to providing an advisory role in recruitment, the primary role for police is to collect and process intelligence gathered through enhanced supervision activities, such as surveillance and specialized enforcement. More important, the police facilitate the flow of intelligence information between the partner agencies. The program has changed how police handle persistent offenders who are problematic drug users by encouraging treatment in lieu of arrests and jail time. According to the Lancashire Constabulary, since the start of the Tower Project, crime committed by the target population has decreased by 30 percent. The program’s success has prompted expansion to additional jurisdictions throughout Lancashire.

Key Program Elements

» Reentry Planning. Participants are recruited up to 3 months prior to release to develop a post-release drug treatment plan including treatment, abstinence support, accommodation, benefits, and employment and lifestyle skills.

» Exchanging Information. The police provide critical support through analysis and assessment. They identify the most persistent offenders based on indicators including number of types of criminal justice contacts and types of offenses. They also engage in monitoring and surveillance activities, which are increased or decreased based on the individual’s progress. The information collected and shared among the partners is integrated into the police intelligence system. The police provide daily information briefings at the project’s main office. Each program participant is required to sign a consent form authorizing drug testing and free dissemination of personal information among the partner agencies.
Encouraging Compliance. Monitoring and supervision activities begin immediately upon release. In many cases, the program staff meets the offender at the gate to ensure that there is no diversion to high-drug areas. “Drug action teams” monitor drug treatment progress. Additionally, a one-stop shop, based at the police station, connects persistent drug users to treatment providers.

Increasing Surveillance. Police engage in specialized enforcement activities, such as undercover operations. In addition, they increase surveillance through high-visibility patrol tactics.

Partners include the Lancashire Constabulary, Western Division; National Probation Service Lancashire; Crown Prosecution Services; the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders; Housing Authority; and drug treatment and medical service providers.

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Project One Voice

Project One Voice is a partnership of local, state, and federal law enforcement and various service agencies created to address crime problems caused by persistent criminals in four New Haven neighborhoods. This place-based strategy focuses on individuals and gangs responsible for contributing to the violent crimes and drug activities in the community. The strength of the collaborative is derived from the commitment of the community to encourage the successful reentry of probationers and parolees returning to these areas. With the support of its partners, the community has formed management teams that are responsible for sharing community concerns and providing a mechanism for transferring intelligence to police. In addition, the community offers support to returning prisoners, such as employment and social service referrals. The primary role for police is to provide enhanced supervision and surveillance of high-risk offenders. Regular patrol and specialized enforcement gather intelligence on possible technical violations. A “palm card” system notifies probation and parole about violations identified by police. This involvement communicates to the community that police are aware of the problems and are proactively responding. It also promotes open communication between the criminal justice system and the community.

Key Program Elements

» Engaging the Community. Approximately once each month, residents meet with district managers in management teams to help the police identify areas at the local level that should be included in the program. In addition to targeting places that local residents identify, the management teams work with the New Haven Public Works Department and the New Haven Livable City Initiative to ensure that abandoned and blighted lots or properties are not used for illegal activities.

» Encouraging Compliance. Strict bail conditions are set for these habitual offenders. Upon release, parole officers, probation officers, and police—oftentimes working together—closely monitor them to ensure compliance. The New Haven Housing Authority assists in a similar manner by enforcing lease conditions more strictly and improving and maintaining public housing.
Examples from the Field

» Exchanging Information. When police officers witness program participants violating their conditions of release, they issue participants fluorescent “palm cards” and tell them to report to their probation or parole officer the next day. Police also work with the community to develop intelligence on criminal activity in the neighborhood.

Partners include the New Haven Police Department; the Federal Bureau of Investigation; Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives; Drug Enforcement Administration; Chief State’s Attorney’s Office; New Haven State Attorney’s Office; Connecticut Department of Public Safety; Connecticut Department of Correction; Connecticut Board of Parole; Connecticut Office of Adult Probation; Connecticut Office of Juvenile Probation—New Haven; Connecticut Bail Commission; the Office of Alternative Sanctions; the Housing Authority of New Haven; the New Haven Department of Public Works; and the New Haven Livable City Initiative.

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*Police and Corrections Together (PACT)/Project Choice*

The Police and Corrections Together (PACT), in partnership with Project Choice, operates a comprehensive reentry program aimed at reducing recidivism among high-risk male offenders between the ages of 14 and 29. The initiative provides social support for reentering prisoners and aids compliance with terms of supervision and accountability for staying free of crime. The police play a supportive role in the program by enhancing the message about complying with conditions of release. In addition, the police are represented on the Project Choice advisory committee. The committee represents all facets of the community, including parole, corrections, employment, and health agencies, as well as a former prisoner, a community organizer, and faith- and community-based provider staff. This diverse partnership works to provide returning prisoners with access to services while communicating the importance of complying with conditions of release and desisting from crime.

**Key Program Elements**

» **Reentry Planning.** Six to 12 months prior to release from prison, participants are required to develop “life plans” for successful reentry. Needs assessments are also conducted to support reentry planning. Once completed, life plans and assessments are forwarded to the Project Choice advisory committee for review and revision.

» **Encouraging Compliance.** Once released, police partner with California Department of Correction (CDC) parole officers to track compliance of release conditions and encourage rehabilitative support. In addition, program participants must attend a PACT meeting (led by police and probation) within 1 week of their release, during which stipulations of release and program requirements are reviewed and reinforced. Participants are required to attend regular PACT meetings throughout their supervision period. If a participant fails to attend a PACT meeting, a team of Oakland Police Department officers and CDC parole officers are dispatched that day to the parolee’s address on record.

» **Connecting to Services.** Services offered upon release include employment training, job referrals, adult education, and mental health and substance abuse treatment.

Similar initiatives are being implemented throughout California, including in Sacramento, Redlands, Vallejo, Stockton, and San Francisco.
Partners include the Oakland Police Department, the California Department of Corrections, Alameda County Probation Department, California Youth Authority Institutional and Parole Divisions, Alameda County Behavioral Services, the Oakland Private Industry Council, community and faith-based organizations, and the Institute for Contemporary Studies.

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Team Enforcement and Monitoring (Project T.E.A.M.) was formed in response to crime committed by the high number of individuals returning to a small area within Ogden City. Assessments of reentry patterns revealed that nearly 12 percent of the population in one eight-block neighborhood were under either probation or parole supervision. This high concentration of ex-offenders resulted in unmanageable caseloads for Weber County community supervision officers and restricted the amount of one-on-one contacts with clients. The goal of the Project T.E.A.M. collaborative is to improve the capacity of criminal justice agents to monitor and support reentry transitions by linking participants to social service organizations. To do so, the project has granted the police authority to act as community supervision agents. Although this authorization is contingent upon the individual signing a waiver, the incentive to participate is attractive to many releasees because it is often offered as an alternative to returning to prison for technical violations. The primary role for police includes strengthening the deterrence message communicated during the face-to-face introductory notification sessions, during which the consequences of noncompliance, especially for weapons offenses, are explained. In addition, police support supervision activities by conducting random curfew checks and home visits. This program benefits parole agents who typically have 60 to 80 offenders on their caseload, giving them extra support from the police to supervise higher risk parolees. For police, face-to-face meetings foster positive interactions with former prisoners and provide police with important context to individual circumstances of reentry.

Key Program Elements

» **Encouraging Compliance.** Individuals returning to Weber County on parole attend a meeting with police officers on the day of their release during which they are informed of the consequences of not abiding by the law. They are specifically informed that they may be federally prosecuted if they possess or use a firearm. If a parolee commits a technical violation, he or she is offered the option of joining the program instead of returning to prison. Participation in T.E.A.M. is contingent on the individual signing a contract that permits police officers to act in the capacity of parole officers and may include a curfew requirement or alcohol restrictions, among other stipulations.
» **Increasing Surveillance.** The police have the same powers that the parole officer has over the parolee, including the right to make unannounced visits and search without a warrant or consent if they believe the individual is participating in criminal activity. Twice a month a police officer joins a parole officer in conducting visits to every high-risk parolee in the county.

» **Connecting to Services.** The program offers participants opportunities to receive education and employment support, including access to general equivalency diploma classes, computer courses, and career centers. Participants are linked with relevant social service organizations in the community during notification sessions.

*Partners include the Ogden City Police Department, all law enforcement agencies within Weber County, the Utah Department of Corrections, the Weber County Adult Probation and Parole Office, Ogden City’s Enterprise Community, Safe Haven, and the Utah Department of Workforce Services.*

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Racine Police Department (Wisconsin)
Community Re-Entry Program

The Community Re-Entry Program, a multiagency partnership spearheaded by the Racine Police Department, is designed to reduce recidivism among high-risk offenders released from state prison. Each month, four to five high-risk individuals with prior convictions involving violent crimes, weapons offenses, or gang crimes are selected for program participation. The program emphasizes individual accountability as well as employment assistance and mentoring opportunities. The role of police involves working directly with probation/parole in the four community-based housing stations. The decentralization of supervision activities fosters consistent information sharing between police and supervision officers. In addition, police participate in notification sessions through which participants are made aware that the police and the community will be watching them carefully (thereby reducing their perceptions of anonymity). The program began in the fall of 2004, when the police began playing a substantial role in coordinating services and monitoring progress. Recently, the project has benefited from a project coordinator tasked with managing the day-to-day operations and facilitating weekly updates on individual cases between the police and probation/parole. According to Racine police, less than a quarter of those who have participated in the program to date have been rearrested for new crimes.

Key Program Elements

» Encouraging Compliance. Upon release, participants are required to attend a notification session, during which they are informed of available social services as well as the fact that they will be monitored for subsequent criminal activity and that it will not be tolerated. These sessions are very well attended with approximately 100 to 150 community representatives present at each session. The coordinator makes follow-up contacts with each program participant within 30 days of release.

» Connecting to Services. Participants are offered workforce development support such as donated clothing, job training, interview training, and employment referrals. Additional services include family support and links to faith-based organizations. The project benefits from a dedicated coordinator, bridging with partner agencies and brokering services to program participants.
Partners include the Racine Police Department, Racine County Sheriff’s Office, the U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, the Mayor’s Office, Wisconsin Department of Corrections, the Racine County Executive, Neighborhood Watch, Weed and Seed, numerous faith-based organizations, Racine County Workforce Development Center, private-sector employers, the United Way of Racine, and other community organizations.

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Redlands Police Department (California)
Police and Corrections Team

Redlands Police and Corrections Team (PACT) is a comprehensive approach to prisoner reentry that incorporates the tenets of community policing, community engagement, and organizational development. Redlands PACT focuses on the successful reintegration of prisoners returning home to Redlands. Prior to PACT’s inception, the majority of parolees arrested by the Redlands Police Department (RPD) were local residents. A recent analysis shows that 63 percent of all parolees arrested by RPD officers are nonresidents and live where similar PACT services are not available.

Key Program Elements

» **Reentry Planning.** The Department of Corrections requires all returning inmates to develop “life plans” prior to release to facilitate their successful reentry. Corrections staff also conduct individual-specific needs assessments that highlight areas of concern for each inmate.

» **Encouraging Compliance.** Within a week of release, parolees are required to attend the first of a two-part session to notify them of the consequences of violating the terms of their parole and the services available to facilitate their reentry. Parole agents, police officers, deputy district attorneys, service providers, and community leaders attend the sessions to provide the necessary notifications and information.

» **Increasing Surveillance.** Two parole agents and a Redlands police officer work as partners, from an RPD office, to increase the frequency of contact with parolees and the level of support for reentry they and their families are given. Visits to parolee homes have increased more than 300 percent since the program began. The team informs patrol, street crime, and community policing substation officers of the inmates’ return and their respective circumstances. This communication has dramatically increased the PACT team’s notification by RPD officers of parolee activities (both good and bad).

» **Engaging the Community.** Redlands’ faith community has demonstrated tremendous support for prisoner reentry and drug court efforts. Recently, one church held a daylong festival that brought together 250 volunteers and more than 600 parolees, drug court clients, and their families. Service providers, police recreation specialists, and community groups supported and celebrated the reentry progress of the “guests” with food, music, games and informational booths. A van was raffled off to one deserving—and previously car-less—parolee and his family. A separate makeover day, focusing...
on increasing self-esteem in female parolees and drug court clients, treated these guests to hair styling, manicures, and fashion advice. Other faith groups have mentoring projects lined up. Reentry now is included in the department’s Citizens Police Academy curriculum. A specialized Citizens Reentry Academy, to further increase community understanding, is scheduled in 2006. Finally, through a series of public presentations, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of employers who have agreed to employ parolees.

» **Building Partnerships.** In Redlands, community reentry from incarceration and drug addiction are closely linked. Through a partnership with the local drug court, addicted parolees are eligible for the 18-month drug court program in lieu of parole revocation. Early indications are that participating parolees are experiencing the same success rate—currently in excess of 85 percent—as traditional drug court clients.

» **Organizational Development, Knowledge Management, and Information Sharing.** For the police to become a helpful participant in reentry efforts, organizational change within police departments must occur. Accordingly, the RPD has integrated reentry concepts into its field training and leadership development programs, promotional processes, and strategic planning efforts. In addition, reentry has been incorporated into the department’s Knowledge Management Initiative. For instance, all RPD PACT officers attend California’s Parole Agent Academy; parolee focus groups are conducted to capture parolee knowledge about crime, police legitimacy, and their reentry needs; and reentry publications are widely distributed throughout the department. The RPD also has integrated parolee information into its databases for easy access by street officers and uses its extensive analytical capacity to examine parolee activities via mapping.

*Partners include the Redlands Police Department, California Department of Corrections, San Bernardino County Probation Department, Redlands Drug Court, Cops and Clergy Network, Pathway Church, and a wide variety of community groups.*

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SMART Partners Program

The Supervision, Management, and Recidivist Tracking (SMART) program facilitates cost-effective surveillance and compliance checks for adults and juveniles returning to the community from prison and jail/detention facilities. The primary role for police is to provide enhanced supervision, intelligence gathering and assessment, and timely communication with their probation and parole partners. In addition, police visit high-risk offenders just prior to release to communicate the consequences of weapons violations. The SMART program has expanded to most of the 39 counties in Washington, and plans to expand SMART to a state-wide data-sharing system are currently in development.

Key Program Elements

» **Increasing Surveillance.** Police provide supervision support for one to two high-risk supervised releasees residing within each patrol area. In addition to regular patrol, police conduct random monthly home visits for participants with curfew restrictions. Such home visits provide the SMART partners with up-to-date information about criminal activity, compliance with terms of supervision, current residence, and family circumstances. Documentation of home visits is forwarded to the participant’s corrections officer.

» **Exchanging Information.** The Redmond Police Department has developed a systematic information-sharing mechanism among community corrections officers. Field Interview Report (FIR) cards recording all police stops (e.g., traffic, investigation, suspicious person) are systematically processed and checked against an active supervision case list provided by the Department of Corrections. Once verified by the supervising lieutenant, FIR records on active clients are copied and forwarded biweekly to the Department of Corrections for review and to identify possible compliance violations. Crime analysts within the police department also receive a copy of the FIR cards to track the criminal activity of supervised releases. In addition, community corrections officers and intelligence analysts have electronic access to police information systems and are also provided designated work stations within the police department. Community corrections officers are immediately informed when an individual under their supervision is released from a state correctional facility. The police also maintain the Homicide Intensive Tracking System (HITS), a centralized database of homicide and violent crime information collected by police and sheriffs across Washington. This database is accessible to all program partners.
Partners include the Redmond Police Department, the Washington State Department of Corrections Bellevue Field Office, King County Sheriff, Washington Department of Wildlife, King County Juvenile Rehabilitation Services, King County Department of Adult and Juvenile Detention, and the HITS Unit of the Washington State Office of the Attorney General.

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The Savannah Impact Program (SIP) combines highly structured supervision with targeted support services to support successful reentry of individuals convicted in Chatham County. The Department of Corrections and the Department of Juvenile Justice administer assessment tools to identify high-risk juvenile and adult offenders. Once selected for the program, each individual is assigned to a team comprising of a probation/parole officer and a police officer. The team approach supports the partnership's success on two fronts. First, team caseloads are kept low to allow time for frequent compliance checks, such as abiding with curfews and refraining from substance use. Second, the team approach unifies and strengthens the deterrence message that future crime will not be tolerated and guarantees a swift response from the collaborative. In addition, it provides opportunities to link participants to appropriate social services, such as life skills training, substance abuse treatment, and educational support. The program also emphasizes the importance of employment in supporting desistance from crime and assists with job placement for each program participant.

The primary role of police in the partnership is to work closely with probation and parole throughout a participant’s reentry transition. Police also contribute to decisions on technical violations and provide programmatic assessments and analyses when needed. Currently, success of the program is measured by rates of revocation, employment, number of referrals, number of contacts with the SIP Team, and drug use. According to the Savannah–Chatham Police Department, almost all program participants have secured employment. In addition, revocation rates of program participants are reported to be less than half that of the general population (14 percent and 39 percent, respectively).
Key Program Elements

» **Encouraging Compliance.** Participants attend a one-on-one meeting with their assigned team followed up by a program orientation during which they are informed of the expectations of the program and the consequences if they reoffend. The program keeps the team’s caseloads to a manageable size to allow for more frequent contact and more intensive supervision, including drug screenings and curfew enforcement. As a result, notifications of technical violations are transmitted immediately. The team makes joint decisions on the outcomes of violations.

» **Connecting to Services.** Services, such as life skills training, education, and substance abuse and behavior modification treatment, are made available to increase the odds that individuals will transition successfully to life in the community. A specialist from the Department of Labor is assigned full time to the program to assist with employment referrals.

*Partners include Savannah-Chatham Police Department, the Georgia Department of Pardons and Paroles, Georgia Department of Corrections, Georgia Department of Juvenile Justice, Gateway Community Service Board, and the Georgia Department of Labor.*

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Winston-Salem Police Department (North Carolina)
Violent Crime Task Force/Project Re-Entry

The Violent Crime Task Force (VCTF) is responsible for coordinating all violence reduction strategies used by the Winston-Salem Police Department. While there are more than a dozen local, state, and federal strategies currently in practice, Project Re-Entry provides an opportunity for police to address recidivism of individuals returning to the community from prison. The goal of the Project Re-Entry Coalition is to facilitate successful reentry through focused release planning, structured support services, and intensive case management. The primary role of police currently draws on the support provided through numerous strategies directed toward individuals under active community supervision such as communicating a strong message against future offending via notification sessions (call-ins) (see sidebar Project Safe Neighborhoods). In addition, police provide enhanced supervision and outreach support for both program participants and high-risk individuals released without conditions of probation or parole residing in high-crime areas. Currently, Project Re-Entry is a pilot project implemented in several North Carolina counties. The role of police is planned to expand through prerelease notification sessions so that the deterrence message may be communicated to high-risk individuals released without conditions of probation or parole.

Key Program Elements

- **Reentry Planning.** Approximately 3 months prior to release, program participants enroll in a 12-week program and meet with Project Re-Entry staff to identify individual reentry needs and available support services.

- **Encouraging Compliance.** Notification sessions provide police and other criminal justice and community stakeholders with an opportunity to address probationers and parolees of the risks of reoffending. The police organize and lead quarterly notification sessions.

- **Connecting to Services.** Project Re-Entry staff monitor program participants to ensure appropriate links to social services including employment training, counseling, and job placement.
Examples from the Field

Partners include the Winston-Salem Police Department, the North Carolina Department of Corrections, North West Piedmont Council of Governments, Partnership for a Drug-Free North Carolina Inc., North Carolina Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, Goodwill Industries of North Carolina, Forsyth Technical Community College, and various county and city social service agencies.

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CHALLENGES FOR POLICE REENTRY PARTNERSHIPS
Successful reentry initiatives promise considerable benefits for police departments and the public alike. Before police commit time, resources, and energy to the issue of prisoner reentry, however, they must first recognize the potential organizational and community-level challenges they are likely to face. Some of the most common barriers are not unique to police organizations, while others stem from the police organization itself, such as internal culture, chains of command, and sensitivity to external community or political forces. In this section, we present some potential obstacles to effective police involvement in reentry initiatives and discuss ways in which these barriers might be overcome.

Creating Realistic Goals and Operating with Limited Resources

Because the challenges of reentry are so diverse, ranging from substance abuse to housing to employment issues, reentry efforts may take on comprehensive—and often unrealistic—goals and approaches. If plans are overly ambitious, an early-stage reentry program risks overextending itself and jeopardizing the integrity of the intervention. It is critical, therefore, to develop strategies that are realistic and do not reach beyond an agency’s capacity to fulfill both ongoing and new commitments fully and consistently.

In many cases overly ambitious plans are curtailed by a lack of resources, which can limit the scope and nature of the intervention—sometimes for the better. Researchers of police-corrections partnerships have observed that low-budget initiatives can sometimes lead to creative fundraising efforts and the sharing of both human and physical resources.

Fledgling reentry efforts might also consider targeting one segment of the reentry population for services, such as gang members or youthful offenders, or one specific geographic area that might have a disproportionate share of returning prisoners. Another approach is to address a single substantive area, such as job training and placement, for the reentry population in a given area. Often this pilot approach generates additional support and resources to expand the initiative.
**Overcoming Internal Organizational Challenges**

Organizational structures can present considerable obstacles to implementing reentry partnerships, limiting the nature of the strategies used, the amount and types of information that is shared, and the extent of resources that are available.\(^{72}\) In many respects, these structural limitations stem from the disparate missions of the partnering agencies, as well as from confusion about who the client really is.\(^{73}\) One way to resolve these structural problems is for reentry partners to agree on and accept a new collective goal (e.g., *enhancing public safety by increasing the prospects that released prisoners will lead lawful lives*) and a shared definition of the client (e.g., *all community members, including returning prisoners*). Accepting this new role among line staff will depend, in large part, on the extent to which this reentry philosophy is supported at multiple levels of each agency, and particularly by each agency’s chief executive.

**Agreeing on Data-Sharing Protocols**

While reentry partners may set out to share information, many agencies do not have the appropriate mechanisms in place for doing so. Even when agencies have modern equipment and software, secure transmission of information to an agency with a different level of technological sophistication or incompatible software platform requires extensive planning and cooperation.\(^{74}\) Agencies also tend to be reticent to share sensitive data that might compromise the confidentiality of their client base, the identity of informants, or the integrity of investigative intelligence.

Prior research has identified several steps to breaking down these barriers to information and data sharing across law enforcement and other public agencies.\(^{75}\) When sharing information across agencies, agreements should be made about data distribution as well as security protocols.\(^{76}\) The first step in this process is to identify the requirements of existing confidentiality laws.\(^{77}\) Practitioners have noted that data-sharing barriers can be minimized once partners start communicating and realize that the obstacles to information exchange were based on the nature of their bureaucracies rather than any existing statutes.\(^{78}\) This review of local statutes could be followed by establishment of a memorandum of understanding.
(MOU) among the partner agencies with regard to what data will be shared, with whom, and how. Limiting the scope of information to be shared and providing clear direction about what staff should do with the information once they receive it can help streamline the crafting of data-sharing agreements.

While not all agencies develop formal written agreements on the nature of their data-sharing arrangements, those that do find that MOUs are useful for solidifying partnerships. Educating staff about the importance of increased information exchange is critically important—particularly for those who hold jobs that are essential to any changes in information flow. Without staff cooperation, MOUs are simply pieces of paper. While many information obstacles are inevitable, identifying and facing them at the outset of the project—and using established, agreed-on procedures early on—can minimize delays and yield a great payoff down the road.

**Overcoming Mistrust and Misinformation**

Mistrust and stereotypes about differing objectives and approaches are common among police-corrections partnerships, police-community relationships, and relationships between the police and former prisoners. This mistrust can thwart efforts to forge productive partnerships, hinder the free flow of information across partners, and in some cases reduce the public's confidence in the police and their effectiveness.

**Police and Corrections Relationships**

Police may view parole officers as too lenient, while parole officers may believe that police harass parolees and hinder their efforts to reintegrate into the community. One way to overcome stereotypes and develop trusting interagency relationships is to create opportunities for police, parole officers, and corrections staff to become more familiar with each other’s approaches. This can be accomplished by encouraging partners to explain their jobs to each other and talk candidly about past negative experiences and how they can be avoided in the future. Activities that allow partners to view each other in action, such as ride-alongs or joint home visits, can be also be an effective means of breaking down barriers of misinformation and mistrust.
Police and Resident Relationships

Community residents may also be wary of police involvement in reentry initiatives. Often police-corrections partnerships in reentry result in the police serving as additional “eyes and ears” on the street, which in turn can enhance the likelihood of detection of new crimes committed by parolees or technical violations of parole, increasing the number of parolees returned to prison. Because many reentry initiatives are focused in high-crime, minority communities that receive high numbers of returning prisoners, this type of police involvement can give the appearance of racial profiling. For this reason, reentry partners have raised concerns about the involvement of police when police do not clearly articulate specific ways in which they can serve a supportive function in reentry programs.

On the other hand, prisoner reentry may rekindle fear, anger, and resentment among some community residents and particularly victims. Perceptions of the threat of victimization posed by returning prisoners may need to be tempered by presenting maps and information that clarify the threat and present it within the context of crime prevention. For example, a study using the addresses of released prisoners in Baltimore found that the communities receiving the greatest numbers of former prisoners are not in the same geographic areas as those experiencing the highest rates of serious crimes. Research in Cleveland found similar results for neighborhoods where serious crimes were committed, but also found that the locations of drug-related crimes were much more closely aligned to where released prisoners lived. While these studies demonstrate that former prisoners do not necessarily cause a one-for-one increase in crime in the communities to which they return, they also indicate that the relationship between where released prisoners live and where crime occurs may vary by both jurisdiction and crime type. Given these findings, police officials and their partner agencies could benefit from doing their own mapping and analysis of the issue. Examining where released prisoners live and where crimes occur can help educate the public—often allaying fears of victimization—and can also lead to more effective police-led reentry efforts.

87 Byrne and Hummer (2004).
88 Young, Taxman, and Byrne (2002).
89 La Vigne and Kachnowski (2003). Serious crimes were defined as crimes listed as Part I offenses under the FBI’s Uniform Crime Reports: murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny (theft), and motor vehicle theft.
90 It should be noted that the concentrations of Part I crimes in both Cleveland and Baltimore may reflect the concentrations of desirable targets (e.g., cars to steal, businesses to rob). It could well be that returning prisoners are commuting from their homes to these areas to commit their crimes.
91 As measured by police arrests, which are naturally more likely to be police-initiated than are Part I crimes.
92 La Vigne and Thomson (2003).
93 La Vigne (2004). For more information on mapping prisoner reentry at the local level, also see http://www.urban.org/reentry-mapping/index.cfm for a description of the Urban Institute’s Reentry Mapping Network, a partnership of 12 jurisdictions engaged in mapping and analyzing corrections and public safety data to help inform local prisoner reentry initiatives.
When engaged in these mapping and related reentry activities, police must engage in a delicate balancing act between protecting victims while communicating to the families and friends of returning prisoners that they are there to help. This message is best communicated in a public forum that enables residents to voice their concerns and to learn from the police and other members of the reentry partnership that their collective goal is successful reintegration, not reincarceration. At the same time, police—as the first responders when a resident is victimized—are ideally suited to encourage and assist victims in participating in the parole and reentry processes.

**Police and Former Prisoner Relationships**

Hostility and mutual distrust often characterize relationships between police and former prisoners. Many former prisoners believe that police unfairly target them, and they perceive their interactions with law enforcement as sending the message that the system lacks confidence in their ability to succeed. These interactions make it difficult for former prisoners to feel positive about adopting new pro-social identities as employees, parents, or community members, and underscore the need for police to consider released prisoners’ perspectives when interacting with them in the community.

Research on police “legitimacy” has demonstrated that the way people are treated by the police affects whether they accept the enforcement of rules and decisions made by police. When police actions are deemed fair, people are more willing to accept their decisions voluntarily and are more likely to comply with the law over the long term. The procedural justice model—for which both undesirable behaviors and the sanctions resulting from them are clear and agreed on—is one approach that can be used to communicate to the returning prisoner that he is being treated equitably. Virtually any form of contract or binding agreement that clearly states roles, expectations, and outcomes can enhance the perception that the system is fair.
SIDEBAR 7. COPS OFFICE REENTRY INTEGRITY TRAINING

In 2004, the COPS Office requested that the Mid-Atlantic Regional Community Policing Institute (MARCPI), affiliated with Johns Hopkins University, develop a 2-day course modeled after a highly successful MARCPI youth/police curriculum for ex-offenders. MARCPI staff, in collaboration with the COPS Office, held a focus group of faith-based reentry program directors and others to develop a training curriculum for both released prisoners and members of the community. The training was designed to create a nonadversarial environment within which former prisoners, police officers, parole/probation officers, social workers, clergy, and citizens can develop trust, support, and guidance to identify and use all the available support networks and services for successful reentry.

The 2-day course comprises five interactive modules:

Module 1: Perceptions and Understanding. By examining perceptions of each participating group, an understanding of the values, beliefs, symbols, and mission (e.g., culture) of each group can be achieved, increasing the levels of trust between groups.

Module 2: Challenges of Reentry. By sharing information and identifying similarities and differences between each group’s experience with reentry, understanding and sensitivity will be increased, leading to more positive working relationships among participating groups.

Module 3: Ethics and Responsibilities in Reentry. By examining the qualities and components of a healthy, safe community, participating groups can explore their own roles, rights, and responsibilities as members of the community.

Module 4: Decision Making. By learning a specific, structured process for decision making, more positive and productive decisions can be made, which will improve the experience and outcome of the reentry process for each group and for the community.

Module 5: Resources. By sharing information and learning methods for locating resources, each group can become empowered both independently and in partnership with other groups, producing more positive outcomes in the reentry process.

A draft curriculum was developed and the training piloted in Washington, D.C., in December 2004 in partnership with the Metropolitan D.C. Police Department, faith-based organizations from the community, and ex-offenders. The curriculum consists of both an instructor's manual and a participant’s manual and is available through MARCPI.

For further information, visit http://www.marcpi.jhu.edu/.
Forging Strong and Sustainable Partnerships

As the above barriers indicate, confidentiality issues, competing organizational goals, clashing organizational cultures, and mistrust often complicate effective partnerships among police, social service providers, supervision agencies, and the public. And while the goal of reentry efforts is to increase self-sufficiency and promote lawful behavior among former prisoners, such efforts take time to develop and require long-term engagement. One-time interventions are unlikely to result in positive reentry outcomes, and they do little to forge lasting productive partnerships among agencies and the public.

These obstacles can be minimized—and in some cases overcome—by ensuring clear, consistent, and ongoing communication, outlining specific agency responsibilities for each partner in the reentry initiative. These open lines of communication should occur at all staff levels: managers need to engage in honest, ongoing dialogue about operational concerns, territorial issues, and procedural difficulties, and line staff need to be open to each others’ perspectives and be willing to find common ground on which to operate in the community.

Sharing resources and joint efforts to assess circumstances that affect the safety of community residents (e.g., by concentrating caseloads geographically to mirror those of community police officers) can strengthen partnerships. Successful and sustainable partnerships are those that take time to articulate the anticipated benefits of the effort to each partner at the table. Delegating authority to line-level staff who are open to new ideas and tend to question current ways of doing business can also aid in developing strong and long-term partnerships; this approach is also consistent with the community policing philosophy of giving more authority to line officers.
LOOKING FORWARD
This report has presented information on why prisoner reentry is an important issue for the policing profession and has described, with the support of examples from the field, various models for police involvement in reentry. Whether harnessing community policing partnerships for the purpose of prisoner reentry, participating in prerelease reentry planning, or joining parole officers in supervision activities, police are crucial partners in the pursuit of successful prisoner reintegration. The benefits of police reentry partnerships can be tremendous, the most important of which are crime reduction and improved prospects for released prisoners leading productive and law-abiding lives. In addition to these key outcomes, the various methods of reentry partnership may yield considerable benefits across all types of police activities. For example, increased information sharing and cross-agency collaboration generated from a police reentry partnership is likely to make other types of public safety initiatives more efficient and effective as well. Likewise, police involvement in prisoner reentry may have the collateral effect of increasing public confidence in all aspects of policing far beyond those of prisoner reentry.

While the promise of police involvement in reentry initiatives is great, so too are the challenges. From forging effective partnerships, to overcoming barriers, to data sharing, engaging in reentry efforts can be a difficult undertaking for organizations already strained by the demands of community safety in the post-9/11 era. At the same time, it is encouraging to observe a significant number of law enforcement agencies engaged in reentry efforts in some fashion, with police at the table alongside colleagues from corrections, service and faith-based organizations, victims, and community members. Many of these efforts bring the police’s enforcement capacities to bear, relying on traditional police roles of surveillance, deterrence, and apprehension, while also embracing community policing’s philosophy of engaging in collaborations that involve a broad array of agency and community actors. While these are important contributions, additional efforts to harness the spirit of police problem solving by considering the context and place in which crime occurs may produce even more effective responses and more sustainable partnerships.
As police scholars have observed, applications of problem-oriented policing tend to be weak with regard to both the analysis and assessment stages of the SARA process. These same deficits are evident in our review of police reentry initiatives, with very little focus on identifying the underlying cause of the problems stemming from reentry and scant attention to outcome measures. Police reentry partnerships should be assessed not just by whether offending behaviors have declined among the target population or by whether crime rates have declined in the geographic area of the intervention. These critical outcome measures should be enhanced by examining whether the reentry effort achieved its intermediate goals, such as increasing employment and reducing drug use among former prisoners.

Also important is an assessment of the costs of the intervention relative to its benefits. Even a cursory analysis of costs and benefits can go a long way toward building support for sustainability of the reentry initiative over time. Indeed, perhaps one of the greatest challenges of any type of reentry initiative is obtaining continued financial support. For example, several of the programs we had originally intended to highlight in the text of this report were excluded because a telephone inquiry revealed that after start-up funding ended, so too did the initiatives. This is discouraging, as many of the models of police involvement in reentry highlighted in this report required little in the way of additional resources, relying primarily on leadership from all ranks, starting from the top.

Fortunately, the COPS office has funded several companion initiatives to the Urban Institute’s Community Policing Reentry project that may serve to leverage police leadership on this topic. The Council of State Governments, for example, received a COPS grant to partner with the Police Executive Research Forum to develop a toolkit to help law enforcement agencies determine their level of readiness for involvement in reentry efforts and to guide them through the steps it will take to launch a reentry initiative. The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) also received a COPS grant and is planning a Prisoner Reentry Summit, inviting about 120 police chiefs and other law enforcement officials to discuss and present recommendations on how police might take a lead role in prisoner reentry. IACP is also in the process of surveying its membership on the attitudes of police on the topic of reentry. This
survey project, which is funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (the technical assistance arm of the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs), can help inform efforts to overcome organizational, cultural, and attitudinal barriers to police involvement in this issue.

These initiatives are representative of the enormous momentum in the area of prisoner reentry. Policymakers from across the country—from statehouses to the White House—are seeking bipartisan solutions to the multiple challenges reentry brings to the fore. Practitioner leaders in the fields of corrections, health, housing, and workforce development are claiming reentry as a top priority, as is the faith community. An active role for police in reentry initiatives can only increase the country’s prospects of improving outcomes for released prisoners while safeguarding communities and protecting victims of crime.

**SIDEBAR 8. NATIONAL REENTRY INITIATIVES**

Prisoner reentry has been at the forefront of policy discussions for the last several years. Listed below are some of the major national reentry initiatives that are under way across the nation.

**COPS Value-Based Reentry Initiative**
The Office of Community Oriented Policing Services Value-Based Reentry Initiative (VBRI) supports projects that partner law enforcement agencies and community and faith-based organizations to build safer and healthier communities through the successful reintegration of offenders. The Value-Based Reentry Initiative sponsors five sites in Oakland, California; Washington, D.C.; Boston, Massachusetts; Detroit, Michigan; and Kansas City, Missouri. For more information see [http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/default.asp?Item=188](http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/default.asp?Item=188).

**Prisoner Reentry Policy Academy**
Coordinated by the National Governors Association (NGA), the Reentry Policy Academy works with seven states (Georgia, Idaho, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Virginia) to assist governors and other state policy makers in their efforts to develop reentry strategies that reduce recidivism and improve access to key services and supports. NGA is currently expanding the Policy Academy to include additional states and state-local partnerships. For more information see [http://www.tinyurl.com/fu7az](http://www.tinyurl.com/fu7az).

**Reentry Mapping Network**
The Reentry Mapping Network is a partnership among community-based organizations and The Urban Institute designed to create community change through the mapping and analysis of neighborhood-level data on reentry and community well-being. The Networks’ 12 partner sites use mapping to pinpoint neighborhoods that experience high concentrations of returning prisoners and examine the extent to which such communities are equipped to address the challenges that prisoner reentry creates. For more information see [http://www.urban.org/content/PolicyCenters/Justice/Projects/reentry-mapping/](http://www.urban.org/content/PolicyCenters/Justice/Projects/reentry-mapping/).
Reentry National Media Outreach Campaign
The purpose of the Reentry National Media Outreach Campaign is to expand public awareness and dialogue and facilitate discussion and decision-making around reentry programs. The campaign partners with local organizations that engage in initiatives to strengthen families and neighborhoods and provides media-based resources that highlight innovative programs across the nation. The Campaign has developed a resource guide that describes relevant research and promising practices. For more information see http://www.reentrymediaoutreach.org/.

Re-Entry Policy Council
Established by the Council of State Governments in 2001, the Re-Entry Policy Council assists state government officials in developing reentry policies and practices to address the growing numbers of prisoners returning to the community. The landmark Report of the Re-Entry Policy Council reflects the results of a series of meetings among 100 of the most respected workforce, health, housing, public safety, family, community, and victim experts in the nation. The report offers hundreds of bipartisan recommendations to help make prisoners’ transition from a correctional facility to the community safe and successful. For more information see http://www.reentrypolicy.org/.

Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiative (SVORI)
SVORI is a national effort that addresses the preparation of reentry of both juvenile and adult serious and violent offender populations. SVORI is supported by the U.S. Department of Justice, Health and Human Services, the Departments of Labor, Education, and Veterans Affairs, as well as Housing and Urban Development and the Social Security Administration. SVORI provides funding to develop, implement, enhance, and evaluate reentry strategies with the goal of community safety and reducing violent and serious crime. For more information see http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/reentry/ and http://www.svori-evaluation.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=dsp_home.

Transition from Prison to the Community (TPCI)
Abt Associates, in a collaborative effort with the National Institute of Corrections (NIC), developed the Transition from Prison to the Community Model to provide technical assistance to corrections and community corrections administrators. Missouri and Oregon were selected to pilot test this model, and based on these experiences, NIC selected four additional sites in North Dakota, Rhode Island, Michigan, and Indiana. http://nicic.org/resources/topics/transitionfromprison.aspx.


