

**HAWAII STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY
LAUMAKA WORK FURLOUGH PROGRAM
EVALUATION REPORT**

Report Submitted to the
State of Hawaii Department of Public Safety

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Overview

Employment programming in prison settings, including work release programs, has established a growing research base as an effective reentry program that contributes to successful reintegration by inmates into the communities to which they are returning. The current intensive focus on reentry programming is a direct result of the rapid expansion of the prison population starting in the 1980s, and the subsequent effects over the past two decades of large numbers of individuals returning to the community. Nationally, about 641,000 state and federal prisoners currently return to the community every year, four times the number that came home 25 years ago (Travis & Lawrence, 2002). In Hawai'i, a total of 928 prisoners were released in FY2017, including sentenced felons and parole violators (Hawaii State PSD, 2017). The impact of this increased number of releasees every year is heightened further because prisoners are spending longer periods of time in prison and have fewer opportunities for education and training programs that could assist in their transition when released (Lynch & Sabol, 2001).

This changing nature of who is in prison and the new challenges this presents for corrections and community corrections programs in providing effective reentry programs has made successful transitions from prison to community much more difficult than ever to achieve. This critical condition is evidenced by intractably high recidivism rates, where two-thirds of inmates reentering the community will recidivate within 3 years from date of their release, and three-fourths will recidivate within 5 years of release, rates that have persisted since the onset of this "age of mass incarceration" that started in the 1980s. In Hawai'i, similar proportions of recidivism rates over a three year period were documented in the most recent study published in the Interagency Council on Intermediate Sanctions, "2016 Recidivism Update," in which a recidivism rate of 50.5% of the 2,606 offenders from the Fiscal Year 2013 to 2016 cohort was reported, with 30.5% of the inmates reentering the community recidivating within the first year of release.

Purpose of Study

This current study assesses the Hawai'i State Department of Public Safety's (PSD) Laumaka Work Furlough Program, a work release program, on the extent to which it is accomplishing its goal of providing "a systematic process of transition for inmates from institutional dependency towards economic and social self-sufficiency within the community" (see Appendix A: PSD Policy No.: COR.14.15, *Inmate Furlough Program*).

Program Evaluation Design

This study used a mixed-method, quantitative and qualitative design to determine whether the Laumaka Work Furlough program had an impact on recidivism. In addition, the intervention fidelity of the Laumaka Work Furlough Program was also examined, along with outputs and outcomes related to achieving short-term program goals related to preparing inmates for successful outcomes before the Hawai'i Parole Board, and retention rates for inmates transferred to the Laumaka Work Furlough Program. The study was designed to answer the following research questions:

- What are the programs and activities provided by the Laumaka Work Furlough Program to prepare inmates for reentry through the Hawaii Paroling Authority?
- Has the Program been implemented with fidelity?
- How successful was the Program in retaining participants until completion—as evidenced by the short-term goal of successfully paroled? For those who were unsuccessful, what were the reasons?
- What was the long-term impact of the Program on recidivism?

Findings

Question 1. The importance of the first question, “What are the programs and activities provided by the Laumaka Work Furlough Program to prepare inmates for reentry through the Hawaii Paroling Authority (HPA)?” is based on the need to have a document that accurately describes what interventions are being provided by the Laumaka Work Furlough Program. No program manual that completely describes what interventions are delivered during the inmates time in Laumaka is available, so we gathered information through PSD documents, Laumaka records, and interviews with PSD Administrators, Laumaka Administrators, Supervisors, and staff, and former and current inmates who participated in the Laumaka Program and created a narrative describing programs and activities currently provided in the Program. We found multiple components, some based on evidence-based programs such as Work Release programs provided in various forms throughout most of the 50 states. The Laumaka Bridge program was verbally described as a substance abuse aftercare program with some activities that are commonly found in such aftercare programs. The issue with this program as with all other programs was that there were no intervention protocols delivered with treatment integrity, meaning no clearly articulated prescribed program with an identified theoretical or research-based foundation, no assessment process to monitor hypothesized changes over the course of the program, and no pre- and post-test measures to see what was gained by individuals participating in the program. The great majority of the interventions involved assisting inmates in preparing for their parole board hearing, including key criteria for being granted parole such as securing employment and housing, getting finances in order, and staying out of trouble. Such activities are common and important for inmates to accomplish in work release programs, and for many inmates this organizing and preparing for the parole hearing is extremely valuable.

Question 2. The ability to answer the second question is dependent on what was found in response to the first question. Intervention fidelity cannot be measured if there are no intervention protocols to implement and adhere to. Staff reported that they were allowed flexibility in administering their program areas, and it was not unusual for staff to develop needed components commonly found in work release programs that support the inmate in successfully transitioning from prison to the community. However, these components were practiced within the parameters of individual staff work responsibilities, and not included in an overall program manual. Staff were creative, conscientious, empathic, and supportive in working with their clients, such that the non-subjective factors of empathy, genuineness, and positive regard were clearly the strength and the most effective core process in the Laumaka Program.

Question 3. The third question addresses the extent to which the important short-term goal of retaining inmates in the program to the point of achieving program success as evidenced by being paroled by the Hawaii Paroling Authority. As indicated in Table 3—median length of stay,

and Figure 5—length of stay by months, it appears that between 2011 and 2015, the study period for this evaluation, the length of stay has trended toward shorter lengths of stay in the program, with the median length of stay in 2011 being 9.0 months, to 2015 being 6.9 months. The Laumaka Program was described to the evaluation team as a 6 to 12 month program, depending on the readiness of the individual to meet HPA criteria for achieving parole status. It is not clear how meaningful this shortening of inmates length of stay in the program. An important factor is probably the number of inmates who are prematurely discharged from the program for some program violation. Over the 5-year study period, an average of about 57 percent completed the program and were paroled. An additional 3-4% completed their “time served” and probably left before completion of the program but were not discharged back to another facility. That leaves about 40% of the inmates who were transferred to Laumaka being sent back to another facility for primarily disciplinary reasons, thereby failing to complete the program. Based on interview comments from PSD administrators, having a completion rate of 70% or greater represents a satisfactory level of accomplishment for the Work Furlough program. This trend toward a shorter stay in Laumaka needs to be further examined for what it may represent about the program and about the individuals being referred to the program. Figure 6, Reasons for leaving the program indicate that for 2014 and 2015, the number of inmates being discharged from the program for substance use related events reached about 30% and 25%, respectively, possibly indicating that the level of substance use risk is not at the aftercare level, but may indicate a greater need for substance abuse treatment services among a larger segment of the Laumaka population compared to 2011-2013 (see Table 4).

Table 3.
Admissions, Median Length of Stay by Year

Calendar Year	Admissions	Median Length of Stay– Days (Months)
2011	137	270 (9.0 months)
2012	166	230 (7.7 months)
2013	137	221 (7.4 months)
2014	177	206 (6.9 months)
2015	157	208 (6.9 months)

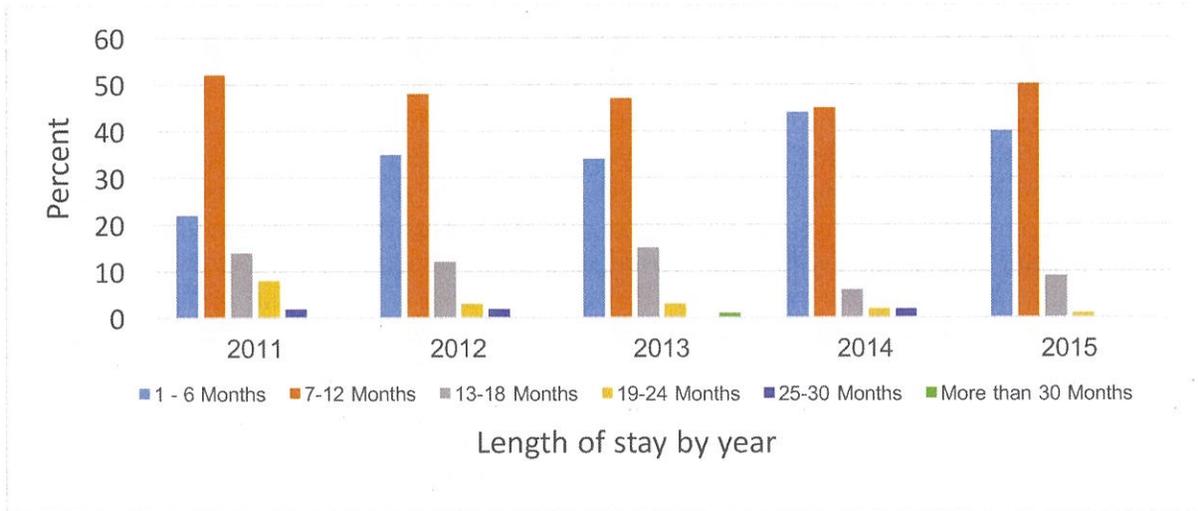


Figure 5. Length of stay: Comparison across years

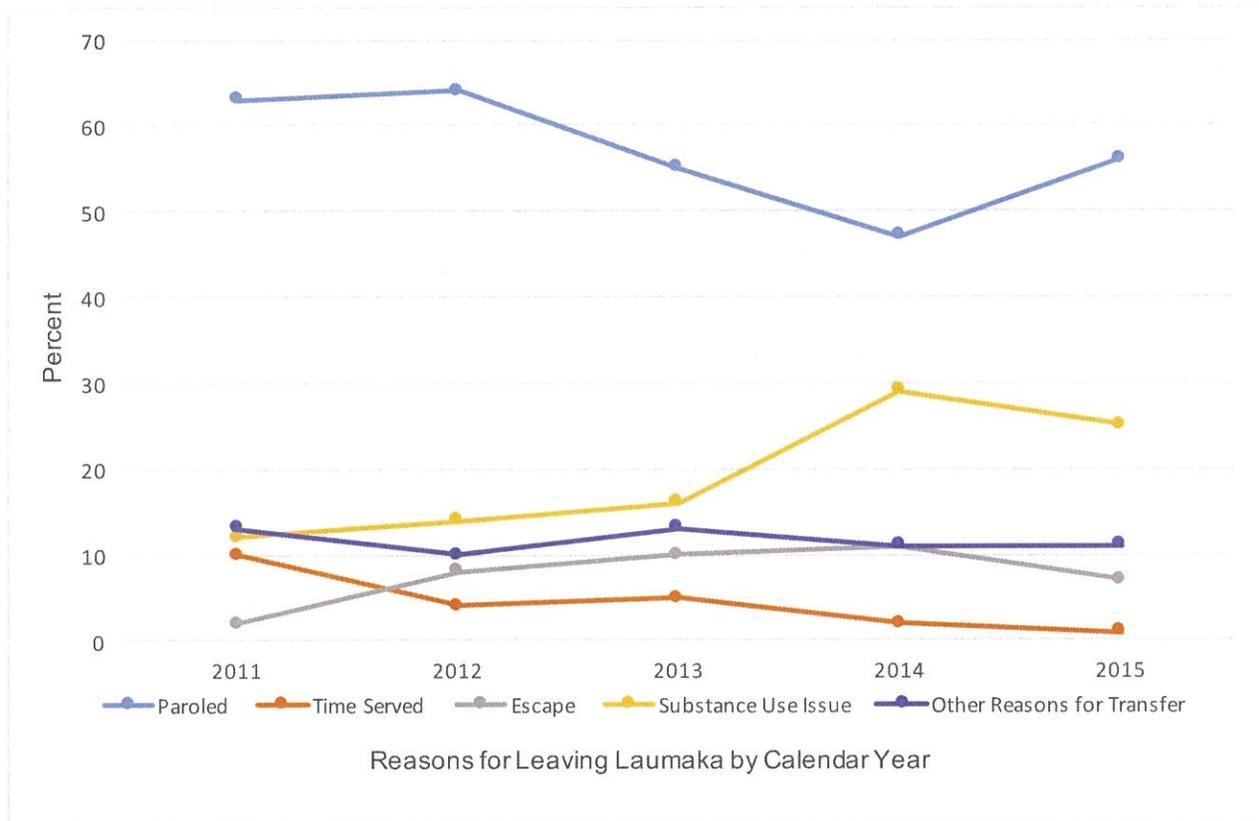
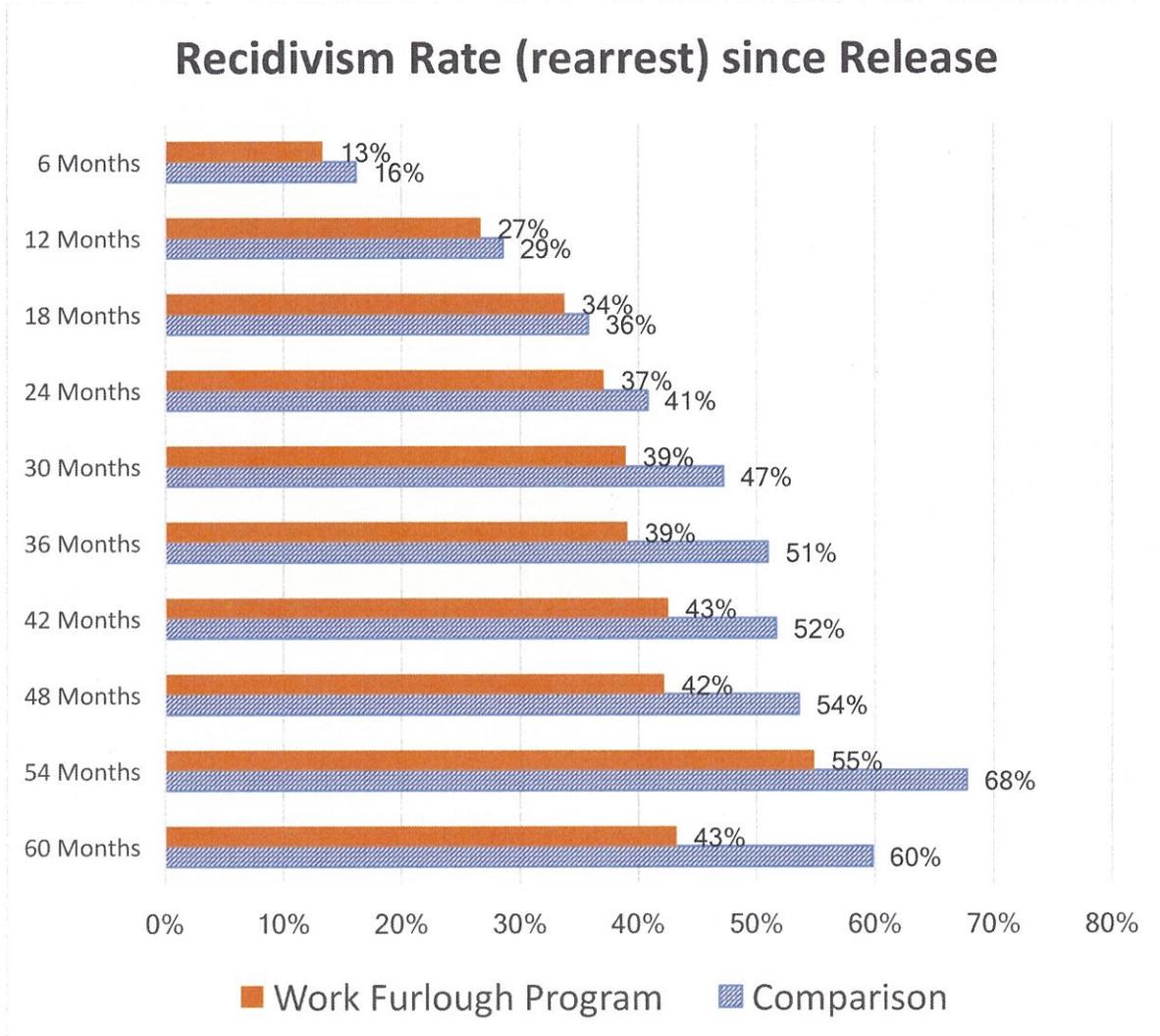


Figure 6. Reasons for Leaving Laumaka by Year

Table 4.
Reasons for Leaving Laumaka by Year

REASON FOR DISCHARGE	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total (Actual Count)
Paroled	79	109	92	81	92	56.9% (453)
Time Served	12	7	9	4	2	4.3% (34)
Escape	3	13	17	18	11	7.8% (62)
Positive Urinalysis	10	16	22	10	0	7.3% (58)
Possession/use of narcotic paraphernalia or smoking tobacco	4	7	5	40	38	11.8% (94)
Tampering with a urinalysis sample	1	0	0	0	3	0.5% (4)
Possession of electronics	5	8	5	8	3	3.6% (29)
Possession of any weapon	0	0	0	0	1	0.1% (1)
Possession of anything not authorized for Retention	0	0	0	0	2	0.3% (2)
Possession of unauthorized money	0	0	0	1	1	0.3% (2)
Deviation or More than 2 deviations in 6 months	8	5	9	5	6	4.1% (33)
Misconduct 3a7(3), 2a6(3)	1	3	3	0	0	0.9% (7)
Violating a condition of any community release	0	0	0	0	1	0.1% (1)
The use of force or violence	0	0	1	0	0	0.1% (1)
Use of force or threats towards a correctional worker	1	0	1	2	2	0.8% (6)
Physical interference	1	0	0	1	0	0.3% (2)
Fighting with another person	0	0	0	0	1	0.1% (1)
Refusing to obey an order	1	0	0	0	0	0.1% (1)
Failing to perform work as instructed by staff	0	0	0	0	1	0.1% (1)
Failing to stand count or interfering with taking count	0	0	0	1	0	0.1% (1)
Pending charge	0	1	1	0	0	0.3% (2)
Transferred to a Federal facility	0	0	1	0	0	0.1% (1)
Total for Year	126	169	166	171	164	



The figure above presents recidivism rates for rearrests for individuals in the Work Furlough Program with matched individuals not in the Work Furlough Program. Each Work Furlough participant was statistically matched to one comparison person using propensity score matching techniques (Nearest Neighbor 1:1 matching). Due to differences in the amount of time since release for individuals in both groups, 6-month and 1-year scores were based on 1064 individuals, 2-year scores on 817 individuals, 3-year on 586 individuals, 4-year on 369 individuals, and 5-year on 171 individuals. For the purposes of these analyses, we only presented recidivism rates for individual who were released early enough to potentially reach each benchmark.

Chi-square difference tests identified statistically significant values (two-tailed), suggesting Work Furlough Program participants were less likely to recidivate, after 2.5 years ($p = .032$), three years ($p = .005$), three years and six months (marginally significant; $p = .061$), four years (p

=.037), four years and six months (marginally significant; $p = .066$) and five years ($p = .044$). There were no statistically significant differences between 6-months and two years.

Question 4. The quasi-experimental study involving the use of propensity score matching to create a comparison group found no significant differences between the Laumaka group and the comparison on recidivism rates for the first 2 years post-release from PSD. However, starting from 2.5 years post-release to 5 years post-release, there were statistically significant differences in 4 of the 6 intervals assessed during this 3-year period of time, with individuals who were in the Laumaka program recidivating at a lower rate than the non-Laumaka individuals. In addition, when looking at the recidivism rate at 36 months (3 years), while the non-Laumaka group showed a recidivism rate of 51%, very similar to the ICIS findings for the 2013 cohort of 50.5% recidivating after 3 years (see Figure 2.), the Laumaka individuals' recidivism was at 39%. These results provide evidence that at least in this cohort of individuals released between 2011-2015, the Laumaka Work Furlough Program appeared to have a significant effect in reducing long-term recidivism rates. This finding needs to be examined with a follow-up study to see if further information can be gained in explaining this positive program effect. One factor to examine further is that this group of releasees with the lower 5-year recidivism rate is made up of inmates who were released from the Laumaka program to parole in 2011.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In summary, there are encouraging indicators of the effectiveness of the Laumaka Program in achieving positive long-term impacts on recidivism rates when compared to non-Laumaka individuals. However, issues related to developing improved administration of the program, especially in the areas of individual assessments to determine appropriate treatment planning, and measuring process and outcome variables to track progress through the program need to be addressed. To increase use of this individual level information, there is a need to create a user-friendly database for program administrators and program staff to improve assessment and treatment planning, tracking individual client's progress in achieving treatment goals and improving intervention fidelity by more clearly basing programming on a theoretical/empirical basis. Developing on-going continuous quality improvement monitoring will also be made possible with a well-designed database, leading to greater intervention fidelity. These are important next steps for this program.

INTRODUCTION

Overview

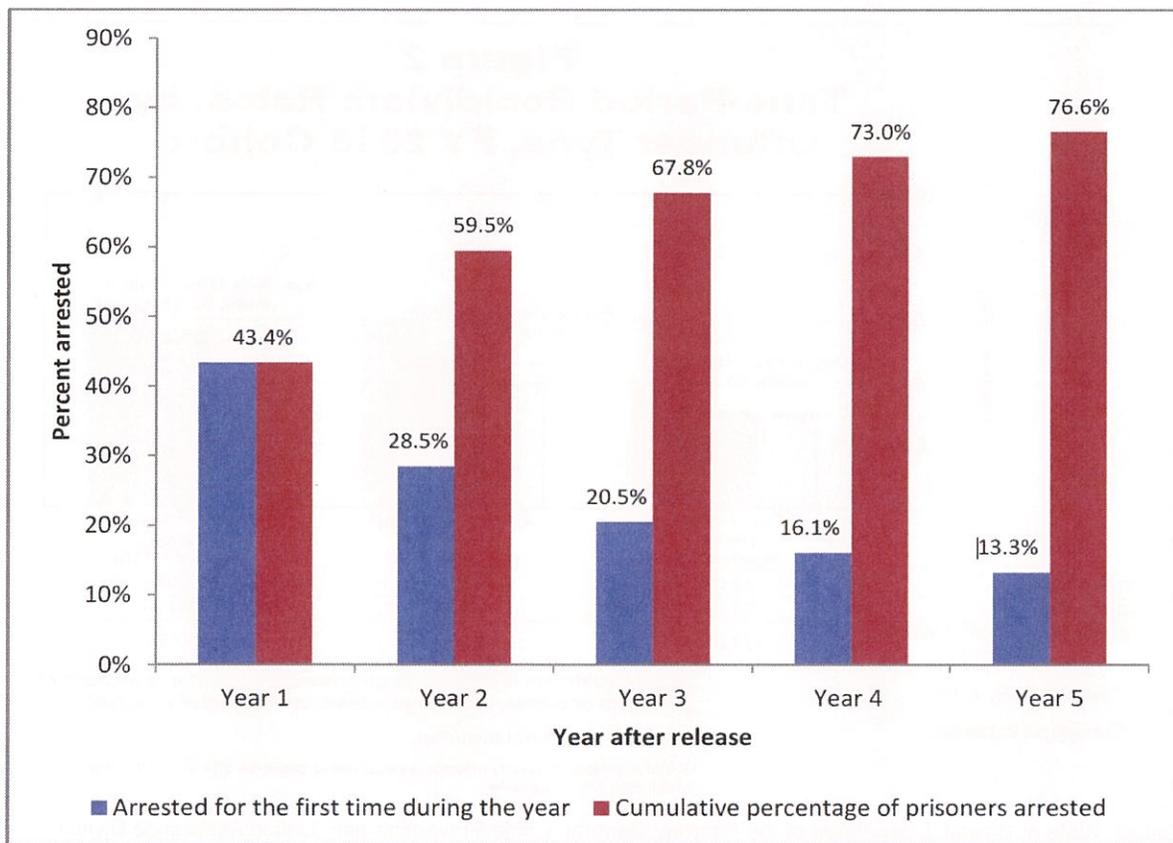
Employment programming in prison settings, including work release programs, has established a growing research base as an effective reentry program that contributes to successful reintegration by inmates into the communities to which they are returning. The current intensive focus on reentry programming is a direct result of the rapid expansion of the prison population starting in the 1980s, and the subsequent effects over the past two decades of large numbers of individuals returning to the community. Nationally, about 641,000 state and federal prisoners currently return to the community every year, four times the number that came home 25 years ago (Travis & Lawrence, 2002). In Hawai'i, a total of 928 prisoners were released in FY2017, including sentenced felons and parole violators (Hawaii State PSD, 2017). The impact of this increased number of releases every year is heightened further because prisoners are spending longer periods of time in prison and have fewer opportunities for education and training programs that could assist in their transition when released (Lynch & Sabol, 2001). One in three adults in the U.S. now live with the burden of a criminal record, and communities with large segments of minorities living at the lower range of the socioeconomic ladder ending up accommodating a disproportionate number of returning offenders while lacking adequate social and economic resources.

The transition of prisoner release and reintegration back to the community has always been a struggle for both inmates, corrections departments, social agencies, and communities. What makes the current situation different are the (a) sheer numbers of releases that dwarf anything in U.S. history; (b) the problems of releases appear to be more serious than in the past; and (c) corrections systems provide few rehabilitation programs (Petersilia, 2005). Further, there has also been reduced funding for prison programs and community social services, a weakening of the traditional support structures within communities and neighborhoods to support marginalized and disparate populations including ex-offenders, and less tolerance for lapses by prison releases under official supervision (Petersilia, 2003). Currently, prison populations are increasingly diverse regarding race and ethnicity, age, gender, type of crime, and affiliation with organized crime or organized gangs (Seiter & Kadela, 2003). Many are released after serving a determinate sentence (without a parole board), and some have no supervision requirements after release. Overall, prisoners are serving significantly longer prison terms, and only a small percentage are receiving the benefit of extensive rehabilitation or pre-release programs.

This changing nature of who is in prison and the new challenges this presents for corrections and community corrections programs in providing effective reentry programs has made successful transitions from prison to community much more difficult than ever to achieve. This critical condition is evidenced by intractably high recidivism rates, where two-thirds of inmates reentering the community will recidivate within 3 years from date of their release, and three-fourths will recidivate within 5 years of release, rates that have persisted since the onset of this "age of mass incarceration" that started in the 1980s (Durose, Cooper, & Snyder, 2005). Even more distressing is that a significant percentage (43%) of those recidivating within 3-5 years from date of release occur within the first year, as found in a study of 30 states in 2005 (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics). (see Figure 1). In

Hawai'i, similar proportions of recidivism rates over a three year period were documented in the most recent study published in the Interagency Council on Intermediate Sanctions, "2016 Recidivism Update," in which a recidivism rate of 50.5% of the 2,606 offenders from the Fiscal Year 2013 to 2016 cohort was reported, with 30.5% of the inmates reentering the community recidivating within the first year of release (See Figure 2). This revolving door through the criminal justice system has pervasive and adverse consequences on individual offenders, their families, and communities they reside in as federal and state governments as well as community organizations struggle with limited resources to help prisoners succeed after their release in addressing housing, employment, health/mental care, and damaged family and social relationships, while working to maintain public safety.

Figure 1. Proportion of Released Prisoners Arrested for the First Time at the End of the Year and Cumulative Percentage of Released Prisoners Rearrested

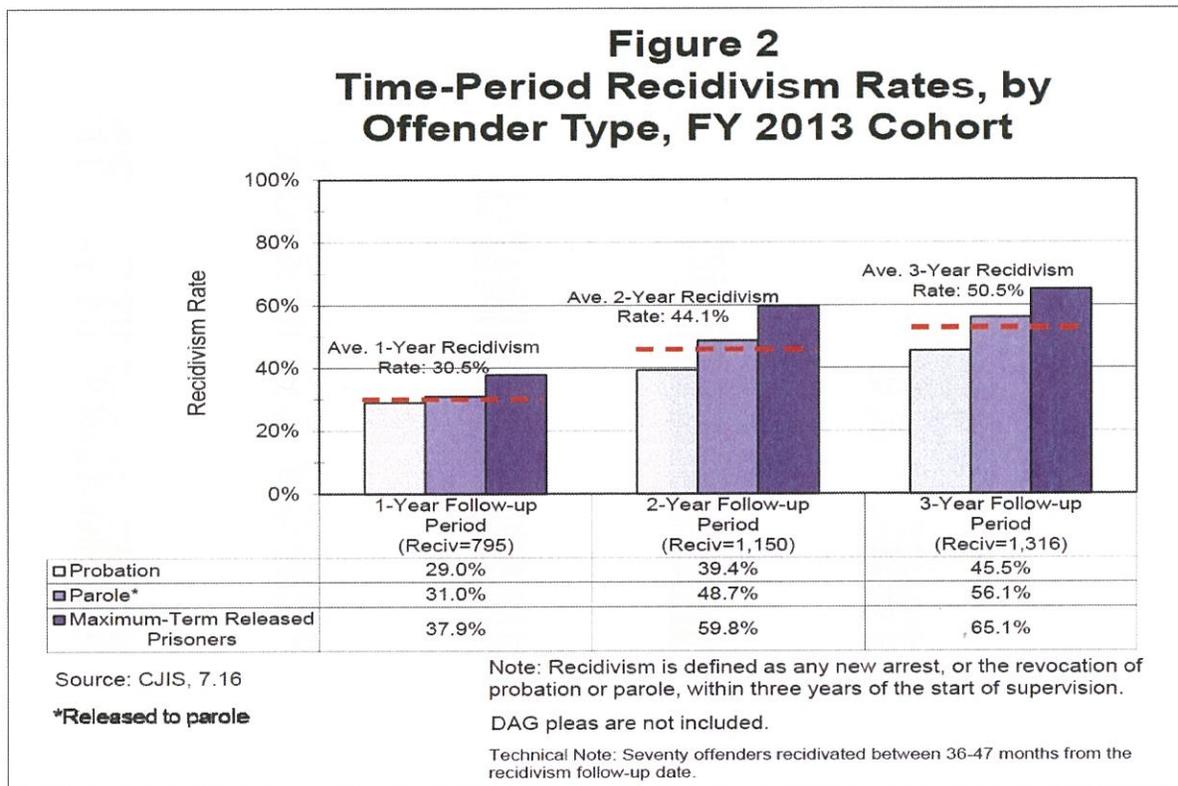


Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 30 States in 2005: Patterns from 2005 to 2010*.

One of the major areas in criminal justice that is focused on addressing this situation are corrections-based employment programs that are frequently provided in the context of a comprehensive reentry programming initiative. Research finds that employment is an important criminogenic need (i.e., dynamic risk factor) that relates to the risk to reoffend (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). There is a well-established link between employment status and criminal behavior

(Sampson & Laub 1993; Andrews & Bonta 2010; Tripodi, Kim, & Bender 2010). As a risk factor, low employment rates are closely related to very high recidivism rates among those released from prison (Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll, 2003). Relatedly, offender populations generally lack adequate marketable job skills when compared to the general population (for reviews, see Wilson, Gallagher, & MacKenzie 2000; Andrews & Bonta 2010). However, as a protective factor, when former prisoners are successful in gaining meaningful, legitimate employment, it significantly reduces their risk to reoffend (Sampson and Laub 1993; Uggen 2000). Also, programs aimed at reducing problems related to this employment risk factor have been suggested as a cost-effective method to increase employability and reduce recidivism upon release from prison (Aos, Miller, & Drake 2006; Bohmert & Duwe 2012).

Figure 2. Proportion of Released Prisoners Arrested for the First Time at the End of the Year and Cumulative Percentage of Released Prisoners Rearrested



Source: State of Hawaii, Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division, June 2017.

Purpose of Study

This current study assesses the Hawai‘i State Department of Public Safety’s (PSD) Laumaka Work Furlough Program, a work release program, on the extent to which it is accomplishing its goal of providing “a systematic process of transition for inmates from institutional dependency

towards economic and social self-sufficiency within the community” (see Appendix A: PSD Policy No.: COR.14.15, *Inmate Furlough Program*¹).

This report starts by examining the existing employment and work release literature to provide background information and the current state of research in this area. It will make use of relevant findings to develop and address research questions concerning the effects of work release on recidivism and post-release employment outcomes, including Hawai‘i Parole Board outcomes as well as retention rates of the Work Furlough program. Finally, recommendations to develop and strengthen the Laumaka Work Furlough program as well as identifying important policy implications will be discussed.

Determining the effects of individual corrections programs on recidivism and other long-term outcomes such as employment is a complex process. In analyzing the results of the study, it is first useful to review the context—individual, institutional, and societal—in which the program operates and in which the individual receives the program. Key issues in providing effective employment programs include identifying and responding to the major challenges for ex-offenders face when seeking jobs, including (a) “Why are the employment earnings of ex-offenders so low? What barriers do they face in gaining employment and in achieving earnings sufficient to live on independently? (c) To what extent are these barriers based on their own characteristics and attitudes as opposed to those of employers? (d) Are there policies that are likely to reduce these barriers, and thereby improve employment and earnings among ex-offenders?”

Effective research-based reentry employment programs and practices will then be summarized, describing important approaches that address the above key issues in supporting successful reentry and preventing or reducing recidivism. The extent to which individual inmate characteristics and reentry-focused programs are responsive to the barriers commonly experienced by ex-offenders attempting to enter the work force will have a measurable effect on employment outcomes, particularly when effects are experienced during the first 6-12 months of reentry when returning offenders are most vulnerable to recidivating. The program evaluation of the Laumaka Work Furlough program will then follow, describing the Laumaka Work Furlough Program, assessing the intervention fidelity of this work release program, and followed by analysis of program data to assess important outputs, outcomes, and impact of the program.

Characteristics of Reentering Individuals

Multiple social and economic disadvantages characterize the general prison population. Some of the disadvantages associated with prisoners include poor educational attainment and employment histories, social isolation and exclusion, poor physical and mental health, and alcohol and other

¹ Appendix A includes three revisions of PSD’s Policy No.: COR.14.15 dated Dec 15, 2009, July 13, 2015, and January 2017. This report analyzed data from Laumaka Work Furlough Program that spanned the time period from January 1, 2011 to June 30, 2017. For purposes of analyzing recidivism rates, data was gathered from a time period of 5 consecutive years, January 1, 2011 to December 31, 2015 to allow for a sufficient post-release time period to meet the 3-year follow-up period required by definition for recidivism, as well as allow for the collection of a sufficient sample size for statistical purposes. Information about the Work Furlough Program goals, objectives, and activities were obtained up June 30, 2017 to be able to describe the current program being provided. There were no significant differences across the three revisions, with the possible exception that the 2017 revision added to Section 6.0 DESCRIPTIVE PARAGRAPH, a new item: 9. *Electronic Monitoring*.

drug misuse. Following release, prisoners frequently experience social stigma and discrimination, fewer employment prospects, limited access to housing, loss of family and social ties, mental health difficulties, increased risk of suicide and early death, and challenges in finding needed services and supports. A prison term reduces human capital, including lost connections to potential employers, diminished work skills, and reduction in life skills, such as time management, problem-solving, and interpersonal skills (Holzer et al., 2003).

Supply-Side Barriers in the Labor Market

Ex-offenders have a range of characteristics that seriously limit their employability and earning capacities. Research indicates the following characteristics as the most frequently cited barriers to obtaining quality jobs and/or jobs with upward mobility:

- Limited education and cognitive skills
- Limited work experience
- Substance abuse and other physical/mental health problems
- Member of minority group and live and work in predominantly minority communities that have few quality jobs available and no social networks that connect to better employment opportunities

Education. Prisoners have education levels far below the general population. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reported that among those in state and federal prisons in 1997, about 40 percent had not completed high school or attained a GED, compared with 18 percent of the general population over age 18 (Harlow, 2003). Minorities had lower rates of educational attainment than white inmates—44 percent of black inmates, 53 percent of Hispanic inmates, and 27 percent of white inmates had not completed high school or attained a GED.

Work Experience. Prior work experience and income are also limited. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (Harlow, 2003), between 21 and 38 percent of prisoners were unemployed just prior to being incarcerated, depending on their level of educational attainment. Between 57 and 76 percent of prisoners reported receiving income from wages in the month prior to their arrest, though better-educated inmates were more likely to report this type of income than those unemployed. Other reported sources of income included family and friends, various forms of government assistance, and illegal sources.

Income. Between one-third and two-thirds of inmates reported personal income of less than \$1,000 in the month prior to their arrest. Even at the higher end of the education scale (i.e., those with some education beyond high school), only 39 percent reported income above \$2,000 per month, and only 15 percent of those who did not have a diploma or GED reported earnings at this level. Thus, not only are prisoners less educated than their same-age counterparts in the general population, they also report high rates of unemployment, dependence on sources of illegal earnings, and relatively low monthly earnings (see Table 1).

Table 1.
Employment and Income in Month Prior to Admission for State Prisoners, 1997 (percent).

	Education level of state prison inmates			
	Less than HS	GED	HS Diploma	Post-secondary/ some college
Employment				
• Full-time	47.7	56.4	63.8	69.9
• Part-time	14.8	11.9	11.3	9.0
• Unemployed	37.5	31.7	24.9	21.0
Income Source				
• Wages	57.1	64.4	70.7	75.9
• Illegal sources	23.3	32.3	24.4	25.9
• Family/friends	19.8	20.8	15.9	12.1
• Transfer payments	18.4	12.7	14.1	14.8
• Welfare	11.0	7.8	7.7	7.5
• SSI or Social Security	7.4	3.8	5.3	5.4
• Compensation payments	1.5	2.1	2.5	3.6
• Investments	0.5	1.4	1.6	7.7
• Other	1.4	2.1	2.6	6.9
Personal Income				
• Less than \$1,000	63.3	51.7	47.7	32.7
• \$1,000 to \$1,999	21.6	25.9	29.5	28.7
• \$2,000 to \$4,999	8.9	13.2	14.6	24.8
• \$5,000 or more	6.3	9.2	8.5	13.8
Homeless in year prior to admission	11.6	10.6	10.0	8.2
Source: Harlow (2003)				

Health/Mental Health Problems. Prisoners are more likely to suffer from health problems and mental illness than the general population. Studies show that the majority of men reported having a chronic physical or mental health condition, with the most commonly reported conditions including depression, asthma, hepatitis, and high blood pressure (Visher et al., 2004). These rates of illness are comparable to national estimates in correctional populations, but it is important to note that respondent self-reports often underestimate the true prevalence of disease because many serious conditions, such as depression and diabetes, remain undetected without proper screening.

Substance Abuse. While research studies consistently a large majority of prisoners, usually around two-thirds, have extensive substance use histories, half or fewer receive drug treatment while incarcerated. Prisoners identify drug use as the primary cause of many of their past and current problems. About two-thirds of drug users reported arrests associated with their drug use, and about one-third reported missing school and/or losing their job as a result of drug use. In

post-release studies of substance abuse, almost a third of releasees reported some type of drug use or intoxication during the first few months after their release. A number of factors were related to post-release substance use: younger respondents were more likely to use drugs after release than older respondents; drug users after release were also more likely to have family members with substance abuse problems and friends who used or sold drugs; and respondents who reported receiving drug treatment in prison were more successful at avoiding subsequent drug use than those who did not (Visher et al., 2004).

Family Relationships. Family relationships prior to and following incarceration have been found to be significant influences on criminal offending and post-release recidivating. Studies report around 60 percent of offenders had someone in their family who had been convicted of a crime, and over one-quarter reported having three or more family members with a substance abuse or alcohol problem. When family members attempt to maintain connections with an incarcerated family member, challenges such as restrictive visiting regulations and transportation costs to distant, sometimes out-of-state corrections facilities, as many Hawai'i families experience, prevent regular contact with their children. About half of inmates reported receiving some type of financial and housing support from family members upon release, and about two-thirds to three-fourths of inmates end living with family members for the first 6 months upon release, though many end up living in another location by the end of the first year. Intimate partner and family relationships and support were significantly related to the intermediate reentry outcomes of employment and staying off drugs. Respondents with closer family relationships, stronger family support, and fewer negative dynamics in relationships with intimate partners were more likely to have worked after release and were less likely to have used drugs or become intoxicated (Barh et al., 2010; Uggen et al., 2005).

Employment. Finding employment is the single largest concern reported by men and women before they are released from prison (Visher & Lattimore). Although about two-thirds of prisoners nationwide had worked before incarceration, among *Returning Home* respondents, only half had ever held a permanent job and 31 percent were unemployed in the six months before incarceration (Visher & Courtney, 2017). Over 75 percent of soon-to-be-released prisoners said that finding a job would be an important factor in keeping them from returning to prison, yet less than 18 percent had a job lined up in the month before release. Most prisoners also reported that they needed job training (88 percent) or more education (88 percent). Their challenges are further exacerbated due to the extremely low levels of educational achievement. According to the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, only 59% of state prison inmates had a high school diploma or its equivalent, compared to 85% for the adult population as a whole.

Discrimination. Having a criminal record is a major barrier to many types of legal employment, and these barriers are multiplied after a long prison term. Long periods of incarceration create a lack of helpful social contacts that could have led to legal employment opportunities upon release (Western, Kling, & Weiman, 2001). Research also suggests that having a criminal record, whether an arrest, conviction, or prison term, adversely affects subsequent employment wages and job stability, even after controlling for duration or severity of prior criminal involvement (Western et al. 2001; Sampson & Laub, 1997). Other barriers that ex-offenders face in finding and keeping a job include the lack of recent job experiences, lack of job-related skills, and transportation difficulties (Visher, Winterfield, & Coggeshall, 2005). Not only is the lack of

work the reason for crime and prison, prison appears to exacerbate the problem by labeling an individual as an ex-convict.

Life Course Off-Time. While most theories of crime suggest that employment may reduce crime, more recent studies have shown greater complexity in the relationship between work and crime. Life course theories suggest that the effects of employment on crime or recidivism are age-related and depend upon particular stages within the life course (Uggen & Wakefield, 2008). For example, some types of work may reduce crime only for some types of offenders. The work-crime relationship may be dependent on age, gender, marital and parental status, and a host of other life course contingencies (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2005). Most young people enter the criminal justice system lagging far behind their age cohort in employment status, socioeconomic status, marriage formation, becoming a home owner, and other milestones of adulthood. Extended incarceration places individuals “off-time” in relation to others his age, and leads to delays or disruptions in later accomplishing these important adult milestones. These delays have significant impacts on the labor markets, where, for example, job advancement and higher levels of income are negatively affected. Importantly, Uggen (2000) found that supported employment significantly enhanced the likelihood of desistance among offenders aged 27 or older, but had little impact on younger offenders. It is likely that family connections play a role in determining the effect of employment on crime, with the presence of a spouse or child intensifying the positive and stabilizing effects of employment (Sampson & Laub, 1993; Uggen, Wakefield, & Western, 2005). For younger incarcerated adults, while simple job opportunity is unlikely to decrease their criminal activity, other research has found that intensive training and educational programs could be more effective for this younger population (Schochet, Burghardt, & Glazerman, 2000).

Table 2.
Summary of Common Characteristics of Hard-To-Employ Adults

Family, Logistical, and Legal Challenges	Education and Skill Gaps	Needs Related to Responsiveness to Interventions
Responsible for child care	Low education level	Mental illness
High-conflict family situation	Lack of occupational skills	Substance use disorder
Transportation problems	Limited work experience	Learning disability
Lack of stable housing	Lack of “soft” job skills	Lack of motivation
Legal barriers to employment	Gaps in work experience	Negative attitudes about work
Lack of proper documentation		Poor physical health

Demand Side of the Labor Market

While the U.S workforce grew 44 percent over the past 20 years, it is not projected to increase in size over the next 20 years. Current generations have been better educated and more highly skilled than their previous generations, but it appears that the next generation will not display this same progression of advanced educational achievement and skill expansion. As a result, due to

the continued growth in technology and the increasing number of high-skill occupations, employers will experience shortages in skilled workers. People entering the workforce in the coming years who focus on filling this anticipated gap could greatly benefit, including former prisoners, provided that they participate in prison programs that develop skills relative to those industry sectors projected to experience labor shortages.

The typical job for which a prisoner is prepared is a low-skill, blue collar, or manufacturing job. However, globalization, technological advances, and migrant labor have reduced the number of opportunities in these areas. The market has shifted toward jobs in the service sector, such as child and elder care, and customer service types of jobs for which individuals with criminal histories are less likely to be hired or may be legally barred. At the same time, with the large numbers from the baby boomer generation retiring, it is likely that the labor market will tighten, unemployment rates will fall, and employers will need to develop new sources of labor. Appropriately assessed and well-trained and skilled released prisoners could be one of them (Ellwood, 2003).

If individuals emerged from prison with fortified skill sets, solid work experience, and connections to legitimate jobs at market wages, in other words better prepared to be more productive than when they entered prison, the prospects for positive outcomes in terms of earnings, family support, self-esteem, and recidivism could be increased. If corrections programs could take this approach, the skill development and work experiences of prisoners during incarceration could potentially offset the potential harms that a criminal record and limited skills might pose.

A social barrier to programs aimed at improving the employment prospects of prisoners involves the general concern that these individuals will displace other law-abiding workers. Much like the opposition to migrant labor, a sector of society feels that returning prisoners should not have access to jobs that would otherwise be available to residents who have not spent time in prison (Solomon et al., 2004). Policy makers and social justice advocates need to work with communities to reintegrate ex-offenders back into the mainstream culture. If no support is provided at the community level, the wage gap, or the difference in income between workers at the bottom of the wage distribution and those at the top, will continue to widen. Given that former prisoners are most likely to find jobs at the lower end of the wage bracket, there is reason for concern that their ability to eventually earn a living wage, including the ability to support a family, will continue to be limited without substantial social changes, and recidivism rates will remain a burden on individuals, families, and communities.

Relationship Between Employment and Crime

The relationship between employment and crime is especially important to practitioners working with ex-offenders or other groups deemed to be at high risk for crime. Offenders with prior criminal histories may commit more crime in the absence of quality, legal employment as they are most likely to possess “criminal capital” (Hagan, 1993). Many offenders come from very isolated inner city communities which are themselves detached from the world of legal work (Wilson, 1997). In addition to the problem of restricting the job opportunities of offenders to low quality and poor paying employment, research has also documented the strong negative effects of criminal punishment on later employment. In the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth,

Western (2002) showed that incarceration reduces later earnings and employment opportunities by disrupting connections with potential employers. Incarceration negatively impacts human capital because it reduces work experience. Punishment through incarceration may also increase the forces pushing offenders into unemployment and low quality work and make recidivism more likely. Offenders may earn more from illegal work than legal work for many types of crime (Freeman, 1992, 1997).

Even after securing a job, returning prisoners face major barriers in keeping their jobs, and unemployment rates in this population are high (La Vigne & Kachnowski, 2005; Travis, 2005; Visser & Courtney, 2007). Reentering individuals are challenged by the stigma of their conviction, limiting their ability to secure a job with higher wages and greater satisfaction, contributing to increasing the appeal of illegal means for income (Freeman, 1995). Previous research suggests that offenders are more likely to obtain employment in secondary labor market positions (i.e., jobs that are highly unstable, have low expectations for promotional opportunities, and provide lower pay) when compared to the general labor force (Saylor and Gaes, 1997).

Based on recent survey evidence, recent ex-offenders are the least desirable employee applicant in the labor market pool (Holzer et al. 2003). Not only are a large number of jobs not open to hiring ex-offenders, employers in the remaining jobs will usually not be eager to hire ex-offenders. Even in strong job markets, ex-offenders will usually end up in the least desirable, lowest paying jobs unless they are exceptionally well qualified or well connected.

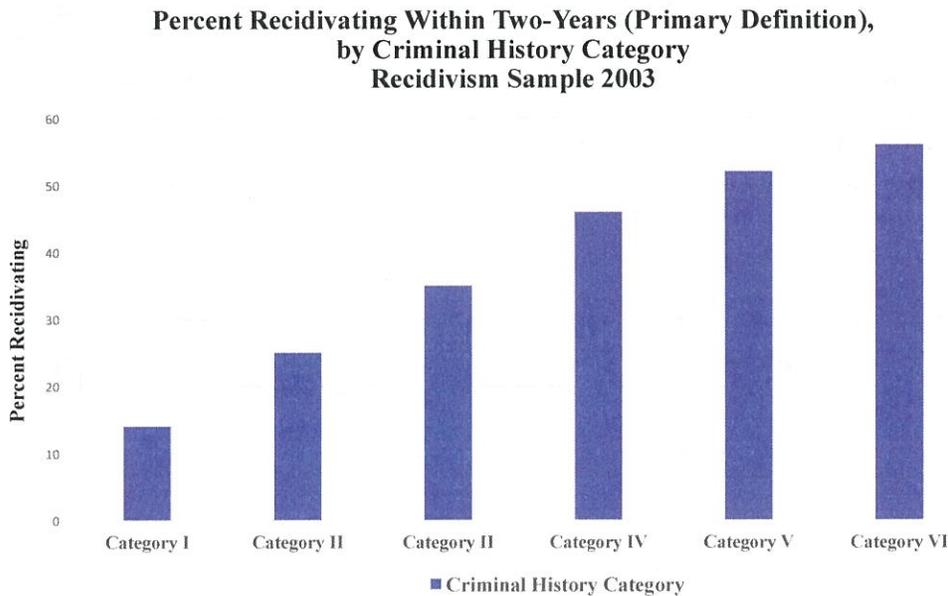
Yet, research also finds that for employed parolees, they are up to three times more likely than unemployed parolees to remain arrest free. Inmates who participate in prison-based vocational training are significantly more likely than those who do not participate to find employment after release and significantly less likely to recidivate (Wilson, Gallagher, & MacKenzie, 2000), though few inmates receive this opportunity (Solomon et al., 2004). There is fairly strong empirical evidence that an individual's criminal behavior is responsive to changes in his or her employment status (Sampson & Laub, 1993). That lack of work is correlated with crime leads to the hope for prison-based work programs to reduce recidivism. The argument is that if we could improve the poor work outcomes of offenders, then we could reduce crime. Thus, findings that ex-offenders face discrimination in the labor market are particularly problematic.

Reentry and Employment

The world to which inmates return is drastically different from the one they left regarding availability of jobs, family support, community resources, and willingness to assist ex-offenders. The transition from prison to community is extremely difficult. The communities are more disorganized, their families are less likely to be supportive, and the releases find fewer social services available to them in the community. Successful reintegration into the community requires previously incarcerated individuals to reestablish social bonds with family and social institutions; tackle the risk factors that led to their incarceration, such as substance abuse and peer influences; overcome health and educational limitations; and conquer both legal and practical barriers and the stigma stemming from their criminal conviction to find stable employment, housing, and other services (Petersilia, 2003; Travis, 2005; Visser & Travis, 2003). Effectiveness of reentry programs is a critical factor in reducing recidivism. As noted previously, nationally and in Hawai'i as well, about a third of inmates when released are rearrested within

the first 6 month of release, and more than half are arrested by the end of the first year. In addition, the individual's risk for recidivism has been found to increase as their level of criminal history category (CHC) increases based on number of past history of number rearrests and convictions increases as shown in Figure 1 (Castillo, 2004).

Figure 3. Percent Recidivating by Criminal History Category



Parole violators now account for more than one third of all annual prison admissions (Petersilia, 2011). Nationally, about two-thirds (67.8 percent) of released prisoners had either a parole or probation violation or an arrest for a new offense within 3 years that led to imprisonment (Durose, Cooper, & Snyder, 2014). In a similar study of prisoners released in Hawai'i during 2013, the recidivism rate for Probationers was 45.5%, Parolees was 56.2%, and Maximum-Term Released Prisoners was 65.1% within 3 years of release (see Figure 2).

Corrections-based employment programs can reasonably be expected to provide offenders with several advantages. First, a good job allows for adaptation to a productive lifestyle, the development of prosocial relationships and a sense of self-efficacy, and the fostering of a sense of conformity to a conventional lifestyle (Visher et al. 2005; Latessa 2012). Prison-based employment programs are also associated with helping offenders obtain employment more quickly and maintain employment for longer periods (Saylor & Gaes, 1997; Smith et al., 2006; Bohmert and Duwe 2012). In a national review of the Prison Industry Enhancement Certificate Program (PIECP), an innovative program that provides state prison inmates with private sector jobs to reduce post-release recidivism, improve post-release employability, and improve potential job quality and wages, researchers found that the participants were 15 percent more likely to obtain employment faster and nearly 10 percent more likely to maintain their employment for more than one year than the comparison group (Smith et al., 2006). Saylor and Gaes (1997) report a similar finding in regards to long-term effects on post-release employment outcomes, where program participants were significantly more likely to be employed at the 12-

month follow-up than those who did not participate in any prison industry, vocational training, or apprenticeship program (71.7 percent vs. 63.1 percent). Though this finding is significant, it is important to note that the difference in employment rates between the two groups narrowed over time.

The findings related to employment program effects on increasing the possibility of higher wages among participants are mixed. Smith et al.'s (2006) findings reveal that program participants had significantly higher wages than the comparison group. Specifically, individuals who participated in the PIECP program earned, on average, \$44,263 compared to the average \$27,136 earned by nonparticipants (Smith et al. 2006). Similarly, Bohmert and Duwe (2012) found that AHP program completers were significantly more likely to earn higher-paying jobs than those in the comparison group, where they earned an average of \$3,351.15 more than their comparison counterparts. In contrast, Saylor and Gaes (1997) failed to find any significant differences in wages earned between the PREP participants and comparison group members.

The literature demonstrates that prison work programs are effective in reducing the recidivism rates of former prisoners. In a meta-analytic review, Wilson et al. (1999) examined the effectiveness of corrections-based education, vocation, and work programs on reducing recidivism. The findings indicate that program participants were less likely to recidivate than the comparison groups. Aos et al. (2006) found a 9 percent reduction in recidivism among participants of the four prison-based vocational programs included in their meta-analysis. In addition, Aos and colleagues (2006) reported that the four correctional industry program evaluations reduced recidivism by 6 percent. Similarly, in their reviews of existing program evaluations, both MacKenzie (2000) and Seiter and Kadela (2003) concluded that vocational programs reduce recidivism. Last, Bohmert and Duwe (2012) found that AHP program completers had significantly lower recidivism rates than their counterparts. For example, the program completers had a reconviction rate that was 10.9 percent lower than the comparison group while the program terminations (those who participated in but did not complete the program) had a reconviction rate that was 10.1 percent higher than the comparison group (Bohmert and Duwe 2012).

However, research on the link between employment and reductions in reoffending has revealed a complicated relationship. People released from prison and jail that hold jobs in the community are less likely to recidivate, especially when earnings are above minimum wage (Visher, Debus, & Yahner, 2008), and that job stability over an extended period of time can reduce the likelihood that an individual will reoffend (Sampson & Laub, 1993). However, research does not support the proposition that simply placing an individual in a job is a silver bullet for reducing criminal behaviors. At this point in time, there are few studies that clearly elucidate the complex relationships between current corrections-based employment programs and later recidivism rates (Wilson, Gallagher, & MacKenzie, 2000).

Multiple challenging factors need to be addressed in developing and implementing corrections employment programs. One of the most challenging factors is that most incarcerated individuals have extremely low levels of educational achievement and very limited job skills. According to the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, only 59% of state prison inmates had a high school diploma or its equivalent (compared to 85% for the adult population as a whole), and only two-thirds of

inmates were employed during the month before they were arrested for their current offense. Many offenders when released return to their isolated inner city communities, which are themselves detached from the world of legal work (Wilson, 1997).

Also, motivation to desist appears to be a pre-requisite for success in a work assistance program. Individuals who are addicted to alcohol or drugs, or individuals who have not fundamentally decided to exit offending will not benefit from access to a job or increased skills. The benefits to crime will always outweigh the costs of crime without a massive change in the way they look at the world (Wilson, 1997). Maruna (2001) argues that the process of desistance is fundamentally about staying straight, involving the every day process of avoiding old habits and patterns and choosing to act in new way. Baskin and Sommers (1998) suggest that the process of constructing new patterns is often the most difficult part, where old networks need to be abandoned and entirely new networks of friends and social supports need to be constructed. Prison work programs can help with part of this process by providing the prisoner with new skills that can be used to create the world, though much of this work needs to be done after release. The current process of simply releasing an offender with no support except some job search help means that there is almost no support for the creation of this new prosocial network. It is not unusual that the only network an offender may have on the outside is the criminally involved network the person had when he entered prison. The average offender who is motivated to change but lacks some of the basic skills needed to construct a new social reality will struggle in this context. It seems plausible that a rough transition, including but not limited to difficulty finding work, could stop real change before it even starts (Maruna, 2001).

A perplexing dilemma for those advocating and implementing corrections-based work programs is the issue of determining what would constitute realistic and appropriate program goals given the research findings on the limits of what internal changes can be expected, and that the critical internal changes involving constructing new patterns of thinking and creating new prosocial networks are most effectively achieved after release. Employment programs aimed at offenders must fundamentally recognize that these individuals have, on average, very low skills and limited job experience with minimal opportunities to be able to strengthen those areas critical to attaining higher quality and better paying jobs in a competitive job market (Hagan, 1993).

Conducting appropriate assessments and targeting and shaping employment programs to the needs and responsivity levels of the inmate is critical. For example, as previously noted, age appears to be an important factor in determining who would benefit most from corrections work programs. A reanalysis by Uggen (2000) of a large federal employment project demonstrated that the program actually had a positive impact on earnings and recidivism for ex-offenders older than 26 years of age, over and above the overall program effects. A similar finding was reported with the *Baltimore Life* experiments which provided assistance to inmates as they left prison. They found that older offenders were taking the same inputs as young offenders in terms of wages and reaching a different conclusion with respect to the relative cost and benefits of crime. Prominent desistance researchers (Shover 1996, Maruna 2001) suggest that this "age effect" means that there has been a change in the fundamental orientation of the individual which ultimately leads to desistance from crime. The positive results of work programs for older offenders may exist because older offenders tend to be more motivated to exit offending.

Although age is one important factor in the desistance process, Laub and Sampson (2003) argue that desistance is more than aging. They suggest that desistance requires a “knifing off” of the immediate environment that provided criminal alternatives to otherwise unavailable monetary income and create new pathways for the future. This change may occur at any age. In a study by Bahr et al., (2010) of parolees successfully reentering their communities, they found that age was not related to successful parole when they were employed in full-time work. They hypothesized that the structure in the parolees’ lives from having a full-time job helped avoid recidivating regardless of age.

Bushway (2003) argues that the clearest fact from 30 years of evaluations of work training programs focused on reduced recidivism is that theoretically sound work-based programs are difficult to implement in the prison setting. The underlying reason appears to be that it is very difficult to operate in an environment where the goal of the system (management of the population) undermines the goal of the program (successful reentry). Work programs are common in prison, but they are not necessarily designed to reduce recidivism. At this point in our research base, we do not know which work programs will be successful at reducing recidivism. It is unlikely that any skill learned in prison during relatively short job training programs will fundamentally alter the cost-benefit formula that led to the period of incarceration in the first place for most offenders.

Emerging research does reveal that some employment-focused reentry programs can reduce criminal behaviors by effectively incorporating activities and services into their employment programs that address criminogenic risks and needs, individual characteristics that have been linked to the likelihood of reincarceration. These findings are consistent with the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) principles, a well-researched evidence-based approach that guides practitioners and system administrators on how to use objective assessment tools to identify and direct needed services and supervision resources to these higher-risk individuals in ways that can achieve the greatest long-term reductions in recidivism.

Researchers are also increasingly beginning to assert that the success of work programs (and other programs) to reduce recidivism depends on whether prison management ultimately commits to the goal of successful reentry, which by definition includes avoiding recidivism. The best designed program will not work if it is not implemented effectively, including managing the transition out of prison into the work world, clearly a crucial stage in the process of staying straight. At the point of release, crime may still be an attractive option given the struggle to “go legit.” The fundamental change has to start in the individual, not the labor market. At this point, we need to learn far more about effective ways to encourage offenders to “stay straight” in the context of work programs. Unfortunately, this process takes place largely outside of prison. As a result, there may be inherent limitations on how much we can expect prison managers to do beyond cooperating in attempts to smooth the reentry process. The other alternative is to radically transform prisons into environments where individuals can begin the practice of “staying straight” through regular work and pro-social attitudes/actions (Bushway, 2003).

Overview of Work Release Programs

Work release programs are characterized as having a specific focus of providing offenders while still in prison opportunities to work in the community. Inmates spend all non-work time at a

secure facility. Work release programs were designed to teach inmates how to work productively and acquire some funds when they are nearing their release. The idea behind work release programs is that offenders will acquire the positive working habits and maintain them even when they are not under supervision (Turner & Petersilia, 1996; Petersilia, 2003). Work release programs typically work with inmates when they are at the end of their prison terms, usually 12 months prior to release. In doing so, work release provides offenders with a stable residence in a controlled environment in preparation for their transition back to the community, giving them opportunities to earn income and accumulate savings for their eventual release (Turner and Petersilia, 1996). Inmates on work release hold regular jobs in private businesses. They receive the same wages as other employees, but the state deducts inmates' room and board as well as other obligations like child support and victim restitution from inmate paychecks. Since individuals on work release are working in the community without constant supervision, inmates are only eligible to participate if they have the lowest custody class. Work release programs help improve job skills to make them more employable, and help to re-establish ties with their families and community (McNeil, 2009). Work release programs also function to help counteract the negative effects of institutionalization such as low self-esteem and feelings of being ostracized and isolated from the community (Cheliotis, 2008). Among the various goals of work release programming, three of the most important and prioritized goals are reducing recidivism, increasing post-release employment opportunities, and avoiding unnecessary costs to taxpayers (Duwe, 2014). Moreover, because participants are granted early release from prison and are typically required to reimburse the state for part of their confinement costs, work release can help reduce prison overcrowding and decrease correctional costs (Turner and Petersilia, 1996). Because participants in work release programs are still inmates but working in the community, preference is given to those assessed as low risk for reoffending, and may exclude high risk inmates such as sex-offenders from participating. The research literature recommends that work release programs should target higher-risk offenders who lack adequate job skills (Katz & Decker, 1982; Latessa, 2011), but other stakeholders recommend that the limited resources in corrections be directed toward low-risk offenders who have a higher probability of success (Orsagh & Witte, 1981.)

Literature Review of Work Release Program Evaluations

The Laumaka Work Furlough Program provides services and interventions consistent with "work release" programs as described in the research literature. This review of the research literature will focus on independent evaluation studies of work release programs. Also included in this review is a summary of research that examined the effectiveness of more comprehensive reentry programs that include work release as an important component of the program.

Work release programs have operated in the United States since the 1920s (Turner and Petersilia, 1996), and expanded and increased in popularity during the 1970s (Turner & Petersilia, 1996). Despite this growth, they lost popularity in the 1980s when there was a shift in public opinion from policies that favored the rehabilitation of prisoners to more punitive policies. Despite the negative view of the potential effectiveness of correctional programming, work release programs continued to provide an alternative to traditional prisons. According to a recent census of state and federal correctional facilities, all but one of the 50 states runs a prison work release program (Stephan, 2008). Nevertheless, there have been only ten published evaluations of work release programs, and five of these were published more than twenty years ago. Among the 10

evaluations, two used random assignment while the remaining eight employed quasi-experimental designs.

While researchers have examined the effect of work release programs on recidivism (Duwe, 2014; Jeffrey & Woolpert, 1973; Turner & Petersilia, 1996; Waldo & Chiricos, 1977), the area remains understudied, with the relatively rare research and evaluation studies still citing outdated studies from the 1970s, and where more recent studies lack conclusive findings as to whether these programs are effective at reducing recidivism. With the significant expansion of prison populations and changes in technology, the applicability of these studies to correctional systems today, with the exception of the more recent studies employing well-constructed comparison groups, is probably diminished. These studies tend to lack rigorous methodology, including lack of a control group or a rigorously created comparison group, and involve small sample sizes. Another problem is the significant variation across studies in how recidivism is conceptualized and measured. When work release programs have been researched in well-designed studies, they have typically shown a positive but small impact on post-release employment opportunities for inmates with a work release placement (Duwe, 2014; Jung, 2014; Witte, 1977).

The findings from the existing evaluations suggest work release has no effect on recidivism or, at most, a modest impact. Most notably, the two studies that used a randomized experimental design did not find that work release reduced recidivism. For example, in their evaluation of a jail work release program in California, Lamb and Goertzel (1974) reported no difference in reincarceration rates among program participants and offenders assigned to the control group. Similarly, in their evaluation of a Florida work release program, Waldo and Chiricos (1977) found that reoffending was not significantly less among 188 work release participants in comparison to 93 offenders from the control group. In six evaluations using a quasi-experimental design with an acceptable comparison group, three found that work release significantly reduced recidivism (Drake, 2007; Rudoff and Esselstyn, 1973; LeClair and Guarino-Ghezzi, 1991). The study by Drake (2007) is especially noteworthy given it is the largest and most recent evaluation of a work release program. After matching 3,913 offenders who did not participate in Washington's work release program with 11,413 program participants, Drake (2007) reported the program produced a statistically significant though modest reduction in recidivism.

Although the other quasi-experimental evaluations found that work release did not have a significant overall effect on recidivism, two identified specific areas in which the programs appeared to produce better recidivism outcomes. For example, in their study of a jail work release program in California, Jeffrey and Woolpert (1974) reported the program reduced recidivism among offenders with more extensive criminal histories but did not have an impact on those sentenced for a first or second offense. In Witte's (1977) evaluation of North Carolina's work release program, she found that work release participants were arrested for less serious offenses.

While recidivism has been the main outcome measure assessed in prior work release evaluations, the two studies that also examined employment outcomes yielded promising findings. Lamb and Goertzel (1974) reported that work release participants had higher employment rates than offenders in the control group. Using self-report data, Witte (1977) found that work release

participants reported higher employment rates and greater overall earnings than offenders in the comparison group.

The two evaluations of Washington's work release program are also the only ones that have attempted to assess the effects on correctional costs (Drake, 2007; Turner and Petersilia, 1996). Although Turner and Petersilia (1996) noted that work release beds are less expensive than prison beds, they reported the program did not reduce costs, primarily due to the finding that about one-third of the participants failed on work release and were returned to prison. In addition to assessing work release and prison per diem costs that Turner and Petersilia (1996) examined in their study, Drake (2007) conducted a more thorough cost-benefit analysis by accounting for costs associated with re-offending. Drake (2007) indicated Washington's work release program generated a cost avoidance benefit of nearly \$1,700 per participant, which amounted to \$3.82 of benefits per dollar of cost.

In summary, the effectiveness of prison-based work release programs remains inconclusive. While some studies provide support for work release programs as effective in reducing recidivism rates (Duwe, 2014; Jeffrey & Woolpert, 1973), other studies find these programs have negative or null effects on recidivism (Turner & Petersilia, 1996; Waldo & Chiricos, 1977). It has been argued that work release experiences improve employment opportunities for inmates involved in these programs after they are released and are seeking employment in the community (Duwe 2014; Jung 2014; Witte, 1977). Research has also found work release programs to be more cost effective than regular prison sentences (Austin & Krisberg, 1982; Duwe, 2014; Turner & Petersilia, 1996). However, this is an under-studied area and the major questions remain concerning the impact of work release on recidivism and post-prison employment.

Best Practices for Prison Work Release Programs

List of best practices from independent studies of work release studies, meta-analyses, publications from national agencies and organizations. Included in this set of best practices is a list adapted from the comprehensive review of corrections programs conducted by Aos et al. (2006) as meeting specific research design features that support the validity of their results as having a significant impact in reducing recidivism. Relevant for this report are those programs related to employment that show effects of significantly reducing recidivism rates, including: Prison-based vocational education (12.6% reduction); Prison-based correctional industries programs (7.8%); and Work release programs (5.6%).

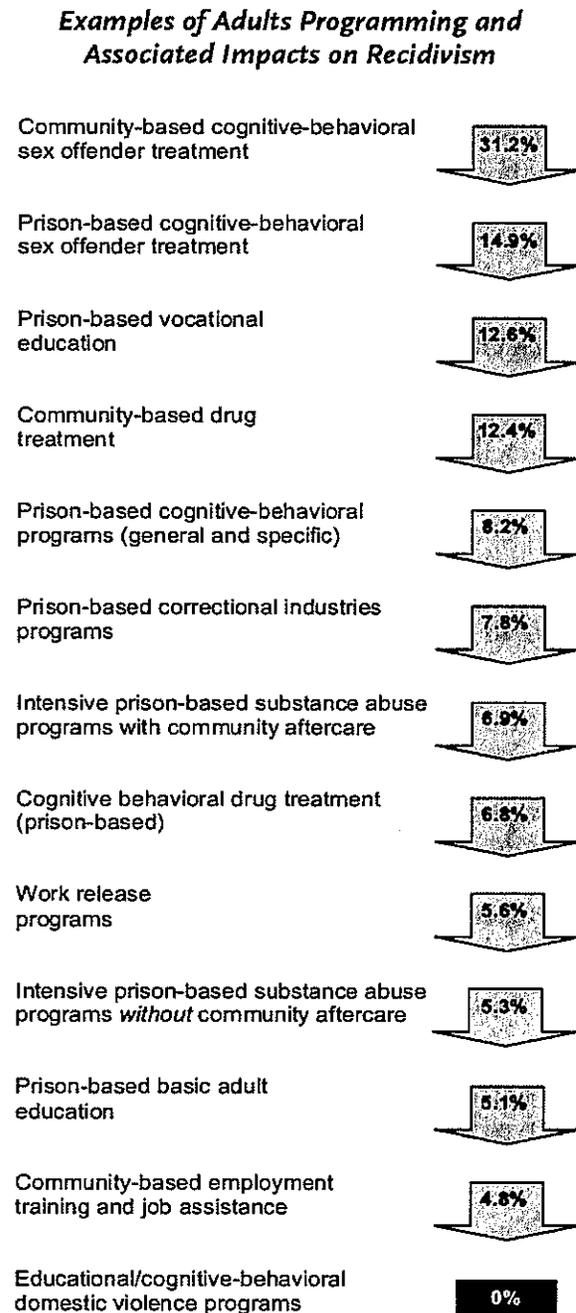
A. Conduct comprehensive assessments:

- Academic achievement, vocational interests and aptitudes, cognitive capacities, work skills, work experience, level of motivation, vocational support network, life course milestones, family/social support system.
- Assess relevance of demographic variables to employability (e.g., age, gender, education, health/mental health, socio-economic status).
- Utilization of the Risk, Needs, and Responsivity (RNR) principles as the framework for correctional programs.
- Match individual needs to appropriate services.

B. Promote Job Readiness

- Improve individuals' hard skills (e.g., basic education, technical skills, or knowledge of technology).

Figure 4. Adult Programming and Associated Impacts on Recidivism



Adapted from Aos, Miller & Drake, 2006.

- Improve individuals' soft skills (e.g., professionalism, ability to collaborate, oral communication)
- Address non-skill-related barriers to employment (e.g., mental health, substance abuse, housing, transportation).
- Teach skills relevant to the job market, include multiple program components, and integrate community follow-up services.
- Provide vocational or apprenticeship training through prison industries, educational programs, or standard work assignments.
- Important to identify effective employment programs that not only provide services inside of the prison but also directly link into community.
- Perhaps more important is the aftercare component of prison-based employment programs. Important to provide enough resources employment upon release.
- Research has supports the idea that the length of participation in employment programs decreases the likelihood of former offender's recidivating. The likelihood of parolees recidivating decreased the longer they remained in the program. Those participants who achieved the treatment goal were the least likely to be reincarcerated.
- Employment programs should combine skill acquisition with activities designed to target offender's attitudes about work.
- Job development—connecting individuals with employment opportunities; and coaching—prepares individual for a job search.

METHODS: EVALUATION DESIGN AND DATA

The Laumaka Work Furlough Program evaluation was designed to measure the outputs, outcomes, and impact of a Department of Public Safety program that has been in existence for an extended period of time but has periodically been modified in response to changing demands of society and government.

In the past, the great majority of evaluations of rehabilitative programs for offenders focused on programs designed to address specific individual needs, such as reducing drug and alcohol use, addressing mental health issues, or finding a job. But, more recently, reentry services and programs have focused on easing the transition of individuals exiting prison, addressing multiple needs with individualized approaches, similar to the programs and activities provided at the Laumaka Work Furlough Program. In evaluating these developing or modified reentry programs in order to identify best practices and disseminate that information to the field for broader impact, Lattimore and Visser (2013) provide specific recommendations on a set of best practices based on a review of the most recent research to which reentry programs could be compared when conducting a program evaluation. These best practices include the following:

- Identify and utilize theoretical models that explain and develop programs leading to behavior change among prisoners.
- Incorporate principles of effective treatment in selecting and implementing evidence-based practices. MacKenzie (2006) summarizes this work into five principles of effective rehabilitation strategies: (a) have strong program integrity; (b) identify criminogenic factors (c) employ a multimodal treatment approach; (d) use an actuarial risk classification; and (e) ensure responsivity between an offender's learning style and mode of program delivery.
- Inclusion of evidence-based practices, "what works" in reentry and rehabilitative programming. These include: (a) intensive supervision programs with a clear treatment component (e.g., life skills, cognitive behavioral therapy, education, drug treatment). There is a growing consensus that practices focusing on individual-level change, including cognitive change, education, drug treatment, and intensive supervision, a focus on dynamic criminogenic factors, emphasis on skill oriented activities, use of cognitive/behavioral models, and simultaneous treatment of multiple offender deficits constitute best practices.
- Implementation and adherence to the fidelity of evidence-based practice models. This involves proper implementation of the program, as poor implementation, including allowing different combinations of program types unique to particular settings is currently a common occurrence and may explain most of the weak or null findings in the research, confound comparisons across sites, and cause problems with external validity.
- The goal of most reentry programs is to develop a seamless transition from prison to the community. An important barrier to effective reentry strategies in many communities is the lack of information sharing between the criminal justice system and the community because of institutional barriers and privacy rules. Effective service delivery after release requires coordinated actions by government agencies, nongovernment service providers, and the community to ensure that returning prisoners do not fall through service gaps between agencies.

- Use of rigorous experimental designs—including the use of comparison groups—when conducting program evaluations.

Program Evaluability Assessment

Evaluability assessment evaluates the extent to which programs are ready for evaluation and helps key stakeholders find agreement on program goals, evaluation criteria, how the evaluation information will be used, and intentions for further evaluation. Most programs delivered by PSD staff have not been evaluated, and readiness for a program evaluation needs to be initially assessed to determine to what extent an evaluation is possible and what type of evaluation might be most appropriate.

The following criteria to conduct an evaluability assessment was developed for the National Institute of Justice as part of their program evaluation protocol for the FY 2011 Second Chance Act Adult Offender Reentry Demonstration Projects (Walters et al., Urban Institute, Justice Policy Center, 2013) This set of criteria provides a useful evaluability assessment process that involves the assessment of the following components of a program ready for evaluation:

1. **Measurable outcomes.** Program goals must be clearly stated, consistently understood by staff and partner agencies, and translatable into measurable results.
2. **Defined program components and their hypothesized relationship to outcomes.** An underlying theoretical model and logic model must indicate how program components, both in-facility and community-based elements, contribute to outcomes.
3. **Case flow and attrition.** How clients enter the program, as well as when, how, and why they discharge (either successfully or unsuccessfully) from the program must be documented to inform sample size estimates, comparison group construction, and evaluation recruitment timelines.
4. **Precise target population and eligibility criteria.** The EA must document how eligible participants are defined in each SCA site and how closely projects and their partners adhere to delineated eligibility criteria, including when and why sites deviate from established parameters. Eligibility criteria must be well-defined and consistently applied to minimize selection bias that might arise from arbitrary enrollment rules.
5. **Intake procedures.** Related to items 3 and 4, it will be critical to map how potential participants are identified and referred to the program, including the
6. point at which this referral occurs; this will have implications for planning random assignment procedures (i.e., what point in program operations should random assignment occur) should the program warrant such rigor and for identifying appropriate comparison subjects if quasi-experimental alternative designs are necessary.
7. **Ability to collect and maintain data.** An accurate management information system that includes data needed for the evaluation must be available. For impact evaluations, comparable data must exist (or be possible to create during the evaluation timeframe) for both treatment and comparison group subjects; site support for primary data collection must be evident.
8. **Presence of a clear counterfactual.** Impact evaluation designs also must consider appropriate comparison or control groups. Clearly documenting the services that are available to such individuals is therefore critical.

In this study, this evaluability assessment process was initiated as the first step of a larger evaluation. Initial meetings were held with the Warden and his administrative staff at Oahu Community Correctional Center, where the Laumaka Work Furlough Program is located, to share plans for the evaluation and to seek input on the purpose of the study and how the evaluation information may be utilized. Follow-up meetings were held with the Administrator of the Laumaka Work Furlough Program to explain the evaluation in greater detail, and to obtain information that addressed the evaluability criteria.

Assessment results: While Criteria 1. *Measurable outcomes*, Criteria 2. *Defined program components and their hypothesized relationship to outcomes*, and Criteria 7. *Ability to collect and maintain data* were not well established, undocumented, and the program lacked resources to fully implement these criteria, sufficient work could be done to address these issues and develop an evaluation design that would be useful for PSD Administrators and Laumaka Program administrators and staff in strengthening their program as they move forward.

Program Evaluation Design

This study used a mixed-method, quantitative and qualitative design to determine whether the Laumaka Work Furlough program had an impact on recidivism. In addition, the intervention fidelity of the Laumaka Work Furlough Program was also examined, along with outputs and outcomes related to achieving short-term program goals related to preparing inmates for successful outcomes before the Hawai'i Parole Board, and retention rates for inmates transferred to the Laumaka Work Furlough Program. The study was designed to answer the following research questions:

- What are the programs and activities provided by the Laumaka Work Furlough Program to prepare inmates for reentry through the Hawaii Paroling Authority?
- Has the Program been implemented with fidelity?
- How successful was the Program in retaining participants until completion—as evidenced by the short-term goal of successfully paroled? For those who were unsuccessful, what were the reasons?
- What was the long-term impact of the Program on recidivism?

Participants

Participants involved in the quantitative analysis of the study evaluating the impact of the Program on recidivism consisted of a recent cohort of 3,558 Hawai'i prisoners released from PSD between January 1, 2011 to December 31, 2015, of which a total of 532 completed the Laumaka Work Furlough program. In creating a comparison group for this study, 532 inmates were identified from the remaining cohort of 3,026 through propensity score matching with participants in the Laumaka Work Furlough program.

A small qualitative study was conducted to provide individual level data on the implementation of the Laumaka Work Furlough Program as perceived by some inmates, and to obtain a data on what might be causal factors related to the Program that contributed to the individual's successful reentry. The first participant was recruited based on his reputation as community member and former inmate making significant contributions to the local community by working with newly released inmates to assist with their reentry into the community. Following the first

interview, all participants were recruited using a recruitment strategy called *snowball sampling*, which involves asking participants for recommendations of acquaintances who might qualify for participation, leading to ‘referral chains’ (Robinson, 2014). Snowball sampling is particularly useful when the population being studied is unlikely to respond to advertisements due to the stigmatizing or illegal nature of the topic (Heckathorn, 1997). Participants consisted of six former inmates residing in the community. All participants who completed the interview were male. Of the six participants, 5 completed furlough in Laumaka and 1 completed furlough in Module 20. Other participants included in the qualitative study involved community stakeholders, PSD staff, managers, and administrators, members of the Hawaii Paroling Authority staff, staff from community corrections programs and contracted corrections programs. Information gathered through interviews with these individuals were used in obtaining information about the Laumaka Work Furlough Program in assessing the intervention fidelity of the program and has been incorporated throughout this report. A summary of the participants involved in the qualitative study is found in Table 4.

Table 4.

Categories of Interviewees and number of Interviewees in each Category (N = 44)

<u>Category of Interviewees</u>	<u><i>n</i></u>
Former inmates residing in the community	6
Current inmates residing in Laumaka Furlough Center	6
Community stakeholders [(a) community; (b) Native Hawaiian perspectives]	6
PSD Front Line Furlough Staff, Managers, and Administrators	12
Hawai‘i Paroling Authority Members and Staff	3
Community Corrections Programs	8
Contracted Corrections Programs	3

The Laumaka Work Furlough Center operates as one part of the Oahu Community Correctional Center’s (OCCC) work furlough program, the other being the Module 20 facility on the OCCC facility site. Distinct differences were found between the Laumaka program and the Module 20 program, although they are both in the Community Based Section of the organizational chart and under the supervision of the Corrections Supervisor II.

The Laumaka Work Furlough Center is located on Laumaka Street outside of OCCC in a neighboring community, and designed to represent a transitional facility for inmates preparing for reentry from a prison environment to community living. The physical plant consists of an administrative building that houses staff offices, classrooms for programming (Bridge, AA/NA, group and individual counseling), cafeteria and security posts. The housing facility for program participants consists of two apartment-like building structures with separate living units and shared spaces for television and bathrooms, similar to dormitory or apartment dwellings. The two buildings are set up to provide housing for a total of 212 people.

Inmates are primarily classified at the community custody level, and are receiving substance abuse aftercare services, having previously completed PSD's primary substance treatment services. Unlike the Laumaka Work Furlough Center, the Mod 20 program is located within OCCC walls. Though Mod 20 inmates have access to the community through their own separate gate, the living environment is not designed as a transitional facility. While most inmates in Mod 20 are classified at the community custody level like Laumaka, inmates designated as sex offenders are all diverted to Mod 20, not to Laumaka. In addition, Mod 20 only started providing the work furlough program in 2013, in the middle of our 2011 to 2015 recidivism study period, while Laumaka work furlough program has been in operation for about two decades.

According to multiple interview sources with the Laumaka staff, PSD administrators, former inmates and current inmates, an understanding of inclusion and exclusion criteria varied greatly. There were many who stated eligibility for Laumaka (vs. Mod 20) was based solely on whether an individual had a sex offender history, while other perspectives centered around LSI scores and availability of bed space. There were also multiple interviewees that stated the administrator had sole decision-making authority on who Laumaka accepted as a participant in the furlough program. It was also mentioned the decision to admit to the program was determined by the sending facility and the administration had no ability to challenge the recommendation.

For all of the above information about the two sites and the varying issues, the Laumaka Work Furlough Center, excluding Mod 20, became the focus of this program evaluation as most representative of PSD's inmate furlough program and displaying greater consistency with other states' reentry programs with a work release focus.

Data

Additional demographic and criminal history information for each participant was collected from Offendertrak, a statewide PSD database of offender and facility data. Data on the participant's offender criminogenic variables were taken from their Level of Service Inventory – Revised (LSI-R) and the Alcohol and Substance Use Scale (ASUS). Recidivism data was provided by staff of the Interagency Council on Intermediate Sanctions, the state agency responsible for producing recidivism studies since conducting the first study in 2002.

Quantitative Methods

This study utilized a quasi-experimental design to determine whether the Laumaka Work Furlough Program had an impact on recidivism. The effectiveness of the Program was evaluated by comparing outcomes between Program participants and a matched comparison group of non-participants released from PSD facilities between January 1, 2011 to December 31, 2015, and recidivism was measured through December 31, 2016. As will be discussed later, propensity score matching was used to individually match the 532 Laumaka Work Furlough participants with a comparison group of 532 offenders from the larger pool of 3,026 non-participants. The study groups selected were as recently released as possible, while allowing for sufficient time for a 36-month follow-up period consistent with the State of Hawaii Interagency Council on Intermediate Sanctions' method of calculating recidivism rates, and to create a sample size sufficient for statistical analyses. For purposes of this study, the outcome measure, recidivism, was defined as any criminal arrest between date of release to a precise 3-year period of time. Revocations, technical violations, and/or criminal contempt of court were not included as

recidivism cases, as these events may not necessarily involve serious harm to others or society, and other recidivism studies have used only arrest as an operational definition for recidivism.

Qualitative Methods

In the following section, the findings of the interviews with former inmates residing in the community are discussed in more detail according to themes that emerged during these interviews. The findings obtained from interviews with current Laumaka participants, community stakeholders, PSD staff and administrators, HPS staff, and community and contracted providers were incorporated into this report's description of the Laumaka Work Furlough Program to address evaluability and fidelity issues, and to inform this report on specific recommendations for enhancing and strengthening the program.

Interview Protocols

Informed Consent Form. All participants were required to sign the "Informed Consent Form" (see Appendix B). The consent form explained the purpose of the study, activities and time commitment, benefits and risks, privacy and confidentiality, that participation was voluntary, and included the contact information of the interviewer(s). All participants were given a copy of the consent form.

Interview Protocols. All participants participated in a semi-structured interview guided by the "Former Inmate Interview Protocol" (see Appendix A). The interview protocol was developed by REPS researchers for use when interviewing former inmates about their experiences in the furlough program. The protocol included 10 questions designed to inform the interviewer about what helped, what hindered, and suggestions for modifying the furlough program (e.g., "Based on your experiences while in prison and then reentering the community, do you have any suggestions for improving the furlough program in order to be more helpful to people coming out?")

Procedures

Once participants were identified using snowball sampling, they were contacted and asked if they would be willing to participate in an interview. Participants who agreed to be interviewed were greeted by the interviewer(s) at a time and place of the participant's choosing. The interviewer(s) explained the purpose of the interview, including that the interview will be audio recorded, went through and explained the informed consent form with the participant, asked the participant sign the informed consent form, and commenced the recorded interview. After the interview was concluded, participants were given a copy of their informed consent form with the interviewer(s) contact information in case they had any questions at a later time. The interviews were structured interviews, meaning that they were conducted using an interview protocol. All interviews were tape recorded, transcribed, and coded. Narrative analysis procedure was used to derive recurring themes from the interview.

RESULTS

(Note: Italicized comments in this Results Section are recommendations made by the evaluation team relevant to specific components of the Work Furlough Program. All of these specific recommendations are then summarized in the Recommendations section of this report.)

Fidelity Assessment

As described in the Methods section above, a fidelity assessment of the Laumaka Work Furlough Program is one of the key areas of focus in this program evaluation. Delivering an evidence-based program with intervention fidelity involves the extent to which the core components of the intervention are delivered as intended by the protocols. Fidelity is necessary for the researcher to accurately interpret treatment effects. In program evaluation, a critical condition for obtaining valid results and accurately explaining what happened depends on intervention fidelity. If fidelity is compromised, the researcher is unable to accurately explain whatever outcomes were measured. More importantly, fidelity is necessary for the provider to deliver the best level of care when utilizing evidence-based practices in the treatment process, and necessary for the recipient to be able to receive the best possible care. When the intervention is not delivered with fidelity, research is clear that the intervention loses its effectiveness to the extent that protocols are not adhered to and not delivered expertly.

Four core components of fidelity as identified by Gearing et al. (2011) were utilized to assess fidelity in the delivery of the Laumaka program, where program fidelity refers to the extent to which core components of the program are delivered as intended by the program procedures and practices. The four core components involve:

- A. Program design and protocols: refers to the incorporation of a theoretical or evidence-based framework or model for the program that serves as the foundation for program interventions and activities; goals and strategies are articulated when implementing the program; description is provided as to how the program should be organized and delivered, including the roles and responsibilities of the staff. A program model is a well-defined set of interventions and procedures to help individuals achieve the desired goal of successful reentry.
- B. Program training: refers to the adequacy of on-going training and supervision of staff in order to implement the program with fidelity and quality.
- C. Program delivery: refers to the extent to which the program is implemented by staff as designed; the level of skills displayed by staff that are essential to the appropriate implementation of the program; and the competency of staff to engage with program participants with warmth and sensitivity consistent with the program's approach.
- D. Participant's receipt of the program: refers to the level in which the participant is able to comprehend and use the program information and skills to change maladaptive behaviors and cognitions to more adaptive approaches; and the extent to which critical elements of the program are received and utilized appropriately by participants.

It was made known to program evaluation staff early in the study by the Laumaka staff that there was no program manual. Thus, there was no single document that provided the theoretical or empirically based framework for the program, and the goals and strategies as to how the program should be organized, delivered, or replicated. There was no clearly defined and documented set of interventions and activities designed to help individuals achieve the desired goal of successful

reentry. As a result, the program evaluation focused on documenting the program interventions and activities and determining the extent and cohesiveness of its theoretical and/or empirical bases, identifying training initiatives, obtaining data on program delivery, and assessing participants' receipt of the program.

The program evaluation report includes a detailed description of the Laumaka Work Furlough Program in an effort to support the development of a program manual that can be further modified by Laumaka staff to represent their program in a written document. This will assist the Program staff in several ways. They can better share with others what the program is about, have improved means to implement their program consistently with fidelity, utilize the document for training new staff, and serve as the foundation for future program evaluations. Because the recommendations were very detailed, they have been embedded into the text of this report for easier reference to when reading the comments.

The Laumaka Work Furlough program can be described as a reentry program due to its specific focus on the transition from prison to community (Seiter & Kadela, 2003). The program consists of multiple components, with a primary emphasis on its work release component that prepares inmates for job seeking, identifying and applying for job postings, and gaining work experience to enhance future job seeking activities. Other programs and activities involve participation in a substance abuse after care program and preparing for parole board hearing. A more detailed description of the programs and activities is provided below.

- *Create furlough program manual and provide annual training on program to ensure and measure fidelity. Develop standardized definitions applicable to Module 20 and Laumaka programs.*
- *Revise furlough policy to include principles of the Risk, Need, and Responsivity approach (RNR).*

The Laumaka Work Furlough Center operates as one part of the Oahu Community Correctional Center's (OCCC) work furlough program, the other being the Module 20 facility on the OCCC facility site. Distinct differences were found between the Laumaka program and the Module 20 program, although they are both in the Community Based Section of the organizational chart and under the supervision of the Corrections Supervisor II.

The Laumaka Work Furlough Center is located on Laumaka Street outside of OCCC in a neighboring community, and designed to represent a transitional facility for inmates preparing for reentry from a prison environment to community living. The physical plant consists of an administrative building that houses staff offices, classrooms for programming (Bridge, AA/NA, group and individual counseling), cafeteria and security posts. The housing facility for program participants consists of two apartment-like building structures with separate living units and shared spaces for television and bathrooms, similar to dormitory or apartment dwellings. The two buildings are set up to provide housing for a total of 212 people.

Inmates are primarily classified at the community custody level, and are receiving substance abuse aftercare services, having previously completed PSD's primary substance treatment services. Unlike the Laumaka Work Furlough Center, the Mod 20 program is located within OCCC walls. Though Mod 20 inmates have access to the community through their own separate gate, the living environment is not designed as a transitional facility. While most inmates in Mod 20 are classified at the community custody level like Laumaka, inmates designated as sex

offenders are all diverted to Mod 20, not to Laumaka. In addition, Mod 20 started providing the work furlough program in 2013, while Laumaka work furlough program has been in operation for about two decades. The study period for this program evaluation included inmates in work furlough from 2011 to 2015 for purposes of measuring recidivism as a significant outcome variable.

According to multiple interview sources with the Laumaka staff, PSD administrators, former inmates and current inmates, an understanding of inclusion and exclusion criteria varied greatly. There were many who stated eligibility for Laumaka (vs. Mod 20) was based solely on whether an individual had a sex offender history, while other perspectives centered around LSI scores and availability of bed space. There were also multiple interviewees that stated the administrator had sole decision-making authority on who Laumaka accepted as a participant in the furlough program. It was also mentioned the decision to admit to the program was determined by the sending facility and the administration had no ability to challenge the recommendation.

For all of the above information about the two sites and the varying issues, the Laumaka Work Furlough Center, excluding Mod 20, became the focus of this program evaluation as most representative of PSD's inmate furlough program and displaying greater consistency with other states' reentry programs with a work release focus.

Program Goals and Objectives

- *Develop a statement of goals and objectives for the furlough program. Include representation from all levels of administration, furlough program and security staff, Hawaii Paroling Authority, and upstream programming staff.*
- *Develop or adopt psychometric measures to monitor changes in attitudes. These measures can be used to further refine the targeting of interventions, track progress through the program and assist in decision making at program milestones.*

By policy definition, "furlough" is *an authorized leave of absence from the institution without an escort, which is creditable toward service of sentence and is intended to provide the selected inmates opportunities for in-community experience with family and social reintegration, education, employment, vocational training, and/or specialized treatment prior to parole.* (PSD Policy No.: COR 14.15, January 6, 2017)

The PSD's Laumaka Work Furlough Program is designed to provide an inmate with skills to seek, prepare for, obtain, and maintain a job in the community. During the course of their stay, the individuals are expected to save money, secure housing, prepare for a parole hearing and ultimately, get released by the Hawaii Paroling Authority (HPA).

Throughout the Furlough Program, an individual is expected to participate in several programs required during their stay at Laumaka. The programs are designed to prepare them for triggers in the community and to assist in coping with the everyday stressors of life as they transition back into an open society. Required programs, such as Bridge, are run internally, while programs such as WorkNet and Alu Like are community-based where an individual is encouraged to utilize their services while out in the community on pass as they prepare for their transition out of incarceration. The objectives of the programs vary, depending on the assessed needs for each

individual, but are primarily designed to provide the individual with supportive relationships and skills to utilize in the community to prevent recidivism upon release to parole.

Staff Positions

The Laumaka Work Furlough Program includes of the following staff positions:

- Corrections Administrator
- Corrections Manager
- Corrections Supervisor
- Social Worker/Human Services Professional
- Social Services Assistant
- Substance Abuse Specialist
- ACO security staff

The interviews conducted with the Laumaka staff were primarily with the social worker/case managers, administrator, supervisor, substance abuse specialist, and ACO security staff. There were no interviews conducted with social services assistants, but they were mentioned in several interviews when referring to conducting site visits and in support of the social worker/case manager's duties and responsibilities.

Corrections Administrator, Corrections Manager, Corrections Supervisor

The administrative staff consists of the administrator, manager and a supervisor. They are collectively responsible for the daily function of the facility. The program's administrative staff relies heavily on the individual experience and skills of staff members in their ability to motivate and support the use of adaptive behaviors by inmates living in less controlled environments that require greater self-regulation, and who are operating independently in the community on a daily basis working or seeking employment opportunities. There is no formal program manual for the Laumaka Work Furlough program administrators to implement and enforce. There is no formal theory on which the program activities are based, nor are activities driven by any evidence-based program. Rather, the program is based on past PSD furlough programs and practices, with some components showing similar characteristics to best practices in the field of corrections that have been adapted to the local setting. This inmate furlough program places emphasis on preparing inmates for their parole board hearing, involving fulfilling requirements related to secured employment, safe housing, substance abuse treatment, and holding adequate financial resources. Work release is the program's primary component in terms of how inmates in Laumaka use their time and effort in preparing for reentry and preventing recidivism. To a lesser extent, extended furlough privileges focused on re-socialization activities are also utilized by staff in preparing inmates for reentry.

Case Managers (CM)

All areas of the inmate's progress through the furlough program are managed by the CMs. In addition, the CMs monitor and manage the following programs and activities provided at the Laumaka Work Furlough Center:

- Orientation
- Overview and adherence to Laumaka contract
- Document gathering (birth certificates, driver's license, state identification, etc.)
- Job seeking, employment, and monitoring passes

- Financial saving and money management
- GPS tracking (with assistance from SSAs)
- Identifying and securing housing
- Re-socialization
- Required program completion
- Non-compliance and processing of all disciplinary procedures
- Parole Board hearing(s)

At Laumaka, four (4) Case Managers are assigned to provide direct programmatic support and counseling for individuals, initially through the development and implementation of treatment/service plans, followed by working with individuals in job seeking and supporting employment opportunities. They also provide assistance in organizing their housing arrangements upon release, financial resources, re-socialization activities, and required paperwork in preparation for Parole Board hearings. Case managers assesses individuals' needs and strengths and provide linkages to community resources. Three CMs are assigned to Dorms 1, 2, and 3, and manage services for all the individuals in their respective dorms. The fourth CM conducts a variety of duties, including orientation for all new individuals, serving as the Adjustment Hearing chair to address problem behaviors, and providing administrative support to the other CMs.

Social Services Assistant (SSA)

Social Services Assistant (SSA) provide administrative support to each CM, and also facilitate individual inmates' progress through the Laumaka program. They are tasked primarily with the job site visits and operating the electronic monitoring equipment for selected inmates. They report to the CMs and provide organizational support in working directly with inmates as they progress from job seeking to securing and maintaining their employment status.

Substance Abuse Specialist (SAS)

The SAS is responsible for implementing the Bridge Program, Laumaka's substance abuse aftercare program. There are two (2) SAS currently on Laumaka staff. It was noted in interviews with Laumaka administrative staff that the current SAS were not formally trained on administering the Bridge program, but instead gained their knowledge and skills through on-the-job training. Despite this lack of formal training, a small sample of current Laumaka inmates interviewed for this study (n=6) tended to agree that, in general, they have received helpful assistance and support from the SAS staff. They attributed this personal benefit of the program to the positive relationships and mutual respect that developed between individual inmates and staff, and were judging the quality of care of the program based on experiencing this positive relationship. This sentiment by Laumaka inmates of feeling supported by Laumaka staff was not unique to this particular program, but was often expressed about the Laumaka staff in general.

Adult Correctional Officer (ACO) Security Staff

In the Laumaka facility, there are three shifts of ACOs. Their primary duty is to provide security and maintain a safe environment by supervising activities and movements of inmates. They monitor inmate movement to and from programs, residency, medical and other areas of the program. The manual for their job is the standards of conduct and post orders policy. They are tasked with monitoring behaviors as it relates to the Laumaka Work Furlough contract, and

enforcing any violations of misconduct and reporting such violations to the administrator and inmate's CM. The ACO staff is primarily responsible for notifying when an inmate fails to return at the designated time and provides notice to the proper authorities.

- *Revise staffing minimum requirements in all job descriptions to fit programmatic needs.*
- *Develop policy to incentivize staff to pursue higher education to meet minimum requirements.*

Staff Training Program

In several of the interviews conducted with the Laumaka staff, the topic of training appeared to be a central theme. Many staff spoke positively of the initial trainings they received (LSI, Cognitive Behavioral therapy skills, motivational interviewing) when they were orientated to their current positions, but were dissatisfied with the lack of on-going professional development opportunities for skill building and training to a program model. There was a minimal understanding of how staff could access and/or request training from supervisors, and they did not seem to have an awareness of subject matter trainings they may have individual interest in, such as trauma-informed care trainings, behavior modification trainings, and other best practice models that could potentially be available to attend outside of PSD training sessions.

- *Implement computerized data system to provide workers with a central record keeping repository and give managers/administrators real time information on program performance.*
- *Develop a standardized report from "upstream" programs and institutions to provide more information to the furlough staff.*
- *Require formal supervision for all positions. Include professional license requirement for all supervision of staff who provide clinical interventions.*
- *Develop multi-disciplinary teams to increase integration and communication between security staff and programmatic staff to determine inmate progression and needs within program.*

Program Descriptions

The primary interventions and programs provided by Laumaka staff include the following:

- Orientation and Contract Agreement
- Bridge
- Alcoholics Anonymous & Narcotics Anonymous (AA/NA)
- Family and Individual Counseling
- Disciplinary Procedures

Orientation and Contract Agreement

When an individual enters the Laumaka work furlough program, they are advised about programming opportunities, policies pertaining to their stay, contract requirements (rules and regulations of the furlough program), how to obtain a pass, behavior expectations, and more detailed information on general topics like the escape policy. During the first 12 days in the program, a CM conducts an inmate orientation and provides opportunities to discuss concerns or questions.

The orientation consists of an overview of the program, which is laid out in the orientation folder. The folder that contains details about the rules and regulations of the general areas and housing areas, phone use, requirements of reporting and documenting while in the program,

information on financial procedures, job seeking procedures, communication procedures, and other pertinent information to reside in the program.

During orientation, the individual is also informed of the contract they are required to sign in order to remain at the furlough program and be eligible to seek employment. The contract consists of 54 points where the inmate must agree to by initialing each point. If the individual chooses not to sign the contract, they are ineligible to remain in the program. If the individual violates any of the 54 points, they are in violation of the contract and will undergo an investigation of misconduct. At this point, the facility staff will institute the COR 13.03 (policy on Adjustment Procedures Governing Serious Misconduct Violations and the Adjustment of Minor Misconduct Violations). This is discussed in more detailed in the disciplinary procedures section.

- *Review and revise communication policy to increase access for inmates (e.g.: phone use, requirement of landline for resocialization and pass, etc.)*
- *Create standardized procedures for all levels of intervention (e.g.: staff supervision and training, inmate classification, passes, extended furlough)*

Laumaka Bridge Program

Bridge is a residential substance abuse after care program for inmates in work furlough who have completed IOP, or residential substance abuse treatment, while incarcerated. The program provides opportunities to practice social skills, cognitive skills, and recovery skills related to relapse prevention while transitioning to the community. Eligibility is determined by reviewing inmates' files. There was mention that eligibility criteria involved completion of previous PSD substance abuse treatment programs. Counselors are provided on the job training but do not have formal training to the Bridge model. There are currently two Bridge counselors, and each carry up to 32 active cases at a time. Formal supervision is provided once a month with the supervisor, although informal supervision occurs if there is a need. The Bridge supervisor has a bachelor's degree in human services and is a certified substance abuse counselor.

The Laumaka Bridge program is provided in the following phases:

Model phase	Duration	Dosage with Bridge counselor	Objective
Phase 1	30-60 days	1 hour/week	Assess need through discussing with inmate
Phase 2	Approx. 90 days	1 hour, twice/month	RDAP booklet work and journal writing to identify thinking patterns
Phase 3	Approx. 60 days	1 hour/month	Attend AA/NA meetings and practice skills from RDAP book

As part of Laumaka's programming, each individual is assigned a housing dorm in which to reside based on assessment of their substance abuse after care needs. Determination of dorm

assignments is made by the Unit Manager and Corrections Supervisor upon arrival from the sending facility.

There are currently no pre-/post-tests or process measures administered to inmates in the Bridge program to determine what changes in attitudes, beliefs, and/or behaviors, if any, occurred as a result of participating in this program.

AA/NA Programs

The AA/NA program follows the international model utilized for addiction recovery. The staff that provides on-site AA/NA programming was interviewed and provided information on how the program is implemented in the facility. In weekly groups, staff facilitates 60-90 minute sessions where inmates are able to discuss topics relating to substance use and abuse. All inmates in Laumaka are required to participate in AA or NA groups either on site or in the community. They may request passes and attend groups at various locations throughout the island. The format used in the in-house groups were described as relatively unstructured. Typically, participants introduce themselves and discuss topics that are identified by either the facilitator, individuals, or a guest speaker. Although it was presented as a spiritually based program, there was mention that the program was not geared toward any particular religion. There is no "completion" of the program due to the nature of the ongoing support the group process model provides to individuals. The requirement of the AA/NA program while in Laumaka is to attend the entire session (both internally and in the community), and the AA/NA staff stated that they conduct random checks of inmates who are attending groups in the community on a pass to ensure participation. If staff finds that there was a deviation from the pass, they are required to write up and inform administrative staff of the deviation. There were no outcome measures administered for participation in AA or NA groups identified by staff. The goals and objectives of the program were primarily geared towards staying sober through group support and learning through other stories of recovery. Attendance records are the only data currently collected.

Individual and Group Counseling

An independent counseling program is offered at Laumaka on a weekly basis. There are currently two staff who provide group (and individual counseling by request) to the inmates. They conduct groups in the Laumaka classrooms and, according to information they provided in our interviews, they are available for individual and family counseling if the inmate requests and is approved by their CM.

The counseling contract provides services for the Bridge dorms (dorms 2 and 3). The program uses components from various interventions, but did not indicate one particular evidence-based program being used as a model or foundation for their intervention. The information provided from counseling staff stated that the program focuses on topics such as relapse prevention, anger management, domestic violence, grief and trauma, and improving coping skills. There were no initial assessment measures or individual treatment objectives, and no pre-/post tests or other process or outcome measures administered to measure the effects of their counseling services. Groups meet once a week for an hour and individual sessions can occur one hour per month for each inmate, but only by request. The counseling staff stated they received Volicor training, but did not indicate receiving any additional trainings from PSD since their contract employment began. Both clinicians indicated that they receive individual supervision through their contracted

organization (Institute for Psychological Growth) but do not meet with Laumaka administration or case managers on a regular basis to discuss progress or therapeutic goals for the inmates receiving their services.

- *Develop programming intervention focused on reinforcement of skills learned upstream.*
- *Create methods to develop individualized treatment plans.*
- *Implement a relapse prevention program for high risk offenders and offenders who have minor rule violations.*
- *Develop exit interview/customer satisfaction form for inmates to provide upon release to parole. Integrate feedback into quality improvement processes.*

Disciplinary Procedures

In the Laumaka program, disciplinary procedures are initiated when an inmate violates any part of the contract. When this happens, there is a process that follows to determine severity (low moderate, moderate or high) and due process, referred to an adjustment hearing. The inmate is provided a handbook upon entry and disciplinary procedures are outlined for review. The standard process was presented as follows:

1. Report is generated and an administrative segregation form is completed and submitted to chief of security
2. Inmate transferred to OCCC holding unit (for maximum 30 days)
3. Sergeant does investigation and provides recommendations
4. Report forwarded to case manager, who provides recommendations, meets with inmate and has inmate sign off
5. Adjustment hearing occurs – inmate provided 24-hour notice prior to hearing to prepare
6. If found guilty of misconduct, inmate transferred to Halawa. If found not guilty, inmate back to Laumaka bed and continue with program.

Some interviews mentioned the inconsistency around the disciplinary procedures as outlined in the policy. There were specific scenarios where the same violation was treated differently depending on the relationships between the staff and inmates involved. The policy is general in its content, which leaves sufficient room for interpretation and subjectivity of the staff and process. The main discrepancy focused around the severity of misconduct and initiation of written report.

In addition to the quantitative data provided in this evaluation, this evaluation team conducted 44 interviews to gain an overall understanding of the program's operations and any suggestions for improvements. Part of the interview questions with key program staff included their understanding of the program and program components, like the disciplinary process. Many of the interviews provided multiple perceptions about what constituted misconduct and how the process was followed. Even though the process was outlined in the policy, there were variations.

- *As part of the data gathering system, develop a standardized method for documenting major security incidents such as escapes, discovery of drugs in the facility, violent incidents.*
- *Develop standardized procedures for head counts on all shifts.*

External Programs/Community Collaborations

The Laumaka administrative staff provided a list of the following external programs that were identified as programs Laumaka inmates utilize and are referred to by the CMs. Inmates are able to obtain hourly passes to seek out assistance from these community non-profits, and interactions with these programs by inmates are monitored by requiring inmates to get their passes signed by whatever program they visit.

- *Develop policy to formally interact with community corrections organizations, which can include Memorandum of Agreements.*

The concept of community corrections is often used when referring to programs based in the community that provide important services to individuals on furlough or reentering the community as parolees or unsupervised releases. There was a total of eleven (11) programs that were identified by the Laumaka administrative staff that they actively collaborate with to provide community programming support to inmates housed at the Laumaka facility. The programs offer a variety of services such as; (1) job seeking assistance, (2) resume development, (3) job skill-building, (4) housing search, (5) clothing and professional tips for interviewing, (6) bus passes, (7) and other services helpful to transition into the community.

- Hawaii State Department of Business, Economic Development & Tourism (DBEDT)
- Parents and Children Together (PACT)
- Work Net
- Honolulu Community Action Program (HCAP)
- Hawaii State Division of Vocational Rehabilitation (DVR)
- Waikiki Health Center
- Work Links
- Helping Hands
- Alu Like
- Catholic Charities
- Veterans Affairs (VA)

Each of the programs identified were contacted and queried about their services and relationship with Laumaka work furlough program inmates. Many provided information about their services that benefitted inmates in their job search, resume development, housing search, computer skill development, and identifying other community resources for assistance. There were no formal services specifically for Laumaka participants but for the general population needing services. The only way services were able to identify if the individuals were from Laumaka was by the request to sign their pass. We were not able to gather data around inmate-specific clientele from any of the community corrections programs because they did not separate from the general population receiving services.

- *In conjunction with Hawaii Paroling Authority, develop a "continuum of care" so inmates who are in programs while on furlough can continue those programs when paroled.*

Assessment of Major Fidelity Components: Conclusions.

The following is a summary of the assessment of the four core components of fidelity as applied to the Laumaka Work Furlough Program, where program fidelity refers to the extent to which

core components of the program are delivered as intended by the program procedures and practices:

A. Program design and protocols

- There is no program manual for the Work Furlough Program. Thus, there was no single document that provided the theoretical or empirically based framework for the program, and the goals and strategies as to how the program should be organized, delivered, or replicated.
- There was no clearly defined and documented set of interventions and activities designed to help individuals achieve the desired goal of successful reentry.

B. Program training

- Many staff spoke positively of the initial trainings they received (LSI, Cognitive Behavioral therapy skills, motivational interviewing) when they were orientated to their current positions, but were dissatisfied with the lack of on-going professional development opportunities for skill building and training to a program model. There was a minimal understanding of how staff could access and/or request training from supervisors, and they did not seem to have an awareness of subject matter trainings they may have individual interest in, such as trauma-informed care trainings, behavior modification trainings, and other best practice models that could potentially be available to attend outside of PSD training sessions.
- For the Bridge program, counselors are provided on the job training but do not have formal training on the Bridge model. Formal supervision is provided once a month with the supervisor, although informal supervision occurs if there is a need.
- Part of the interview questions with key program staff included their understanding of the program and program components, like the disciplinary process. Many of the interviews provided multiple perceptions about what constituted misconduct and how the process was followed. Even though the process was outlined in the policy, there were variations.
- The counseling staff stated they received Volicor training, but did not indicate receiving any additional trainings from PSD since their contract employment began. Both clinicians indicated that they receive individual supervision through their contracted organization (Institute for Psychological Growth) but do not meet with Laumaka administration or case managers on a regular basis to discuss progress or therapeutic goals for the inmates receiving their services.

C. Program delivery

- Some interviews mentioned the inconsistency around the disciplinary procedures as outlined in the policy. There were specific scenarios where the same violation was treated differently depending on the relationships between the staff and inmates involved. The policy is general in its content, which leaves sufficient room for interpretation and subjectivity of the staff and process. The main discrepancy focused around the severity of misconduct and initiation of written report.
- Some interviews mentioned the inconsistency around the disciplinary procedures as outlined in the policy. There were specific scenarios where the same violation was treated differently depending on the relationships between the staff and inmates involved. The policy is general in its content, which leaves sufficient room for interpretation and

subjectivity of the staff and process. The main discrepancy focused around the severity of misconduct and initiation of written report.

D. Participant's receipt of the program

- There are currently no pre-/post-tests or process measures administered to inmates in the Bridge program to determine what changes in attitudes, beliefs, and/or behaviors, if any, occurred as a result of participating in this program.
- There were mixed perceptions of the effectiveness of the Bridge program. Because there are no measureable outcomes, it is difficult to evaluate the effects of this program. The primary feedback from individuals interviewed involved the desire for greater individualization of intensity and dosage level of this program based on the assessed needs of each person. For those assessed as low risk for relapse, time could be more effectively used in engaging in employment opportunities, resocialization activities, and/or other types of reentry program activities.
- There were no outcome measures administered for participation in AA or NA groups identified by staff. The goals and objectives of the program were primarily geared towards staying sober through group support and learning through other stories of recovery. Attendance records are the only data currently collected.
- There were no initial assessment measures or individual treatment objectives, and no pre- or post-tests or other process or outcome measures administered to measure the effects of their counseling services.
- When individuals accessed community corrections programs, there were no formal services aimed specifically for Laumaka participants, but rather were targeting the general population who were seeking services. The only way these community programs were able to identify if the individuals were from Laumaka was by the request to sign their pass. We were not able to gather data around inmate-specific clientele from any of the community corrections programs because they did not separate from the general population receiving services.

Figure 5. Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria for Work Furlough

<p>Department of Public Safety, Policy No.: COR.14.15, Effective Date January 6, 2017)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">INMATE FURLOUGH PROGRAM</p> <p>Furlough Eligibility Standards</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. The inmate shall have “community” custody classification. b. The inmate must be physically, medically, and mentally capable of participating in the furlough program with consideration given to the requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). The inmate shall comply with any and all medical orders and restrictions in order to be allowed to continue in the program. c. The inmate shall have sufficient funds to pay for any necessary expenses for furloughs. d. Furlough participation is dependent upon demonstrated progress in prescribed programs, accomplishment of stated objectives and/or demonstrated capability of independent living such as employment history, financial stability, and appropriate residential arrangements in the community. e. Furlough is discretionary and involves a case-by-case determination and individualized assessments to determine appropriate placement in the program. Meeting the furlough eligibility criteria or previous participation in a furlough program does not guarantee future participation in a work furlough. f. Mandatory minimum-sentences are imposed by the court to require a definite period of time to be served before an inmate is granted parole. That being said, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mandatory minimum-sentenced inmates shall not be eligible for “furlough,” unless the inmate is <u>servicing the last year</u> of the mandatory minimum and it coincides with the inmate having only 12 months remaining on his/her minimum sentence. • All furlough programs established for mandatory minimum-sentenced inmates shall be implemented with social reintegration as the primary goal and will be generally scheduled to be completed cohesively with the end of the mandatory minimum sentence. g. Inmates convicted of very heinous and grave crimes, whether serving mandatory sentences or not, shall require careful and thorough individualized assessment of their potential for continuing violent behavior on a case-by-case basis. Such assessment shall include a review of pre-commitment behavior and the crime for which the inmate is incarcerated, weighed against progress demonstrated during confinement. h. The Program Committee may review furlough applications 6 months prior to the inmates’ eligible dates; however, execution of an affirmative furlough decision especially for <u>all mandatory minimum term cases</u> shall not commence without the approval of the Director of the Department or designated representative. The only exceptions to this requirement shall be cases where the mandatory minimums have been served in its entirety. <p>Inmates Ineligible for Furlough</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Inmates with criminal detainers shall not be eligible to furlough unless the other sentence is concurrent, the jurisdiction placing the detainer concurs with the furlough plans and approval is obtained from the Director of the Department. b. Inmates with a communicable disease shall not be eligible for furlough. Inmates who require long-term hospitalization shall also not be eligible for furlough. c. Inmates with pending charge(s) shall not be eligible for furlough. d. Inmates with consecutive sentences shall not be eligible for furlough until they are serving their final sentence. e. Inmates serving a sentence of life without parole shall not be eligible for furlough.

Figure 6. How Inmates Get to Work Furlough

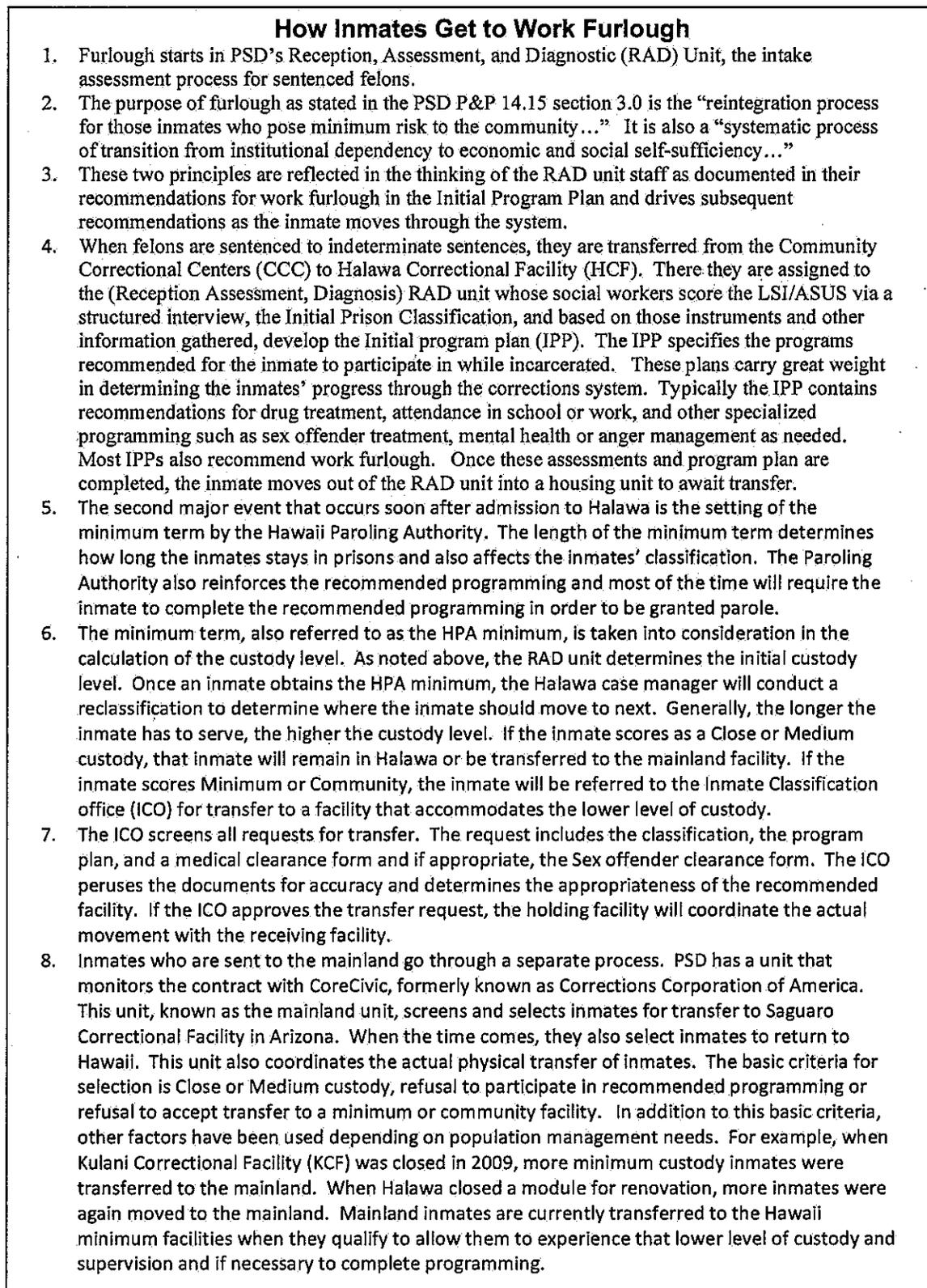


Figure 6. How Inmates Get to Work Furlough (cont'd)**How Inmates Get to Work Furlough (cont'd)**

9. So minimum custody inmates are transferred to Kulani Correctional Facility (KCF) or Waiawa Correctional facility (WCF) from Halawa or from the mainland to continue their recommended programming. In addition to general population inmates, Kulani will accept sex offenders and murderers. WCF will not. WCF also offers the only Level Three drug treatment program in Hawaii for men, the Kashbox Therapeutic Community, so inmates who have been recommended to go to Level Three will go to Waiawa.
10. If an inmate waits in Halawa for the transfer to a minimum facility, he is encouraged to attend programs and to work. He is also observed by staff and any rule violations, commonly referred to as misconducts, are adjudicated and recorded. Rule violations can affect this custody level and therefore when he becomes eligible for transfer. This observation opportunity also informs any adjustments to his program plan. Such changes can be done by a Program Plan Update (PPU).
11. Even after transferring to a minimum facility, case managers continue to update the PPU based on new information. Recommendations for furlough may change based on the perceived needs of the inmate. If the case manager feels that the inmate needs opportunity to "reintegrate" or would benefit from a "transition" from prison back into the community, then furlough, if not already recommended, may be added.
12. As noted in the Furlough policy, an inmate must qualify for furlough by scoring community custody. This includes among other things, avoiding major misconducts that will increase his classification score and being within 2 years of parole eligibility. Also, he must be physically and mentally capable of participating in furlough. Inmates with especially heinous or high profile crimes are screened with extra care.
13. When an inmate meets the above requirements, the referring facility, WCF or KCF, and upon occasion the mainland unit, will again make a referral to the ICO for transfer to furlough. Inmates are eligible to furlough on their island of residence, usually where they were convicted but on rare occasions the island where they plan to parole to. The referral to the ICO includes the reclassification instrument that shows the inmate is community custody, a new LSI/ASUS, and an updated PPU documenting the inmates' participation in programming and performance in prison. And the current program recommendations.
14. Again the ICO screens the documents and assessments for accuracy and if they agree, will approve the transfer. The referring facility and the receiving facility coordinate the date of transfer.
15. Once in Laumaka, inmates go through an orientation period, which includes a lengthy review of the rules, requirements and conditions of furlough, then are released to seek work. Getting a job is a requirement at Laumaka, failure to gain employment within 60 days may result in being sent back to a minimum or medium custody facility. The inmate may be re-referred to furlough when the higher custody facility staff feels he is ready. If the inmate incurs a serious misconduct he may be removed from the furlough program and sent to a higher security facility as determined by his classification. He will become eligible for furlough when his classification drops to community again. It is common for inmates to go through furlough several times either because they were sent back or because they were released, then committed new crimes and started the process all over again.

Short-term Outcome Measures

Table 3 summarizes the admissions totals and median length of stay for the calendar years 2011-2015. As described by Program staff, the Laumaka Program runs from 6-12 months. The median length of stay calculated for the 5-year period supports that program description. It appears that from 2011 to 2015, there has been a steady lessening of the length of stay, with the median length for 2011 at 270 days, and steadily decreasing to 208 days in 2015. Further study is suggested to determine the cause for this clear pattern of reducing the length of exposure to the Program interventions and employment opportunities. The shortened time period could have impacted participants' ability to strengthen their work experiences for their resume when released and applying for jobs.

Table 3.
Admissions, Median Length of Stay by Year

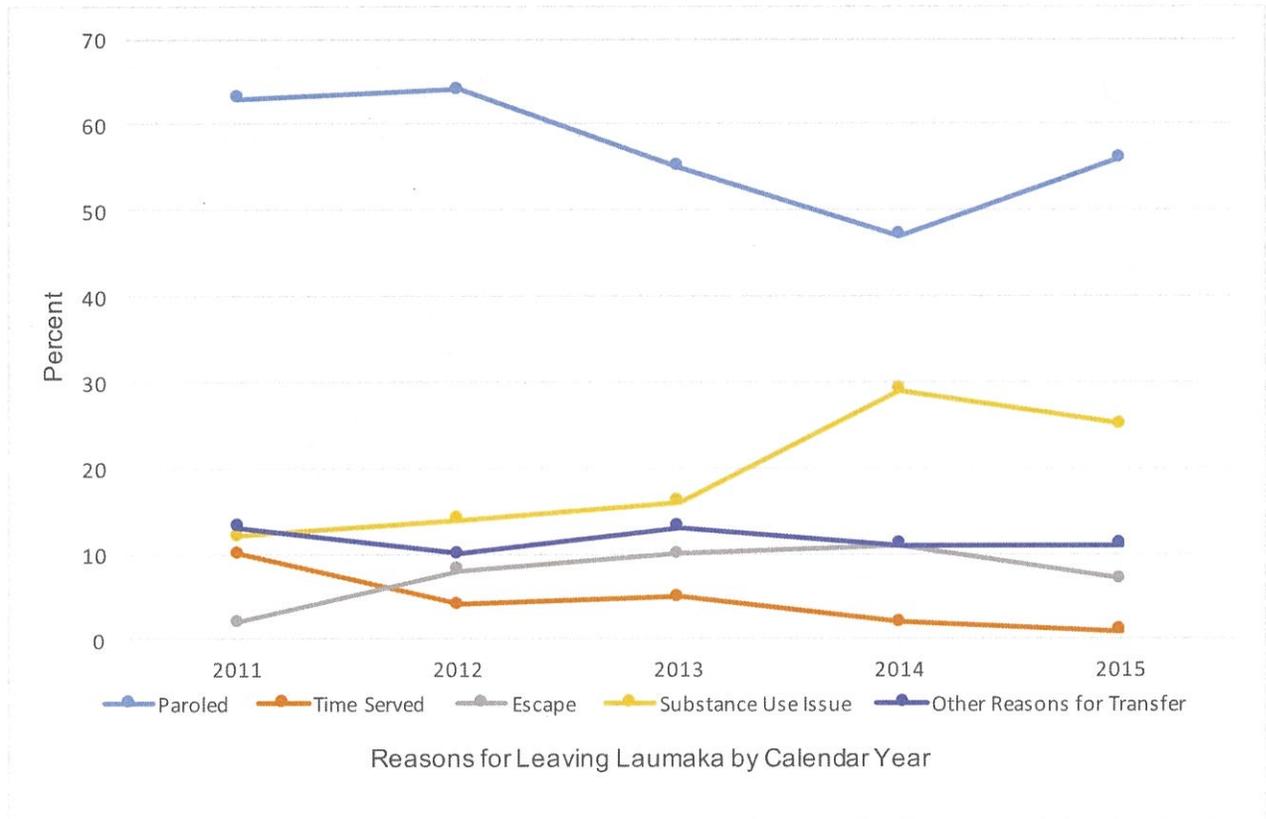
Calendar Year	Admissions	Median Length of Stay– Days (Months)
2011	137	270 (9.0 months)
2012	166	230 (7.7 months)
2013	137	221 (7.4 months)
2014	177	206 (6.9 months)
2015	157	208 (6.9 months)

Figure 5. Length of stay: Comparison across years



Again, the progressively shorter length of stay from 2011 to 2015 is seen in this bar graph, with significant numbers of participants increasing in the 1-6 months length of stay statistic.

Figure 6. Reasons for Leaving Laumaka by Year



Note: The “Reason” labeled “Substance Use Issue” represents the aggregated total for the following substance use issues: Positive Urinalysis; Possession or Use of Narcotic Paraphernalia or Smoking Tobacco; Tampering with a Urinalysis Sample. The “Reason” labeled “Other Reasons for Transfer” represents the aggregated total for the following behaviors: Possession of Electronics; Possession of Anything Not Authorized for Retention; Possession of Any Weapon; Possession of Unauthorized Money; Deviation; Violating a Condition of Any Community Release; Use of Force or Threats Towards a Correctional Worker; Physical Interference; Midconduct-3a7(3); Fighting with Another Person; Refusing to Obey an Order; Failing to Perform Work as Instructed by Staff; Failing to Stand Count or Interfering with Taking Count; Pending Charge; Transferred to a Federal Facility.

Based on the Table 3 graph, it appears that between 2011 to 2014 there was a clear pattern of declining number of participants completing the Laumaka Program. This is an important outcome to track, as according to PSD and Laumaka staff, preparing Laumaka participants for a successful parole board hearing is a very high priority for the program. There is a positive increase between 2014 and 2015, so it would be important to see for 2016 and 2017 whether this trend of increasingly greater numbers of participants completing the program is a clear positive trend, or whether the previous downward trend is re-established during these past two years, 2016-2017. The question would be, what is the goal that Laumaka is attempting to achieve in terms of the percent of their inmates being paroled out of Laumaka. Is the current average of 56.9% for each year from 2011-2015 above, below, or at the expected levels for the program?

The other significant indicator shows that issues related to substance abuse is an important area to address, particularly since the Laumaka Bridge program is designed as an aftercare/relapse prevention type of program as a follow-up to the treatment programs those with substance abuse diagnoses were required to attend. If the reason that 25-30 percent of the inmates are prematurely discharged from the program and sent back to their previous facility due to a substance abuse related violation, then the program may need to reassess whether the appropriate referrals are being transferred to the Program, or whether the needs to more accurate access inmates when they initially enter the program for their risk substance abuse, and whether Bridge is appropriately providing the type of substance abuse programs based on the actual needs of the participants. The other issue to consider is whether the percentages of inmates being paroled out of Laumaka is a satisfactory level, running between and 57-64% between 2011 to 2015. That looks like a statistic that needs to be reviewed by the evaluation team to determine its accuracy, as PSD administrators quoted a higher level of 70% or greater being paroled coming out of the Laumaka program.

Table 4.
Reasons for Leaving Laumaka by Year

REASON FOR DISCHARGE	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total (Actual Count)
Paroled	79	109	92	81	92	56.9% (453)
Time Served	12	7	9	4	2	4.3% (34)
Escape	3	13	17	18	11	7.8% (62)
Positive Urinalysis	10	16	22	10	0	7.3% (58)
Possession/use of narcotic paraphernalia or smoking tobacco	4	7	5	40	38	11.8% (94)
Tampering with a urinalysis sample	1	0	0	0	3	0.5% (4)
Possession of electronics	5	8	5	8	3	3.6% (29)
Possession of any weapon	0	0	0	0	1	0.1% (1)
Possession of anything not authorized for Retention	0	0	0	0	2	0.3% (2)
Possession of unauthorized money	0	0	0	1	1	0.3% (2)
Deviation or More than 2 deviations in 6 months	8	5	9	5	6	4.1% (33)
Misconduct 3a7(3), 2a6(3)	1	3	3	0	0	0.9% (7)
Violating a condition of any community release	0	0	0	0	1	0.1% (1)
The use of force or violence	0	0	1	0	0	0.1% (1)
Use of force or threats towards a correctional worker	1	0	1	2	2	0.8% (6)
Physical interference	1	0	0	1	0	0.3% (2)
Fighting with another person	0	0	0	0	1	0.1% (1)
Refusing to obey an order	1	0	0	0	0	0.1% (1)
Failing to perform work as instructed by staff	0	0	0	0	1	0.1% (1)
Failing to stand count or interfering with taking count	0	0	0	1	0	0.1% (1)
Pending charge	0	1	1	0	0	0.3% (2)
Transferred to a Federal facility	0	0	1	0	0	0.1% (1)
Total for Year	126	169	166	171	164	

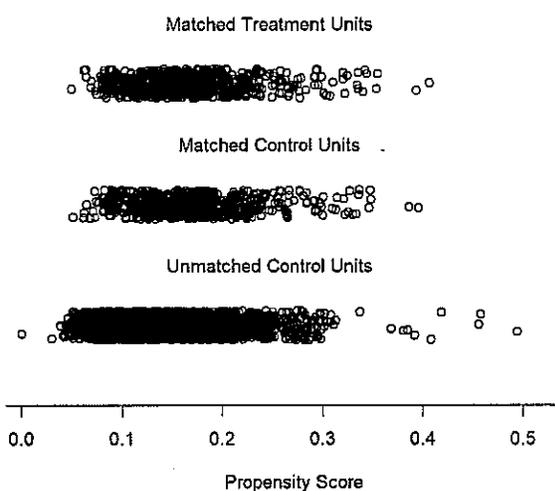
The final statistic that requires some review is the number of escapes from Laumaka during this period of time. While data is not easily available as to the rates of escape in other work release

program in the U.S., it has been reported previously that experiencing 10% or greater escape rate is fairly common, so Laumaka's rate between 2011-2015 of 7.8% yearly appears to be lower than the average for other states.

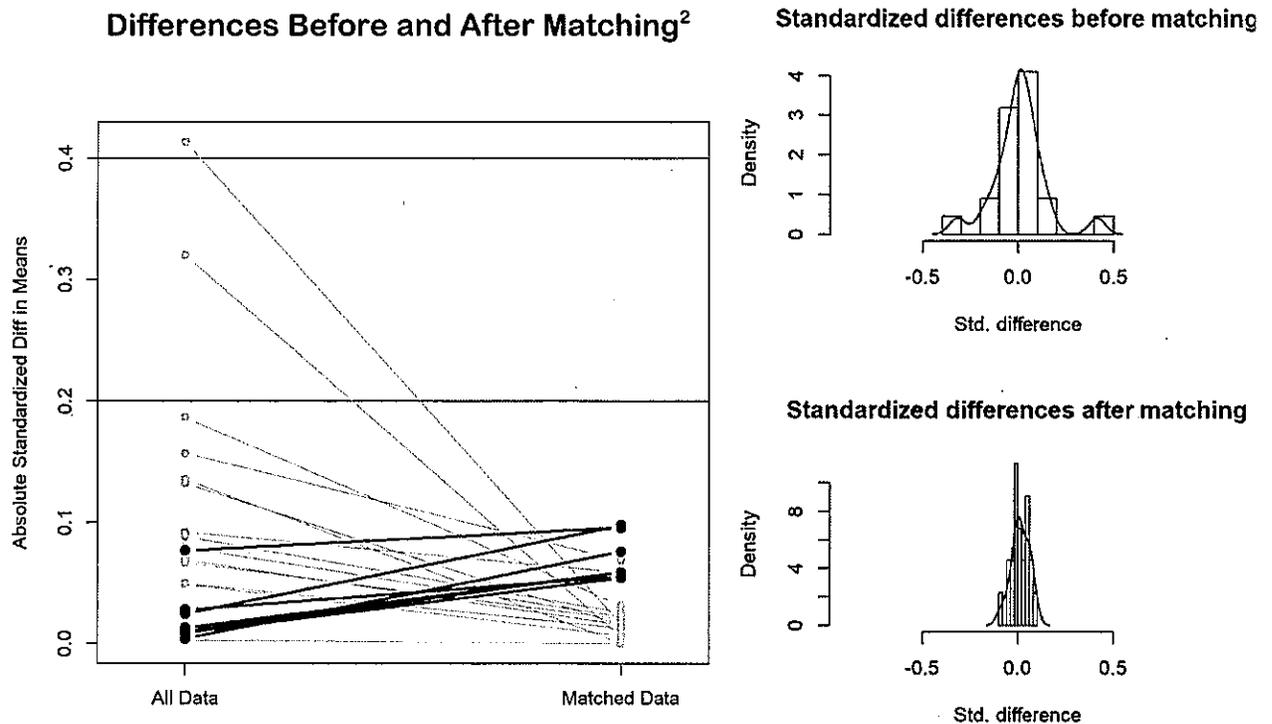
Long-term Outcome Measure: Propensity Score Matching Analysis of Recidivism Rates

Propensity score matching was used to identify a comparison sample of inmates similar to those who participated in the Work Furlough Program. Propensity score matching is often used as an alternative to randomized trials or experimental designs. Propensity score matching is a quasi-experimental design that uses statistical analyses to identify a comparison group from a larger sample of individuals who did not receive a treatment under study, in this case, inmates who did not participate in the Work Furlough Program but otherwise have backgrounds similar to those who did.

Propensity score matching uses a statistical process of determining the probability that a participant would likely be placed in either a treatment group (the Work Furlough Program) or traditional services (the comparison group) based on their background, history, and individual characteristics. The probability of being assigned to the Work Furlough Program was determined by a set of covariates that are believed to either increase or decrease the chances that an individual would be placed into the program. The covariates in the propensity score matching analyses for this study included their age, number of offenses at the time of sentencing, criminal offense (e.g., sexual assault, serious drug, robbery, revocation, property, other violent, major violent, drug, paraphernal, and other offences), their classification (e.g., minimum, medium, maximum, community, close) and initial scores on life-time involvement with substance use (measured by the adult substance use survey-revised; ASUS-R), disruptive symptoms and negative consequences related to substance use (measured by the ASUS-R), and total Level of Service Inventory-Revised (LSI-R) scores. The characteristics of each individual in the program were then paired (1:1 matching) with an individual who was not in the program but had statistically similar scores on a combination of the covariates. Based on established criteria, we then examined whether the Work Furlough Program participants were well matched to a comparison group member.



The figure on the right demonstrates the range and pairing of matched and unmatched comparisons (labeled as control units) inmates. Each circle in the figure represents a single person in the Work Furlough Program or the comparison group. If propensity score matching leads to closely tied pairs the distribution of “Matched Treatment Units” on top and the “Matched Control Units” (center) will look similar, particularly when compared to the “Unmatched Control Units” on the bottom. This figure suggests that a close match was obtained for each of the individuals in the Work Furlough Program.



The two figures above demonstrate the differences between the unmatched and matched comparison samples. The figure on the left represents the magnitude of differences in means between the full unmatched comparison sample ($n = 3,026$) to the Work Furlough Program sample and the matched sample ($n=532$) to the Work Furlough Program sample. You will see that each of the covariates (indicated by unique lines in the figure) were well below the established cutoff of .25 for absolute standardized differences in means, indicating a well matched samples (Ho et. al 2007). The figure on the right also demonstrates the shrinking level of standardized differences on the covariates before and after matching.

A table comparing participants in the Work Furlough Program to the matched comparison group appearing below. Includes variables used as covariates in the matching procedure. Here you will see that their means after matching are quite similar. None of these variables were statistically different than one another at the $p < .05$ level.

² The standardized bias estimate is calculated by dividing the difference in means of the covariate between the intervention group and the comparison group by the standard deviation (Harder et al. 2010); covariates are considered balanced if the standardized bias estimate is below 0.25 (Ho et al. 2007)

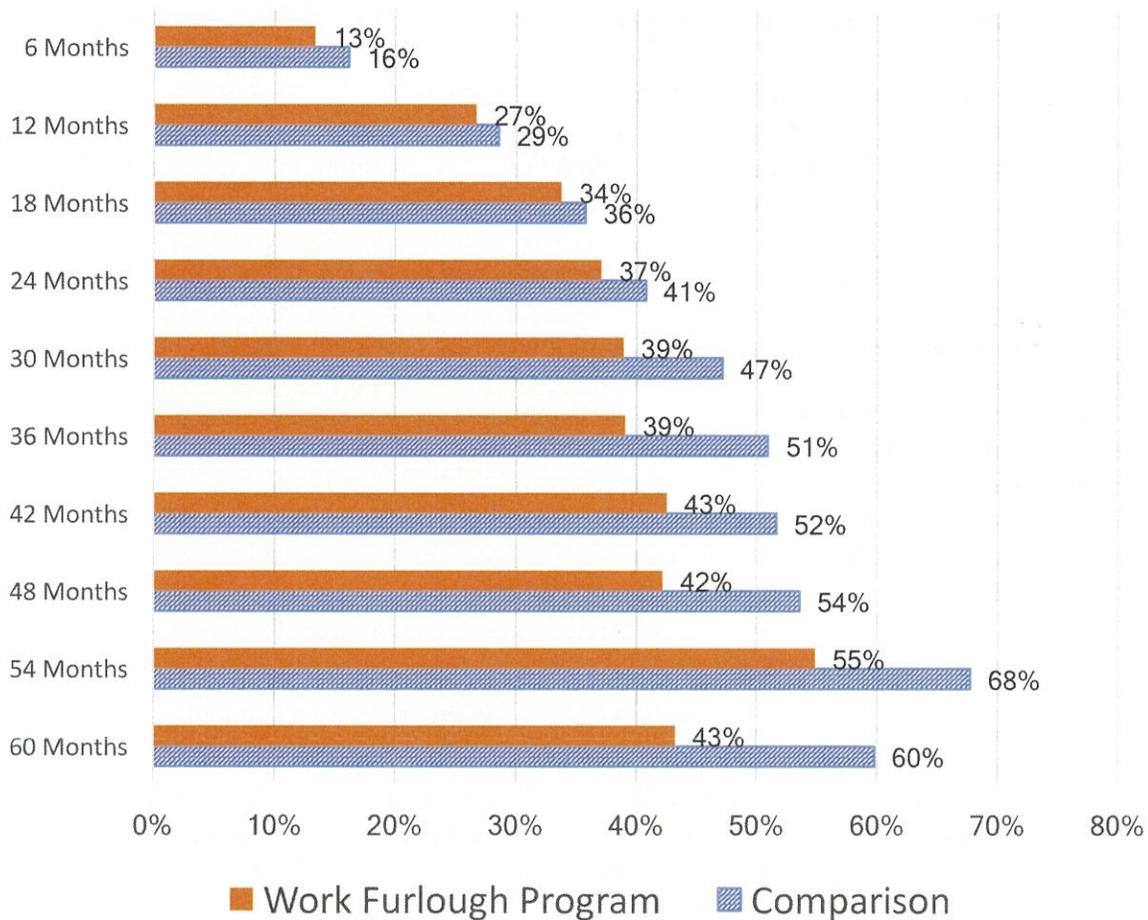
Harder, V. S., Stuart, E. A., & Anthony, J. (2010). Propensity score techniques and the assessment of measured covariate balance to test causal associations in psychological research. *Psychological Methods, 15*(3), 234–249.

Ho, D. E., Imai, K., King, G., & Stuart, E. A. (2007). Matching as nonparametric preprocessing for reducing model dependence in parametric causal inference. *Political Analysis, 15*(3), 199-236

	Work Furlough Group	Comparison Group After Matching	Comparison Group Before Matching
At time of incarceration:	Mean or Percentage		
<i>Average age</i>	42.55	41.91	41.09
<i>Average number of offenses at sentencing</i>	1.17	1.18	1.20
<i>Percent who committed a crime not classified</i>	37%	39%	36%
<i>Percent who committed a drug paraphernal crime</i>	4%	3%	5%
<i>Percent who committed a major violent crime</i>	2%	2%	2%
<i>Percent who committed other violent crime</i>	7%	8%	7%
<i>Percent who committed a property crime</i>	23%	20%	26%
<i>Percent resulted in probation revocation</i>	9%	9%	7%
<i>Percent who committed robbery</i>	6%	6%	3%
<i>Percent who committed a serious drug crime</i>	7%	7%	11%
<i>Percent who committed a sexual assault</i>	5%	5%	3%
<i>First Classification: Close</i>	1%	1%	1%
<i>First Classification: Community</i>	6%	5%	11%
<i>First Classification: Maximum</i>	2%	2%	1%
<i>First Classification: Medium</i>	48%	53%	47%
<i>First Classification: Minimum</i>	41%	36%	37%
<i>Average ASUS-R: Involvement</i>	10.13	9.73	10.22
<i>Average ASUS-R: Disruption</i>	19.29	17.96	19.36
<i>Average LSI-R Total Score</i>	19.75	19.72	21.92

These results suggest that the matched comparison group closely resembles those that participated in the Work Furlough Program. Therefore, any differences in recidivism are likely a result of the program they were placed and not reflect differences between the two groups prior to participating in the program.

Recidivism Rate (rearrest) since Release



The figure above presents recidivism rates for rearrests for individuals in the Work Furlough Program with matched individuals not in the Work Furlough Program. Each Work Furlough participant was statistically matched to one comparison person using propensity score matching techniques (Nearest Neighbor 1:1 matching). Due to differences in the amount of time since release for individuals in both groups, 6-month and 1-year scores were based on 1064 individuals, 2-year scores on 817 individuals, 3-year on 586 individuals, 4-year on 369 individuals, and 5-year on 171 individuals. For the purposes of these analyses, we only presented recidivism rates for individual who were released early enough to potentially reach each benchmark.

Chi-square difference tests identified statistically significant values (two-tailed), suggesting Work Furlough Program participants were less likely to recidivate, after 2.5 years ($p = .032$), three years ($p = .005$), three years and six months (marginally significant; $p = .061$), four years ($p = .037$), four years and six months (marginally significant; $p = .066$) and five years ($p = .044$). There were no statistically significant differences between 6-months and two years.

Qualitative Results

The following themes were identified after analyzing interview transcripts of the individual interviews:

- *Importance of the relationship between inmates and Laumaka ACOs, Case Managers, and Counselors*
- *Focus on Intrinsic Motivation: "It's all up to the individual"*
- *Desire to be treated fairly and respectfully*
- *Importance of feeling supported for individual needs as opposed to program needs*
- *Importance of family support*

Theme: *Importance of the relationship between inmates and Laumaka ACOs, Case Managers, and Counselors*

During the interviews, the subject of the nature of interactions between Laumaka staff and inmates was a consistent theme. As expected, there were positive and negative reported when describing staff-inmate interactions. A common experience reported by all of the interviewees related to how the quality of their interactions with Laumaka ACOs significantly influenced their general feelings about the program as a whole. A primary indicator of this sentiment was evidenced by comments that linked the inmates' level of satisfaction with their perceived level of investment that their case managers and counselors had in supporting their attempts to achieve successful reentry.

"...They got really good counselors over there.... Some people may beg to differ on that opinion. But...worked out really good for me. I could call [the counselor] up, [the counselor] was accessible all the time. So, that was a big help because I had a lot going on with jobs. I got laid off from one job, and I had to get this for, for, this job...there was a lot of, like, last minute, 'Okay – hey, you know I need to get to this job tomorrow. I need to get to the store today.' 'Yes, I know its 9 o'clock and you guys are busy. Can you make out a pass?' They were on it, you know. I never had any problems with them." [However,] ...they're not always accessible. I said they were accessible for me, you know. I just, maybe, just so happened to hit it the right time with them [the counselors], you know. For some people, they weren't so fortunate...You know, because there's only three counselors, one for each building."

"Uh, caring people. People who actually care. Um, I know that there's guys [inmates] that are...um, very needy. Um, but then there's also the guys [inmates] who actually not want that, but they actually need help to a certain degree, small help. They don't ask for help. These guys, when they need help, they'll hold back as much as they can. But, when they reach out and you get shut down, it's something that's...it's, uh, demotivating."

"I think so. It depends on the case manager and whether she will work with you or not.... "I had all the documents, so, I mean I had my driver's license, my ID, social security card. Some guys have a real hard time getting them....If you are doing the right thing...they're going to make sure you succeed."

"I guess there is help there, but you just gonna have to look for it. But, like, as of

the staff over there...they could be more *not* laid back. I think it's just a "check" for them."

"Um, support. That's all I got to say. It's, it's got to be a more of a meaningful support system. There's no meaning in it. They're just going through the simple checkpoint motions. I didn't feel the commitment. I was committed. I myself was committed and tried... So yeah, um, some care."

"...somebody who actually cares that knows how to ask a question, that knows how to follow on what the answer is, to get to the next problem, or underlying problem that made this problem. It could go all the way back to childhood. Like I said, they just, you know, they're just pushing you through. It's like a process... Because that's what I would say, you're just an automated piece of equipment, just getting moved on through...."

Theme: Focus on Intrinsic Motivation: "It's all up to the individual"

All of the former inmates commented that they were ready to change and they were going to succeed in Laumaka no matter what, expressing that their internal motivation to succeed was the most important factor in their successful reentry:

"I already made up my mind that I wanted to change and if a person wants to change, they're going to change. All the programs in the world won't make a person change. It might give you some different viewpoints on what you might, what you need to change yourself. It's all up to the individual."

"You have to be willing to change your way of thinking because my thinking got me to where I was."

"I prepared myself. I prepared well. I, mentally, you know, I knew already what I was going to do. I made a plan and stuck to it."

"Nah I guess you only get in your own way. If you really wanna do it, then you're gonna do it no matter what."

"I think it all comes down to self is when everybody has says enough already you know what I mean and I've come to that point in my life where I just wanna better myself so as the programs helping its there for your helping but its its also up to the individual that wants the help you know and I was really wanting that help and...I guess I just wanted to make that change and...even without that program I would have made a change just because I didn't wanna be in prison already."

"I don't ever want to have to go through that, you know, um, like I said, I can go if I wanted to after you guys leave, I can go down to Pizza Hut or go down to McDonalds. So, I can do things, you know, I have people calling me to join them to do things. I have people giving me things. I give people things, you know, I

go to work, I feel great, I come home, I can relax. I have a phone I can contact people there's hundreds of reason why..."

Theme: *Desire to be treated fairly and respectfully*

Situation – Landline requirement: Inmates are required to have a landline to qualify for passes, which can be cumbersome and restrictive. When describing becoming eligible for passes, one former inmate explained that “you’re eligible for a 6 hour pass as long as your furlough destination has been checked” and that you “have to have a landline.”

Situation – Laumaka rent requirement: Inmates are paying rent at Laumaka even if they are spending extended furlough in an independent living transition house. Furthermore, regardless of the fact that they are still paying rent at Laumaka while spending extended furlough in an independent living transition house, their bed at Laumaka is no longer being saved for them:

“Oh, I pay. You pay rent no matter if you’re there or not so I was paying rent at two places. I would pay rent at Laumaka and then I had to pay at the extended furlough house too. So, it cost me like \$1,000 a month. Just my extended furlough place is \$650 and then my Laumaka rent is \$180 and then I have to have a landline installed, which is another.... I got internet to use, that’s another \$118.”

When the interviewer asked if paying rent at Laumaka meant that Laumaka was saving the bed for him, he responded: “No, but you’re still on their account.”

Situation – Inconsistent punishment: Over the course of the interviews, it became apparent that inmates are being delivered inconsistent punishment for the same violations. For example, one inmate explained that ACOs are understanding if you let them know you are going to be late returning from furlough:

“If you call and say you’re going to be late and the person that you’re interviewing with or whatever gets on the phone and says, ‘Yeah, I have (inmate name), he’s going to be...He just got to the interview, he’s going to be an hour late.’ Or something, you know? But you have to be communicating. Communicating is a big thing...if you communicate with what you want to do and you fill out the proper paperwork, they’ll let you go freely.”

Later in the interview, the same inmate explained the opposite sentiment when asked what his biggest struggle while still in Laumaka was:

“I would say the biggest struggle I would have is if I was late from work, I wasn’t able to call them and I just showed up there and they just sent me across the street [to OCCC]. You know, because sometime it happens where they don’t believe what you’re saying or whatever.”

Another former inmate described how it took him longer to get back to Laumaka after failing a drug test compared to someone who escaped:

“...the amount of time it took me to get back down to furlough again took 20 months. Halawa took another 4 ½ months to get back down to Laumaka. I stayed in Laumaka for 10 ½ months. I watched guys that escaped get out faster than me. You know, I didn’t understand that..., how is it that this guy got out one year after he escaped while I was still sitting at Halawa.”

Situation – Getting personal needs met when program is understaffed:

“It’s hard because, you know, this person goes on vacation, you get sent to that person. That person’s overloaded now because, uh, you get three people because there’s three dorms. This person goes on vacation, now you got these two people. They’re doing their dorm...So who’s doing the third dorm? Supposedly, it’s supposed to be a shared load. Responses come late, sometimes too late. [It seems like they feel] ‘Oh well, you’re an inmate—you’ve been living without it, you’ve been doing it for how many years already.’”

Theme: Importance of feeling supported for individual needs as opposed to program needs

Situation – Limited capacity to focus on Risk, Needs and, Responsivity principles at the individual level when it can make a difference in improving outcomes:

“It’s 30 kids to one teacher. Um, the more effective way to teach is 12 to 1. That would require another person, more funds for that person’s wages, but it’s, it’s, it’s helpful that way. You’re able to get through things rather than just rushing through all these guys’ paperwork. And, and missing their, their money or not having time to deal with it...”

“Structure of it, the way it is now, is because I mean its really you know chokehold kind of thing right now but its because of what happened with all the people running all the people doing the things they did so they they did what they had to do so I can’t I can’t say nothing about that you know I mean people were doing what they were supposed to do it wouldn’t have gotten to that point because I was there years ago when it was actually a lot more lenient there’s a lot more freedom for people um but because of all the nonsense that went on throughout the years, it just kind of dwindled down to what it is now and so you know what can you say?”

I think that I think the programmings like have uh more programs programs in there educating about everything, not just drugs, about ah life, about ah ah um jobs, how to get a job, things like that.. like maybe something that would teach you and you got skills because coming without skills sucks. Its hard and then when times get hard, the only thing we know is drugs or running the street...

Situation – Focus of Laumaka programs and activities: Younger Inmates vs. Older Inmates – everyone treated the same, but shouldn’t be.

One inmate explained the younger inmates: “They’d just lay back like they always did. I mean, I think it’s the older, more mature guys seem to make it, the younger ones are honestly just...I figure they have a few more returns in them, I guess.”

Situation – Work site supervisor recognizing individual differences when it makes a difference in improving outcomes. The inmate worked a skills trade job that occasionally required him to work at night, and described the benefit of having a boss that was supportive of his limited work availability³:

“I was lucky enough with my boss put me on the day job, so...But, some people aren’t so fortunate...I tell him, ‘Hey – I got to go to an AA meeting.’ He tells me, ‘What are you still doing here? Go.’ And that’s when it’s on company time or whether on the weekends or whatever...” The same inmate described how his boss continues to play an important role in his successful reentry: “My boss played a big role for me because he, um, he gave me the opportunity to pursue my career. And since I’ve been out of Laumaka, I’ve gotten a \$7.50 raise.”

Theme: Importance of family support

Situation – Family: Family support was very evident as important in the interviews. All former inmates that were interviewed have reunited with at least some of their family members since they’ve been released. Their enthusiasm was evident in the interviews in that multiple interviewees shared pictures and text messages from family, and related events involving family members that supported their motivation to change.

“They [my kids] are the main reasons why I stay doing the right thing and it keeps me motivated and I can show you pictures for days, just, just, every time I pull this thing [cell phone] open and I look and I see those smiley faces (*shows picture of children to interviewers*). It’s just those smiley faces tell me to do the right thing...So yeah they’re the definite reasons I’m I just don’t want to go back you know I’m tire of it, I dealt with a lot of my demons in there and uh hundreds of other peoples demons as well you know what I mean and I don’t want to go through that experience again. I don’t wanna see, I don’t wanna have to answer to my son 2 years down the road while he’s 16: ‘Where were you dad?’”

“I never got to reunite with my son until a week before I was getting paroled...I was at Home Depot buying supplies and baby’s mom was in there...She said, ‘Your son’s been asking about you.’ Yeah, so the week I got out, I went down and picked him up. And every weekend has been like that...Let me find (*reaches for cell phone and starts scrolling through phone*)...Easter, Easter egg (*still scrolling through phone*) Easter egg hunt in the backyard (*shows picture to interviewers*)...Father hid all the eggs (*laughs*). And every weekend we do something different.”

³ Inmates can’t go out for furlough before 5:30am and have to be back by 8:30pm.

Situation – Challenges in maintaining connections with family members.

I had a pretty hard time while I was in prison. My mom passed away and, um, I don't have really that much family. My brother is like 10 years younger than me, so it's like that age difference it's was like clashing. He's trying to run hard core feelings wise and I'm trying to be compassionate and accepting and he's not really for it at that time and it's only now that we're making a better, um, he's like 32 and I'm 42, so it's kinda better now that he's older. So here's a, like when...my niece is a inspiration for me and I just want it to be the best uncle I can be...

"Nobody's making long distance phone calls for me. So, uh, I had to do that myself through the pay phone...than it was to try to fight for a freaking pay phone. And even so, the, the cords in the phone suck. They [family] couldn't hear me."

It was evident in the interviews that most of the reconnecting experiences with family occurred at the volition of the former inmate rather than being facilitated during furlough. When asked if there was any support for reestablishing ties with his kids, one of the former inmates responded, "For the furlough program they kinda just leave that in your own hands."

CONCLUSION

This program evaluation focused on four evaluation questions:

- What are the programs and activities provided by the Laumaka Work Furlough Program to prepare inmates for reentry through the Hawaii Paroling Authority?
- Has the Program been implemented with fidelity?
- How successful was the Program in retaining participants until completion—as evidenced by the short-term goal of successfully paroled? For those who were unsuccessful, what were the reasons?
- What was the long-term impact of the Program on recidivism?

Question 1.

The importance of the first question, “What are the programs and activities provided by the Laumaka Work Furlough Program to prepare inmates for reentry through the Hawaii Paroling Authority (HPA)?” is based on the need to have a document that accurately describes what interventions are being provided by the Laumaka Work Furlough Program. No program manual that completely describes what interventions are delivered during the inmates time in Laumaka is available, so we gathered information through PSD documents, Laumaka records, and interviews with PSD Administrators, Laumaka Administrators, Supervisors, and staff, and former and current inmates who participated in the Laumaka Program and created a narrative describing programs and activities currently provided in the Program. We found multiple components, some based on evidence-based programs such as Work Release programs provided in various forms throughout most of the 50 states. The Laumaka Bridge program was verbally described as a substance abuse aftercare program with some activities that are commonly found in such aftercare programs. The issue with this program as with all other programs was that there were no intervention protocols delivered with treatment integrity, meaning no clearly articulated prescribed program with an identified theoretical or research-based foundation, no assessment process to monitor hypothesized changes over the course of the program, and no pre- and post-test measures to see what was gained by individuals participating in the program. The great majority of the interventions involved assisting inmates in preparing for their parole board hearing, including key criteria for being granted parole such as securing employment and housing, getting finances in order, and staying out of trouble. Such activities are common and important for inmates to accomplish in work release programs, and for many inmates this organizing and preparing for the parole hearing is extremely valuable. This document should be useful as a working draft for Laumaka to create a program manual that can be used for developing training programs for new and current staff, sharing information about the program with other PSD staff and other state and community organizations and providers, identifying measures to utilize in assessing the impact of their programs, and increase coordination within the program and across PSD programs.

Question 2.

The ability to answer the second question is dependent on what was found in response to the first question. Intervention fidelity cannot be measured if there are no intervention protocols to implement and adhere to. Staff reported that they were allowed flexibility in administering their program areas, and it was not unusual for staff to develop needed components commonly found

in work release programs that support the inmate in successfully transitioning from prison to the community. However, these components were practiced within the parameters of individual staff work responsibilities, and not included in an overall program manual. Staff were creative, conscientious, empathic, and supportive in working with their clients, such that the non-subjective factors of empathy, genuineness, and positive regard were clearly the strength and the most effective core process in the Laumaka Program.

Question 3.

The third question addresses the extent to which the important short-term goal of retaining inmates in the program to the point of achieving program success as evidenced by being paroled by the Hawaii Paroling Authority. As indicated in Table 3—median length of stay, and Figure 5—length of stay by months, it appears that between 2011 and 2015, the study period for this evaluation, the length of stay has trended toward shorter lengths of stay in the program, with the median length of stay in 2011 being 9.0 months, to 2015 being 6.9 months. The Laumaka Program was described to the evaluation team as a 6 to 12 month program, depending on the readiness of the individual to meet HPA criteria for achieving parole status. It is not clear how meaningful this shortening of inmates length of stay in the program. An important factor is probably the number of inmates who are prematurely discharged from the program for some program violation. Over the 5-year study period, an average of about 57 percent completed the program and were paroled. An additional 3-4% completed their “time served” and probably left before completion of the program but were not discharged back to another facility. That leaves about 40% of the inmates who were transferred to Laumaka being sent back to another facility for primarily disciplinary reasons, thereby failing to complete the program. Based on interview comments from PSD administrators, having a completion rate of 70% or greater represents a satisfactory level of accomplishment for the Work Furlough program. This trend toward a shorter stay in Laumaka needs to be further examined for what it may represent about the program and about the individuals being referred to the program. Figure 6, Reasons for leaving the program indicate that for 2014 and 2015, the number of inmates being discharged from the program for substance use related events reached about 30% and 25%, respectively, possibly indicating that the level of substance use risk is not at the aftercare level, but may indicate a greater need for substance abuse treatment services among a larger segment of the Laumaka population compared to 2011-2013.

The themes identified in the qualitative study section of this evaluation provided some information at the individual level as opposed to the Program level in explaining outcomes from the Laumaka Program. The following themes were identified after analyzing interview transcripts of the individual interviews:

- *Importance of the relationship between inmates and Laumaka ACOs, Case Managers, and Counselors*
- *Intrinsic Motivation: “It’s all up to the individual”*
- *Desire to be treated fairly and respectfully*
- *Importance of feeling supported for individual needs as opposed to program needs*
- *Importance of family support*

These themes all focused around interpersonal relationships, and the importance of supportive relationships from family members and Laumaka professional staff. It is a reminder that change

occurs at the individual, human level, and that the “program” is not the only factor that creates change. Internal forces interact with external environments, and understanding the nature of this interaction and how it differs across individuals is critical in understanding what works, for whom, in what situations.

Question 4.

The quasi-experimental study involving the use of propensity score matching to create a comparison group found no significant differences between the Laumaka group and the comparison on recidivism rates for the first 2 years post-release from PSD. However, starting from 2.5 years post-release to 5 years post-release, there were statistically significant differences in 4 of the 6 intervals assessed during this 3-year period of time, with individuals who were in the Laumaka program recidivating at a lower rate than the non-Laumaka individuals. In addition, when looking at the recidivism rate at 36 months (3 years), while the non-Laumaka group showed a recidivism rate of 51%, very similar to the ICIS findings for the 2013 cohort of 50.5% recidivating after 3 years (see Figure 2.), the Laumaka individuals’ recidivism was at 39%. These results provide evidence that at least in this cohort of individuals released between 2011-2015, the Laumaka Work Furlough Program appeared to have a significant effect in reducing long-term recidivism rates. This finding needs to be examined with a follow-up study to see if further information can be gained in explaining this positive program effect. One factor to examine further is that this group of releasees with the lower 5-year recidivism rate is made up of inmates who were released from the Laumaka program to parole in 2011.

In summary, there are encouraging indicators of the effectiveness of the Laumaka Program in achieving positive long-term impacts on recidivism rates when compared to non-Laumaka individuals. However, issues related to developing improved administration of the program, especially in the areas of individual assessments to determine appropriate treatment planning, and measuring process and outcome variables to track progress through the program. To increase use of this individual level information, there is a need to create a user-friendly database for program administrators and program staff to improve assessment and treatment planning, tracking individual client’s progress in achieving treatment goals and improving intervention fidelity by more clearly basing programming on a theoretical/empirical basis. Developing on-going continuous quality improvement monitoring will also be made possible with a well-designed database, leading to greater intervention fidelity. These are important next steps for this program.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are a list of recommendations for strengthening the Laumaka Work Furlough Program. The length of the list speaks to the challenge for the Laumaka staff to address serious short-comings in their program. These recommendations are meant to start a conversation, are not exclusive but the beginning toward stimulating creative, innovative thinking about possibilities in transforming their program. There are many strengths in their program, primarily at the individual level in terms of staff strength. The programming and structure of the program are where the work needs to be directed, along with building enhanced capacity of program staff through training, supervision, and a continuous quality improvement approach.

POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

- Revise the department furlough policy to include below additions:
 - Adhere to principles of risk need and responsivity. This is a nationally recognized model for offender management that delivers many benefits for efficient, and effective programming
 - Create statement of goals and objectives of the program
 - This should be developed through a broad discussion at the administrative level including wardens who manages furlough programs.
- Write a program manual to include:
 - Goals and objectives of Laumaka Work Furlough Program:
 - Include representation from all levels of administration, furlough program and security staff, Hawaii Paroling Authority, and upstream programming staff
 - Formally define the programmatic differences between Laumaka and Module 20
 - Principles of operation—for example, inmates shall be programmed and supervised according to their risk as determined by actuarially based risk assessment tools. High risk inmates shall be provided with the highest level of programming and receive the closest supervision.
 - Standardize procedures assigning cases to the different housing areas.
 - Standardize procedures for granting passes, extended furlough, referrals to programs, etc.
 - Procedures for training of staff
 - Emergency procedures not covered by facility procedures.
 - This should be done at the facility level to include discussions with line supervisors and staff as to what works.

EFFECTIVE UTILIZATION OF DATA

- Implement a computerized data system to provide workers with a central record keeping repository and give managers and administrators real time information on program performance.
- As part of the data gathering system, develop a standardized method for documenting major security incidents such as escapes, discovery of drugs in the facility, violent incidents. The goal would be to create a database of such incidents that can be analyzed

in a systematic manner. This documentation should also include interviews with the offenders. Then those interviews can also be used as the start of interventions and relapse prevention efforts.

TREATMENT PLANNING AND CASE MANAGEMENT

- Develop or adopt psychometric measures to monitor changes in attitudes, behaviors, cognitions. These measures can be used to further refine the targeting of interventions, track progress through the program and assist in decision making at program milestones.
- In conjunction with HPA develop a “continuum of care” so that inmates who are in programs while on furlough can continue those programs when paroled. This will allow inmates to be paroled without having to complete program as a condition of parole.
- Develop a standardized report from “upstream” programs and institutions to provide more information to the furlough staff. This will document “where the inmate is at” and help to minimize the orientation period. This will also allow more individualized programming as it will document progress the inmate has already made and what areas furlough programming should focus on.
- The majority of programming effort at furlough should be on reinforcement of skills learned. The assumption is that inmates have learned prosocial skills at upstream programs and now must practice those skills.
- Explore implementing a relapse prevention program. This program can be offered to high risk offenders and offenders who have minor rule violations. The work of Alan Marlat on relapse prevention has developed a convincing body of evidence for effectiveness with offenders. The sex offender program is a good source of expertise in this area.
- Incorporate relevant findings and recommendations from the study conducted by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs Office, *The Disparate Treatment of Native Hawaiians in the Criminal Justice System* (2010), when assessing, developing treatment programs, and in providing Work Furlough programs and activities for inmates identifying themselves as Native Hawaiians.
- Implement a “customer satisfaction form.” Being aware that this form will provide an avenue of typical inmate complaints about food, restrictive rules etc, it can also be an information source about what works at furlough and what practices should be tested for effectiveness. An alternative would be periodic exit interviews with inmates. All programs need methods to gather feedback.
- Development and implementation of multi-disciplinary teams to determine inmate progression and needs within programs
- Strengthen collaborative community relationships

STAFF TRAINING AND SUPERVISION

- Review/revision of staffing minimum requirements in job descriptions to fit programmatic need
- Incentives for staff to pursue higher education level if does not currently meet minimum requirements

- Regular supervision (formal) of all programmatic staff by licensed clinical supervisor
- Annual trainings required on evidence based interventions, with required quarterly refresher trainings
- Administrative and programmatic support from all levels of staffing on professional development in the workplace
- Integration of communication between security staff and programmatic staff through regular meetings on individual cases

SYSTEMS ISSUES

How do staff decide who to refer to furlough? There are no clear guidelines for “upstream” case managers on who to refer for work furlough. Most case managers refer all inmates for furlough on the assumption they all need ‘reintegration” and ‘transition.” Prior to the adoption of the LSI-R, program planning operated under the principle of “sequential phasing.” While no longer recognized in policy, the concept of funneling all inmates through the levels of custody in sequence is still maintained in the beliefs and practices of case managers. Therefore, with rare exceptions, all inmates end up being recommended for furlough.

Who is minimum risk? The P&P mandates that furlough inmates should be those that are minimal risk to the community. However, the risk instrument used to determine eligibility is the classification instrument which is designed to determine risk of misconduct in prison. A better tool to determine risk is the LSI-R, but, restricting furlough to low risk inmates defeats the purpose of furlough. Low risk inmates as a group have less need for ‘reintegration” and “transition.” The inmates that would benefit most from the structure and support of the furlough program are the high risk inmates. High risk inmates have often gone through intensive treatment. Furlough is the perfect opportunity to practice the prosocial skills learned in treatment. Furlough staff can be trained to review and reinforce performance of those skills.

Remain status quo? If the department maintains the current system of assignment to furlough, the program needs to develop methods to create individualized treatment plans. The basic framework would be a range of supervision starting with intense supervision, monitoring and support for high risk inmates and progressing to lower levels of supervision, monitoring and support for low risk inmates.

How to change the system? The department should conduct discussions at the highest level of administration including the Hawaii Paroling Authority to determine the goals and objectives of furlough. If the department determines that furlough should be for high risk inmates, the appropriate level of resources should be available for those inmates. How this changes the distribution of inmates in the various facilities can be estimated using Offendertrak data. If the department determines that Laumaka will be for low risk inmates, then again, the level of resources available should match the planned population and other reintegration systems will need to be created to assist the high risk inmates transition. These determinations should be communicated via policy to “upstream” facilities so all case managers especially the RAD case managers who start the whole process, have a clear understanding of the purpose of furlough and the types of inmates it is designed to help.

- Conduct timely risk and needs assessments and job-readiness screenings.

- Conduct a comprehensive process analysis and inventory of employment services that are provided pre- and post-release.
- Coordinate process for making service referrals and tracking data

Recommend appropriate short- and long-term outcome measures for the Laumaka Work Furlough Program, including:

- Type/quality of job attained when released
- Level of income as compared to a reasonable living wage in Hawaii for single adult/married, married with 1, 2 or more children
- How many hours per week do they work
- What do their job evaluations report

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A. PSD's Policy No.: COR.14.15 dated Dec 15, 2009, July 13, 2015, and January 2017.

Appendix B. Interview protocol—PSD Administrator

Appendix C. Interview Protocol—PSD Case Manager

Appendix D. Interview Protocol—Former Inmate

Appendix E. Interview Protocol—Former Inmate

Appendix F. Interview Protocol—Community Stakeholder

**APPENDIX B. Interview Protocol:
Laumaka Work Furlough Program Evaluation
PSD Administrator**

Interviewee:

Interviewers:

Date/Time:

1. Introductions
2. Is the Work Furlough Program having the effects on men re-entering the community and seeking employment that you would expect? What about the program do you think is working well in helping the men find meaningful employment (i.e., living wage, job satisfaction)? What about the program do you think needs improvement?
3. Do you have any recommendations on what PSD Policies and Procedures, if any, can be developed or modified to strengthen the Work Furlough Program?
4. Do you think that the Work Furlough Program is adequately funded and staffed to conduct its programs? Has adequate facilities and program resources? Any recommendations in terms of funding, staffing, and/or facilities and programs?
5. Are there any state laws or policies and practices of other state departments and agencies that can be developed or modified to increase more positive outcomes for individuals coming out of the Work Furlough Program?
6. Do you have any recommendations for adding or modifying other current PSD programs and activities that would serve to increase the effectiveness of the Work Furlough Program?
7. Do you have any recommendations on the types of training programs that the Work Furlough staff need to receive beyond what is currently provided?

8. How can the larger community be more supportive in helping the men and women coming out of prison achieve higher rates of success in reentering the community and not reoffending?

9. Do you have any other thoughts or information that you think would be important for us to know in conducting this Work Furlough program evaluation?

**APPENDIX C. Interview Protocol:
Laumaka Work Furlough Program Evaluation
Case Managers**

Interviewee:

Interviewers:

Date/Time:

10. Introductions
11. Can you describe what your position at Laumaka and your work responsibilities.
12. Can you describe what the background and personal characteristics of people who you think are appropriate participants in the WF program and why.
13. What are indicators that predict positive outcomes as participants go through the program?
14. What are indicators that predict negative outcomes as participants go through the program, and what interventions are available to change problem areas?
15. What are the consequences of various rule violations (e.g., walk aways; substance use, late for curfew, etc.?)
16. What type of rule violation would lead to a participant being removed from the program vs. a less significant consequence?
17. What are the participant's responsibilities in finding jobs, and what are staff responsibilities in supporting participants in finding jobs?
18. What happens if a participant has a delay in finding a job?

19. Do case managers visit the various work sites?
20. How are participants monitored by Laumauka staff when they are in the community?
21. How might Laumaka facilities be improved to increase successful reentry for participants?
22. Do you have any other thoughts or information that you think would be important for us to know in conducting this program evaluation?
23. Do you have any referrals of former participants that we could interview to learn more about Laumaka from a participant's perspective?

**APPENDIX D. Interview Protocol:
Current Inmate**

Interviewer (circle one): Interviewee (circle one): Date: Place:

Interview Questions

A. Introductions and Ice Breaker

- a. Introduce yourself, where you work.
- b. Informal consent, including explanation of interview, how information to be used, reason for recording, how we protect confidentiality; benefits and risks, how to contact if any concerns (refer, consent form).

B. Ice Breaker Question: Do you have any questions for me about this interview before we start?

C. Qualitative Inquiry – Questions:

1. While you have been incarcerated, what has been helpful to you in terms of preparing for your reentry [recovery⁴] into the community?
 - a. What (if any) programs have been provided to you while incarcerated?
 - b. Of the programs provided to you while incarcerated, what about these programs do you find helpful to preparing for your reentry?
 - i. In what ways are they helpful?
 - c. Follow-up probes if the interviewee says: "No, there are no programs that have been helpful":
 - i. While you have been incarcerated, are you making any plans for what you will do when you are released?
 1. If so, what are they?
 - ii. While you have been incarcerated, what do you think is important in order to succeed in staying out, keep you from reoffending and being sent back to prison once you are released?

⁴ *Recovery*: Living a meaningful life in the community.

- iii. While you have been incarcerated, is there any staff that has been helpful to you in preparing for reentry (e.g., Case Manager, ACO, minister or other religious volunteer, etc.)?
 - iv. What about another peer that is also incarcerated?
 - v. Any other person on the outside who you communicate with?
 - vi. While you have been incarcerated, was there any specific event or experience that impacted or influenced your attitude or plans for reentry (e.g. a cultural or religious event, something you read or heard about, a story about what happened to another inmate when he reentered the community, etc.)?
2. Have you been in any type of work furlough program before now?
- a. **If yes**, what year(s) were you in the furlough program?
 - b. What specific aspects of the furlough program *are* helpful to your preparing for reentry?
 - c. The following 9 components listed have been included in PSD's P&Ps (policies and procedures) for furlough programs since 2001 (amended on January 6, 2017). A 10th component, "Electronic Monitoring," was added in 2015. I will now go through them and ask you to tell me if you are receiving any services of the type?
 - i. Re-socialization⁵?
 - ii. Community service⁶?
 - iii. Day Reporting Center⁷?
 - iv. Educational⁸?
 - v. Employment⁹?

⁵ *Re-socialization*: designed to maintain, establish or reestablish family or community ties.

⁶ *Community Service*: designed to provide inmates the opportunity to work in the community as a form of non-monetary restitution.

⁷ *Day Reporting Center*: designed to provide intensive community supervision for sentenced jail inmates and monitor their participation in treatment services when they report to the center.

⁸ *Educational*: designed to increase academic proficiency by allowing selected inmates to attend post-high school institutions.

⁹ *Employment*: designed to provide meaningful work experiences and the development of healthy attitudes toward work and interpersonal relationships.

- vi. Training¹⁰?
 - vii. Specialized Treatment¹¹?
 - viii. Extended Furlough¹²?
 - ix. Others¹³ (if in furlough 12/15/2009 – 7/13/15) or Electronic Monitoring (if in furlough 7/13/15 – 12/31/16)¹⁴
- d. What specific aspects of the furlough program *have not been* helpful to you?
 - e. Based on your experiences in the furlough program, do you have any suggestions for improving the furlough program in order to be more helpful for inmates preparing to reenter the community?
 - i. E.g., Do you have any suggestions for modifying (adding or deleting elements) the existing furlough program?
3. In addition to the furlough program, do you have any suggestions for improving other existing programs to make them more helpful for inmates preparing to reenter the community?
- a. Do you have any suggestions for adding new programs that would be helpful for inmates preparing to reenter the community?
 - b. What information/activities would you include in these new programs?
4. While you have been incarcerated, has anything hindered or interfered with your preparation for reentering the community? In what way?
- a. Do you anticipate any specific challenges in your reentry?
5. Have any person or persons play a significant role in your preparing to reenter the community?
- a. If yes, can you describe their role?
 - b. If no, can you elaborate on why not?

¹⁰ *Training*: designed to provide the inmate with special courses or training in order to improve his occupational/vocational skills.

¹¹ *Specialized Treatment*: designed to make available programs in the community to fulfill inmate's need for specialized treatment.

¹² *Extended Furlough*: designed to permit the inmate to reside in an established residence in the community.

¹³ *Others*: designed to prepare the inmate to respond to unplanned or unforeseen situations (to include but not limited to funerals, civil court issues, medical, appointments, etc.)

¹⁴ *Electronic Monitoring*: utilized as a technological resource to enhance security measures and the participant's accountability while participating in furlough.

6. What advice would you give to someone still incarcerated but preparing to be released soon?
 7. What else would be important for me to understand about what helps and what hinders, or gets in the way, of preparing for a successful reentry into the community?
- D. Thank you statement.

**APPENDIX E. Interview Protocol:
Former Inmate**

Interviewer: Interviewee: Date: Place:

Interview Questions

E. Introductions and Ice Breaker

- a. Introduce yourself, where you work.
- b. Informal consent, including explanation of interview, how information to be used, reason for recording, how we protect confidentiality, benefits and risks, how to contact if any concerns (refer, consent form).

F. Ice Breaker Question: Do you have any questions for me about this interview before we start?

G. Qualitative Inquiry – Questions

8. While you were incarcerated, what was helpful to you in terms of preparing for your reentry [recovery¹⁵] into the community?
 - a. What (if any) programs were provided to you while incarcerated?
 - b. Of the programs provided to you while incarcerated, what about these programs did you find helpful to your reentry?
 - i. In what ways were they helpful?
 - c. Follow-up probes if the interviewee says: "No, there were no programs that were helpful":
 - i. While you were incarcerated, did you make any plans for what you would do when you were released?
 1. If so, what were they?
 - ii. While you were incarcerated, what did you think was important in order to succeed in staying out, keep you from reoffending and being sent back to prison?

¹⁵ *Recovery*: Living a meaningful life in the community.

- iii. While you were incarcerated, was there any staff that was helpful to you in preparing for reentry (e.g., Case Manager, ACO, minister or other religious volunteer, etc.)?
 - iv. What about another peer in prison?
 - v. Any other person on the outside who you communicated with?
 - vi. While you were incarcerated, was there any specific event or experience in prison that impacted or influenced your attitude or plans for reentry (e.g. a cultural or religious event, something you read or heard about, a story about what happened to another inmate when he reentered the community, etc.)?
9. Did you go through any type of furlough program?
- a. **If yes**, what year(s) were you in the furlough program?
 - b. What specific aspects of the furlough program *were* helpful to your reentry?
 - c. The following 9 components listed have been included in PSD's P&Ps (policies and procedures) for furlough programs since 2001. A 10th component, "Electronic Monitoring," was added in 2015. I will now go through them and ask you to tell me if you received any services of the type?
 - i. Re-socialization¹⁶?
 - ii. Community service¹⁷?
 - iii. Day Reporting Center¹⁸?
 - iv. Educational¹⁹?
 - v. Employment²⁰?
 - vi. Training²¹?

¹⁶ *Re-socialization*: designed to maintain, establish or reestablish family or community ties.

¹⁷ *Community Service*: designed to provide inmates the opportunity to work in the community as a form of non-monetary restitution.

¹⁸ *Day Reporting Center*: designed to provide intensive community supervision for sentenced jail inmates and monitor their participation in treatment services when they report to the center.

¹⁹ *Educational*: designed to increase academic proficiency by allowing selected inmates to attend post-high school institutions.

²⁰ *Employment*: designed to provide meaningful work experiences and the development of healthy attitudes toward work and interpersonal relationships.

²¹ *Training*: designed to provide the inmate with special courses or training in order to improve his occupational/vocational skills.

- vii. Specialized Treatment²²?
 - viii. Extended Furlough²³?
 - ix. Other²⁴?
- d. What specific aspects of the furlough program *were not* helpful to you?
 - e. Based on your experiences while in prison and then reentering the community, do you have any suggestions for improving the furlough program in order to be more helpful to people coming out?
 - i. E.g., Do you have any suggestions for modifying (adding or deleting elements) the existing furlough program?
10. In addition to the furlough program, do you have any suggestions for improving other existing programs to make them more helpful for inmates to reenter the community?
- a. Do you have any suggestions for adding new programs that would be helpful for inmates in successfully reentering?
 - b. What information/activities would you include in these new programs?
11. While you were incarcerated, what hindered or interfered with your preparation for reentering the community? In what way?
- a. Can you identify any specific challenges in your reentry?
12. Did any person or persons play a significant role in your reentering the community?
- a. If yes, can you describe their role?
 - b. If no, can you elaborate on why not?
 - c. Would you be willing to let us speak to them about their experience?
13. What now motivates you to do what it takes to stay out of prison? For example, what motivates you to get a job and stay employed, to find housing, to get substance abuse treatment, to go to church or attend group sessions, and to find people and programs that keep you focused on doing those things that keep you out of trouble."
- [Note: trying to probe for sources of motivation--internal and external--that keep him doing the right things to stay out of trouble and prevent him from reoffending, even when

²² *Specialized Treatment*: designed to make available programs in the community to fulfill inmate's need for specialized treatment.

²³ *Extended Furlough*: designed to permit the inmate to reside in an established residence in the community.

²⁴ *Others*: designed to prepare the inmate to respond to unplanned or unforeseen situations (to include but not limited to funerals, civil court issues, medical appointments, etc.)

he gets discouraged or tempted to commit crimes for more/easy money or because of peer pressure.]

14. What was the biggest struggle during your reentry?
 15. What advice would you give to someone still incarcerated but preparing to be released soon?
 16. What else would be important for me to understand about what helps and what hinders, or gets in the way, of a successful reentry into the community?
- H. Last Question: “Who should I also interview to learn more about what is/was helpful and what gets/has gotten in the way of supporting your re-entry into the community?”
- I. Thank you statement.

**APPENDIX F. Interview Protocol:
Community Stakeholder**

Interviewer: Interviewee: Date: Place:

Interview Questions

J. Introductions and Ice Breaker

- a. Introduce yourself, where you work.
- b. Informal consent, including explanation of interview, how information to be used, reason for recording, how we protect confidentiality, benefits and risks, how to contact if any concerns (refer, consent form).

K. Ice Breaker Question: Do you have any questions for me about this interview before we start?

L. Qualitative Inquiry – Questions:

17. In Hawai'i, what does a successful reentry to the community by an individual who has been incarcerated look like to you? (If explanation is requested, areas of consideration may include employment, housing, health, family reunification, community service, leisure time, peer associations, etc.)
18. What types of programs, activities, and services are important to be provided by our correctional system in Hawai'i to individuals while they are still incarcerated that are helpful in preparing them for reentry back to the community?
19. What new, or modifications to, current laws, public policies, and programs would be helpful in supporting successful reentry?
20. What can different elements of the community offer to individuals while they are incarcerated that would be supportive of his/her later reentry to the community?
21. What can different elements of the community offer to individuals who are reentering the community that would support their successful reentry?
22. In addition to your previous suggestions, what can different elements of the community offer to Native Hawaiians who are reentering the community that would support their successful reentry?

23. Work furlough programs have been found to make a significant contribution towards an individual's successful reentry back to the community. What do you think would be important to include in a Work Furlough Program in Hawai'i?

[Note: Work furlough programs are typically offered in the last 1-2 years of an individual's sentence prior to release during which time programs may provide education, employment skills, substance abuse treatment, psychological interventions, community service, and supervised opportunities to work in the community while still incarcerated.]

24. What do you think would be important to include in a Work Furlough Program in Hawaii that would be of specific importance to Native Hawaiians' successful reentry back to the community?

25. What else would be important for me to understand about what helps and what hinders, or gets in the way, of a successful reentry into the community?

26. What might be factors that help or hinder Native Hawaiians, in particular, of a successful reentry into the community?

M. Last Question: Do you have any suggestions as to who I should also interview to learn more about how work furlough programs can be helpful in supporting individuals' re-entry into the community?

N. Thank you statements.